

Chapter-III

Relations with other Misals

After the martyrdom of Banda Singh *Bahadur*, when the tyranny of the Mughals continued and the Afghans invaded the Punjab, the *Bhangi* leaders collaborated with the other Sikh *Sardars* and decided to take joint action against their common enemy. Earlier they supported each other to occupy the territories of the Mughals and Afghans rulers, later they enter into conflict with each other for the sake of conquering the territories of each others. When Ahmed Shah and his successors invaded Punjab, they came close to each other and made joint attacks on their common enemy. But after the departure of the Afghans they again started fighting with each other. Some times they forged friendly relations and united together for a common action against the other *Sardars*. These groupings and regroupings were made in view of the petty personal interests of the *Sardars*, who changed sides as often as they changed their shirts. From the political accounts of the various *Misals* we find the *Bhangis* and *Ramgarhias* jointly fought against *Phullkian* Chiefs, *Sukerchakias* and *Kanahiyas*; *Bhangis* and *Kanahiyas* jointly fought against *Sukerchakias* and Brij Raj Deo of Jammu, *Bhangis* fought against *Ahaluwalias*, *Bhangis* and *Ahaluwalias* jointly fought against *Sukerchakias* and *Kanahiyas*, *Bhangis* and *Kanahiya's* jointly fought against *Ramgarhias*, *Bhangis* fought against *Karaorsinghias*. Later they even entered into matrimonial alliances with each other. These marriages strengthened the positions of the concerned families and united them for the purpose of the combined action. In many cases their previous rivalries and hostilities also ceased with these matrimonial bonds.

Relations with Ahluwalia Sardars: Jassa Singh son of Badar Singh was the founder of *Ahluwalia Misal*.¹ In his early days he, jointly worked along with the

¹ Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-I & II, Lahore, 1870, reprint Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, Vol-II, pp. 452-53; Ganda Singh, *Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969, pp. 22-23.

Bhangi Sardars as under Hari Singh, Bhima Singh, Sham Singh Naroke and Gurbakhsh Singh Arroanwala in most of their expeditions against the Mughals and Afghans.²

In March 29, 1748, on the organization of *Dal Khalsa*, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was acknowledged the supreme commander of the *Dal Khalsa*. So from the year of 1748, all the Sikh *Sardars* fought under the supreme commandship of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.³ In the beginning Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was opposed to *Bhangi Sardars*. The reason was that Hari Singh *Bhangi*, leader of the *Taruna Dal*, acknowledged Jassa Singh Ahluwalia as Chief of the *Dal Khalsa* only when it suited him like when both the *Dals* were united for a joint action. At other times he considered Jassa Singh the leader of the *Budha Dal* only. The opposition continued even after the death of Hari Singh *Bhangi* in 1765, because his son Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh also maintained the same view as their father.⁴ Even though Jassa Singh was not on good terms with the *Bhangis*, he collaborated with Hari Singh *Bhangi* and Jhanda Singh *Bhangi* in many of the Sikhs expeditions such as: battle against Lakshmi Naryan, officer of Abdus Samad Khan in 1745, battle of Sirhind in 1755, attack on Multan, 1755, attack on Lahore in 1758 and 1761, battle of Kup in 1762 and battle of Sirhind.⁵ In 1763, when *Bhangi Sardars* Hari Singh, Jhanda

² McGregor, *The History of the Sikhs*, London, 1846, pp. 146-47; Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibratnama*, (NP), 1854, MS., (Translated into Punjabi by Gurbakhsh Singh), preserved in the library of the Department of Punjab Historical Studies, Punjabi University, Patiala, Accession 30, folio nos., 267-68, (here after given as DPHS, PUP).

³ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, (NP), 1811, MS., (Translated into Punjabi by Milkhi Ram), preserved in the library of the DPHS, PUP, Accession No. 22, folio no. 71; Bakhat Mal, *Khalsa Namah*, (NP), 1710 -14, MS., (Translated into Punjabi by Janak Singh), preserved in the library of the DPHS, PUP, Accession no. 19 folio no. 30.

⁴ Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, New Delhi, 1982, p. 36.

⁵ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 81; Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, London, 1812, p. 93; Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, (NP), 1865, edited by Bhai Vir Singh, Amritsar, 1965, pp. 339-41; Ram Sukh Rao, *Jassa Singh Binod*, (NP, ND), MS., (Translation of Punjabi), preserved in the library of the DPHS, PUP, Accession no. 33, folio no. 13.

Singh, Ganda Singh, Gujjar Singh and Lehna Singh, joined with the other Sikh *Sardars* to lead an expedition against the Pathan colony of Kasur, Jassa Singh *Ahluwalia* again joined them.⁶

Till 1765 the relations between the *Bhangis* and *Ahluwalias* remained very cordial and friendly but in the action against Ala Singh of Patiala they found themselves arrayed on opposite sides. Jassa Singh was inclined towards Ala Singh (who had purchased the title of *Raja* from Ahmed Shah) and was jealous of Hari Singh *Bhangi's* power and influence.⁷ However, Hari Singh *Bhangi* the leader of *Taruna Dal* marched upon Patiala. But Hari Singh died while fighting and the peace was established between the *Bhangis* and *Phullkian* Chief Ala Singh, through Jassa Singh *Ahluwalia*.⁸

In Dec 1766, Jassa Singh *Ahluwalia* collaborated with the *Bhangi Sardars* Jhanda Singh, Ganda Singh, Lehna Singh, Gujjar Singh and Hira Singh *Nakai* against Jahan Khan who was beaten at Sialkot.⁹ In 1774, Jassa Singh *Ahluwalia* formed a coalition with Ganda Singh and Jhanda Singh *Bhangis*, Nar Singh *Chamiariwala* and many other Sikh *Sardars*, to expel Jassa Singh *Ramgarhia* from the Punjab and seize his possessions.¹⁰

⁶ Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, (NP), 1824, (Translated into Punjabi by Gurbakhsh Singh), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969, p. 15; Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, pp. 388-89; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of Panjab*, Calcutta, 1891, reprint New Delhi, 1964, pp. 315-16.

⁷ Ram Sukh Rao, *Jassa Singh Binod*, folio no. 32; Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-I, p. 25.

⁸ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 110, DPHS, PUP; Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-II, p. 462.

⁹ Ram Sukh Rao, *Jassa Singh Binod*, folio nos. 32-33; Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, Lahore, 1880-85, (Translated into Punjabi by Amarwant Singh), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1985, pp. 12-13.

¹⁰ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 96; J D Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, London, 1849, reprint Amritsar, 2005, p. 103. According to Lepel Griffin and Syed Muhammad Latif, this was happening in 1776. Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-II, p. 462; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 316. This may be wrong, because Jhanda Singh *Bhangi*, Ganda Singh *Bhangi* and Charat Singh *Sukerchakia* were died in 1774. In view of this action J D Cunningham is absolutely right.

The antagonism again flared up between the *Bhangis* and *Ahluwalias* in, 1774 when Jassa Singh provided aid to Jai Singh and Tara Singh *Kanahiya* in the battle of Pathankot against Ganda Singh *Bhangi*. In the battle field Ganda Singh the last powerful *Bhangi Sardar* died.¹¹ According to Ram Sukh Rao, after Ganda Singh's death Jassa Singh *Ahluwalia* came between the *Bhangis* and *Kanahiyas* for the restoration of peace.¹²

In order to maintain friendly relations with the *Bhangis*, Jassa Singh *Ahluwalia* engaged the daughter of his cousin Bhag Singh to Gujjar Singh *Bhangi's* eldest son Sukha Singh. This marriage took place in 1779. Thus against Jai Singh *Kanahiya's* domination of two *Misals*, *Kanahiya* and *Sukerchakia*, Jassa Singh *Ahluwalia* created a combination of other three powers *Ahluwalia*, *Bhangis* and the *Phullkian* state.¹³ He also got *Phullkian Raja* Amar Singh's son, Sahib Singh engaged to the Rttan Kaur daughter of Ganda Singh *Bhangi*. The marriage ceremony was performed at village Panjwar which took place in 1782. Jassa Singh *Ahluwalia* attended the marriage party when it passed thorough Kapurthala.¹⁴ When Mahan Singh *Sukerchakia* provides aid to *Raja Brij Raj Deo* of Jammu against Gujjar Singh *Bhangi* on the question of *Karrianwala*, Jassa Singh *Ahluwalia* mediated and brought peace between them.¹⁵

In October 22, 1783 Jassa Singh *Ahluwalia* passed away. After his death, he was succeeded by his close relative Bhag Singh *Ahluwalia*.¹⁶ After Jassa Singh's

¹¹ Ram Sukh Rao, *Jassa Singh Binod*, folio nos. 58-59, DPHS, PUP; Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, Lahore, 1881, (Translated into Punjabi by Jit Singh Seetal), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1987, p. 86.

¹² Ram Sukh Rao, *Jassa Singh Binod*, folio no. 59, DPHS, PUP.

¹³ Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, p. 37.

¹⁴ Ram Sukh Rao, *Jassa Singh Binod*, folio no. 70, DPHS, PUP; Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-I, p. 50; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 328.

¹⁵ Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-II, p. 472; Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, p. 231.

¹⁶ Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 66; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, pp. 316-17.

death the relations between the *Ahluwalia* and the *Bhangis* came in a flash point, because Bhag Singh helped Mahan Singh *Sukerchakia* when he was besieged at Amritsar by Sahib Singh *Bhangi*, Karam Singh *Dullu* and Tara Singh Chainpuria, who were made assistance to Jai Singh *Kanahiya* against Charat Singh.¹⁷ Bhag Singh then entered into a quarrel with Gulab Singh *Bhangi* who owned Amritsar and the neighboring areas and whose soldiers had put to death an *Ahluwalia* agent at Chaubal. With a view of taking revenge for the death of his agent, Bhag Singh *Ahluwalia* occupied Jandiala and Tarn Taran but made no effort to retain these acquisitions and returned to Kapurthala.¹⁸

In 1801 Bhag Singh died and was succeeded by his only son Fateh Singh. One of his first acts was to form an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Ranjit Singh, who was, then gaining power in the Punjab. Then the young *Ahluwalia* Chief Fateh Singh and Ranjit Singh *Sukerchakia* exchanged turbans at Fatehbad near Tarn Taran and swore before the *Guru Granth Sahib* to become each other's brothers.¹⁹

This act made it clear that the enemy of Ranjit Singh would be the enemy of Fateh Singh *Ahluwalia* and that the *Bhangis* were the bitter enemies of Ranjit Singh and that of *Ahluwalias*. So Fateh Singh *Ahluwalia* helped Ranjit Singh in many of his expeditions. One of his first actions was against the *Bhangi* confederacy at Bhasin in 1800, when they were entered into conflict with Ranjit Singh. Soon after the battle of Bhasin, Sahib Singh *Bhangi* of Gujrat and Nizam-

¹⁷ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 26-27; Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, p. 45.

¹⁸ Ghulam Muhayy-ud-Din, Bute Shah *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, (NP), 1848, MS., Part-II & III, (Translated into Punjabi by Janak Singh), preserved in the library of the DPHS, PUP, Accession No. 26, folio no. 12; Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio nos. 350-51, DPHS, PUP; Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-II, p. 473.

¹⁹ Fakir Syed Waheedudin, *The Real Ranjit Singh*, (NP, ND), reprint Punjabi University, Patiala, 1981, p. 56; M.L Ahluwalia, *Remembering Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Punjab*, New Delhi, 1999, p. 43.

ud-Din of Kasur, both openly revolted. Ranjit Singh did not himself march against Sahib Singh and he sent an expedition under Fateh Singh *Ahluwalia* against them.²⁰

A little later Ranjit Singh marched towards the village Zamke and seized the village and entered into fight with Sahib Singh *Bhangi*. When Ranjit Singh failed to defeat Sahib Singh *Bhangi*, he called Fateh Singh *Ahluwalia* for assistance. At first Fateh Singh came to the help of Ranjit Singh but later through his mediacy Ranjit Singh cultivated friendly relations with the *Bhangis*.²¹ Fateh Singh *Ahluwalia* also allied with Ranjit Singh against Gurdit Singh *Bhangi* son of Gulab Singh *Bhangi* in an expedition of Amritsar in 1805.²²

In 1808 Fateh Singh *Ahluwalia* accompanied allied with Ranjit Singh in his march towards Sialkot and captured the fort from Jiwan Singh *Bhangi* the *Thenedar* of Sialkot.²³ In 1810, Fateh Singh *Gujrati* son of Gujjar Singh *Bhangi* on the death of his brother Sahib Singh *Bhangi* and resumption of the *Jagir* went to Kapurthala, where he remained in the service of the *Ahluwalia Sardar* Fateh Singh.²⁴

Relations with *Dallewal Misal*: Gulab Singh was the founder of the *Misal Dallewal*, a Khatri of village Dallewal, near Dera Baba Nanak.²⁵ During Nadir Shah's invasion in 1739, *Bhangis* and the *Dallewalias* jointly fought against Nadir

²⁰ Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 351, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 59-60; Bikramjit Hasrat, *Life and time of Ranjit Singh*, Hoshiarpur, 1977, p. 43.

²¹ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 60-61.

²² Ali-ud-Din Mufti, folio no. 352, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh- Daftar-II*, pp. 65-66; Bhagat Singh, *History of the Sikh Misals*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1993, p. 101.

²³ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, p. 79

²⁴ Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs, Vol-I & II*, Lahore, 1890, reprint Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p. 345; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab* p. 306.

²⁵ Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Amritsar, (ND), part-II, reprint Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, pp. 250 -51; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 321.

Shah.²⁶ At the formation of *Dal Khalsa* in 1748, Gulab Singh was declared the head of the *Dallewal Misal* and Gurdial Singh and Tara Singh *Ghaiba* as his deputies.²⁷ In 1755 Hari Singh *Bhangi* and Tara Singh *Ghaiba* joined in the expedition of Jaipur, the state of Rana Madho Singh.²⁸ Tara Singh also formed alliance with *Bhangi Sardars* Hari Singh, Jhanda Singh, Lehna Singh and Gujjar Singh *Bhangi* and other Sikhs leaders for the help of Adina Beg Khan and the Marathas in the expedition of Lahore and captured Sirhind in 1758.²⁹

According to Ali-ud-Din Mufti, Tara Singh also collaborated with the Hari Singh and Jhanda Singh *Bhangi* in their expedition into Kasur and obtained cash and jewelry worth four lakhs rupees.³⁰

It is believed that Tara Singh *Ghaiba* actively participated in most of the Sikh incursions in the Ganga Doab, Rohilakhand and Delhi in the company of Rai Singh *Bhangi* of Buria.³¹ The combined forces crossed the river Jamuna on April 22, 1775 near Kunjpura. They easily occupied the territories of Lakhauti, Gangoh, Ambeta, Nanautah and Deoband and fell upon the territory of Zabita Khan. They also seized Barah Sadat village, Shanli, Karianah, Kandhla and Mirth. They further advanced towards Khurja, while returning they sized Paharganj and Jaisinghpura at Delhi on July 15, 1775. They crossed the river Jamuna and return to home on July 24, 1775.³²

²⁶ Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Part-II, pp. 250 -51.

²⁷ Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, part-II, p. 252; Bhagat Singh, *History of the Sikh Misals*, p. 226.

²⁸ Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 357, DPHS, PUP; Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parakash*, pp. 351-52.

²⁹ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 81, DPHS, PUP; Bakhat Mal, *Khalsa Namah*, folio no. 37, DPHS, PUP; Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, p. 355.

³⁰ Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 358, DPHS, PUP.

³¹ J D Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, p. 105; Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, p. 55.

³² J D Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, p. 105; Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, p. 55.

Tara Singh *Ghaiba* also allied with the *Bhangi Sardars* Lehna Singh *Bhangi* of Lahore and Gujjar Singh and Jodh Singh Wazirabadia when they came to the aid of *Raja Amar Singh* of Patiala against Baghel Singh *Karorsinghia* and Delhi Nawab Abdul Ahad.³³

The friendship between the *Bhangis* and *Dallewalias* came close to a break down in 1792-93, when Jaimal Singh, son of Haqiqat Singh *Kanahiya*, was imprisoned by Fateh Singh, son of Mehtab Singh *Kanahiya* and supported by Gulab Singh *Bhangi* of Amritsar. Tara Singh came to the aid of Jaimal Singh *Kanahiya* against the *Bhangis* allies.³⁴

Relations with *Ramgarhia Misal*: This *Misal* took its name from Ram Rauni or 'Fortalice of God, at Amritsar. It was converted into *Ramgarh*, or 'fort of the Lord,' by Jassa Singh the celebrated *Thoka*, or carpenter native of Ichhogill. However, the founder of the *Misal* was Khushal Singh, a *Jat* of *Mouza Guga*, in Amritsar district. According to Rattan Singh *Bhangu*, in 1752, when the Sikhs fought on the side of Mir Mannu against Ahmed Shah Abdali, Hari Singh *Bhangi* accidentally killed Khushal Singh *Ramgarhia* as the incident disputes between the *Sardars* had not completely died out. This brought him the wrath of the main body of the *Khalsa*. A major dispute arose as other Sikh *Sardars* resented this outrageous act and started pillaging the *Bhangi's* camp. In these circumstances, Hari Singh *Bhangi* left the camp with his followers and returned to their original camp at Amritsar.³⁵ After his death Nodh Singh succeeded the Chiefship of the *Misal*. On Nodh Singh's death the most daring man in this *Misal* was Jassa Singh son of Bhagwan Singh took the possession of the *Misal* and subsequently became

³³ Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-I, p. 49; Bhagat Singh, *History of the Sikh Misals*, pp. 274-75.

³⁴ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 139, DPHS, PUP; Bute Shah, *Twarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio nos. 49-50, DPHS, PUP; Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio nos. 110-11, DPHS, PUP.

³⁵ Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 339; Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, pp. 332-34 ; Giani Gian Singh *Twarikh Guru Khalsa*, Part-II, p. 233.

very famous among the Sikhs as a brave and intrepid warrior.³⁶ Some times Jassa Singh fought on the side of Adina Beg Khan against Ahmed Shah Abdali. In 1758 Ahmed Shah Abdali, appointed Timur Shah as the Governor of Lahore and Adina Beg Khan formed an alliance with the Sikhs and the Marathas, in which Jassa Singh joined with the *Bhangi Sardars* like Hari Singh, Jhanda Singh, Lehna Singh and Gujjar Singh and with the other Sikhs in their war against the Timur Shah.³⁷

The rising power of the *Bhangis* could not remain unchallenged even from their best friends. Jassa Singh *Ramgarhia* had very friendly and cordial relations with the *Bhangis*.³⁸ They had jointly led many expeditions against their common enemies; such as, against Zain Khan of Sirhind in 1762 and against Jahan Khan, in 1763 and Ahmed Shah Abdali when he was on his way back to Afghanistan in 1764.³⁹ They had also jointly attacked Kasur. Their relations remained smooth and unruffled till 1763. It is said that during their joint attack of Kasur they got huge amount of booty. Mali Singh, brother of Jassa Singh, was alleged to have concealed a valuable part of the booty.⁴⁰

There was a profundity in their relations, when Jassa Singh helped Ganda Singh *Bhangi*, in the battle of Dinanagar in 1774, against Tara Singh and Jai Singh *Kanahiya*.⁴¹ According to Bute Shah, Jassa Singh instigates Ganda Singh against the *Kanahiyas*.⁴²

³⁶ Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio nos. 339-40; Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, Vol-I, p.355.

³⁷ Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, pp. 306-7; Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, pp. 342-55.

³⁸ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no. 11, DPHS, PUP.

³⁹ Qazi Nur Muhammad, *Jang Nama*, (NP),1765, (Edited by Ganda Singh), Amritsar, 1939, pp. 48-50; Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio nos. 255-56, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, p. 12; Ram Sukh Rao, *Jassa Singh Binod*, folio no.33, DPHS, PUP.

⁴⁰ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no. 13, DPHS, PUP.

⁴¹ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no.119, DPHS, PUP; Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, pp. 39-40.

⁴² Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no.14, DPHS, PUP.

Jassa Singh had conquered the hill states, Riarki and Doaba till 1774; with his conquest his power reached its zenith. Consequently many Sikh *Sardars* became jealous of his increasing power especially *Ahluwalias*, *Kanahiyas* and *Sukerchakias* who decided to throw out Jassa Singh from Punjab and they invited the *Bhangis*. Now their friendship was converted to hostility because Desa Singh *Bhangi* and Nar Singh Chamariwala, helped Jai Singh *Kanahiya* and Jassa Singh *Ahluwalia*, to expel Jassa Singh *Ramgarhia* from Punjab and Jassa Singh *Ahluwalia* took all his possessions.⁴³ Jassa Singh fled to Hansi and Hisar where he was challenged by Rai Singh and Sher Singh *Bhangi* of Buria and their allies Gurdit Singh Ladwa, Baghel Singh and Gurbakahsh Singh. But later they maintained a friendly relation with Jassa Singh *Ramgarhia*.⁴⁴

After the occupation of Lahore in July 1799, by Ranjit Singh, many of the Sikh Chiefs joined hands to restrain Ranjit Singh from his policy of territorial aggrandizement, some of them like Gulab Singh *Bhangi*, Sahib Singh and Nizam-ud-Din Khan, who formed an alliance against him and met him at Bhasin in 1800; Jassa Singh *Ramgarhia* also joined with them. Jassa Singh *Ramgarhia* continued having friendly relations with the *Bhangis* till his death.⁴⁵

Jassa Singh *Ramgarhia* died on 1803 and after his death he was succeeded by his son Jodh Singh.⁴⁶ After his father's death Jodh Singh was very friendly to

⁴³ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio nos. 107-8, DPHS, PUP; J D Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, p. 104; According to Ali-ud-Din Mufti, Jai Singh sent a letter to Gulab Singh *Bhangi* for help against Jassa Singh *Ramgarhia*. Ali-ud-din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio nos.340-42, DPHS, PUP.

⁴⁴ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no. 59, DPHS, PUP. According to Khushwaqat Rai, Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh *Bhangi* also helped the other Singh *Sardars* during this action against Jassa Singh *Ramgarhia*. Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio nos. 107-8, DPHS, PUP. This may be not feasible because Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh died before this action.

⁴⁵ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no. 62, DPHS, PUP; Diwan Amar Nath, *Zaffar-nama-i-Ranjit Singh*, Lahore, 1837, (Translated into Punjabi by Dr. Kirpal Singh), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1983, p. 10.

⁴⁶ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no. 63, DPHS, PUP; Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, Vol-I, p. 359.

the *Bhangis*. In 1805 when *Maharaja* Ranjit Singh with Fateh Singh *Ahluwalia* and Sada Kaur besieged the city of Amritsar and fell upon Gurdit Singh *Bhangi* and Mai Sukhan (widow of Gulab Singh *Bhangi*). At that time Jodh Singh *Ramgarhia* sent a secret reinforcement of three hundred soldiers to Mai Sukhan. At the same time he advised her either to hand over the bone of contention- the *Zamzama* gun, to Ranjit Singh or destroy the gun. She did not heed the suggestions. When the opposing forces were at the point of severely clashing, Jodh Singh with *Akali* Phulla Singh intervened and persuaded Sukhan to surrender.⁴⁷ After losing the city of Amritsar, Mai Sukhan and Gurdit Singh accepted the hospitality of Jodh Singh *Ramgarhia* and stayed with him for some time. Later on the recommendation of Jodh Singh, Ranjit Singh granted a *Jagir* in the areas of Panjwar village for their assistance.⁴⁸

Relations with *Faizullapuria (Singhpuria) Misal:* Kapur Singh a *Virk Jat* of village Faizullapur near Amritsar was the famous leader of the *Faizullapuria Misal*.⁴⁹ In 1733, when Zakariya Khan Governor of Lahore failed to suppress the Sikhs, he won them over by offering them *Jagirs* and title of *Nawab*, which was confirmed on *Sardar* Kapur Singh. All the Sikh *Sardars* paid utmost regards to *Nawab* Kapur Singh and considered him their leader. So, the entire Sikh *Jatha* work together under the supreme commandership of *Nawab* Kapur Singh and *Bhangi Misal* was also one of them.⁵⁰

Sardar Kapur Singh died in 1753, after his death his nephew Khushal Singh succeeded him.⁵¹ According to Ahmed Shah Batalvi, Khushal Singh was the associate of Hari Singh *Bhangi* and participate with Hari Singh *Bhangi* in all his

⁴⁷ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio nos. 17-18, DPHS, PUP; Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, Vol-I, pp. 336-37.

⁴⁸ Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 154; Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, Vol-I, p. 337.

⁴⁹ . Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 45; Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 100.

⁵⁰ Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, part-II, p. 268; Teja Singh, Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, Bombay, 1950, reprint Punjabi University, Patiala, 2006, p. 121.

⁵¹ Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 45; Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 100.

activities against Ahmed Shah Abdali.⁵² The relations between *Bhangis* and *Faizullapurias*, after the death of *Nawab* Kapur Singh remained very cordial and friendly. Khushal Singh was very close to Rai Singh *Bhangi*, so in 1784, when *Raja* Amar Singh of Patiala formed an alliance with Jai Singh *Kanahiya* and marched against Rai Singh *Bhangi* (who had captured four forts of Amar Singh of Patiala), Khushal Singh came for the aid of Rai Singh *Bhangi*.⁵³ Soon they seized the town of Banur. But soon afterwards *Raja* Amar Singh defeated them with help of Dhar Rao Maratha and recovered the forts from Rai Singh *Bhangi*.⁵⁴

A little later *Diwan* Nanu Mal of Patiala was instigated by Hari Singh of Sialba to launch an attack upon Khushal Singh *Faizullapurias*, who had taken Awankot and other villages of the Sialba territory. They first attacked Kotla (a small fort under Mann Singh son-in-law of *Singhpurias*) further they besieged Awankot but Budh Singh son of Khushal Singh *Faizullapurias*, at that time combined with Rai Singh *Bhangi* of Jagadhari and Tara Singh *Ghaiba*, compelled the raising of the siege. The Patiala army could not succeed in their attempt to get Awankot released from them.⁵⁵

In 1795, Khushal Singh died and his son Budh Singh succeeded him. After his death his son Budh Singh continued to have friendly relations with the *Bhangis*. To consolidate the position of the *Misal* Budh Singh also married his sister to Lehna Singh *Bhangi* of Lahore.⁵⁶ According to Bute Shah, Khushal Singh during his life time married his daughter to Man Singh *Bhangi* son of Rai Singh *Bhangi*,

⁵² Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 45.

⁵³ J D Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, p. 109; Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, p. 78.

⁵⁴ Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 323.

⁵⁵ Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-I, pp. 59-60; Bhagat Singh, *History of the Sikh Misals*, pp. 145-46.

⁵⁶ Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, pp. 45-46; Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 100, DPHS, PUP.

who ruled over a part of Multan. He also gifted him the villages of Kakanwali, Kotla and Nasut around the Jullundur district in dowry.⁵⁷

Relations with *Karorsinghia Misal*: Karora Singh, a *Virk Jat* native of village Barki in Lahore district was the famous leader of the *Karorsinghia Misal*. He maintained gracious relations with the *Bhangis* in the face of internal strife and Afghan invasions.⁵⁸

When the Sikhs were surrounded by Lakhpat Rai in the forest of Khanuwan, in June 1746 Karora Singh collaborated with the Sikhs including the *Bhangi Sardars* Chajja Singh, Bhima Singh and Hari Singh to meet with Lakhpat Rai in the battle field.⁵⁹ According to J D Cunningham, in 1770 Rai Singh *Bhangi* of Buria and Baghel Singh *Karorsinghia* made an alliance to harass Najib-ud-Daula.⁶⁰

In 1775 *Bhangis* and *Karorsinghias* took hostile postures and there were occasional confrontations between the two. Baghel Singh son of Karora Singh acquired village Zahura on the river Beas, he also captured the three *Parganas* of Tarn Taran, Sabroon and Sirhali from Gulab Singh *Bhangi*.⁶¹ According to Khushwaqat Rai, Gulab Singh *Bhangi* could not face Baghel Singh in the field, so he engaged a Brahman to get Baghel Singh killed through magic and sorcery but the experiment proved ineffective.⁶² However, Baghel Singh joined *Bhangi Sardar* Rai Singh of Jagadhari, in 1775 in the expeditions of Lakhauti, Gangoh, Ambeta,

⁵⁷ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no. 29, DPHS, PUP.

⁵⁸ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no. 15, DPHS, PUP; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Part-II, p. 255.

⁵⁹ Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, pp. 310-13; Teja Singh, Ganda Singh *A Short History of the Sikhs*, p. 125.

⁶⁰ J D Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, p.103.

⁶¹ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio nos. 101-102, DPHS, PUP; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, part-II, p. 259; Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, p. 84.

⁶² Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 102, DPHS, PUP.

Nanautah and Deoband.⁶³ But he did not made good terms with other *Bhangi Sardars*: Lehna Singh, Gujjar Singh and Jodh Singh of Wazirabad who had joined the *Phullkian* Chief Amar Singh, in 1779 against Baghel Singh *Karorsinghia* and Delhi *Nawab* Majad-ud- Abdul Ahad.⁶⁴

On September 1780, Bhag Singh Buria brother of Rai Singh *Bhangi* along with Bhanga Singh of Thanesar and Sahib Singh Khondah joined Diwan Singh Lang of Sikandera against Baghel Singh *Karorsinghia*, who had seized the town of Sikandera.⁶⁵ But in January, 1785 Beghel Singh *Karorsinghia* and Rai Singh *Bhangi* joined with the other Sikh leaders and entered the Ganga Doab and fell upon the territory of Zabita Kahn of Ghausgarh.⁶⁶

But the opposition was soon resumed in, 1792-93 Baghel Singh helped *Rani* Sahib Kaur wife of Jaimal Singh *Kanahiya* (Jaimal Singh *Kanahiya* was held captive at Amritsar by Fateh Singh *Kanahiya* with the support of his son-in-law Gulab Singh *Bhangi* of Amritsar), against Fateh Singh *Kanahiya* and Gulab Singh *Bhangi*.⁶⁷ Baghel Singh raised a serious objection to the arrest of Jaimal Singh and demanded his immediate release. Then Baghel Singh asked them to send Jaimal Singh to their side and whatever the price for his release would be paid by him. Gulab Singh *Bhangi* and Fateh Singh did not accept the offer. However, little later Jaimal Singh was released without any ransom.⁶⁸

⁶³ Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 323; Bhagat Singh, *History of the Sikh Misals*, p. 274.

⁶⁴ Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-I, p. 49; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, pp. 323-24.

⁶⁵ Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, p. 86.

⁶⁶ Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, p. 117; Bhagat Singh, *History of the Sikh Misals*, p. 281.

⁶⁷ Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 310, DPHS, PUP; Bhagat Singh, *History of the Sikh Misals*, p. 165.

⁶⁸ Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio nos. 310-11, DPHS, PUP; Bhagat Singh, *History of the Sikh Misals*, pp. 165-66 & 284.

Relations with Phullkian Misal: Ala Singh the founder of Patiala state was brave leader of *Phullkian Misal*.⁶⁹ Remarkably among the *Phullkian* Chiefs Ala Singh of Patiala who was very diplomatic in his dealings. Patiala and Jind always submitted to Delhi, Qandhar and Kabul, as well as to the *Dal Khalsa*.⁷⁰

According to Qazi Nur Muhammad, who accompanied Ahmed Shah Abdali's expedition of 1764-65, writes about Ala Singh "He is a *Hakim* (ruler), a *Zabit* (Governor) and a *Amin* (commissioner), no body else is so resourceful in the countries as the Punjab, Lahore and Sirhind as he is. He serves the Shah in his absence as well as in his presence and carries out his orders with wisdom and dignity."⁷¹ In March 1765, Ala Singh accepted the authority of Ahmed Shah Abdali.⁷² But *Dal Khalsa* was enraged at Ala Singh's submission to the enemy of their faith. At that time Hari Singh *Bhangi* persuaded the *Dal Khalsa* to penalize Ala Singh and marched upon his capital. At this time Jassa Singh *Ahluwalia* patron of Ala Singh, said that Ala Singh is a Sikh of the *Guru* and no action should be taken against him. But the *Taruna Dal* was opposed to the policy of reconciliation and under its leading leader Hari Singh *Bhangi* was fuming and marched upon Patiala against Ala Singh. Hari Singh *Bhangi* delivered the attack and a battle was fought between *Taruna Dal* and Ala Singh of Patiala at village Lang-Challian near Patiala. In action Hari Singh *Bhangi* was killed.⁷³ The next leader of the *Taruna Dal* was Jassa Singh *Ramgarhia*. He was on friendly terms with Ala Singh. Thus

⁶⁹ Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 102; Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-I, p. 13; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 326.

⁷⁰ Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, pp. 153-, 207.

⁷¹ Qazi Nur Muhammad, *Jang Nama*, pp. 45-46.

⁷² Qazi Nur Muhammad, *Jang Nama*, p. 46; Karam Singh, *Jiwan Birtant Maharaja Ala Singh*, Tarn Taran, 1918, pp. 212-13.

⁷³ Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-I, p. 25, Khushwaqat Rai, says that Hari Singh *Bhangi* was poisoned to death by Ala Singh, which may be incorrect, because Bute Shah, says that Hari Singh, killed by gun shot. Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 110, DPHS, PUP; Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, Vol-II, folio no. 11, DPHS, PUP. Giani Gian Singh Says that Hari Singh *Bhangi*, helped Raja Amar Singh of Patiala, to occupy Bhatia near Hisar and was killed in the battle field. Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Part-II, p. 227.

the entire *Dal Khalsa* turned in favor of Ala Singh of Patiala and retired from Patiala.⁷⁴

Shortly afterwards the battle Ala Singh passed away on 22 August, 1765. After his death Ala Singh was succeeded by his son *Raja Amar Singh*.⁷⁵ The new ruler Amar Singh maintained gracious relations with *Bhangis* particularly with Rai Singh *Bhangi* of Jagadhari and his brother Sher Singh of Buria, who jointly fought against the allies of Hari Singh the ruler of Sialba, Jassa Singh *Ramgarhia*, Gurdit Singh and Diwan Singh Ladwa, Karam Singh of Shahzadpur and Gurbakahsh of Ambala in 1778-79.⁷⁶

In 1779, Desa Singh *Bhangi* of Amritsar, Lehna Singh *Bhangi* of Lahore, Gujjar Singh *Bhangi* of Gujrat, Jodh Singh *Bhangi* of Wazirabad, Dal Singh and many other Sikhs went to Patiala for the assistance of *Raja Amar Singh* against the combined forces of Baghel Singh *Karorsinghia*, Delhi *Nawab* Majad-ud-Doulah Abdul Ahad, Sahib Singh Khundawala and Karam Singh Shahid.⁷⁷ When *Nawab* got the news about the march of the Sikhs, he was frightened and he thought of immediate retreat. At this time Baghel Singh told him that the Sikhs would not allow him safe retreat unless they were given money. Baghel Singh *Karorsinghia* retained the loin's share of the three Lakhs of rupees which he had extracted from Desu Singh of Kaithal. He gave a part of that money to the Sikh Chiefs, who retired to their places and the *Nawab* retreated to Delhi.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Karam Singh, *Jiwan Birtant of Maharaja Ala Singh*, pp. 212-13; Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, pp. 35, 153, 207.

⁷⁵ Bute Shah, *Twarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no. 18, DPHS, PUP; Karam Singh, *Jiwan Birtant of Maharaja Ala Singh*, p. 249.

⁷⁶ Bute Shah, *Twarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio nos. 185-88, DPHS, PUP; Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-I, p. 26.

⁷⁷ Bute Shah, *Twarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no. 188, DPHS, PUP; Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-I, pp. 47-49.

⁷⁸ Bute Shah, *Twarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio nos. 188-89, DPHS, PUP; Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-I, p. 49.

Raja Amar Singh died on February 5, 1781 and he was succeeded by his son Sahib Singh.⁷⁹ During his life time, to cultivate a friendly relation with the *Bhangis* he engaged his son Sahib Singh to Rattan Kaur the daughter of Ganda Singh *Bhangi* through Jassa Singh *Ahluwalia*. Jassa Singh *Ahluwalia* and Rani Hukman wife of Amar Singh suggested an early marriage. The marriage was fixed in 1782, one year after Amar Singh's death. Nanu Mal made elaborate arrangements. The marriage party contained Bhag Singh of Jind, Hamir Singh of Nabha, Desu Singh of Kaithal, *Nawab* Ataullah of Malerkotla and Rai Ahmed of Jagron. Jassa Singh *Ahluwalia* joined the marriage party at Kapurthala. He bore the entire expense of the *Braat* from Kapurthala to Tarn Taran. The marriage ceremony was performed at village Panjwar.⁸⁰

In 1785, a quarrel arose between *Raja* Sahib Singh and his *Bakhshi* over the question of roll-call of troops. The *Bakashi* slapped Sahib Singh who was then ten year old. He went weeping to his mother. The Rani put the *Bakhshi* under arrest. This resulted the *Bakhshi's* relatives held four large forts as avenger of the *Bakhshi's* insult, which they handed over to Rai Singh *Bhangi* of Jagadhari and Baghel Singh *Karorsinghia*.⁸¹

Around the 1788, *Diwan* Nanu Mal of Patiala induced by Hari Singh Sialbah makes attack upon Khushal Singh *Singhpuria* (who had taken Awankot and other villages of the Sialbah country) and reduced Kotlah a small fort held by Mann Singh son-in-law of Khushal Singh *Singhpuria*. At that time Rai Singh

⁷⁹ Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-I, p. 50; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 328.

⁸⁰ Ram Sukh Rao, *Jassa Singh Binod*, folio no. 70, DPHS, PUP; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 328. According to Lepel Griffin, the marriage was performed in 1787. Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-I, p. 58.

⁸¹ Bute Shah, *Twarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio nos. 196-97, DPHS, PUP; Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, p. 171.

Bhangi of Jagadhari came for the help of Budh Singh son of Khushal Singh *Singhpuria* against *Diwan* Nanu Mal of Patiala.⁸²

Eventually there was peace between Rai Singh *Bhangi* and *Raja* Sahib Singh of Patiala. In April 1796, a great *Kumbh* fair took place at Hardwar. The pilgrims convened there from all parts of India. The *Gosains* managed the affairs at the fair. Those strictly religious-minded among them were clad in sunshine and were called *Nangas*. Soon Rai Singh *Bhangi* and Sher Singh *Bhangi* joined with *Raja* Sahib Singh of Patiala and their forces numbering about 14,000 arrived at the fair. They were accompanied by a large number of *Udasi Faqirs*, followers of *Guru* Nanak son Sri Chand. The Sikhs encamped at Jawalapur. The *Udasis* came to Hardwar and selected a site for their camp on the bank of the Ganga without the permission of *Gosain Mahant*. The *Gosains* felt offended for not having been consulted about the choice of the site. They insultingly drove away the *Udasis*, plundering the whole camp. At this time the chief leader of *Udasis* priest hurried to the Sikhs camp at Jawalapur and complained to the Sikhs. Soon the entire contingents Sikhs moved towards Hardwar to chastise the *Gosains* and near about five hundred *Sadhus* were cut to pieces. A large number of them drowned in the attempt of crossing the river.⁸³

Relations with Nabha State: *Raja* Hamir Singh of Nabha State died in 1783 and was succeeded by his eight year old son Jaswant Singh. In preference to Jaswant Singh's mother, his step mother *Rani* Deso, became regent of the kingdom. She was a brave lady but due to weak position of the Nabha State she could not handle the state affairs effectively both in peace and war. So in order to maintain the state firmly, she struck a matrimonial alliance with the *Bhangis* and married her daughter named Subha Kaur to Sahib Singh *Bhangi* of Gujrat son of Gujjar Singh *Bhangi*.⁸⁴

⁸² Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-I, pp. 59-60.

⁸³ Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, p. 175.

⁸⁴ Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 105; Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-II, p. 381; Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, pp. 185-86.

When *Raja Gajpat Singh* of Jind captured some territory of Nabha State Sahib Singh *Bhangi* of Gujrat came for the aid of his mother-in-law *Rani Deso*. Soon she recover most of the territory with the aid of troops lent by her son-in-law Sahib Singh *Bhangi* which had been seized by *Raja Gajpat Singh*.⁸⁵

Relations with *Kanahiya Misal*: The founder of the *Kanahiya Misal* was Amar Singh Kingra who regularly carried out activities against the Mughal Government. Soon Jai Singh, a *Sandhu Jat* settled about fifty miles south of Lahore joined the *Jatha* of Amar Singh Kingra. After his death Jai Singh was nominated the head of the *Kanahiya Misal*.⁸⁶

The relations between the *Bhangis* and the *Kanahiyas* remained very cordial and friendly. In their early days they jointly fought against internal enemies, Mughals and the foreign invaders. In 1761, *Bhangi Sardars* Hari Singh, Jhanda Singh, Gujjar Singh and Lehna Singh, allied with Jai Singh and Sobha Singh *Kanahiya* and with other Sikhs marched upon Gujranwala to assist Charat Singh *Sukerchakia* against Khawaja Obed Khan of Lahore.⁸⁷ Jai Singh and Haqiqat Singh *Kanahiya* also supported the *Bhangi Sardar* Hari Singh and Jhanda Singh in an attack on Kasur, in 1763.⁸⁸ According to Ahmed Shah Batalvi, “Jai Singh obtained the booty included cash, gold and silver utensils, various kinds of pearls and precious clothes, very costly silk and *Pashmina* clothes.”⁸⁹

Hari Singh *Bhangi* and Jai Singh *Kanahiya* were very friendly to each other and had jointly under taken armed operations against the Mughals and Afghans. But after the sack of Kasur, Jai Singh quarreled with Hari Singh *Bhangi* and they clashed at Emenabad. At last the fight between them came to ended without a

⁸⁵ Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Vol-II, p. 382.

⁸⁶ Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 53; Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no 32, DPHS PUP; Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 79.

⁸⁷ Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 309; Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, p. 256.

⁸⁸ Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 53; Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, Vol-I, p. 158.

⁸⁹ Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 53.

decisive victory for any of them.⁹⁰ But in 1764, Jai Singh *Kanahiya* again cooperated with *Bhangi Sardars* Hari Singh, Gujjar Singh, Gulab Singh and Ram Das (belonging to *Bhangi Misal*), to resist the advancing of the Durrani generals Shah Wali Khan, Jahan Khan and Nasir Khan who reached Ropar to chastise the Sikhs..⁹¹

According to Kanahiya Lal, Sobha Singh nephew of Jai Singh Kanahiya took a *Pahul* from the hands of Jhanda Singh *Bhangi* and served under him.⁹² In 1765, Sobha Singh *Kanahiya* consistently worked in collaboration with Gujjar Singh and Lehna Singh *Bhangi* to occupy the city of Lahore. After conquering the city Sobha Singh received the southern part of Lahore as far as Niazbeg, 13 kilometers from the city on the bank of river Ravi, including Monzang, Kot Abdullah Shah, Ichhra and Chauburji. The garden of Zebinda Begam, which he turned into a fort known as Nawankot was his stronghold. He took up the whole administration of Lahore with Lehna Singh and Gujjar Singh.⁹³

According to Ali-ud-Din Mufti, in Hizri, 1194 (1769 AD), a lady named Sarson belonging to the *Bhangi* family complained to Sobha Singh against the *Zamindars* of Ichhra, who had refused to pay the tribute to her. In these circumstances Sobha Singh in preference to providing help to her, captured Ichhra.⁹⁴ Six months after this Karam Singh *Dullu* joined with Gujjar Singh *Bhangi*, Bhag Singh Hallowal and Tara Singh Chainpuria and marched against Sobha Singh to get Ichhra. On the other side Jai Singh *Kanahiya* came for the aid

⁹⁰ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no 34, DPHS, PUP; Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, Vol-I, p. 158; Bhagat Singh, *History of the Sikh Misals*, p. 152.

⁹¹ Qazi Nur Muhammad, *Jang Nama*, pp. 50-55; Teja Singh, Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, pp. 175-76.

⁹² Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 135.

⁹³ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 125, DPHS, PUP; Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio nos.261-62, DPHS, PUP; Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, pp. 134-35.

⁹⁴ Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 326, DPHS, PUP.

of Sobha Singh *Kanahiya*. Karam Singh asked Sobha Singh to hand over Ichhra, but Sobha Singh replied that he had taken a *Pahul* from the hands of Jhanda Singh *Bhangi*, so he had the right to hold the Ichhra.⁹⁵

In 1771 Jai Singh and Haqaqit Singh *Kanahiyas* joined with *Bhangi Sardars* Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh in their Kasur expedition and obtained lot of cash and jewelry.⁹⁶

According to Bute Shah, during the expedition of Kasur, Jai Singh got a smaller share of the booty than the *Bhangis* that was the reason that Jai Singh disliked the *Bhangis*. The relations between the *Bhangis* and *Kanahiyas* come to an end on the question of Jammu in 1774, when they fought on opposite side. Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh *Bhangi* fought in favor of *Raja* Ranjit Deo of Jammu and Jai Singh *Kanahiya* along with Charat Singh *Sukerchakia* fought in favor of Brij Raj Deo son of Ranjit Deo. In the action Charat Singh *Sukerchakia* was killed.⁹⁷

The death of Charat Singh gave an advantage to the *Bhangis*. Jai Singh then determined to assassinate Jhanda Singh. He heavily bribed a *Mazabi* Sikh, who shot him dead as he was riding, attended by three horsemen, through the camp.⁹⁸ So the death of Jhanda Singh ended the struggle. The rival forces retired from Jammu which became a tributary, paying one lakhs and twenty five thousand rupees annually to Haqiqat Singh *Kanahiya*.⁹⁹

The hostilities between the *Bhangis* and *Kanahiyas* were renewed yet again in 1774, over the issue of Pathankot. Jhanda Singh *Bhangi* had bestowed Pathankot on one of his *Misaldars*, named Nanad Singh, also known as Mansa Singh, whose

⁹⁵ Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio nos. 326-27, DPHS, PUP.

⁹⁶ Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 55; Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no 35, DPHS, PUP.

⁹⁷ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no 36, DPHS, PUP.

⁹⁸ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikahn*, folio nos. 118 & 125, DPHS, PUP; Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 56; Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, Vol-I, p. 159.

⁹⁹ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, par-II, folio no. 37, DPHS, PUP; Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 272, DPHS, PUP.

widow Mai Jashon married her daughter to Tara Singh *Kanahiya* a near relation of Haqiqat Singh *Kanahiya* and gave the *Jagir* of Pathankot to her son-in-law. Ganda Singh *Bhangi* insisted that Tara Singh should give up the *Jagir* but he refused. There was a skirmish between the *Bhangis* and *Kanahiyas* at Dinanagar, but soon the *Bhangis* withdrew from the battlefield due to the bad health of Ganda Singh. Soon after this Ganda Singh died, so the death of powerful *Bhangi* Chief further strengthened the position of *Kanahiya*'s.¹⁰⁰

A little later after the clash of Dinanagar, Jai Singh *Kanahiya* joined the *Bhangis* and *Ahluwalias* to expelling Jassa Singh *Ramgarhia* from the Punjab.¹⁰¹

The opposition between the two came to an end in 1781, when Brij Raj Deo son of Ranjit Deo (who succeeded the throne of Jammu after his father's death), invited Haqiqat Singh *Kanahiya* and Mahan Singh *Sukerchakia* to help in getting released the *Taluqa* of Karianwala, town of Jalalpur and Islamgarh from Gujjar Singh *Bhangi*.¹⁰² In the heart of their hearts the *Kanahiya Sardars* did not like the proposal as the *Bhangis* were their friends and Jai Singh had newly married the daughter of Bhag Singh Hallowalia a *Bhangi Sardar*. Mahan Singh came to assist Brij Raj Deo to capture Karianwala. Haqiqat Singh did not join the beginning but at last he was compelled to join the alliance. But he had his sympathies with Gujjar Singh who was assisted by Karam Singh *Dullu*, Bhag Singh Hallowalia, Tara Singh Chainpuria and Jiwan Singh Sialkot and did not put his heart in the fighting on the side of Brij Raj Deo.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 56; Bute Shah writes that the widow of Mansa Singh herself married to Tara Singh, a relative of Haqiqat Singh *Kanahiya*, this may be wrong. In fact, she had married her daughter to Tara Singh. Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no. 37, DPHS, PUP.

¹⁰¹ Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, Vol-I, p. 160.

¹⁰² Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no. 39, DPHS, PUP; Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 303, DPHS, PUP.

¹⁰³ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio nos. 39-40, DPHS, PUP; Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, Vol-I, p. 160.

But later Haqiqat Singh *Kanahiya* helped Gujjar Singh *Bhangi*, to re-occupy the *Taluqa* of Karianwala from Brij Raj Deo of Jammu. They at first besieged Shakargarh. In desperation Brij Raj Deo appealed Mahan Singh for help. Mahan Singh hurriedly responded to the call and attacked the *Dera* of Haqiqat Singh *Kanahiya* who was willingly helped by Gujjar Singh *Bhangi*, Karam Singh *Dullu* and others. Soon Mahan Singh and Brij Raj Deo were beaten back and the siege of Shakargarh continued. At last Brij Raj Deo died in the battle field and Gujjar Singh captured the *Taluqa* of Karianwala.¹⁰⁴

In 1784, Haqiqat Singh *Kanahiya* died of pneumonia at his headquarter Fatehgarh.¹⁰⁵ At that time Gujjar Singh *Bhangi* with many other *Bhangi Sardars* assembled at Fatehgarh to observe commiseration on the death of Haqiqat Singh *Kanahiya*.¹⁰⁶ A little later on the festival of Diwali of 1784, Gulab Singh, Gujjar Singh, Karam Singh *Dullu*, Tara Singh Cahainpuria, Bhag Singh Hallowal, Tara Singh *Ghaiba* and Baghel Singh Karorsingha reached Amritsar, on the invitation of Jai Singh *Kanahiya*. Mahan Singh *Sukerchakia*, accompanied by his force and artillery also arrived at Amritsar.¹⁰⁷ According to Bute Shah, to punish Mahan Singh *Sukerchakia*, Jai Singh invited these *Sardars* at Amritsar.¹⁰⁸ Later they allied together to attacked the possession of *Nakka* territory. The *Nakkai Sardars* Wazir Singh and Bhagwan Singh relatives of Mahan Singh *Sukerchakia*, finding none coming to their assistance, submitted to them.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio nos. 40-42, DPHS, PUP; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, part-II, p. 244; Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, Vol-I, p. 161.

¹⁰⁵ Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 343.

¹⁰⁶ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio nos. 43-44, DPHS, PUP; Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no.310, DPHS, PUP.

¹⁰⁷ Ali-ud-Din Mifti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio nos, 434-35, DPHS, PUP.

¹⁰⁸ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio nos.45- 46, DPHS, PUP.

¹⁰⁹ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio nos.45- 46, DPHS, PUP; Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, Vol-I, p. 161.

Jai Singh died in 1793 at the age of 81. Before his death Jai Singh divided his territories among his wife Raj Kaur (mother of Nidhan Singh and Bhag Singh) and his eldest son Gurbakhsh Singh's widow Sada Kaur. Nidhan Singh and Bhag Singh were too young to handle the state affairs so the real control the *Misal* at that time passed into the hands of Sada Kaur.¹¹⁰ According to Bute Shah, in 1786 Sada Kaur invited Bhag Singh Hallowal, to avenge the death of his husband Gurbakhsh Singh from Jassa Singh *Ramgarhia*.¹¹¹

Haqiqat Singh *Kanahiya* and Mehtab Singh *Kanahiya* were real brothers. Mehtab Singh married his daughter to Tara Singh Chainpuria (a *Bhangi Sardar*). A little later she was going to live in her in-laws house, at that time many *Kanahiya Sardars* assembled at Fatehgarh, in the district of Gurdaspur, to see her off. Haqiqat Singh's son Jaimal Singh also came there to see off his cousin sister. At this time Fateh Singh son of Mehtab Singh *Kanahiya* took Jaimal Singh hostage.¹¹² When Jaimal Singh's wife Sahib Kaur, daughter of Amar Singh of Patiala came to know of the detention of her husband, she at once with large forces marched towards Fatehgarh. In those very days, Fateh Singh had married his daughter to Gulab Singh *Bhangi*. When he heard about the coming of the forces against him and finding himself unable to resist, Fateh Singh along with Jaimal Singh hastened to Amritsar, during the night, where his son-in-law Gulab Singh *Bhangi* ruled. Meanwhile Sahib Kaur along with Baghel Singh *Karorsingh* and Tara Singh *Ghaiba* reached Amritsar and demanded her husband's release, but Fateh Singh

¹¹⁰ Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 62; Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 137, DPHS, PUP. Bute Shah says that Jai Singh died in 1789. Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio nos. 48-49, DPHS, PUP.

¹¹¹ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no. 50, DPHS, PUP.

¹¹² Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 139, DPHS, PUP; Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no. 49, DPHS, PUP; Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 310, DPHS, PUP.

Kanahiya and Gulab Singh *Bhangi* refused and demanded a ransom for Jaimal Singh's release but later he was released without getting any ransom.¹¹³

Sada Kaur had been a unique lady of the age. She decided to fight the destiny and carve out for herself a place known only to administrative and diplomatic talents. After her husband's death the first diplomatic plan which struck her was that of reconciliation between the *Kanahiyas* and *Sukerchakias*. Soon she successfully achieved by a matrimonial alliance between the two *Misals* and her daughter, Mehtab Kaur was engaged to Mahan Singh's son Ranjit Singh.¹¹⁴ Similarly she got the second opportunity to accomplish her plans in 1790, while on his death Mahan Singh handed over the charge of his ten year old son Ranjit Singh to Sada Kaur of *Kanahiya*. She got the third opportunity in 1795 when she married her daughter Mehtab Kaur to Ranjit Singh. Further she helped in the conduct of the affairs of *Sukerchakia Misal* for about six years.¹¹⁵

This matrimonial alliance broke the closeness of the *Bhangis* and *Kanahiya's* and she helped Ranjit Singh in 1799, in the expedition of Lahore against the *Bhangi* Chiefs.¹¹⁶ Sada Kaur further aided Ranjit Singh in the battle of Bhasin in March 1800, against the *Bhangi Sardars* Sahib Singh and Gulab Singh who joined with Jassa Singh *Ramgarhia* and Nizam-ud-Din of Kasur and came to oppose Ranjit Singh over the question of Lahore occupation.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 139, DPHS, PUP; Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no. 50, DPHS, PUP; Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio nos. 310-11, DPHS, PUP.

¹¹⁴ Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, Vol-I, pp. 160-61; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 311.

¹¹⁵ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio no. 19, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 39-40.

¹¹⁶ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 49-52; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 349; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Part-II, p. 245.

¹¹⁷ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, Part-III, folio no. 19, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 50-55; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, pp. 350 -51.

In 1801, Sada Kaur again helped Ranjit Singh in the mission of Gujrat against Sahib Singh *Bhangi* of Gujrat, who was assisted by Dal Singh of Akalgarh and to oppose the united forces. Meanwhile *Baba* Sahib Singh Bedi came between them and the fight was stopped.¹¹⁸ The hostility continued between the two *Misals* till 1805 when Sada Kaur came with large forces to the aid of Ranjit Singh to get the city of Amritsar from Gurdit Singh *Bhangi* and Mai Sukhan.¹¹⁹

Relations with *Nakkais*: Hira Singh was the famous leader of the *Nakkai Misal*. He joined with the *Bhangis* and *Kanahiya's* in their attack upon the tyrannical Mughal rulers and Afghan invaders.¹²⁰ The relations between the two *Misals* was very cordial and friendly. After the foundation of *Dal Khalsa*, in March 1748, Hari Singh *Bhangi* was acknowledged the chief leader of the *Taruna Dal* and six *Misals* were placed under *Taruna Dal* including *Nakkai*. Under the circumstances Hira Singh *Nakkai* and many other *Nakkai Sardars* felt concerned with the movements of *Taruna Dal* and Hari Singh *Bhangi*.¹²¹ In 1762, after the departure of Ahmed Shah Abdali from Punjab, Hira Singh *Nakkai* along with Hari Singh *Bhangi* was stationed at Amritsar. In 1763, when Hari Singh decided to attack the Pathan colony of Kasur, Hira Singh *Nakkai*, one of the first Sikh *Sardar* who supported Hari Singh *Bhangi* joined an ally.¹²²

In 1764 *Taruna Dal* got divided into two sections: one under Hari Singh *Bhangi* and another was under Charat Singh *Sukerchakia* but *Nakkai Sardar* Hira

¹¹⁸ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio nos. 27-28, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 57-58.

¹¹⁹ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio nos. 16-17, DPHS, PUP; Bhagat Singh, *History of the Sikh Misals*, p. 101.

¹²⁰ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-II, folio no. 68, DPHS, PUP; Giani Gain Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Part-II, p. 247.

¹²¹ Sir J.H. Johan Gordon, *The Sikhs*, London, 1904, p. 71; Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-II, 1978, pp. 91-92 & Vol-IV, p. 205.

¹²² Ahmed Shah, Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 17; Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, pp. 371-77; Teja Singh, Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, p. 167.

Singh chose to join the *Jatha* under Hari Singh *Bhangi*. A little later Hira Singh assisted *Bhangi Sardars* Hari Singh, Jhanda Singh and Gujjar Singh in their expedition of south-western of Punjab. They captured the territories of Lamma and Nakka which were appropriated by Hira Singh, until they came to Multan; soon the town of Multan was also captured by them and it fell into the share of the *Bhangis*. Further they crossed the river Indus and overran the territory of Derajat.¹²³

Relations and conflict for the supremacy of power with *Sukerchakia Misal*:

The *Sukerchakia Misal* emerged during the later half of the 18th century. It is said that towards the end of the 18th century it acquired a position of pre-eminence among the Sikh *Misals*. Its rapid rise was due to the competent leadership of the number of generals like Naudh Singh, Charat Singh, Mahan Singh and Ranjit Singh.¹²⁴ Charat Singh son of Naudh Singh was the famous leader of *Sukerchakia Misal*, who continued the conflict with *Bhangis* to achieve supremacy.¹²⁵ At the time of his father's death in 1752, Charat Singh was 20 years of age and well known Sikh *Sardars* Hari Singh, Jhanda Singh, Lehna Singh, Gujjar Singh *Bhangis* and Jassa Singh *Ahluwalia* were aggressively toiling to carve out their *Misals*. They had their powerful *Dals* at their command and had established their rule under *Rakhi* in the Bari Doab and Rachna Doab and Jullundur Doab of the Punjab.¹²⁶ According to the Sikh Chronicles, in the beginning, the relations between the *Bhangis* and the *Sukerchakias* were cordial.¹²⁷ It is said Charat Singh,

¹²³ Qazi Nur Muhammad, *Jang Nama*, pp. 20-21; Giani Gian Singh, *Panth Parkash*, (NP), 1880, reprint Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1987, p. 890.

¹²⁴ Fauja Singh, *Some Aspects of the State and Society under Ranjit Singh*, New Delhi, 1982, p. 1.

¹²⁵ Carmichael Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, (N.P), 1847, reprinted Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p. 6; Prem Singh Hoti Mardan, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 3rd edition, Amritsar, 1931, p.19.

¹²⁶ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 188, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 4-5; Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, pp. 110-11.

¹²⁷ Giani Gian Singh, *Shamsheer Khalsa*, Sialkot, 1892, reprint Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p. 168.

to start with, was in the *Bhangi Dal* but soon thereafter he began to nurse, in his heart, political aspirations and parted ways with the *Bhangi* contingent and declared himself as holding a self-determining position.¹²⁸ In a short time Charat Singh's power swelled and he was counted among the most notable Sikh *Sardar*. This Chief acquired a large territory in Gujranwala district and made it his headquarter.¹²⁹

The *Sardars* of both these *Misals* used to help each other against their internal enemies and foreign or external invaders. Giani Gian Singh writes that Kesar Singh who was an eye witness narrated that Hari Singh *Bhangi* came to help Charat Singh, when he was challenged by Ahmed Shah Abdali on his second invasion and Charat Singh was besieged by the Afghans.¹³⁰ Another such incident was in 1761, when Charat Singh was besieged at Gujranwala by Khawaja Obed Khan Afghan Governor of Lahore and the *Bhangi Sardars* Hari Singh, Jhanda Singh, Lehna Singh and Gujjar Singh, joined with Jassa Singh *Ahluwalia*, Jai Singh and Sobha Singh *Kanahiya* and marched towards Gujranwala for the relief of Charat Singh and defeated Khwaja Obed Khan.¹³¹

According to Khushwaqat Rai, some times Charat Singh fought with the *Bhangi Sardar* Hari Singh and captured his territory but having a respect to Hari Singh *Bhangi*, he went to the *Bhangi* camp with *Nazrana*, which was accepted by

¹²⁸ Ganesh Das Badehra, *Char-Bagh-i-Punjab*, (NP), 1865. Edited by Dr. Kirpal Singh, Amritsar, 1965, p. 135; Bhagt Singh, *A History of the Sikh Misals*, pp. 177-78.

¹²⁹ Bute Shah, *Twarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio nos. 2-3, DPHS, PUP; McGregor, *The History of the Sikhs*, p. 149.

¹³⁰ Giani Gian Singh, *Shamsheer Khalsa*, p. 169.

¹³¹ Henry T Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh power in the Punjab and Political life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Calcutta, 1834, reprint Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, pp. 18-19 (after here given as H T Prinsep *Origin of the Sikh power*); Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, pp. 3-4, DPHS, PUP ; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 8-9.

Hari Singh.¹³² By 1763, when Hari Singh *Bhangi* the leader of *Taruna Dal* decided to attack Kasur, Charat Singh *Sukarchakia* supported him.¹³³

Charat Singh was very ambitious as though he had been imbued with a strategy of creating a formidable position for himself. To fulfill his mission Charat Singh crossed the river Jhelum and extended his control over Pind Dadan Khan and its surrounding areas, including Ahmadabad, Khushab, Soen etc. which were formally held by Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh *Bhangis*. Soon he wrested the salt mines of Kheora as well from the *Bhangis*, which proved good source of income to him.¹³⁴ According to Sohan Lal Suri, when Hari Singh *Bhangi* was going to capture Multan in 1763, on his way back he captured Pind Dadan Khan and received tribute amounting of rupees 4000, from the local Chief.¹³⁵ The escalation of hostilities between the two resulted in their open warfare because Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh considered that Pind Dadan Khan to be under their principality. The two *Misals* came face to face in the field but neither could gain a victory. Meanwhile Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India and the two *Sardars* resolved to make peace with each other to face their common enemy.¹³⁶ According to Sohan Lal Suri, “the fight between the two *Sardars* continued for few months. When Ahmed Shah Abdali invade India, they jointly fought with their common enemy. But after the departure of Abdali, they again came to face with each other on the question of Pin Dadan Khan.”¹³⁷

¹³² Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 190, DPHS, PUP.

¹³³ Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, pp. 17, 56; Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 425, DPHS, PUP.

¹³⁴ Ahmed Shah, Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 70; Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio nos. 4-5, DPHS, PUP.

¹³⁵ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, *Dafter-II*, pp. 9-11

¹³⁶ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio no. 5, DPHS, PUP; Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 428, DPHS, PUP.

¹³⁷ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, *Dafter-II*, pp. 11-12.

In 1764, *Taruna Dal* got divided into two sections: one under Hari Singh *Bhangi* and the other was under the Charat Singh *Sukerchakia*.¹³⁸

To maintain amicable relations with the *Bhangis* and to deal with the menace of the warlike tribes and foreign invaders, Charat Singh engaged his daughter Raj Kaur to Gujjar Singh's second son Sahib Singh.¹³⁹

Thereafter, he again continued to cooperate with *Bhangi Sardars* Jhanda Singh and Gujjar Singh in the expedition of Sialkot and defeated Jahan Khan Durrani's general.¹⁴⁰ He also cooperated with Hari Singh, Jhanda Singh, Lehna Singh, Gujjar Singh, Gulab Singh and Ram Das *Bhangis* when they fought with Ahmad Shah Abdali in December 1764.¹⁴¹ In 1765 the *Bhangi Sardars* Gujjar Singh and Lehna Singh, conquered Lahore. It is said when Charat Singh heard of the fall of Lahore, he came to the city and demanded a share in the spoil. The three *Sardars* persuaded Charat Singh and he agreed to accept the *Zamzama* gun, offered by the *Sardars*.¹⁴²

Charat Singh *Sukerchakia* made up his mind to extend his control in the north-westerly direction. He was apprehensive of dealing single handed with these Muslim rulers. The *Bhangis* were the strongest of all at that time, so he decided to coalesce with Gujjar Singh *Bhangi* one of the triumvirate Chiefs of Lahore. Charat Singh found him a good companion. After wresting the possession of the north-west, they made an agreement, in which they agreed that the district of Gujranwala and Shekhupura were to be with Charat Singh. While Sialkot and Gujrat fell to the

¹³⁸ Qazi Nur Muhammad, *Jang Nama*, p. 20 ; Teja Singh, Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, p. 170.

¹³⁹ Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 44; McGregor, *The History of the Sikhs*, p. 152; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, *Dafter-II*, pp. 11-12.

¹⁴⁰ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 191, DPHS, PUP.

¹⁴¹ Qazi Nur Muhammad, *Jang Nama*, pp. 50-51; Teja Singh, Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, p. 175.

¹⁴² Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 426, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, *Dafter-II*, pp. 14-15.

share of Gujjar Singh. Jhelum and Shahpur district were to go to Charat Singh. Rawalpindi and Attock were assigned to Gujjar Singh. While Hazara district fell into the hands of Gujjar Singh, Fateh Jang was placed in the sphere of Charat Singh. The northern hill states lying between the Indus and the Chenab including Kashmir came within the share of Gujjar Singh. The salt mine of Kheora and Pind Dadan Khan were left to Charat Singh. In all the three Doabs, Rachna, Chaj and Sind Sagar the northern part was to be occupied by Gujjar Singh *Bhangi* and the southern parts by Charat Singh *Sukerchakia*.¹⁴³

In May 1767, Gujjar Singh and Charat Singh jointly captured Jhelum town which stood on the right bank of the river Jhelum and assigned to Charat Singh.¹⁴⁴ A little later Charat Singh *Sukerchakia* allied with Gujjar Singh *Bhangi* and occupied the town of Rohtas from Sarbuland Khan paternal uncle of Ahmed Shah Abdali. Afterward they agreed to divide the territory around the Rohtas among themselves. The territories of Wangal, Bharwal, Rawalpindi and Khanpur, up to the boundary of Attock, were annexed by Gujjar Singh and the fort of Rohtas, Dhan, Baloki, Ghebb and Mukhad fell into the hands of Charat Singh.¹⁴⁵

According to Syed Muhammad Latif, the successive victories scored by Charat Singh and the power and resources at his command made him an object of jealousy for the rival *Misaldars*, who all looked upon him with great suspicion and apprehended that their own position were not safe before his vast scheme of conquest and annexation. None, however, became more apprehensive than the *Sardars* of the *Bhangi Misal*, who had from the first entertained hostile feelings

¹⁴³ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, p. 13; Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 135; Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs Vol-IV*, pp. 297-98.

¹⁴⁴ Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 428, DPHS, PUP; Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, pp. 298-99.

¹⁴⁵ Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 428, DPHS, PUP; Ganesh Das Badehra, *Char-Bagh-i-Punjab*, (NP), 1865, MS., (Translated into Punjabi by Jit Singh Seetal), preserved in the library of DPHS, PUP, Accession no. 7, folio nos. 114-15.

towards the rising *Sukerchakias*. But a cause for open conflict was no longer wanting, for circumstances arose in border hill State, involving a general rupture between the various *Misals*.¹⁴⁶ Now *Bhangis* and *Sukerchakias* took hostile postures and there were occasional confrontations between the two in 1774 at Jammu, when Jhanda Singh *Bhangi* assisted Ranjit Deo of Jammu and Charat Singh with along with Jai Singh *Kanahiya* came to the support of Brij Raj Deo against his father Ranjit Deo.¹⁴⁷ The two armies met at Dasuha, adjacent to Zafarwal. This lasted for twenty three days. On the twenty third day Charat Singh was killed in his own camp by bursting of his gun which struck him in the forehead.¹⁴⁸

Bhagat Singh says that all contemporary writers' anonymous about death cause of Charat Singh *Sukerchakia*.¹⁴⁹ But Khushwaqat Rai and Ali-ud-Din Mufti, says that Charat Singh died while he was fought in favor of *Raja* Brij Deo against Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh *Bhangi* and Ranjit Deo of Jammu at Zafarwal.¹⁵⁰ Sohan Lal Suri says that Charat Singh *Sukerchakia* killed in the battle of Kallowal in the district of Sialkot by a gun shot, which was gifted by Jhanda Singh *Bhangi*.¹⁵¹

Jhanda Singh was also killed in conspiracy which was planned by Jai Singh *Kanahiya* and after his death Ganda Singh returns to Amritsar.¹⁵² According to

¹⁴⁶ Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 339.

¹⁴⁷ Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 428, DPHS, PUP; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, pp. 339-40.

¹⁴⁸ Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, pp. 340-41.

¹⁴⁹ Bhagat Singh, *History of the Sikh Misals*, p. 183.

¹⁵⁰ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio nos. 191-92, DPHS, PUP; Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio nos. 428-29, DPHS, PUP.

¹⁵¹ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 16-17.

¹⁵² McGregor, *The History of the Sikhs*, p. 123; Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 41.

Sohan Lal Suri, “Mai Desan prevailed upon Jai Singh to get Jhanda Singh Murdered.”¹⁵³

At the time of Charat Singh’s death his successor, Mahan Singh was only ten years of age. So the state of affairs was handled by his step mother Mai Desan. Desan was a worldly-wise, experienced and an intelligent lady. In order to strengthen her position she married her daughter, Raj Kaur to Sahib Singh son of Gujjar Singh *Bhangi*, who had been betrothed during the life time of Charat Singh.¹⁵⁴ According to Sohan Lal Suri, the marriage was solemnized at Gujranwala. Charat Singh gave in dowry one hundred five horses, a large quantity of ornament and jewelry, numerous utensils of coed and one thousand suits of clothes (Tewar) etc.¹⁵⁵

After Jammu warfare Ganda Singh *Bhangi* (brother of Jhanda Singh *Bhangi* and Mahan Singh *Sukerchakia* (son of Charat Singh *Sukerchakia*) settled their dispute and they realized their mistake because both of them earned nothing in the battle of Jammu. Both the *Sardars* promised to maintain friendly relations with each other for future. The author of *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, Kanahiya Lal, says that, after Charat Singh’s death his son Mahan Singh maintained peace with Ganda Singh *Bhangi* and even took his services. He also joined Ganda Singh *Bhangi* in his expedition of Pathankot in 1774, against the *Kanahiyas*.¹⁵⁶

During the life time of Charat Singh relations with Gujjar Singh *Bhangi* remained amicable. After his death Mahan Singh resolved to oust the *Bhangis* through a combinational of diplomacy and force. Besides he was jealous of the supremacy of *Bhangis*. Militarily he could not face the *Bhangi Misal* in the field so he resorted to diplomacy. Mahan Singh first of all applied his diplomatic skill at

¹⁵³ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh Daftar-II*, p. 17.

¹⁵⁴ McGregor, *The History of the Sikhs*, p. 152; Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 430, DPHS, PUP; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 340.

¹⁵⁵ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, p. 11.

¹⁵⁶ Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 114.

Gujrat, a strong hold of *Bhangis*, which was under Gujjar Singh. He took advantage of his relationship with Sahib Singh *Bhangi*. Mahan Singh instigated him to set himself up as an independent Chief with his support against the authority of his father. On his persuasion Sahib Singh quarreled with his brother Sukha Singh of Lahore, in which Sukha Singh was killed. Gujjar Singh was much enraged by this act of Sahib Singh and he disposed Sahib Singh of all the territories under his charge.¹⁵⁷

According to Khushwaqat Rai, shortly afterwards Bhag Singh Hallowal, Sahib Singh, Tara Singh and Jiwan Singh Sialkotias and Tara Singh Chainpuria captured some territories of Mahan Singh *Sukerchakia*.¹⁵⁸

In 1778-79, Mahan Singh assisted by Jai Singh *Kanahiya* and launched an attack on Rasulnagar at the head of 6,000 troops where Mussalaman *Jat*, named Pir Muhammad *Chathas* ruled. The pretext was the famous *Zamzama* gun of Ahmed Shah, which Jhanda Singh *Bhangi*, after his conquest of the *Chathas*, had left with Pir Muhammad Khan in deposit, for its being too heavy to be taken across the Chenab. Mahan Singh now claimed it as the property of the *Khalsa*. The *Chathas* in vain sought the aid of the *Bhangi Sardars*, who were at that time busy with Timur Shah at Multan and conquering Multan and Bahawalpur. Now Pir Muhammad Khan was alone to face Mahan Singh. Soon he was overpowered and the town of Rasulnagar was captured by Mahan Singh.¹⁵⁹

The *Chathas* did not accept defeat lying down and soon got refractory against Mahan Singh. The army had again to be led against them. This time, Alipur

¹⁵⁷ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio nos 7-8, DPHS, PUP; Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 115.

¹⁵⁸ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 193, DPHS, PUP.

¹⁵⁹ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 194, DPHS, PUP; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, pp. 340-41.

and Mancher were also occupied and Alipur was renamed Akalgarh.¹⁶⁰ Chet Singh, the younger brother of Gujjar Singh *Bhangi*, had come to help the *Chathas*. Mahan Singh captured and imprisoned him in the fort of Gujranwala. Sahib Singh's wife Raj Kaur, who was the sister of Mahan Singh, came from Gujrat to Gujranwala to secure Chet Singh's release. Mahan Singh paid no attention to her imploring and did not liberate the *Bhangi Sardar*.¹⁶¹ Mahan Singh now began to think of the advisability of extending and enlarging his dominions. The power of the *Bhangi Misal* had been effectually broken by the invasion of Timur Shah and the Sikhs under the *Bhangis* were expelled both from Multan and Bahawalpur in 1780. Mahan Singh made the downfall of the other *Misals* the foundation of his own power. Taking advantage of their weakness, he marched to Pind Bhatian, Sahiwal, Jhang, Isa Khel and Musa Khel. All these places belonged to the *Bhangi Sardar* Desa Singh. But Desa Singh could not check Mahan Singh.¹⁶²

Mahan Singh next entered the Sialkot district and captured Kotli Loharan and obtained matchlocks in tribute, but failed to capture Sialkot. Afterwards he seized Jhang and Takht Hazara.¹⁶³ According to Syed Muhammed Latif, during his stay in Sialkot, he performed one of those acts of barbarous treachery which ever after made his name a terror to all the Chiefs and *Sardars* of the province. Under pretence of holding an important consultation, he invited a very large number of *Sardars* and upon their complying with his invitation; he seized and imprisoned twenty two of the principal Chiefs among them. Charat Singh Kalalwala, Dya Singh nephew of Sahib Singh, Dhanna Singh and Mihan Singh Wadialia were also

¹⁶⁰ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio nos. 9-10, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh- Daftar-II*, pp. 24-25.

¹⁶¹ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh- Daftar-II*, pp. 24-25; Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, p. 308.

¹⁶² Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 115; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 341.

¹⁶³ Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 115.

part of the group thus apprehended. These *Sardars* obtained their release only on payment of heavy *Nazaranas* according to their rank and wealth.¹⁶⁴

About the year of 1780, Mahan Singh attacked the village Bhangian. Gulab Singh *Bhangi* at the head of 3,000 troops came to contend with Mahan Singh at village Nihang Singhwala, but at last Mahan Singh left the field. Shortly afterwards Mahan Singh captured Bhera.¹⁶⁵

In 1782, Desa Singh marched to wrest Chiniot and had many skirmishes with *Sukerchakia* Chief, Mahan Singh. But Desa Singh was killed in action.¹⁶⁶ Another cause for interfering with *Bhangis* in Jammu affairs was as follows: the *Bhangis* had taken possession of some of the territory belonging to the Jammu *Raja* Brij Raj Deo son of Ranjit Deo of Jammu, who had ascended the *Gadi* on Ranjit Deo's death in 1780. Brij Raj wished to win back his lost territory and appealed to Mahan Singh *Sukerchakia*, Jai Singh *Kanahiya* and Haqiqat Singh *Kanahiya*, for aid. The *Taluqa* of Karianwala was recovered after a pitched battle but soon the *Kanahiyas* deserted their ally and went over to the *Bhangis*. Soon the *Bhangis* not only succeeded in recovering Karianwala, but invaded Jammu under Gujjar Singh *Bhangi*, Bhag Singh Halowalia Karam Singh *Dullu*, Jodh Singh Wazirabad and Haqiqat Singh *Kanahiya*. In these circumstances the Jammu *Raja* called Mahan Singh for aid but was signally defeated and agreed to pay a tribute of 30, 000 rupees to Haqiqat Singh *Kanahiya*.¹⁶⁷ After the lapse of two or three months Mahan Singh marched towards Chiniot. Karam Singh *Dullu* ruler of Chiniot finding himself no match for Mahan Singh deserted the fort and came to

¹⁶⁴ Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, pp. 341-42.

¹⁶⁵ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 194, DPHS, PUP.

¹⁶⁶ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio no. 10, DPHS, PUP; Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, pp. 308-9.

¹⁶⁷ H. T Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power*, p. 34; Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio no. 10, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, *Dafter-II*, p. 25; C.H Payne, *History of the Sikhs*, London, (N.D), reprinted Language Department, Patiala, 1970, p. 6.

Sialkot.¹⁶⁸ Later Mahan Singh handed over the fort of Chiniot to Karam Singh *Dullu* on the request of Gulab Singh *Bhangi*, who was very close to Mahan Singh.¹⁶⁹

Another cause of displeasure between the *Bhangis* and *Sukerchakias* was the death of Ghulam Muhammad *Chatha*, who took shelter in the camp of Gujjar Singh *Bhangi*, in 1787-88 when Mahan Singh besieged Rasalnagar. Now Mahan Singh demanded the surrender of Ghulam Muhammad's *Chatha* from Gujjar Singh but Gujjar Singh refused the demand of Mahan Singh. Meanwhile, in order to oblige his brother-in-law Sahib Singh son of Gujjar Singh *Bhangi* handed over the demanded *Chatha* Chief to the Mahan Singh *Sukerchakia*.¹⁷⁰

Gujjar Singh *Bhangi* died in 1788.¹⁷¹ After Gujjar Singh's death his son Sahib Singh *Bhangi* occupied all the territories which had been given to Fateh Singh *Bhangi* by Gujjar Singh and the latter took refuge with Mahan Singh *Sukerchakia*. This conflict between two brothers gave an opportunity to Mahan Singh to aggrandize his desires. Mahan Singh coveting his possession supported the cause of his younger brother Fateh Singh, against the elder brother Sahib Singh, the result of which was that war was declared between Mahan Singh and Sahib Singh, without the slight regard being paid to the relationship which existed between them by virtue of their intermarriages. Mahan Singh was determined to affect his aspiring and ambitious plans at any cost and recourse to arms was thus rendered inevitable.¹⁷² It is sufficient to say here that Mahan Singh, at this juncture, asserting his own superiority over Gujrat, demanded tribute from Sahib Singh,

¹⁶⁸ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, Vol-III, folio no. 160, DPHS, PU; Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 432, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 31-32.

¹⁶⁹ Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio nos. 435-36, DPHS, PUP.

¹⁷⁰ H.T Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power*, pp. 41-42; Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, Vol-I, p. 342.

¹⁷¹ According to J D Cunningham, Gujjar Singh died in 1791, *A History of the Sikhs*, p. 107.

¹⁷² Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-I Sikan*, folio no.197, DPHS, PUP; Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio no. 16, DPHS, PUP.

which was of course refused on the ground that Gujjar Singh had never fought under the standard of the *Sukerchakia Misal*, but was an adherent of the *Bhangi Misal*, says Muhammad Latif.¹⁷³

To promote the interests of one's state even close blood relationship was disregarded. Sahib Singh was the husband of Mahan Singh's real sister Raj Kaur. She waited upon her brother and tried to dissuade him from fighting but Mahan Singh paid no heed to her entreaties. Hostilities commenced between them. In the night Sahib Singh came from Gujrat to Sodhra which was also besieged by Mahan Singh. The siege of Sodhra continued for three months.¹⁷⁴ At that time he called on *Darvesh* Mastan Shah. He fell at the Saint's feet and invoked his blessing the *Darvesh* prayed to God to save the innocent and penalize the guilty. The effect was instantaneous.¹⁷⁵ The *Sukerchakia* Chief was suffering from a failing health due to overwork and exhaustion and in the course of the siege of Sodhra when the victory was just in sight he was suddenly taken ill by a violent attack of fever. Handing over the charge of the siege to his ten year old son Ranjit Singh, Mahan Singh retired to Gujranwala where he expired on the 15th April, 1790.¹⁷⁶

Meanwhile Karam Singh *Dullu* came at Sodhra for the relief of Sahib Singh *Bhangi*. When Ranjit Singh came to know about the arrival of Karam Singh then he marched from Sodhra to fight with Karam Singh *Dullu* and defeated him at Kot Mahraj and Charat Singh Kalawala who had joined the *Bhangis* was also killed in the action and a lot of war material fell into the hands of Ranjit Singh.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p 344.

¹⁷⁴ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, p. 32; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p 344.

¹⁷⁵ Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, p. 313.

¹⁷⁶ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio no. 17, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 34-35.

¹⁷⁷ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio nos. 16-17, DPHS, PUP; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 346; Bikram Jit Hasrat, *Life and time of Ranjit Singh*, p. 34.

After the death of Mahan Singh, Ranjit Singh succeeded the Chiefship of the *Misal*. At the time of his father's death he was young boy of ten years old.¹⁷⁸ A little later *Bhangi* Chief of Lahore, Lehna Singh and Sobha Singh assembled at Gujranwala to observe condolence on the death of Mahan Singh and to congratulate Ranjit Singh on the ceremony of Chiefship.¹⁷⁹

Mahan Singh had bequeathed to his minor son a sizeable kingdom and plenty of troubles too. Although the battle of Batala had established *Sukerchakia* supremacy over the *Kanahiya* but the score with the *Bhangis* had yet to be settled. The *Ramgarhia* under Jassa Singh had regained power but the *Bhangis* still held the important towns of Lahore, Amritsar and Gujrat; the principality of Wazirabad was under Jodh Singh *Bhangi*. They all harbored with mutual jealousies and were inimical towards the growth of *Sukerchakia* power.¹⁸⁰

In 1795-96, the friendly relations again flourished between the *Bhangis* and *Sukerchakias*, when Sahib Singh *Bhangi*, who with Milkha Singh came to aid of Ranjit Singh to recover the fort of Rohtas from Ahmed Khan Shahanchibashi, the general of Shah Zaman. They killed the Shahanchibashi and captured the fort of Rohtas.¹⁸¹

The friendly relations were further strengthened between the *Sukerchakias* and the *Bhangis*, when Ranjit Singh reached Lahore and meet with Chait Singh *Bhangi* and Mohar Singh the *Sardars* of Lahore. At Lahore Ranjit Singh was

¹⁷⁸ As told Mahan Singh died in 1790, when Ranjit Singh was ten year old and not 11 years as written by Ali-ud-Din Mufti or 12 years as written by Syed Muhammad Latif. But Ali-ud-Din agrees with Sohan Lal Suri. Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio nos. 450-51, DPHS, PUP; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab* p. 346; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 36-37.

¹⁷⁹ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio nos. 17-18, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 36-37.

¹⁸⁰ Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab* p. 346; Bikramjit Hasrat, *Life and time of Ranjit Singh*, p. 34.

¹⁸¹ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp 41-42; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 347.

welcomed by Chait Singh and Mohar Singh the ruler of Lahore.¹⁸² Later they jointly fought with Shah Zaman the ruler of Kabul, when he again marched to the Punjab in the beginning of the winter of 1798. Ranjit Singh also collaborated with Sahib Singh *Bhangi* to penalize Nizam-ud-Din of Kasur, who had taken the possession of the fort evacuated by the Sikhs, during Shah Zaman's invasion. 19 November, 1798, Ranjit Singh also supported Sahib Singh and Nahar Singh of Chamari village and Sondha Singh to oust Wafadar Khan from the territory of Gujrat. This shows the cordial relations between the two *Misals*.¹⁸³

On November 21, 1798 Milkha Singh and Ranjit Singh came to Amritsar from Shahdra and invited Budh Singh (brother of Jodh Singh *Bhangi* of Wazirabad), Gulab Singh *Bhangi*, Bhag Singh, Jaimal Singh *Kanahiya* and Rani Sada Kaur to fight against their common enemy. Soon Rai Singh *Bhangi*, Mehtab Singh *Bhangi*, Jassa Singh *Ramgarhia*, Gurdit Singh and Bhanga Singh joined them in fighting against the Afghans.¹⁸⁴

On 30 November, 1798 Shah Zaman crossed the river Ravi and reached Lahore. The ruler of the city of Lahore Mohar Singh and Chait Singh had already left the city before Shah approach.¹⁸⁵ At this time every night Ranjit Singh visited, with a few *Sawars*, the suburbs of the city of Lahore and attacked the force of Shah at night with a view to persecute him.¹⁸⁶

According to Sohan Lal Suri, "Ranjit Singh at this time, thrice rushed upon the Samman Buraj of the Lahore fort with a few men, fired a number of Afghans

¹⁸² Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, p. 46.

¹⁸³ Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio nos. 454-55, DPHS, PUP; Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, p. 496

¹⁸⁴ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio nos. 22-23, DPHS, PUP; Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio nos. 455-56, DPHS, PUP; Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, p. 497.

¹⁸⁵ Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 455, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, p. 48.

¹⁸⁶ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, p. 47.

and on one occasion challenged the Shah himself to hand to hand fight. ‘ come out you, o grandson of Ahmed Shah,” shouted Ranjit Singh to him, “ and try two or three hands with the grandson of great *Sardar* Charat Singh.” but as there was no response from the other side Ranjit Singh had to retire without a single combat with the Durrani.¹⁸⁷ At this time Shah was receiving disquieting news from Qandhar and Heart. Under the circumstances he thought it proper to retire from Punjab.¹⁸⁸

According to Syed Muhammad Latif, Ranjit Singh now began to entertain ideas of making himself master of Lahore and was encouraged in his views by Sada Kaur. He thought the time most opportune for the undertaking, as he had no fear of the Durrani.¹⁸⁹

After Shah Zaman’s exit from Lahore, the three rulers of Lahore Sahib Singh, Mohar Singh and Chait Singh re-occupied the city of Lahore. But they did not handle the administration of Lahore in collaboration. People of Lahore were suffering hardships and mismanagement under misrule of their Chiefs, invited Ranjit Singh to occupy Lahore and also promised him to support him in the action.¹⁹⁰ Ranjit Singh, who had already, began to entertain designs for securing Lahore to himself and his mother-in-law Sada Kaur felt encouraged and marched towards Lahore and captured it in July 6, 1799.¹⁹¹ After occupation Mohar Singh was allowed to precede to his a *Jgirs*, along with his goods.¹⁹² Chait Singh *Bhangi*

¹⁸⁷ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 47-48.

¹⁸⁸ J D Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 118; Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio nos. 22-23, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 47-48.

¹⁸⁹ Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 348.

¹⁹⁰ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 48-49.

¹⁹¹ Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, pp. 348-49.

¹⁹² Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 131. According to Bute Shah, Mohar Singh tried to make peace with Ranjit Singh and sent Mangal Singh with costly gift. Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio, 24, DPHS, PUP.

was offered settlement at Vanyeki village with a *Jagir* (in the *Pargana* of Ajanala).¹⁹³

Ranjit Singh's power was growing day by day. Success which had hitherto attended his arms and now the capture and possession of the capital of the Punjab by him rendered him an object of envy, hatred and inheritableness among his contemporary Chiefs so they joined hands to restrain Ranjit Singh from his policy of territorial aggrandizement. One of them was Gulab Singh *Bhangi* who formed an alliance with Sahib Singh of Gujarat, Jassa Singh *Ramgarhia* and Nizam-ud-Din to drive out Ranjit Singh from Lahore.¹⁹⁴ The allied forces confronted Ranjit Singh at Bhasin in 1800, where Ranjit Singh with his mother-in-law Sada Kaur also waited for them. Meanwhile Gulab Singh *Bhangi* died due to hard drinking of wine and the death of this *Sardar* spread consternation through-out the camp of the *Bhangis* and it being felt that the *Sukerchakia* Chief inflexible was and well equipped to keep the field, the army of the confederate *Sardars* broke up and Lahore was ever after in the undisturbed possession of Ranjit Singh.¹⁹⁵

According to Khushwaqat Rai, after the battle of Bhasin, Ranjit Singh married one of Gulab Singh's widows a daughter of Karam Singh Nirmala.¹⁹⁶

The hostility between the two *Misals* again spurted when Sahib Singh of Gujrat, launched an attack on Gujranwala. Ranjit Singh accompanied by his mother-in-law, proceeded against the *Bhangi* Chief. Through in the intercession, however *Baba* Sahib Singh Bedi of Una, reconciliation was affected and the *Maharaja* returned to Lahore. The *Maharaja* next proceeded against Nizam-ud-

¹⁹³ Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, pp. 349-50.

¹⁹⁴ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio, nos. 24-25, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 54-55.

¹⁹⁵ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 54-55; Diwan Amar Nath, *Zaffar-nama-i-Ranjit Singh*, pp. 10-11; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 352.

¹⁹⁶ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 201, DPHS, PUP.

Din of Kasur, who had entered into an alliance with Sahib Singh *Bhangi*.¹⁹⁷ A little later the Sahib Singh and Nizam-ud-Din of Kasur again raised the average of revolt. Ranjit Singh deputed *Sardar* Fateh Singh, Kaliwala, to take the command at Kasur and marched in person to condense Sahib Singh. On the approach of the *Maharaja* troops, Sahib Singh shut himself up the fort of Gujrat, which was besieged by the Lahore troops, but at length Sahib Singh *Bhangi* finding himself no match for the sovereign of Lahore, entered into negotiations for peace, which was agreed to on condition of the *Bhangi* Chief paying a large *Nazarana* to Ranjit Singh. This *Nazrana* having been paid and assurances of future submission and good behavior given, the *Maharaja* returned to Lahore as Syed Muhammad Latif, records.¹⁹⁸

Although, Sahib Singh having developed friendly relations with Ranjit Singh, these relations again came to be point of disruption, when Sahib Singh *Bhangi* of Gujrat encouraged by Dal Singh of Akalgarh and *Sardar* Jodh Singh of Wazirabadia, raised an army for a march on Lahore to challenge *Sukerchakia* authority, Ranjit Singh however, forestalled the confederate and he took recourse to a stratagem by inviting Dal Singh to Lahore with the lure of joint conquests and the sharing of spoil. When the Dal Singh arrived at the capital, he was apparently received with all honors, but the same night he was quietly put in chains by Ranjit Singh with the help of Mohkam Chand at Ramnager. Soon afterward the *Maharaja* marched to Akalgarh at the head of his troops to take possession of the captive *Sardars* territory, but was opposed by Tehju wife of Dal Singh. Several skirmishes took place with no decisive result. Information was in the meanwhile, given Ranjit Singh that the wife of Dal Singh had opened communications with Sahib Singh of Gujrat and Jodh Singh of Wazirabad and that she was about to be joined by their

¹⁹⁷ *Diwan Amar Nath, Zaffar-nama-i-Ranjit Singh*, p. 15; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 353.

¹⁹⁸ *Diwan Amar Nath, Zaffar-nama-i-Ranjit Singh*, p. 15; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 354

troops. Ranjit Singh seeing that all his attempts to conquer the Dal Singh's wife was fruitless and that his prolongation of the contest would be prejudicial to his interests deemed it advisable to withdraw, but not without first attempting to impair the power of Sahib Singh *Bhangi*. At that time a friendly letter sent to Jodh Singh by Ranjit Singh, reminding him of all the favours that had been conferred on him by the late Mahan Singh and promising his own cordial support in furthering the *Sardars*'s views of aggrandizement was a sufficient inducement for the Wazirabad *Sardar* to desist from taking part with Sahib Singh *Bhangi* against the ruler of Lahore, who now moved to Gujrat with all his available troops. Therefore Ranjit Singh invested Akalgarh, where Dal Singh's wife, defied the invader's attempts to conquer the fortress. The Lahore troops ultimately withdrew and marched on Gujrat where Sahib Singh had collected a large force. Sahib Singh and Jodh Singh of Wazirabad also came out to meet Ranjit Singh. They clashed at Khewaywala near Ramnagar. Meanwhile, Dal Singh of Akalgarh was released under the agreement and soon peace, was restored on the intercession of *Rani Sada Kaur* and *Baba Kesra Singh Sodhi*.¹⁹⁹

As soon as Ranjit Singh set up Law and order in his newly captured territories, he marched towards the village Zamke and seized the village. On the other side Sahib Singh *Bhangi* of Gujrat came to challenge Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh invited Fateh Singh *Ahluwalia* to fight *Bhangis* and he was at once come for the help of Ranjit Singh against the *Bhangi Sardars*. Afterward Ranjit Singh captured the village of Zamke and established there a police post. After the battle Ranjit Singh decided to cultivate friendly relations with the *Bhangis* and he sent Fateh Singh *Ahluwalia* to Gujrat to meet with Sahib Singh *Bhangi*.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio nos. 27-28, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, *Dafter-II*, pp. 57-58; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, pp. 354-55.

²⁰⁰ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio no. 28, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, *Dafter-II*, pp. 60-61.

Ranjit Singh along with Fateh Singh *Ahluwalia* then proceeded towards Daska and reduced the fort. A police post was established at Daska and the allied Chiefs returned to Lahore. Meanwhile complaints having reached Ranjit Singh from Pindi Bhatian, of the excesses committed on the *Zamindars* of that place by Jassa Singh *Dullu* son of Karam Singh *Dullu*, who held the fort of Chiniot, the *Maharaja* forthwith proceeded thither at the head of an army. Jassa Singh shut himself up in the fort, which was closely besieged by the *Maharaja* and taken after some resistance. The *Maharaja* gave Jassa Singh a suitable *Jagir*.²⁰¹ According to Syed Muhammad Latif, at this time Ranjit Singh appoint some of the *Sardars* to his honorary commanders as following Jassa Singh son of Karam Singh *Dullu*, Sahib Singh son of Gujjar Singh of Gujrat, Chait Singh son of Lehna Singh of Lahore, Bhag Singh Hallowalia and the sons of Nar Singh Chamari, 10,000 troops each.²⁰²

In the year of 1805 Ranjit Singh, assembled his own and Sada Kaur's troops and being joined by Fateh Singh *Ahluwalia*, the three united *Misals* fell suddenly on the Amritsar which was under Gurdit Singh son of Gulab Singh *Bhangi* and Mai Sukhan.²⁰³ Ranjit Singh ask her to hand over the fort. At first she refused but later on the suggestion of Akali Phula Singh and Jodh Singh Ramgarhia, she agreed to handover the fort to Ranjit Singh. Thereafter on the suggestion of Jodh Singh *Ramgarhia*, Ranjit Singh granted the *Jagir* of Panjore and another five or six villages to Mai Sukhian and Gurdit Singh for their subsistence.²⁰⁴

According to Khushwaqat Rai, Raj Kaur wife of Sahib Singh *Bhangi* of Gujarat and sister of Mahan Singh went to Lahore and pleaded for Gurdit Singh,

²⁰¹ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio nos. 31-32, DPHS, PUP; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, pp. 354-55.

²⁰² Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 361.

²⁰³ H .T Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh power*, p. 43.

²⁰⁴ Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio, no. 464, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, *Dafter-II*, p. 65.

but Ranjit Singh did not pay any attention and sent her with Gurdit Singh and Mai Sukhan at *Ramgarhia* fort.²⁰⁵

In 1808 Ranjit Singh proceeded towards Sialkot. To stop Ranjit Singh, Sialkot Chief, Jiwan Singh *Bhangi*, appealed to the other *Bhangi Sardars* for help. All undertook to save Jiwan Singh but Sahib Singh *Bhangi* refused to comply with the order, less from a spirit of rebellion than from fear of treachery. An attack was made on Sialkot and the city taken by storm, but Jiwan Singh, with a body of one hundred fighting men, ably defended the fort, which was closely invested. The siege lasted seven days, at last the *Maharaja* entered in the city. Jiwan Singh was put in chains and arrangements having been put in place for the administration of the district, the troops left for Gujrat. The *Maharaja* himself followed these troops, but before he reached his destination, Sahib Singh's agents met him and paid him a large sum of money as tribute and in addition, entered into treaty acknowledging his allegiance to the *Maharaja*. Ranjit Singh being satisfied with these terms withdrew.²⁰⁶ Afterward he captured the fort of Atariwala near Sialkot from Mohar Singh of Atari.²⁰⁷

After the victory of Sialkot Ranjit Singh marched towards Akhnur, Chaprar and Shairmal to set up law and order in the territories. Here Sahib Singh *Bhangi* of Gujrat maintained friendly relations with Ranjit Singh through *Baba* Sahib Singh Bedi of Una.²⁰⁸ A little later Ranjit Singh sent *Diwan* Mohkam Chand to collect the revenue from Ambala, Ludhiana and Patiala. But they did not give any attention to him. Soon Ranjit Singh decided to build a fort at Faloor and appointed Gulab

²⁰⁵ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 204, DPHS, PUP.

²⁰⁶ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio no. 55-56, DPHS, PUP; Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio, no. 466, DPHS, PUP; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 371.

²⁰⁷ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, *Dafter-II*, pp. 78-79.

²⁰⁸ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio no. 57, DPHS, PUP. According to Sohan Lal Suri, "when Sahib Singh *Bhangi* went to meet with Ranjit Singh, he gifted him two horses and a gun as the sign of their friendship". Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, *Dafter-II*, pp. 79- 80.

Singh *Bhangi* son of Sahib Singh of Gujrat, Dal Singh and Jodh Singh of Wazirabad as the helpers of *Diwan* Mohkam Chand.²⁰⁹

In the beginning of 1809 (1865 BK), Gulab Singh *Bhangi* son of Sahib Singh *Bhangi* quarreled with his father and reported to Ranjit Singh against his father. Ranjit Singh advised him to wait for the *Jagirs* and start revolt against his father. Now on the suggestion of Ranjit Singh, Gulab Singh came to Gujrat and openly revolted against his father. In such a situation Sahib Singh decided to make peace with his son and hand over the territories of Jalapur, Lakhawal and Bhagowal to his son Gulab Singh. But Gulab Singh *Bhangi* demanded the fort of Islamgarh.²¹⁰ According to Ali-ud-Din Mufti, Suba Kaur wife of Sahib Singh *Bhangi* (daughter of Hamir Singh of Nabha) reported to Ranjit Singh against Sahib Singh and request intervention in favor of his son Gulab Singh.²¹¹

Soon Gulab Singh again reported to Ranjit Singh against his father. On the other side Sahib Singh also decided to meet with Ranjit Singh about this matter and marched from Lahore with Jodh Singh of Wazirabad. At Lahore Sahib Singh *Bhangi* and his son Gulab Singh join Ranjit Singh to visit Amritsar.²¹²

In November, 1809 Ranjit Singh seized all his territories and property of Jodh Singh Wazirabad after his death and appointed Ganda Singh son of Jodh Singh Wazirabad as the ruler of all his father's territories. The *Pargana* of Wazirabad containing about 500 villages and all the personal property of Jodh Singh came into Ranjit Singh's possession.²¹³ Meanwhile, Sahib Singh developed

²⁰⁹ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio no. 6, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, *Dafter-II*, p. 93.

²¹⁰ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, *Dafter-II* pp. 104-105.

²¹¹ Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 480, DPHS, PUP.

²¹² Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio no. 71, DPHS, PUP; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, *Dafter-II*, p. 106.

²¹³ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, *Dafter-II*, pp. 108-9; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 383.

strained relations with his son, Gulab Singh, who occupied couple of forts against the wishes of his father. Ranjit Singh availed him of this opportunity.²¹⁴ He captured the fort of Jalalpur from Gulab Singh. Later he asked Sahib Singh to evacuate the forts of Manawar and Islamgarh but Sahib Singh refused. Now Ranjit Singh marched towards Manawar and Islamgarh. Sahib Singh being no match with Ranjit Singh escaped in the darkness of night to Gujrat.²¹⁵

In 1809, Ranjit Singh dispatched Hukam Singh Attariwala and Seva Singh to pursue Sahib Singh. After a brief resistance Sahib Singh fled away with 500 horsemen to his fort of Deva Batala situated on the border of Jammu territory.²¹⁶ In the course of two or three months Ranjit Singh annexed all his territories including Gujrat, Islamgarh, Jalalpur, Manawar, Bajwat and Sodhra worth two Lakhs and a half annually and his property worth four Lakhs. Soon Ranjit Singh sent Faqir-Aziz-ud-Din to set up administration of Gujrat. This happened in September, 1809.²¹⁷ Sahib Singh's son Gulab Singh joined Ranjit Singh against his father. He recovered a *Jagir* worth rupees 25,000 annually near Kunjah from Ranjit Singh.²¹⁸ Sahib Singh took refuge at Bhimbar. He was living a life of poverty.²¹⁹

In the beginning of 1810, Ranjit Singh occupied Daska from Nidhan Singh *Aattu*. Later in November, Bhag Singh Hallowalia, in Rachna Doab, who with his son, Sobha Singh was present in camp, having incurred the displeasure of the *Maharaja*, was put in chains, all his estates being at the same time sequestered. But

²¹⁴ Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 188; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 383.

²¹⁵ Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 188; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 109-110.

²¹⁶ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, p. 110; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 383.

²¹⁷ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, p. 110; Diwan Amar Nath, *Zaffar-nama-i-Ranjit Singh*, p. 46; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 383.

²¹⁸ Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 45; Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-IV, p. 250.

²¹⁹ Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 81; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar-II*, pp. 114-115.

later he was released by *Maharaja* through the mediation of Mulk Raj and Jaimat Singh.²²⁰

According to Khushwaqat Rai, Ranjit Singh developed friendly relations with Sahib Singh through Fateh Singh *Ahluwalia* and Sodhi Kesra Singh and invited him at Lahore. In 24, November, 1810 Sahib Singh reached Lahore *Darbar*, where Ranjit Singh offered a Jagir to Sahib Singh.²²¹

In 1810, Sahib Singh made complete submission to Ranjit Singh and confirmed *Jagirs* of four villages of Bajwat, Kallowal, Sohawa and Rajiwala, in Sialkot district worth rupees 10, 000 annually till his death which took place in 1814.²²²

Sahib Singh had four wives. His first wife was Raj Kaur, real sister of Ranjit Singh's father Mahan Singh. His second wife was a Nabha princess. Daya Kaur, Daughter of Diwan Singh Virk, was his third wife and Rattan Kaur was forth. Ranjit Singh took two of Sahib Singh's widows, Daya Kaur and Rattan Kaur, into his Harem, marrying them by the ceremony of Chadar Pauna. Daya Kaur was the mother of Princes Peshaura Singh and Kashmera Singh and Rattan Kaur was the mother of Multana Singh.²²³

Sahib Singh *Bhangi* was the last *Sardar* of the *Bhangi Misal* to fall. Thus we can see all the possession of the *Bhangi Sardars* seized one by one by Ranjit Singh till 1810. He easily reduced the whole of the *Bhangis* to submission and allot a *Jagirs* and some posts under his officers for their assistance.²²⁴

²²⁰ Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, pp. 388-89.

²²¹ Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Halat-i-Sikhan*, folio no. 292, DPHS, PUP.

²²² Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, part-III, folio nos. 81-82, DPHS, PUP; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 389. Kanahiya Lal, says that Raj Kaur wife of Sahib Singh request Ranjit Singh, to give the fort Mangala as a *Jagir* to Sahib Singh. Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 201.

²²³ Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, folio no. 481, DPHS, PUP; Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, Vol-I, p. 345; Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 133.

²²⁴ J. A. Grant, *Final Reports on the revision of settlement of the Amritsar District in the Punjab*, 1883-93, Lahore, 1893, p. 7.