

***Rai Ahmad Khan Kharral*(Myth or Reality)**

Abstract

The oral traditions of history make persons so sacred and heroic that anything, which is attached with them, seems to be their vital part and parcel. This type of oral traditions and norms not only portray the heroic figure of that personality, they also give sanctity to the historical figures. The same is the case with *Rai Ahmad Khan Kharral* of District Montgomery (Sahiwal). His contribution as a freedom fighter can not be refuted in the War of Independence (1857) against the British, but a lot of local story-tellers (*Marasis*) and the native literature have portrayed him as a great freedom fighter and leader of the guerrilla operations at the local level. Meanwhile, the official records also give him so much importance – due to his stiff resistance against the British – even he is termed as a rebel against the British. With the passage of time, many folk singers have portrayed him differently, because the information of folk songs and *dhollas* change from individual to individual and singer to singer. In this way, the individuals and singers also add more things about his contribution in the War of Independence (1857).

Key words:

Freedom, fighters, story-tellers, traditions, contribution, guerilla, rebel, participation, chief, resistance, operations, killing, *dholla*, *bar*, objective, hero, independence

*Dholla*¹ breeds and grows on the fertile soil of Punjab. The singers of folk songs and *dhollas* express their emotions and feelings about any personality, which spread like an echo throughout the province. Though its words are not preserved anywhere, rather its words remain transferred from hearts to hearts for the last centuries. In this way, these *dhollas* have no historical record. Even nobody knows at present that who was the poet, who arranged the words of those songs. But those *dhollas* are the recognized part of the bars² of Montgomery district, and the contributions of *Rai Ahmed Khan Kharral* are eulogized through *dhollas* in the three bars of Gogaira District, i.e. *Sandal Bar* (*Lyallpur*, *Kamalia*, *Jhang* districts), *Ganji Bar* (*Okara* and *Depalpur* districts) and *Neeli Bar* (area between the rivers: *Beas* and *Ravi*). Through their *dhollas*, the native narrators are confirmed about his role as a leader of freedom fighters in the Montgomery District. But we do not find much historical evidence about the freedom fighters of *Gogaira* District in the War of Independence (1857), except few lines are mentioned by the British about the rebels of the district. The British administrators and narrators have described their contributions in their biographies and gazetteers. By describing their role, they have actually drawn a difference between

their allies and traitors after the War of Independence (1857). Their writings have declared those tribes as criminal tribes. "These tribes had been cattle-stealers and thieves from time immemorial; but being of no political importance, the Sikhs, after two unsuccessful attempts to conquer them, took only the precaution of having armed escorts when passing through the district, and allowed them to remain in almost undisturbed indulgence of their predatory propensities, especially as these rarely extended beyond their own immediate neighbours; thus they were generally left to settle their raids and their thefts, and to fight out their quarrels among themselves."³ However the objective of tribal chiefs was the achievement for the "emancipation of their beloved homeland."⁴

Early Life:

All the tribes of Gogaira district under the leadership of Ahmed Khan Kharral commenced fighting against the British in the War of Independence (1857). "The undisputed hero of the 1857 War was Ahmad Khan, the chief of the *Kharral* tribe, commanding the entire area between *Sahiwal*⁵ and *Neelibar*⁶. He was an old man of eighty when he took up arms, but he wielded them with the vigour of a strong young man."⁷ He showed great courage, speed and valour to perform many skilful guerrilla operations against the British. *Rai Ahmad Khan Kharral*⁸ was a son of *Nathu Khan*. His tribe occupied a considerable respect among the all tribes of the vicinity. *Rai Saleh Mohammad*, the cousin of *Rai Nathu Khan*, was the chief of his family, but later he conferred the chieftainship to *Rai Ahmad Khan Kharral*. *Rai Ahmad Khan Kharral* took birth in a village *Jhamra of Jhang* district in 1786. The local storytellers describe in a local *Dholla* that "when Rai's mother was expecting and going to show her regards to *Syed Khaki Shah of Jhamra*. A stranger came and showed bestowage before her. His mother inquired from that stranger how did you know me? He said that he did not know you, but I know that child who is in your web."⁹ The researchers and historians do not find any sort of evidence about such incident, but the folk storytellers and *Marasis* portray him an inborn *Pir*¹⁰. In this way, the folk singers and *dhollas* describe him as a spiritual leader of the local people. Though his role in the War of Independence was quite exemplary, but to attach spiritualism with his personality has no historical relevance. As far as his early religious education was concerned, he was sent to a *Madrisa at Kobamay Lasharian* (Present Okara) at the age of eight years. *Hazrat Awais* was his religious leader, spiritual mentor and teacher, who inculcated in him the religious education and consciousness. The native people eulogized his teacher and said that it was the result of his training, which prepared *Rai Ahmad Khan Kharral* for taking stern action against the British. It was also his training on which he followed and practiced in the War of Independence (1857), and resultantly achieved the status of martyrdom.

During his youth, he started seeking the skills of horse riding and war techniques. His father tried his best to give him guerrilla training and horse riding, because these were considered the compulsory symbols and characteristics of a leader at the local level. His uncle *Rai Saleh* was acclaimed the sole representative and leader of the whole *kharral* tribe around the River Ravi. When *Rai Saleh* was breathing his last moments, he said, "His sons are not capable to be the leader of

the whole tribe, because they do not possess the characteristics which are necessary and compulsory for any tribal leader. Therefore, he called upon his nephew, *Rai Ahmed* and nominated as his heir.”¹¹ It shows that his uncle knew the hidden characteristics of *Rai Ahmed Khan* as a leader of tribe. And he proved his leadership qualities in the War of Independence (1857), when he became the leader of freed fighters in 1857. As a chief, he was very kind, honoured and respectable man among the common people. Having undisputed respect and honour among the tribes, everybody praised him and graced him. Even his respect was also shown among the contemporary chiefs of other tribes all over the province at that time. *Zaheer Hassan Wattu* claims, “*Rai Ahmed Kharral* changed the *Pug* with *Sardar Malik Bahalik Wattu*, the *Wattu Ravi* chief on the side of *River Ravi*.”¹² His relationship with the *Sikh Rajas*, particularly *Raja Ranjeet Singh* and *Raja Gulab Singh*, were exemplary. After the Sikh conquest of Punjab, *Raja Ranjeet Singh* came to *Sayyidwala tehsil*, all the local leaders like *Nadir Shah Quraishi*, *Chaudhary Jivay Khan Arain*, *Ahmed Khan Kharral*, *Mehr Singh* (father of *Dhar-e-Singh*), were invited. Every leader introduced himself to the *Raja*, but *Raja Ranjeet Singh* inquired about *Rai Ahmed Khan*, because *Ahmed*’s height and youth impressed him a lot. *Raja Ranjeet Singh* declared him as “his brother.”¹³ With the passage of time, this relationship was further strengthened and converted into family ties. Once *Rai Ahmad Khan* came to see *Raja Ranjeet Singh*, where *Raja* wished to give him a gift and said whatever he wanted he could take. At that time, *Raja* also kept some Muslims behind the bars, because of not giving revenue to the government. *Rai Ahmad Khan* replied that he would take gift of releasing all the captured Muslims, therefore, *Raja Ranjeet Singh* honoured him and released all the Muslims from prison. The local narrators comment that *Ranjeet Singh* released all the Muslim prisoners only, when he took the booty from *Rai Ahmed Khan*. *Rai Ahmed Khan* sent his servant to the wife of *Ranjeet Singh* and demanded the four thousand rupees from her. In this way, *Rai Ahmed* provided that booty of four thousand by taking it from the wife of *Ranjeet Singh*. It shows the family ties and honour of *Rai Ahmed* with *Raja Ranjeet Singh*.

Basically *Rai Ahmed Khan Kharral* was a Punjabi Muslim landlord, who possessed a reasonable territory of land. Having the leadership of *Kharral* tribe with respectable status, this peace-loving *Kharral* chief was converted into a leader of freedom fighters. All this injustice was happened by the hands of the British at that time. His love for his mother-land resulted into differences with the British, which led towards the emergence of famous *Gogera* insurrection. A British compiler of the *Montgomery Gazetteer* says: “*Ahmad* was a man above the average – bold and crafty.”¹⁴

Role of Rai Ahmad in War of Independence (1857)

The role of Punjab as a province in the War of Independence (1857) was quite negligible, but the different areas of Punjab like *Lodhiana*, *Khan Garh*, *Gugera*¹⁵ and *Hissar* were figured prominently in the War of Independence (1857). The British collaborators helped the British in Punjab to suppress the revolts against them. The news of mutiny at *Meerut* and the disarmament of the indigenous soldiers at *Mian Mir* of *Lahore* flamed the ambers of discontentment

among the natives of district, *Gogaira*. On 13th May 1857, the British Deputy Commissioner, Captain *Elphinstone*, ordered the disarmament of the indigenous soldiers of “the 49th N.I. stationed there as Treasury Guard and sent it back to Lahore.”¹⁶ Captain Tronson’s sepoys and his police battalion replaced them and stationed in the district. The employees of *Sikh Jagirdar Baba Khem Singh* and *Sampuram Singh* helped the new British appointed soldiers. The role of *Gogaira* District in the War of Independence (1857) became prominent on the day of 8th July 1857, when the people of Joyia¹⁷ tribe at *Lakho Ka*¹⁸ of *Tehsil Pakpattan* refused to pay taxes and land revenue to the British government.” But the Mutiny Records shows little importance to this event and describes, “On the 8th July 1857 a slight disturbance took place in the *Pak Putton tehseel* at the village of *Lukhoke* on the *Sutluj*. Some *chuprassees*, who had been sent there to collect a balance of revenue, were turned out of the village by the *Lumbardars*.”¹⁹ The people also commenced looting the *Chowkis* of the British Post Offices. Even some places were considered prohibited to the British officers in that locality. Mr. Elphinston, The *Deputy Commissioner* of *Gugaira* took notice of the surveillance of area by the people and dispatched Mr. *Berkeley*, an Assistant Commissioner of *Gugera*, to arrest them. Some people of the area ran away to *Bahawalpur*, the remaining people were also arrested and sent behind the bars.”²⁰ The British later termed the arrested people as “traitors”. At this critical time, *Ahmad Khan Kharral* came forward as a representative of the arrested people. When *Ahmad Khan Kharral* was informed about the conditions of the residents of “*Lakho Ka* at *Tehsil Pakpattan*, he met the *Deputy Commissioner* of *Gugaira* and tried to convince him that those arrested people were innocent, so they would be set free.”²¹ The *Deputy Commissioner* of *Gugaira* told him that they had refused to pay revenue to the government, so they were arrested. But “*Rai Sahab* clearly stated him that no revenue money was due upon them and they were being arrested illegally. If those people were not set free, it would be difficult for the government to control the situation in the district.”²² Resultantly, the Deputy Commissioner accepted the suggestion of *Rai Sahab* and ordered to release the people from jail.

The British administrators were watching the activities of *Ahmad Khan Kharral* with suspicion. It is evident from the facts of Montgomery District Gazetteer, “In 1848 he induced *Dhara Singh*, of the *Gugera Nakkai*, to hold *Satghara* against the English and betrayed him. It was this man who roused the tribes. All the important *Ravi* tribes rose, but the *Sutlej* tribes, with the exception of the *Joyas*, kept generally quiet.”²³ Some native researchers and observers also commented that *Rai Ahmed* and the Deputy Commissioner of the district had a tussle about a mare. Some scholars like *Rana Sarwar* commented, “*Rai Ahmed Khan* was a friend of *English Deputy Commissioner*. He possessed an excellent and fast running mare. The *English Deputy Commissioner* had also listened and seen that mare, so he demanded it from *Rai Sahb*, but he refused to give mare to the Deputy Commissioner. Resultantly, *Rai Ahmad* was arrested.”²⁴ While a young scholar *Zaheer Hassan* claims, “*Pir Fateh Shah*, a resident of *Bala Raja* at *Tehsil Chiniot* of *Jhang district*, possessed an excellent fast running and beautiful mare. The British wanted that mare from him. but he dispatched that mare to *Sardar Rai Ahmed Khan Kharral* of *Jhamra*. When *Berkeley* was known about the mare, he kept her from the residence of *Rai Ahmed*. Resultantly *Rai* aggrieved, because it was against the local tribal traditions of stealing anything without the permission

of the tribal chief.”²⁵ But no such evidence is found in other books about this event except the book of *Zaheer Hassan Wattu*. However, the oral story tellers describe this event as a cause of conflict between *Rai Sahab* and the Deputy Commissioner of the district. Therefore he was put behind the bars. But the local folk singers express in the *Dholas*, “it was Berkeley who invited *Ahmad Khan, Sarang* and other tribal chiefs just after the outbreak in Meerut and asked them to provide recruits and horses to be sent to troubled areas.”²⁶ In this way, the evidence of Ahmed friendship is expressed only in the local folk songs. And this impression is further strengthened by singing in a piece of a *dhola*: “*Berkeley* says: Provide me with horses and men, *Rai Ahmad* and I will secure a citation for you from London. *Rai Ahmad* says: No one in his life ever shares wives, land and mares with others. *Ahmad* and *Sarang* refused pointblank and went back to their village *Jhamara*.”²⁷ The Mutiny Records also show the inefficiency of British administration to capture *Rai Ahmed Khan Kharral*, “At daybreak I received a note from Mr. L. Berkeley informing me that he had not succeeded in intercepting Uhmud, Khurrul; that the boat in which the latter had crossed had been moored in a creek on the opposite side beyond the reach of musketry; and that the chowkeedar in charge of it had declared that he had received strict orders not to let the boat return, an order he was determined to obey, as Uhmud, Khurrul, had become king of the country.”²⁸ In his book, *Role of Wattu in the War of 1857*, *Zaheer Hassan Wattu* has also described this event claims that “when Berkeley was close to capture *Rai Ahmed Kharral*. He crossed the river Ravi through boat. At this time, conversation took place between *Rai Ahmed Khan Kharral* and *Berkeley* on the opposite borders of the river, in which *Rai Sahab* called himself the subject of the king of Delhi.”²⁹ According to the Mutiny Records Correspondence, “that chief himself soon made his appearance, and in reply to Mr. Berkeley’s threats and remonstrances informed him that he had renounced his allegiance to the British Government and considered himself a subject of the king of Delhi, from whom he had received orders to raise the whole country.”³⁰ The reply of *Ahmed* to Berkeley shows the attachment of Ahmed with his land, honour and sovereignty of the soil.

Having his residence at district *Gogera*, *Rai Ahmed*, later, started his rebellion in a wide area of [Punjab, Pakistan](#) covering “[Ganji Bar](#), [Neeli Bar](#) and [Sandal Bar](#)”³¹ area. He led the hundreds of freedom fighters in the War of Independence 1857. Later, he commenced efforts for the union of the [Bari tribes](#) against the rulers.

Ramzan Anwar claimed in his book *Tarikh-i-Sayyidwala* that, “On 20th June 1857, *N. W. Alphinstone*, the District Incharge, with his *naib*, *Mr. Berkley* visited the *Jail*, where he found the illegal commodities and prohibited articles possessed by the prisoners.”³²

The British officials also describe this fact in the Mutiny Records with these words, “On the 20th (June, 1857), when visiting the jail with Mr. Berkeley, the Extra Assistant Commissioner, I discovered a quantity of tobacco sweetmeats, and other prohibited articles under the prisoners, cots...”³³ After investigation, it is said that *Rai Ahmed* visited the jail many times and the British had kept his many friends behind the bars. At jail, he used to consult his companions for breaking the jail. On 26th July 1857, *Ahmed Khan Kharral* with the help of his companions broke the *Gogaira Jail*, which resulted in a conflict between the prisoners and the

British army. "More than 50 persons were killed and injured in this conflict. Though *Rai Ahmed* was escaped and British officials could not arrest him."³⁴ However, *A.D. Ijaz* reveals a tradition and mentions, "More than one hundred and forty five (145) prisoners were killed and their bodies were thrown in a well known as *Bagar ki Dall* near the jail."³⁵ After investigation from the *Daroga* of jail, it was known that *Sardar Ahmed Khan*, the leader of *Kharrral* tribe, used to pay unauthorized visit to the jail. According to *Hashmat Ali Ahmed Khan*, the *Daroga* of jail, "he (*Ahmed Khan*) was his spiritual leader, so he gave permission to him for the unauthorized visit to the jail and provided illegal articles to the prisoners."³⁶ The Official Records also describe about the investigation that, "An investigation took place, which resulted in the dismissal of the Jail Darogha for neglect; and a circumstance was then elicited which at the time appeared insignificant, but to which subsequent events have led me to attach more importance. The *Darogah* had allowed *Uhmud Khan*, the chief of the *Khurrals*, to visit the jail without my knowledge,---a fact he then explained that *Uhmud Khan* his religious father; that he had known him for many years; and that he had protected his family during former insurrection."³⁷ According to the British compiler of *Montgomery District Gazetteer*, "Apparently no satisfactory proof could be found against *Ahmad Khan*, who, however, had promptly fled from *Gugera* as soon as the jail outbreak occurred."³⁸ Listening the British ferocious attitude towards the prisoners at jail, "*Rai Sahab* put himself before the court of Deputy Commissioner. He was sent behind the bars in *Gogaira*."³⁹ The news of his imprisonment spread like fire across the district and people started protesting against the government. The District Administration decided to set *Rai Ahmad* free after observing the situation closely.

On 16th August, 1857, *Sarfraz Khan Kharrral* acted as "a loyal informer and wrote to British district incharge about the causes of the break of *Gogaira* jail. According to him, the basic reason behind the break of jail was that the all round tribal chiefs of River Ravi had gathered in jail and their number was thousands. In order to inform the Commissioner Multan, the District Incharge instructed a *Tehsildar* for giving information to Commissioner, but he was intercepted by the people of *Murdana* tribe."⁴⁰ Therefore, the British government called the chiefs of Ravi and *Sutluj* and instructed them not to leave their areas without the permission of government. For this reason, the chiefs would not be able together against the British. Meanwhile the government also enhanced the number of local forces. "On 17th September, the government convened the meeting of Ravi chiefs at *Kamalia*. But *Ahmad Khan Kharrral* made all the chiefs realized the sense of patriotism and persuaded them to boycott the meeting. All the chiefs did not participate and left for their respective areas for organizing the people against the British."⁴¹ *Sarfraz Ahmed Khan Kharrral* was also one among the participants, but he informed the *English Deputy Commissioner* about the activities of the participants and the freedom fighters.

The British historians and administrators always describe the War of Independence (1857) as negligible event, but the official records show something different from the administrators' claims. A British historian, J. Cave-Brown, wrote in his book, *The Punjab and Delhi in 1857*, with these words, "Drums were heard beating in all parts of the adjoining jungle, and spies reporting large

gatherings there, varying from 3000 to 5000, but the grass was so high and thick that not a man could be seen.”⁴²

According to Branderth, Secretary to Chief Commissioner of Punjab, wrote a letter to Secretary (Foreign Affairs) Government of India, “These clans can muster some 20 to 30,000 men, and occupy a tract of country in the Googaira District of full 40 to 50 miles in breadth, and from 70 to 80 in length. They have few villages, and generally reside in temporary grass huts, which are constructed in such localities as afford the best pasturage and water for their numerous herds of cattle. They are known under the domination of *Khurruls*, *Khattias*, *Wattoos*, *Fatwanas* and other names, and are of *Jat* lineage.”⁴³

The Official Mutiny Records describe that, “On the evening of the memorable 14th of September (the assault of Delhi) a Mahomedan official of the postal department arrived at Lahore from Googaira, came before the Chief Commissioner, and reported, with a somewhat malicious twinkles of the eye, that all the wild and predatory tribes inhabiting the jungly country between Lahore and Mooltan had risen. In reply to a question, he further informed the Chief Commissioner that the numbers of the insurgents to exactly 125000 men.”⁴⁴

The British forces possessed advanced weapons and they used the weapons without any hurdle in the War. But the local tribes of *Googaira* district had not even a single weapon to fight with the British. They fought with the British without guns and bullets. The British suspected that the rebels achieved the weapons from the Multan, but this supply of weapons had no historical relevance and no proof was found in this aspect. They made their tools and weapons from the blacksmith. The British historians describe that, “In the district around are numerous Mohammedan tribes of *Jut* origin, at present degenerated into cattle-feeders and cattle-stealers, who nevertheless retained somewhat of their ancestral love of war and plunder; hundreds and thousands oh whom wanted only the opportunity and encouragement to spring up armed—for though nominally disarmed, what Punjabee does not know where to lay hands on his weapon in time of need?—and at the first sound of the war—cry, “Deen! Deen! (religion), in Moslem fanaticism, they would have made Mooltan their rallying-point.”⁴⁵

The War of Independence was not a war for the Muslims only, rather it was a combined war of the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. So to declare it a war of the Muslims only is based on injustice. The Gazetteer of Jhang District 1883-83 shows that, “On the 17th September, the bar tribes rose, the villagers of this district maintained but a doubtful neutrality. Communication between *Jhang* and *Lahore* were cut off. For some time great anxiety was felt at Lahore as to what had occurred there. It was known that many of the minor police stations had been rifled, and that the tribes around were all in rebellion.”⁴⁶

Leader and Saviour of People Liberation:

The people of various tribes found *Rai Ahmad Khan Kharral* as their real leader and true survivor against the British armies. “*Ahmad Khan Kharral* had established a parallel government in the district contrast to the British government.”⁴⁷ For the three months, *Rai Ahmed Khan Kharral* commanded the

freedom fighters and made their homeland absolutely free from the [British Raj](#). *Ahmed Ghazali* stated in his book *Sandal Bar* about the valor and bravery of the companions of *Rai Ahmed Kharral* like; “This reality can not be refuted that companions of *Rai Khan Kharral* like *Murad Fatiana*, *Dalil Fatiana*, *Malik Sardar Khan*, *Dalidar Khan*, *Pir Nadir Shah*, *Murdana Baloch*, *Lal Khan Kathia*, *Mokha Vehni Wal*⁴⁸ etc. show sincerity to him, who remained on the side of *Rai Ahmad* in the crucial moments. The resemblance of character of *Rai Ahmad Khan* can be found in his companions.”⁴⁹ *Ahmed Khan Kharral* also wanted homogeneity and unitedness among the tribes of district for their common cause of independence. For this purpose, a gathering of *Mujaheedin* was called in at *Kamalia* on 16th September 1857, in which the leaders of *Gogaia* and *Jhang* districts participated. “*Kamalia* was chosen as a venue of this important gathering, because *Ahmad Khan Kharral* wanted to see *Sarfaraz Khan Kharral* on the side of *Mujaheedin*⁵⁰ against the British.”⁵¹ But on the same night, *Sarfaraz Khan Kharral* came to meet Captain *Elphinstone* and told him that “all the chiefs of the *Ravi* tribes who had been called into *Kamalia* had fled, evidently with the intention of rising in their villages.”⁵² In this way, the sense of tribal jealousy of *Sarfaraz Khan Kharral* was converted into the slaughtering the spirit of nationalism and he became an informer of the British. *A. D. Ijaz* describes the “role of *Machhi Singh Arora of Kaliana* in helping the British against the Muslims. He belonged to *Tehsil Pakpattan*.”⁵³ He also mentions that *Gulab Ali Chisti*, an influential person of *Lal Beg* at *Pakpattan Tehsil*, provided information to the British about the activities of *Mujaheedin* around the sides of River *Sutluj* at *Tehsil Pakpattan*. He was rewarded with gifts.”⁵⁴

The provincial Punjab government received an express on 16th evening of September about the volatile situation at *Futtipoor Gogeirah*, in which it was reported that, “the *Khurruls*, a wild and predatory race, whose chief support consists in their large herds of cattle, which roam through the wastes of the southern portion of the *Rechnah Doab*, had collected to the number of some thousands and intended to attack the place. Their chief had given out that he had received orders from the King of *Delhy* to perform this service. But plunder and the weakness of the Police Force at *Futtipur Gogeirah* (a large portion of the original establishment have been drafted to serve in *Hurriana* with General Van Cortlandt) had probably led to this attempt.”⁵⁵ The Punjab Government Mutiny Record also shows the British steps for suppressing this uprising against the British. “Two hundred Sikh *sowars* of the regiment lately raised at Lahore for service in *Hindustan* were at once dispatched to *Futtipoor Gogeirah*, a distance of 75 miles. And they were followed before morning by a company of Her Majesty’s 81st carried in native carriages, three Horse Artillery guns, one company of Military Police and 50 Police Horse.”⁵⁶ In order to control the volatile situation in the vicinity, the British authorities dispatched *Memahon*, Extra Assistant Commissioner, to *Kot Kamalia* of the *Gugaira* district. A party of police horse was also led by him; “but it had been pillaged before his arrival, and he was soon after recalled by Captain Hawes, Lieutenant Lane, Assistant Commissioner, had command of the *Leiah Levy*; while Captain *Hawed* joined Major chamberlain’s force, and remained with it as Civil Officer till the defeat of the rebels at *Kamalia* some time after.”⁵⁷

In his political report to Government of India, Sir J. Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of Punjab writes, "A serious attack has come from Gogaira, which is situated at the south of Lahore, between Ravi and Satluj. On 16th September, an employee of Post Office has come, having tears in his eyes and he has told me that all the villagers, belonging to an area between Multan and Lahore, stood against the British. Their number is approximately one lac and twenty five thousand person, out of total three lac of the district.....it is necessary to investigate the causes of rebellion. It should be also kept in mind that no control has maintained over the rebellion till the conquest of Delhi..[san]."⁵⁸

The Punjab Government Mutiny Record also mentions the conditions of rebellious tribes against the British authorities with these words, "The *Khurruls* can have but few arms, and these of the worst description, being such as they must have buried or concealed in the mud walls of their houses. But they can collect in large numbers, and disaffection, if successful, is contagious. In the meantime the *Kuttias*⁵⁹, another predatory pastoral race in the wilds of the *Baree Doab*, who are only divided from the *Khurruls* by the *Ravee*, commenced plundering. They disarmed various small bodies of Police on the *Multan* high road, attacked and robbed the mail cart, carried off some horses from the post houses. The *Wuttos*⁶⁰, a third race of like character, began also to assemble on the right bank of the *Sutledge*."⁶¹ But "on the Ravi, the *Wattus* rose in 1857, and are still addicted to cattle thieving. The *Sutlej Wattus*, however, behaved generally well during the rebellion."⁶²

The *Deputy Commissioner of Futtipoor Gogeirah*, Lieutenant *Elphinstone*, seemed to be much determined for getting support from Lahore. Therefore he dispatched Mr. *L. Berkeley*, the Extra Assistant Commissioner, with a force of 150 newly raised soldiers, who suddenly attacked the chief *Khurrul* village. It resulted into skirmishes with the people of *Jhamra*. They also made seventy people prisoners and seized 200 head of cattle. "The Sikh Horse will be at *Futtipoor Gogeirah* to-day, and it is to be hoped will enable Lieutenant *Elphinstone* to punish the *Khurruls* still further and attack the *Kuttias*."⁶³ Though *Ahmad Khan Kharral* was escaped, but *Jhamra* was burnt by the British armies. Now the *Rai Ahmad* was dependent upon the help of *Wattu* tribe, resided in the west of *Jhamra*. The *Momand Kathia* and *Nathu Kathia* combined the strength of the sub castes of the *Kathia* tribe in the War of Independence, which resulted in the capture of *Harrapa* by *Walidad*⁶⁴. *Berkley* started operation against *Walidad*, who led a gathering of *Murdanas*, *Fattiana* and *Tarana*. They also seized the *Multan-Lahore* GT road for seven days. Now Mr.*Berkley* with 60 horsemen moved towards *Kaure Shah*, so that communicative blockade between *Multan* and *Harrapa* could be cleared. The concerned officer has described the importance of communicative channel between Lahore and *Multan* in the Punjab Government Mutiny Correspondence in these words; "The only very important feature in the matter is that the road to *Multan*, our only line of communication at present with Bombay, lies through this very district. It is, however, anticipated that security will be very soon restored."⁶⁵ Even this blockade was quoted in American newspaper *New York Daily Tribune* in which *Karl Marx* wrote an essay regarding this blockade. *Karl Marx* commented, "Another danger had emerged for the British in Punjab, because communicative route between Lahore to Multan had been stopped

for the last eight days.”⁶⁶ The British also claimed that they had, now, controlled the rebellion of the native tribes and praise their administrative steps and efforts against the tribes. “The predatory tastes of these tribes were now checked by laws vigorously enforced, involving punishment and restitution; and under the influence of these stringent measures, the road from Lahore to Mooltan had become as safe as any in Bengal.”⁶⁷

Berkeley continued his march towards *Muhammadpur*, and took a circuitous route towards the *Ravi*, so that he could disperse all the insurgents, who were trying to be assembled again. At *Kaure Shah*, the freedom fighters suddenly attacked him in a riverside jungle. “In the confusion Mr. *Berkley* was cut off, and, after making a gallant resistance single handed, was killed. More than 50 of his detachment were also killed. The remainder rallied, and returned to *Nur Shah*.”⁶⁸ The people of this tribe also injured *Captain Snow* and surrounded the *Major Chamberlain* at *Chicha Vati*⁶⁹ for many days and faced the bullets and bombs from the British, possessing locally made weapons.”⁷⁰ At this critical time, “*Kanhya Ram Arora*, a Hindu resident of *Chichawatni*, made collaboration with the British. He provided information to the British officers at *Gugaira*, when *Mujaheedin* confined *Major Chamberlain*.”⁷¹ In the battlefield of *Chichawatni*, he opposed the Muslims very bitterly. On 21 September 1857, *Berkeley* received reliable information from *Baba Khem Singh* that “*Ahmad* with a large body of *Wattus* had retreated into the jungle near *Gashkori*, some six miles south of *Gugera*.”⁷² It is said that the employees of *Dhara Singh* provided information to British about the activities of the freedom fighters. *Captain Black* and *Lieutenant Chichester* jointly took action against the so called “traitors” and *Rai Ahmad Khan Kharral* with *Sarang*, chief of the *Begke Kharrals*, were martyred. On the same day, “*Ahmad Khan* was shot dead in the battlefield of *Noorey di Dall* (*Gishkori* in *Okara* district) while he was saying his afternoon prayers. And for the poet, *Ahmad Khan* was a martyr who had joined the *Imam* (of *Karbala*).”⁷³ The *Mutiny Correspondence of the Punjab Government Record* shows that, “The jungle was heavy, 14 or 15 of the sowars were killed, and remainder had some difficulty in extricating themselves. They were, however, soon rallied by their officers near a ravine, and several of the insurgents who had ventured so far in the pursuit were cut down, among the *Ahmad Khan* himself, his nephew *Moorad* and *Sarand*, the chief of the *Begke Khurrals*.”⁷⁴

In the local literature, it is claimed that the British did not recognize *Rai Ahmed Khan*, when he was offering his *Asar* prayer in the jungles. “It was *Dhara Singh Bedi*⁷⁵ and *Khem Singh Bedi*, who made the British recognized about *Rai Sahb*. A British soldier, *Gulab Rai Bedi*, shot *Rai Ahmed*. When he was near to climb upon the horse, *Dhara Singh Bedi* and *Khem Singh Bedi* told the British if he would ride over the horse, nobody would be safe. Resultantly, *Gulab Rai Bedi* opened the second fire and *Rai Sahb* became a martyr.”⁷⁶ Meanwhile twenty British soldiers were also killed on the spot. *A.D.Ijaz* describes in his famous book, *Kal Bulandi* that “*Sampuran Singh Bedi* remained side by side with the British in the area. Even he provided armed force to the British for the protection of *Gogaira jail*.”⁷⁷ In his book *Kal Bulandi*, *A.D.Ijaz* also claims that *Nahal Singh* fought against the Muslims in the battle of *Gogaira*. He showed so much determination to the British against the Muslims. He patronized the people of his tribe for joining

the British army. He combined all the Sikh soldiers of Punjab and gave them as a force to the British.”⁷⁸ The local literature and folk singers also express in *dholas* that the head of *Rai Ahmed* had the same fate like that of *Hazrat Imam Hussain*⁷⁹. The British forces cut his head from the body and put it on the sword and pasted his head on the wall of *Gogaira* jail. “On the same place, his head remained hang for six days. They also called him a traitor. Meanwhile his body was brought by the freedom fighters and buried it.”⁸⁰ However, the British narrators describe him as a rebel in their documents. The Chief of the Khurrul tribe, by name Ahmed Khan, was a traitor at heart; he had been in constant communication with the rebels of Delhi and Hansi, and (as he boasted) with the king of Delhi himself.”⁸¹ Even *Bahadur Shah Zafar*, the last *Mughal* king, also acknowledged Ahmed’s efforts for the emancipation of the soil against the British rule. A well-known lawyer and author, *Aitzaz Ahsan* writes, “On 21 September 1857, Ahmed Khan died fighting near Gogera. His head was severed and placed atop an earthen pitcher for display to the general public. But the Khararls manifested initiative even in defeat.”⁸²

It is also said that a *guard*, who had great spiritual affiliation with *Rai Ahmed*, saw a dream, in which *Rai Sahb* was saying him “what are you doing with your soil? The British will take his head to London, away from his own land. Take my head from here and take it to *Jhamra*.”⁸³ That guard took his head, put in an earthen pot. He brought it to *Jhamra* and buried it. Later his mausoleum was constructed in 1976 and his head was buried with his body. It is also said that when his head was taken after digging the soil, the flowing of blood was imminent and it was looking too fresh after more than a century.

In the folk songs and stories, it is manifested with conformity that *Rai Ahmad Khan Kharral* involved in the killing of *Berkeley*, Assistant Commissioner of the district. However, *Ahmad Ghazali* has claimed in his book *Sandal Bar*, “*Murad Fattiana*⁸⁴ was that person who killed Berkeley, the British Assistant Commissioner, with his weapon. Later *Murad Fattiana* with his brother, *Bhawal Khan*, was sent to *Kala Pani* as a sentence to them, from where they never returned back.”⁸⁵ *Adil Mushtaq* describes in his book, *Tarikh-i-Sahiwal* that “on 21, September, *Berkeley* was sent for maintaining the link between Gogaira and Multan districts. He was burning all the residences on the way. After burning the mausoleum of *Mian Mastana* near *Nur Shah*⁸⁶, he then turned towards the *Koray Shah* and inhabited near *Mehr Shah Pattan*.”⁸⁷ On listening the news of Berkeley’s arrival, the freedom fighters wanted to take revenge of the martyrdom of Rai Ahmed. They started fighting and killed *Berkeley*. In a local dholla, it is expressed that “*Murad Fattiana* put his sword on the heart of Berkeley. While *Shujay Bhadro* finally killed Berkeley with his stick, when he was falling from his horse and enlightened his predecessors. When the mare reached near the bungalow of Gogaira without her raider (*Berkeley*), the British women started crying from the bungalow.”⁸⁸ Those freedom fighters also cut the head of *Berkeley* and went to *Jalhi*, beating drums. Taking the revenge of *Rai Ahmed Khan*, *Walidad Murdana* cut heads of many British soldiers and put in the river.

A famous native author of *Tarikh-i-Pakpattan*, *Allah Bakhsh Tariq* also describes that “the freedom fighters killed *Berkeley* with his fifty companions. Mr. *Berkeley* was killed by the hands of *Murad*, belonged to the *Fattiana* tribe. After

listening the news about the death of *Berkeley*, the British began bombing over the villages of freedom fighters and suppressed the revolts of people, belonged to the tribes of *Fattiana*⁸⁹, *Mardana*⁹⁰, *Bheghelas*, *Kharral* and *Joyia* and this episode continued till 14 October, 1857.”⁹¹ A well known scholar and researcher, *Shafqat Tanvir Mirza*, also admits and supports the evidence that Berkeley, Assistant Commissioner, was killed “two days after the death of Ahmad Khan.”⁹² It is also said that *Sujay Bhadro* participated very actively in the War of Independence (1857). Having the close association with the leading tribes of the district, he spread the national feelings and determination among the tribes of *Sath Garha*, *Saiyad Wala*, *Jhamra* and *Kathia* tribes against the British Government. He took part in the battle of *Koray Shah* with his four brothers. A local writer, *Adil Mushtaq* claims in his book, *Tarikh-i-Sahiwal*, that “with *Murad Fattiana*, he was also involved in killing the British Assistant Commissioner, *Berkeley*.”⁹³ It shows that the claims of local story tellers and recitation of Dholas, that the killing of *Berkeley* was done by the hands of *Rai Ahmed Khan Kharral*, do not have any historical evidence.

The British administrators claim in the Mutiny Records that *Rai Ahmed Khan Kharral* could not get the support of his own *kharral* tribe during his initial struggle. They write, “The Kharrals of that part of the district could never be induced again by Uhmud Khan to combine against us, and that chief after several fruitless efforts to accomplish this was obliged to join with his immediate dependents, the Wattoo tribe, on the left bank of the river.”⁹⁴ *Malik Bahalik Wattu* was a resident of *Khudiya Wattua* in *Gugera* District. Due to his efforts, the *Wattus* of *Ravi* combined at *Nooray ki Dal* near *Gashkoria* against the British forces. He is remembered as a hero among the younger generation residing around the *Ravi*.⁹⁵ *Malik Rahem Khan Wattu*, *Matta Ali Wattu*, *Mailk Hassan Ali Wattu*, *Malik Siyad Wattu*, *Malik Jalha Wattu*, *Malik Bhawal Wattu* etc. played very notable role in the War of Independence (1857). “This effectively quelled the Kharrals of that part of the country, and Ahmad had in future to rely upon the support of neighbouring Wattoo tribe to the west of the Jhamra.”⁹⁶ They posed serious threat to the British armies in the District *Gugera*. In the month of October, various operations were taken against the tribes of *Fattiana*, *Murdanas* etc on the north side of the *Ravi*. Those were concentrated in the dense *Jalli* jungles and other tribes like *Bhainiwals* and *Baghelas* also joined them. Though the *Kharrals* and *Wattus* were defeated and returned to their native villages, but the *Joiyas* killed an English officer, Lieutenant Neville, who was passing through the *Kabula*.

Many collaborators helped the British forces in defeating *Rai Ahmad Khan*. “*Sarfraz Khan Kharral*’s spying mission was successful and he along with chiefs from Multan like *Sadiq Mohammad Khan Badozai*, *Murad Shah Gardezi*, *Shah Mahmood Qureshi*, *Makhdooms*⁹⁷ of *Pakpattan*, *Machhia* and *Bahawal*⁹⁸ of *Ningrrials* (*Langrrials*), *Jeevey Khan*⁹⁹ of *Akbar*, *Murad Shah*¹⁰⁰ of *Dola Bala*, *Sardar Shah of Khanda* and *Gulab Ali Chishti*¹⁰¹ of *Tibbi Lal Beg* were duly compensated for their “meritorious services” to the British.”¹⁰² The prominent Sikh landlords also remained on the side of the British forces against *Rai Ahmad Khan Kharral* and gained *Jagirs* as a reward from the British government.”¹⁰³ Those British collaborators served the British interests in the district. They not only gained *Jagirs*, but also performed administrative functions as *Zaildars*,

tehsildars and other dignitaries at the lowest level. A local researcher, Saeed Bhutta claims that “after the martyrdom of Rai Ahmed Khan Kharral, his son, Muhammad Khan Kharral, put himself before the British administration and they granted him forgiveness.”¹⁰⁴ But the contributions of freedom fighters are recorded in the hearts of people, which remain transferred from generation to generation in the shape of *dhollas*.

* Saeed Ahmed Butt Assistant Professor GCU Lahore.

¹*Dholla* is a popular, beloved and ancient romantic type of Punjabi poetry. Its words are not preserved anywhere, rather its words remain transferred from hearts to hearts for the last centuries.

²*Bar* was the high land in the *doabs* between Punjab’s rivers, outside the action of river floods. The Bar is un-settled area, having grass and forest shrubs. This area is irrigated by the seasonal rainfall. Before digging the canals up, the districts of Western Punjab were considered the part of Bar. There were five well known Bars named as *Karara Bar* (District *Sargodha*), *Gondal Bar* (District *Mandi Baha-u-Din*), *Sandal Bar* (*Lyallpur, Kamalia, Jhang* districts) , *Ganji Bar* (*Okara and Depalpur* districts) and *Neeli Bar* (area between *Beas* and *Ravi*). Interview from Prof Saeed Bhutta, Punjabi Department, PU Lahore

³ Cave Brown, *The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, Part II* (William Blackwood and Sons, London, 1861),p.206

⁴ Trans. Ashraf Qudsi, *Montgomery or Sahiwal*, selections from the 15th day *Fardan*, (Khas Publication published by Bazm-i-Adab, Sahiwal, 1967),p.33

⁵ Sahiwal was a small village of district Gogaira (Montgomery) in which the inhabitants of Sahu or Sahi tribe were residing. The British made Sahiwal the regional headquarter of *Gogaira* district due to its geographical importance and passing of railway line and Grand Trunk road through it. Gogaira was the district, consisting of Pakpattan and Depalpur tehsils. Later, the British constituted a new district known as Montgomery (Sahiwal) and abolished the status of Gogaira as a district.

⁶*Neelibar* is a famous part of [Gogera \(District Sahiwal\)](#). It is an area between the rivers, Ravi and Chenab.

⁷Aitzaz Ahsan, *The Indus Saga and the Making of Pakistan* (Oxford University Press) p.230

⁸ The *Kharrals* are *Rajputs*. Their ancestor was *Raja* Karn of *Hastinapur*. His descendent Bhupa left that place and came to Uch, where he and his son Kharral were converted by *Makhdum Jahania Shah*. From Uch the *Kharrals* spread over the country about the Ravi. They appear to have settled first in the Sandal Bar (Lyallpur District) Montgomery District Gazetteer, 1933 (Lahore,1935),p.94

⁹ Trans. Saeed Bhutta, *Nabar Kahani* (Sanjh Publishers, Lahore, 2010),p.27-28

¹⁰*Pir* is a spiritual leader of the local people.

¹¹ Ibid.,p.47

¹²Zaheer Hassan Wattu, *Role of Wattu in the War of 1857* (Sanjh Publishers, Lahore, 2005), p.35. In the Punjabi language, the word *Pug* meansturban. The change of turban with anybody shows the brotherhood.

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- ¹³ Trans. Saeed Bhutta, Nabar Kahani (Sanjh Publishers, Lahore, 2010),p.48
- ¹⁴ Montgomery District Gazetteer, 1933 (Lahore,1935),p.44
- ¹⁵ *Gogaira*, now in Okara district, was the head-quarter of Montgomery district which then comprised the areas of Okara, Pakpattan and Sahiwal.
- ¹⁶ Montgomery District Gazetteer, 1933 (Lahore,1935),p.44-45
- ¹⁷ *Joiyas* are an extensive tribe on the lower Sutlej, occupying both banks of the river from nearly opposite Pakpattan to Kahrur in the Multan district. A few of them have migrated and settled near the Ravi. Two of their principal clans, the Admeras and Saleras, are almost confined to Bahawalpur territory. In 1857, they revolted. They were fined heavily and were not recovered from the effects of punishment for a long time. They subsequently lost a good deal of land from riverain action. They were notoriously called thieves who were reported to care little for agriculture and to occupy themselves with cattle breeding.
- ¹⁸ *Lakho Ka* was a small village of *Tehsil Pakpattan* in *Gogaira (Sahiwal)* district. The people of *Joya* tribe of *Lakho Ka* at *Tehsil Pakpattan* refused to give taxes and land revenue to the British government.
- ¹⁹ Mutiny Reports from Punjab and N.W.F.P., Vol.II, Lahore,1991,p.45
- ²⁰ Trans. *Ahmad Ghazali, Sandal Bar* (Feroz sons limited Lahore, 1988),p.276
- ²¹ Trans. *Ramzan Anwar, Tarikh-i-Sayyidwala* (Aqeel Publishers Lahore, 1993),p.147
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ Montgomery District Gazetteer, 1933 (Lahore, 1935),p.44-45.
- ²⁴ Rana Sarwar was a president of Tehrik-Istiqlal, Sahiwal.
- ²⁵ *Zaheer Hassan Wattu, Role of Wattu in the War of 1857* (Sanjh publishers, Lahore, 2005), p.34-35
- ²⁶ Shafqat Tanvir Mirza, The day Ahmad Kharal fell, The Dawn: September 22, 2006
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Punjab Government, Mutiny Records: Correspondence, Part II (Lahore, 1911),p.46
- ²⁹ *Zaheer Hassan Wattu, Role of Wattu in the War of 1857*,(Sanjh publishers, Lahore, 2005),p.41
- ³⁰ Mutiny Reports from Punjab and N.W.F.P., Vol.II, Lahore,1991,p.46
- ³¹ An area between rivers [Sutlej](#), [Ravi River](#) and [Chenab](#) covered with thick forests in the past. These bars are situated presently in the districts of Jhang, Sahiwal, Depalpur, Okara and Pakpattan.
- ³² Trans. *Mufti Zia-ul-Hassan, Jang-i-Azadi Mein Sahiwal ka Hisa*, from the 15th day *Fardan*, (Khas Publication published by Bazm-i-Adab,Sahiwal,1967),p.33

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- ³³ Mutiny Reports from Punjab and N.W.F.P., Vol.II, Lahore,1991,p.42
- ³⁴ Trans. Ashraf Qudsi, *Montgomery or Sahiwal*, selections from the 15th day *Fardan*, (Khas Publication published by Bazm-i-Adab, Sahiwal, 1967),p.33
- ³⁵ A.D.Ijaz, *Kal Bulandi* (Lahore, 1983),p.57
- ³⁶ Trans. Mufti Zia-ul-Hassan, *Jang-i-Azadi Mein Sahiwal ka Hisa*, from the 15th day *Fardan*, (Khas Publication published by Bazm-i-Adab,Sahiwal,1967),p.74
- ³⁷ Punjab Government, Mutiny Records: Correspondence, Part II (Lahore, 1911),p.43
- ³⁸ Montgomery District Gazetteer, 1933 (Lahore,1935),p.45
- ³⁹ Trans. Ramzan Anwar, *Tarikh-i-Sayyidwala* (Aqeel Publishers Lahore, 1993),p.148
- ⁴⁰ Trans. Mufti Zia-ul-Hassan, *Jang-i-Azadi Mein Sahiwal ka Hisa*, from the 15th day *Fardan*, (Khas Publication published by Bazm-i-Adab,Sahiwal,1967),p.75
- ⁴¹ Trans. Ashraf Qudsi, *Montgomery or Sahiwal*, selections from the 15th day *Fardan*, (Khas Publication published by Bazm-i-Adab, Sahiwal, 1967),p.33
- ⁴² J. Cave-Brown, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, Part II (William Blackwood and Sons, London, 1861),p.206
- ⁴³ Punjab Government, Mutiny Records: Correspondence, Part II (Lahore, 1911),p.83
- ⁴⁴ Ibid.,p.358
- ⁴⁵ J. Cave-Brown, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, Part II (William Blackwood and Sons, London, 1861),p.122
- ⁴⁶ Gazetteer of Jhang District 1883-83 Punjab Government),p.37
- ⁴⁷ Trans. Ahmad Ghazali, *Sandal Bar* (Feroz sons limited Lahore, 1988),p.276
- ⁴⁸ *Wahniwals* called themselves the *Bhatti Rajputs*, “they belonged to a *Jat* clan (agricultural) found in *Multan* and under the name of *Wahniwal-Bhatti*, as a *Rajput* clan (agricultural) in Montgomery. It is believed that they came from the *Hissar* direction and started concentrating in the vicinity of *Kamalia*. With the *Baghelas*, they held the land around *Kamalia*, on the right bank of *Ravi*. They possessed the same habits and appearance like the other *Jat* tribes of the district.
- ⁴⁹ Trans. Ahmad Ghazali, *Sandal Bar* (Feroz sons limited Lahore, 1988),p.277
- ⁵⁰ *Mujahadeen* are those people who fight for Islam.
- ⁵¹ Trans. Ramzan Anwar, *Tarikh-i-Sayyidwala* (Aqeel Publishers, Lahore, 1993),p.149. In 1857 *Ahmad*, a resident of *Jhamra*, was the leader of the *Uperas*: and *Sarfraz Khan*, of *Kamalia*, was the chief of the *Lakheras*.
- ⁵² Montgomery District Gazetteer, 1933 (Lahore,1935),p.46
- ⁵³ A.D.Ijaz, *Kal Bulandi* (Lahore, 1983),p.51

⁵⁴A.D.Ijaz, *Kal Bulandi* (),p.47

⁵⁵Punjab Government Record, Mutiny Correspondence, Vol. VII Part II (Punjab Govt. Press 1911),p.59

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Gazetteer of Jhang District 1883-83 Punjab Government),p.37

⁵⁸ Trans. *Mufti Zia-ul-Hassan, Montgomery to Sahiwal*, from the 15th day *Fardan*, (Khas Publication published by Bazm-i-Adab,Sahiwal,1967),p.33

⁵⁹ *Kathias* claim themselves *Punwar Rajputs*. Mr. Purser mentions about the origin of *Kathia* in these words, “The *Kathias* have been identified with the *Kathaioi* of Alexander’s time.” They had a unique position as compared to the other tribes of Great *Ravi*. According to the historical account of the *Kathias*, they were the descendent of *Raja Karan, Surajbansi. Bikaner* was their original hometown, later they left it and migrated and laid the foundation of a new state known as *Kathiwar*. From *Sirsa* to *Bahawalpur*, they migrated to *Kabula*. After a quarrel with the *Blochis* at *Dera Dinpanah*, they left this place. Then *Kathias* obtained their footing in the district, when they started thieving activities in the district and “stole the cattle of *Alawal Khan* of *Kamalia*. *Saadat Yar Khan* obtained the release of their leaders (who were imprisoned on account of this affair), on condition of their settling on the *Ravi*. The *Kathias* could be divided into two sub-castes like the *Kathias* proper and the *Baghelas*, who were concentrated in the vicinity of *Kamalia*.

⁶⁰ The *Wattus* claimed themselves as descent from *Raja Salvahan* of *Sialkot*. They settled on the both banks of *Sutlej* for about 60 miles. The *Wattus* date their conversion to Islam by *Baba Farid*, from the time of *Khiwa* who ruled at *Haveli* in *Montgomery*, and was succeeded by the famous *Wattu* chief, *Lakhe Khan*. They hold both banks of the *Sutlej* in the *Sirsa* district, and the adjoining parts of *Montgomery* and *Bahawalpur*. They also occupied some tract of *Gugera*, but nothing is confirmed about the *RaviWattus* settlement. When they came from the *Sutlej*, the *Ravi Kharrals* received them with hospitality. “The *Wattus* pride themselves on their politeness and hospitality. They are of only moderate industry, profuse in expenditure on special occasions, indifferent to education and exceedingly fond of cattle. Most of them adopted cattle thieving as a profession in the area.

⁶¹ Punjab Government Record, Mutiny Correspondence, Vol. VII Part II (Punjab Govt. Press 1911),p.59-60

⁶² Montgomery District Gazetteer, 1933 (Lahore,1935),p.95

⁶³ Ibid.,p.60

⁶⁴ *Walidad* was a headman of the *Murdanas* of *Muhammadpur at Harrapa*, a small village of *Sahiwal.Harrapa* is also famous due to its ancient Indian civilizations. He was also a Imam Masjid.

⁶⁵ Punjab Government Record, Mutiny Correspondence, Vol. VII Part II (Punjab Govt. Press 1911),p.60

⁶⁶ Trans. Aziz-ud-Din Ahmad, Punjab and its Foreign Invaders (Book Home Lahore,2007),p.143

⁶⁷ J. Cave-Brown, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, Part II (William Blackwood and Sons, London, 1861),p.202

⁶⁸ Montgomery District Gazetteer, 1933 (Lahore,1935),p.47

⁶⁹ *Chicha Vatni* is an old inhabitation of the people, but the modern mandi was established in 1916. it is the biggest market of wheat and cotton.

⁷⁰ Trans. Adil Mushtaq, *Tarikh-i-Sahiwal* (Faridia Printing Press, Sahiwal,2009),p.37-38

⁷¹ Trans. A.D.Ijaz, *Kal Bulandi* (Lahore, 1983),p.51. *Kanhya Ram Arora* was a Hindu resident of *Chichawatni*.

⁷² Montgomery District Gazetteer, 1933 (Lahore,1935),p.46

⁷³ *Shafqat Tanvir Mirza*, The day Ahmad Kharal fell, The Dawn: September 22, 2006

⁷⁴ Punjab Government Record, Mutiny Correspondence, Vol. VII Part II (Punjab Govt. Press 1911),p.46

⁷⁵ The *Bedi* family had strong religious affiliations with *Baba Guru Nanak*, the founder of Sikh religion. This land grant was considered the largest one among the individual grantees in the history of canal colonies. To grant such a huge tract of land to *Bedis* in the colony not only strengthened their material status, but also enhanced their religious monopoly in the district. It highlighted the great political value of land grants, as well as the mechanism through which the Punjabi elite moved towards an accommodation with imperialist rule that was to survive the growing claims of nationalism. This act also consolidated even further the influence of the *Bedis* in the district administrative affairs. *Baba Khem Singh Bedi* provided soldiers to the British and kept the British informed about the activities of traitors against them. Therefore a *Khilat* of worth Rs. 3000 was later given to him. "*Bhai Khem Singh Bedi* was similarly knighted, awarded a seat in the provincial *Darbar*, a *jagir* worth 1000 rupees and 125 acres of prime land.

⁷⁶ Trans. Adil Mushtaq, *Tarikh-i-Sahiwal* (Faridia Printing Press, Sahiwal,2009),p.30

⁷⁷ A.D.Ijaz, *Kal Bulandi* (),p.50

⁷⁸ A.D.Ijaz, *Kal Bulandi* (),p.49-50

⁷⁹ *Hazrat Imam Hussain* is a grandson of Holy Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.).

⁸⁰ Trans. Adil Mushtaq, *Tarikh-i-Sahiwal* (Faridia Printing Press, Sahiwal,2009),p.37-38

⁸¹ J. Cave-Brown, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, Part II (William Blackwood and Sons, London, 1861),p.203

⁸² *Aitzaz Ahsan*, The Indus Saga and the Making of Pakistan (Oxford University Press) p.230

⁸³ Trans. Saeed Bhutta, *Nabar Kahani* (Sanjh Publishers, Lahore, 2010),p.52

⁸⁴ *Murad Fattiana* was a son of *Dalail Fattiana*. He was a resident of a small village known as *Mazu Jalli* of Montgomery District.

⁸⁵ Trans. Ahmad Ghazali, *Sandal Bar* (Feroz sons limited Lahore 1988),p.280

⁸⁶ Noor Shah Khagga of Quraishi established a village near River Ravee during the period of Sardar Qamar Singh. Due to its location near River Ravee, the floods destroyed it completely, but many persons like Sadr-ud-din, Yaqoob Shah and Tabeeb Shah reconstructed it again and gave it a name know as Nur Shah on the name of their predecessors.

⁸⁷ Trans. Adil *Mushtaq*, *Tarikh-i-Sahiwal* (Faridia Printing Press, Sahiwal,2009),p.30 The British also constructed a church in the memory of Berkeley at Montgomery Stadium.

⁸⁸ Trans. *Dholla "Berkeley"*, from the 15th day *Fardan*, (Khas Publication published by Bazm-i-Adab,Sahiwal, 1967),p.11-13

⁸⁹ The *Sials* could be divided into two principle sub-castes like *Fattianas* and *Tahranas*. Denzil Ibbetson,Punjab Castes (Lahore,1974),p. 108

⁹⁰ The *Murdana*, one of the principle clans of the *Biloch*, owned vast tract of land on the main road from Multan to Lahore, between *Gujera* and *Harrapa*. A large number of *Biloches* inhabiting this district were recruited in the old grantee camel corps receiving grants of land in return for maintaining camels available as required for service in the army. Number of estates in the *Lower Bari Doab* colony allotted to *Baluch* families on these terms that in pre-colony days had been among the nomad graziers of the *Bar*.

⁹¹ Allah Bakhsh Tariq, *Tarikh-i-Pakpattan* (Sahiwal,1994),p.110

⁹² Shafqat Tanvir Mirza, The day Ahmad Kharal fell, *The Dawn*: September 22, 2006

⁹³ Trans. Adil *Mushtaq*, *Tarikh-i-Sahiwal* (Faridia Printing Press, Sahiwal,2009),p.38-39 *Suja Bhadro* took birth at *Rath Sial* near *Noor Shah*, a village of Sahiwal.

⁹⁴ Punjab Government, *Mutiny Records: Correspondence, Part II* (Lahore, 1911),p.46

⁹⁵ Trans. *Zaheer Hassan Wattu*, *The role of Wattus in the War of Independence* (Sanjh publications, Lahore, 2005),p.91

⁹⁶ Punjab Government, *Mutiny Records: Correspondence, Part II* (Lahore, 1911),p.46

⁹⁷ Makhdooms were the British allies and informers about the activities of the freedom fighters.

⁹⁸ *Bahawal Langrail* was the father of *Malik Fateh Sher*. *Bahawal Langrail* provided unconditional support to the British in the War of Independence (1857). *Malik Fateh Sher* had great reverence and importance in the eyes of the local administration. The Unionist Party selected him as a candidate from the *Montgomery tehsil*. A well-planned and extensive propaganda scheme was started by the tehsil administration for the uplift of *Malik Fateh Sher Langrial*.

⁹⁹ *Jive khan* played very notable role against the traitors in the district. "The British remembered Jive Khan as Son of Queen. After his death, *Main Chirag Din* belonged to the family of *Jiva Khan*. He acted as Senior Vice-chairman of the District Board. While his brothers, *Main Nur Muhammad* and *Abdul Wahab*, also served as members of the District Board. *Main Abdul Wahab* was also performing the responsibility as a Zaildar.

¹⁰⁰ *Murad Shah* was a resident of *Daula Bala*, which was a centre of traitor activities in the district. He informed the British about the decisions and programmes of the traitors. Resultantly, the British appointed *Sher Shah*, a grandson of *Murad Shah*, as *Lambardar* and *Muafidar* of village *Daula Bala*.

¹⁰¹ *Gulab ali Chisti* of *Tibbi* was a very influential person in *Pakpattan*, who provided every facility like the animals and information etc to the British. *Pir Allayar Chisti*, son of *Gulab ali Chisti* of *Tibbi*, acted as *zaildar* and *Divisional darbari*. *Allayar's* son, *Pir Gulab Ali* remained the member of the District Board.

¹⁰² Shafqat Tanvir Mirza, The day Ahmad Kharal fell, *The Dawn: September 22, 2006*

¹⁰³ Trans. *M. J. Awan*, Role of Punjab in the War of Independence 1857-1947 (Faiz-ul-Islam Printing Press, Rawalpindi, 1993),p.43

¹⁰⁴ Trans. *Zaheer Hassan Wattu*, The role of *Wattus* in the War of Independence (Sanjh publications, Lahore, 2005),p.52