

Chapter III. D.
Tribes and Castes.
Local distribution
of tribes and castes.

The general distribution may be briefly summarized thus. The eastern half of Bhiwáni contains a large number of Hindu Rájput villages, while the rest is occupied by Jats who are Deswáls to the east and Bagris to the west, and also by a large number of Mussalmán Rájputs of the Játa clan. Hání tabail is almost wholly occupied by Jats except for a group of Mussalmán Játa Rájput villages to the south-west.

In Hissár Jats and Rájputs, the latter mostly Mussalmán, are intermingled, but Jats predominate on the east side of the tahsil.

The southern half of the Fatehabad tahsil is held by Jats for the most part, who are Deswáls on the east and Bagris on the west. North of the Jats we find Mussalmán Ranghars and north of them again along the Ghaggar valley Pachhádás with some admixture of Sikh Jats from Patidá and Mussalmán Dogars from the north.

In Sirsa the Bagri Jats is found alone to the south of the Ghaggar, the Pachhádá along the Ghaggar and the Sikh Jat to the north of the Ghaggar in the Rohi tract. On the western lower of the latter, there are a few villages of Bagri Jats.

Former inhabi-
tants. History of
tribal colonisation.

The limits of tribal territories as at present in existence are the result of a comparatively very recent colonisation. In regard to the former inhabitants little is known and but little can be gathered from what we do know. The settlement of the Tunwar Rájputs from Delhi in this district is probably the earliest tribal movement of which we have any authentic record. This has been dealt with in Chapter II and will be noticed below. They appear to have been followed by Chauháns Rájputs who did not apparently, however, come in large numbers, or if they did only made a temporary stay. The Játa Rájputs, a younger branch of the Tunwar clan entered the district from Rájputána after the expulsion of the clan from Delhi. The Punwar Rájputs made their appearance in the south-eastern corner of the district at an early date. Tradition says that they were allied by marriage with the Chauháns of Delhi from whom they received a grant of territory around Kalánaur and Rehtak. Thence they found their way into this district where they come into conflict with the Játis who stayed their further progress.

The predecessors of the present tribes of Deswáls Jats appear to have advanced into the district from the south-east, and many of their villages on the eastern border are very old.

The Sirsa tahsil was no doubt the seat of a fairly advanced civilisation in ancient times, but when the tract came under British rule, it was and had been for a long time an uninhabited waste and there is practically no information available as to the former distribution of tribes in that part beyond this that the non-descript collection of tribes, now known as Pachhádás, have for ages led a wandering predatory life with their herds of cattle along the banks of the Ghaggar.

The four southern tahsils of the district thus present more or less definite traces of ancient tribal colonisation, but the limits of the ancient tribal territories have been greatly obliterated by the widespread desolation ensuing upon the famines and political disturbances which the district experienced before the establishment of British authority. The condition of the district at that epoch has been sketched in Chapter II, and it is from that epoch that the modern colonisation and development of the district dates.

That colonisation was in part a return of the former inhabitants and partly an immigration of entirely new tribes. Some of the larger and stronger village communities on the Ghaggar, along the western Jumsa Canal and in the eastern portions of the modern tahsils of Hānsi and Bhiwāni managed, but with difficulty, to maintain their existence through all the troublous times which preceded British rule. Many of their inhabitants it is true, threw up their land and fled, but the villages, as a whole, continued to exist as inhabited units (*basins*). The smaller and weaker villages of course disappeared, the inhabitants either flying towards the districts on the east or else congregating for safety in the larger villages in their vicinity.

With the restoration of law and order the former inhabitants in many cases returned to their lands, and thus the rough features of the ancient tribal distribution were to some extent maintained, but at the same time a very large influx of Jat clans from the Bagar took place and these form the present Bagri Jats of the district. They are of various *gōts* which will be noticed below. The Bagri Jats are confined, roughly speaking, to the western portion of the district. In Sirsa they are with few exception found only to the south of the Ghaggar stream; in Tahsils Fatahabad, Hissār and Bhiwāni they are settled in a more or less well defined strip along the western border. The Bagri Jats have not penetrated as proprietors into the east of the district but they are often found there as tenants.

The fact is that at this point of junction it is very difficult to distinguish between the Bagri and the Deswāli Jats, their language, manners and customs; these are so similar that it is only where the Jats of the eastern and western borders of the district are compared that the differences between them become apparent.

While the Bagri Jats were advancing into the district from the west, the Sikh Jats of Patialā and the Mālwa were pressing on from the north-east and occupying extensive areas of land in what are now the northern parts of the Sirsa and Fatahabad tahsils.

For generations previous to the modern colonisation of the Sirsa tahsil, the tract had been the battle ground of wandering Mussalmān Rājput tribes, Bhattis, Joiyās and Wattas, whose permanent homes, so far as they could be said to have been settled permanently anywhere, were in the case of the two former the

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Mussalmán Rájput
tribes.

territories to the west now included in the States of Bikaner and Jaisalmer and in that of the latter those along the bank of the Sutlej in the present districts of Montgomery and Ferozepore. Upon the establishment of British supremacy large numbers of these tribes settled down in the present Sirsa tahsil.

The non-descript class of Mussalmán tribes known as Pachhádás who appear to have come in early times from the riverain tracts in the south-west of the Panjab to the valley of the Ghaggar, and there carried on a perpetual predatory warfare as wandering marauders, frequently penetrating far southward into Hissár, also had to abandon these migratory habits and settle down. Their occupations up to that time had been largely, if not entirely, pastoral, and so they continued for many years; they have, however, now for some time taken to less congenial agricultural pursuits, although they have by no means entirely abandoned their pastoral habits.

Minor immigrant
tribes.

The above sketch will give some idea of the lines upon which the modern colonisation of the district, so far as the more important agricultural tribes are concerned, has proceeded.

In regard to the less important tribes there is not much to be said.

Of the Kumbhars, who are important only by reason of their numbers, a large proportion have come in modern times from the States of Rájputána on the west, and the same remark applies to the Aheris and Theris.

The Tarkhans are found entirely among the Sikh and Mussalmán tribes in the north of the district and probably came in with them.

The Gájars are by no means an important tribe in the district, they appear in nearly all cases to have come into the district from south-east Rájputána, and their immigration is probably not unconnected with that of Rájput tribes.

Description of
principal tribes
and castes with
their subdivisions.
Jats.

By far the most important group of agricultural tribes in the district, socially and economically, if not politically, are the Jats. They comprise 40 per cent. of the population of the district and may be divided roughly into four broad classes thus:—

- (i) The Deswáli Jats of Hariána or the Des country, a tract which extends roughly over the eastern half of the four southern tahsils of the district.
- (ii). The Bagri Jats who are immigrants from the Bagar country of Bikaner.
- (iii). The Sikh Jats of Sirsa who, as already stated, have come from the Málwa country in the north and from Patnála.
- (iv). Mussalmán Jats from the west who form a small part of the Pachhádás of the Ghaggar valley and have already been referred to.

The Deswáli and Bagri Jats are practically all Hindús and social intercourse, and as a general rule intermarriage, takes place between them. It has already been stated that it is difficult to draw the line between Deswáli and Bágri in the tract where they intermingle, but the Deswáli of the eastern border differs markedly from the Bágri of Sirsa and the western border of the district.

The Bágri Jat, though a thrifty and industrious agriculturist, is of slighter physique and duller intellect than the Deswáli who looks down upon him. This difference is not a racial one, but due probably to the harder conditions of life which prevail in the Bagar. The Deswáli Jat, on the other hand, is a lusty specimen of humanity, a thrifty and excellent agriculturist, and far superior in everything but perhaps social rank to the other agricultural tribes of the district.

There is another division of Deswáli and Bágri Jats commonly recognised throughout the district, viz., that into Shibgotra and Kaságotra Jats. The Shibgotras are so named from the fact that their ancestor is traditionally said to have sprung from the matted hair of Siva. The Kaságotras on the other hand, claim that their forefathers were originally Rájputs, who took to agriculture and the remarriage of widows and so sank in the social scale. The Shibgotras, on the other hand, assert that they are not Jats and do not claim Rájput origin. There are said to be 12 *gôts* of Shibgotra Jats. The tradition as to their origin is as follows: one Bárh, a Shibgotra, made himself master of a large portion of Bikáner: he subsequently founded a town named Jhausai, and from his 12 sons sprang the 12 *gôts* of the Shibgotras, of whom only three or four are to be found in this district. They do not intermarry with each other but only with the Kaságotra Jats. This difference of traditional origin may, not improbably, point to a real difference in descent, and the Shibgotras may have been originally non-Aryan aboriginals, whose chief deity was Siva, and with whom the less militant tribes of the Aryan invaders intermarried adopting at the same time to some extent their social customs and worship, thereby sinking to their social level and becoming Jats. This would also account for the prevalence of the worship of Siva among the Jats.

The principal tribes of Deswáli and Bágri Jats to be found in the district are the following as returned in the census of 1891:—

Bhainiwál	... 3,625	Nain	... 1,158
Chabíl	... 2,844	Paniya	... 2,019
Ghatwál	... 1,919	Sangwan	... 1,339
Jakhar	... 2,439	Dallal	...
Pahal	... 636	Sheran	...
Mán	... 631	Kabirawan	...

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Description of principal tribes and castes with their subdivisions Jats.

Shibgotra and Kaságotra Jats.

Deswáli and Bágri Jat tribe.

Chapter III. D. The last three tribes with many others were in the census returns classed as miscellaneous, and no separate figures are available for them.

Tribes and Castes.

Deswāli and Bāgri

Jat tribes.

Bhainiwāl Jats.

The Bhainiwāl Jats are a Bāgri tribe, but they claim to be Deswālis. They appear originally to have been Chauhan Rājputs of Sambhar in Rājputana, whence they spread into Bikāner and Sirsa, and thence in small numbers into Tahsils Fatehabād and Hissār.

Chahāl.

The Chahāls are probably also Bāgri. They appear to have been settled originally in Bikāner.

Ghatwāl Jat.

The Ghatwāls are a tribe of Deswāli Jats, also known as Malaks. They claim to be Siroha Rājputa and to have come from Garh Gazni wherever that may have been. The Ghatwāls state that they settled in Mohra in the Rohtak district, where they were under the heel of the Rājputs to such a degree that their women had to wear nose rings of straw. The Jats attacked and overcame the Kalānaur Rājputs in a dispute arising out of a marriage procession, but peace was made and both parties settled down. Subsequently the Rājputs invited the Ghatwāls to an entertainment and treacherously blew them up with gunpowder; one Ghatwāl woman who was not present was the sole survivor. She happened to be in the fields at the time and was found there by a Brahman of Depāl now in Hānsi tahsil, which also was the place where the woman's family lived. The Brahman conducted her in safety to her father's home at Depāl. While refusing all reward he stipulated that the child with whom the woman was pregnant should be his *jaymān*. The woman gave birth to two sons who founded the villages of Saltānpur and Umra, now in the Hānsi tahsil, and the Brahmans of Depāl are to this day the parokits or family priests of the Ghatwāl Jats of those villages.

Jākhār Jats.

The Jākhārs are Deswālis and are said to be sprung from a Rājput tribe variously stated as Chauhan and Udha. An ancestor, Jaku, appears to have settled in Rāi Bagri in Bikāner and thence removed to Jhajjar in Rohtak. It is related of him that a Rāja of Dwācka had a large heavy bow and arrow made, he promised that whoever should lift it up should be raised in rank above a Rāja. Jaku attempted, but failed, and for shame left his native country and settled in Bikāner. This story puerile though it appears, is very possibly a mythical version of the true facts, viz., that the Jākhārs became Jats by degradation from the military caste of Rājputs. They take their name from their probably mythical ancestor Jaku. They own the large village of Kheri Gangan in Hānsi.

Pāhal Jats.

The Pāhal Jats were originally probably Bagris and are said to have immigrated from the direction of Sirsa.

Mān Jats.

The Mān, Dallal and Deswāl Jats are said to be descended from Mān, Dille and Desal, the three sons of one Dhanna Rāo of Silanthe in Rohtak by a Badgajar Rājput woman. They are

evidently closely connected as they do not intermarry. The Māns are found both among the Sikh Jats of Sirsa and the Deswālī Jats of Hānsī and Hissār, but the former are probably most numerous. .

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Pāhal Jāts.

The Mān Sikh Jats of Sirsa give the following traditional account of their origin. They state that their ancestor Mān, a Punwār Rājput came from that geographical myth Garh Gazni and settled in Patiāla in the time of a Rāja Bhainipāl. His descendants form the Mān tribe and are connected with the Sindhu Jats who are descendants of Sindhu, one of the 12 sons of Mān.

The Nain Jats claim to be of Tanwar Rājput origin. If so they came probably from the South-east from the direction of Delhi.

Nain Jats.

The Puniyās belong to the Shibgotra section of the Jats, being descended, as they state, from Puniya, the eldest of the sons of Bārā. They claim no Rājput origin.

Puniya Jats.

The Sangwan and Sheorān Jats are apparently closely connected and have an identical tradition as to their origin. They say that their ancestors Sanga and Shora were Chauhān Rājputs of Sirsa; these Chauhāns emigrated, the Sangwān into Dadri where they held 40 villages and the Sheorān into Lohāru with 75 villages. They settled down and married Jat women and so became Jats.

Sangwan and
Sheorān.

The Kalirāwan Jats state that they are descended from a Siroha Rājput by a Jat woman of the Nain tribe.

Kalirāwan.

The chief classes of Sikh Jats are as follows:—

Sikh Jats.

Dhāriwāls	... 1,239	Sidhus	... 4,531
Dhillon	... 1,268	Sindhūs	... 2329
Gil	... 1,101		

The Dhāriwāls are almost entirely confined to the Sirsa tahsil. They state that they are sprung from Tanwar Rājputs by marriage with women of inferior tribes. They are numerous in Ferozepore and Patiāla where they trace their origin to Darānagri which was apparently somewhere in the direction of Delhi.

Dhāriwāls.

The Dhillons, like the Dhāriwāls, are found chiefly in the Sirsa tahsil. They claim descent by social degeneration from the Punwār Rājputs. The present Dhillons of the district appear to trace their origin to Basin in the Lahore District.

The Gil Jats are another Sirsa tribe; they trace their descent to a Rāja Bhainipāl, a Birāh Rājput. They appear to have come originally from Bhatindā, whence they dispersed in the Chalisa famine of Simbat 1840. In Ferozepore the tradition appears to be confined to the Wadan section of the Gils, and it is probably this section which has settled in Sirsa.

Gil.

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Sindhs.

The Sidhu Jāts are closely connected by local tradition with the Hindú Bhāti Rājputā. It is said that the ancestor of these Rājputā, by name Bhāti, together with his brother Saurija, came into this part of the country from the direction of Mathura. Risāla, a descendant of Bhāti, had two sons, Jaisal and Dusāl, the former of whom was the ancestor of the Hindú Bhāti Rājputā. Dusāl had a son, Junhār or Jāunra, who married wives of inferior castes by whom he had sons from whom various tribes of Jāts are sprung. The whole of the Sidhū tribe including the Barārs are sprung from Batera, a son of Junhār, intermediate ancestors being Sidhu and Barār.

No doubt this legendary descent expresses what is the fact, viz., that the Hindú Bhāti Rājputā and the Sidhū and Barār Sikh Jāts are closely connected. But as will be shown below in the case of Mussalmān Bhātis, who are also connected, the common ancestor came immediately, probably not from Mathurā, but from the upper Punjab.

Sindhū Jāt.

The Sindhū Jāts appear to be connected with the Mān Jāt and claim descent from Sindhū one of the 12 sons of Mān, a Punwār Rājput of Gārh Gazni, who settled in Patāla in the time of Rāja Bhainipāl. He adopted the custom of Karewā and so became a Jāt.

Mussalmān Jāt.

There are probably a few Mussalmān Jāts from the west intermingled with the Pachādās of the Ghaggār, the latter, however, always claim Rājput descent.

There are also a few Musalmān Bāgrī and Deswāli Jāts to be found in the district, they are commonly known as Mula (unfortunate) Jāts. Their ancestors were apparently forcibly converted to Islam.

Rājputā.

The Rājputā are in point of numbers the next largest group of tribes after the Jāts. They comprise 19 per cent. of the population of the district, 80 per cent. of them are Musalmāns and the rest Hindūs. Politically speaking they have been of more importance in the history of the district than the Jāts, and though this importance is fast waning they are still commonly held to be of higher social rank than all other agricultural tribes.

The Rājput of the district retains, but not perhaps in undiminished vigour, the military instincts of his ancestors; beyond this not much can be said in his favour. He is generally a lazy and very inefficient agriculturist, very often up to the ears in debt, but withal extravagant and fond of litigation, especially those who are Hindūs. He still retains his pride of birth which leads him to look down on the far more worthy Jāt who is immeasurably his superior in industry and its reward, easy circumstances. Above all the Musalmān Rāghār has an innate instinct for cattle lifting and has reduced this pursuit from a romantic past time to a science.

The following are the principal Rájput tribes as returned at the census of 1901. :—

Tunwár ...	9,113	Bhátí ...	9,532
Játa ...	12,898	Joiya ...	3,061
Punwár ...	8,976	Háthor ...	848
Chauhán ...	15,508	Wattu ...	1,417

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Tribes and Castes.
Rájputa.

The Tunwárs undoubtedly form the oldest Rájput tribe in the district. There are two strata of the tribe to be found representing two different waves of Tunwár emigrants. The first entered the district when the Tunwár dynasty, in the person of Anangpál I, was in the ascendant at Delhi and had not yet fallen before the Chauhán. The descendants of these earliest emigrants still hold the villages of Bahuná and Bosti and others adjacent to them and are specially notorious for their cattle lifting propensities.

Tunwár.

The Jatús are in reality by far the largest Rájput tribe in the district. The apparent excess in the case of Chauháns will be explained below.

Jatús.

The traditional origin of the Jatús is somewhat as follows :—

On the establishment of Chauhán ascendancy in the Tunwár kingdom of Delhi in the time of Anangpál II under the great Chauhán Bisaldeo, the Tunwárs emigrated from Delhi to Jilopattán in the Shekhawáti country north of Jaipur. Dal Rám, a son or descendant of Anangpál, reigned there and his son Jairát extended the Tunwár dominion to Báger in Jaipur. The present reigning family of Jilopattán are Tunwárs and the tract is called Tunwárrasi or the country of the Tunwárs. By a Sásklá Rájput woman Jairát had a son Játu, so called because he had hair (*Játa*) on him at the time of his birth. Játu subsequently emigrated to Sirsa where he married Paláá Devi, the daughter of Kanwárpál, Sírohá Rájput, the Rája of that part. Another daughter of this Rája is said to have been the mother of the famous Gugá Pir who was originally a Chauhán. Kanwárpál made over the Hánsi iláka to his son-in-law and the latter summoned his two brothers Raghú and Satraulá from Jilopattán to share the tract with him. It was divided into three tappas or sub-divisions called after the names of the three brothers which are still well known among the peasantry.

Játu had two sons, Sádú and Harpál, and according to an ancient saying, Sádú founded the present village of Rájli and Harpál that of Guráná. It was about this time that the Chauhán, Rái Pithaurá (Pirthi Ráj), fell before the invading Musalmáns under Muhammad Ghori and the Jatús seizing their opportunity widely extended their power over pargánás Agrohá, Hánsi, Hineár and Bhiwáni. One Amratá seized 40 villages in Kanaund iláka and it is to this day the proud boast of the Játu that his ancestors once ruled over 1,440 kherás or villages.

Rághu and Satraulá Rájputa, traditionally descended from the brothers of Játu, are also found in the district. That the

Chapter III. D. tribal connection of the Játás Rághas and Satraúlás is close Tribes and Castes. is shown by the fact that they do not intermarry. The above account of the origin of these tribes is of course traditional and no doubt rather mythical than actual, still I think that it is a fairly true foreshadowing of the real facts which are—that the Játás, Rághás and Satraúlás are offshoots of the great Tunwár tribe and found their way into this district after the fall of the Tunwár dynasty of Delhi.

Játás.

Of the Tunwárs the far greater portion are Musalmáns, while the Játás are nearly equally divided among Hindús and Musalmáns, Musalmáns on the whole predominating. Tunwárs state that they were converted voluntarily before the time of Aurángzeb.

Chauháns.

The large number of Chauháns appearing in the Census Returns of 1891 is due to the fact that many of the nondescript tribes on the Ghággár returned themselves as Rájpúts with Rájpút *gáts*. The Sohú and Chotíá Páchádás so claim to be descended from Chauhán Rájpúts and returned themselves as such and the same remark applies in the case of many of the inferior tribes of the district. As a matter of fact the Chauhán tribe is not extensively represented in this district at the present time. In a previous chapter the history of early Chauhán rule in this part has been sketched and it need not be repeated here. The ascendancy of the tribe does not appear to have been permanent, and the true Chauháns to be found in the district now have drifted in as immigrants from time to time. They may be divided into two branches, the Nimráná Chauhán and those of Sidhmákh or as they call themselves the "Báráh Thál" Chauhána.

The Nimránás are the descendants of Rája Sangát, great grandson of Chahir Deo, the brother of Pirthi Ráj. They again are divided into two clans, the Ráthas and the Bágántás, the former being apparently the older branch. The Ráthas of the district trace their origin to Játasáná and the Bágántás to Khatauli both in the Gurgáon district.

The Báráh Thál Chauháns appear to have had a settlement of "twelve villages" near Sidhmukh in Bikánir not far from the shrine of the famous Chauhán warrior Gugá, and to have immigrated thence into this district.

Penwars.

According to local tradition the Penwárs emigrated from either Jilopattán or Daranágri and intermarried with the Chauháns of Delhi, who gave them a grant of villages round Rohtak and Kalánaur. This brought them into a contact with the expanding Játás and a severe struggle ensued, which was stopped by a rough demarcation of their respective territories, a sand hill between Meham and Bhiwául being fixed upon as the boundary.

Bhátás.

The Bhátás were at one time perhaps the most important Rájpút tribe in the district. It is almost entirely Musalmán. Like the Hindu Bháti Rájpúts, they are closely connected with

the Sidhú Sikh Jats. Tradition has it that the Sidhús Baráns are descended from Batera, a son of Rája Junhár, as has been stated before in connection with the Sidhú Sikh Jats, and that the Musalmán Bháttis are descended from Achal, another son of Junhár or Jaunra through a later descendant, Barni, who extended the Bháttí dominion from the south to Bhatner which the Bháttis held till they were expelled in the present century by the Rathor Rája of Bikáner. The Bháttis subsequently became the dominant power in the tract corresponding to the present Sirsa tahsil and the northern part of Tahsil Fatehábád, to such a degree indeed that up to the time of the Mutiny the tract was known as Bhattiáns. They are now to be found principally along the Ghággar valley as far as Bhatner.

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Bhattis.

The traditional descent of the Hindu Bháttí Rájputás from Jaisal, the brother of Dusál, ancestor of the Sidhú and Barár Sikh Jats and the Musalmán Bháttis has already been noticed. Jaisal in A.D. 1156 founded Jaisalmir and its present Hindu Rájput dynasty. Whatever may be the amount of truth in these traditional geneologies it seems clear that Hindu Bháttis, Musalmán Bháttis and Sidhú and Barár Sikhs are closely connected.

According to Tod, Bháttí, the common traditional ancestor of these three tribes, was the leader or chief of the Yádu race. The Yádus were Somavansa or of the lunar race and appear to have emigrated originally from Mathurá, and Allahábád (Prayág) to the countries beyond the Indus. After several centuries they returned under Rája Salváhan, and extended their dominion over the Punjab and Bháttí, a descendant of Salváhan gave his name to one branch of the Yádu race. Kohár, a descendant of Bháttí, led the Bháttis into Rájputána and Jaisal, another descendant, founded the dynasty of Jaisalmir. The Hindu Bháttis, Musalmán Bhattis and Sidhu Jats are thus no doubt all offshoots of the Yádu race, and the local tradition which makes Bháttí the common ancestor of the three tribes come direct from Mathurá to Rájputána probably refers to the fact that that tract was the original abode of the race, while omitting all reference to the temporary emigration of the Yádus from India.

The head-quarters of the Bháttis are, or were, at Bhatner now in Bikáner territory. Barsi, a Bháttí, is said to have seized it in 1285 A.D. Whether or no this fort took its name from the Bháttí tribes is a moot point. Native tradition says that the name originally was Bharatner, and that it was founded by one Rája Bharat. The only reason for preferring to accept this derivation rather than the more obvious derivation from the Bháttis, is that it is less likely to have been invented. However this may be there is no doubt that the first Bháttí chieftain who established himself at Bhatner was Barsi. The story is that the fort had been neglected for many years, had fallen to ruin, and was in the hands of some Jat marauders. At

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Bhātīs.

length, in the reign of Násir-ud-din Mahmód (1246—1265) it was restored, as a barrier to the inroads of Afghán and other invaders; the fort of Batindá, 40 miles to the north-east, and now in Pātialá territory, being restored at the same time. At this period Zangez Khán was in charge of the Suba of Lahore. He was assassinated by order of Ghayás-ud-din Balbán, who succeeded Nasir-ud-din on the throne of Delhi; and it was in the confusion that followed that Barsi succeeded in occupying the fort of Bhatner. The fate of Barsi is variously narrated. Sir Henry Elliot's Glossary relates that the son of Barsi was after his father's death compelled to sustain three several attacks of the Muhammadans, and on the third occasion was reduced to such straits as to be obliged to consent to conversion as the condition of retaining his conquest. On the other hand Munshi Amin Chand, the former Settlement Officer of the district, relates most circumstantially that Barsi held the fort till 1331, when a force being sent against him from Delhi, his sons took part against him and caused him to be assassinated. One of these sons, by name Bhairu, carried favour by becoming a Musalmán, and was left in charge of the fort. Bhairu's descendants for four generations continued to hold Bhatner but at last Fateh Khán, the reigning chief, becoming turbulent, was expelled by a force sent for his reduction by Bahlol Lodi, whose reign commenced in 1450. The Bhātī rule at Bhatner thus lasted for about 160 years.

Fateh Khán, after his expulsion, retired in the direction of Sirsa, and betook himself to agricultural pursuits; nor do his descendants again emerge into notice until the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719—1743). In this reign Shah-dád Khán, Názim of Harriána, married a daughter of Muhammad Hasau Khán, and procured the grant of certain estates to his father-in-law. Hasan Khán was succeeded by his son Muhammad Amír Khán, and this chief in turn, gaining influence by marrying a daughter to the celebrated Najib-ud-daula, procured the title of Nawáb, and was appointed Názim of Harriána. This was a time of disaster for Harriána, what with the incursions of the Sikhs from abroad, and the internal fights and forays of the Bhātīs and other wild tribes, the whole country was devastated until, it is said, only eight inhabited villages existed between Hissár and Sirsa. Nawáb Amin Khán died some years before the English conquest of the Marathás in 1803, and was succeeded by his two sons—the Nawáb Kamar-ud-din and Khán Bahádar Khán. After a while these brothers divided the Bhātī territory; Fatahábád fell to Khán Bahádar Khán, and Sirsa and Ranis to Kamar-ud-din. The latter died not long after the separation, and was succeeded by his son Nawáb Zabta Khán. The Bhātī chiefs though nominally becoming subjects of the English Government in 1803, in fact maintained their independence for several years; Khán Bahádar Khán was the first to fall, his territory being confiscated in 1810. He afterwards obtained a life pension of Rs. 1,000 per month, and some representatives of his family who still reside at the village of

Májra are recorded as proprietors of two or three villages. Nawáb Zabín Khán, by a timely submission, escaped punishment in 1810. His turn, however, came in 1818, when, as has been already related, estates were confiscated. A pension of Rs. 1,000 per month was granted to him for life, which he held until 1827, when it descended, reduced to Rs. 500, to his son Ghulám Faríd Khán. Ghulám Faríd died at Rania in 1847, and his pension was divided; Rs. 200 per month were given to his son Mír Samad Khán, and the remainder to other members of the family. In the mutiny of 1857, however, the spirit of the Bhatti blazed up. Mír Samad Khán proclaimed himself independent, plundered Sirsa, and made incursions in various directions. After the suppression of the mutiny he, together with his uncle, Gauhar Ali Khán, was apprehended. Both were tried and hanged, and the family pension, with the exception of small life stipends to the wife and mother of Mír Samad Khan, was finally confiscated.

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Tribes and Castes.
Bhattia.

The Bhattis of the present day are all Muhammadans. The date of their conversion is differently attributed to the reign of Akbar and the time of Taimúr. The most probable epoch however of the change is the conquest of Bhatner in the time of Barsi at the end of the 13th century, as it is clear that either Barsi himself or his son Bhairu accepted the creed of Islám as the price of retaining Bhatner.

In character there is little to distinguish the Bhattis from their Rájput neighbours already described.

The Joiyas Rájputs are confined almost entirely to Sirsa. Tradition states that they are descended in the female line from Seja or Sauntja who is said to have accompanied Bhatti, the common ancestor of the Hindu Bhattis, Mussalmán Bhattis and Sikh Sidhus in his immigration from Mathúra. As in the case of the Bhattis this probably means that the Joiyas are an offshoot of the Yádu race who separated off after the return of that race to India. The Joiyas of the district are all Mussalmáns.

Joiyas.

The Wattis, another Mussalmán Rájput tribe are as far as the district is concerned confined almost exclusively to the Sirsa Tahsil, but beyond the district they extend into Ferozpur and across the Sutlej into Montgomery. The Sirsa Wattis are all Mussalmáns and appear to have come some four or five generations ago from Montgomery and taken up land in the then uncolonised parts of Ferozpur and Sirsa. Traditionally they are closely connected with the Mussalmán Bhattis and Sikh Sidhus, being descended from Rájpal, the son of Aebal and grandson of Janhár or Jaura, from whom also the Bhattis and Sidhus are said to be sprung.

Wattias.

Whatever may be the literal truth or falsity of all these genealogies, this much would appear to be clear that Hindu Bhatti Rájputs, Mussalmán Bhattis, Wattis and Joiyas, and Sikh Sidhu and Barar Jais are all sprung from the great

Chapter III. D. *Yádu Rájput* race and all separated after the return of the Tribes and Castes. *Yádu*s to India from beyond the Indus.

Pachhádás.

It is necessary to notice the collection of Mussalmán tribes locally known as Pachhádás, who have already been briefly referred to as having been returned in the census schedules as Rájputá by caste and tribe. They are without exception Mussalmán and the tradition of other neighbouring tribes and as well as the name Pachhádá by which they are commonly known points to their having come from the rivers Indus, Rávi and Sutlej in the "Pachhim" or west. Of all the tribes in the district they are probably the least prepossessing either in their antecedents or in their present development. They are wretched agriculturists, lazy and indolent to a degree and absolutely improvident. They are ideal cattle thieves and would be ready to seize the first opportunity for a turbulent outbreak were the strong hand of Government removed. Thus they did without the least hesitation in the early days of the mutiny. Their tribal occupation is cattle-breeding, but agriculture is gradually taking its place. They are perhaps the last of all of the tribes in the district in which a healthy development may be looked for. In recognition of their hard and unrelenting disposition they are sometimes called Rsth (ruthless) by the neighbouring tribes.

They are divided into four principal clans as follows :—

(i) *Sohu Pachhadás.*—These men claim to be Chauhán Rájputá, but the traditions as to their origin appear to be various. The Sohús of Bhirrána, the head-quarters of the clan, state that their ancestors came some eight generations ago from Ráwalpindi under a leader named Jata *viá* Bhatnér and Rána to Bhirrána. Jata returned to Ráwalpindi, while Lal, his son, remained as leader and he is regarded as the founder of the present Sohú clan.

Another version is that the Sohús are Chauháns who came *viá* Delhi from Jilpáttan near Jaipur and settled on the Rávi, whence they again migrated to Sirsa. On the whole the tradition as to Rájput origin is too hazy to allow of it being regarded as satisfactorily established.

(ii) *Sukhás.*—These men claim to be descended from the Tunwár Rájputá of Báhuua. Thirpal a Tunwár of that place married a Jatni and was in consequence outcasted. Thirpal is said to have settled in Basti Bhimán near Fatehabád and his descendants subsequently spread into Sirsa and as far as Abóhar. They were, however, driven back again and settled in Bigar, which and Basti Bhimán are their chief villages. They take their name from Sukhá an alleged son of Thirpal. They intermarry with Wattas, but will not give their daughters to other Pachhádás though they will take their wives from among them.

(iii) *Hinjraon Pachhádás.*—This clan claims descent from the Sirohá Rájputá and is said to have migrated from the banks

of the Rávi into this district. Their principal village is Hinj- Chapter III. D.
ráon in the Fatchábad Tahsil. They intermarry with Sohns. Tribes and Castes

(iv) *Chotia or Bhansá Pachhádás*.—These say that they were originally Chauhán Rájpúts, but they appear in reality to be Dandiwal Jats, who were converted to Islám a few generations ago. The Dandiwáts themselves claim to have been originally Chauháns and state that they emigrated from Delhi via Jaisalmir to Sirsa. Pachhádás.

On the whole the claim of the Pachhádás to be regarded as Rájpúts rests on slender evidence even if we admit that as an intermediate stage they became Jats first. They differ from both Jats and Rájpúts in habits, manners and physique. They are on the whole far inferior to the Deswáli and Sikh Jats, although perhaps superior to the Bagri. Their facial type suggests a closer connection with the tribes of the Western Panjab than with the Rájpúts of Rájpútána or the Jats of the central and south-east parts of the Panjab.

The Dogars of the district are all Mussalmáns. They are confined almost entirely to that part of the Fatchabad Tahsil lying to the north of the Ghaggar and including the Budlada *ilaga*. There is, however, a considerable colony of them in Hissar Town. Dogars.

The Fatchábad Dogars state that they immigrated from Herasi in Patnála, having come thither from the neighbourhood of Lahore. They state that the tribe includes 140 *gots*.

As has been already noticed the Gajars of the district have immigrated from Rájpútána. Gajars.

As has been already stated in a former section the *Bishnois* form a caste pure and simple, the connecting link in which is a common religious system consisting mainly in the worship of Jámhaji as an incarnation of Vishnu. Tribally the *Bishnois* consist of Játs, Khatis, Rájpúts and Banyas. The first three classes appear to be confined mostly to Rájpútána and the Banya *Bishnois* to Moradábád in the North-Western Provinces. The adoption of the *Bishnoi* religion does not appear to absolve the members of originally diverse tribes and castes from the prohibition as to intermarriage, and marriage outside the caste is of course forbidden; thus *Bishnoi* Jats and *Bishnoi* Khatis will not intermarry, and they in all cases retain the *gots* of their original tribes. They abstain entirely from meat and are particularly careful of taking animal life in any form. They are forbidden the use of tobacco, and on the first and fifteenth day of each month no spinning or ploughing is allowed. Unlike other Hindús they cut off the *cholí* or scalp lock and shave the whole head. The customs of the tribe connected with birth, marriage and death have been noticed elsewhere. Bishnois.

The *Bishnois* are thrifty, frugal and industrious, agriculture is by no means their only resource and they are ever ready to

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Tribes and Castes.
Bishnois

turn every chance of profit to advantage; the consequence is that they are probably in more comfortable circumstances than any other peasantry in the district. They are, however, of an overbearing and quarrelsome disposition and somewhat addicted to litigation, which often takes the form of false criminal charges. They are as lax in the matter of truth as any tribe or a caste in the district.

Mális.

The Mális are exclusively Hindu. They are divided into four sections, viz., Gols, Napabansi, Káshi, Máchi, which are again subdivided into various *got*s. There is no social intercourse among the sections, but the Gols who appear to be the highest of the four in social rank, say that they smoke and eat with Jats and Rájputá. The Mális practice *karwa* marriage, the elder brother cannot, however, marry the younger brother's widow.

The traditional origin of the Máli is as follows. They were originally *Kshatriyas*; in order to escape the wrath of Paras Rám, while he was slaughtering the *Kshatriyas*, their ancestors in common with other Rájputá abandoned their social rank and took to various callings, the Mális selected market gardening which is still their tribal occupation. The Mális have probably no claim to Rájput descent.

Looking at the restrictions on social intercourse inside the tribe they would appear to be a combination of various tribes of low and diverse social rank, who have probably immigrated from a south-eastern direction, and are now united by a common occupation.

Araíns.

The Araíns or Raíns are an exclusively Mussalmán tribe, and are numerous in the Sirsa Tahsil, which accounts for the large increase in their numbers as returned at the recent census. Their settlements are found along the valley of the Ghaggar in Sirsa and the adjacent parts of Tahsil Fatehabad. The tribe claims to be of Rájput descent, their ancestors having lost by caste by taking to agriculture. Their *got*s appear to bear Rájput names such as Siróna, Chauhán, Bhatii. There is, however, one *got* called Katia which is said to consist of "as" Raíns who are not Rájputá. The tradition of the Sirsa Raíns is that they were expelled from Uch near Multan by their enemies and escaped by abandoning their military rank and taking to market gardening, the tribal occupation of their then neighbors the true Raíns. They came and settled on the Ghaggar and up to the famine of 1759 (A. D.) they are said to have held the whole of the Ghaggar valley from Bhatner up to Toháns in Tahsil Fatehabad. The famine combined with the attacks of marauding Bhatti Rájputá weakened their hold on the land, and they finally broke before the "chákia" famine of Sambat 1840 (1783 A. D.), and many of them emigrated to Bareilly, Pilibhit and Rámpur in the North-Western Provinces. On the advent of British power they again expanded, principally in Sirsa. In the Fatehabad Tahsil there are only two settlements of them, viz., at Fatehabad and at Ahrwán.

The Fatehabad Rains deny any immigration from Uch near Multan, but assert that they were brought from near Hissar and settled in Fatehabad by Hindu Rájputa. They deny any connection with Mussalmán Kambohs which the Sirsa Rains appear to admit. The Rains of Fatehabad and Sirsa intermarry among themselves and with those of the North-Western Provinces, who evidently migrated from this part. The Rains here do not intermarry with those on the Sutlej nor with those in Lahore and Jullundur; but this does not appear to be due so much to social prohibition as to the long distance which separates the Rains of the two parts, so at least the Fatehabad Rains say.

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Tribes and Castes.
Arañis.

As a matter of fact it is probable that the Sirsa Rains are true Rains, but that those of Fatehabad are really an inferior caste, very probably converted Mális of Hissar, who owing to their connection with the Rájputa of Fatehabad were received into the Rain caste. This is, however, only a surmise.

The Hissar Rains are good and thrifty cultivators, but are somewhat quarrelsome and litigious.

Brahmans.

The sections of the Brahma caste most commonly met with in the district are the Gaurs, the Sarsut, Khandelwál, Dahima, Gujrátí, Dakaut, Achérí, Chamarwa, Pushkankar. Except in the case of the last the above order represents the order of the different sections in social rank. The Gaurs are the highest, and among them are included most of the agricultural Brahmans. They say that they came originally from Bengal, but it is much more likely that they came as the *paráhtis* or family priests of the various immigrant agricultural tribes among whom they are settled. They are divided into so-called *gotas* or *gotras*, but these appear to be religious rather than tribal divisions.

As usual the Gaurs are fed on the 13th day after death, they will not take offerings of black colour (*kala dón*) nor offerings on the occasion of an eclipse (*grahan ka dón*) nor those made on Saturday. Gaurs will take offerings from most agricultural tribes and from Khatís, Náis, Jóbars, Kumhárs, Jogís and Bairágís, but not of course from Chahrárs or Chahárs.

The Sarsut Brahmans are probably the indigenous Brahmans of the Ghaggar and the tract north of it; they are of high caste, but apparently below the Gaurs than whom they are less strict in observance of caste rules. The Gaurs neither eat, drink nor intermarry with the Sarsuts.

The Khandelwál Brahmans appear to be little if at all below the Gaur and Sarsut in rank, in fact they state that they are a branch of the Gaurs and this is not at all improbable.

They are fed on the 13th day after death and take neither black offerings nor *grahan ka dón*; this also applies to the Dahima Brahmans, who appear to be much on a level with the Khandelwáls. It is said that the above four classes of Brahmans will

Chapter III. D. eat in company, but not out of the same dish nor smoke from the same pipe stem.

Tribes and Castes.

Brahmans

Gujrāti Brahmans are inferior to the Gaur and Sarsut, they take "*gohān ka dān*," but not black offerings and are fed on the 12th day after death, or before the Gaur. Dakauts will take offerings on a Saturday (*sanīchar ka dān*), at an eclipse and also "*talā dān*." The Achārj is the lowest of all the true Brahman sections, he receives offerings on the 11th day after death.

The Chamarwa Brahmans are probably not Brahmans at all, they are often called Chamarwa Nāths and officiate in the religious ceremonies of Chamārs, Chukrās and other low castes for whom Brahmans of higher castes will not perform such services.

Pushkankar Brahmans apparently come from near Ajmir, they are not included in the two great divisions of Brahmans, the Gaur and the Daraurs, and they have no intercourse with either Gaur or Dakauts.

In Bikanir they are said to have originally been baldars who helped to excavate the Pushkar lake at Ajmir and so became Brahmans.

The Brahman, especially the Gaur is, apart from his religious status held in low estimation by the people at large, but while fully alive to his unscrupulous rapacity they still regard him with the superstitious reverence which is firmly based on the traditional belief of ages; in fact as has been remarked before, this is perhaps the only point at which the religious belief of the numerous tribes and castes who are included under the common name of Hindu fully and unquestionably meet. The great majority of the Gaur and Sarsut Brahmans are not "*padhas*," i. e., directly engaged in the discharge of religious functions, but have adopted agriculture as a profession, still their inherited instinct of superiority to the other castes around them makes them anything but good zamindārs.

Mendicant classes.

A few of the more important mendicant classes must be noticed.

Byrāgis.

The Byrāgis are divided into four classes, viz., the Nimāwat, Rāmānandī, Bishu Swāmi and Mādhyā Achārya, who are distinguished by special devotion to Krishna, Rāma, Vishnu and Madho respectively. The Byrāgis abstain from meat and spirits. They are allowed to marry; those who do so are called *gharbari*, while those who remain celibate are called *noḡar*. The Byrāgis are generally *pujaris* of Vishnu, Krishna and Hanumān, but not of Siva. They are often called Swāmi, as a title of respect. The Rāmānandīs wear red and the Nimāwats white *bhāndīs* in their *tīlaks* or caste marks.

Gosāins.

Gosāins are a sub-division of the Saṅyāsi sect of *fakirs*. The founder of the Gosāins was Shimbu Achārj who had ten *chelas*, each of whom originated a separate section of the Gosāins.

The name of every member of each section ends in the same syllable such as *gir*, *pūri*, *tirath*, *asram*, *asra*, *nath*. And the name is given by the *guru* to the *chela* at initiation. These sections are not different *gots*, but merely indicate that a particular Gosain is under a particular *guru*. They, however, have their *gots*. Gosains are both celibate and married. The latter are called *gharbari* and they engage in agricultural and worldly occupations. Gosains marry only within their religious sections, i.e., a *gir* may not marry a *puri* or *vicc versā*. The celibates are called *maldari* or *asandari*. The Gosain's house when inside a village is called *mat*, when on the outskirts *asra*. *Maldari* Gosains may engage in all worldly pursuits, but may not marry. The *maldari* Gosains are generally *pūris* in the temples of Siva (*shāivītas*) and take the offerings made. The celibate Gosains who wander about begging are called "abdal." They are forbidden to beg at more than seven houses in one and the same place. The only vessel which they carry with them is the "xarial" or coconut shell. They are only allowed to receive alms of cooked grain which they must immerse in water before eating; and they may not halt more than three days at any place except it be at a *tirath* or place of pilgrimage or in the rains.

Of the religious sections mentioned above those most commonly found in the district are the *puris* or *giris*. The *guru* of the *puris* resides at Kharak and that of the *giris* at Bālak, both in this district. The Gosains are generally clad in garments coloured pink with *geru*.

Dādapanthis are a sect of *fakirs* distinct from Gosains. Their founder was one *Dadwā*, a Brahman of Ahmedabad, who became a *fakir* and founded the sect some 350 years ago. His tomb is at Naraiya in Jaipur. The *Dādapanthis* worship Ishwar alone and reverence the "pustaks" or writings of Dādū. As a rule they abstain from spirits and animal food, and are celibates. They practice money-lending and are often wealthy. They avoid colours and are generally dressed in white. There is a section of them called *Utarādhi* whose *guru* resides at Rattia in this district.

Dādapanthis.

Jogis generally trace their descent to one Goraknath. In reality he appears to have been a *chela* of one Mohendra Nāth, *Jogi*. He was, however, a famous member of the sect and it is generally regarded as having started with him.

Jogis.

Jogis appear to be celibate and marriage involves exclusion from the caste. They abstain from flesh and spirits. *Jogis* are divided into two sections, the *Kanphatte* or ear-pierced *Jogis* who have a hole bored in the ear and wear a glass ring in it, and the *Angar* who do not pierce their ears, but wear a small wooden whistle called *nād* which they use before eating. Among themselves the word "Kanphatte" is not used, for it is substituted the term "Darshana." They appear to specially reverence Siva

Chapter III. D. and worship him with the words "sheo gorakh." They are often
Tribes and Castes. pujáris in the village shiwálas. There appear to be 12 panthas or
Jogis. subdivisions of the Jogis said to have sprung, as usual, from the
12 chelas of Gorakhnath; they have names such as Aipanthei,
Náthpanthei, Maipanthei, &c. The chief monasteries of the Kaa-
phatte Jogis in this part of the country are at Bohar in Rohtak
and Nohar near Bahadrá in Dikauer. There is also a monastery,
an offshoot of the former one, at Busan in Bhiwani Tahsil; it
contains a shiwala and the graves (Samádhs) of several gurus.
The Jogis are pujáris of the shiwala while the chelas wander
about begging.

Bodlás. The Bodlás are a Mussalmán caste found only in Sirsa; they
are neither ascetics nor mendicants, but as they enjoy a reputa-
tion for sanctity above their neighbours, they may be conveni-
ently noticed under the priestly classes. A full account of them
will be found in para. 85 of Mr. Wilson's Settlement Report
of Sirsa. They claim to be Sadii Sheikhs whose ancestor
Shaháb-ul-Mulk came from Arabia and became the disciple of a
Mussalmán saint at Multan. This may possibly be true in regard
to one or two families of Bodlás, but the majority of them appear
to have been originally Wattus who, however, converted them-
selves into a separate caste by joining the real Bodlás and by
the assumption of superior sanctity.

Banyas. By far the most important commercial caste in the district
is that of the Banyas. It would appear to be far more an occu-
pational than a tribal one, that is to say community of occupation
is the real bond of union rather than community of blood, though
no doubt the latter is supported by the tradition of the caste.
Inside the caste however, the divisions of Aggarwáls, Oswáls and
Mahesris appear to be real tribal divisions. The Banyas as a
caste appear to trace their origin to Rájpútána, and it seems not
unlikely that their ancestors were the trading community among
the inhabitants of Rájpútána, while the Khatrias and Aroras
performed similar functions in the more northern and western
portions of the Punjab. The three subdivisions of the Banyas,
Aggarwál, Oswál, Mahesri neither intermarry, nor smoke, nor
eat with each other.

Aggarwáls. Of the Aggarwáls there are 17½ *gots*; each *got* is exogamous
with all other *gots*. The traditional origin of the Aggarwáls is as
follows:—Rája Aggar Sen was a descendant of Isbrattian a
Rishi; he had 17 sons, and after his death his widow, at his
wish, married them to the 17 daughters of a Rishi, whence
sprang the 17 *gots* of the Aggarwáls. Brahma is said to
have given Isbrattian a magic grain which would procure
its possessor whatever he wanted, and this came into the
hands of the Aggarwáls who thus became shopkeepers.
Another tradition is that Pula Das of Banaras was a religious
man, from whom was descended Rája Aggar Sen; the latter
went as an ascetic to the Nilgiris and prayed that he might
have issue. A Brahman took pity upon him and converted 17
tufts of the Kusa grass which were growing in front of him into

17 sons, and these were married to the 17 daughters of Rája Chapter III. D.
 Basak Nág, the snake King; whence sprang the 17 *got*s. Tribes and Castes
 On one occasion a boy and girl of the Goyal *got* were married Aggarwáls.
 by mistake, and the mistake, not having been discovered till the *phere* had been performed, the officiating Brahman made them into a new *got* called the "Gond" which is known as the half *got*. Aggarwáls who lose caste are called "Dass" Banyas, while pure Aggarwáls are called "Bisa."

The Aggarwáls are said to have immigrated to this part and founded a town which they called Agroha after Rája Aggar Sen; it was subsequently attacked and destroyed by the Mussalmáns after which the Aggarwáls dispersed to the south and east. The ruins of Agroha, in this district, certainly show that at one time it was a large and important city, and it is very likely that it was a wealthy and prosperous settlement of Banyas from Eastern Rájputána, at the time that the Ghaggár was a perennial river and fertilized a far larger area than it does now. Unable to advance in face of the Northern Khátris and Arorás they spread back in a south-easterly direction.

The Oswáls trace their origin to Jodhpúr. As stated above, they appear to have no connection with Aggarwáls; a possible explanation of their origin is that they were the trading classes of the Western Rájputs of Marwár and Jodhpur as the Aggarwáls were of the Eastern Rájputs. Oswáls.

The Mahesri Banyas claim to be descended from Rájputa and have clans or *got*s with Rájput names. It is quite possible that this may be true and that they were Rájputa who took to commerce and so sank to the level of other Banyas. Mahesri.

Nearly all the members of the Jain sect are to be found in one or other of the divisions of the Banyas. All the Oswáls, with very few if any exceptions, appear to be Jains of the Svetambara sect. Of the Aggarwáls a few are Jains; all the Mahesris are Vaishnavas, none of them Jains.

The Banya of the district offers but little if anything from the standard type of his caste. He is probably the best abused person in native society, but with all his meanness and money grubbing propensities he fulfils functions of the utmost importance and without him the zamindár would often be in the direst distress.

Aheris, a vagrant tribe, present some points of interest. They are also called Naiks and Thoris, the former of which is an honorific term and the latter somewhat contemptuous. Aheris are divided into numerous *got*s with Rájput names, some of which are given below with the tracts whence the *got*s are said to have come; Bhatís from Jaisálmer, Rahtor from Jodhpur and Bikánir, Káchwás from Jáipur, Kándals from Bikánir, Kaláj from Jáipur. The Aheris claim Rájput origin and say that they have sunk socially, hence their Rájput names. The Jaipuri Aheris do not intermarry with the Jodhpuris and Bikaneris, but the latter do intermarry among themselves. Aheris.

Chapter III. D.
Tribes and Castes.
Aheris.

The traditional account of the origin of the Aheris is as follows: Damba and Jhanda, Rahtor Rájputa, were servants of Pábu another Rahtor, who was a worker of miracles. One day Pábu sent Damba out to graze his camel. Damba who was blessed with a large appetite slew and ate the camel, but subsequently brought him to life again. Pábu then outcasted Damba and Jhanda and made them Aheris with Naik as an honorific title. Damba and Jhanda belonged to Jaipur. The Aheris worship Pábu, Damba and Jhanda as devatás. Their tombs are at Kiáhi Kabra in Jodhpur whither Aheris make pilgrimages. Aheris marry only in their own tribe and marriage in the usual four *gotas* is avoided; they also practise *karwa*. They cultivate land as tenants and are often village chaudiárs. They make baskets and the *chaji* for winnowing, and they also scutch wool (*rui pina*). Their Brahmáns are of the Chamárwa sect. Their claim to be Rájputa is doubtful. They were probably menials attached to various Rájput tribes whose names they have assumed.

Chuhrás.

The Chuhrás or sweepers form the lowest of all the castes. Here as elsewhere the Chuhra is the village sweeper and his is the only caste which will touch night-soil. The Mussalmán Chuhrás, of whom there are only a few, are called Dindár. In addition to sweeping the Chuhra carries burdens, works as a labourer at harvest time or is taken on as a permanent labourer by a *lóna* or cultivating association. The Chuhra will eat the flesh of almost any animal and receives the skins of animals which do not divide the hoof, such as horses and camels.

Dhánaks.

Dhánaks will not touch night-soil and on this account are considered to be slightly superior to Chuhrás. They are primarily scavengers, but in addition to this practise several other occupations. A considerable portion of the village weaving is done by them and they are very frequently employed as the *daura* or village messenger. All evil tidings such as news of a death are carried by them and not by the Nais. They also cultivate as tenants and work as field labourers.

Khatiks.

Khatiks rank slightly above scavengers and below Chamárs; from the nature of their occupations they would have been perhaps more correctly classed with the latter.

The Raigáras are also leather workers and are probably above the Khatiks in social rank. Chamárs work in the leather of buffaloes and cows; Raigáras tan such leather, while Khatiks will both tan and work in the leather of sheep and goats.

Chamáras.

Chamáras form the third largest caste in the district; but in social importance they rank only above the scavengers and Khatiks. The Chamáras of this part are divided into four great sections called *Záts*, which do not intermarry. Their names are respectively Cándor, Meghwál, Játya and Chambár.

The Chamáras of Hissár and Sirsa belong nearly all to the Cándor section who will have nothing to do with the Játya

Chamárs who belong to the neighbourhood of Delhi. The reason alleged is that the latter work the skins of camels and horses which no Chandor Chámar will touch. He confines himself to the skins of buffaloes and cows which are cloven hoofed animals. The Meghwáls are the Chamárs of the Bagar and are again divided into two sub-sections, the Bámbís and the Játas, who do not intermarry. The Bámbís are said to be the Chamárs of the Rájpúts and the Játas those of the Jats. The Bámbís are not uncommon in Hissár.

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Tribes and Castes.
Chamárs.

The term Chamár is evidently an occupational one and in no sense tribal; and the subdivisions which have been given above are the true tribal castes. Each of the subdivisions is again divided into *gots* or clans. Each subdivision is endogamous and marriage is avoided in the usual four *gots*.

The primary occupation of the Chamárs is leather work, but he does not tan; this is done by the Raigár and Khatik as noted above. In addition to his primary occupation the Chamár weaves the common country cloth, performs bagár labour for the village and receives as remuneration the skins of the cloven hoofed cattle which die, works as a permanent labourer in the *lācas* or agricultural partnerships and also as a daily labourer at harvest time. He frequently cultivates land as a tenant. In the towns he and his women-folk work as labourers by the job and are called knúts. The Chamars are almost entirely Hindús.

The Lohárs of this neighbourhood are divided into the Multani Lohárs who are supposed to have come from Multan and the Deswáli Lohárs. The Multani Lohárs are divided into two sections, the Barra and the Bhatti, who intermarry.

Lohárs.

Deswáli Lohár is probably merely a name for individuals of local tribes who have adopted working in iron as an occupation. The majority of the Lohárs are Mussalmáns. The Multani and Deswáli Lohárs smoke, drink and eat together, but do not intermarry.

There is a third class of Lohárs called the Gadariyáa. They wander about the country with carts of a peculiar shape in which they carry their families, tools and household effects. They neither smoke, drink nor eat with other Lohárs; they are evidently far below the true Lohárs in caste and are probably distinct from them.

The term Khátis is used in the district almost in the sense of an occupational term; as a fact it includes the Hindu carpenter of the South Eastern Punjab and the Suthar or carpenter of the Bagar who belong to distinct tribes. The Suthars and the other Khátis do not intermarry and the Suthar women wear no nose ring. The Suthars have to a considerable extent abandoned carpentry and taken to agriculture and now affect a certain superiority over the other Khátis. Kháti is not probably a true caste, but as stated above the name for an occupation. The

Khátis.

Chapter III, D. commonest if not the only tribe of carpenters in the district are
Tribes and Castes. the Jhangrās.

Kumhāra.

Kumhār again is certainly more an occupational than a tribal term and under it are included members of several distinct tribes. The Kumhārs of the district are divided into the Mahar, Gola, Magrechi, Bīdawati, Nagori, Bhandia, and other divisions, and all these appear to be really different tribes and not separate clans of one and the same tribe or caste. The tribes all smoke and eat together, but will not intermarry. In Sirsa the Kumhārs appear to be divided into Jodhpuria and Bikaneria or Desi. Several of the Kumhār tribes have abandoned pottery and taken to agriculture as an occupation and have thus risen in the social scale.

Organisation of
tribes and clans.
Rules regarding
intermarriage.

The local distribution of the different tribes of the district so far as it can be recognized has been dealt with above, but the internal organisation as regulating the social relations of tribe with tribe or clan with clan is perhaps even more important from an administrative point of view. Each main tribe and each tribal element of an occupational caste is subdivided into clans or *got*s which may be taken to mean subdivisions of the tribe, each including all the descendants through males of a real or supposed common ancestor.

The tribe or caste as a very general rule is, whether Hindu or Mussalmān, strictly endogamous, i.e., marriage between persons of different castes or tribes is absolutely prohibited. The issue of a marriage between persons of different tribes or castes would follow the tribe or caste of the mother and not that of the father, and it is in this way that many of the Jat clans account for their social degeneration from the rank of Rājput. Such a marriage is, however, now almost out of the question. The issue of a copubine of a different tribe would be of the tribe of their father.

The Bishnois though forming a single caste on the strength of a common religion were originally of diverse tribes, and the memory of their different tribal origin is preserved not by retaining the names of their tribes but of the clans or subdivisions and marriage between Bishnois of different tribal descent is forbidden; thus a Bishnoi whose ancestors were Jats will not marry one whose ancestors were Khātis.

Banya is, as has been shown above, an occupational term and Banyas of the Aggarwāl, Oswāl and Mahesri sections will not intermarry.

Again the great subdivisions of the Brahman caste already enumerated will not intermarry; thus a Gaur will not intermarry with a Kandelwāl nor a Sarsut with a Gujarātī. It has been already mentioned that the tribal subdivisions of the Mālīs, such as Māchi, Kāchi, Gola and also those of the Chamās, Jatya Chandor, Hāmbi, Meghwāl do not intermarry. The same is the case among the Kumhārs. In short where the name of a caste

is an occupational term the caste is generally found to consist of distinct tribal elements which do not intermarry, and the tribe is thus as an almost universal rule endogamous. In some cases there are groups of clans or subdivisions within the tribe or race which form phratries, based on real or supposed common ancestry, among whom intermarriage is not permitted. Among the Rájpúts we have the Jatú, Rághu and Satraula clans said to be descended from three brothers, and no intermarriage is permitted among them, while Jatús avoid marriage with Tunwárs, of which clan they are themselves an offshoot. The Mán, Dalál, Deswál and Siwál Jats do not intermarry on account of alleged common descent. (Ibbetson's Karnál Settlement Report, para. 186.)

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Organisation of tribes and clans. Rules regarding intermarriage.

The clan itself is in all cases exogamous, that is no man can marry a woman of his own clan, but in many cases the restriction goes much further than this. Among the following Hindu tribes Jats, both Bágri and Deswáli, Bishnois, Mális, Brahmans, Khaifs, Sunárs, Kumbárs, Lohárs, Néis, Cháhrás and Chamárs a man is not permitted to marry a female either of his own clan or of those of his mother, father's mother or mother's mother. Among Baniyas and Hindu Rájpúts the restriction extends to the man's *got* only, while among Hindu Gujars marriage is avoided in one's own *got* and in those of one's mother and one's mother's mother.

To Sikh Jats the man's own *got* only is forbidden. Among Mussalmán Jats and Rájpúts the prohibition includes only the one *got*, but among Mussalmán Gujars, Lohárs and Telis it extends to the four *gots*. Dogars do not marry in their own *got* and some also avoid the *got* into which the father's sister has married, but both these restrictions are falling out of use. After marriage a woman among all tribes retains her own *got* and does not enter that of her husband.

There appear to be no particular marriage restrictions among the Pachhádás whose social relations are of a somewhat confused character. There are indeed apparently certain nominal restrictions on intermarriage between the different tribes of Pachhádás, such as that Sukherás can marry their daughters to Wattu Rájpúts but cannot themselves marry Wattu women. Sukherás also marry women of other Pachhádá tribes but do not give their daughters to the latter. Hujraons say that they marry their daughters to Bhánekas but cannot take wives from among them. These restrictions are probably enforced with great laxity. In short marriage among Pachhádás generally consists of a sale of the girl to the highest bidder.

Among the Deswáli Jats of the eastern portion of the district there is in addition to the prohibition against marriage on the ground of relationship, a further prohibition based on vicinage by which a man is forbidden to marry a girl not only of an adjoining village (*sims/or*) but also of any village in the

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neighbourhood, i. e., within a distance of 15 miles or so. The Bāgri Jats do not apparently observe this rule, though marriage with a near neighbour is probably rare. Marriage with a girl of the same village never takes place.

Marriage between persons of different religions is forbidden, i. e., a Hindu can under no circumstances marry a Mussalmān. Banyas, however, who are Vaishnavas can marry Banyas of the same subdivision who are Sarāgīs or Jains; for some time this practice was abandoned owing to disputes between the two sects.

Social intercourse
among tribes and
castes.

The principal index of the social rank occupied by any particular Hindu tribe or caste is supplied by a consideration of the tribes or castes with which it smokes, drinks or eats. There is the usual distinction between *pakki* and *kachhi rotī*. The former is made with *ghī*, and on account of its purifying influence *pakki rotī* can be eaten from the hands of those from which *kachhi rotī* could not be taken. Jats, Gujars and Ahirs will smoke out of the same pipe stem (*naya*), and the same bowl (*kalī* or *nāriāl*). The above tribes will smoke out of the same bowl, provided the pipe stem is removed, with Khātis, Mālis, agricultural Kumhārs, i. e., those who keep no donkeys, and Lohārs; and Rājputis will smoke in the latter method with any of the above tribes excepting perhaps Lohārs.

The Nāi is regarded as somewhat inferior, and the above castes will not smoke with him but will smoke out of his *kuhka*, if the stem is removed. Rājputis, Jats, Mālis, Ahirs, Gujars, agricultural Kumhārs and Khātis will eat each other's *rotī* whether *pakki* or *kachhi*, but Rājputis, Jats and probably Ahirs will not eat the *kachhi rotī* of a Lohār, as the fact that he employs a *band* or water reservoir in his work like a Chamār renders him impure. Brahmans and Banyas will eat the *pakki* but not the *kachhi rotī* of any of the above castes, and a Brahman will not eat *kachhi rotī* from a Banya. The general rule is that all Hindūs except those of the lowest or menial castes will eat each others *pakki rotī*.

Rājputis, Jats, Ahirs, Mālis, Gujars, Khātis will drink water out of the same metal vessel; a Brahman will drink water from the metal vessels of any of these tribes, provided that they have been scoured (*māyina*) with earth, or he will drink water from an earthen vessel belonging to them if it is new and unused. Jats and the other tribes on a social equality with them will not drink from a vessel belonging to a Nāi.

SECTION E.—CONSTITUTION AND DIVISIONS OF VILLAGE COMMUNITIES.

The Hissar district, as a whole, owing to its recent colonization and development offers facilities for the study of the growth of landed rights such as are not often met with; more especially is this the case in Sirsa where colonization is more recent even than in the case of the four southern tahsils of the district.

Turning first to the latter we find that in scarcely any case does the history of rights in land go back further than that social upheaval of the district which was caused by the *san chalisa* famine of Sambat 1840.

Their ordinary course of development in a typical *bhayi-chāra* village would be much as follows. Previous to the epoch of the *san chalisa*, village communities were very sparsely scattered over the area of the four southern tahsils at long distances from each other. The inhabitants of any one village would be mostly, if not entirely, of the same tribe and clan, and their principal occupation would be pasture. Each separate household or family would break up and cultivate what little land was required for its sustenance without interference from any other inhabitant, the cultivation being in scattered patches round the inhabited site. The demand of the State, which was of an extremely fluctuating character, was distributed over land or over entails, or partly over one and partly over the other. Where the demand was taken in kind at a fixed share, each cultivator paid such share of his produce. As often as not the State was forestalled in realizing its demand by a band of marauding *Pachhādas* or *Raaghars* or *Patiāla* Sikhs.

The burdens attaching to the possession of land were under such circumstances more apparent and obvious than the advantages, and the land had, in consequence of this and also of the unlimited area available, no market value, and sales or alienations were of course unknown.

Cultivators were constantly throwing up their holdings in seasons of scarcity and moving off to places where conditions were more favourable and marauders less plentiful. The difficulty under such circumstances was of course to get sufficient land cultivated to pay the constantly fluctuating demands of the State and of the wandering freebooters. Up to this period nothing of the nature of landed rights as between individuals had come into existence, though their germ was to be found in the more or less hazily recognised right of the corporate community to the lands adjacent to the homestead, which, owing to the great distances between village and village, were in no way defined or demarcated.

Such was the state of things probably when the *san chalisa* famine broke up on the district. Its immediate and direct effect was to overwhelm and scatter all but the strongest and oldest

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village communities, and these were of course much reduced by the emigration of individuals. The inhabitants of the smaller villages in many cases took refuge in the larger villages, more with a view to escape the raids of marauders than to escape the famine. The ultimate effect of the famine was to reduce the four southern tahsils of the district to a practically uninhabited waste, the battle ground of contending tribes of freebooters.

In this state the district continued for several years, but shortly before the first *de facto* establishment of British authority in 1810, the deserted waste began to be very slowly recolonized. In many cases the old inhabitants returned to their old sites and repossessed themselves of their corporate lands and other new villages were settled, or old sites occupied by entirely new immigrants mostly from the west. All these communities were for the most part self-cultivating, and there was as before little or no idea of individual rights in land as opposed to the corporate rights of the village community generally. Each man cultivated what land he needed without reference to any one else, and the common expenses of the village, including the regular or irregular demand of the immediately ruling power, were distributed over the brotherhood, either according to land cultivated or number of cattle, or any other method thought applicable. As yet individual rights in land had not appeared and the corporate rights of the community had not taken any definite shape.

British rule.

Such was the state of matters when British power appeared on the scene. A Revenue assessment, whatever form it may have taken, was the primary agent in inducing that process of effervescence and evaporation out of which have crystallized the rights with which we are now familiar; and the process was of course aided by the greater security consequent on established rule.

The first and perhaps immediate result of the advent of a settled Government was the founding of numbers of new villages. Considerable areas were leased by Government to individuals in which to found villages and settle cultivators, and many old village sites which had lain waste and deserted since the *chahisa* were treated in a similar manner. Many villages were farmed to individual members of the commercial classes for arrears which accrued in the payment of the very heavy assessments which were imposed in the early years of our rule; and a not inconsiderable number of villages were transferred by sale or alienation by the original cultivators themselves to individuals.

Origin of *zamindari* and *patidari* tenures.

The persons who thus obtained a position of authority and influence in these villages came gradually to be treated as the proprietors of the soil and of course realized profits in the shape of rent from the actual cultivators either settled by themselves or who had been in cultivating possession at the time of the farm or transfer and had then sunk to the level of their tenants or as

they were called *boladárs*. The development of tenant right will be noticed below. Chapter III. E.

The farmers, lessees, &c., of such villages having thus acquired the position of proprietors were so recorded for the first time in the Settlement of 1840-41 and the tenures of the estates owned by them were and at present generally are of the type known as *zamindari*, communal or simple, and *pattidari*, in the latter of which each proprietor's interest in the common income and assets of the village is measured by ancestral shares. The fact that a large number of the present *zamindari* tenures originated in farms given by Government on account of the accrual of arrears is shown by the fact that even at the present time this class of tenure is described in the common speech of the country side as "*thekadari*" or farm. Constitution and divisions of village communities.
Origin of zamindari and pattidari tenures.

In addition to the above a large number of old and deserted villages were re-settled by the original holders whom the advent of settled Government induced to return to their ancient abodes, and in these together with those which had never been entirely deserted by the former holders, numbering about 150, a development of rights, both corporal and individual, commenced on lines analogous to those noticed above. In such villages the corporate rights of the cultivating brotherhood as opposed to the individual rights of a sole farmer or lessee were the first to come to the surface. Land was plentiful and each household in the village could appropriate and cultivate as much as it needed without pressure on the members of the community, but no idea of individual proprietary right in a specific plot carrying with it the power of alienation or transfer as against the other members of the brotherhood had yet sprung into existence. So far as any idea of proprietary right existed, such a right was vested in the brotherhood generally, and each member or rather each separate household or family paid a share of the Government demand proportional to the area of the village lands actually cultivated by it from year to year. Origin of *dhayacharsa* tenures.

Such was the origin of the tenure which is now classed as *dhayacharsa* in which each proprietor has an interest in the village or subdivision of the village proportional to the area of land held by him in separate proprietary right.

In connection with the early stages of the development of the *dhayacharsa* tenure it will be useful to notice the system known as *chaulacha*. It was a method formerly in vogue for the distribution of the Government demand, and its special feature was that it aimed at including in the distribution not only the actual cultivators of land, but also the non-cultivating members of the community, such as the Banys and the village menial. The *chaulacha*.

In order to effect this object, the land (*dharti*) was not made the sole basis of distribution but a rate was also levied upon every head of cattle (*ang*=hoof) upon every house (*kudi*) and upon every male head of the population (*pagri tagri, tagri*=the cotton thread worn round the waist by boys). It was in fact a combina-

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The *chaudhā*.

tion of four rates. Given the total Government demand for the year, it was divided, according to the exigencies of the season, into four parts, each of which was raised by its own rate, one by a rate upon land actually cultivated in the year, another by a rate on cattle, another by a rate upon the houses, and the fourth by a poll rate. The object to be gained by this arrangement was that no one might escape altogether from contributing to the revenue, and yet that the greater share of the burden should fall upon the land. Thus, while the village shop-keeper and the village artisan fell under the two latter rates only, the owner of land fell under all four. This method was introduced into the Hissār district during the currency of the first ten years Settlement (1816-1825) by Mr. Fraser, the Collector, in order, as he thought, to facilitate the collection of the revenue. There was, however, no fixed rule for regulating the proportion of the several rates; but each year, according as the season was good or bad, the amount to be levied by rate upon the land was increased or diminished according as the village authorities might determine, the other rates decreasing or increasing in proportion. This naturally gave rise to much injustice and oppression towards the weaker members of the community. The subsequent development of the *chaudhā* system will be noticed below.

New settlers,
Andās kirdās.

To turn again to the development of landed rights in the brotherhood or *bhāyāchārā* villages. In process of time as the cultivating brotherhood became more attached to their village lands and less ready to leave them in seasons of difficulty, they called in and settled cultivators of different tribes from the surrounding States, especially those of Rājputāna, which offered them an almost inexhaustible field for such recruitment. The object of the step was to increase the area under cultivation and thereby to lessen the burden of the State demand on each individual member or household of the community. Such new recruits were gladly welcomed and as *bhāmbhāi* (earth brothers) practically admitted to all privileges enjoyed by the original members of the cultivating brotherhood and they contributed to the village *back* or revenue distribution on the same terms as the latter. But the difference in origin appears not to have been lost sight of. In many cases village menials such as Khātis, Kumhars and Chamārs were admitted to the same status as these immigrants.

Boladārs.

In addition to the above there were in the brotherhood villages certain cultivators not included among the original inhabitants of the village nor among subsequent immigrants admitted to the brotherhood, who while they generally contributed to the village *back* on the same terms as other cultivators, were not regarded as members of the brotherhood, but cultivated as *boladārs* or tenants of the latter in its corporate capacity. Here then we find the idea of the corporate right of the community emerging in distinct shape, to which the first definite recognition was given by the definition and demarcation of village boundaries at the revenue survey of Hariāna which commenced in 1837.

Meanwhile, however, landed rights as between individual households or families of the cultivating brotherhood were slowly springing into existence. Each distinct household or family of the community would confine its annual cultivation to more or less the same portion (*kar mas*) of the village lands or extend it around some particular spot and its claim to cultivate there as against other members of the community would gradually come to be recognized by the other members and perhaps enforced in the village council (*panchayat*) but to this right there would be attached no idea of a power of alienation outside the brotherhood. If any cultivating family threw up its lands they would revert to the brotherhood generally. Such were the somewhat indefinite ideas as to proprietary right prevailing prior to the First Regular Settlement of 1840-41.

That Settlement crystallized these ideas, perhaps prematurely, into a definite legal shape and turned their development into a definite channel.

In the case of the descendants of the original settlers or of immigrants who had been as described above, subsequently admitted to the brotherhood, the Settlement Officer as a general rule conferred full and separate proprietary rights on each distinct family or household in so much of the village lands as each such family or household held in separate cultivating possession while this area also measured the interest of each in the common waste land of the village. The descendants of the original settlers or of the members of their households who were termed *bhupādāra* and also those of the immigrants subsequently admitted to the brotherhood who were termed *ladim kisans* were thus put on practically an exactly similar footing and the proprietary right in the village lands was vested in them, a portion in severalty and a portion jointly.

The *bolādāra* who have been mentioned above in connection with *bhupādāra* villages were given the status of tenants in the Settlement; they will be noticed in greater detail below.

At the Settlement of 1840-41 landed rights had thus developed to the extent that each family or household had a recognized right to cultivate certain portions of the village lands as against other families.

In many *bhupādāra* villages however, the development had been marked by a stage intermediate between the corporate right of the community as a whole and the evolution of the rights of the family or household. The original founders of the village were few in number, and the different families descended from one such founder would in many cases be related to each other by closer ties than to the other families of the village. They would occupy the same portion of the village homestead and would cultivate adjacent portions of the village lands and would as their numbers increased, in course of time develop into a corporate body inside and subordinate to the entire body of the village community. Such a division of the village is called

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Pāns and *thūlas*.

a *pāna* or *thūla* and is common in all *bhayāchārah* villages to the present time. The development of the distinct rights of the family was a stage subsequent to the development of the *pāna* or *thūla*. In other cases division into *pānas* or *thūlas* has been caused by the admission of a body of new arrivals of a tribe or clan distinct from that of the original settlers, who have on arrival been allowed to settle and cultivate in some portion of the village lands and a distinct *pāna* has thus at once come into existence.

Patidāri brother-
hood villages.

It has been shown above that many if not most of the villages now held in patidāri tenure originated in a lease or farm to certain individuals, but in not a few instances this tenure is found in villages which have been founded by groups of nearly related individuals of the agricultural tribes. Some of the older *Pachāda* villages in the Fatahabad tahsil are thus held, and the fact that these people are but little addicted to cultivation and that but little of the area of their villages was till recent years cultivated, probably compelled them to preserve carefully the memory of the original shares of the founders and of the extent to which they were modified by the multiplication of families, as a measure of the interest of each family in the common income and property of the village. As would be expected, the idea of the landed rights of individual families did not develop so early in villages of this type as in the villages of the *bhayāchārah* type.

In some of the latter such rights had not become distinct enough even at the Settlement of 1840-41 to enable the Settlement Officer to convert them into separate proprietary rights, and the distribution of revenue in these villages continued on the basis of area actually cultivated from year to year instead of on the basis of land owned as became the practice in villages in which proprietary or *biswahdāri* rights had come to be recognized.

Subsequent de-
velopment of landed
rights.

Such was the point of development to which proprietary right in land were brought by the Settlement operations of 1840-41. The subsequent development proceeded on the lines of increasing disintegration of the proprietary group, combined with increased distinctness in, and a clearer appreciation of, the value of proprietary rights in proportion as these rights themselves became more valuable in consequence of the limitation for the first time of the State demand to a moderate amount and of the increased value of agricultural produce and the increasing development of the district. The curtailment of the right of the *kādim kirsans* will supply a good instance of this.

Soon after the Settlement of 1840-41 the *biswahdars* began to understand the effect on their interests of the grant of equal proprietary rights to *kādim kirsans* and a struggle ensued, in which, after special enquiry, Government laid down that the *kirsans kādims* had no claim to participate in a partition of the common lands of a village, and it was subsequently held judicially that they could not claim to participate in the village income

arising from grazing fees. Finally, in 1860, the Punjab Government ruled that the *kadim hisadns* must be held to be *malikān kabsa*, i.e., absolute proprietors of land actually held by them in severalty without any claim to a share in the common land or common income of the village.

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Subsequent development of landed rights.

Although at the Settlement of 1840-41 the separate proprietary rights of individual cultivating families were for the first time fully recognized, still many villages continued to be held jointly by the brotherhood. Since then, as noticed above, such proprietary bodies, and the smaller proprietary bodies, such as joint families and households, have all been undergoing a process of subdivision, and this process has in the recent Settlement culminated in a large number of partitions generally brought about privately in the case of family groups and by resort to legal procedure in the case of larger groups, with the result that the number of separate proprietary groups has been very largely increased; but the process is certainly not yet at an end, and where such a group is still joint, the shares regulating the interests of the different individuals within the group are jealously preserved to such an extent indeed that in many cases where one member cultivates more than his share of the joint land, he pays not only the Government demand on the excess land, but also a *malikāna* in the shape of rent to the other members. In many villages this practice is in force in the case of the cultivation of the *shamilat* or village common land of the village by a single member or family of the village brotherhood, but here again the tendency for what is legally mere cultivating possession to ripen into something of the nature of a right to possession, in the common opinion of the village, is apparent and areas of common land so cultivated (*hisadāri hisāt*) are, where no *malikāna* is paid, regarded as little less than the absolute property of the cultivating brother.

The development of proprietary right in Sirsa has been so fully dealt with in Mr. Wilson's Settlement Report (paras. 212-217) that it is scarcely necessary to do more than touch on the subject here. The main object is to compare it with the process which has taken place in the other four tahsils of the district as sketched above. The differences observable are due to the still more recent colonization of Sirsa and partly no doubt to the fact that the developing rights in the two tracts were not dealt with in the same Settlements nor by the same officials.

Tahsil Sirsa.

At the time that the territory comprised within the present Sirsa tahsil came for the first time under British influence there were only some thirty villages along the Ghaggar, and none in the sandy tract to the south nor in the Rohi or dry tract to the north. No sooner, however, had the shadow of British authority been cast on the tract, though its substance was not yet there, than the adjacent States of Patiala and Bikaur began to push their colonists into the Rohi and Bagar tracts successively and the latter proceeded to found villages which they held subject

States of rights before British rule.

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Demarcation of State boundaries.

The first step in the development of any landed rights was the demarcation of the jurisdiction of each State. This was accomplished between 1828 and 1838. The tract was then found to be more or less sparsely occupied by village communities collected into inhabited sites and cultivating and pasturing their cattle on the adjacent prairie lands, but such lands were not demarcated by any fixed and definite boundaries. The unit of administration was the inhabited site and not any precisely defined block of land. As in the southern tahsils of the district, the joint right of the village community to the lands round their homestead was the first to claim recognition which was given in 1837 when these lands were defined and demarcated preparatory to the Revenue survey which took place in 1840-41.

Development of rights in *dhayāchārah* villages.

Within the village community there appear to have been two types of development. In the *dhayāchārah* or brotherhood villages it proceeded on much the same lines as in the similar villages in the other tahsils of the other district. Each individual family of the brotherhood cultivated such land as it needed. Where the Government demand was collected in kind, each such family paid the fixed share of its produce, and where it was paid in cash, the proportionate share due on its cultivation. The headmen or *Lambardārs* in such villages although allowed certain perquisites, enjoyed no rights superior to those of the other members of the brotherhood.

Development in *boladāri* villages.

In other villages however, matters were different. In them the headmen had been from the first something more than the leaders of a band of colonists. Their position had been rather that of lessees from the State settling cultivators in the leased lands. The term of the original lease, whether granted by a Native State or by the British Government, implied that the lease was in their favour alone, and they from the first levied fixed rents from the cultivators (*boladārs*) which left them a margin of profit after the payment of the State demand, while all loss arising from the income of rents in any year being less than the amount of the State demand, owing to the absconding of cultivators or other causes, was borne by the *Lambardārs*. But while the *Lambardārs* were thus in a distinctly superior position, the cultivators were left in undisturbed possession so long as the customary rent was paid, and when a cultivator died the right to till his fields passed to his sons in equal shares.

Effect of First Regular Settlement.

Such was the state of matters when the First Regular Settlement commenced in 1852, and one of the tasks which the Settlement Officer undertook was the determination of the persons in whom were vested proprietary rights in the soil. In the *boladāri* villages in which rent had been taken the *Lambardārs* or *panchs* were probably correctly declared to be proprietors of the whole of the village lands and the

cultivators settled by them were declared to be tenants. In the *Bhayāchārāh* villages, however, matters were different, and if a declaration of proprietary right was to be made which should in any way fit in with the ideas of the people it should, as in the other tahsils, have comprehended at least all the descendants of the original colonists so far as the lands actually cultivated by them were concerned. As a fact proprietary rights in the whole of the village lands were in the case of the *Bhayāchārāh* villages, as in that of *boladāri* villages, conferred upon the *Lambardārs* or upon them and certain other individuals of the community who were for some reason prominent members thereof and the shares of the persons so declared proprietors were fixed in an equally arbitrary manner. The hardship in the case of the *Bhayāchārāh* villages was increased by the fact that it was laid down that persons declared proprietors alone had the right to break up what had before been the common waste of the village.

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The development of proprietary rights in *Bhayāchārāh* villages was thus diverted from its normal course into one perhaps still more foreign to native ideas than that adopted in the other tahsils. Since then it has proceeded in the same direction as in their case, viz., towards a greater subdivision and disintegration of proprietary groups.

Subsequent development.

As will be noted below, a large measure of protection to tenant right was given in the First Regular Settlement, and this partly compensated the cultivating members of the community who had been ousted from their former position.

The Settlement Officer proposed restrictions on alienation of the proprietary rights conferred, but these were not sanctioned by Government.

In Table XV the proprietary tenures of the district are classified as *Zamindāri*, *Pattidāri* and *Bhayāchārāh*; but it is extremely difficult to class many villages in either one or other of the two latter classes, as both kinds of tenures often occur in subdivisions of one and the same village. It will be seen that the proportion of area held on the *Zamindāri* tenure is unusually large.

Statistics of tenures.

The *Zaildāri* system has lately been introduced into the four southern tahsils of the district. The *sails*, which all consist of contiguous villages, have been formed, as far as possible, with reference to the tribal elements found in them. The number of *sails* in each tahsil are shown in the margin.

Zaildāri system in southern tahsils.

Bawal	... 28
Hissar	... 17
Hissar	... 15
Patahsal	... 12

To nearly all these *sails*, *Zaildārs* or rather *Zail-ināmdārs* have been appointed under Land Revenue Rules 28 and 29. A few, in which no suitable persons were forthcoming, have been left vacant. The duties of a *Zail-ināmdār* are precisely the same as those of a *Zaildār*.

Instead of receiving one per cent. on the land revenue of their respective *sails*, as is the case with *Zaildārs*, the *Zail-ināmdārs*

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are divided into three grades, the remuneration of the first of which is Rs. 130, of the second Rs. 100, and of the third Rs. 80 per annum.

The distribution among grades is as shown in the margin. These *ináms* are not attached to particular *soils*, but are personal, and promotion and degradation of the *Inámdárs* in the various grades can take place according to the quality of the work done by them. Each *inám* is paid as an assignment from the revenue of some village in the *soil*. The first appointments of Zaildárs were announced at the end of 1891. In addition to the Zail-*inámdárs* there are also a certain number of *Safedposh-inámdárs* in each tahsil. They have been selected as useful men who are desirable as Government servants, but for some reason or other have not been made Zaildárs. They are not attached to any particular *soil*, but perform such of the duties of Zaildárs as may be required in the neighbourhood of their residence.

The tahsil distribution is as in the margin. These *Inámdárs* are distributed in two grades, the remuneration of which is Rs. 60 and Rs. 40 per annum, respectively. The numbers in each grade are given in the margin.

The total cost of the Zaildári and *Safedposh* agency in the four southern tahsils of the district is Rs. 7,300, or nearly 1½ per cent. on the assessed land revenue.

Zaildári system
in Sirsa.

In Tahsil Sirsa the Zaildári system was introduced at the Settlement of the Sirsa District in 1879-83. In this tahsil the different tribal and religious elements are very largely intermixed, and it was found impossible to group them together and yet have none but contiguous villages in the same *soil*. The *soils* in this tahsil are thus somewhat scattered and irregular. The Zaildárs are not graded as in the other tahsils, but all receive one per cent. on the land revenue of their *soils*. In many cases this remuneration is extremely small and has been supplemented by *ináms*.

There are in all 39 *soils* in the Sirsa tahsil. The Zaildári fees at one per cent. amount to Rs. 1,779, and the extra *ináms* to Rs. 196. The total cost of the agency is thus Rs. 1,975.

Headmen.

Tahsil.	Village headmen.
Hinder	299
Hindol	656
Hirwana	316
Patshah	545
Sirsa	597
Total	2,109

usual at each Settlement to register as many names as the villages chose to record.

The figures in the margin show the number of headmen in the district. In the four southern tahsils at the Settlement of 1840-41, the utmost looseness of practice was found to have prevailed in the matter of the appointment of headmen or *Mukaddams*, as they were then called. It had been

The Settlement Officer of that time thus writes on the subject:—

"This choice being almost always the result of some temporary squabble, and not being regulated by any principle whatever, the record had become crowded with a vast number of names of mere paper Mukaddams who had never obtained and had never attempted to obtain the least share in the duties and responsibilities of the office. As no *mubaddami* allowance was provided in any of the preceding Settlements; and as the *bona fide* heads of the village communities under the system of Police in vogue in Haryana were and are still held personally answerable for the village Police, the office itself has been hitherto far from a sinecure and the actual holders of it were accordingly exclusively entitled to their re-appointment for the future.

"The task being that of selection, the people when left to themselves either failed to make it or they compounded with their nominees for a share in their Mukaddam allowance in return for their votes, a practice which defeats the very object of the institution. In several instances, unable to arrange about who was to be excluded, they added other and fresh names as a counterpoise to the multitude already recorded. In no instance in short that came under my observation, did their decision, when a decision was obtainable, appear satisfactory or free from some material objection in point of practice or principle.

"Having been ultimately forced to take the duty of selection, appointment and decision of the numerous conflicting claims into my own hands, I proceeded to it as the last step in the after Settlement work, on the broad principles of proscription and possession, and as the justice of the grounds assumed was admitted by all and the facts were not of a nature to be controverted or denied, the appointment of Mukaddams for the future was effected throughout the district with little difficulty or trouble, and considering the number of disappointed claimants with less dissatisfaction than I had myself anticipated."

No radical change was made in the number and status of headmen or *Lambardars*, as they had come to be called, in the Settlement of 1863, and their status and succession are now regulated by definite rules under the Land Revenue Act. There are occasionally disputes regarding the distribution of the *pachotra* or allowance of 5 per cent. on the Government revenue in villages where there are several *Lambardars*. Where the village is divided into *panas* or *thulas*, one or more *Lambardars* are appointed for each *pana* or *thula*, but the revenue of the whole village is collected by all the headmen jointly, and they in this case divide the *pachotra* equally, although the actual revenue paid by the several *panas* or *thulas* may be unequal. In other cases each headman collects the revenue of his particular *pana* or *thula* and appropriates the *pachotra* on the amount.

In the *Zamindari* villages the sole proprietors or *Malikdar*, or one of the joint proprietors, as the case may be, is the head-

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Headmen.

Mukaddams or substitutes for *Lambardars*.

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man, but as he is in nearly all cases non-resident in his village, especially in the case of estates belonging to the Skinner family, it has been the practice for the proprietor to appoint a Mukaddam or substitute to perform the duties of Lambardar. Till recently these Mukaddams were not only substitutes for the headman, so far as Government was concerned, but also servants pure and simple of the proprietor, and the *pacotwa*, which he received, whether 5 per cent. on the Government revenue or a percentage on the proprietor's rent-roll, was intended to remunerate him not only for performing the duties of headman as required by Government, but also for personal service to the proprietor in matters connected with the village or estate. Since the passing of the Land Revenue Act of 1887 the status of the Mukaddams has been fixed as that of Government servant, pure and simple.

Headmen in Sirsa.

In Sirsa, as shown above, the majority of those declared proprietors of the soil at the First Regular Settlement were village headmen, *mukhya* or *panch* as they had been termed up to that time; nearly every proprietor was thus a headman. In 1862, when the First Regular Settlement was drawing to a close, the numbers of these headmen were largely reduced. Since then no radical change in the status of headmen has taken place beyond that arising from the operations of new laws or legal rules. There are no Ala Lambardars or chief headmen in the district.

Common village
 property, income
 and expenditure,
 village cesses.

The common income of the village is an important element in its social economy. It is generally of three kinds: that realized from *ang-charai* or grazing dues, the proceeds of the *kudi* or hearth tax, and that realized from persons cultivating portions of the common land of the village.

The old system of *chaabacha* has been already referred to. It was generally abolished at the Settlement of 1840-41, as being one which was productive of much oppression and hardship to the weaker members of the community. The system was continued in force in a few villages up to the Settlement of 1863, when it was finally superseded. In place however of the distribution of a portion of the revenue on the cattle and hearths or houses (*kudi*) of the village, the proprietors were allowed to realize fixed fees for grazing (*ang-charai*) and a hearth or house tax (*kudi*) at fixed rates. These two items of the common income are thus a survival of the old *chaabacha* which prevailed in the four southern tahsils of the district. The grazing fees (*ang* or *dhunga*) are levied at various rates; the maximum are Re. 1 for a milch buffalo, 8 annas for a cow, 4 annas for a buffalo calf, and 2 annas for a steer or heifer. Plough bullocks are exempt from payment. In many villages where but little waste is left, the rates charged are half the above or less. In some villages, where the proprietors own a large number of cattle, they, as well as non-proprietors, pay the grazing dues, and in others only the non-proprietors pay. In any case the grazing fees form part of the common income of the village in which none but full proprietors, thus excluding *kudim kirans*, have any interest.

In many villages the levy of grazing fees has been given up owing to the decrease in the area of waste available for pasture, but whether they are levied or not, all the inhabitants of the village, of whatever status, have a customary right to graze their cattle on the village waste.

The *kudī* or hearth tax is generally levied at the rate of Rs. 1 per annum from those residents of the village who cultivate no land, and in many *bhayāchārāh* and in some *pattidāri* villages from those who, while cultivating as tenants of a particular proprietor, are not occupancy tenants nor cultivate in the common land of the village. In *zawāndāri* villages the rate of the hearth tax is generally Rs. 2 per annum.

In *bhayāchārāh* and *pattidāri* villages rent is, with a few exceptions, realized from non-proprietors who cultivate the *shimīlā* land of the village; a large number of these are occupancy tenants, whose holdings have been excluded from partition. In many villages of the same kind, especially those in which there is a large area of common land much of which is cultivated by individual proprietors, the latter pay rent to the joint village brotherhood, and this forms an item of the common village income. *Kadīm kirsās* have no interest in this income. The right to extract crude saltpetre from the saline earth in the vicinity of the village site is often sold by the proprietary body, excluding the *kadīm kirsās*, for considerable sums which go to swell the village income. In *bhayāchārāh* and *pattidāri* villages where *pala* grows plentifully, a fee of Rs. 1 per house, called *darānti gaudāsi* is levied for the right to cut the *pala*, or else the right to do so is sold to one or more residents of the village. *Dharat* or weightment fees are realized in only a very few villages.

Kadīm kirsās have no interest in the above kinds of income which, where there is much common village land, often amounts to a considerable sum. In such cases the total income is expended in payment of the Government demand, and the balance of the latter is realized by a *bach* on the proprietors under which, in the case of *bhayāchārāh* and *pattidāri* villages, each proprietor pays a sum proportional to the land revenue for which he is primarily responsible as recorded in the *jamābandī* of the village. Where the income is small, it is often divided among the full proprietors in proportion to the extent of their interest in the village common land, or is expended in some object of common utility to the village, such as the enlarging of the tank or the erection of a *chāupal*, or again some of it is occasionally expended in defraying part of the common incidental expenses of the village.

The incidental expenses falling on the village community, such as sums given in charity to beggars, or expended on occasions when a *parābhāg* visits the village, or in the entertainment of *lawāherā*, passing subordinate officials and others of a similar nature, are met from the *maḥā* fund of the

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Village *malba*.

village. The charges are in the first place advanced by the village *Banya* (*Malhabardār*) generally to the headman and debited to the *malba* account of the village. The latter is, or is supposed to be, audited at the time of the *Kharif* instalment, or in some cases then and at the time of the *Rabi* instalment also. The sum expended is then refunded to the *Banya* from the *malba* fund which till recently amounted to 5 per cent. of the Government revenue and was paid by all proprietors. Any deficit was made up by a further contribution (*barbācha*) levied sometimes where the hearth tax was not paid, at an equal rate on each hearth or house (*kadī*), and in other cases on each proprietor proportionately to the amount of land revenue for which he was primarily responsible, while any excess in *malba* income over expenditure was appropriated by the headman. This was the theory, but in practice the *Lambardārs* generally appropriated the whole of the 5 per cent. *malba* cess, and defrayed the actual expenses incurred by a contribution levied as above on the whole village or on the proprietors. In the recent settlement the 5 per cent. *malba* cess has been abolished, and for it substituted a system of audit in presence of the brotherhood, and levy of the actual sum found to have been expended either by a distribution at equal rates on hearths or houses where the hearth tax is not levied or by one proportional to the Government demand on each proprietor. The proceeds of the hearth tax where levied are often devoted to meeting the *malba* expenses.

In *Zamindāri* villages the *malba* expenses are as a general rule incurred and defrayed by the resident tenants, and the proprietors, often non-residents, have no concern with them whatever.

The family rules
of inheritance.

In dealing with the development of landed rights the family proprietary group has appeared as an important social unit in the evolution of individual proprietary right in the community. Another important social unit is the commensal group joint in residence and estate and which has a common hearth (*chāla*). The commensal group has among all agricultural communities an innate tendency to sub-divide. When the sons grow up they one by one marry, and after the father's death, or sometimes even before each one sets up a separate residence for himself, though it may be adjacent to or in fact a portion of the ancestral tenement. This is a process which probably comes into action as soon as a village community begins to exist. But the idea of a concurrent separation of proprietary rights in land is a much later stage of development and can in the nature of things only begin to set when the idea of individual as opposed to corporate property has to some extent emerged. In other words the disintegration of the proprietary group is considerably posterior in time to that of the commensal group, and in fact, as has been shown above, that of the former has in this district only now reached such a stage that it can be said that the proprietary and commensal groups are in a very large proportion of cases

co-extensive. For the purpose of succession and property the family must be taken to have a wider meaning than the commensal group or even, as now sub-divided, the average proprietary group. It includes in fact all the agnatic descendants of a common ancestor of whom none are more than five generations or so distant from him. Property which has descended from such an ancestor is regarded as the *jaddi* or ancestral property of his descendants and, as will be seen below, is subject to certain restrictions which do not effect self-acquired property. Relatives who belong to the same commensal group as the owner of property have no greater prospective interest in it on that account than the relatives who are separate in estate.

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The family rules of inheritance.

Inheritance in all cases follows the rule of representation, i. e., if an heir who would have been entitled is dead, his male heirs will succeed to his interest. The main object of rural customs in regard to present and reversionary rights in property is to keep it in the agnatic group or family, and thus in all but a very few cases only agnates can succeed.

The main rules of inheritance are as follows: Succession, goes first to the sons and sons' sons, &c., per stirpes with representation, i. e., if a son has died the share which he would have taken goes to his sons and so on. If a son has died leaving a widow, she takes a life interest in the share which would have come to him. The nearer male descendants do not thus exclude the more remote, but all share according to the position which they occupy in relation to the deceased. As between sons by different mothers, the usual rule is that the distribution is equal among all sons, i. e., *pagand* or *thāionbat*, and not by mothers *chundavand* or *vāionbat*. In other words no regard is paid to uterine descent. The higher castes in town generally follow, however, the latter rule. In the absence of sons the widow takes a life interest in the deceased's estate, but where sons succeed she has a claim to suitable maintenance only. On the death of the widow, or in her absence, or on her re-marriage, the father, if alive, succeeds. This of course rarely happens, as it is not often that the son separates from his father during the latter's lifetime, and still less often does a separated son obtain a separate part of the family land on partition before his father's death. The father's succession is confined practically to cases in which a separated son has acquired land subsequently.

After the father the succession goes to the brothers and their descendants per stirpes and by representation; if a brother has died leaving a soulless widow, she takes a life interest in the share which would have gone to the deceased brother. In the absence of brothers or brothers' sons or widows the mother of the deceased takes a life interest similar to that of the widow. In the absence of any of the above the succession goes to the nearest agnate branch per stirpes and by representation.

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Daughters and their issue have no customary right to succeed, they are entitled to maintenance and to be suitably betrothed and married.

Adoption.

The group of agnatic relatives (*shjuddi*) can be artificially increased by adoption (*god lena*). A man who has no natural son may adopt a person who will henceforth stand to him in the position of a natural son while losing all rights of succession in his own natural family. The adoptive son should be preferably a nephew (*bhaisja*), or if no nephew is available, then the nearest agnatic relative (*shjuddi*) of a lower generation than the adopter who is. If there is none such then a sister's son or any member of the *got* may be adopted. The adoptive son is after adoption for all purposes a member of the adoptive family.

Gharjawai.

The *gharjawai* or son-in-law who has permanently taken up his residence in his father-in-law's house, which practically only happens when the latter has no son, though he is not in the position of an adopted son nor has any right to succeed, occasionally with the consent of the agnates may receive a portion of his father-in-law's estate, generally a field or two. The *gharjawai* retains his full rights of succession in his own family.

Alienation of ancestral property.

The rules, whose object it is to prevent alienation of ancestral property out of the family, are no less strict than those which secure its succession therein.

A father cannot distribute the ancestral immoveable property of the family unequally among his sons; if he does, the distribution will be open to amendment on his death. A father will sometimes distribute his immoveable property equally among his sons during his lifetime and keep a share himself, which on his death will go to the son who has remained joint with him.

The alienation of immoveable property by an owner by way of mortgage or sale is, of course, common, but if done with the express object of defeating the prospective rights of sons or agnatic heirs it is open to rescission. It is not open to objection if effected in order to pay off debts properly incurred or for other purposes necessary to the welfare of the family. The same of course also applies to alienation by a widow of property in which she has a life interest. Small gifts to temples or for religious purposes or to daughters' sons are generally maintained if not made with the object of defeating the rights of the agnatic heirs.

Family relations.

It will be well to notice the main principle underlying the nomenclature applied to different classes of agnatic relatives. It is that all persons in the same generation (*piri*) are considered equally distant in relationship without regard to degrees and are referred to by one name and the actual relationship can only be expressed by an additional periphrasis. Thus a grandfather and great-uncle who is in the same generation as the grandfather are both known as *dada*, an uncle as well as an uncle's

cousin as *chācha*, and a cousin and all in the same generation as the speaker as *bhāi*. A brother is called *soga bhāi*, while if a man wishes to make it clear that he is speaking of a cousin he calls him a *chācha kā beva bhāi*. A cousin's son and a brother's son are both equally classed as *bhātija* and a grandson and a nephew's son are both called *potra*.

The names of relatives by marriage and through females are very numerous and complicated. Some of the principle ones are collected below.

The persons related through the wife are termed as follows : *suara* (wife's father), *asa* (wife's mother), *sabal* (wife's brother), *sathī* (wife's brother's wife), *sali* (wife's sister), *sadhā* (wife's sister's husband). The above relatives through the wife are called collectively the *suwāl* of the husband. The word primarily means the house of the wife's family. *Vice versa* the same term is used for the collective kindred of the husband as connected by marriage with the wife: *Suara* is the husband's father and *asa* the husband's mother. *Seth* is the husband's elder brother and *sethāni* is his wife. *Dewar* is the husband's younger brother and *dewarāni* is his wife.

The following names express the relations subsisting between the kindred of the wife and the kindred of the husband. *Samdhī* (son's or nephew's father-in-law), *mouso* (brother's father-in-law), *samdheta* (son-in-law's brother). The son's, grandson's or nephew's mother-in-law is called *samdhani*; and *vice versa* a man's father, grand-father or uncle, or in short any agnatic relative of a higher generation are the *samdhani* of the man's mother-in-law as they are also the *samdhī* of his father-in-law. The brother-in-law of a son, grandson, or nephew is called *samdheta*, while the sister-in-law is called *beti* not *samdhēti*. Conversely, the father, grandfather or uncle of a brother-in-law are called *mausa*. The collective agnatic kindred of the husband and wife are known to each other on either side as *samdhāyāna*.

The following terms refer to the relations between the wife's kindred in a higher generation than herself and her children :—*Nana* (mother's father) *nani* (mother's mother). All other male agnatic relations of the mother in the same generation as her parents are known as *nana* to her children. The mother's brother is *māmū* and his wife *māmi*, the mother's sister *mausi* and her husband *mausa*. The mother's kindred in the same or a superior generation are known collectively as her children's *wonāl*. A daughter's son or daughter are known as *dhota* and *dhōti* respectively and the sister's son or daughter as *bhānija* or *bhāniji*. The son or daughter of a female cousin who is herself called *bahin*, are also known as *bhānija* or *bhāniji*.

The general principle of the nomenclature, both in the case of agnatic relatives and of marriage connections, is that all in the same generation are described by the same term, the detailed connection being made clear if necessary by a periphrasis.

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 prietary tenures.
 Sukhlambars.

The nature of the tenure under which the *sukhlambari* grants are held in Tahsil Sirsa has been fully dealt with in paras. 259-261 of the Sirsa Settlement Report, and it is only necessary to touch upon the subject briefly here. This form of tenure is found principally in Tahsils Sirsa and Patahabad and to a less extent in Tahsil Hissar. On the conclusion of the Pindari campaign in 1818 or 1819 nine regiments of Rohilla Cavalry and Irregular Horse, one of which was a portion of the famous Skinner's Horse, were disbanded, and with a view to the colonization of the lately annexed tracts of Harriana and Bhattiana and perhaps to some extent as a defensive measure, grants of land in these tracts were made to the troopers and native officers of the disbanded regiments. A trooper's grant was 100 bigahs, equivalent to 81 bigahs as now in use. The grants to officers were larger according to their rank; a risaldar's grant being 500, a jamadar's 250, and a dafadar's 140 bigahs.

The conditions of the grant were as follows:—

- (i). That it should be enjoyed revenue free for three generations, including the grantee, in the direct line of male lineal descent from him.
- (ii). If male issue in the direct line of the three generations failed within twenty years, the grant would be enjoyed revenue free for the remainder of the twenty years by the relatives of the grantee.
- (iii). The proprietary right would remain with the grantee and his descendants for ever, but after the lapse of three generations the holder would have to pay land revenue. The grantee after receiving possession was to reside in the village.

The grants in Hissar began to be taken up at once and the process continued till 1845 when all further allotment of grants was stopped.

Owing, however, to the unsettled state in which Bhattiana continued, the grantees did not apply for possession in that tract till 1837. From that date applications for possession were made constantly up to 1849 when all further allotments were stopped by order of Government. Many of the grantees were men from districts beyond the Jumna, and after receiving possession returned to their homes, leaving the cultivation in the hands of tenants. In 1850 the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces held that the period of twenty years mentioned above ran from the date of obtaining possession and not from the date of the grant.

In 1852 a detailed enquiry into the nature of these grants appears to have been made in Hissar and a similar enquiry was begun in Sirsa in connection with the Regular Settlement.

The practice in regard to the succession to the *sukhlambari* grants has varied to some extent from the strict terms of the

original grant, and the rules according to which the grants have been interpreted were apparently formulated in 1852. They are as follows:—

- (i). The period of the grant is taken to be three lives and not three generations.
- (ii). The eldest surviving male descendant in the eldest male branch of the original grantee's issue in existence succeeds until the grant has been held for three lives when it lapses.
- (iii). During the currency of the grant the person in whose name the grant is recorded under the above rules enjoys the revenue thereof.
- (iv). After the lapse of the grant the proprietary right vests in all those who are heirs of the original grantee according to the law applicable and not only in those of the last holder, and they are all responsible for the land revenue assessed after resumption.

A considerable number of the grants were forfeited for misconduct in the Mutiny and others are constantly falling in on account of lapse. In 1852 it was ruled that if the grantee did not cultivate his land it would be liable to resumption, but neither this nor the conditions of the original grant prescribing residence in the village have ever been enforced.

A large number of the non-resident *Sukhlambars* have transferred their land on long lease and in many cases they have sold their proprietary right after resumption. A *sukhlambari* plot in the idiom of the district is known as "*chiti*" until it is resumed.

After resumption the proprietors of the resumed plot have only the status of *malikān kadea* without any interest in the common land of the village, if any. As a matter of fact, however, in villages held by *Sukhlambars* or their heirs after resumption, there is practically no common land, as the interest originally granted to the *Sukhlambar* was one in a specific plot alone and conveyed no joint right in any other plot.

The history of the development of tenant right in the district is in many respects similar to that of proprietary right which has been already dealt with. The development has been to a large extent artificial and marked fairly clearly by the idiosyncracies of early Settlement Officers. The germ of tenant right was, however, certainly to be found in the district even before the artificial development began.

It has been already pointed out that in the four southern *tahsils* there were at an early period a large number of villages in which a single individual had influence and power and who arranged for the cultivation and paid the Government revenue. In those, which were to develop into the present *samindāri* and

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Special proprietary tenures. *Sukhlambars*.

Tenancy tenures. *Reot*.

Tenant right in four southern *tahsils*. *Thekadari* villages.

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Tenants in *dhayacharak* villages.

pattidari estates, the status of tenant began first to come into prominence as the status of the farmer or lessee from Government began to develop into that of sole proprietor.

In the brotherhood villages also there were a certain number of cultivators who, while admitted to most of the privileges of a member of the community, including contribution on equal terms to the village *bach*, were still not recognised in the full sense of the word as members of the territorial brotherhood (*bhumbhai*). Such tenants, however, so long as they paid the village rate from year to year were never ejected, for, as in the case of *kadim kirana*, it was to the interest of the brotherhood to get as much land cultivated as possible and so to reduce the burden on each member.

In the *samindari* villages there seems to have been a distinction made at a very early stage between the cultivators who had been settled by the future proprietor at the first founding of the village, who had borne all the hardships incidental to a settlement in the unhabited waste, who had dug the village tank and broken up the soil, and those who had come to the village and commenced their cultivation when this stage in the village history had been passed. The former were more indulgently treated by the proprietor than the latter; they paid a fixed rate of rent for the land which they cultivated, and the rate was lower than that charged in the case of the latter class of tenants; their tenure was more secure and they were not so liable to ejection. In time the position of such tenants was still further strengthened, by the fact that the local Civil Courts generally refused to eject a tenant who had held continuously for twelve years at a fixed rent without any form of written lease. Thus at the time of the Settlement of 1842 tenants were roughly divided into three classes:—

Classes of tenants prior to First Regular Settlement.

- (i). Those who had held continuously for many years at a fixed rent and were not liable to ejection in a Civil Court.
- (ii). Those who cultivated from year to year under fresh agreements.
- (iii). The tenants in brotherhood or *dhayacharak* villages who paid rent at the same rate (*shamil bach*) as the members of the brotherhood, and who so long as they paid this rate were never ejected.

The rents referred to above as paid in *samindari* villages were in the majority of instances paid in cash, but in not a few cases, especially in the *sotar* lands in the Ghaggar valley, kind rents were common.

Previous to the Settlement of 1840-41 the tenant had a so far distinct status that he was commonly called a *boladar*, or one who held on a verbal agreement (*bola*). The term seems to have originated in, even if it was not confined to, the *samindari* or *thetadari* villages.

At the Settlement of 1840-41 the three classes of tenants described above were classified as follows:—class (i), *boladār mukarrar shars bandhala or bil mukta*, i. e., tenants paying for land cultivated at a fixed rate or rent, or paying for a fixed area of land at a lump rent; class (ii), *boladār karsala*, i. e., tenants who held on agreement renewed or renewable from year to year; class (iii), *boladār shāmilati*, i. e., tenants paying only the Government demand at the general *bach* rate for the village. The first and third classes were in practice not liable to ejection so long as they paid the sums due from them, while the second class could be ejected, but owing to the desire to increase cultivation and the small value of land seldom were. The distinction between the status of the different classes of tenants was, however, one not based on any specific rule or law, but one observed in practice.

In the Settlement of 1863 the question of definitely fixing the status of different classes of tenants and specifying the resulting rights and liabilities came up for decision, and it was then that the forms of tenant right in the four southern tahsils of the district were finally moulded. The ordinary division into tenants with and without right of occupancy was adopted and rules were framed by which to determine the class into which any particular tenant should fall. They were as follows:—

- (i) Tenants who had had no continuous possession or who had not paid rent at fixed rates were declared to have no right of occupancy.
- (ii) Tenants from whom proprietors had realised profits in the shape of rent were, if their possession dated from before the Settlement of 1840-41, declared to have rights of occupancy, otherwise not.
- (iii) Tenants in *bhayāchārāh* villages who had paid at the village *bach* rate were, if their possession dated from before 1849, declared to have rights of occupancy, otherwise not, unless the proprietors agreed to confer such rights on them.

Some of the Ghaggar villages had been exempted from the Settlement of 1840-41 and had been subsequently settled in 1852, and the status of tenants as having or not having occupancy rights had then been fixed, and this status was of course not disturbed in the Settlement of 1863.

The above rules, however, only disposed of the question of status in villages where the tenants had never been in the position of proprietors. In villages which had been farmed for arrears or transferred by private contract and in which the original owners had sunk to the level of tenants the matter required special treatment. The principles adopted in such cases were as follows:—

- (i). In villages which had been farmed for arrears of revenue the former owners when in possession were declared occupancy tenants. The same rule was observed in

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Classes of tenants prior to First Regular Settlement.

Treatment of tenant right at Settlement of 1863.

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ant right or Set-
tlement of 1863.

the case of villages which had been forfeited for rebellion or in which the owners had transferred the estate subject to their own right to cultivate land therein.

- (ii) In the case of lands transferred in execution of decree the former owners were declared to have no rights of occupancy.

The Settlement of 1863 thus extended a large measure of protection to tenants and resulted in the creation of a large number of occupancy tenures. Owing to its late colonization and development and the comparatively large number of *samindari* and *patidari* estates in it a comparatively large proportion of the agricultural operations of the district is carried on by tenants and on their well-being the prosperity of the district largely depends and the early recognition of this has no doubt had a beneficial effect on its development.

Rents paid before
Settlement of 1863.

The payment of rent has of course been customary in *samindari* and *patidari* villages since the recolonization of the four southern tahsils, but in *dhayacharak* villages no rent in excess of the village *bach* rate was taken at the Settlement of 1840-41, nor in fact till the Settlement of 1863.

Rents fixed in
dhayacharak village
at Settlement of
1863.

The then Settlement Officer appears to have thought that a certain amount of *malikana* should be received by the proprietors; and probably proprietary right had been sufficiently defined and the value of land had risen sufficiently to induce proprietors to exercise this mark of proprietary right. Very few suits were filed on this ground and in nearly all cases the proprietors and tenants by mutual agreement fixed a *malikana* of from 25 to 50 per cent. above the Government demand. Here then we find the status of tenant and that of proprietor fully distinguished and the subsequent increase in the value of land and of agricultural produce has brought the distinction into greater prominence.

Subsequent
development of ten-
ant right and rise
in rents.

In the Settlement of 1863 not much distinction appears to have been made between the rents paid by occupancy tenants and tenants-at-will, so far as the action of the Settlement Officer was concerned. Gradually, however, as the value of land increased owing to increase of population and a rise in the value of agricultural produce the proprietors began to be fully alive to their own interests, and to enhance the rents of tenants-at-will and to preserve the distinction between land in which tenants had a right of occupancy and land subsequently broken up in which they had none. The great majority of the tenants of the district pay cash rents, kind rents being confined mostly to the flooded *sohar* lands where outturn is precarious and which are held by an unthrifty class of cultivators and to lands irrigated by the canal. The rise in cash rents thus came gradually to affect a large majority of the tenants-at-will in the four southern tahsils of the district, especially those in *samindari* villages. Many of the occupancy tenants had since Settlement broken up fresh land in which they had no occupancy rights, and this land was a necessity to them as the area held in occupancy tenure was not

sufficiently large to support their families. This acted as an inducement to them to accept higher rents, but this has not been done without a struggle. For several years past there have been yearly a large number of ejectment proceedings instituted by landlords; and tenants-at-will having come to know full well the value of occupancy rights have freely disputed their liability to ejectment and claimed such rights. Landlords again were anxious in face of the extensive grant of occupancy rights at the previous Settlement and in view of new legislation to establish the status of their tenants as one without occupancy rights and so proceeded to eject them. The progress of the Settlement has now settled doubts as to status, and tenants-at-will are generally accepting a rise in rent consequent on enhanced assessment.

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Subsequent development of tenant right and rise in rents.

The cash rents paid in the tract with which we are dealing are very generally paid on area held whether sown or not, this is called *lagán khari pari*. Kind rents are taken either by a fixed share of produce (*batái*) very commonly one-third together with a certain number of sérs per maund as *serisa*. The fees in kind to *Kami* are given out of a small quantity which is left out of the division. Any balance left after these are paid is again divided. Another not uncommon form of rent is that taken by appraisement in cash of the landlord's fixed share of the crop; this is called *kankut*. In a few cases cash rents are paid by rates on area sown, the rates sometimes varying with the crop (*kashk harsola* or *finai*).

The principles upon which the individuals who were declared proprietors in the Settlement of the Sirsa Tahsil in 1852 were selected have already been noticed at length. Such persons were declared sole proprietors of their own holdings and joint proprietors of the common waste of the village. All other cultivators in the village sank to the level of tenants (*asámi*).

Tenancy tenures in Sirsa.

The development of tenant right in Sirsa has been described in *extenso* in paras. 217, 218, 224-231, 246-253 of Mr. Wilson's Settlement Report of Sirsa. The loss of their incipient proprietary rights by many proprietors in the *bháyachárah* villages was to some extent compensated by a wholesale creation of occupancy tenures. Practically all tenants, except those who had settled in a village very recently or who occupied a distinctly inferior position, were made occupancy tenants in the Settlement of 1852-63, all other tenants being declared to be tenants without rights of occupancy. This was the case both in the *bháyachárah* and in the *boladári* villages. The rents of the occupancy tenants were also fixed so as to leave the proprietors in *bháyachárah* villages a profit (*málikána* or *biswachári*) of five to ten per cent. on the land revenue after paying the revenue and cesses due, and of 50 to 100 per cent. in *boladári* villages. In the latter the proprietor paid cesses out of his *málikána*.

Creation of occupancy tenures at the Regular Settlement.

The result of the Settlement proceedings was that 66 per cent. of the area cultivated at the time was held by occupancy tenants, 27 per cent. by tenants-at-will and only 7 per cent. by

Subsequent development of tenant right.

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ment of tenant
rights.

Defects of the
tenants.

Importance of the
tenantry in the
district.

Rent rates.

Agricultural part-
nerships or *dhads*.

proprietors. After Settlement the tenants rapidly extended their cultivation at the rates fixed at Settlement and the proprietors of course made no objection as the greater the area of land brought under cultivation (*neutor*) the larger were their profits. This state of things continued till the Settlement of 1879-83 drew near, when the increased competition for, and the consequent increased value of, land induced proprietors to stop new cultivation except at higher rents and to demand higher rents for land which had been brought under cultivation since Settlement. The tenants in the expectation of a further grant of occupancy rights at Settlement refused to pay higher rents and the consequence was a larger number of ejectment proceedings under the Tenancy Act of 1868. These the tenants met with claims for occupancy rights, but the Act in question gave no substantial support to such claims, and after a proposal for special legislation had been negatived the tenants' claims were in the great majority of cases rejected and in respect of lands brought under cultivation after 1868, the tenants had to pay the proprietors' demands or be ejected and such a step would have brought many a tenant, whose occupancy holding conferred at the previous Settlement was not large enough to support him and his family, into the greatest difficulties.

The above account of tenant right will, it is hoped, have made clear the importance of the tenant element in the social and agricultural economy of the district, and Table No. XVI, which shows the number of tenancy holdings and the gross area held under each form of tenancy in 1890-91, will indicate this in a more compendious form. It will be seen that in the four southern tahsils the proportion of the cultivated area in the hands of tenants is 52 per cent, while in Sirsa it rises to 75 per cent. The above account of the development of Tenancy Tenures will explain this.

Table No. XXI gives the current rent rates of various classes of land as returned in 1890-91. But the accuracy of the figures is doubtful; indeed it is impossible to state general rent rates which shall even approximately represent the letting value of land throughout a district.

Except where land is irrigated by the canal or from wells or by floods from the Ghaggar or Jaiya, the whole agriculture of the District is dependent on the rainfall and is of a simple character not requiring any such large expenditure of capital or labour as would render it necessary for different cultivators to club their resources together with a view to efficient tillage and cultivation. The agricultural partnership (*dhna* or *sajji*) is therefore comparatively rarely found, and is confined to the irrigated tracts mentioned above.

Several *dhulas* or commensal groups will combine their ploughs and oxen in order to cultivate the land owned by one or more of the *dhulas* or will take on rent land owned by some other family. The share of each *dhula* in the produce of the

land so cultivated will depend on the number of bullocks and men contributed to the association. Each man and each bullock represent one share, the man's share being called *ji-ka-hissa*. The share of a woman or a labourer employed for minor operations, such as weeding, is called *kharpi-ka-hissa*; *kharpi* meaning a hoe. Where each *chala* contributes a bullock as well as the labour of one man the *lana* is termed *adhala* and the share of such a *chala* is taken as the unit; where no bullocks are contributed by the members of the *lana* but procured elsewhere it is called *chauthia* and the unit is then the *ji-ka-hissa* or man's share.

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ties.

Agricultural part-
nerships or *lanas*.

In the case of well irrigation in the Bagar tracts of the Bhiwani Tahsil the distribution is made on the number of bullocks required to work the *leo chansa* or rope and bucket. For each *leo* four pairs of bullocks are required, neither more nor less, and the share of each *chala*, which contributes one pair with the labour necessary to work them, is called *chauth*, while if only one bullock is contributed the share is called *athwal*.

The lands on which *lanas* are employed are generally cultivated with the Rabi crop, except in the case of rice on the Ghaggar, and rent is paid by *batai*. The owner of the soil first takes his share of the produce as *batai* rent, even if he is himself a member of the *lana*, and the balance is then divided among all the *chala* which have contributed to the *lana* according to any one of the above unit shares which may be applicable.

Hired field labourers are generally employed in weeding the Kharif crops where the work is not done by the women of the family; but the time when there is the greatest demand for hired labour is at the reaping of the Kharif and *elabi* harvests. The labourers are in nearly all cases village menials, such as Chamars, Chuhras, Aheris, and Dhauks. When the harvest is a good one and work plentiful they get comparatively high wages, two and sometimes three or four annas per day, and one if not two meals of *roti*. They are by no means dependent on field labour alone but practice other handicrafts in the village, such as weaving, curing skins, &c., and many of them cultivate land on their own account.

Agricultural
labourers.

In seasons where the rainfall is partial tenants and even proprietors of villages in which there has been rain insufficient for sowing earn very fair wages by taking their ploughs and bullocks to adjacent villages where there has been rain and ploughing for hire, which in some cases under favourable circumstances amounts to Re. 1 per day and meals.

In seasons of scarcity the first pinch of distress is of course felt by the labourer, but he is less tied to his village than are the proprietors and tenants and does not hesitate to leave it and seek labour elsewhere.

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ties.

Petty village
grantees.

The third line in Table No. XVI shows the area held by tenants free of rent. The whole of this area is not, however, in the hands of village grantees, as it includes areas of *shamilat* land cultivated by individual proprietors as tenants-at-will who are charged no rent by the brotherhood.

There are a considerable number of village grants free of rent, especially in *bhayačkārah* villages. These grants are most commonly made to village menials and watchmen on condition of or in payment of service, to attendants at temples, mosques, shrines or village rest-houses so long as they perform the duties of the post, and for maintenance of monasteries, holy men, teachers at religious schools and the like. The grants take various forms; when the land is held free of either revenue or rent it is called a *dhoti* if given with a religious object, and a *bhonda* if given for village service.

Village menials.

The village menials most commonly found in the district are as follows in the order of their social rank.

Khāti.

The Khāti is the village carpenter who does all the wood work required by the villagers. His customary dues are a fixed amount of grain, varying from 30 to 50 sérs per annum per plough, payable at harvest time, or a cash payment of 8 annas or Re. 1 per plough per annum together with fees at weddings, especially Re. 1 for making the *tordn*. For these dues the Khāti does all ordinary repairs, the wood being supplied by the owner. For new articles, such as a plough (*hai*) or a charpoy (*manjī*) 2 annas is received as wages (*garhāt*).

The Khāti's tools are the following:—the *randha* (a plane); *barsua*, a pointed metal tool for making lines; *basola*, an axe for chopping; *gan*, an iron mallet; *kulāra*, an axe; *arhī*, a hand-saw; *arkā*, a large saw with two handles; *nīkānī*, a chisel; *hathora*, a small hammer; *putha*, a pair of compasses.

Nai.

The Nai combines the occupations of village barber and gossip monger. He takes a leading part in all family ceremonies. He will shave all but the lowest castes, such as Chubras and Dhānaks. He is the bearer of good tidings but never of bad, which are intrusted to the *daura*. The Nai gets no fixed remuneration, but he is fed at weddings and such like.

The Lohar is the village blacksmith and is distinctly lower in the social scale than the Khāti. He does all repairs to iron-work, the material being supplied by the owner. His dues are generally much the same as the Khāti's.

Kumhar.

The Kumhar is the village potter and manufactures the household utensils required. In addition to this he keeps donkeys, a reason for his low caste, and also carries grain from the threshing floor (*pafr*) to the village.

Chamār.

The Chamār is primarily the leather worker of the village and supplies the *nāri* or thong for the yoke, binds the seed drill (*per*) and fastens the prongs of the pitchfork (*jeñī*) with

leather (*badā*). In addition to this he generally performs the *begār* work of the village and also sometimes works in the fields. His remuneration consists of grain either a small share of the produce or one maund more or less of grain per house per annum, together with the skins of all cloven hooved cattle who die in the village. The owners however sometimes retain the skins of full-grown buffaloes which are valuable and pay the Chamār 2 annas (*nikālcāi*) for removing them. If the Chamār gets the skin he has to supply a pair of shoes in return. The Chamārs sometimes share the flesh of dead cattle with the Chuhras or Dhānaks.

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ties
Chamār.

The Chuhras and Dhānaks are both on a level at the bottom of the village social scale. They are chiefly employed as the village *dauras* or messengers, whose duty it is to show the road to travellers, to summon the villagers together when required and to carry messages and letters. The *daura* receives a fixed sum, generally Rs. 12 per annum, raised by a contribution levied on all the residents of the village, and also the skins of camels, horses and donkeys, and sometimes a share of the flesh of dead cattle. Many of the menials, and especially the Chamārs, are also agriculturists and not a few inferior proprietors (*kadīm kīrsāns*) and occupancy tenants.

Chuhras and Dhā-
naks.

The village Banya though a much and often a very deservedly abused individual "plays a part of cardinal importance in the village economy." He is the village banker with whom most of the brotherhood have a drawing account, which generally from the first shows a balance in favour of the banker. The interest charged at the periodical settlement of accounts is often excessive even when the debt is secured by a mortgage of land. Payments to the credit of the zamindār's account are often made by him in kind by delivery of grain or cattle and the price at which they are credited is one not unfavourable to the Banya. However, in a good year in a prosperous Jat village, many of these village accounts will be cleared up.

Village Banya.

Without the village banker on whom to draw in times of scarcity, the zamindārs would often be in extreme difficulties and there is perhaps much more good faith in his transactions with them than he is often given credit for. He is generally a person of importance in the village and often holds land as an occupancy tenant or as a *kadīm kīrsān*, and he almost invariably has a lofty masonry house (*hazeli*) which not inappropriately overtops the other buildings of the village.

Table No. XXXII gives statistics of sales and mortgages of land, and Tables XXXIII and XXXIII A show the operations of the Registration Department. The mortgages dealt with in Table XXXII are all mortgages in which the possession of the land has been transferred; hypothecatory mortgages do not appear in the Revenue Returns.

Poverty, wealth
and indebtedness of
the proprietors.

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ties.

Alienations.

The question of indebtedness and the consequent passing of land out of the hands of agriculturists has not as yet assumed much importance in this district.

Alienations of land whether by way of sale or mortgage with possession are on the whole remarkably light, and this is due in a large measure to the thrifty character of the Jats who form the majority of the agricultural population. On the other hand, the increasing value of land combined with an assessment which had previous to the recent Settlement become inadequate, gave the agriculturist who wished to mortgage his land every facility for doing so, as the money-lender was only too anxious to invest his capital therein. In spite of this but little land, comparatively speaking, is encumbered, or has been sold, and the fact appears to show clearly that as a rule agriculturists in the district are not in any way heavily involved in debt. The enhanced assessment will probably to some extent diminish the value of all but the best classes of land in the eyes of the money-lender.

The only tract where the amount of alienation is large is in the eastern part of the Bhiwani Tahsil, and it is mostly all by way of mortgage. In that tract we have the best soil in the district under an assessment, which till recently was excessively light, and an unthrifty population of Hinda Rájput cultivators with an important commercial town like Bhiwani in their neighbourhood, containing a large number of money-lenders who were only too anxious to invest their capital in land. These elements have all combined to raise the amount of alienation in the tract.

The figures in Tahsils Fatahabad and Hissar are swollen to some extent by the transfer of whole villages or shares therein by a single proprietor, and such a transfer has not the same political significance that a transfer by an agriculturist pure and simple has.

A comparison of the figures of area mortgaged and that redeemed shows that the encumbered area is increasing slowly while the amount of mortgage debt is rising rapidly as land becomes more valuable.

Size of holdings.

The size of the average proprietary holding and of the area thereof cultivated by the proprietor is an important element as bearing on the wealth or poverty of the agricultural classes.

Tahsil.	Circle.	Average cultivated area per holding in acres.	Average cultivated area per owner in acres.
Bhiwani ...	Bariana ...	24	15
	Bagar ...	30	22
Hissar ...	Bariana ...	20	17
	Cawal ...	21	21
Hissar ...	Bariana ...	22	24
	Bagar ...	20	27
Fatahabad	Hariana ...	20	22
	Bagar ...	22	26
Barwala ..	Nal ...	20	20
	Hariana ...	25	20
	Nal ...	23	21

In the margin are given statistics showing the average cultivated area per proprietary holding and per owner in the different assessment circles of the district taken from the assessment reports for the five (now four) southern tahsils of the district:—

The figures are of course largely affected by

the number of *samindári* estates in any particular tract, but they show that the average holding in the *Bágar* is from 40 to 60 acres, in the *Haridua* from 25 to 40 acres, and in the *Náli* from 35 to 50 acres. In the latter tract there are many *samindári* villages and the average holding of a true peasant proprietor is probably not more than 20 or 25 acres. In the light soil of the *Bágar*, whose produce is not so good as that of the firmer soil to the eastward, a large area is of course necessary for the maintenance of a family, and on the other hand the heavy soil of the *Sotar* renders it impossible for the average cultivating group to till the same area as in the lighter soils, and the cultivators themselves are but poor agriculturists. On the whole, in all the four southern tahsils and also in *Sirsa*, the area available for the average sized cultivating group is large enough for their maintenance, and there is no pressure of population on land.

Agricultural indebtedness of a permanent nature is in this district remarkably small in amount. There is of course a large amount of floating debt due by agriculturists to the village *Banya*, but most of this in the case of the more thrifty and prosperous tribes is paid off in good years while it is only extravagant *samindáris*, such as *Hindu* and *Mussalmán Rájpáts*, and utterly worthless ones, such as *Pachhádás*, who are to any extent permanently in the hands of the *Banya*.

Many of the more prosperous landowners, and, in not a few cases tenants, have in the currency of the late Settlement under an assessment which became increasingly light as cultivation extended, saved a considerable amount of the outturn of their fields and their labour. This has been invested in making increases to their material comfort, such as the erection of better and more comfortable and substantial dwellings, in the use of better wearing apparel by all and a greater amount of jewellery by the women, while not a few have invested their savings in the form of loans on the security of land to less prosperous agriculturists.

Chapter III. E.

Constitution and divisions of village communities.

Size of holdings.

Debt.

SECTION F.—LEADING FAMILIES.

Chapter III. F.
Leading families.

The agricultural portion of the population of the District can boast of few or no families of note. The family of the late Colonel James Skinner, C. B., are collectively the largest land-holders in the District.

History of Colonel
Skinner.

Colonel Skinner, the founder of the family was born in 1778. His father was a native of Scotland in the service of the East India Company, and his mother a Rājputni, from the neighbourhood of Banāras. In 1796, through the influence of Colonel Barn, he received an appointment in the army of the Mahratta chief Sindhia, under his commander the Frenchman DeBoigne and was stationed at Mathura.

He almost immediately began to see active service in Sindhia's army against the chiefs of Rājputāna. In 1798 he was severely wounded at the battle of Uncarārah and taken prisoner by Sindhia's forces, but he was subsequently set at liberty.

As has been already related in the last chapter the increasing power of George Thomas in 1800 and 1801, excited the jealousy of Sindhia's commander Perron and led to a fierce struggle in which Thomas was overthrown at Hansi. In this campaign Skinner took an important part and made his first acquaintance with the Hariāna country with which he was to be so prominently connected in the future. In the beginning of 1803, Skinner received command of a regiment in Sindhia's army. In the latter part of that year war broke out between the Mahratta chiefs and the British, and ten of the British officers serving under Perron refused to use arms against their countrymen. This led to the dismissal of all Sindhia's English officers including Skinner. This was a blow to Skinner who at this time appears to have had no intention of taking service under the British nor any objection to fighting against them. Perron was however obdurate and shortly before the battle of Aligarh Skinner still unwilling to desert his former master was forced reluctantly to come into the British camp. There, on condition that he should not be employed against his former master, he received command of a troop of native cavalry, the nucleus of the famous Skinner's horse, who had come over from Sindhia. In 1804 Skinner with the rank of Captain was sent with his regiment towards Sahāranpur to oppose the Sikhs which he did successfully and with much credit to himself. In the same and following year Skinner was actively employed in the war against Holkar. In 1806 on the introduction of the economizing régime of Sir George Barlow, the reduction and disbandment of Skinner's Corps, the "Yellow Boys" as they were called, took place. Skinner himself was retired with the rank and pension of a Lieutenant-Colonel. He then resided for a time at Delhi, and after his pension had been commuted into a jāgir he employed himself in the improvement of his estate.

Meanwhile the disturbed state of Hariāna, the nominal

head-quarters of which were at Hānsi, was attracting the attention of Government. As has been already related, the Honourable Edward Gardiner was in 1809 dispatched thither to restore order and the services of Skinner with the rank of Captain and with 800 sowars of his old regiment who had been continued in employment as Civil Police was placed at Mr. Gardiner's disposal. The strength of the corps was increased to 800. Skinner with his horse was present at the capture of Bhiwāni, and he remained stationed in the district from 1809 to 1814 and assisted in the restoration of order. It was at this period that the foundation of the family estates was laid. Skinner received considerable grants of waste land from Government on which he founded villages and settled cultivators, others he took upon farm for arrears of revenue and others again were voluntarily transferred by the original cultivators who preferred to be his tenants and under the protection of his name to having the doubtful privileges of proprietors.

Skinner's corps was meanwhile increased to 3,000 men, and he himself received the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He took part with his corps in the Pindhari campaign. After its conclusion in 1819 the corps was reduced by 1,000 men. Of the remainder 1,000 were stationed at Hānsi under Colonel Skinner and 1,000 at Neemuch in Central India under his brother Major Robert Skinner. In 1819 the jagir which had been granted in the neighbourhood of Aligarh to Skinner in lieu of pension as a retired officer of the Mahratta army was made perpetual.

Between 1822-24 Skinner's corps was slightly reduced and was employed in quieting outbreaks in Bhattāna. In 1824 the strength of the corps was again increased, and it served under Lieutenant-Colonel Skinner with Major Fraser as his second-in-command in Lord Combermere's army at the siege of Bharatpur. In 1829 Skinner received a commission in the British army with the rank of Colonel, and was at the same time made a Companion of the Bath. He thereafter spent his time mostly at Hānsi employed in the management and improvement of his estate. Under the name of "Bara Sekunder," the latter word being a corruption of his name, he was widely feared and at the same time much respected by the native population. He died in December 1841 leaving 5 sons, Joseph, James, Hercules, Alexander and Thomas. By his will the property was left undivided to be managed by one member of the family on behalf of the others. Mr. Alexander Skinner, the last surviving son of Colonel Skinner was the manager of the Skinner estate so long as it remained unpartitioned. The management was principally conducted at Hānsi.

In 1887 the family agreed to partition the estate, and this was accordingly done in the Court of the District Judge of Delhi by order dated August 30th, 1888. The numerous villages in this District which formerly were part of the joint estate are now held separately by the various members of the family. The

Chapter III. F.

Leading families.

History of Colonel Skinner.

Present condition of the Skinner Estate.

Chapter III. F. largest proprietors are Mr. James Skinner, a grandson of Colonel Skinner; Mr. Robert Hercules Skinner, and other minor children of Mr. Alexander Skinner son of Colonel James Skinner, Mr. Richard Ross Skinner, and Mr. George Earle Skinner, sons of Mr. Thomas Skinner.

Leading families.

Present condition of the Skinner Estate.

Except in a few instances, notably in the villages belonging to Mr. James Skinner, the system of management has deteriorated much since the partition, and the proprietors, who are mostly absentees, leave every thing in the hands of their *karindas* or local agents.

The Bhái of Sidhowál.

The chief native gentleman of rank in the District is Bhái Anokh Singh of Sidhowál in the Karnál District, who holds a *jágir* of 14 villages in the Budlada tract, transferred to this District from Karnál in 1888. He is a member of the Arnauli family and connected with the former Bháias of Kaithal.

The District of Kaithal, as it was constituted when it passed into the hands of the British, had been acquired for the most part by Bhái Desu Singh, the fourth son of Bhái Gurbakhsh Singh, himself a descendant of a Rájput zamindár of Jaisalmer. Desu Singh died in Sambat 1835-1836, while his son Lál Singh was a hostage at the Delhi Court. Bahál Singh, another son, succeeded to the rule of his father's possessions. Lál Singh was, however, released, and on his return drove his brother away. The latter at this time acquired the Budlada tract, but was soon afterwards murdered at his brothers's instigation.

The treaty of Sarji Anjauḡon in 1803 and the subsequent treaty of Poona made the British nominal masters of territories to the west of the Jamna. Immediately after the battle of Delhi in 1803, the chief of Kaithal, Bhái Lál Singh with other Sikh chieftains, had made his submission to the British. Under the policy of withdrawal inaugurated by Lord Cornwallis, Lord Wellesley's successor, the tract west of the Jamna was parcelled out among the Sikh chiefs, partly in the form of *jágir* grants and partly in full sovereignty. But the increasing power of Ranjít Singh subsequently drove them into the arms of the British, and they were taken under protection in 1809, while in 1810 the *jágir* grants of 1805-6 were declared grants for life only. They were gradually resumed at the death of their holders.

Bhái Lál Singh of Kaithal died in 1806 and was succeeded by Bhái Ude Singh, his minor brother, under the regency of his mother. His rule was oppressive and tyrannical. He died in 1843 leaving no issue, and his State was held to have lapsed to the protecting power. After considerable opposition Kaithal was occupied and the administration of the lapsed State taken in hand by Major (afterwards Sir H.) Lawrence. It was ruled that the collaterals of Bhái Ude Singh could only succeed to the acquisitions of Bhái Gurbakhsh Singh, the founder of the family, and to those of Guláb Singh, second cousin of the deceased Bhái and claimant of his estates. The extent of these was not

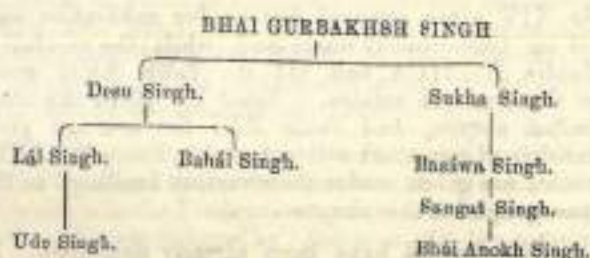
determined till 1844. They included a *jágir* of the Budlada tract and were made over to Guláb Singh, the head of the Arnauli branch of the family.

Chapter III. F.

Leading families.

The Bhái of Sidhowái.

The Bháis of Arnauli came under the reforms of 1849 and have since then ceased to exercise any administrative functions. The estates have continued to be held in *jágir*. The Budlada estate of 14 villages is now held by Bhái Anokh Singh, a member of the Arnauli family, who resides sometimes at Budlada and sometimes at Sidhowái in the Karnál district. He is an Honorary Magistrate and is permitted to collect his *jágir* income direct. The following genealogical table shows his connection with the Bháis of Kaithal :—



The following is a list of the native gentlemen who are entitled to a seat at Divisional Darbárs :—

Darbars.

Kamr-ud-din Khan, Pathán of Sirsa; Bába Jáki Dás, Fakír of Rori, already referred to in connection with the mutiny at Sirsa; Lála Rám Sukh Dás, Banker of Sirsa; Lála Sehan Lá, Banker and Government Treasurer, Hissár; Jairám Dás, Banker of Bhiwái; also the following retired Native Military Officers: Sardór Khan, Jamádár and Rais of Hissár; Harsukh, Subahdár of Satraud; Het Rám, Jamádár of Rajli; Chandan Singh, Risáldár of Tigráns; Rámjás, Jamádár, Tigráns; Partáb Singh, Jamádár, Kaira; Sáhíb Rám, Jamádár of Pili Madanri; Jawáhir Singh, Risáldár, Hansi; Jassu, Subádár of Pabra.