

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

SECTION A.—STATISTICAL.

Chapter III, A.
Statistical.
Distribution of population.

Table No. V gives separate statistics for each *tahsil* and for the whole district, of the distribution of population over towns and villages, over area, and among houses and families; while the number of houses in each town is shown in Table No. XLIII. The statistics for the district as a whole give the following figures. Further information will be found in Chapter II of the Census Report of 1881:—

Percentage of total population who live in villages	{ Persons	87.42
	{ Males	88.10
	{ Females	86.62
Average rural population per village	...	635
Average total population per village and town	...	721
Number of villages per 100 square miles	...	36
Average distance from village to village, in miles	...	1.79
Density of population per square mile of	{ Total area	{ Total population 250
	{ Cultivated area	{ Rural population 227
	{ Culturable area	{ Total population 586
Number of resident families per occupied house	{ Villages	1.48
	{ Towns	2.04
Number of persons per occupied house	{ Villages	9.41
	{ Towns	7.50
Number of persons per resident family	{ Villages	5.59
	{ Towns	3.63

In the district report on the Census of 1881, the Deputy Commissioner, whose figures for cultivation differ somewhat from those published by Government, wrote as follows:—

“The following statement shows the density of population on total and cultivated areas:—

Density of population.

<i>Tahsil.</i>	Total area in square miles.	Total population	Number of persons to the square mile.	Cultivated area in square miles.	Total population.	Number of persons to the square mile.
Karnal ...	832	231,094	278	335	231,094	689
Pánipat ...	458	186,793	408	249	186,793	750
Kaithal ...	1,107	204,734	185	453	204,734	452
TOTAL ...	2,396	622,621	260	1,037	622,621	600

“The density of population is 260 per square mile on the total area, and 600 on the cultivated area for the whole district. The density is greatest in Pánipat, viz., 408, and 750, as we might expect, seeing that

half of the *tahsil* is Khádar, where scarcely any land is uncultivated, and that the rest of the *tahsil* is irrigated by the canal and well supplied by wells. The rain-fall is also little short of that for Karnál, the average being 27·04 for the last 10 years as against 31·57 for Karnál. Karnál comes next with 278 and 689. The Khádar of Karnál is similar to that of Pánipat; the rain-fall is slightly larger; a much smaller area is under canal irrigation; but the chief cause of the difference, as compared with Pánipat, is that of the tract called the Nardak, which includes nearly half of the *tahsil*, $\frac{2}{3}$ is waste land, and the remainder is badly provided with wells and badly cultivated by the population, chiefly Rághars. There is also a considerable population of Saiyads and Gújars who are bad cultivators. Elsewhere throughout the district the industrious Játs, Rors, Ráins, and the like are well mixed up with the less industrious Rájpúts, Gújars, Bráhmans, &c. Kaithal comes last with 185 and 452 for the total and cultivated area respectively. The rain-fall is only 20·9 inches; there is only canal irrigation in 11 villages; and apart from the *Chiká pargana*, which is fairly fertile, and watered by Saruswati and Ghagar, the land is only fit for rain crops, the water being at too great a distance from the surface to permit of irrigation from wells.

"I believe the general custom both among Hindus and Muhammadans is for several families, the heads of which are brothers, to live together so long as their father is alive, and to separate at his death. Of course, the rule is subject to very many exceptions, but the cases of such families being united are much more numerous than the cases of separations. The separation is of course effected in the most convenient way. The building occupied by the household will be divided, if that be easily possible, or an addition or additions may be made in the same enclosure, or may have been made from time to time during the father's life-time, if sons with their families separated before their father's death. Thus we may come to find 4 or 5 brothers with their families living in separate buildings in the same enclosure. Some of these may become vacant in course of time owing to the contingencies of life, and relations may be allowed to occupy them, or they may be let to persons of an entirely different caste. The practice has thus grown up of different families, having little or nothing in common, living together in houses arranged generally in quadrangular form round a common court. It has the advantage of providing in a very economical way some free space off the street which can be used by a number of families without much inconvenience, and the members of the different families are in a position to render each other protection. It is also quite common, at any rate in the towns, for a man who has some spare capital to invest it in house property by building a number of houses around a quadrangle, merely with a view to letting them."

Table No. VI shows the principal districts and States with which the district has exchanged population, the number of migrants in each direction, and the distribution of immigrants by *tahsils*. Further details will be found in Table No. XI and in supplementary Tables C to H of the Census Report for 1881; while the whole subject is discussed at length in Part II of Chapter III of the same report. The total gain and loss to the district by migration is shown in the margin. The total number of residents born out of the district is 98,136, of whom 34,439 are males and 63,697 females.

The number of people born in the district and living in other parts of

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Distribution over houses and families.

Migration and birth place of population.

Proportion per mille of total population.		
	Gain.	Loss.
Persons	158	146
Males	109	99
Females	221	189

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Statistical.

Migration and birth-
place of population.

the Panjáb is 87,243, of whom 33,273 are males and 53,970 females. The figures below show the general distribution of the population by birth-place :—

BORN IN.	PROPORTION PER MILLE OF RESIDENT POPULATION.								
	RURAL POPULATION.			URBAN POPULATION.			TOTAL POPULATION.		
	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.
The district ...	907	779	840	832	772	802	898	779	842
The province ...	971	949	961	910	901	906	964	943	954
India ...	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Asia ...	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

The following remarks on the migration to and from Karnál are taken from the Census Report :—

“Here again the migration is largely reciprocal, while the attraction exercised by the riverain and canal tracts has caused the immigration largely to exceed the emigration, both being almost wholly confined to tracts which march with the district, and immigration being most in excess from those districts which have the smallest common frontier. The percentage of males is always larger among emigrants than among immigrants, which seems to point to the immigration being more largely of the permanent type than is the emigration. The extensive emigration into Rohtak and the Native States is largely due to the havoc caused by saline efflorescence in parts of the canal tract.”

Increase and de-
crease of population.

The figures in the statement below show the population of the district as it stood at the three enumerations of 1853, 1868 and 1881. The first of these was taken in 1853 for so much of the district as then formed a portion of the North-Western Provinces (see Chapter II, Section C), and in 1855 for the remainder of the district, which was under the Panjáb Government :—

	Census.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Density per square mile.
Actuals.	1853 ...	...	...	...	231
	1868 ...	617,997	334,655	283,342	260
	1881 ...	622,621	335,171	286,450	260
Percent- ages.	1868 on 1853 ...	...	...	...	113
	1881 on 1868 ...	100·75	100·45	101·13	100

Unfortunately the boundaries of the district have changed so much since the Census of 1853 that it is impossible to compare the figures ; but the density of population as then ascertained probably did not differ much over the two areas. It will be seen that the annual increase of population per 10,000 since 1868 has been 3 for males, 9 for females and 6 for persons, at which rate the male popula-

tion would be doubled in 1993·6 years, the female in 800·4 years, and the total population in 1,212·9 years. Supposing the same rate of increase to hold good for the next ten years, the population for each year would be in hundreds—

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Year.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Year.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1881 ...	622,6	336,2	286,5	1887 ...	624,8	336,9	288,0
1882 ...	623,0	335,3	286,8	1888 ...	625,1	337,0	288,3
1883 ...	623,3	336,4	287,1	1889 ...	625,5	337,1	288,5
1884 ...	623,7	336,5	287,3	1890 ...	625,8	337,2	288,8
1885 ...	624,1	336,6	287,6	1891 ...	626,2	337,3	289,0
1886 ...	624,4	336,7	287,8				

Nor is it improbable that the rate of increase will be sustained or even become greater in the future. Part indeed of the increase is probably due to increased accuracy of enumeration at each successive enumeration, a good test of which is afforded by the percentage of males to persons, which was 55·00 in 1853, 54·15 in 1868 and 57·99 in 1881. Part again is due to gain by migration, as already shown at page 57. But the realignment of the canal, when complete with its drainage works, will doubtless do much to reduce the sterility and mortality which have attended the extension of irrigation from the old canal.

The urban population since 1868 has not increased like the rural population, the numbers living in 1881 for every 100 living in 1868 being 92 for urban and 101 for total population. This is probably due to the abolition of the stud at Karnal and to the unhealthiness of the towns of Pánipat and Karnal. The populations of individual towns at the respective enumerations are shown under their several headings in Chapter VI.

Tahsil.	Total population.		Percentage of population of 1881 on that of 1868.
	1868.	1881.	
Karnal ...	299,900	231,694	96
Pánipat ...	184,237	186,793	102
Kaithal ...	193,446	204,734	106
Total district*	617,583	622,621	101

Within the district the fluctuations of population since 1868 for the various *tahsils* is shown in the margin. On this subject the Deputy Commissioner wrote as follows in his report on the District Census of 1881:—

"The cultivated area of the three *tahsils* of the district, with their population at the last and present Census, is shown in the following statement:—

	CULTIVATED AREA.		POPULATION.	
	1865-67.	1879-80.	1868.	1881.
Karnal ...	247,544	214,694	240,322	231,694
Pánipat ...	164,822	159,426	184,230	186,793
Kaithal ...	249,505	290,111	193,445	204,734
	661,871	664,231	617,997	622,621

* These figures do not agree with the published figures of the Census Report of 1868 for the whole district. They are taken from the registers in the District Office, and are the best figures now available.

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"The increase of cultivated area is thus 2,360 acres, which small increase corresponds very nearly with the increase of population. We have thus to account for a practically stationary cultivation and a practically stationary population. Four causes have, I think, contributed to these unusual results, three of them affecting cultivation and population directly, and one of them affecting the area only. Between 1872 and 1880 the Pánpát *tahsil* and the Karnál *parganah* have been under settlement. This, no doubt, operated to induce people to throw a certain amount of land out of cultivation, and to prevent them breaking up new land, as this would tend to keep down the new assessment.

"Immediately after the Census of 1868 had been taken, the district was visited by a severe famine. The *kharif* of that year failed over a large part of the district, as did also the following *rabi*; while the *kharif* of 1869 was a poor crop. Relief was not obtained until the *rabi* of 1870 was gathered in. Owing to the scarcity of fodder, the loss of cattle is described as having been 'tremendous.' The sum of Rs. 1,71,643 was spent on charitable relief and on relief works. Revenue was suspended to the amount of Rs. 46,647; and *takàvi* for the purchase of seed corn and bullocks was advanced to the amount of Rs. 44,750. Relief was administered on works and at kitchens throughout the district from September 1869 to June 1870. At one time the number of persons receiving charitable relief daily numbered 12,120. These facts give some idea of the magnitude of the calamity. It was reported at the time that no deaths had occurred from starvation; but the loss of cattle, the necessary impoverishment of the people, and the injury to health from the deficient food, no doubt had an important effect both in sterilizing the population and in keeping down the cultivated area.

"A similar calamity, somewhat less severe, occurred in 1877. The *kharif* harvest failed almost entirely over a large part of the district, and there was great dearth of fodder. The *rabi* of 1878 was very deficient, and so was the *kharif*, and there has been a continuance of bad harvests since, with only one or two exceptions. Revenue was remitted to the amount of Rs. 33,049, and the suspensions amounted to Rs. 87,432, and have not yet been entirely cleared off. *Takàvi* for the purchase of seed and bullocks was advanced to the amount of Rs. 39,070. In 441 out of 927 villages in which revenue had to be suspended, inquiries showed that 82,280 head of cattle, many of them plough bullocks, perished, and the loss was only somewhat less severe elsewhere. I think there was no mortality from starvation, and the mortality generally was, I believe, less than usual in those years of drought and scarcity; but owing to the poor diet and hardships suffered, the people fell a prey in large numbers to a fever epidemic in the end of 1879, and they are still suffering from a disease of ulcers, which first showed itself then. It cannot be doubted that all this must have had an important effect in keeping down the population and the cultivated area.

"The fourth cause I have to assign is—the defects of the Western Janná Canal system; the original faulty alignment of the canal obstructing drainage; the passing along it an amount of water it was never intended to carry; the pernicious system of irrigation pursued by the people, causing a large part of the country to be swamped and waterlogged; the efflorescence of *rah* in many parts; and the worst possible effect on the sanitary condition of the people. The evil was of course in existence at the last Census, but the works undertaken to remove it have not yet come into use, and it is of a nature to go on increasing until the cause be removed. Each famine, causing an attempt to extend irrigation to the utmost, has a direct tendency to increase the evil, and there have been two famines since the

last Census. The result is to sterilize the people and to diminish the area available for cultivation. In Pánpát *tahsil* the Settlement and the canal have been operating causes. The cultivated area has decreased by 5,396 acres, but there is not withstanding a slight increase of population, viz., 2,563. In Karnál all four causes have been at work, and there has been a decrease of 32,850 acres cultivated, and 9,228 of population. The decrease of population is enhanced in this instance by the removal of the stud from Karnál, and by the fact that at the Census of 1868 there were present on the Karnál encamping ground a native regiment and a battery of artillery, giving a total of 1,985; while at the present Census there was present only a native cavalry regiment numbering 823 persons. The Kaithal *tahsil* has suffered greatly from the famines. There is, however, an increase of cultivation amounting to 40,606 acres, and of population of 11,289 persons. The population is not at all in proportion to the increased area. The cause of this is that the increase of cultivation is mostly where the land is poor, viz., in the Asaníl, Kathána, and Kaithal *parganahs*, and that in Kaithal the land supports a smaller population than elsewhere."

Table No. XI shows the total number of births and deaths registered in the district for the five years from 1877 to 1881, and the births for 1880 and 1881, the only two years during which births have been recorded in rural districts. The distribution of the total

	1880.	1881.
Males ..	17	23
Females ..	14	20
Persons ..	31	43

deaths and of the deaths from fever for these five years over the twelve months of the year is shown in Tables Nos. XIA and XIB. The annual birth-rates per mille, calculated on the population of 1868, were as shown in the margin.

The figures below show the annual death-rates per mille since 1868, calculated on the population of that year :—

	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	Aver- age
Males ...	14	23	26	22	23	19	21	22	22	22	46	60	40	37	33
Females...	11	20	22	19	21	17	19	20	20	20	42	58	36	35	28
Persons ...	13	22	24	21	22	18	20	21	21	21	44	59	38	36	27

The registration is still imperfect, though it is yearly improving, but the figures always fall short of the facts, and the fluctuations probably correspond, allowing for a regular increase due to improved registration, fairly closely with the actual fluctuations in the births and deaths. The historical retrospect which forms the first part of Chapter III of the Census Report of 1881, and especially the annual chronicle from 1849 to 1881, which will be found at page 56 of that report, throw some light on the fluctuations. Such further details as to birth and death-rates in individual towns as are available will be found in Table No. XLIV, and under the headings of the several towns in Chapter VI.

The figures for age, sex and civil condition are given in great detail in Tables Nos. IV to VII of the Census Report of 1881, while the numbers of the sexes for each religion will be found in Table No. VII appended to the present work. The age statistics must be taken subject to limitations, which will be found fully discussed in Chapter VII of the Census Report. Their value rapidly diminishes

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Age, sex and civil condition.

as the numbers dealt with become smaller; and it is unnecessary here to give actual figures, or any statistics for *ichsiks*. The following figures show the distribution by age of every 10,000 of the population according to the Census figures:—

	0-1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20
Persons	321	150	150	220	264	1,114	1,296	1,169	986
Males	307	142	145	214	256	1,064	1,305	1,250	1,040
Females	336	100	157	246	273	1,172	1,286	1,072	923
	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-45	45-50	50-55	55-60	over 60
Persons	999	932	837	480	706	327	512	148	493
Males	997	931	813	474	654	341	502	159	468
Females	1,002	932	864	488	766	310	523	136	523

The number of males among every 10,000 of both sexes is shown below. The decrease at each successive enumeration is almost certainly due to greater accuracy of enumeration:—

Population.		Villages.	Towns.	Total.	
All religions	...	1855	...	5,500	
	...	1868	...	5,415	
	...	1881	5,441	5,107	5,399
Hindus	...	1881	5,461	5,191	5,437
Sikhs	...	1881	5,559	...	5,605
Jains	...	1881	5,472	4,951	5,347
Musalmans	...	1881	5,366	5,007	5,281

Year of life.	All religions.	Hindus.	Musalmans.
0-1	935	930	948
1-2	956	948	1,010
2-3	925	917	950
3-4	981	...	...
4-5	907	...	...

In the Census of 1881, the number of females per 1,000 males in the earlier years of life was found to be as shown in the margin.

The figures for civil condition are given in Table No. X, which shows the actual number of single, married and widowed for each sex in each religion, and also the distribution by civil condition of the total number of each sex in each age-period. The Deputy Commissioner (Mr. Benton) wrote as follows in his Census Report for the district:—

“Both Hindus and Muhammadans show a more even proportion of males to females everywhere in the towns than in the villages, and the Muhammadans everywhere both in towns and in villages show a larger female population than the Hindus. The Sikhs are in considerable numbers in the villages of Karnal and Kaithal, and there the proportions between the sexes show no marked difference from those of the Hindus. Statements so general in their character with regard to the members of the Hindu and Muhammadan religions and Sikh religion, wherever they are in sufficient numbers to justify remarks, cannot be the result of accident, and neither can it be accident that the proportions for the last Census should so nearly correspond to those of this.

"In addition to the authorities cited on the disproportion of the sexes by Mr. Plowden in the North-Western Provinces Census Report, the only authority with which I am acquainted is 'Darwin on the Descent of Man' pages 242 to 260, Ed. 1874.

"With regard to disparity between the ages of the males and the females, if it be an effective cause, it no doubt exists. By working out the average ages of males and females, by taking the ages of all included within any period in the returns as if the middle of the period were their proper age, and with regard to those over 60, taking them all as 65 years of age, I find the average age for married males 33·48, and that for females 29·00. For Hindus these averages are 33·54 and 28·87, while for Muhammadans they are 35·6 and 29·50, the difference being 5·56 as against 4·67 for Hindus. This is an altogether unexpected result, it being generally supposed that as cohabitation is postponed for 4 or 5 years longer in the case of Muhammadans, the ages of the husband and wife were more nearly equal than in the case of Hindus. Seeing a state of equality between the sexes more nearly obtains among the Muhammadans than among the Hindus, this would appear to indicate that if disparity of ages be an effective cause there must be some other force in operation which depresses the Hindu proportion of females to males in towns and villages, and yet allows the Muhammadans with greater disparity of ages to have a much more equal proportion everywhere. Infanticide or ill-treatment of females practised at the present time, with a hereditary tendency developed by their practice in bygone times, would serve to explain the results. Muhammadans, having all of them a good deal of Hindu blood in their veins, if not wholly Hindus, would not escape the taint of these vices or of their accumulated effects if they be not now practised; but the results would be very much diminished, and great disparity between different castes which intermarry only amongst themselves and preserve their own habits and usages, would be matter of no astonishment.

"With regard to a hereditary tendency to produce males, I consider that the conditions necessary to establish it are still in existence to some extent. There is no doubt that infanticide, if not general, still exists. We have a police post established at Keorak for its prevention, and there are good reasons for suspecting three more villages to be guilty of the practice. The persistent difference between towns and villages, although the towns are to a large extent inhabited by an agricultural population in no respect different from that of the villages, the more favourable proportion for Muhammadans generally, even with disparity of years against them, especially when compared with those of the same caste who are still Hindus, lead to the conclusion that infanticide still prevails among the agricultural population to a much larger extent than could have been imagined. There are strong motives for getting rid of a super-abundant family of daughters. Although in most castes a price can be got for a bride, still where the price is highest the up-bringing of daughters must be a considerable loss, looking at the matter as one of pure profit and loss; and to men of respectability, who wish to marry their daughters in accordance with the prevailing customs, a large family of daughters is universally declared to be a ruinous misfortune.

"It is admitted on all hands that there is a difference between the treatment of male and female children, but it is not admitted that this difference is of a character to cause the destruction of the latter. The total effect, however, of a prevailing feeling more favourable to males than females may not be inconsiderable even if it does not go the length of criminality. It is, however, sufficient for the purpose of establishing a

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Age, sex and civil condition.

Infanticide.

Treatment of female children.

Chapter III, A. hereditary male-producing tendency if female infanticide prevailed in former ages, and of this I suppose there is no doubt whatever.

Statistical.

Polyandry and polygamy.

"We know of course that there is no polyandry here, and that polygamy does prevail to a very slight extent. This is not the conclusion, however, that we should arrive at from the returns. From them we learn that there are in the district 2,574 more married males than married females, although we should have had a slight excess of females to be accounted for by polygamy. I am somewhat at a loss for an explanation of this result. I believe it may be due to the fact that we had a native regiment passing through, which contained 698 males, many of whom may have been married; and that there may be a good many Government servants, Police and others, residing in the district who have their wives elsewhere. The people of the district are of a stay-at-home character, and do not like going on service elsewhere. I was impressed by this feature while trying to get men for service with the troops during the war in Afghanistan. Consequently the deficiency of married females, due to residents of other districts being temporarily settled here, would not be compensated by natives of this district temporarily residing elsewhere, and leaving their wives behind them. I observe that there is a larger percentage of married females in the towns of Páñipat and Kaithal than anywhere else. A good many people in both these towns are educated and employed on service elsewhere. They may have left their wives behind them; this is the probable explanation.

Widows and widowers.

"The percentage of widows to the whole of the females is in each case considerably larger in the towns than in the villages, and the number of widowers varies from about a half to something short of a third of the number of widows in different places. These differences are to be explained by the restrictions on widow marriage. Baniás, Bráhmans and other high castes who forbid widow marriage prevail in the towns and keep up the percentage of widows. The Rájputs also forbid widow marriage and they keep up the percentage wherever they prevail. There are very few in the villages of Páñipat *tahsil*, and there the number of widows is smallest, viz., 15.51 per cent; Kaithal, where they are not very numerous, follows with 15.71; and Karnál villages, where they are very numerous, is highest with 17.99. The percentages in Páñipat, Kaithal and Karnál towns are 17.38, 18.74 and 22.73 respectively. The small percentage of widows in Páñipat villages partly accounts for a larger percentage of married males and females than anywhere else.

Summary.

"To sum up, the Saráogis marry earlier than the members of any other religion. The Hindus come after them in this respect, then the Muhammadans, and the Sikhs marry latest of all. Notwithstanding we find that the average disparity of ages between husband and wife, which is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ years for Hindus, is nearly a year more for Muhammadans. Although polygamy exists to a small extent, there is found to be an excess of married men over married women, which is attributable to the stay-at-home character of the population, which prevents married males going on service elsewhere leaving their wives behind; while males from other districts come here without their wives. Disparities are observed in different localities as to the percentage of widows and widowers, which depend on the usages of the population in those places as to the marriage of widows. The usual disproportion between the sexes is observed. The males are in the proportion of 53.99 to 46.01 females. The disproportion is larger in the towns than in the villages, and larger among the Muhammadans as a whole than among the Hindus. The Hindu agricultural population shows most unfavourably. With a few trivial exceptions, the high caste Muhammadans show best, and the *Mahájan* caste is on an equality

with them. The disproportion may be due partly to climate and partly to disparity of ages between the sexes, but these cannot be the only causes, as the disparity is less in the case of Muhammadans who show a larger proportion of males, and these causes do not account for the differences shown by different castes. It is necessary to postulate some other cause. An inherited tendency to produce males caused by female infanticide practised in the past, if not also in the present, and by female ill-treatment still prevailing, would satisfactorily account for all the phenomena."

Infirmity.	Males.	Females.
Insane ..	5	3
Blind ..	65	81
Deaf and dumb ..	5	3
Lepers ..	5	..

Table No. XII shows the number of insane, blind, deaf-mutes, and lepers in the district in each religion. The proportions per 10,000 of either sex for each of these infirmities are shown in the margin. Tables Nos. XIV to XVII of the Census Report for 1881 give further

details of the age and religion of the infirm.

The figures given below show the composition of the Christian population, and the respective numbers who returned their birth-place and their language as European. They are taken from Tables Nos. IIIA, IX and XI of the Census Report for 1881:—

Details.		Males.	Females.	Persons.
Races of Christian population.	Europeans and Americans	20	16	36
	Eurasians ... ..	...	1	1
	Native Christians	24	24	48
	Total Christians	44	41	85
Language.	English	21	17	38
	Other European languages ... ..	...	...	...
	Total European languages	21	17	38
Birth-place.	British Isles	12	6	18
	Other European countries ... ..	...	...	...
	Total European countries	12	6	18

But the figures for the races of Christians, which are discussed in Part VII of Chapter IV of the Census Report, are very untrustworthy; and it is certain that many who were really Eurasians returned themselves as Europeans.

SECTION B.—SOCIAL LIFE.

When a new village is founded, the first thing done is to dig out tanks to hold rain-water for the cattle, washing, &c. The village is then built on the spoil; and as in course of time old houses fall down and new ones are built, the village is raised high above the surrounding plain; in some of the old Nardak villages as much as 150 or 200 feet. The space immediately around the village is called *goira*; and here the cattle stand to be milked, weavers train their warp, fuel is stacked, dung-hills made, ropes twisted, sugar presses erected, and all

Chapter III, B.

Social Life.

Summary.

Infirmities.

European and Eurasian population.

The homestead and the homes.

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Social Life.

The homestead and
the homes.

the operations conducted for which free space is necessary. The village is generally surrounded by a mud-wall and ditch as a protection against thieves, and is entered by gates, often of brick, and containing side-rooms in which the gossips sit when it grows hot under the huge *bar* tree or *pīpal* which generally stands just outside. Main streets (*gali*) run right through from one gate to another; and in Rājput and other villages where the women are strictly secluded, numerous blind alleys (*bagar*) lead from them, each being occupied by the houses of near relations. In other villages the alleys run right through. The proprietors, Baniás, and Bráhmans, live in the centre; the menials on the outskirts of the village. The houses are usually of adobe, except in the Nardak and the older villages, where brick is common; the change bearing patent evidence to the tranquillity which we have substituted for anarchy. At two or three commanding positions are common houses (*paras*, *chopál*, and in Kaithal, *chopár*, *hethai*) belonging to the wards of the village. In Kaithal these buildings are often imposing structures. There will also be a few *baithaks* or sheds for gossiping in, and many cattle pens scattered about the village.

Entering the street door of a private house you pass into the outer room or *dahlíz*, beyond which you must not go without permission, and where your friend will come and talk. It is often partly occupied by some calves. Beyond this is the yard (*chaulk*), separated from the streets by a wall, and in which the cattle are tied up in cattle sheds (*bára*), and the women sit and spin. Round this are the houses occupied by the various households of the family. In front of each is a room with the side towards the yard open (*dálan* or *tamsál*) which is the family living-room. On either side of this will be a *sidari* or store-room and a *chatrá* or cook-room with its *chhála* or hearth; and there is often an inner room beyond called *obri* or *dobári* if with two doors, and *kota* or *kotri* if with one only. Upstairs is the *chaubára*, where the husband and wife sleep; while the girls and children sleep downstairs, and the boys in the *chopál* or the *dahlíz*.

There will be some receptacles for grain (*kothí*) made of rings of adobe built up into a cylinder. This has a small hole in the bottom, out of which the grain runs, and keeps always full a small receptacle open in front, from which it is taken as wanted. There will be some ovens (*bharála*, *hávà*) for warming milk; there will be recesses in the wall to act as shelves (*pendí*); one or two swinging trays or rope rings for water vessels; a few bedstead (*manja*, *khat*) made of wooden frames covered with netted string; a few small stools (*pirá*, *práá khatolá*) of identical construction; a few small low wooden tables (*patrá*); and some large baskets to store clothes in (*pítár*). There will be some small shallow baskets (*dálri*) for bread and grain; and some narrow-mouthed ones (*bijri*) to keep small articles in.

Domestic utensils.

The metal vessels will consist of large narrow-mouthed cauldrons (*tokná*, *tokní*), for storing water in and cooking at feasts; smaller vessels of similar shape (*batloi*) for ordinary cooking and carrying water to the fields; still smaller ones (*lotá*, *gadwá*, *bantí*) for dipping into water and drinking from; some cups (*sardá*) without handles; some tumbler-shaped drinking vessels (*gilás*, corrupted from English glass); a broad shallow bowl or saucer (*latorá*, *belá*) for drinking hot liquid

from; a large tray (*thālī*); a larger tray for kneading dough in (*parāut*); a brass ladle (*karohī*); a spatula for turning bread (*konchā paltā, khurchnā*); a thin iron plate (*tavā*) for baking cakes, and some pairs of iron tongs (*chintā*); a fry-pan (*karāī*) and a sieve (*chhalnī*), both of iron; and an iron bucket (*dol*) for drawing water from the well. The poorer people will not have all of these, and poor Musalmāns very few of them; but most of them are necessary to a Hindu, who may cook in, but may not eat out of an earthen vessel if already used. The Hindu's utensils are made of brass, and perhaps a few of bell-metal (*kānsī*); the Muhammadan substitutes copper for brass, which he does not use.

The vessels of pottery will be some huge narrow-mouthed vessels for storing water (*māt, daggā*); similar ones, but flatter and smaller (*jhakrā, kachhālī, jhāolā*; if mouth very big, *thāl*) with mouths broad enough to admit the hand, for grain or flour; similar but smaller vessels for carrying water and milk (*matka* if striped, *ghara* if plain); still smaller ones for dipping water (*thilā, gharia, dūna*); milk pots with round brims (*jhāb, māngī*); and bowls for cooking vegetables and boiling and setting milk in (*hāndī, barolī*); smaller vessels with spouts to carry milk to the fields in (*karūa* if striped, *lotā* if plain; if without a spout, *lotkī*); large flat saucers for cooking in and eating from (*kūnda, kandī*); bowls for keeping sugar, &c., (*taula*); small cups (*matkana*) and platters (*kasorā, kasorī, sarāī, and sarānū*) used once at feasts and thrown away; small earthen lamps (*dīva*) with a notch for the wick; and various sorts of covers (*kappan, kapnī, dhaknī, chaknī*); also some large broad bowls for feeding cattle from (*nānd, kūnd, nandolā*). Besides, there are tiny pots for offerings and play (*kulā*); small saucers (*hazīrī, khwāīrī*) in which lamps are floated in honour of Khwājah Khizr, and which are also used for eating from and as covers; and tiny lamps (*chugrē chigsa*) for the *Dīvālī* festival. The earthen vessels used by Hindus are usually ornamented with black stripes (*chitan*); but Musalmāns will not eat from vessels so marked, because the *gharā* full of water given to a Brāhman (*mansna*) on *Ekādshī* after religious ceremonies by Hindus must be striped, and therefore the markings are supposed to be specially Hindu. Of course the metal vessels are expensive; but the remaining furniture of an ordinary village house costs very little. The string of the bedsteads is made at home; while the carpenter makes the furniture, and the potter supplies the earthen vessels as part of their service.

The day of twenty-four hours is divided into eight *pahrs* or watches, four of day counting from dawn, and four of night. Each *pahr* is divided into eight *gharīs*. The dawn is called *pāṭphatī*, the early morning *tarkā*, the evening *sānj*. The daily life of the ordinary able-bodied villager is one of almost unremitting toil. He rises before dawn, eats a little stale bread, gets out his bullocks, goes to the fields, and begins work at once. About 8 o'clock his wife or a child will bring him a damper,* often stale, and a bowl of butter-milk or milk and water (*thasi pakki* or *kachhī*). At noon he has a hearty meal of fresh damper and a little pulse boiled with spices (*dāl*), or some boiled vegetable (*sag*); in the cold weather this is brought to him in the

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* This is perhaps the best word for the bread cake of the country, though it is far inferior to a well-made damper.

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Daily life.

field; in the hot weather he goes home for it, and does not begin work again till 2 P. M. In the evening he comes home, and after feeding his cattle eats his dinner, the grand meal of the day. His wife will have pearled some *juár* and soaked it in the sun till it has swelled (*khata ánu*) and then boiled it in milk (*vábri*); or she will have dry-boiled some whole grain and pulse mixed (*khichrú*), or made a porridge of coarsely ground grain (*dalia*); or boiled up glutinous rice into a pink mass (*chával*), or made a rice-milk of it (*khár*). There will be a little pease pudding (*dál*), or the pulse will be boiled with butter-milk and spices (*ghóí, kadhi*) and some pickles (*achár*) or rough *chatní*, or some vegetable boiled with salt and *ghí* as a relish. After his meal he goes out for a smoke and a chat to the *chopál*, or under the *bar* tree outside the village.

The grain generally used in the hot weather is a mixture of wheat, barley, and gram, or any two of them, generally grown ready mixed: in the cold weather, *juár* and maize. Unmixed wheat is seldom eaten, as it is too valuable. The vegetables used are the green pods of the *lobiá* (*Dolichos sinensis*) the fruit of the eggplant or *Bangan* (*solanum melongena*) and of the *blíndi* (*Abelmoschus esculentus*), and of many pumpkins (*kaddu*), gourds (*kakri*), watermelons (*tarbíz*) and sweetmelons (*kharbúzah*), and the leaves of all the Brassicas of the cockscomb or *chardai* (*Amaranthus polygonus*), *methí* (*Trigonella fenugrecum*), of the small pulses, and the roots of carrots (*gájar*). Wild plants so used have been mentioned in Chapter I. The spices and pickles are too numerous and unimportant to detail. A hearty young man in full work will eat daily from 1 to 1½ seers of grain, one-eighth of a seer of pulse, and two seers or more of butter-milk besides vegetables, &c. The richer Muhammadans occasionally eat goat's flesh; but this is exceptional; but the Hindu does not touch meat, while to the ordinary peasant of either religion, animal food other than milk and *ghí* is quite beyond his means.

The women of the family have all the grinding, cooking, cleaning the house, and spinning to do; among the Bráhmans and Ráj-púts they are strictly confined to the walls of the court-yard, where they cook, spin, clean cotton of its seed, grind flour, husk rice, and so on. Among the Tagás and Gújars they go to the well for water and take the dinner to the field, and often pick cotton and safflower. Among the Játs and Rors they also weed, and do other hard field-work. They all sit much about in the alleys spinning and gossiping, often very much undressed: and though their life is a hard one, it is, to judge from appearances, by no means an unhappy one. The boys, as soon as old enough, are taken from the gutter and sent to tend the cattle; and from that time they are gradually initiated into the labour of their lot. At evening they play noisily about; a sort of rounders, tipcat, hide-and-seek and prisoners's base, being favourite games. The life is a terribly dull one. The periodical fair or *melá* and the occasional wedding form its chief relief, together with the months of sugar-pressing, when everybody goes about with a yard of cane in his mouth, and a deal of gossiping (as well as a deal of hard work) is done at the press. But the toil is unremitting; and when we think what a mud hovel in a crowded village innocent

of sanitation must be in July and August, we can only wonder at the marvellous patience and contentment of the villager.

The foregoing description of the food of the people is taken from Mr. Ibbetson's Settlement Report. The following note regarding the food of the people was furnished by the district authorities for the Famine Report of 1879, (pages 212-13):—

"The grains which form the staple food of the village population are : *khariḥ*, *judr*, *bājra*, maize, coarse rice, *moth*, *mūng*. Rabi grains : *masūr*, wheat, barley and gram sown, reaped, and eaten mixed.

"The average yearly consumption of a family of 5 souls among the agricultural and labouring classes may be given as follows :—

	Maunds.
<i>Bājra</i> and <i>judr</i>	8
Coarse rice or maize	5
Pulses	5
Wheat, gram and barley mixed	10
Gram	5
<i>Masūr</i> , <i>mandua</i> , &c.	3

"In all 36 maunds. *Bājra* takes the place of part of the *judr* in the high light soils where it is grown. Maize is more eaten in the riverain villages, and rice elsewhere.

"Among the better classes, whether in the city or in the villages, the following is a fair estimate :—

	Maunds.
Maize and <i>judr</i>	3
Fine rice	4
Pulses	3
Wheat	13
Gram	4
Total	27

The men wear a made turban (*pagri*) or a strip of cloth (*dopattā*) wound round the head; a short under-coat buttoning up the front (*kurtā*); or else an overcoat (*angarkhā* if long, *mirzai* or *kanri* if short) fastening with a flap at the side; and a loin-cloth (*dhoti* if broad and full, *ārband* if scanty, *langar* if still more scanty), or a waist string (*tāgāi*, or if of silk, *pāt*) with a small cloth (*langotī*), between the legs. The *kurtā* is new fashioned and is not graceful. A single wrap (*chādar*) in the hot weather and a double wrap (*dohar*) or a quilt (*rizāi*) in cold, and a pair of shoes (*pātan*) complete the toilet. Trousers (*suthan*) are only worn on occasions of ceremony; a handkerchief (*agonchā*) is occasionally used. Hindus and Musalmāns are distinguished by the *angarkhā* of the former opening to the right and of the latter to the left. Musalmāns sometimes wear their loin-cloth not passed between their legs (*tehnād*); but they usually adopt the Hindu fashion, though they preserve their own name for the garment. In the north the coats are worn much shorter than in the south; and the Jāts of the south and west on occasions of state often wear turbans of portentous size, especially the Dehia and Dalāl Jāts. In the north of the tract the turban is always white, lower down often coloured; Ghatwāl Jāts and Banyās generally wear them red; and religious devotees of a yellow ochre colour. The other clothes are either white or made of prints; never whole coloured.

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Clothes.

The married women wear a boddice to support the breasts (*āngī* or *angīa*); married or single they wear a small coat down to the hips (*kurtī*) buttoning to the right; a petticoat (*ghāgrī*, *lēngā*) or drawers (*paijāmah*), and a wrap (*ornā*). Telī and *kumhār* women wear the coat and petticoat in one piece like a gown (*tīlak*). The coat is often not worn; but a Rājput woman *always* wears it, though she sometimes omits the boddice. Musalmān women generally wear drawers, and Hindu women petticoats. So again Musalmān women wear blue (indigo) coats and wraps without admixture of red or yellow; while a Hindu woman wears red clothes as a rule, and will not wear a blue coat or wrap at all; while her petticoat, if blue, must be spotted or embroidered with red or yellow. But *all* Rājput women, unless very old, wear drawers, red or blue according to religion; on the other hand, Musalmān Gūjar women wear petticoats after consummation of marriage and till they grow old, and Hindu Gūjar women wear the petticoat spotted white or red, never whole red. The whole red petticoat is called *dāman*; and the Gūjar blue petticoat, with or without spots, *tukri*: a petticoat or wrap spotted with red spots is called *thekna*, from *thekna* to spot. Only prostitutes wear *wholly* white clothing. Children go naked till 4 or 5 years old; sometimes boys wear a *langotī*, and girls a triangular piece of cloth called *fanā*. A girl then wears a petticoat or drawers, and a boy a *langotī* and *tāgrī*, and sometimes a *jhuglā* or shirt. A girl cannot wear an *āngī* until she is married and lives with her husband. The everyday clothes are always made from the village-made cloth, which, though rougher, is much stronger than English. Prints are largely brought into holiday use. The ordinary dyes are indigo for blue and safflower for red and yellow. A complete suit of female clothes is called *tīl* or *tīal*; of male clothes, *jora*.

Jewels and personal
adornment.

The jewels (*genā*) worn by men are as follows:—Ear-rings (*gokrū*) bracelets made of a cylindrical bar of metal (*kangan*, *todar*); a single necklace or rosary always containing beads (*māla*); a broad necklace made of chains (*kantlā*); a locket (*kantī*); rings (*angunthī*). Boys often wear waistbands of silver chain (*tāgrī*). The most usually worn of the above are the ear-rings, single necklace with a small locket (often sacred to Shiv); and if a headman, a ring with a seal in it. It is not good taste for any members of the village proprietary community, except the headman, to wear seal rings. Women wear a band of silver cowries going up the parting of the hair, and fastening to pins on the back (*kaurī*); a frontlet on the forehead (*bindī*); plain ear-rings (*bujrā*); ear-rings on the top of the ear with loops of chain (*bālī*); nose-rings (*nāt*, *nath*); necklaces of 14 coins (if all rupees *jalra*, if one a gold *mohur*, *tikāwal*); bossed armlets (*tāl*, *tādīd*); bracelets in the following order from the elbow to the wrists, *pachhelī*, *chhar*, *kangni*, *chīra*; a breastplate of silver chain (*dhari*); chains and bells fastened to the right-hand corner of the *ornā* (*palā*) bosses and chains fastened to the front of the *ornā* so as to fall over the face (*ghāngat*); a silver tassel on the petticoat over the right hip (*nāra*), a bunch of chains and tassels on the ankle (*pāzeb*); solid anklets (*bānk*). Of course the varieties have innumerable names. A woman's social standing is greatly determined by her jewels; and the women, when talking to an English lady, will often condole with her

on her husband's stinginess in not supplying her better. The nose-ring, the plain armlet, and the *chavá* or wristlet have a social signification (pages 73, 78 *infra*). The armlets and bracelets and anklets, being solid and not easy to get off, are always worn; the rest only on state occasions, such as fairs and the like. The ordinary investment for spare capital is to buy jewels for one's wife, as the money can always be realized on occasion. The custom of tattooing (*khinna*, *godná*) is common, except among the Rájputés and Bráhmans. Only women do it; and they tattoo the chin, the inside of the forearm, the outside of the upper arm, the sides of the waist, the calf of the leg. The Gújars do not tattoo the arm. Men and prostitutes have small holes drilled in their front teeth, and gold let in (*chaunp*).

When a woman is about to be delivered she is taken off the bed and put on the ground. If a boy is born, a brass tray is beaten to spread the news. A net is hung up in the doorway, and a garland (*bandarudl*) of mango leaves; and a branch of *nim* is stuck into the wall by the doorway, and a fire lighted in the threshold, which is kept up night and day. Thus no evil spirits can pass. The swaddling clothes should be got from another person's house. They are called *potrá*; thus "*potron ká anir*" is equivalent to "a gentleman from his cradle." For three days the child is not suckled. For five days no one from outside, except the midwife, goes into the house. On the night of the sixth day (natives always count the night preceding the day as belonging to it) the whole household sits and watches over the child; for on the sixth day (*chhatá*) the child's destiny (*lekh*) is written down, especially as to his immunity from small-pox. If the child goes hungry on this day, he will be stingy all his life; and a miser is accordingly called "*chhate ke bhúkhá*" so a prosperous man is called "*chhate ká Rája*." On the sixth day the female relations come on visits of congratulation, but they must not go into the room where the woman is lying in. The father's sister, too, comes and washes the mother's nipple and puts it into the child's mouth, and the mother takes off her necklace and gives it to her sister-in-law; *gur* is divided to the brotherhood. On the seventh day the female *Dám* or bard comes and sings. Till the tenth day the house is impure (*sútak*) and no one can eat or drink from it, and no man can go into it unless belonging to the household. On the tenth day (*dasáthun*) the net is taken down, the fire let out, all the clothes washed, all the earthen vessels renewed and the house new plastered; the Bráhmans come and do *Hom* to purify the house, and tie a *táyri* of yellow string round the boy's waist; and the Bráhmans and assembled brotherhood are feasted. The child is often named on this day; the Bráhman casting the horoscope and fixing the name. But the parents sometimes change the name if they do not approve of the Bráhman's selection. At the birth of a girl the tray is not beaten, no feasting takes place, and no net is hung up or fire lighted. The mother remains impure for five weeks; no one can eat or drink from her hands; and she takes her food separately. As soon as there is hair enough, the boy's head is shaved and his *chotl* (scalplock) made; but there are no further ceremonies till his betrothal.

Betrothal is called *nátá*; the ceremony *sagáí*. It generally takes place in infancy. When the father of a girl wishes to betroth her,

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he makes inquiry for a marriageable boy of good family, the village barber acting the part of go-between. If matters are satisfactory, he sends the barber to the boy's village, who puts either a ring or one rupee into the boy's hand. This is called *rokna* (from *rokna* to restrain); and if the boy's father returns Re. 1-4-0 called *bidāgi*, to the barber to take to the girl's father, he thereby accepts the offer and clenches the engagement. This engagement is not a necessary preliminary of betrothal; and is most customary among castes, such as the Rājputs, who marry at a comparatively late age, and who do not wish to go to the expense of a formal betrothal so long beforehand, for fear one of the children should die and the money be wasted. Among the Gújars, on the other hand, the above ceremony constitutes betrothal; but the *ākā* is affixed at the time by the Bráhman as described below. It is possible for the proposal to come from the boy's side, in which case he sends his sister's necklace; and if the girl keeps it, his proposal is accepted. But this is only done when the families are already acquainted.

When it is decided to proceed to the betrothal (*sagāi*), the barber and Bráhman are sent with the *pich-narial* or one rupee which has been all night in the milk which is set for butter, a loin-cloth (*pich*) and a cocoanut (*narial*). The boy is seated in a chair before the brotherhood, the Bráhman puts the *tiká* or mark on the boy's forehead and the other things into his lap, and *gír* is divided by the boy's father, who takes hold of the hand of each near relation in turn and puts some *gír* into it. The boy's father then gives Re. 1-4-0* to the Bráhman, and double that to the barber. This is called *nej* or *lág*, and must be brought back to the girl's father; and when so brought back completes the betrothal. Ordinarily no relation of the girl may take any part in the embassy (*lāgi*) of betrothal; but Bráhmans send the girl's brother-in-law or relation by marriage. Exchange of betrothals between two families (*santá nátlá*) is considered very disgraceful; and if done at all, is done by a tripartite betrothal, A betrothing with B, B with C, and C with A. Among the Játs, if the boy dies, his father has a right to claim the girl for his other son; or, in default of another, any male relation in that degree. If the girl dies her family has no claim.

Marriage preliminaries.

Játs marry at about 5 or 7 years old; Rors and Gújars at 12 to 14; Rājputs at 15, 16 or even older. The prohibited degrees are given at pages 102, 103. Foster relationship is equivalent to blood relationship as a bar to marriage. Any number of wives may be married, but a second wife is seldom taken unless the first is childless. A sister of a first wife may be married, or any relation in the same degree; but not one above or below. The boy's Bráhman fixes an auspicious day, and decides how many ceremonial oilings (*bán*) the boy is to undergo. It must be 5, 7, 9, or 11; and the girl will undergo two fewer than the boy. The boy's father then sends a *lagan* or *tevá*, generally 9, 11, or 15 days before the wedding, which is a letter communicating the number of *bán* and the number of guests to be expected, and is accompanied by a loin-cloth or a complete suit of female clothes (*lál*) and

* Wherever other people give Re. 1-4-0, the Játá pay Re. 1 and 4 *taka*, that is, 8 country pice at 5 to the *anna*.

a pair of shoes. In all these communications the Bráhmaṇ who takes the letter always gets Re. 1-4-0.

The boy and girl then undergo their *bāns* in their respective homes. The women collect and bathe them while singing, and rub them from head to foot with oil and turmeric and peameal. The *bāns* are given one each night, and are so arranged that the boy's will end the night before the procession starts, and the girl's the night before the wedding. After each *bān* the mother performs the ceremonies of *aratā* and *sewal* described below to the boy. The girl has only *sewal* performed, as *aratā* can under no circumstances be performed over a female. The day of the first *bān* is called *halhāth*, or "red hand." Seven women with living husbands husk $5\frac{1}{2}$ seers of rice and make sweets with it. The Bráhmaṇ comes and sticks up two small round saucers, bottom outwards, against the wall with flour, and in front of them a flour lamp is kept alight in honour of ancestors. On either side he makes five marks of a bloody hand on the wall. This is done in each house. In the girl's village the street turnings all the way from the village gate to the bride's house, and the house itself, are also marked with red or red and white marks. After the first *bān* the boy has the *vākri* or black woollen thread, with a small iron ring (*chhallā*) and some yellow cloth and betel-nut, tied round his left ankle. The girl has her small gold nose-ring put on; for up to that time she can only wear a silver one; and she must not wear a large one till she goes to live with her husband. She also takes off her silver wristlets (*chārā*) which no married woman may wear; and substitutes for them at least five of glass on each arm. These glass wristlets and her nose-ring form her *sohāg*, and a woman who has a husband living (*sohāgan*) must always wear them. When her husband dies, she breaks the wristlets off her arms, and throws the pieces and nose-ring on to the corpse, and they are wrapped up with it in the shroud. After that she may wear silver wristlets again. And occasionally, if a widow has plenty of grown up sons, she will continue to wear the *sohāg*.

The day before the procession is to start or arrive, as the case may be, the *mandā* or *mandab* is erected. At the boy's house they take five seed-stems of the long *sarkarā* grass and tie them over the lintel. They dig a hole in front and to the right of the threshold, put money in it, and stand a plough beam straight up in it. To this they hang two small cakes fried in *ghī*, with three little saucers under and two above this, and two pie, all tied on a thread. Finally, some five *beran* culms, and a *dogar*, or two vessels of water one on top of the other, are brought by the mother, attended by singing women, and after worship of the potter's wheel (*chāk*), are put by the door as a good omen. At the girl's house the same is done; but instead of burying the plough beam, they erect a sort of tent with one central pole, and four cross sticks, or a stool with its four legs upwards, at the top, and on each is hung a brass water-pot upside down surrounding a full one in the middle; or a curtained enclosure is formed, open to the sky, with at each corner a *lichī* or "nest" of five earthen vessels, one on top of the other, with a tripod of bamboos over each.

On the same day the mother's brother of the boy or girl brings the *bhāt*. This is provided by the mother's father, and consists of a present of clothes; and necessarily includes the wedding suit for the

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bride or bridegroom, and in the case of the boy, the loin-cloth and head-dress he is to wear at the marriage; for all that either party then wears must always be provided by his or her mother's brother. The boy's maternal uncle also brings a girl's suit of clothes and a wedding ring; and the girl wears *both* suits of clothes at the wedding. When the *bhāt* is given, the boy's or girl's mother performs the ceremony of *ārutā* or *minna*. She takes a five-wicked lamp made of flour, places it on a tray, and while her brother stands on a stool, waves it up and down his body from head to foot. She also performs *sewāl*, which consists in picking up her petticoat and touching his body all over with it. They then take the brother in-doors and feed him on *laddūs* or sweetmeat balls. The people then at the boy's village collect in the village common room and the *neotā* (see below) is collected, the *bhātī* (giver of the *bhāt*) putting in his money first, which is a free gift and not entered in the account.

The wedding.

On the day when the marriage procession (*janet, barāt*) is to start, the boy receives his last *bān* and is dressed in his wedding suit, the *kāngnā* or seven-knotted sacred thread is tied on his wrist, and his head-dress is tied on, consisting of a crown (called *mor*) of mica and tinsel, a *pechī* or band of silver tinsel over the turban, and a *sehra* or fringed vizor of gold tinsel. He then performs the ceremony of *ghurcharhī*. The barber leads him, while singing women-fellow, and the mother with a vessel of water; and his sister puts her wrap over her right hand, and on it places rice which she flings at his crown as the boy goes along. He then gives her Re. 1, worships the gods of the homestead, and gives Re. 1 to the *Bairāghī*. He is then put into a palanquin, and the procession, to which every house nearly related must contribute a representative, and which consists of males only, starts, as much as possible on horseback, with music of sorts. At each village they pass through they are met by the barber, *Dām*, and the Brāhman, whom they pay money to, and who put *dūbh* grass on the father's head, and pray that he may flourish like it. The procession must reach the girl's village after the mid-day meal.

A place, rigorously outside the village, has been appointed for them called *bāg* or *goira*. The girl's relations come to meet them, bringing a lion-cloth and 11 *takā* and a little rice and sweetmeats in a tray. The two parties sit down, the Brāhman reads sacred texts, the girl's Brāhman affixes the *tikā* on the boy's forehead and gives a loin-cloth and 11 *takā*, taking a loin-cloth and 21 *takā* in exchange. The two fathers then embrace, and the girl's father takes Re. 1 from his turban and gives it to the boy's father, who gives him in exchange the cloth which is to form the *patkā* at the wedding. The girl's father then asks the boy's father for either 11 or 14 pice, the *goira ka kharch*, or expenses of the *goira*; and these he distributes to the menial bystanders, and makes the boy's father pay something to the barber and Brāhman. The procession then proceeds to the girl's house, the boy being put on a horse and pice being thrown over his head as a scramble (*bakher*) for the menials. They do not go into the house; but at the door stand women singing and holding flour lamps. The boy is stood on a stool, and the girl's elder married sister, or if she has no married sister her brother's married

daughter, performs to him the ceremonies of *aratá* and *sewal* already described, and the boy's father gives her Rs. 1-4. She also performs the ceremony of *warpher* by waving a pot of water over the boy's head and then drinking a little of it, and waving a rupee round his head. The girl's and boy's relations then fight for the stool on which the boy stood, and boy's relations win, and carry it off in triumph to the *jándalwásá* or *dándalwásá*, which is the place fixed for the residence of the guests. This *should*, in theory, be outside the village; but for convenience sake it is generally in the *chopál*. Presently the guests are bidden to the girl's house, where they eat; but the boy stays in the *jándalwásá*, as he must not enter the girl's house till the wedding itself. So, too, the girl's relations do not eat; for they cannot eat that day till the wedding ceremony is over. This ends the first day called *dhakáo*.

That night, at some time after sunset, the wedding ceremony (*pherá*) takes place. Shortly before it the girl's barber goes to the *jándalwásá*, where the boy's father gives him a complete suit of clothes for the girl, some jewels, sacred coloured strings to tie her hair up (*nálá*), some henna for her hands, and a ring called the yoke-ring (*juákí anguthi*). The girl wears nothing at all of her own, unless it be pair of scanty drawers (*dhólá*); and she is dressed up in the above things, and *also* in the clothes brought in the *bhat* by her maternal uncle, one on top of the other. The ring she wears on the first finger; and on her head she wears the *cholásop*, or an unsewn and unhemmed reddish yellow cloth provided by her maternal grandfather used only at weddings, but worn after the ceremony till it wears out. Meanwhile her relations sit down with their Bráhma under the *mandá*.

There a place on the ground (*chaurí, bedí*) has been fresh plastered, and the Bráhma makes a square enclosure (*mandal* or *púrát*) of flour, and on it puts sand and sacred fire (*havan*) of *dhák* wood and *ghí*, and sugar and sesame. Meanwhile the other party has been sent for; and the boy, dressed in the clothes brought by his maternal uncle, comes attended by his father and nearest relations only. They sit down to the north, the girl's people to the south, and two stools are placed facing the east, on which the boy and girl, who are fetched after all have sat down by her mother's brother, are seated each next his or her people, so that she is on his right hand. When the ceremony commences, the girl's people hold up a cloth for a minute so as to hide the boy and girl from the boy's people, "just as a matter of form." The Bráhma puts five little earthen pots (*kulíá*) in the sacred enclosure, and makes the boy and girl dip their third fingers into turmeric and touch pice, which he then puts into the pots, the boy offering twice as many as the girl. Sacred texts are then recited. The girl then turns her hand palm upwards, her father puts one rupee and a little water into it, and takes the hand and the rupee and solemnly places them in the boy's hand, saying "I give you my daughter; I give her virgin" (*main apni larki dán, kanya dán*). This is called *kanya dán*. Then the sacred fire is stirred up, the Bráhma ties the hem (*pallá*) of the girl's wrap to a piece of cloth called the *patká*, and the boy takes the latter over his shoulder and leads her round the fire counter-clockwise four times,

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and then she goes in front and leads him round three times. Meanwhile the family priests recite the tribe and clan of each, and the names of their ancestors for four generations. This is the *pherá*, and constitutes the real marriage. After this the Bráhmans formally ask each whether he or she accepts the other, and is ready to perform duties which are set forth in time-honoured and very impressive and beautiful language. The boy and girl then sit down, each where the other sat before; and this completes the ceremony. The bride and bridegroom are then taken into the girl's house, where the girl's mother unties the boy's head-dress and gives him a little *ghí* and *gur* mixed up. There two small earthen saucers have been fixed with flour against the wall, bottom outwards, and a lamp lighted in front of them. This they worship; the boy returns to the *jándalwásá* after redeeming his shoes, which the women have stolen, by paying Re. 1-4; while the girl stays with her people.

After ceremonies.

On the second day (*badhár*) the boy's people must not eat food of the girl's people; and they get it from their relations and friends in the village. Various ceremonies involving payment to Bráhmans and barbers are performed. At night the girl's father and friends go to the *jándalwásá*; the two fathers, who are now each other's *samdhís*, embrace; the girl's father gives his *samdhí* one rupee and invites the whole *barát*, including the boy, to eat at the girl's house. But when, after eating, they have returned to the *jándalwásá*, the girl's friends follow them, and make them give a nominal payment for it called *rotí ka kharch*, which is given to the menials. On the third day, called *bidá*, the *neotá* is collected in the girl's house, just as it was in the boy's house before the *barát* started. The boy's people then eat at the girl's house, and return to the *jándalwásá*, whence they are presently summoned to take leave (*bidá honá*). The boy's father then presents a *barí*, which is a gift of sugar, almonds, sacred threads, fruits, &c., to the girl's people. The ceremony of *pattá* is then performed. The girl's relations form a *pancháit* or council, and demand a certain sum from the boy's father, from which the village menials then and there receive their fixed dues. The money is called *pattá*. The girl's *panch* having ascertained that all have been paid, formally ask the boy's father whether any one in the village has taken or demanded ought of him save this money; and he replies in the negative. During this ceremony the girl's father sits quite apart, as he must have nothing whatever to do with taking money from the boy's people, and in fact often insists upon paying the *pattá* himself. While the *pattá* is being distributed, the girl's mother makes the boy perform the ceremony of *band khuldá*, which consists in untying one knot of the *mandá*. She then puts the *tiká* on his forehead and gives one rupee and two *ladús* (a sweetmeat made into a ball), and the other women also feed him. This is called *johári*. Then the girl's father presents the *dán* or dower, which includes money, clothes, vessels, &c., but no female jewels; and the *barát* returns to the *jándalwásá*. The boy's father then visits all the women (*gotan*) of his own clan who live in the village, and gives each one rupee. The horses and bullocks are then got out, and should assemble at the outer gate of the village though they sometimes go to the door of the house for convenience. Her maternal uncle takes the girl, and, followed by women singing,

places her in the ox-cart in which she is to travel. She is accompanied by a female barber called the *larumbi*, and the boy is kept apart. When they are just starting, the two fathers embrace, and the girl's father gives the other one rupee and his blessing; but the girl's mother comes up, and having dipped her hand in henna, claps the boy's father on the back so as to leave a bloody mark of a hand (*thapá*) on his clothes. A few pice are scrambled over the heads of the happy pair; and the procession starts for home, the girl screaming and crying as a most essential form.

When the *barát* reaches the boy's village, the friends are collected at the boy's door, which has five red marks of a hand on the wall on either side. The boy and girl are stood on the stool which the *barát* have brought from the other village, and the boy's mother measures them both with a *selá* or string made of the hair of a bullock's tail, which is then thrown away. She also performs the ceremony of *sewal*, and waves a vessel of water over their heads and drinks a little of it. The boy's sister stands in the doorway and will not admit them till the boy pays her one rupee. That night the boy and girl sleep on the floor, and above where they sleep are two mud saucers stuck, bottom outwards, against the wall, and a lighted lamp before them.

On the next auspicious day the girl puts on the wrap with the *patká* still knotted to it; the boy takes it over his shoulder and leads her off, attended by women only and music, to worship the god of the homestead, the sacred *tulsi* tree, the small-pox goddess, and all the village deities, and the wheel of the potter, who gives them a nest of vessels for good luck. They go outside the village and perform *kesora*, which consists in the boy and girl taking each a stick and fighting together by striking seven blows or more. Then comes the ceremony of *kángná khetna*. The girl unties the *kángná* or 7-knotted sacred thread which the Bráhmañ tied round the boy's wrist before he started, and he undoes hers. The *kángnás* are then tied to the girl's yoke-ring; and it is flung by the boy's brother's wife into a vessel of milk and water with *dábh* grass in it. The two then dip for it several times with their hands, the finder being rewarded with cheers.* Till this ceremony is performed, the boy and girl must sleep on the ground, and not on bedsteads. Then the boy's elder brother's wife (his *bhábi*) sits down, opens her legs, and takes the boy between her thighs. The girl sits similarly between the boy's thighs, and takes a little boy into her lap. The girl or his mother gives him two *laddús*; and he says, "a son for my sister-in-law, and two *laddús* for me." Some few days after a barber comes from the girl's village, and takes her back to her home.

So far the bride and bridegroom are infants, and of course the marriage has not been consummated; in fact, a child conceived at this stage would be illegitimate. The consummation takes place after the return of the girl to her husband's house, called *chállá* or *mukhláca*. This takes place when the girl is pubert; but must be in either the 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, or 11th year after the wedding. The

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* Among the Rájputs there are two *kángnás*, one with a rupee and the other with betel-nut tied to it. This ceremony is performed with the former *kángná* at the girl's village the day after the *phera*, and with the latter as described above.

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girl's people fix the day; and the boy with some male friends, but without his father, goes to fetch her. The girl then for the first time wears a large nose-ring, an armlet (*tañiá*), and a boddice or *ángi*. The girl's father gives her some clothes and jewels, and they go off home. As they start, the girl must scream and cry bitterly, and bewail some near male relation who has lately died, saying, "oh! my father is dead," or "oh! my brother is dead." After reaching home they live together as man and wife. The girl stays with her husband a few weeks only; and must then return to her father's home and stay there some six months or a year. She is then brought back for good by her husband, her father presenting her with her trousseau (*pitár*) of clothes and jewels. This she retains; but all clothes given by her father to the boy's father previous to this, at marriage or *challá*, must be divided among the female relation of the boy's father and not retained by him.

This is the course of affairs when the parties marry in infancy. But among Rájputés who always marry late, and generally when the marriage has from any cause been delayed till puberty, there is no *muklívá*, but on the third day, before the *barát* starts the ceremony of *patrá pherná* or changing the stools is performed. The girl changes all her clothes, putting on clothes provided by her father, and also a large nose-ring, armlets, and boddice. The boy and girl are then seated on stools, and exchange places, each sitting where the other was, and the *patká* is tied up. The girl's father presents both the dower and the trousseau at the same time; and the pair, on reaching home, live as man and wife.

Musalmán and other
variations.

Among Musalmáns there is no *pherá*; the *nikáh* or Musalmán marriage ceremony being substituted for it, which the *qázi* reads in presence of witnesses. Envoys (*vakíls*) go into the girl's house to take her consent and come out and announce it, the boy consents himself three times, and the ceremony is complete. But among converts to Islám, at any rate, the other customs and ceremonies are almost *exactly* the same. Of late years the Musalmáns have begun to leave off the *sewal* and *áratá*, and they often use no *pechi*, though they retain the *sehrá*. Local and tribal variations are numerous, but quite unimportant. There are innumerable minutiae which vary greatly, though quite constant for each tribe or locality. The Rájputés never use a *mor*, nor have the custom of *thápi*; and the tent is often omitted from the *mandá* in the Khádar.

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upon marriage.

The wife has to hide her face before all the elder brothers and other elder relations of her husband; not so before the younger ones—elder and younger, being, of course, a matter of genealogical degree, and not of age. Nor may she ever mention the name of any of the elder ones, or even of her husband himself.* When once the ceremonial goings and comings are over—among Rájputés, for instance, where there is no *muklívá*, directly the wedding is over—she may never return to her father's house except with his special leave; and if he sends for her, he has to give her a fresh dower. The village into which his daughter

* In one village there is a shrine to an ancestor who had died childless. It is known by his nick name, and not by his proper name, because the women of the family do not like to pronounce the latter.

is married is utterly tabooed for the father, and her elder brother, and all near elder relations. They may not go to it, even drink water from a well in that village; for it is shameful to take anything from one's daughter or her belongings. On the other hand, the father is continually giving things to his daughter and her husband as long as he lives. Even the more distant elder relations will not eat or drink from the house into which the girl is married, though they do not taboo the whole village. The boy's father can go to the girl's village by leave of her father, but not without.

There is a curious custom called *neotà* by which all the branches of a family contribute towards the expenses of a marriage in any of its component households. If *A* and *B* are relations and *A* first marries his daughter, *B* will contribute, say Rs. 10. If *B* then marries his daughter, *A* must contribute more than this, or say Rs. 12. At further marriages, so long as the *neotà* consists between them, the contribution will always be Rs. 10, so that *B* will always owe *A* Rs. 2; but if either wishes to put an end to the *neotà*, he will contribute if *A*, only Rs. 8, if *B*, Rs. 12. This clears the account, and *ipso facto*, closes the *neotà*. The *neotà* is always headed by the *bhàti* or mother's brother; but his contribution is a free gift, and does not enter into the account, which is confined to the relations of the male line. These contribute even when the relationship is very distant indeed. This is the real *neotà*; and is only called into play on the occasion of the marriage of a daughter or son of the house. But in a somewhat similar manner, when the *bhàti* is to be provided by the mother's father, he sends a little *gur* to each *neotàrà* or person between whom and himself *neotà* exists; and they make small contributions, generally Re. 1 each. So, too, when the boy's father gives *gur* to his relations at his son's betrothal, they each return him Re. 1. The Rájput's call the custom *bel* instead of *neotà*, and take it, in the case of the *bhàti*, only from descendants of a common great-grandfather.

A man may marry as often as he pleases. If he marries again on the death of his wife, he is called *dahejè*. The ceremonies are exactly the same for a man's different marriages. But under no circumstances can a woman perform the *pherà* twice in her life. Thus, among the Rájput's, Bráhmañ and Tagás, who do not allow *karevã* or *karão*, a widow cannot under any circumstances remarry. But among other castes a remarriage is allowed under the above name. It is, in its essence, the Jewish Levirate; that is to say, on the death of a man his younger brother has first claim to the widow, then his elder brother, and after them other relations in the same degree; though *karevã* cannot be performed while the girl is a minor, and her consent is necessary. But it has been extended so that a man may marry a widow whom he could not have married as a virgin, the only restriction being that she is not of his own clan. Thus, a Gújar may marry a Ját or Ror widow of any clan but his own. Neither marriage nor adoption, nor any other ceremony, can change the clan of a man or woman; that being, under all circumstances, the clan of the original father. Even women of menial castes can be so married; but the woman is then called *heri húi* though it is still a real marriage. At the same time any

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marriage out of one's own caste, even if with a higher one, is thought disgraceful. The marriage must not take place within a year of the husband's death. It is effected by the man throwing a red wrap over the woman's head and putting wristlets (*chūrā*) on her arm in presence of male and female members of the brotherhood. There is no *neotā* in *karewā*, because there are no expenses.

Death.

When a Hindu is on the point of death, he is taken off the bed and put with his feet to the east on the ground, on a fresh plastered spot strewn with the sacred *dūbh* grass and sesame. Ganges water and milk, and a tiny pearl (they can be bought for a few pice), and gold, are put into his mouth. The friends are called in, and the son or nearest heir shaves completely in public, draws water with his right hand alone, bathes, and puts on a clean loin-cloth, turban and handkerchief, and no other clothes. Meanwhile the widow has broken her *sohāg*, and throws it on the corpse, while the men or women of the family, according to its sex, bathe it with the water the son has drawn, put on it a loin-cloth, and sew it up in a shroud (*guji* or *ghūgti*). They then place it on the bier (*arthi* or *pīngri*) and bear it out head foremost. At the door a Brāhman meets it with *pīnds* (balls of dough) and water, which the son places on the bier by the head of the corpse. On the road they stop by a tank or some water, and *pīnds* are again put on the bier. Then all the *pīnds* are flung into the water, and the bier is taken up the reverse way, with the feet foremost. When they reach the burning place (*chhallā*) the corpse is placed on the pyre (*chita*), and the son taking sacred fire lit by the Brāhman, lights the wood (*dāg dena*) and fans it. This is the *kiriā karm* so often mentioned. When the bone of the skull is exposed, the son takes one of the sticks, of which the bier was made, drives it through the skull (*kapāl kiriā*) and throws it over the corpse beyond the feet. When the corpse is completely burnt, all bathe and return together to the house, and then go off to their homes. The burning should be on the day of death, if possible; but it should always be before sunset.

If the burning was performed on the bank of the Jamnā, water is thrown on the ashes; if in the Kurukshetr, the bones are thrown into one of the sacred tanks, and all is over. Otherwise on the third day the knuckle-bones and other small fragments of bone (*phūl*) are collected. If they can be taken to the Ganges at once, well and good; if not they are buried in the jungle. But they must not be brought into the village in any case; and when once ready to be taken to the Ganges, they must not be put down anywhere, but must always be hung up till finally thrown by a Brāhman into the stream. Their bearer, who must be either a relation, or a Brāhman, or Jhīnwar, must sleep on the ground, and not on a bed, on his way to the Ganges. After the death a *gharā* of water with a hole in the bottom, stuffed with *dūbh* grass so that water will drip from it, is hung in a *pīpal* tree; and the water is filled, and a lamp lighted daily for 11 days.

The house is impure (*patāk*) till the thirteenth day after death. On the tenth day the *Maha* Brāhman or *Acharj* comes. The household perform *dasāhi*; that is, they go to the tank, wash their clothes, shave, offer 10 *pīnds*, and give the *Acharj* grain enough for 10 meals. On the eleventh or day of *sapīndā*, a bull calf is let loose, with a trident

(*tarsūl*) branded on his shoulder or quarter, to become a pest. The Acharj is seated on the dead man's bedstead, and they make obeisance to him and lift him up, bedstead and all. He then takes the bedstead and all the wearing apparel of the dead man, and goes off on his donkey. But he is held to be so utterly impure that in many villages they will not allow him to come inside, but take the things out to him. On the twelfth day the Gūṛṛī Brāhman is fed, being given *sīdhā* or the uncooked materials for dinner only, as he will not eat food cooked even by Gaur Brāhmans. On the thirteenth day the Gaur Brāhmans are fed, and then the whole brotherhood; the walls are plastered, the earthen vessels changed, all clothes washed, and the house becomes pure. If the man died on his bed instead of on the ground, the house is impure for 45 days; and after the eleventh day special ceremonies called *jap* have to be performed to purify it. Again, if he has died on certain inauspicious days of the month, called *panchak*, five or seven Brāhmans have to perform *barnī* in order to ease his spirit. The same ceremonies are observed on the death of a woman. Children under 8 years of age are buried without ceremony. There are no particular ceremonies observed at the death of a Musalmān, who is, of course, buried with his feet to the south. *Gosāins* and *Jogīs* are buried sitting up in salt; and used to be so buried alive before our rule. Their graves are called *samāds*. *Bairāgīs* are burnt, and in the case of an abbot a *samād* erected over some of the bones. *Chamārs* are burnt; while sweepers are buried upside down (*mūndhā*).

The disembodied spirit while on its travels is called *parel*; and remains in this state for one year making twelve monthly stages. For the first twelve days after death a lamp is kept lit, and a bowl of water with a hole in the bottom for it to drip from kept full in a *pīpal* tree for the use of the spirit. At the end of each month the son gives his family priest the "monthly *gharā*," which consists of a *sīdhā* or uncooked food for two meals, a *gharā* of water, a towel, an umbrella, and a pair of the wooden shoes (*khariān*) used where the impure leather is objectionable. At the first anniversary of the death (*barsaudī*) he gives the Brāhman a bedstead and bedding, a complete suit of clothes, some vessels, and such other parts of a complete outfit as he can afford. This is called *sajja*. He also gives him a cow with a calf at foot, and some rupees in water.

Table No. VIII shows the numbers who speak each of the principal languages current in the district separately for each *tahsil* and for the whole district. More detailed information will

Language.	Proportion per 10,000 of population.
Hindustani	9,508
Bagri	3
Panjābī	425
All Indian languages	9,999
Non-Indian languages	1

be found in Table No. IX of the Census Report for 1881, while in Chapter V of the same report the several languages are briefly discussed. The figures in the margin give the distribution of every 10,000 of the population by language, omitting small figures.

The language of the district is Hindi, with a small admixture of Panjābī words, especially in the northern portion. The dialect varies slightly from north to south; and especially the Jāts of the

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southern border use many words not used in the rest of the district, with a pronunciation and accent quite peculiar to them. A curious instance of the formation of inflections is afforded by the local use of the verb *sān, so, sai, sain*, for *hān, ho, hai, hain*. The *s* is frequently affixed to the end of the verb, and the remainder of the auxiliary dropped. Thus "*sāra dāngar kāl ho rahiā*:" all the cattle are starving, instead of "*ho rahiā sai*." Panjābī is spoken in the villages scattered through the Patiālā territory and in the Gubhlā *thāna* on the borders of Patiālā; it is almost confined to Sikhs. The small Pūrbiā-speaking population is mostly found in the town of Karnāl, and owes its origin to followers of troops coming from the east which were stationed in Karnāl when it was a cantonment 40 years ago. The Mārwarīs are mostly the Bohra traders, who have invaded this district of late years. The Bengālīs are Government servants or their families, and the Bāgri-speakers are poor people who have been driven from time to time in this direction by famine, and their descendants.

Education.

Table No. XIII gives statistics of education as ascertained at the Census of 1881 for each religion and for the total population of each *tahsil*. The figures for female education are probably very imperfect indeed. The figures in the margin show the number educated among every 10,000 of each sex according to the Census returns. Statistics regarding the attendance at Government and aided schools

	Education.	Rural population.	Total population.
MALES.	Under instruction ..	48	81
	Can read and write ..	322	394
FEMALES.	Under instruction ..	0.3	2.2
	Can read and write ..	1.5	3.1

will be found in Table No. XXXVII.

The distribution of the scholars at these schools by religion and the occupations of their fathers, as it stood in 1881-82, is shown in the margin.

Details.	Boys.	Girls.
Europeans and Eurasians	..	..
Native Christians	..	..
Hindus	92%	..
Musalmans	666	..
Sikhs	16	..
Others	..	..
Children of agriculturists	1,042	..
.. of non-agriculturists	262	..

The villagers are, as a mass, utterly uneducated. A considerable number of the headmen can read and write Mahājani, or Hindi as they call it, to some extent; but many of them do not know even that, and not a dozen of them can write the Persian character. Outside the ranks of the headmen the people are almost wholly illiterate. Many of them cannot count beyond 20, and would represent 64 as three scores and four. It is very difficult for a villager to send his boy to school unless there is one in or quite close to his village; and even when this is the case they object to sending their sons to school, because, they say, it renders them discontented with, and unfits them for their position. The Persian, especially, they object to. Mr. Ibbetson writes:—

"I believe that if the teaching in the village schools was confined to arithmetic, and to reading and writing in the Mahājani and Persian characters, without any study of the Persian language—was, in fact, really elementary—and if the number of schools was considerably increased, as

probably might then be done without additional expense, the attendance would soon rise; while provision might still be made for the further education of exceptionally promising lads."

It is impossible to form any satisfactory estimate of the wealth of

Assessment.		1868-70.	1870-71.	1871-72.
Class I	{ Number taxed ..	596	554	201
	{ Amount of tax ..	8,854	10,803	1,729
Class II	{ Number taxed ..	74	195	75
	{ Amount of tax ..	1,440	5,285	948
Class III	{ Number taxed ..	26	60	29
	{ Amount of tax ..	1,244	2,345	947
Class IV	{ Number taxed ..	5	10	5
	{ Amount of tax ..	2,501	535	1,716
Class V	{ Number taxed ..	..	30	..
	{ Amount of tax ..	..	2,858	..
Total ..	{ Number taxed ..	691	849	313
	{ Amount of tax ..	10,909	21,801	3,338

the commercial and industrial classes. The figures in the margin show the working of the income tax for the only three years for which details are available; and Table No. XXXIV gives statistics for the licence tax for each year since its imposition. The distribution of licenses

granted and fees collected in 1880-81 and 1881-1882 between towns of over and villages of

	1880-81.		1881-82.	
	Towns.	Villages.	Towns.	Villages.
Number of licenses ..	188	580	194	691
Amount of fees ..	2,570	8,030	3,095	8,665

under 5,000 souls, is shown in the margin. But the numbers affected by these taxes are small. It may be said generally that a very large proportion of the artisans in the towns are extremely poor, while their fellows in the villages are scarcely less dependent upon the nature of the harvest than are the agriculturists themselves, their fees often taking the form of a fixed share of the produce; while even where this is not the case, the demand for their products necessarily varies with the prosperity of their customers. Perhaps the leather-workers should be excepted, as they derive considerable gains from the hides of the cattle which die in a year of drought. The circumstances of the agricultural classes are discussed below in section E of this chapter.

The character and disposition of the people is thus described by Mr. Ibbetson:—

"I have a great liking for the ordinary villager. His life is one of monotonous toil under very depressing circumstances. He grumbles much, but only as a farmer is bound to do; and he is marvellously patient, cheery and contented on the whole. He is often exceedingly intelligent considering his opportunities, he is hospitable in the extreme, and he loves a joke when the point is broad enough for him to see. His wants are easily satisfied; he has formulated them thus:—

"*Das chnge bañ dekh, wa das man berri;*

"*Haq lisabñ naja, wa sák sir jeori;*

"*Bhári bhains ka dádh, wa rábar gholna;*

"*Itná de kartár; to bolr na bolna.*"

"Let me see ten good oxen and ten maunds of mixed grain, the milk of a grey buffalo and some sugar to stir into it, a fair assessment demanded after the harvest. God give me so much, and I won't say another word.

"I will even say that according to his standard he is moral, though his standard is not ours. The villager looks at the end, and not at the means. If he honestly thinks that his friend is in the right in his claim,

Chapter III, B.

Social Life.

Education.
Poverty or wealth
of the people.

Character and dis-
position of the
people.

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Religious Life.

Character and dis-
position of the
people.

a respectable man will tell any number of circumstantial lies to produce the same impression on the mind of the Judge. But if he thinks him in the wrong, he will not bear evidence either for or against him; he will say that he knows nothing about the matter. And when formally confronted by the whole brotherhood, a villager will rarely persist in a claim which he knows to be false. Of the good faith that governs the mass of the people in their dealings with one another, it would, I believe, be difficult to speak too highly, especially between members of the same community. Of their sexual morality, I can say nothing. If scandals are common, we hear but little of them, for they are carefully hushed up. My impression is that the village life is infinitely more pure in this respect than that of an English agricultural village; partly, no doubt, because of the early marriages which are customary.

"The loyalty of the people in the tract is, I think, beyond suspicion. They remember the horrors of the days of anarchy which preceded our rule too vividly to be anything else. Two points in our administration, however, are especially complained of by them. They complain bitterly of Native Judges; and say that since their authority has been extended, *andher hone jagā*, it has begun to grow dark. And they object to our disregard of persons, and to our practical denial of all authority to the village elders. They say that a headman now-a-days cannot box the ears of an impertinent village menial without running the risk of being fined by the Magistrate; and I think it can hardly be denied that, in many respects, our refusal to recognise the village as a responsible unit is a mistake; while where we do partly enforce the system of joint responsibility, we wholly deny to the people the privilege of joint government."

Tables Nos. XI, XLI and XLII give statistics of crime; while Table No. XXXV shows the consumption of liquors and narcotic stimulants.

SECTION C.—RELIGIOUS LIFE.

General statistics
and distribution of
religions.

Table No. VII shows the numbers in each *tahsil* and in the whole district who follow each religion, as ascertained in the Census of 1881, and Table No. XLIII gives similar figures for towns. Tables Nos. III, IIIA, IIIB of the Report of that Census give further details on the subject. The distribution of every 10,000 of the population by

Religions.	Rural population.	Urban population.	Total population.
Hindu ...	7,602	5,096	7,286
Sikh ...	142	38	130
Jain ...	65	142	75
Musalman ...	2,100	4,718	2,508
Christian ...	1	6	1

religions is shown in the margin. The limitations subject to which these figures must be taken, and especially the rule followed in the classification of Hindus, are fully discussed in Part I, Chapter IV of the Census Report. The distribution of every 1,000 of the Musalman population by sect is shown in the margin. The sects of the Christian population are given in Table No. IIIA of the

Sect.	Rural population.	Total population.
Sunnis ...	984	983
Shiāhs ...	12.1	13.6
Others and unspecified ...	3.9	3.4

Census Report; but the figures are, for reasons explained in Part VII, Chapter IV of the Report, so very imperfect that it is not worth while to reproduce them here.

Table No. IX shows the religion of the major castes and tribes of the district, and therefore the distribution by caste of the great majority of the followers of each religion. A brief description of the great religions of the Panjáb and of their principal sects will be found in Chapter IV of the Census Report. The religious practice and belief of the district present no special peculiarities; and it would be out of place to enter here into any disquisition on the general question. The general distribution of religions by *talsils* can be gathered from the figures of Table No. VII; and regarding the population as a whole no more detailed information as to locality is available. Practically the religions of the district reduce themselves to two. There are few Sikhs or Christians, and no Buddhists; only an occasional Jain is to be seen; the Saráogís, who have two fine temples in Pánípat are almost confined to the towns, and wholly, to the *Banyá* caste; and the village communities are, almost without exception, either Musalmán or Hindu. Among Hindus are included the sweeper caste, who would not be recognised by Hindus proper as belonging to their religion. A brief description of their worship will be found at pages 87-88.

The Musalmáns of the district must be divided into two very distinct classes. The original Musalmáns, such as Saiyads, Patháns, Qorashi, Shekhs, and Mughals, are strict followers of Islám. In the villages a few laxities have crept in; but in the main their religion and its customs are those of all Musalmáns, and we need say no more about them. But the case is very different with the Musalmán Rájput, Gújars, and similar converts from Hinduism. Their conversion dates, for the most part, from the close of the Pathán, and the early days of the Mughal dynasty. Many of them are said to have been converted by Aurangzeb; and these were probably the last made, for the change of faith always dates from at least eight generations, or 200 years back, and proselytism was, of course, unknown under the Sikhs and Mahrattás. In some cases the whole community of a village is Musalmán; but quite as often one branch has abandoned, and the other retained their original faith, and in no case has any considerable group of villages embraced Islám as a whole.

Living thus side by side with their Hindu brethren in the same or the next village, sharing property in the same land, and forming a part of the same family with them, it is impossible that the Musalmán converts should not have largely retained their old religious customs and ideas. In fact, till some 25 years ago, they were Musalmán in little but name. They practised circumcision, repeated the *kalma*, and worshipped the village deities. But after the mutiny a great revival took place. Muhammadan priests travelled about preaching and teaching the true faith. Now almost every village in which Musalmáns own any considerable portion has its mosque, often of adobe only; and all the grosser and open idolatries have been discontinued. But the local deities and saints still have their shrines, even in villages held only by Musalmáns; and are still worshipped by the majority, though the practice is gradually declining. The women, especially, are offenders in this way. A Musalmán woman who had

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not offered to the small-pox god would feel that she had deliberately risked her child's life. Family priests are still kept up as of old; and Bráhmans are still fed on the usual occasions. As for superstitions, as distinct from actual worship, they are untouched by the change of faith, and are common to Hindu and Musalmán.

Hindus.

The student who, intimately acquainted with the Hindu Pantheon as displayed in the sacred texts, should study the religion of the Hindus of the district, would find himself in strangely unfamiliar company. It is true that all men know of Shiv and of Vishnu;* that the peasant, when he has nothing else to do to that degree that he yawns perforce, takes the name of Náráin; and that Bhagwán is made responsible for many things not always to his credit. But these are the lords of creation, and too high company for the villager. He recognises their supremacy; but his daily concerns in his work-a-day-world are with the host of deities whose special business it is to regulate the matters by which he is most nearly affected.

Minor deities.

These minor deities, whose cult comprises the greater part of the peasant's religious ideas and acts, may be broadly divided into four classes. First come the benevolent deities, such as the Sun, the Jamná, Bhúmiá, Khwájá Khizr, and the like. Then the malevolent deities, mostly females such as the Small-pox Sisters, Snakes, the Fairies, &c. Then the sainted dead, such as Gúgá, Lakhdátá, and Báwá Faríd; and finally, the malevolent dead, such as Saiyads (Shahíds). It is a curious fact that most of the malevolent deities are worshipped chiefly by women, and by children while at their mother's apron. Moreover, the offerings made to them are taken not by Bráhmans, but by impure and probably aboriginal castes,† and are of an impure nature, such as *chúrmás*, fowls, and the like. And they are seldom or never worshipped on Sunday, which is the proper day for the benevolent Hindu deities. The primæval Aryan invaders must have inter-married, probably largely, with the aboriginal women; and it is a question to which inquiry might profitably be directed, whether these deities are not in many cases aboriginal deities. Even setting aside the theory of inter-marriage, it would be natural that the new comers while not caring to invoke the aid of the beneficent *genii loci*, might think it well worth while to propitiate the local powers of evil upon whose territory they had trespassed. In this very spirit the Hindus have adopted the worship of the Muhammadan saints, and especially of the more malevolent ones. It can do no harm to worship them, while they may be troublesome if not propitiated; and all these saints are commonly worshipped by Hindus and Muhammadans alike.

Effect of Islám upon
Hinduism.

There can be no doubt that the presence of Islám by the side of Hinduism has had considerable effect upon the latter. The Hindu villager, when asked about his gods, will generally wind up by saying "after all there is but one great one (*sáhib*)," and they generally give the information asked for with a half smile, and will often shake their finger and say it is a *kachchá* religion. Of course the existence of

* Brahma is never mentioned save by a Bráhman; and many of the villagers hardly know his name.

† In some cases the Bráhmans will consent to be fed in the name of a deity, when they will not take offerings made at his shrine. And they will in some villages allow their girls to take the offerings, for if they die in consequence it does not matter much. Boys are more valuable, and must not run the risk.

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Religious Life.

such a feeling is exceedingly compatible with the most scrupulous care not to neglect any of the usual observances; and whatever might be his private convictions or absence of conviction, a man would feel that it would be pre-eminently unsafe to omit the customary precautions, and would be thought ill of if he did so.

There is a new sect called *Sādhi*, confined to the *Jāts*, which has made some little progress in the district, two whole villages having entered it. It was founded by one Ude Dās, and its head-quarters are at Farrúkhábád. The sectarians are free-thinkers, and as they can see no gods, worship none. Their only ceremonial consists in large public dinners, especially on the *Púran Máshi* festival. They abjure tobacco and affect special personal cleanliness. They only marry and eat with one another, but they give their daughters to other *Jāts*.

The sect of *Sādhis*.

Temples proper are built only to Vishnu and Shiv, and hardly ever by the villagers, who content themselves with making small shrines to the local deities. The ordinary Hindu shrine must face the east. It is ordinarily built in the shape either of a rectangular prism capped by a pyramid, or of a cylinder with a bulbous head and pointed finial, and is often only some 12 inches square. It is often surmounted by an iron spike (*śikh*). It is generally hollow, with a small door-way in front and at the bottom. The Muhammadan shrine faces the south, and is in the form of a grave with niches for lamps, and often has flags (*dhajá*) over it. If the shrine of a dead Musalmán is large enough to go into, you must be careful to clap your hands (*táli bajáná*) before opening the door, as these gentry sometimes sit on their tombs in their bones to take the air, and have been discovered in that condition,—an occurrence which they resent violently. Not unfrequently a tree, generally a *pípal* or *janit*, takes the place of a building; or even merely a fixed spot called *thaped*. In two villages the distinction between the two classes of shrines has given rise to delicate questions. In one a branch of the family had been converted to Islám after the settling of the village; and when it was proposed to erect a shrine to the common ancestor, who was of course a Hindu, there was much dispute about the form to be adopted. The difficulty was overcome by building a Muhammadan grave facing the south, and the Hindu shrine over it with the door to the east. In another village an Imperial trooper was once burnt alive by the shed in which he was sleeping catching fire. He was originally a Musalmán; but he had been burnt and not buried, which seemed to make him a Hindu. After much discussion the latter opinion prevailed; and a Hindu shrine, with an eastern aspect, now stands to his memory.

Shrines.

The most ordinary form of worship is a salutation made by joining the hands palm to palm, and raising them to the forehead (*dhole nárná*). A villager does this whenever he passes the shrine of a village deity. In one village the mason who built the new common room, threw in, as a thank-offering for the completion of the work, a wooden Englishman who still sits on the top of the house; and though the rain has affected his complexion much for the worse, the people always salute him on coming out of their houses in the morning. There is also *chickárná*, which consists in touching first the object to be worshipped, and then the forehead, with right hand. Another

Modes of worship.

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 Religious Life.
 Modes of worship.

form of worship is to scoop out a little hollow in the earth by the shrine and fling the soil on to a heap.* This is called *matti kádná*, and seems very much analogous with the common custom of flinging stones on to a cairn. It is practised chiefly in honour of ancestors and fairies, and heaps of mud raised in this way by a shrine sometimes reach a height of 8 feet. The person doing this will often say to the god "I will dig you a tank;" and perhaps the custom has its origin in the honour attachable to the maker of a tank in this thirsty land; but it is equally possible that this is only a local explanation of a custom brought from a more stony country, and the origin of which has been forgotten, for hundreds of our villagers have never seen a stone in their lives.

Offerings.

Offerings (*charháwá*) generally take the form of a little gram, or milk, or cooked food, or a few sweetmeats offered in front of the shrine in small saucers or jars, the remainder of the offering being given to the appropriate receiver. Libations are not uncommon; and a white cock is sometimes killed. And in many cases Bráhmans are simply fed in the name of the god. Offerings of cooked food may be divided into two classes. To the benevolent gods or to ancestors, only *pakki rotí*, that is cakes or sweets fried in *ghí*, may be offered; while to the malevolent and impure gods, *kechóhí rotí*, generally consisting of *chármé*, or stale bread broken up and rolled into balls with *gír* and *ghí*, is offered. Bráhmans will not take the latter class of offerings. Vows (*kabúl*) are common, the maker promising to build a shrine or feed so many Bráhmans in the event of his having a son, or recovering from illness, or the like.

Possession, divination, and exorcism.

When a villager is ill, the disease is generally attributed to the influence (*opri jhapet*) of a malevolent deity, or of a ghost (*bhút*) who has possessed him (*liput* or *chiput* or *pilach jánú*). Recourse is then had to divination to decide who is to be appeased, and in what manner. There is a class of men called *bhagats* or *syáná* (literally, knowing ones) who exercise the gift of divination under the inspiration of some deity or other, generally a snake-god or Saiyad. The power is apparently confined to the menial (aboriginal?) castes, is often hereditary, and is rarely possessed by women; it is shown by the man wagging his head and dancing; and he generally builds a shrine to his familiar spirit, before which he dances. When he is to be consulted, which should be at night, the inquirer provides tobacco and music. The former is waved over the body of the invalid, and given to the *bhagat* to smoke, and the music plays, and a *ghí* lamp is lighted, and the *bhagat* sometimes lashes himself with a whip; under which influences the soothsayer is seized by the afflatus, and in a paroxysm of dancing and head wagging, states the name of the malignant influence, the manner in which he is to be propitiated, and the time when the disease may be expected to abate. Another mode of divination is practised thus. The *syáná* will wave wheat or *jawár* over the patient's body, by preference on Saturday or Sunday; he then counts out the grains one by one into heaps, one heap for each god who is likely to be at the bottom of the mischief,

* In the Panjáb these heaps of mud flung up in memory of deceased ancestors are called *jáherca*, from *jeth*, a husband's elder relative.

and the deity on whose heap the last grain comes is the one to be appeased. The waving the grain or tobacco over the patient's body is called *skunná*; the counting the grains, *kewálí*.

The malignant deity is appeased by building him a new shrine or by offerings at the old one. Very often the grain to be offered is put by the head of the sufferer during the night and offered next day; this is called *orá*. Or the patient will eat some and bury the rest at the sacred spot, or the offerings will be waved over the patient's head (*wárná*) before being offered; or on some moonlight night while the moon is still on the wax, he will place his offering with a lighted lamp on it at a place where four roads meet; this is called *lángri* or *nagdi*. Sometimes it is enough to tie a flag on the sacred tree or to roll on the ground in front of the shrine, or to rub one's neck with the dust of it. Boils can often be cured by stroking them with a piece of iron and repeating the name of the deity concerned. Witchcraft proper (*jádá*) is principally practised by the lowest castes, and you hear very little of it among the villagers.

The Hindus of the district are Vaishnavas, though Vishnu is hardly recognized by them under that name. But under the name of Rám and Náráin he is the great god of the country. Temples to him (*thákurdwára*) exist in several of the larger villages, generally built by Bráhmans or *Bairágis*, and almost always insignificant. He is worshipped under the name of Rám by Rájputís only; under the name of Náráin by other castes. On the 11th of Kátik or *devuthni gycras*, when the gods wake up from their four months' sleep, Bráhmans are fed in his namé; and on the 8th of Bhádon (*Janamashitmi*), such villagers as have fasted, which no man working in the fields will have done, will generally go to the *thákurdwára* and make an offering. And on some Sunday in Bhádon they will feed a few Bráhmans in his name, Bráhmans and *Bairágis* take the offerings.

Shiválas are not at all uncommon in the villages, built almost without exception by *Baníts*. The priests are *Gosáins* or *Jogís*, generally of the *kamphate* or ear-pierced class, and they take the offerings. No Bráhmans can partake of the offerings to Shiv, or be priest in his temple, though they will worship him and sometimes assist in the ceremonies, thus deviating from the strict rule of the original cult. On the *Sheorátri*, on the 13th of Sáwan and Phágan, such people as have fasted will go to the *Shivála*; but it is seldom entered on any other days.

This is the god whom the people chiefly delight to honour. Any villager if asked whom he worships most will mention him. No shrine is ever built to this god. Sunday is of course the day sacred to him. On Sunday the people do not eat salt; nor do they set milk for *ghí*, but make it into rice-milk, of which a part is given to the Bráhman in honour of the Sun; and a lamp is always burnt to him on Sunday. Bráhmans are fed every now and then on Sunday in his name, and especially on the first Sunday after the 15th of Sárh, when the harvest has been got in, and the agricultural year is over. Before the daily bath water is always thrown towards the Sun (*argh*);* and every good man, when he first steps out of doors in the morning, salutes the Sun, and says *dharm ko sahai rakhye siraj maháráj*, or "keep me in the faith, oh Lord the Sun!" Bráhmans take the offerings.

* This is done to the new moon too on the evening of her appearance, if one thinks of it.

Chapter III, C. Religious Life.

Possession, divination, and exorcism.

Vishnu, Rám,
Náráin.

Shiv, Mahádev.

Súraj Devata, or the
Sun-god.

Chapter III, C.

Religious Life.

The Jamná.

After the Sun comes the River Jamná, always spoken of as *Jamná Ji*; and so honoured that even when they complain of the terrible evils brought by the canal, which is fed from the river, they say they spring *Jamná Ji kī dosti se*, "from Lady Jamna's friendship." There are no shrines to the Jamná; but the people go and bathe in the river, or if unable to go so far, in the canal on the *mélchs* or *sakránts* in Chet and Kátik, on the Dusabrá of Jeth, and on the 15th of Kátik, or every day in that month if near enough. And Bráhmans are constantly fed on Sunday in honour of *Jamna Ji*, and take all offerings.

Dharti Mátá or
Mother Earth.

Every morning, when a man first gets off his bed, he does obeisance to the earth, and says *sukh rakhiyo Dharti Mátá*, "preserve me Mother Earth." When a cow or buffalo is first bought, or when she first gives milk after calving, the first five streams (*dhār*) of milk are allowed to fall on the ground in her honour, and at every time of milking the first stream is so treated. So when medicine is taken, a little is sprinkled in her honour. So at the beginning of ploughing and sowing obeisance is made to her and she is invoked.

Bhūmía or the god
of the homestead.

The *Bhūmía* should, from his name, be the god of the land, and not of the homestead. But he is, in these parts, emphatically the god of the homestead or village itself, and is indeed often called *Khera* (a village) and *Bhūmía* indifferently. In one or two villages a god called *Bhairon* or *Khetpád* (field-nourisher) is worshipped; but, as a rule, he is unknown. When a new village is founded, the first thing of all is to build a shrine to *Bhūmía* on the site selected. Five bricks are brought from the *Bhūmía* of the village whence the emigrants have come; three are arranged on edge like the three sides of a house, the other two are put over them like a gable roof, an iron spike is driven in, five lamps are lighted, five *laddús* are offered, Bráhmans are fed, and the shrine built over the whole. In many cases, where two villages had combined their homesteads for greater security against the marauders of former days, the one which moved still worships at the *Bhūmía* of the old deserted village site. *Bhūmía* is worshipped on Sunday. They burn a lamp and offer a cake of bread at the shrine, and feed Bráhmans. This is always done twice a year, after the harvests are gathered in; and also on other occasions. *Bhūmía* is also worshipped at marriages; and when a woman has had a son, she lights lamps and affixes with cowdung five culms of the *panni* grass, called *beran*, to the shrine. So too the first milk of a cow or buffalo is always offered to *Bhūmía*. Women commonly take their children to worship *Bhūmía* on Sunday. The shrine is very usually built close to the common room; and the only villages in which there is not one are held wholly by Saiyads. Bráhmans take the offerings.

Khwája Khizr, the
Water-God.

Khwája Khizr is the local god of water; though the name really belongs to one of the Muhammadan prophets, whose special duty it is to take care of travellers. He is worshipped more in the Khádar than in the Bángar, and especially on Sunday. Twice a year after the harvests he is worshipped at the well, lamps being lighted and Bráhmans fed. And on the festivals of Holi and Díválí, a raft called *langri* is made of the *beran* just mentioned, and a lighted lamp put on it and set afloat on the tank in his honour. The ceremonies attending the building a well are described in

Chapter IV, (Section A). Bráhmans take the offerings to Khwája Khizr, though they are occasionally given to the water-carrier or Jhánwar.

Among the Gájars especially, tiny shrines to the ancestors are common all over the fields; and among other castes they will be found in every village. Occasionally the shrine is to the gentile ancestor, and built upon a brick brought from his shrine at the place of origin, as with the Jaglán and Sandú Játs. Mud is always flung up to these shrines. And all the people feed Bráhmans in honour of their ancestors on the 15th of the month (*máwas*), and especially in the *kanágat*, or the 16 days previous to and including the *máwas* of *Asauj*, which are specially sacred to the *pitṛ*. Cattle are never worked on *máwas*.

There are a great number of *sattis* or places where widows have been burnt on their husbands' pyres all over the country. They are generally marked by shrines much larger than any other kind, being 3 or 4 feet square. Lamps are lit and Bráhmans fed at them on the 11th or 15th of Kátik. In one case Tagás, who had emigrated from their old village, used yearly to come more than 40 miles to offer at their old *sattí* till quite lately, when they took away a brick from the *sattí* and used it as the foundation of a new *sattí* at their present village, which answered all purposes. This is always done in the event of emigration. Bráhmans take the offerings.

When a man has died without a son (*út nápút jana*) he becomes a *gyól* or *út*, and is particularly spiteful, especially seeking the lives of the young sons of others. In almost every village small low platforms (*bhorka*, *báuka*) with saucer-like depressions in them, are made to the *gyóls*; and on the *máwas*, and especially on Díválí or the *máwas* of Kátik (but *not* in the *kanágat*, which is sacred to the *pitṛ*), the people pour Ganges-water and cow's milk into these saucers, and light lamps and feed Bráhmans, and dig mud by them. It is more than probable that *bhorkás* are identical in origin and signification with the "cup-marks" which have so puzzled antiquaries. Bráhmanstake the offerings. Young children often have a rupee hung round their necks by their mothers in the name of the *gyóls*.

The pustular group of diseases is supposed to be caused by a band of seven sisters, of whom Sítala or Mátá, the goddess of small-pox, is the greatest and most virulent. Others of the group are Masáni, Basanti, Mahá Mái,* Polande, Lamkaria, and Agwáni or the little one who goes in front of all. But the general form the shrine takes in a village is that of a large one for Sítala, and a number of others for the sisters, of whom the people will know the name of only one or two. *Basanti* is a new addition to the group, the disease having quite lately come from the hills. They are sometimes called Sri Sítala, Mái Masáni, Bari Basanti, and so forth. The people profess to distinguish the disease due to each; but it is impossible to find out what they are, except small-pox, which is undoubtedly due to Sítala.

There are seven principal shrines to these deities at Pátri, Kábri, Beholi, and Siwá of this district; Bidhlun near Bhatgánw, Birdhána

* This is properly a name of Devi who drives people mad; and is worshipped by some, but not very generally, on the 5th of Chet and Asauj.

Chapter III, C.
Religious Life
Pitṛ or ancestors.

Sattis.

The *gyóls* or sons
dead.

The *sítala* or small-
pox group.

Chapter III, C.

Religious Life.

The *sitala* or small-pox group.

near Jhajjar, and at Gurgion itself. They are never worshipped by men, but only by women and children of both sexes up to the age of 10 or 12. Enormous crowds collect at these shrines on the 7th of Chet which is called *sit* or *sili saten*, or *Sitala's 7th*. Besides this, *Phág* or *Dolendhí*, the day after the *Holi* festival, is a favourable day, and any Monday, especially in Chet or Sárh. *Sitala* rides upon a donkey; and gram is given to the donkey and to his master the potter at the shrine, after having been waved over the head of the child. Fowls, pigs, goats, coconuts, and *chúrmá* are offered, and eaten by sweepers and Hindu *Jogís*, and white cocks are waved and let loose. An adult who has recovered from small-pox should let a pig loose to *Sitala*, or he will be again attacked. During an attack no offerings are made; and if the epidemic has once seized upon a village all offerings are discontinued till the disease has disappeared, otherwise the evil influence (*chhot*) will spread. But so long as she keeps her hands off, nothing is too good for the goddess, for she is the one great dread of Indian mothers. She is, however, easily frightened or deceived; and if a mother has lost one son by small-pox, she will call the next *Kurriá*,* he of the dunghill; or *Báharí*, an outcast; or *Mírú*, the worthless one; or *Bhagvándá*, given by the great god. So, too, many women dress children in old rags begged of their neighbours, and not of their own house, till they have passed the dangerous age.

The *saiyads* (*Shahids*) or martyrs.

The country is covered with small shrines to Musalmán martyrs; properly *Shahids*, but called *Saiyads* by the villagers. There was a *Rájá Thárú* in the Nardak, after whom several villages are still called *Tharwá*, and who dwelt in *Hábri*. He used to levy seigniorial rights from virgin brides. One night the daughter of a Bráhman suffered thus. Her father appealed for help to *Mírán Sáhíb* a *Saiyad*, who collected an immense army of *Saiyads*, *Mughals* and *Patháns*, and vanquished the *Rájá*. The fight extended over the whole country to *Dehli*; and the *Saiyad* shrines are the graves of the Musalmáns who fell. But a favourite prescription in sickness is to build a shrine to a *Saiyad*, whose name is often not even given, and when given, is almost always purely imaginary; so that the *Saiyad* shrines are always being added to, and most of them are not connected with any actual person. Lamps are commonly lit at the shrines on Thursdays; but offerings are seldom made except in illness or in fulfilment of a vow; they often take the form of a fowl or a goat or especially a goat's head (*siri*), and they are taken by Musalmán *faqírs*. *Saiyads* are very fond of blue flags. One of the Imperial *kos minárs* or milestones has been transformed into a *Saiyad's* shrine by the people of *Karnál* city and every Thursday evening there are worshippers, and *faqírs* to profit by them. The *Saiyads* are very malevolent, and often cause illness and death. One *Saiyad Bhúrú*, who has his shrine at *Barí* in *Kaithal*, shares with *Mansa Devi* of *Mani Májrú* the honour of being the great patron of the thieves in this part of the *Punjab*; and a share of the booty is commonly given to the shrine. Boils, especially, are due to them: and they make cattle miscarry.

There is a group of *Nágans*, or female Snake-deities, known as *Singhs* by the people, and especially called *Devatá* or godling. They are almost always distinguished by some colours; and the most

The *Singhs* or snake gods.

* Compare *Two penny*, *Huitdenkers*, &c.

commonly worshipped are *Káli*, *Hari*, and *Bhári Singh*, or black, green, and brown. But here again the *Bhagat* will often direct a shrine to be built to some *Singh* whom no one has even heard of before; and so they multiply in a most confusing way. They are servants of *Rájá Bāsak Nág*, King of *Patál* or *Tartarus*. Dead men also have a way of becoming snakes—a fact which is revealed in a dream, when a shrine must be built. Their worship extends all over the district, and is practised by all castes; but most of all by *Gújars*, and in the *Khádar*. If a man sees a snake he will salute it; and if it bite him, he or his heirs, as the case may be, will build a shrine on the spot to prevent a repetition of the occurrence. But independently of this, most villages have shrines to them. Sunday is their day; and also the 9th of *Bhádón* in particular, when most people worship them. *Bráhmans* do not mind being fed at their shrines, but will not take the offerings, which go to *Hindu Jogís*. Both men and women worship them, especially at weddings and births, and offer *chúrma* and flags (*dhojá*). They cause fever; but are not on the whole very malevolent, and often take away pains. They have great power over milch cattle; the milk of the 11th day after calving is offered to them; and libations of milk are very acceptable to them. They are certainly connected in the minds of the people with the *pírs* or ancestors, though it is difficult to say exactly in what the connection lies. Wherever the worship of the *pírs* is most prevalent, there the snake-gods also are especially cultivated. The snake is the common ornament on almost all the minor Hindu shrines.

Gúgá or *Jákir Pír*, or *Bágarwala*, though a Musalmán, is supposed to be the greatest of the snake-kings. He is buried near *Hissár*, but is worshipped throughout the district. The 9th and 15th of *Bhádón*, especially the former, are his days; and generally the 9th of any month; and also Mondays. His shrine is usually a cubical building with a minaret on each corner, and a grave inside. It is called a *mári*, and is marked by a long bamboo with peacock plumes, a cocoanut, some coloured thread, and some hand-*pankhas* (*bijná*) and a blue flag on the top. This is called his *chhari* or fly flap; and on the 9th of *Bhádón* the *Jogís* take it round the village to the sound of drums, and people salute it and offer *chúrmas*. He is not malevolent; and the loss of respect which his good nature causes him is epitomised in the saying—*Gúgá betá ná degá tau kuchh na chhín legá* more:—"If *Gúgá* doesn't give me a son, at least he will take nothing away from me." He is associated by the people with the five *Pírs*, who occasionally have shrines in the villages.

The *Núris* are a somewhat vaguely defined class of malevolent spirits, who attack women only, especially on moon-light nights, giving them a choking sensation in the throat and knocking them down (? hysteria). Children, on the other hand, they protect. They seldom have shrines built to them; but a tree or a corner by a tank is generally sacred to them, and here mud is flung to them. They are Musalmán, and are apparently the same as the *Parind* or *Peri*, being also known as *Shahpurís*; but they resent being called so, and no women would mention the word. *Chúrmas* are offered to them on Thursday evening by women and children, and taken by Musalmán *fajírs*, or sometimes by *Jogís* or sweepers; and they are

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Gúgá Pír.

The *Núris* or fairies.

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Minor saints,

worshipped at weddings. The middle of Chet, too, is a common time for offerings to them.

The local saints are innumerable, many villages having shrines to names never heard of elsewhere; often those of people killed in the village. A few of the most celebrated saints worshipped in the district are mentioned below:—

Mírán sáhib was a Saiyad of Baghdád, of whom many wonderful stories are told. He is often said to be the same as *Hazrat Pirán Pir* of the Panjáb; but this seems very doubtful. He once led a mighty army to battle, and had his head carried off by a cannon-ball during the fight. But he did not mind a bit and went on fighting. Then a woman in one of Rájá Thárwá's villages said "who is this fighting without his head?" Upon which the body said—"Hagg, hagg," and fell down dead, but as he was going to fall he said—"What! Aren't these villages upside down yet?" Upon which every village belonging to and called after Rájá Thárwá throughout the country was turned upside down, and all their inhabitants buried except the Bráhman's daughter. The walls are still standing upside down to convince you. *Mírán Sábib* was buried in Hábrí, and is commonly invoked and worshipped by the Nardak people; as also his sister's son Saiyad Qabír. They have a joint shrine called *Mámú-bhónjé* (uncle and nephew) in Sunpat.

Lakhdáta or *Sakkí Sarwar* is a Panjáb saint chiefly worshipped by Gójars and Rájputés. On *Salúno*, the last day of Sáwan, the women paint his picture on the wall, and the Bráhmans bind a sacred thread on the wrist. He is also called *Rohánwála*, or *Sakkí Sultán*, or *Sálanwála*.

Báwá Faríd Shakarganj of Pák Patan in Montgomery, is also honoured by the people, and has a shrine at Ghográpur, where crowds of people offer to him after the spring harvest.

Boali Qalandar, a contemporary of *Báwá Faríd*, is a very celebrated local saint. He used to ride about on a wall at Búrbá Kherá, but eventually settled at Pánípat. He prayed so constantly that it became laborious to get water to wash his hands with each time; so he stood in the Jamná, which then flowed under the town. After standing there seven years the fishes had gnawed his legs, and he was so stiff that he could hardly move. So he asked the Jamná to step back seven paces. She, in her hurry to oblige the saint, went back seven *kos*, and there she is now. He gave the Pánípat people a charm which dispelled all the flies from the city. But they grumbled and said that they rather liked flies; so he brought them back a thousand fold. The people have since repented. He died at Búrbá Kherá, and there was a good deal of trouble about burying him. He was buried first at Karnál; but the Pánípat people claimed his body and opened the grave, upon which he sat up and looked at them till they felt ashamed. They then took away some bricks from the grave for the foundation of a shrine; but when they got to Pánípat and opened the box, they found his body in it; so he now lies buried both at Pánípat and at Karnál. There is also a shrine to him at Búrbá Kherá built over the wall on which he used to ride. His history is given in the *Ain Akbarí*. He died in 724 Hijra.

Naugazahs, or graves of saints said to be 9 yards long, are not uncommon. They are certainly of great length.

Kalā Saiyad, the family saint of the Kaliār Rājputs at Pānīpat, is a great worker of wonders; and if one sleeps near his shrine, he must lie on the ground and not on a bedstead, or a snake will surely bite him. If a snake should, under any other circumstances, bite a man in the Kaliār's ground, no harm will ensue to him.

It has already been explained that the spirit after death undertakes a year's travels as a *paret*. But if, at the end of that time, he does not settle down and enter upon a respectable second life, he becomes a *bhūt*, or if a female, a *chuvet*; and as such is an object of terror to the whole country. His principal object then is to give as much trouble as may be to his old friends, possessing them, and producing fever and other malignant diseases. People who have died violent deaths (called *Ghazimard* or *appat*) are especially likely to become *bhūts*; hence the precautions taken to appease the Saiyads and others in like case with them. In many villages there are shrines to people who have been killed there. Sweepers, if carelessly buried mouth upwards, are sure to become *bhūts*; so the villagers always insist upon their being buried face downwards (*mūndha*), and riots have occurred about the matter, and petitions have been presented to the Magistrate. The small whirlwinds that raise pillars of dust in the hot weather are supposed to be *bhūts* going to bathe in the Ganges. *Bhūts* are most to be feared by women and children, and especially immediately after eating sweets; so that if you treat a school to sweets, the sweet-seller will also bring salt, of which he will give a pinch to each boy to take the sweet taste out of his mouth. They also have a way of going down your throat when you yawn, so that you should always put your hand to your mouth, and had also better say *Nārāin* afterwards.

The people are very observant of omens (*sagūns*). The following verse gives some of the principal ones:—

Kāga, mirga, dahine, bain bisyār ho;
Gaiyi sampat baore jo garūr dahine ho.

"Let the crow and the black buck pass to the right; the snake to the left. If a mantis is to the right, you will recoup your losses."

A mantis is called the horse or cow of Rām; is always auspicious, especially on *dusahra*; and the villager will salute one when he sees it. Owls portend desolate homes. Black things in general are bad omens (*kusaun*); and if a man wishes to build a house and the first stroke of the spade turns up charcoal, he will change the site. On the other hand, iron is a sovereign safeguard against the evil eye. While a house is being built there is always an iron pot (or a *gharā* painted black is near enough to deceive the evil eye) kept on the works; and when it is finished the young daughter of the owner ties to the lintel of the door a *kangna*, consisting of an iron ring (*chhalla*) with other charms, and her father gives her Re. 1-4 for doing it. Till then the house is not inhabited. The same *kangna* is used at weddings and on other occasions. A *koil* is especially unlucky. Chief among good omens (*sād sūn*) is the *dogar*, or two water pots, one on top of the other. It should always be left to the right.

Charms are in common use. The leaves of the *siras* are especially powerful; and after them, those of the mango. They are hung up

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in garlands with a mystic inscription on an earthen platter in the middle ; and the whole is called a *totka*. The *jānd* is another very sacred tree. In illness it is a good thing to have an inscription made on an earthen vessel by a *faqir*, and to wash it off and drink the water. So in protracted labour the washings of a brick from the fort *Chākābā* of Amfn near Pehoa are potent : or if any body knows how to draw a ground plan of the fort, the water into which the picture is washed off will be equally effective as a potion.

Superstitions.

Of course the superstitions of the people are innumerable. Odd numbers are lucky. *Numero Deus impari gaudet*. But three and thirteen are unlucky, because they are the bad days after death : so that *terātīn* is equivalent to "all anyhow." And if a man, not content with two wives, wish to marry again, he will first marry a tree, so that the new wife may be the fourth, and not the third. So if you tread on a three-year old pat of cowdung you lose your way to a certainty. The preference for the number 5, and, less markedly for 7, will have been apparent throughout the foregoing pages. An offering to a Brāhman is always $1\frac{1}{2}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 5, $7\frac{1}{2}$, and so on, whether rupees or seers of grain. The dimensions of wells and parts of wells and their gear, on the other hand, are always fixed in so many and three quarter hands ; not in round numbers. The tribal traditions of the people, and those concerned with numbers and areas, with chief's wives and sons, and with villages, swarm with the numbers 12, 24, $16\frac{1}{2}$, 52, 84 and 360. Hindus count the south a quarter to be especially avoided, for the spirits of the dead live there. Therefore your cooking hearth must not face the south ; nor must you sleep or lie with your feet towards the south except when you are about to die. To sneeze is auspicious, as you cannot die for some little time after ; so when a man sneezes, his friends grow enthusiastic, and congratulate him saying *satan jiv*—"live a hundred years ;" or *Chakpadī*, a name of Devi who was sneezed out by Brahmā in the form of a fly.

It is well not to have your name made too free use of, especially for children. They are often not named at all for some little time, and when named, are often addressed as *būjā* or *būjī*, according to sex. If a man is wealthy enough to have his son's horoscope drawn, the name then fixed will be carefully concealed till the boy is 8 or 10 years old, and past danger. And even then it will not be used commonly, the every-day name of a Hindu being quite distinct from his real name given in his *janampatrī* or horoscope. At his marriage, however, the real name must be used.

A Hindu will not eat, and often will not grow, onions or turnips ; nor indigo, for simple blue is an abomination to him. Nor will a villager eat oil or the black sesame seed, if formally offered him by another ; for if he do he will serve the other in the next life. Thus if one ask another to do something for him, the latter will reply :—" *kyā, main ne tere kale til chābe hain.*" "What? Have I eaten your black sesame?" Sacred groves (*talādk*) are not uncommon ; and any one who cuts even a twig from them is sure to suffer for it. They exist in some of the villages where wood is most scarce, but are religiously respected by the people. The Baniās of the tract have a curious superstition which forbids the first transaction of the

day to be a purchase on credit. It must be paid for in cash, and is called *bohni*. The age of miracles is by no means past. In 1865 a miraculous bridge of sand was built over the Jamná in this district at the prayer of a *fagír*, of such rare virtue that lepers passing over it and bathing at both ends were cured. A good many lepers went from Karnal to be cured; but the people say that the bridge had "got lost" when they got there.

Of course the greater number of the village festivals and the observances appropriate to them are common to all Hindus. But some of them are peculiar to the villages, and a description of them will not be out of place here. The ordinary *Diváli* is on the 14th of Kátik, and is called by the villagers the little *Diváli*. On this day the *púr* or ancestors visit the house. But the day after, they celebrate the great or *Gobardhan Diváli*, in which Krishna is worshipped in his capacity of cowherd, and which all owners of cattle should observe. On the day of the little *Diváli* the whole house is fresh plastered. At night lamps are burnt as usual, and the people sit up all night. Next morning the house-wife takes all the sweepings and old clothes in a dust pan, and turns them on to the dunghill, saying "*dohadr dár ho,*" *dohadr* meaning thriftless, lazy, and therefore poor. Meanwhile the women have made a *Gobardhan* of cowdung, which consists of Krishna lying on his back surrounded by little cottage loaves of dung to represent mountains, bristling with grass stems with tufts of cotton or rag on the top for trees; and little dung balls for cattle, watched by dung men dressed in bits of rag. Another opinion is that he cottage loaves are cattle, and the little balls calves. On this is put the churn-staff and five whole sugar-canes, and some parched rice and a lighted lamp in the middle. The cowherds are then called in, and they salute the whole and are fed with parched rice and sweets. The Bráhmañ then takes the sugar-cane and eats a bit; and till that time nobody must cut, or press, or eat cane. Parched rice is given to the Bráhmañ; and the bullocks have their horns dyed, and get extra well fed.

Four days before the *Diváli*, or on the 11th of Kátik, is the *Devuthéi Gyaras*, on which the gods wake up from their four month's sleep, beginning with the 11th of Sárh, and during which it is forbidden to marry, to cut sugar-cane, or to put new string on to bell-stands on pain of a snake biting the sleeper. On the night of this day the children run about the village with lighted sticks and torches. On the 15th and 11th of Phágun the villagers worship the *ámola* tree or *phyllanthus emblica*, mentioned by Huen Tsang as being so abundant beyond Dehli. This tree is the emblem *myrobolus*, a representation of the fruit of which is used for the finial of Buddhist temples. Its worship is now connected with that of Shiv; Bráhmañs will not take the offerings. The people circumambulate the tree from left to right (*prikanná*), pour libations, eat the leaves, and make offerings, which are taken by the *Kanphate Jogís*. Fasts are not much observed by the ordinary villager, except the great annual Fasts; and not even those by the young man who works in the fields, and who cannot afford to fast. *Gár*, flour made from *singhárá* or water calthrop, from the *sánwak* grain, wild swamp rice, the seeds of cockscomb (*chaulaf*) and milk, in fact almost anything that is not

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Karnal Mission.

included under the term *nāj* or grain, may be eaten on fasts; so that the abstinence is not very severe.

The Karnal Mission is connected with the society for the propagation of the gospel in Foreign Parts and is a branch of the Dehli Mission. The mission work in Karnal was commenced in 1865, and branch missions established at Páncipat and Kaithal in 1882. The mission staff consists of 1 missionary, 3 catechists, and 3 readers. The number of the Native Christians in connection with the mission is men 9, women 7, children 20, total 36. All these, with the exception of one old man, are, however, agents employed by the missions. The operations of the mission include *zanánah* teaching, girls schools, and a dispensary under the charge of a female medical missionary, at which 1,941 women and children were treated in 1883. There is also a small schools for sons of *Chamárs*.

SECTION D.—TRIBES AND CASTES.

Statistics and local
distribution of tribes
and castes.

Table No. IX gives the figures for the principal castes and tribes of the district, with details of sex and religion, while Table No. IXA shows the number of the less important castes. It would be out of place to attempt a description of each. Many of them are found all over the Panjáb, and most of them in many other districts, and their representatives in Karnal are distinguished by no local peculiarities. Some of the leading tribes, and especially those who are important as land-owners or by position and influence, are briefly noticed in the following sections; and each caste will be found described in Chapter VI of the Census Report for 1881. The Census statistics of caste were not compiled for *tahsils*, at least in their final form. It was found that an enormous number of mere clans or sub-divisional had been returned as castes in the schedules, and the classification of these figures under the main heads shown in the caste tables was made for districts only. Thus no statistics showing the local distribution of the tribes and castes are available.

Former inhabitants.

The Tagás are probably the oldest of the existing inhabitants of the tract; they originally held a great part of the Khádar, and now hold most of *parganah* Ganaur; and as, wherever the river has not passed over the land within recent times, Tagás are still in possession, it is not improbable that they were driven from much of their old territory by changes in the Jamná. The Rájput bards and the traditions of the people tell us that in old days Chandel Rájputs held Kaithal and Samáná, and had local head-quarters at Kohand, whence they ruled the neighbouring portion of the tract. The Bráh Rájputs held the country round Asandh, Safidon, and Sálwan; while the Pandírs held Thánesar and the Nardak, with capitals at Púndri near Fattehpur, Ramba, Hábrí and Púndrak close to Karnal. The Mandhár Rájputs came from Ajudhia, and, settling in Jind, expelled the Chandel and Bráh Rájputs and took possession of their country, the former going towards the Siwálks, and the latter beyond the *trages*. The Mandhárs fixed their capital at Kaláyat in Patiálá, whence they settled the local centres of Asandh, Safidon and Gharaunda.

The Mandhárs were unable to make any impression upon the Pandirs, who were presently expelled by the Chauhán Rájputs from Sumbhal in Morádábád under the leadership of Ráná Har Rái, and fled beyond the Jamná. The Chauháns made Júndlá their head-quarters, and held a great part of the Nardak, and also large possessions in the Doáb. The Túnwar Rájputs originally held Pánípat and the country round, but would seem to have been dispossessed by Afgháns in the early days of the Muhammadan conquest. They now hold the country beyond Thánesar, and still own a section of the city of Pánípat. The old boundary of the Túnwars, Chauháns and Mandhárs in Kaithal used to meet in Pai (now a wealthy village). Pai belonged to the Mandhárs. Hábrí to the east was and is a Chauhán village, and Mundri, which is now a Ror village, was Túnwar. The Túnwars, also held Khurana, Phural, and Rasúlpur, in which last they had a large fort. Pharal is the only village they now hold. Probably they once held the whole Naili tract and were turned out by Mandhárs. The Chauháns either alone or in conjunction with their former dependents hold six or seven villages round about Hábrí.

The Rájput chiefs (Ránás and Ráis) would seem, subject to the payment of tribute to Dehli, to have enjoyed almost independent authority up to the time of the consolidation of the Mughal Empire under Akbar, or even later; and squeezing the Ránás was a favourite occupation of the old Afghán Emperors. Their degradation to the position of mere village chiefs is attributed to Aurangzeb, who forcibly converted many of them to the Muhammadan faith.

In the Ain Akbari the principal castes of *parganah* Karnál are stated to be Ránghars and Chauháns; the word *Ránghar*, now used for any Musalmán Rájput, being probably applied to the Mandhárs, who had adopted Islám. Those of *parganah* Pánípat are given as Afgháns, Gújars and Ránghars. The surrounding castes were Tagás in Ganaur; Afgháns and Játs in Sunpat; Játs in Gobána; Rájputs, Ránghars and Játs, in Safidon; Ránghars, in Púndri; Ránghars and Játs in Hábrí; and Ránghars and Tagás in Indrf. The Pandirs held Bhatindá, and the Bráhs the country about Samána. Mr. Ibbetsen writes in his Settlement Report on *tahsil* Pánípat and *parganah* Karnál:—

“Local tradition has enabled me to make a rough approximation to the tribal distribution at the time of the Ain Akbari (1590 A. D.), and I give it in Map No. V. I think some reliance may be placed upon the general features of the map. In some cases the descendants of the former inhabitants still periodically visit the shrines existing on the old ancestral site; and in particular, tombs in the unmistakable architecture of the Afgháns tell every here and there of people who have now disappeared. It will be observed that Afgháns then held a large part of the lower Khádar. They had also formerly held a good deal of the Bángar, which was occupied at the time we speak of by Gújars. At present there is only one Afghán village, besides part of the city of Pánípat, in the whole tract; and I think the total disappearance of this caste must be accounted for by changes in the river. It is to be noticed that they have been replaced very largely by Gújars; and I do not think Gújars were ever in a position, as Játs most undoubtedly were, to acquire territory by conquest in this part of the country, especially from Afgháns. I cannot help thinking it probable that the Afgháns left their Bángar villages for the more

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Former inhabitants.

productive Khádar soil as it was left available by changes in the river; and that they were again, after the time of Akbar, driven out by the branch of the Jamná already mentioned as sweeping over the parts held by them. The parts near Rákasahrá and Barána have, as I have already pointed out, escaped river action altogether in recent times, and are still largely occupied by the original Tagá inhabitants. But in the intermediate parts of the Khádar the people have only been settled for some eight generations, which, at the usual Indian estimate of 25 years for a generation, would bring their first arrival well this side of the date of the Ain Akbari."

The Gújars were, as usual, intimately connected with the Rájputs, and were for the most part settled by them in portions of their territory. The Gújars who originally held the country about Narána were Chokar Gújars; those about Sutána and Náin were Chamáins; while those of Kohand and Bápauli were Rawáls. The two first clans have been largely replaced by Játs and Rers; while the last has spread over the parts of the Khádar formerly occupied by Afgháns.

Local organization
of tribes.

The primary sub-division of the tribes is into *thapás* or *thambás*. A tribal community having obtained possession of a tract, in course of time it would be inconvenient for them all to live together, and a part of the community would found a new village, always on the edge of a drainage line from which their tanks would be filled. This process would be repeated, till the tract became dotted over with villages all springing originally from one parent village. The people describe the facts by saying that, of several brothers, one settled in one village and one in another; but this no doubt means that the parts of the community that migrated consisted of integral families or groups of families descended in one common branch from the ancestor. In this way were divided the many villages known by the same name, with the addition of the words *kalán* and *khurd*, big and little. This by no means implies that *kalán* is larger than *khurd*, but only that the elder branch settled in *kalán*. The group of villages so bound together by common descent form a *thapá*, and are connected by sub-feudal ties which are still recognized, the village occupied by the descendants of the common ancestor in the eldest line being, however small or reduced in circumstances, still acknowledged as the head. To this day, when a headman dies the other villages of the *thapá* assemble to instal his heirs, and the turban of the parent village is first tied on his head. When Bráhmans and the brotherhood are fed on the occasion of deaths, &c., (*meljor*), it is from the *thapá* villages that they are collected; and the Bráhmans of the head village are fed first, and receive double fees. So among the menial castes, who still retain an internal organization of far greater vitality than the higher castes now possess, the representative of the head village is always the foreman of the caste jury which is assembled from the *thapá* villages to hear and decide disputes. In old days the subordinate villages used to pay some small *chaudráyat* to the head village on the day of the great *Diwáli*. The head village is still called "great village," the "turban village," "the village of origin," or "the *thiká* village," *thiká* being the 'sign of authority formally impressed in old days on the forehead of the heir of a deceased leader in the presence of the assembled *thapá*. Mr. Ibbetson says:—"In one case a village told me that it had changed its

"*thapá*, because there were so many Brahmaus in its original *thapá* that it found it expensive to feed them. I spoke to the original *thiká* village about it, and they said that no village could change its *thapá*. '*Pát kupít hosakta; magr má kumí nuhín hosakti.*' 'A son may forget his sonship; but not a mother her motherhood.' "

But the *thapá* is not wholly confined to the original tribe which founded it. A man without sons will often settle his son-in-law in the village as his heir; and as the clans are exogamous, the son-in-law must necessarily be of a different family. So, too, a man will settle a friend by giving him a share of his land. The strangers so admitted have in many cases separated their land off into separate villages; but just as often they still live in the old village, and in some cases have just overshadowed the original family. It is curious to note how the fiction of common descent is, even in these cases, preserved, as has been so well insisted upon by Maine. The man who thus takes a share of another's land is called *bhínbhát* or "earth-brother;" and if a landowner of a clan other than that of the original owners is asked how he acquired property in the village, his invariable answer is "*bhát karke basáyá*," "they settled me as a brother."

But it is not only by fictitious relationship that strangers have obtained admission into *thapis*. In some cases the pressure of the troublous times which were so frequent in former days has induced two weak groups of adjoining villages to unite for common defence. And still more frequently, people settled originally as cultivators have, by the lapse of time or by the dying out of the original owners, acquired proprietary rights. Village boundaries were before our times by no means so well defined as they are now, as is shown by the boundaries often zig-zagging in and out of adjoining fields held by different villages, and by contiguous villages sometimes having their lands intermixed. Boundaries, where they lay in uncultivated land held by villages of the same tribe, were probably almost unknown; for even now the cattle graze in such cases almost independent of them.

It was, and is still, a common custom to settle cultivators in a small outlying hamlet (*garhí* or *májrá* or *kherí*) in the village area to cultivate the surrounding land; and the old maps and papers show that it was very much a matter of chance whether, when we made a survey and record of rights in land these were marked off as separate villages or not. It will be shown in the succeeding section of this chapter that we confused cultivating possession and consequent liability for revenue with proprietary right; and when these small hamlets were held by cultivators of a different caste from those of the parent village, they were generally marked off and declared to be their property. This is particularly the case with Rors, many small villages of which caste are dotted about among the Rájputís of the Nardak. These were originally small communities settled by the Rájputís as cultivators in their land to assist them to bear the burden of the Government demand; and even in Pánipat where the Rors are far stronger than in Karaál, they have, almost in every instance, been similarly settled by former Gújar inhabitants, of whom a few families still remain in many villages as the sole representatives of the old

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Tribes and Castes.

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Tribes and
Castes.Imperial *thapás*.

owners. Bráhmans too have acquired land in many villages by gifts made in the name of religion.

The *thapás* above described are those based upon tribal organization, and are still recognized fully by the Rájputs, especially in Kaithal, and more or less by the people generally. But the Imperial revenue system, in adopting the tribal *thapá* as one of its units, somewhat modified its constitution. The revenue was primarily assessed and collected by the local *ámil*, an Imperial authority. But he worked principally through the *chaudhrís* or local heads of the people, who represented large sub-divisions of the country, based, as far possible, upon tribal distribution. Thus *chaudhrís* existed in old days at Júnda, Pánípat, Balá and other places, and received an allowance called *nánkár* in consideration of the duties they performed. They again worked almost entirely by *thapás* the assessment being fixed for a whole *thapá*, and being distributed over the constituent villages by the headmen of the villages, presided over by those of the *thíká* or chief village. These revenue *thapás* coincided generally with the tribal *thapás*; but they occasionally varied from them from considerations of convenience. Old *pargana*h Pánípat contained 16½ *thapás*, half Jaurási having been separated by Farrákhsír, as stated in Chapter III.

Division of tribes
into clans: exogamy
and endogamy.

The above remarks apply to the territorial organization of the tribes. But the internal organization of the tribe is still more important as bearing upon its social relations. The tribes as a whole is strictly endogamous; that is to say, no Ját can, in the first instance, marry a Gújar or Bor, or any one but a Ját and so on. But every tribe is divided into clans or *gots*; and these clans are strictly exogamous. The clan is supposed to include all descendants of some common ancestor, wherever they live. Mr. Ibbetson writes:—"I have had some doubts whether many of the clans do not take their present names from the places from which they have spread. But I think the reasons against this theory are, on the whole, conclusive; and that the similarity of name, which not very unfrequently occurs, is owing to the village being called after the clan, and not the clan after the village. Of course local nick-names (*ál, beong*) are often given, and these may in some cases have eventually obscured the original clan name." Traces of phratries, as Mr. Morgan calls them, are not uncommon. Thus the Mandhár, Kandhár, Bargújar, Sankarwál and Panihár clans of Rájputs sprang originally from a common ancestor Láo and cannot intermarry. So the Deswál, Mán, Dalál and Siwál clans of Játs, and again the Muál, Suál and Bekwál clans of Rájputs, are of common descent, and cannot intermarry.

The fact that many of the clans bear the same name in different tribes is explained by the people on the ground that a Bachhás Rájput, for instance, married a Gújar woman, and her offspring were called Gújars, but their descendants formed the Bachhás clan of Gújars. A Rájput marrying out of his tribe becomes a *ghulám*. This sort of tradition is found over and over again all over the country; and in view of the almost conclusive proof we possess that descent through females was once the rule in India as it has been probably all over the world it seems rash to attribute all such traditions merely to a desire to claim

descent from a Rájput ancestor. It would appear that there are actually Rájput clans existing, sprung from Bhát, Bráhmañ and Carpenter fathers and Rájput women. At present the offspring of a mixed connection (marriage proper is impossible) take the caste of the father; but those of the pure blood will not intermarry or associate with them. Some traces of totemism are still to be found; and as gentile organizations have almost always been closely connected with totems, it is probable that further inquiry, and especially an etymological examination of the names of the clans, would greatly extend their numbers. This also would account in many instances for clans in different tribes bearing the same name. Thus, the Jáglán Játs worship their ancestor at a shrine called *Deh*, which is always surrounded by *kain* trees; and if a woman married in a Jáglán family passes a *kain* tree, she will cover her face before it as before an elder relation of her husband. Again, the Mor Játs will not burn the wood of the cotton plant.

Every clan is exogamous; that is, that while every man *must* marry into his own tribe, no man *can* marry into his own clan. But this is by no means the only limitation imposed upon inter-marriage. In the first place, no man usually marries into a family, of *whatever* clan it may be, that is settled in his own village or in any village immediately adjoining his own. The prohibition is based upon "*stnjoz ki birádari*," or the relationship founded upon a common boundary; and is clearly a survival from marriage by capture. The old rule is becoming less rigid, especially amongst Musalmáns, but two social reasons combine to strengthen its vitality. (1) There is the importance of marrying your daughter where you can get grazing for your cattle in seasons of dearth. For instance Játs of Kaithal Bángar and Játs of Pehowa Naili intermarry with advantage to both sides. (2) There is the important object of getting rid of your father-in-law. If you live near him your wife always wants to visit her parents, and her filial promptings lead to expense and inconvenience. This limitation on inter-marriage with neighbours is further extended by the Rájputs, so that no man of them can marry into any family living in the *thapá*, into any family of which his father, grandfather, or great-grandfather married. Thus, if a Mandhár Rájput married a Chauhán Rájput of *thapá* Júndla, his son, grandson, and great-grandson would not be able to marry any Chauhán of any village in the Júndla *thapá*. But beyond this, and the prohibition against marrying within the clan, the Rájputs have no further limitations on inter-marriage. Among the other castes the *thapá* is not excluded; but no man can marry into any family of the clan to which his mother or his father's mother belongs, wherever these clans may be found. The Gújars, however, who are generally lax in their rules, often only exclude such persons of these clans as live in the individual village from which the relation in question came. In some parts of Ambála the people are beginning to add the mother's mother's clan, or even to *substitute* it for the father's mother's clan; and this may perhaps be a last stage of the change from relationship through women to relationship through men.

Broadly speaking no superior tribe will eat or drink from the hands or vessels of an inferior one, or smoke its pipes. But the reputed

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purifying influences of fire, especially as exercised upon *ghí* and sugar, and the superior cleanliness of metal over earthen vessels, are the foundation of a broad distinction. All food is divided into *pakki rotí*, or fried dry with *ghí*, and *kachchí rotí* or not so treated. Thus, among the Hindus a Gújrátí Bráhmán will eat *pakki* but not *kachchí rotí* from a Gaur, or Gaur from a Tagá, any Bráhmán or Tagá from a Rájput, any Bráhmán, Tagá or Rájput from a Ját, Gújar or Ror. Excepting Bráhmáns and Tagás each caste will drink water from a metal vessel, if previously scoured with earth (*mánjra*), and will smoke from a pipe with a brass bowl, taking out the stem and using the hand with the fingers closed instead, from the same people with whom they will eat *pakki* bread; but they will not drink or smoke from earthen vessels, or use the same pipe-stem, except with those whose *kachchí* bread they can eat. Játs, Gújars, Rors, Rabbáris (a camel grazing caste) and Ahírs (a shepherd caste) eat and drink in common without any scruples. These, again, will eat a goldsmith's *pakki* bread, but not in his house; and they used to smoke with carpenters, but are ceasing to do so. Musalmáns have lately become much less strict about these rules as governing their intercourse among themselves, and many of them now eat from any respectable Musalmán's hand, especially in the cities. And, subject strictly to the above rules, any Musalmán will eat and drink without scruple from a Hindu; but no Hindu will touch either *pakki* or *kachchí rotí* from any Musalmán, and will often throw it away if only a Musalmán's shadow falls upon it, partly perhaps because Musalmáns eat from earthen vessels, which no Hindu can do unless the vessel has never been used before. This affords an easy mode of telling whether a deserted site has been held by Musalmáns or Hindus. If the latter, there will be numbers of little earthen saucers (*vikábís*) found on the spot. Bráhmáns and Rájputs will not eat from any one below a Ját, Gújar, or Ror; while these three tribes themselves do not, as a rule, eat or drink with any of the menial castes; and the following castes are absolutely impure owing to their occupation and habits, and their mere touch defiles food:—Leather-maker, washerman, barber, blacksmith, dyer (*chhímptí*), sweeper, *dám*, and *dhának*. The potter is also looked upon as of doubtful purity. The pipes of a village, being often left about in the common rooms and fields, are generally distinguished by a piece of something tied round the stem—blue rag for a Musalmán, red for a Hindu, leather for a *chamár*, string for a Sweeper, and so on so that a friend wishing for a smoke may not defile himself by mistake. Gúr and most sweetmeats can be eaten from almost any body's hand even from that of a leather-worker or sweeper, but in this case they must be whole, not broken.

The Dehia and
Haulánia factions.

There is a very extraordinary division of almost the whole country-side south of the Rájput territory into the two factions (*kháp*) of Dehia and Haulánia, respecting the origin of which no very satisfactory information is forthcoming. The Dehías are called after a Ját clan of that name, with its head-quarters about Bhatgánw in Sunpat, having originally come from Bawána near Dehli. The Haulánia faction is headed by the Ghatwál or Malak Játs whose head-quarters are Dher ká Ahulána in Gohána, and who were, owing to their successful opposition to the Rájputs, the accepted heads of the Játs in these parts (see page 107 *infra*). Some one of the Emperors called them in

to assist him in coercing the Mandhár Rájputés, and thus the old enmity was strengthened. The Dehia Játés, growing powerful, became jealous of the supremacy of the Ghatwáls, and joined the Mandhárs against them. Thus the countryside was divided into two factions; the Gújars and Tagás of south Karnal, the Jáglán Játés of *thapá* Naulthá, and the Látmár Játés of Rohtak joining the Dehías; * the Húda Játés of Rohtak, and most of the Játés of the southern half of the district except the Jágláns, joining the Haulánias. In the mutiny disturbances took place in the Rohtak district between these two factions, and the Mandhárs of the Nardak ravaged the Haulánias in the south of the tract. And in framing his *zails* the Settlement Officer had to alter his proposed division so as to separate a Dehia village which he had included with Haulánias, and which objected in consequence. The Dehia is also called the Ját, and occasionally the Mandhár faction. The Játés and Rájputés seem, independently of these divisions, to consider each other, tribally speaking, as natural enemies; and one is often assured by Játés that they would not dare to go into a Rájput village at night.

In briefly describing the principal tribes of the district, we will begin, as in duty bound, with the Rájputés. It is hardly necessary to say much about their well known tribal characteristics. They are fine, brave men, and retain the feudal instinct more strongly developed than any other non-menial caste, the heads of the people wielding extraordinary authority. They are very tenacious of the integrity of their communal property in the village land, and seldom admit strangers to share in it. The Nardak contributes many soldiers to our army. They are lazy and proud, and look upon manual labour as derogatory, much preferring the care of cattle, whether their own or other people's. In the canal and Khádar parts they have abandoned pastoral for agricultural pursuits; but even here they will seldom, if ever, do the actual work of ploughing with their own hands; while the fact that their women are kept strictly secluded deprives them of an invaluable aid to agriculture. In the Nardak a great part of the actual work of cultivation is done by other castes. They are, of course, cattle-stealers by ancestral profession; but they exercise their calling in a gentlemanly way, and there is certainly honour among Rájput thieves. Musalmán Rájputés are called *Ránghars* by other castes and *Chotíkats* by their Hindu brethren, from *chotí*, the Hindu scalp-lock, which the Musalmán does not preserve. But both terms are considered abusive, especially the latter. The principal clans are the Chaubáns and the Mandhárs.

The Mandhárs were settled in very early days in the country about Samána; for Fíroz Sháh chastised them, carried off their Ránás to Dehli, and made many of them Musalmáns. The Safidon branch obtained the villages now held by them in the Nardak in comparatively late times by inter-marriage with the Chaubáns. And though they expelled the Chandel Rájputés from Kohand and Gharanda when they first came into these parts, yet the Chandels re-conquered them; and the final occupation by Mandhárs coming direct from Kaláyat in Patiálá is probably of comparatively recent date. They, with the other four clans already mentioned as connected with them by blood, are descended from Láo, a son of Rámchandar and grandson of Rájá Dasarát, and said to be

* It is said that the Bahán and Sakilán Játés of the Doáb joined the Dehías; and that the Tagás of the Doáb joined the Haulánias.

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The Rájputs.

the founder of Lahore. Their phratry is called Lashman, after a childless son of Rájá Dasarát; Rámchandar having another son Kuskumar who ruled in Kashmir and founded the Kachwihá and Narbárgentes. They are of the Súraj Bausi clan. Their place of origin is Ajodhia; and Kaláyat in Patialá, their head-quarters in these parts.

The Chauháns are all sprung from the original people who settled at Júndla. They all claim descent from Rána Har Rái; but as it is improbable that he conquered the country single-handed, and as his followers probably included Rájputs whose descendants are still in possession, this cannot be true. At the same time it is probable that the eldest line, in which authority descended from Rána Har Rái, has been preserved in its integrity. According to this, 19 generations, equivalent to 475 years, have intervened since the Chauháns conquest, which would fix it at about the time of Bahául Lodi, when the Chauháns of Morádábád took a new departure. They are of the Agnikula clan. Their origin is from Sámbar in Ajmír; but Rána Har Rái came from Sambhal in Morádábád, where the family bards still live. Many of them are now Musalmáns, and the change of religion dates from some generations back. They are the highest of the Rájput clans about here, and some of the Muhammadan members will even marry with their own clans in the neighbourhood. The *Khushi* Chauháns on the Ganges will do this even when Hindus; but they practise second marriage and other abominations. They intermarry freely, however, with all the Rájputs in these parts, subject to the limitations already stated.

The Túnwars have almost wholly disappeared from the district, being now chiefly represented by the Rájputs of the town of Pánípat. They are of the Lunar race. Pharal in Kaithal is a large Túnwar village, and the neighbourhood is called Túnwaron. If a man is asked whether Pharal is in the Nardak or Bárgar, he says it is in neither but *Túnwaron men*. The Nardak in Kaithal is to a considerable extent used to designate the country occupied by Mandháns and Chauháns; that is, the tribal limit to a certain extent fixes the limit of territory known as Nardak.

The Játs.

The Játs are pre-eminently the agricultural caste of the tract, and, with the exception of the Rors, and of the Rains, Málís, and Kambohs, who are practically market gardeners, are the best cultivators we have. A Ját, when asked his caste, will as often answer "*samíndár*" as "Ját." They are a fine stalwart race. Mr. Ibbetson measured one at Didwári 6 feet 7 inches high and 42½ inches round the chest. He complained that a pair of shoes cost him Re. 1-8. They are notorious for their independence, acknowledging to a less degree than any other caste the authority of their headmen. They hold several tribal groups of villages; but they also own parts of villages almost all over the tract save in the Gújar and Rájput portions. They seem to have held parts of the country about Samána in very early days, and, as already noted, that part certainly formed a part of an early Ind-Scythian kingdom. The Játs of the district seem to have come partly from the Bárgar, where they were in force 700 years ago. In no case have Játs settled from across the Jamná. The Játs are not mentioned as a prominent caste of the tract in Akbar's time, and probably gained a footing during the breaking up of the Mughal dynasty, when they

became an important element in the politics of the time. Elliott and Cunningham divide the Dehli Játis into Dese and Pacháde; but no trace of this division at present exists save that there is a powerful clan called Deswál in Rohtak, and that the Játis hold a *des* of 84 villages in the Doáb. The Játis of the tract are almost without exception Hindus. Those who have become Musalmáns are called *Múle Játis*, and are only found in two or three villages; and there even are only individual families, generally said to be descended from hostages taken in infancy by the Musalmán rulers and circumcised by them. The principal clans are as follows:—

Jáglán, sprung from Jagla, a Ját of Jaipur, to whom there is a shrine in Isrána at which the whole *thapá* worships. They hold the 12 villages (*bárah*) of *thapá* Nautha, and come from Ludas, in Sirsa or Hissár.

Ghanghas, sprung from an ancestor called Badkál, whom they still worship, and who has a shrine in Púthar. They hold the *thapá* of Mándi, and come from Dhanána near Bhiwáni, in the Bágár.

Ghatwál or *Malak*, dating their origin from Garh Ghazni, and holding Bawána, whither they came from Ahulána in Gohána. They hold Ugra Kheri and the villages settled from it, and are scantily represented in this district. In the old days of Rájput ascendancy the Rájputs would not allow Játis to cover their heads with a turban, nor to wear any red clothes, nor to put a crown (*mor*) on the heads of their bride-grooms, or a jewel (*náth*) in their women's noses. They also used to levy seignorial rights from virgin brides. Even to this day Rájputs will not allow inferior castes to wear red clothes or ample loin clothes in their villages. The Ghatwáls obtained some successes over the Rájputs, especially over the Mandhárs of the Doáb, near Deoban and Manglaur, and over those of the Bágár near Kalánaur and Dádri, and removed the obnoxious prohibitions. They then acquired the title of *malak* (master) and a red turban as their distinguishing mark; and to this day a Ját with a red *pagri* is most probably a Ghatwál.

Deswál, who hold Korár, Madlaudá, Atáolá, Maháoti, and other villages, and came from Rohtak, where they have their head-quarters in the village of Mandauthi.

Katkhar or *Gahlaur*, perhaps the most powerful Ját clans in the tract, holding the 12 villages (*bára*) of Jaurási. They came from Mot Páli in Hissár.

Sandhu worship Kála Mehar or Kála Pir their ancestor, whose chief shrine is at Thána Satra in Siáلكot, the head-quarters of the Sandhus. They hold Gagsína, Khotpurá, and other villages; and have come here *viá* Phúl Maháráj in Patiáálá.

Haláwat, who hold Bábail and other villages, and came from Dighal in Rohtak. They worship a common ancestor call Sadu Deb.

The chief remaining clans are shown below:—

No.	Clan.	Head-quarters.	Place of origin.
1	Jún ...	Kurlán and Dimána ...	Dehli
2	Ráthi ...	Manána and Bál Játán ...	Bahádurgarh in Rohtak
3	Sahráwat ...	Karhas, Palri ...	Dehli or its neighbourhood, <i>viá</i> Rohtak

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The Játis.

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The Jāts.

No.	Clan.	Head-quarters.	Place of origin.
4	Kharab ...	Nāra ...	Dehli, <i>viâ</i> Khāni Kāri in Hānai.
5	Narwāl ...	Waisarand Kheri Naru...	Kathura in Rohtak.
6	Nāndal ...	Dāhar, &c. ...	Bohar in Rohtak.
7	Dehia ...	Idiāna ...	Rohna in Rohtak.
8	Kundu ...	Shahpur Kāyath (Rohtak),	Tātāuli in Rohtak.
9	Kālī Rāmni ...	Pādla, Bāzida and Balāna,	Garh Ghazni, <i>viâ</i> Sirsa : Patan (Pak Patan?); Garhwāl; Rawar, in Rohtak; and Kont, near Bhiwāni.
10	Phor or Dhālīwāl,	Dhansauli ...	Garh Ghazni, <i>viâ</i> Dhola <i>thapā</i> near Lahore.
11	Mān ...	Bala and Ghogripur ...	Batinda in Mālwa, <i>viâ</i> Ganūr- khara beyond Hissār.
12	Bainfwāl ...	Qavi, Bhābपुरa ...	Bhadra Churi, near Hkānir, <i>viâ</i> Rattak in Kaithā.
13	Ruhāl ...	Beholi, &c. ...	Bhiwāni.
14	Nain ...	Bhāsi, Bal Jātān ...	Bighar in Bikānir. Marry in Kasendbu (Rohtak) and Jind.
15	Lāther ...	Phūgarh ...	Karsaula in Jind.
16	Kādīān ...	Siwa ...	Chinni, near Beri in Rohtak, <i>viâ</i> Bājāna in Sunpar.
17	Dahan ...	Shahrmālpur ...	Sāwan in Kaitha.
18	Dhaunchak ...	Biojhaul ...	Belon kâ Bihāna in Kaithal. Marry in Lāt in Claugāw of Rohtak.

Less locally important, but still holding considerable areas are the Hūda, Mityān, Mandhār, and Gotia clans from Rohtak; the Goit, Nohra, Kāhral, Sumra (or Gurelia), and Dhāndu clans from Jind; the Pānu, Kājal, Bhākar, Gauria, Matīān, Chāhil, Kohar, Lochab, and Pūnia clans from the Bāgar of Hissār and Bikānir; the Phandān and Bāngar clans from Kaithal; the Laur from Sirsa; the Kor from Dehli; the Dhul from Ludās in Bikānir *viâ* Bopla in Rohtak; and the Nāru and Bhāja from Bhera in district Shāhpur.

The Gūjars.

The Gūjars are a notorious thieving tribe; and, as a rule, their cultivation is of the most slovenly description, though in many of the Khādar and canal villages they have really applied themselves in earnest to agriculture. They have a habit of breaking up far more land than their numbers and appliances can properly cultivate; and though their women will go to the well, bring food to the workers in the field, pick cotton, and do other light work, yet they will not weed or do any really hard labour in the fields like the Jāt women. The difference between a Gūjar and a Rājput thief was well put by a villager as follows:—"A Rājput will steal your buffalo; but he won't send his father to say he knows where it is and will get it back for Rs. 20, and then keep both the Rs. 20, and the buffalo. The Gūjar will." The local opinion of the Gūjar is embodied in the proverb—

Kuttā, billī do, | *Yih chār na ho,*
Rānghar, Gūjar do; | *To khule kiwāre so.*

"The dog and the cat, two; the Rānghar and Gūjar, two. If it were not for these four you might sleep with your door open." Again, "*Jitte dekhēn Gūjar, itte deyjē mār;*" or "wherever you see a Gūjar, hit him." This character has been enjoyed by them from of old. The Gūjars are, like the Rājputs, singularly unwilling to

admit strangers to property in their villages. They are closely allied with the Rájputs; and their possession of parts of the Bángar was probably contemporaneous with that of the Mandhárs, parts of whose conquests, such as Kohand, were given them. But in the Khádar they have succeeded Afgháns in comparatively recent times, save in a very few old villages. The principal clans are—

Rawál.—This clan claims descent from a Rájput called Dhúndpál from beyond Lahore, who married a daughter of a Gújar called Ghokar. It is part of the Ghokarbansi clan, and takes its specific name from Ráa Sársa near Lahore. In one village they say that the ancestor was a Khokhar Rájput, and this is probably the better form of the tradition. They settled in Ráná Kherá, (now Rájápur), but moved thence to Kábrí and Kohand, where they held a *bára* of 12 villages; and they also held Bápaul, whence they eventually settled the 27 villages (*satásí*) of the Khojipur *thapá* in the Khádar. They still hold the Khádar villages; but have lost most of those near Kohand.

Chokar.—This clan comes from Jewar *thapá*, beyond Mathra, *vid* Báli Qutbpur, in Sunpat. They used to hold a *chaubási* (24 villages) with Námaunda their head-quarters, and are probably very old inhabitants. They have been to a great degree displaced by Játs.

Chamain.—This clan claims descent from a Túnwar Rájput by a Gújar mother; and the real gentile name is said to be Túnwar, Chamain being only a local appellation. They came from Dehli and settled in Náin and Sutána and the neighbouring villages; and are certainly very old inhabitants, very possibly having emigrated when expelled from neighbourhood of Dehli by Sher Sháh a few years after the Chauhán settlement. They have been largely dispossessed by Rors.

Kalsán.—This clan claims descent from Rána Har Rái, the Chauhán of Júnda by a Gújar wife. They had given them a part of his conquests in the Doáb, where they are still in great force, and they hold a little land in the Chauhán Nardak.

Other clans are Cheharwál or Daharwál, and Púswál from the neighbourhood of Dehli; Bhodwál from Meerut; Katháwat from Jhajjar; Báng and Katáne from Kaithal; Bhonkál from Bágpat; Khári from Sirsa Patan, *vid* Dehli; Chauri from Chitrán in Hánsi, and Gorsí from Pehoa. They are none of them of any local importance.

No satisfactory information whatever is forthcoming as to the origin of the Rors. Most of them date their origin from the neighbourhood of Bádlí, near Jhajjar in Rohtak; and there are traditions of a Túnwar Rájput as ancestor. They hold a *chaubási* of 84 villages about Pehoa, and a *bára* of 12 villages beyond the Ganges. They occupy many villages in the Mori Nardak, some in the east of *parjanah* Kaithal, and a few in the south of Kaithal *tahsíl* near the Jind border; but they have obtained their property in the district almost exclusively by being settled as cultivators by the original owners, generally Rájputs and Gújars, who have since abandoned their villages, or died out wholly or in part. The Rájputs say that the Rors were originally Ods who used to dig the tanks at Thánesar. They themselves claim Rájput origin, and Rájputs have been heard to admit the origin of the Doplá *Got* of Rors in Amín &c., from Rána Har Rái by a Rorni wife. Socially

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they rank below Játs. The Rors, while almost as good cultivators as the Játs, and assisted by their women in the same way, are much more peaceful and less grasping in their habits; and are consequently readily admitted as cultivators where the Játs would be kept at arm's length. They are fine stalwart men, of much the same stamp as the Játs. The number of clans represented in the district is very great, almost every Ror village including several; and there are no large groups of villages held by a predominant clan, as is the case with the tribes already described. They are strongest in Indri Nardak and along the Rohtak canal, where they hold many villages originally possessed by Gújars. The principal clans are—

Jográn, descended from a Chauhán Rájput called Joga by a Ror woman. They hold the large village of Korána, and came from Kaláyat in Patiálá, *viá* Púndri in Kaithal.

Ghanter, from Guráwar in Rohtak, and *Kandol* from Anwáli in Rohtak. These two clans hold Alápur and neighbouring villages.

Khechi came from Narar Jájru, in Jaipur, where they are still numerous. They hold Ahar, &c.

Besides these there are the Kuláná, Gurák, Maípla, Dumían, Rojra and Kainwál from Dehli; the Kharangar, Lathar, Jarautia, Dhankar, Khaskar and Chopre, from Rohtak; the Tharrak, Kokra, Tálse Dodán, Túrán and Lámra, from Kaithal and Jind; the Kultagria from Thánesar; and the Muál from Bikánár; all of which hold considerable areas in the district.

The Tagás.

The Tagás, who must be carefully distinguished from the criminal Tágús of these parts, also of Bráhmínical origin, are a Bráhma caste which has abandoned (*tagan karna*) the priestly profession and adopted agriculture. They have Bráhmans as their family priests. They are all Gaurs; and according to tradition their origin dates from the celebrated sacrifice of snakes by Janamejáya (vulg. Jalmeja Rishi, also called Rájá Agránd), which is said to have taken place at Saffidon in Jind. At that time there were no Gaurs in this country, and he summoned many from beyond the sea (*sic*). Half of them would take no money reward for their services; upon which he gave them 184 villages in these parts, when they decided to take no further offering in future, and became Tagás. The others took the ordinary offerings, and their descendants are the Gaur Bráhmans of these parts. Both retained their division into ten clans, and are hence called *dasnám* Bráhmans.

The Hindu Tagás still wear the sacred thread, but Bráhmans do not intermarry with them, and will not even eat ordinary bread from their hands. Many of them are now Musalmáns. It must not be supposed that a Bráhma *now* relinquishing the priestly craft and taking to agriculture will become a Tagá; the Tagás were made once for all, and the limits of the tribe cannot now be extended. They are, as already stated, the oldest inhabitants of the tract; but are now confined to the parts about Hatwála and Barána. The Barána and Sanauli Tagás are of clan Bachhas, from Kalwa Jamni in Jind; those of Púndri and Harsinghpur of clans Pársir, from the neighbourhood of Pehoa; those about Hatwála are of the Bháradwáj, Gautam and Sarohá clans, and come from Sirsa Patan, *viá* the Khádar to the south of the tract. They are, as cultivators, superior to the Rájput, Gújar and Bráhma;

but fall very far short of Ját and Ror. Their women are strictly secluded.

Bráhmans hold only a small area in the tract, there being but few villages in which they have acquired any considerable share. But they own small plots in very many villages, being, for the most part, land given to family priests (*parohits*) by their clients (*jimáns*) as religious offerings (*pun, dán*). They are vile cultivators, being lazy to a degree; and they carry the grasping and overbearing habits of their caste into their relation as land owners, so that wherever Bráhmans hold land, disputes may be expected. The local proverb goes *Bráhman se bura, Biḡar se kál*. "As famine from the desert, so comes evil from a Bráhman." The great mass of the Bráhmans of the tract are Gaur. Some of them belong to the Chaurásiá sub-division who assisted at Janamejaya's holocaust of snake, (see *Tagás supra*), and received a gift of a *chaurási* of 84 villages. They are considered inferior to the Gaur. There are also a few Sársút Bráhmans, who are said to be far less grasping and quarrelsome than the Gaur, and are certainly less strict in their caste habits, so that Gaur will not eat ordinary bread from their hands. The most common *gots* are the Bháradwáj, Bashista, Gautam, Bachhás, Párásir and Sándlas. The Bráhmans have, in almost all cases, followed their clients from their original abodes to the villages in which they are now settled. They hold little land. But there are two tribes of Bráhmans which, though they own no land at all, are of special interest; they are the Gújrátí and the Dákaut.

Offerings to Bráhmans are divided into *bár* or *graha* for the days of the week, and the two *grahin* for Ráhu and Ket, the two demons who cause eclipses by attacking the sun and moon. These two are parts of a *jín* (Rkásbas), who, when sitting at dinner with the gods and *jins*, drank of the nectar of the gods instead of the wine of the *jins*. The sun and moon told of him, and Bhagwán cut him into two parts of which Ráhu, including the stomach and therefore the nectar, is the more worthy. When any body wishes to offer to Bráhmans from illness or other cause, he consults a Bráhman, who casts his horoscope and directs which offering of the seven *grahas* should be made. The *grahins* are more commonly offered during an eclipse, that to Ráhu being given at the beginning, and that to Ket at the end of the transit. The Gaur Bráhmans will not take any black offerings, such as a buffalo or goat, iron, sesame (*til*) or *urá*, black blankets or clothes, salt, &c., nor oil, second-hand clothes, green clothes; nor *satnájá*, which is seven grains mixed, with a piece of iron in them; these belonging to the *graha* whose offerings are forbidden to them. An exception, however, is made in favour of a black cow.

The Gújrátí or *Bias* Bráhmans who came from Gújrát in Sindh, are in some respects the highest class of all Bráhmans; they are always fed first; and they bless a Gaur when they meet him, while they will not eat ordinary bread from his hands. They are fed on the 12th day after death, and the Gaur will not eat on the 13th day if this has not been done. But they take inauspicious offerings. To them appertain especially the Ráhu offerings made at an eclipse. They will not take oil, sesame, goats, or green or dirty clothes; but will take old clothes if washed, buffaloes, and *satnájá*. They also take a special

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offering to Ráhu made by a sick person, who puts gold in *ghí*, looks at his face in it, and gives it to a Gújrátí, or who weighs himself against *satnójá* and makes an offering of the grain. A buffalo which has been possessed by a devil to that degree that he has got on to the top of a house (often no difficult feat in a village), or a foal dropped in the mouth of Sāwan or buffalo calf in Mág, are given to the Gújrátí as being unlucky. No Gaur would take them. Every harvest the Gújrátí takes a small allowance (*seorí*) of grain from the threshing floor, just as does the Gaur.

The *Dákauts* came from Agroha in the Dakhan. Rájá Jasrat, father of Rámchandar, had excited the anger of Saturday by worshipping all the other *grahá* but him. Saturday accordingly rained fire on Jasrat's city of Ajodhia. Jasrat wished to propitiate him, but the Bráhmans feared to take the offering for dread of the consequences; so Jasrat made from the dirt of his body one Daka Rishi who took the offerings, and was the ancestor of the *Dákauts* by a Súdra woman. The other Bráhmans, however, disowned him; so Jasrat consoled him by promising that all Bráhmans should in future consult his children. The promise has been fulfilled. The *Dákauts* are pre-eminent as astrologers and soothsayers, and are consulted by every class on all subjects but the dates of weddings and the names of children, on which the Gaur advise. They are the scape-goats of the Hindu religion; and their fate is to receive all the unlucky offerings which no other Bráhman will take, such as black things and dirty clothes. Especially they take the offerings of Wednesday, Saturday, and Ket. They are so unlucky that no Bráhman will accept their offerings; and if they wish to make them, they have to give them to their own sister's sons. No Hindu of any caste will eat any sort of food at their hands, and at weddings they sit with the lower castes; though of course they only eat food cooked by a Bráhman. In old days they possessed the power of prophecy up to 10-30 A. M.; but this has now failed them. They and the Gújrátis are always at enmity, because as they take many of the same offerings, their interests clash.

The Saiyads.

The principal Saiyads are those of Barsat, of the Zedi branch, and descended from Abul Faráb of Wasat in Arabia, who accompanied Mahmúd Ghaznavi, and, settling first at Chhat Banúr in Patiála and then at Sámhal Heri in Muzaffarnagar, was the ancestor of the Chatrauli Saiyads. The Saiyads of Saiyadpur and Jál Pahár are Huseni Saiyads, the former from Mushad in Arabia, the latter from Khojand, near Khorásán. The Faridpur Saiyads are Músavi from Qazwin in Persia. All belong to the Bára Sáadát, who played such an important part in the latter days of the Mughal Empire. There is also a large community of Saiyads at Barás, descended from Sháh Abdál from Chist, who assisted Sikandar Lodi at the siege of Narwar and obtained a grant of part of the village. They have an old MS. family history of some interest. Mr. Ibbetson writes:—

"The Saiyad is emphatically the worst cultivator I know. Lazy, thrifless, and intensely ignorant and conceited, he will not dig till driven to it by the fear of starvation, and thinks that his holy descent should save his brow from the need of sweating. At the best he has no cattle, he has no capital, and he grinds down his tenants to the utmost. At the worst he is equally poor, dirty, and holy. He is the worst revenue-payer

in the district ; for light assessment means to him only greater sloth. I have known a Saiyad give one-third of the yield of the grain-field to a man for watching it while it ripened ; and if his tenants' rent is Rs. 10, he is always glad to accept Rs. 5 at the beginning of the season in full payment."

Gadís.—The chief land-owning tribe left undescribed is the Gadís, almost always Musalmáns, who eat from the hands of almost the lowest castes. They are mostly of the Sarohe clan, and come from the Bágár or from the Ambálá district, where they are very numerous.

Kambohs, Ráíns, and Málís.—The Kambohs, who are the very best cultivators possible, also come from the Ambálá district, where they have flocked in from Patiálá and settled in great numbers. The Ráíns and Málís, who practise market gardening, are chiefly settled in the towns, where they cultivate as tenants.

Bairágís.—The Nimáwat Bairágís of Goli, Waisri, and Harsinghpur, the Rámá Nandi Bairágís of Sítá Máí and Bhandári, and the Rádha Balabhi Bairágís of Baráná and Matnauli own a good deal of land. Besides the monks (*sádhú*) of the monasteries (*asthal*) whose property descends to their disciples (*chela*), who are called their *nádi* children, many of the Bairágís have married and become *Gharist* and have descendants by procreation, or *bindi* children, thus forming a new caste. This latter class is drawn very largely from Játs. The monastic communities are powerful, are exceedingly well conducted, often very wealthy, and exercise a great deal of hospitality.

Shekhs.—Of Shekhs proper (Arabs), the only representatives in the tract are the Qoreshis, Ansáris, and Muhájarín (Makhdúmzádah) of Pánípat (see Chapter VI). But every low caste convert to Islám calls himself a Shekh, and such Shekhs are known in the district as *sidqí*. There is even a Mandhár Rájput Musalmán family in the town of Karnál, which has taken to weaving as an occupation, and is called Shekh instead of Rájput. The Mandhárs visit them, but will not intermarry. But the most remarkable Shekhs are a menial caste of that name, which is represented in almost every village by one or two small families, and from which the village watchmen have been almost exclusively drawn from time immemorial. The people say that it was the policy of the old Emperors to have some Muhammadans in every village, and that they therefore appointed and settled these people ; and the story is not improbable.

Jogís.—There is a caste called Jogí, generally Hindu, which is one of the lowest of all castes, and receives the offerings made to the impure gods. They are musicians, and practise witchcraft and divination. They must be carefully distinguished from the *Kanphate Jogís*, or monks of Shiv, who are a sect of religious devotees and not a caste at all, and in fact do not marry.

Menial Castes.—The menial castes (*kamíns*) only hold land in the rarest possible instances. Their place in the village community is fully described in the next section. They are principally distinguished by their elaborate caste organization, which is so complete that their disputes seldom come into our courts. The heads of most of the communities live at Pánípat, except that of the washermen, who lives at Barsat. They are called *khalifa* for the tailor, *váj* for the mason, *mistri* for the carpenter and blacksmith, *mushar* for the sweeper.

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Miscellaneous and menial tribes.

And if you wish to be polite to any of the members, you address him by the corresponding term, just as you call a landowner *chaudhri* after the *chaudhri* or headmen of village groups, as a London street-boy will call a subaltern Captain or a Scotchman Laird, and as Artemus Ward called a London policeman Sir Richard. The sweepers worship a god called *Lál Beg*, a small shrine being erected in the yard, with a *ghara* sunk in the ground for him to drink out of. They give him sweetened rice on *Holi*, and at *Diváli* sacrifice a white cock to him; and they burn lamps to him on Thursday night. They do not worship any of the other gods except at weddings, and then only after *Lál Beg*. They also hold a festival in honour of *Bála Sháh* on the 10th of *Jeth*, at which they balance on their fingers long poles with bundles of feathers at the top.

SECTION E.—VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND TENURES.

Constitution of the proprietary body.

The proprietary body proper, which forms the nucleus round which the subsidiary parts of the community are grouped, includes all those who have rights of ownership in the common land of the village. It is seldom *wholly* confined to one single family, strangers having almost always obtained admission in some one or other of the ways indicated at page 101; and very often the community will consist of two distinct tribes or clans of the same tribe, holding more or less equal shares in the village. The community, however constituted, is almost always sub-divided into wards or *pánnas*, each *pánna* embracing a branch of the family descended from some common ancestor, and perhaps strangers settled by that branch if not sufficiently numerous to constitute a separate *pána* of themselves. The word *pánna* is also the local term for a lot (*pánna márna*, to cast lots), and is almost the only relic still remaining of the old custom of periodical re-distribution of land which seems to have once been so common in Aryan communities.* These *pánnas* are very commonly again sub-divided into *thulás*, which are also based upon community of descent. The village is represented by a certain number of headmen, *lambardárs*, generally one or more for each *pánna* or *thula*, according to size; and these again are assisted by *thuladárs*, a kind of assistant headmen who are not officially recognized. The headman has a considerable discretion in the choice of his *thuladárs*; but the latter must be so chosen as fairly to represent the various genealogical branches of the community. The *thuladárs* are called by the *Játs* in the south of

*In 1841 the Board of Revenue wrote:—"The Board are aware that in the villages of Dehli proper, some of the fields remain unchanged from year to year and from generation to generation; but that some parts of the land are common fields, divided anew among the people year by year, and of which the shape and size are liable to continual changes. If this be the case in Hodal (Gurgaon), that should be looked to, and the common fields marked as such. Mr. Grant is now engaged in revising the field maps of Dehli with a view to the correction of this error." The holdings in the sandy parts of some villages are still periodically re-distributed; but this is a good deal because the wind effaces the boundaries, and makes them difficult to trace. The uncertainty of the yield, moreover, is one of the causes of the re-distribution, according to the people themselves.

the tract *lathdyits*—a word which originally means a quarrelsome fellow. The headmen and *thuladárs*, together with such men as have gained influence by age or ability, constitute the *panch* or village council—an institution which, though no longer recognized by us, still exercises considerable authority, is generally appealed to in the first instance, and successfully settles a very great number of disputes.

The figures in the margin show the number of *zaildárs*, chief

Tahsil.	Zaildars	Circles headmen.	Village headmen.
Karnal ..	6	41	901
Panipat ..	7	102	713
Kaithal ..	..	..	861
Total ..	13	143	2,555

headmen, and headmen in the several *tahsils* of the district. The village headmen succeed to their office by hereditary right, subject to the approval of the Deputy Commissioner; each village, or in large villages, each main division of the village,

having one or more who represent their clients in their dealings with the Government, are responsible for the collection of the revenue, and are bound to assist in the prevention and detection of crime. Chief headmen are appointed only in large villages where the headmen are numerous; they are elected by the votes of the proprietary body, subject to the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner. They represent the body of headmen, and receive Government orders in the first instance, though in respect of the collection of land revenue they possess no special authority or responsibility. In the *paranah* Indri of Karnal *tahsil* and the whole of Kaithal *tahsil* now under Settlement no chief headmen or *zaildárs* have yet been appointed. The *zaildár* is elected by the headmen of the *zail* or circle, the boundaries of which are, as far as possible, in so fixed as to correspond with the tribal distribution of the people. The *zaildárs* stand in much the same relation to the headman of *zail* as a chief headman to those of his village. They and the chief headmen are remunerated by a deduction of one per cent. upon the land revenue of their circles or villages, while the headmen collect a cess of 5 per cent. in addition to the revenue for which they are responsible. The head-quarters of the *zails*, together with the prevailing tribes in each, are shown below :—

Tahsil.	Zail.	No. of villages.	Annual land revenue.	Prevailing caste or tribe.
Parganah Karnal, Tahsil Karnal.	Barás ...	19	7,560	Chauhán Rájputs.
	Jándla ...	29	14,750	Rájputs, Chauhán.
	Karnal ...	29	25,180	Játs.
	Gharanda ...	35	31,685	Mandhár Rájputs.
	Barat ...	19	22,121	Játs.
	áchaur ...	22	22,985	Mandhár Rájputs.
Pánipat	Pánipat ...	37	66,345	Játs.
	Khojgipur ...	41	48,290	Gújars.
	Joursai ...	31	71,805	Játs.
	Naultha ...	23	53,150	Do.
	Kordna ...	18	33,550	Rors.
	Bhási ...	16	26,150	Játs.
	Kábri ...	17	13,450	Gújars.

Chapter III, B.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Constitution of the proprietary body.

Village officers.

Chapter III, E.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Village headmen.

It appears from the old records that in former days there was one headman for each *pànna*. They had enormous authority, the distribution of the revenue being wholly in the hands of the *thapà* and village councils, of which they formed the hereditary heads. Their office was hereditary; though fitness was an essential, and the next heir would be passed over, if incapable, in favour of another member of the same family. When we acquired the tract the same arrangement was perforce continued for many years, as no record of individual rights or liabilities existed. But unfortunately the hereditary nature of the office, and the authority which should attach to it, were lost sight of. All the leading men of the village were admitted to sign the engagement for the revenue, and all that signed it we called headmen. The allowance (*pachotra*) which is given to these men took the form of a deduction from the last instalment of revenue if paid punctually, and was divided by all the engagers; in fact, it is even said that "all the owners shared it proportionally, and that it practically took the form of a mere abatement of revenue in which the whole community had a common interest."

In 1830 a field-to-field record had been introduced, and an attempt was made to limit the number of headmen, it being ruled that the people were to elect fresh headmen every year, who alone were to enjoy the allowance. The Collector of the time regretted the change. He writes in 1831:—"The great objection to the new arrangement is that it is calculated to destroy the strong and honourable feeling of mutual good-will and attachment which formerly characterized the intercourse of the headmen or sharers, with the other classes of the community. The support and assistance which the elders had it in their power to afford to the lesser cultivators ensured their respect and obedience, and consequently the peace and good order of the society. The power they possessed was considerable; and, so far as the interests of their own village were concerned, was scarcely ever abused." The words in italics show the light in which these innumerable headmen were then looked upon. The other members of the proprietary body were called *râyats* or cultivators; and we find the Supreme Government asking for an explanation of the fact that some of the reports submitted seemed to imply that they too possessed a proprietary interest in the land.

The plan of having a new election of headmen does not seem to have been, in its integrity, carried into effect; but up to the settlement of 1842 the number of headmen was still inordinately excessive. We find a village paying Rs. 14,000 with 76 headmen, another paying Rs. 3,500 with 21, a third paying Rs. 5,500 with 23, and so on. In 1839 the Collector wrote that the matter had been "a continual fester for years." At the settlement of 1842 the Settlement Officer was directed to reduce the numbers largely, taking as a general standard one headman for every Rs. 1,000 of revenue. He found that among the crowd of so called headmen there were generally some who had enjoyed the office, either personally or through their ancestors, for a considerable period. These he selected; and, as far as possible, gave one headman at least to each sub-division of a village. At present the distribution is very unequal; villages with eight or ten headmen are not uncommon; and as each man often pays in only two

to three hundred rupees of revenue, the allowance of 5 per cent. is, in such cases, quite insufficient to give any standing to the office. Mr. Ibbetson writes:—

“I believe that the headmen, as a rule, make some small illegal profits from their office, as they seem to consider any small savings from the *malba* fund as their perquisite. But I think the money so appropriated is very small in amount; and the practice is, I believe, tacitly recognized as unobjectionable by the people. The only wonder is that cases of serious embezzlement are not more common. The mass of the people are quite illiterate and careless, and ignorant of their recorded rights. They seldom know the area of their holdings or the amount of revenue due upon them, while the half-yearly accounts are, as a rule, Hebrew to them; and so long as they have not to pay very much more this year than they paid last, they are content to accept the total without too curious inquiry into the details. Of course there are many exceptions. *Játs* are, as a rule, much less disposed to trust implicitly in their headmen than are other castes; and in some villages every item in the accounts is subjected to the most rigid scrutiny. But, as a rule, either the village headmen or the village accountant, or both together, have money matters completely in their hands. While the headmen have thus very great power, our system has in a great measure deprived them of authority, and of the responsibility which attaches to it, and which is the best surety for rectitude. Yet the good faith which, I do most firmly believe, governs the mass of the people in their relations with one another, is apparent in this matter also. I have had very numerous petitions for audit of accounts, either from malcontents who wanted to get the headman into trouble and selected this as the easiest mud to fling and the hardest to wipe off, or from people who were startled by the enhancement of local and *patwári* cesses, the increased expenses incident upon survey, and the like. The investigation is always complicated, and I have always personally satisfied myself that it has been thorough; yet in only two cases, I think, have I found that the headmen had taken more than what might be called legitimate perquisites.”

The village headmen enjoy certain privileges by virtue of their office. Thus, they and their heirs-apparent are exempt from the duties of village watch and ward (*thikar*, S. V. Watch and ward *infra*). They have very generally a *chamár* attached to each as a personal attendant without payment further than his mid-day meal; and the body of *chamárs* generally have to give a day's work in the fields of each, though, as they expect to be feasted on the occasion, the service is more of an honour than a profit to the recipient. The right of succession runs in the eldest male line; and the right of representation is universally recognized, the deceased elder son's son taking precedence of the living younger son, though the former may be a minor, and a substitute may have to be appointed to do his work.

Table No. XV shows the number of villages held in the various forms of tenure, as returned in quinquennial Table No. XXXIII of the Administration Report for 1878-79. But the accuracy of the figures is more than doubtful. It is in many cases simply impossible to class a village satisfactorily under any one of the ordinarily recognised tenures, as will appear from the following description by Mr. Ibbetson of the tenures of that portion of the district settled by him:—

“The villages of the tract have, for the purposes of Settlement, been classified as follows:—64 held wholly in common by the body of owners

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(*zamindári*); 23 divided among the several branches of the community according to ancestral shares (*pattidári*); and 250 held in severalty by the individual households, the holding of each being quite independent of any fixed scale (*bháyáchára*). But this classification is practically meaningless. Of the 64 *zamindári* villages, 44 are held by the Skinners, the Mandals, or purchasers from them; 9 are small uninhabited plots of land belonging to larger villages, but having separate boundaries of their own; and 8 are on the river edge, where the uncertainty of the river action renders the joint stock tenure the only one which can ensure individual proprietors against serious loss or utter ruin. Of the 22 *pattidári* villages, 7 are small uninhabited plots of land as above, and 4 are subject to river action; while in most of the remainder the property of individual households is regulated by possession and not by shares, though the several main branches of the community have divided the village by shares. On the other hand, in the 250 *bháyáchára* villages, though the common land has not yet been divided according to shares, yet the interest of the several branches of the community in that land is strictly regulated by ancestral shares in a very large number, if not in a majority of instances. The fact is that a village may have four or five *pánnas* with two or three *thulís* in each; there may be common land of the village, of each *pánna*, of each *thulá*, and of two or more *thulís* and *pánnas* jointly, the scale of separate interests in each varying in its nature from one to another, and each single family holding by possession and not according to shares: so that it is, as a rule, impossible to describe the tenure of a village in a word, or to classify it satisfactorily under the recognized headings (see further the remarks quoted below upon the growth of property in severalty)."

Proprietary tenures.

Table No. XV shows the number of proprietors or shareholders and the gross area held in property under each of the main forms of tenure, and also gives details for large estates and for Government grants and similar tenures. The figures are taken from the quinquennial table prepared for the Administration Report of 1878-79. The accuracy of the figures is, however, exceedingly doubtful; indeed, land tenures assume so many and such complex forms in the Panjáb that it is impossible to classify them successfully under a few general headings. The following discussion of the origin of property in severalty in Karnál is taken from Mr. Ibbetson's Settlement Report:—

Property in severalty a creation of our own.

"I think there can be but little doubt that, till the English rule, individual property in land, in the sense in which we understand it, was unknown in the tract. Each village held the area surrounding its homestead, the dividing boundaries being hardly defined. Land was plentiful, cultivators were scarce, almost anybody was welcome to break up as much as he could cultivate, and the owner who induced a tenant to settle and bear a share of the burden of the revenue conferred a benefit on the community at large. The distinction between the members of the proprietary body and mere tenants holding from them was of course carefully preserved, the latter having no voice in the management of the village, and making formal acknowledgments of their subordinate tenure; but, as will be presently seen, so far as actual burdens were concerned, there was practically no distinction between the two classes. The land was carefully divided according to quality so that each should have his fair share, and 'the same rule was observed when a new comer was admitted to cultivate.' The long dividing lines at right angles to the contours of the country, which mark off the valuable rice land into minute plots and the inferior sandy soil into long narrow strips, including a portion of each degree of quality, and the scattered

nature of each man's holding, still show how carefully this was done. The revenue was then distributed equally over ploughs, or, when a survey had been made, over cultivated areas; and as it absorbed all the margin that was left after supporting the cultivator, rent was unknown, all cultivators alike paying the demand upon the areas which they cultivated. The ancestral shares of each household of the landowning community were carefully observed, and regulated the interest of each in the common lands, and perhaps the adjustment of the minor village accounts; but the area of land held by each in cultivating possession varied with its ability to cultivate, rather than with its rateable share in the village. But the idea that the plot of land so held by each was his own, to do what he pleased with was utterly foreign to the idea of the people. Sales of land were unknown; and when an owner became, from failing appliances, unable to cultivate as much as formerly, the community arranged if possible for the cultivation of the abandoned fields, while he remained responsible for the revenue of only so much land as he actually held.

“When we first made records of rights in land, our primary object was to obtain a record of liability for revenue, which depended wholly upon cultivating possession. But we went further than this. We, of course, preserved as a rule, though not always with entire success, the distinction between owner and tenant; but instead of recording each constituent household of the proprietary body as entitled to a fractional share in the village, and as *holding in cultivating possession* the land cultivated by its members or by tenants whom they had settled, we recorded and treated it as *absolute owner* of this and other land occupied by tenants which they had settled, and entered as common property of the village only such land as was either uncultivated, or was held by tenants who had been settled by the village in general or by one of its sub-divisions. The proprietary rights so recorded are now, of course, indefeasible. But I believe such property in severalty, based solely upon actual possession, to have been entirely a creation of our own; that before our times the breaking up of land gave the cultivator a right to hold that land undisturbed so long as he paid the revenue on it, but gave him no further rights; and that it gave him this much whether he was an owner or not. In old days, members of the proprietary body returning to the village after an absence of even half a century or more were admitted to their rights without question; and there is still a strong feeling against rights being extinguished by absence from the village. In every single village that I can call to mind in which cultivation dates from *after* our record, the rights are regulated by shares and not by possession, though individuals cultivate and pay revenue on areas quite independent of their shares. In families owning land jointly, the *property* in it is strictly regulated by shares; though, as of old, the land is often divided for cultivation between the various members according to the extent of the appliances at the disposal of each without regard to those shares, each man paying revenue on the land he actually cultivates and taking the whole of its produce. But this division does not confer any proprietary right in the land so held. Theoretically, each household in a village is entitled to break up common land in proportion to its proprietary interest in it. But as a fact the area so broken up depends entirely upon the ability to cultivate, and the man who breaks it up has a right to hold the land so long as no complete proprietary division is made, though he acquires no individual property in it. And the whole history of tenant-rights as sketched below points to the same conclusion. Finally, the general voice of the people, who have now quite accepted the new order of things, and have no wish to disturb it or to revert to the old order, affirms this view of the case; and in the Mandal

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tract, where no record was framed till 1847, there can be no mistake about the matter. In short, wherever we have not interfered by a record to confuse cultivating possession and absolute ownership, the people carefully distinguish the two tenures; and the distinction is one which I am anxious to insist upon, as the courts often show a tendency to assume that cultivating possession is adverse, and can become proprietary right by lapse of time. This I do not believe to be the case, though, till a complete division of property is made, the possession cannot probably be disturbed. The erecting the cultivating sharers into separate owners probably works but little injustice; but it was, I believe, founded upon a mistake. The old correspondence bears copious testimony to the universal recognition of fractional shares as a 'theoretical' scale of property, though it comments upon the discrepancy between this scale and the actual holdings, which it always talks of as proprietary."

The present state of affairs, then, is this. The fractional shares of the whole village and of the chief sub-divisions of the village to which each main branch of the community is entitled, are still recorded in the papers, and very generally measure their interest in the common land. But the internal distribution of property in the common land between the constituent households of each main branch is almost always regulated by the areas held in severalty. Even when the holdings in severalty regulate the primary division of the common land also, which is most often the case in villages held by two or more different tribes, who can, of course, have no ancestral scale of rights, the recognized shares which used to measure the rights of each are very often recorded in the papers of last Settlement, though it is at the same time recorded that they are no longer acted on. And instances are by no means uncommon where the wards of a village, in the face of a distinct record that their rights are proportional to their holdings in severalty, have yet, at division, reverted by consent to the old shares, although the reversion involved a loss to one or other of them.

The family. Rules governing the devolution of property.

The land owned in severalty by individual families is not only inherited, but is also invariably divided on the occasion of separation of property, in strict accordance with ancestral shares. The members of the family often divide the land among themselves for convenience of cultivation more in accordance with the appliances at the disposal of each than with the proprietary shares, just as the common land is allotted to the various families on a similar scale. But this division is not a division of property, and the right of the members to a re-distribution according to shares, with due regard to the preferential right of each to the land he has cultivated so long as it does not exceed his share, is always recognized by the people, though sometimes (not often) contested by the individuals concerned.

The rules of inheritance are as follows:—No practical distinction whatever is made between divided and undivided families; in fact, the terms are hardly ever used.* First the sons and sons' sons by

Mr. Ibbetson, from whom this abstract is taken, writes:—"I need hardly say that all my remarks refer *solely* to the landowning castes, and not to Banias and the like. They also do not apply to the *original* Musalmans, who usually follow the Muhammadan law. Moreover, in these matters I only give the general customs. Particular exceptions, though far less numerous than might be expected, will be found recorded in the record of common customs."

stirpes how low soever, sons representing their dead fathers. In the absence of them, the widow takes an interest strictly limited to a life tenancy. If there is no widow, or after her death, the brothers and brothers' sons how low soever inherit by stirpes with representation. In their absence the mother takes a life interest. After these the inheritance goes to the nearest branch in the male line, the division at each stage being by stirpes. Daughters, if unmarried, have a claim to maintenance only. If property is separately acquired by a son in a divided family during his father's life, the father inherits before the brother; but separation of interest before the father's death is not allowed, and no separate property can be acquired by the individuals of an undivided family. The father may divide the land for convenience of cultivation; but on his death, or the birth of another son, it will be open to re-distribution.

In attesting the record of common customs the whole countryside has declared that where there are three sons by one wife and one by another, all four share equally (*págband*). But there have undoubtedly occurred instances in certain families, especially among the Rájputs of the Nardak, where the division has been by wives (*chúndábáind*). Where *chúndábáind* is the rule of division, the full brothers and their representatives succeed to the exclusion of the half-blood; otherwise there is no distinction between the two. All sons, whether by original marriage or re-marriage (*karewa*), are on an equal footing; no priority is attachable to the sons of any particular wife. But if a Rájput Musalmán should marry a woman of another caste, as they sometimes do especially in the cities, the sons do not inherit at all, the property going strictly in the tribe.

A son born less than seven months after the marriage is consummated, even though begotten by the husband, and one born more than ten months after death or departure of the husband, is illegitimate. An illegitimate son cannot be legitimised, nor can he inherit. A son by a former husband brought with her by a woman on her re-marriage, who is called *gelar* (*gel* together with) if born, and *karewa* if unborn at the time of the re-marriage, inherits as the son of his begetter. A member of the family who becomes a monk (*sádhú*) loses his inheritance; but does not do so merely by becoming a beggar (*faqír*). But the disciples of monks inherit from them as their sons. The life-interest of widows subsists so long as one is alive, and is shared by all equally. But a Musalmán widow of another caste has no interest; and a widow who re-marries loses all rights even if she marries the husband's brother. Pregnancy also destroys their rights; but not mere reputed unchastity. Their rights are not contingent upon their living in the husband's village. Woman's separate property (*stridhan*) is unknown. It is remarkable how wholly, in the minds of the people, the family is represented by its head. At the Regular Settlement the name of the head only was recorded as a rule; and the people still think that it is quite sufficient to send their heads to represent them in court or elsewhere. This feeling, however, is weaker among the Játs than among other tribes; and they have become notorious in consequence.

The great object of these rules is to preserve the family property to the agnates. A man without a son, or whose only son has changed

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his religion, can always adopt (*godnā, godlenā*); and a widow left sonless can adopt at will, except among the Jāts, where, unless the husband has selected the boy, the consent of the heirs is necessary. But the boy to be adopted must be a brother's son, or if there are none available, a cousin in the male line; and no relation in an elder degree than the adopter can be adopted. No cognate can in any circumstances be adopted except by consent of the next heirs, nor can an only child, except among the Rājputs. The Brāhmins, however, can adopt sisters' and daughters' sons. There is no restriction as to age, nor as to investiture with the sacred thread, nor that the boy shall be the youngest of the family. The adopted son takes as a real son with children born after his adoption. If the division is by wives, he takes his share first *per capita* of all the sons, and the remainder divide by *chāndāband*. He loses all rights in his original family; and even if his original brothers should die, can only inherit as the son of his adoptive father. A second adoption can only take place when the boy first adopted has died, and can be made by any widow who could have adopted in the first instance. The ceremony of adoption is as follows:—The man seats the boy in his lap (*god*), feeds him with sweetmeats in the presence of the brotherhood, and declares that he has adopted him. If a woman adopt, she gives him her nipple to suck instead of sweetmeats. Sweetmeats are in every case distributed to the brotherhood.

There is a custom called *ghar jawāi*, which consists in a sonless man settling his daughter's husband (*jawāi*) in his house as his heir, when he and his son after him inherit on the death of the father without son; though if he die sonless the property reverts to the original family, and not to his own agnates. He retains his rights in theory in his original family, though he often abandons them in practice. There is no doubt whatever that this custom *did* obtain, for many present land-owners have obtained their property in this way. But the feeling is strongly against it. The Jāts, Rors and Kambōhs strenuously deny the right. The Rājputs and Gosāins say that the son-in-law does not inherit. The Gūjars and Bairāgts admit that the custom occurs. The Brāhmins say that the son-in-law cannot inherit, but his son, if he has one, can. Perhaps the real state of the case is that the thing is often done by tacit consent, but that probably the next agnates could forbid it. The existence of the name as a well-known term shows that the custom does obtain in some degree.

A man may make a stranger of another clan his *bhūmbhāi* or earth brother, if his near agnates consent, in which case he gives him a definite share of his land on the spot, and the *bhūmbhāi* loses all rights of inheritance in his original family. The ceremony is completed by public declaration of the transfer and the consent, and by the usual distribution of sweetmeats. According to Elliott the *bhūmbhāi* could not formerly dispose of his land, but this no longer the case. But some hold that if the *bhūmbhāi* has no near agnates, the land reverts to the family of the donor.

Under no circumstances, except as above mentioned, can a land-owner make a gift of land out of the agnate community; and not even within it, except among the Rors; and then if the gift is made

in the absence of sons, and a son is born afterwards, it is resumable. Small gifts of land as religious endowments are, however, recognized. Wills and bequests are practically unknown. In old days sales of land were unknown; and even now they are, though of course judicially recognized, not very common out of the agnatic community. The right of pre-emption by agnates is universally recognized in the order of right of permanent inheritance, and is almost always asserted by summary petition; but, owing to the uncertainty felt by the people as to the action of the courts, and the costliness of an appeal to them against a purchaser who is usually well off, is often not pursued to trial.

The above abstract of customs applies only to all Hindus and to Musalmán Játs, Gújars, Rors and Kambohs, and to Musalmán Rájpúts except the Túnwars of the town of Pánípat. These last, who are all Musalmáns, and live in daily contact with original Musalmáns, follow in many respect the law of Islám. *Per contra* the Saiyads who live in the villages only have adopted several of the Hindu restrictions on inheritance and alienation. In both classes, for instance, sons and sons' sons &c., exclude all other heirs. The original Musalmáns of the cities follow the law of their faith with very little divergence. The Ráíns, who are all Musalmáns, hold a sort of intermediate position between the two.

The inferior proprietor (*Mití adná*) has full right of property in his holding in severalty, but has no rights of ownership in the common land, the share which appertains to his holding still belonging to the person from whom he acquired it. This class of proprietors is exceedingly small, and was not distinguished at all in the records of the Regular Settlement. In some cases it has been shown that people who do not belong to the proprietary community proper, but who had, by virtue of long possession or otherwise, or by consent, been recorded at Settlement as owners, have been continuously excluded from participation in all special proceeds of the common land, such as compensation for common land taken by Government, and as distinguished from the periodical proceeds which the whole cultivating body shares; and these people have been entered as inferior proprietors, their status having been occasionally fixed by judicial decisions. Some few people, too, have acquired land since the Regular Settlement, admittedly in inferior ownership. And a good deal of land in the old cantonments was declared, after full investigation in 1852, to be held as inferior property (see next paragraph). But the status is quite exceptional, and may almost be said to be non-existent throughout the greater part of the district.

When Karnál was first acquired by us, a considerable area of land close to the town was occupied by the cantonments; and this was added to at various times as military requirements expanded, yearly compensation for the revenue so lost being paid to the Mandals. When the cantonment was moved to Ambálá, the land was occupied for the purposes of a remount depôt. But as much of it was not needed, it was decided to give up the whole, and lease from the owners so much of it as might be required. But much capital had been expended in the construction of houses, gardens and

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the like; and the properties so formed had changed hands for consideration. It was therefore necessary to recognise the interests so acquired. In his minute dated 16th February 1852, laying down the principles upon which the revision of Settlement of 1852 should be made, the Lieutenant-Governor remarked as follows:—

“The Government have determined to relinquish the lands of the Karnál cantonments to the proprietors. The lands will revert to the *biswahdárs*, between whom and the Mandals the revenue officer must determine a fair *jama*. All the unoccupied lands will be given up unreservedly to the community of *biswahdárs*. * * * * The houses and compounds occupied by individuals should be considered as inferior property (*vide* § 118, Directions to Settlement Officers), and a fair *jama* fixed upon them, to be paid by the occupants to the *biswahdárs*, of which *jama* nine-tenths will go to the Mandals, and one-tenth to the *biswahdárs*. If any land is retained by Government as attached to their own buildings, this should be entered as *minháí*; and if it is of considerable extent, a corresponding portion of the payment now made to the Mandals must be continued. But if the land retained is of small extent there will probably be no objection to discontinue all further payment, and leave the matter thus.”

A careful investigation was therefore made on the lines thus laid down. The area retained as Government property was very small, and remained unassessed. Certain occupied plots were declared the inferior property of the occupiers, and the remainder common land of the village. In 1855-56 Government declared these inferior properties to be transferable and heritable. Some few of the occupiers who could show no sufficient title had been decided to have only a right of occupancy for life, and were so recorded. In some of these latter cases the village has recovered the land on the death of the occupier; in others the heirs are still in possession, and have in some cases judicially established their proprietary right. A considerable area of pasture land has been held from that time by Government on a lease at a very moderate rent for the purposes of a breeding stud, and, latterly, of a cattle farm.

Riparian custom.

The deep stream is recognised as the boundary between villages on opposite sides of the river all along the part of the Jamná recently under settlement. In 1878 a considerable cultivated area was given up without dispute by the Tándá people to our villages under the operation of this rule. The custom is recorded in the administration papers on both sides of the river. Mr. Ibbetson writes:—

“In former days a custom existed throughout the riverain villages of the tract, that, when an individual land-owner had his land cut away by the river, an equivalent area from the common land was given him in exchange, the loss being thus borne, as far as possible, by the whole community. Numerous old letters attest the universality of this custom. Unfortunately, the old administration papers are silent on the subject. Yet in 1856 the Government, in concurrence with the Board, ruled that although no provision was contained in the Settlement record, yet the allotment of common land in these cases was borne out by usage, and should be enforced. In preparing our new administration papers, I directed particular attention to the record of this very admirable and equitable custom, wherever it might still be found to exist. In some of the villages it was found in full force, and recorded accordingly; in fact, I know of several instances in which it has been acted upon within the last few years. But in

many villages the people declared that no such custom now obtained; and I did not think it right to propose them to record for future guidance a rule, however admirable, which they averred was not at present in force. But the decadence of the custom is much to be regretted. Its principle is an admirable one, and one that, in my opinion, ought to be extended by legislative enactment to all cases in which the landed property of individuals is taken up by Government for the good of the public. The loss to the individual is absolutely irreparable; and no money compensation can cover it. If, however, common land were given in exchange, and part of the compensation paid to the village, the injury would be reduced to a minimum."

Table No. XVI shows the number of tenancy holdings and the gross area held under each of the main forms of tenancy as they stood in 1878-79, while Table No. XXI gives the current rent-rates of various kinds of land as returned in 1881-82. But the accuracy of both sets of figures is probably doubtful; indeed, it is impossible to state general rent-rates which shall even approximately represent the letting value of land throughout a whole district.

The status of the tenant with right of occupancy, which has been the subject of so much dispute, was found to exist in this district in the days of the early Summary Settlements. In 1829-31 elaborate reports or the tenures of the tract were prepared for Government on lines laid down by it. From these we find that these tenants included all regular cultivators, whether resident or of another village; and that the tenants at will consisted wholly of "village servants, itinerant cultivators, persons who, from a variety of causes, may have temporarily abandoned their village, and individuals who do not make agriculture their chief occupation, such as weavers Baniás, &c. They usually receive from year to year such portions of land as their needs may require, sometimes from the community, but more often from individual members, usually on the condition of becoming responsible for the corresponding portion of the revenue. Occasionally the landlord receives a very trifling amount of rent; but more frequently he shares the produce according to agreement, and is alone responsible for the dues of the State. These tenants are at liberty to give up the land when they please, and are removeable at the will of the community or landlord." All other tenants save those described above could not be ejected so long as they continued to occupy their lands and to pay their share of the Government revenue. They shared equally with the owners in the proceeds of the common lands, such as the sale of firewood or grass, or grazing dues paid by other villages. The title of the landlord was preserved by "the form of demanding the *śirīnah* or one-fortieth of the produce, when perhaps only a few grains were granted as an acknowledgment of holding the land from a superior," or by the tenant paying his share of the village expenses through his landlord, or by the landlord's family priest taking his dues from the tenant also. These tenants, moreover, did not "claim the rights of sale or transfer; but, with the abhorrence with which the cultivating class view the sale of land, they are on an equality in every essential particular with the landlord." The non-resident (*pāhi*) cultivator even paid only 75 per cent. of the revenue which he would have paid had he been resident, and bore no share of the village expenses; yet he enjoyed equal rights of occupancy with the resident tenant, and,

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in fact, "possessed every substantial benefit in an equal degree with the owner, while paying much lower rates." The Settlement Officer pointed out that "it was chiefly the good faith which all classes of the community preserve in their dealings with each other," that prevented awkward claims by tenants to proprietary rights, and "rendered disputes very infrequent with respect to property so ill-defined." As a fact these tenants have, in some cases, been declared owners by the courts on the ground that the tenants had always enjoyed a share of the common produce, and in apparent ignorance of the fact that such was the almost universal rule throughout the district. The Collector of 1831 who had had long and intimate experience of the people, and whose report was most interesting and complete, discussed at length the apparent hardship to the owner involved in these tenures, especially those of non-resident tenants, and the advisability of recognising his right to rent in some form; but he summed up strongly against it, as opposed to the ideas of the people, and certain to be productive of endless disputes and ill-feeling.

It is curious how slowly this state of thing has changed. When the revenue absorbed the whole margin left from the produce after supporting the cultivator, it was natural that rent should be non-existent. In fact revenue was rent, as the use of the terms revenue-free and rent-free as synonymous for lands of which the revenue was assigned shows. It was not till about 1850 that Government interfered to limit the demand of assignees of land revenue to the Government share of the produce; and previous to that date they took rent from the owners exactly as if they had been landlords themselves. But, as the Government demand was gradually limited to a moderate share of the produce, a margin was left in favour of the producer from which rent could fairly have been taken. As a fact, in the Nardak, where the Mandal assignees took rent from owners and tenants alike till 1847, and where the uncertainty of the yield renders it easier for a man without capital to pay a share of the produce than a share of the revenue, because, although the total amount paid is larger, it is paid in instalments which vary with the means of paying it, tenants, as a rule, still pay a share of the produce (*batáí*). But throughout the rest of the district, except in the city of Pánípat and one or two similar revenue-free villages held by non-cultivating owners, where cash, and still more commonly, grain rents have always been taken, and excepting, of course, the Skinner villages, rent is still almost unknown. Mr. Ibbetson writes:—

"I know of hardly a single case outside the cities and the villages already mentioned, in which rent is taken from tenants-at-will, even whose cultivation dates from last Settlement. Tenants of later standing, and especially those who have only lately begun to cultivate, often pay rent; in the Khádar perhaps generally. But in a very large number of cases they still pay revenue only; and where rent is paid it is generally very much below the competition value of the land. This state of things is, however, gradually changing. The people have awakened to the possibility of demanding rent, a good deal, I think, in consequence of Settlement operations, the inquiries attending them, and the new ideas which they have suggested. The change is, however, extraordinarily

slow. Even now the *great majority* of tenants pay no rent; and especially is there a strong feeling in favour of the tenants-at-will of old-standing; in fact the people are inclined to deal more leniently with them than with the occupancy tenants, for the former claim no rights, while the latter do. Of course the equal distribution of revenue over the land does, in fact, mean a certain degree of profit to the owners; for they generally hold the best land, so that they pay less for their land in proportion to its value than the tenants pay for theirs; while, on the outlying and inferior portions, the revenue thus distributed, especially in the Khádar, is often a very fair rent for the land."

The difficulty with which the idea of rent is received is well exemplified in the cultivation of the common land. Of course an individual owner cultivating this land is really a tenant holding from the community as a whole. But the idea of taking rent from him is, even now, quite beyond the capacity of the people. The owner who breaks up common land will, of course, pay such revenue as the method of distribution of revenue in force will allot to it; but he has by common custom a right to hold the land free from liability of ejection until a division is effected; and even then the land must be included in his share, except in so far as it exceeds the area to which he is entitled. Cases have been not infrequent in which the people have, at division, allowed individual owners to retain the common land which they had broken up, even though considerably in excess of their share; and it is by no means uncommon for owners to build wells at their own cost in the common land, so certain do they feel of the security of their tenure. In short, as already pointed out, the conclusion is irresistible that, in old times, anybody who broke up new land, or even who was given old land to cultivate except as an obviously temporary measure, acquired a right to hold that land so long as he paid the revenue on it; and that, whether he were an owner or not. The revenue was so heavy that the village was only too glad to get cultivators to accept land on these terms; and the explanation of the fact that the people even now fail to distinguish between occupancy tenant and tenants-at-will of any standing is, not that old custom failed to raise the ancient tenants approximately to a level with owners, but that it treated both owners and tenants of all kinds alike so far as their right of cultivating possession was concerned. In 1850 the Sadr Board ruled that "the common custom of India gave to the man who reclaimed waste a right to transmit the land to his descendants." That is the common custom here; but that what he transmits is the right of cultivating possession, and not of property.

Grain rents (*ijára*) are mostly in vogue in the city of Pánipt and the few similar villages near it. They are usually paid one-third in wheat and two-thirds in the inferior grains. Cash rents are taken chiefly in the Khádar, either as a lump sum (*chakotá*), or a percentage in addition to the revenue (*málikána*), or a rate per *bigah*. A share of the produce is taken either by actual division (*batáí*), or by estimate of the yield (*kan*). The owner takes no share of the fodder except when the grain has failed and only fodder is produced. The dues of the *chamárs* and the allowances of the Bráhma and Saíyad are deducted in *batáí* before the division is made; the dues of other village menials are paid by the cultivator alone. Where a share of

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Kinds of rent and other tenants' dues.

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the produce is taken, money rates on area for each staple (*zabti*) are generally taken on sugar, cotton, tobacco, pepper, most vegetables and spices, *methi*, and *chari* grown for fodder only; as in all except the last two, which are purely fodder crops, the produce is not collected at one time and spot, so that division would be difficult and dishonesty easy. In the Khádar and Bángar the share of the produce commonly taken is one-third on all lands, though the Skinners take two-fifths on unirrigated crops, as they consist largely of fodder crops from which the land had taken nothing. In the Nardak the custom is to take one-fourth only; but irrigated or highly cultivated land, the area of which is very small, is never let on these terms.

The tenants, as a rule, are responsible for providing carts and bedsteads for the use of Government officials. But in the villages they pay no other dues. In the city of Pánipat and the similar villages near it they generally pay many miscellaneous dues (*abwáb*), such as milk, green wheat for fodder, earth for mending houses, dung-cakes, &c.; and the Skinners also take many extra cesses, often making their tenants pay all the Government cesses, the *lambardári* allowances, the *patwári's* pay, and a levy on account of expenses of management called *kharcha*. There are some very curious dues paid in the city of Pánipat which, though not actually rent, are paid by purchasers of land to the original proprietor from whom they purchased it, in consideration of certain rights of ownership which did not pass with the sale. The principal of these are *haqq raqbah* and *haqq áb*. If a man sells his fields, his property in the *daul* or dividing ridges does not pass unless expressly specified; so he takes what is called *haqq raqbah*, and is responsible for keeping the ridges in order. So again, if the well was not distinctly specified, the property in it does not pass, though the soil in which it stands being no longer his, he cannot get near it to use it. But he takes *haqq áb*, and it is a disputed point whether he cannot forbid the purchaser to use the well. Each of these dues is generally fixed at one-eighth of the rent or owner's share of the produce. Again, if a man wishes to carry water along another's *daul*, he pays *daulánáh*—generally a lump payment of 5 to 10 seers a harvest.

Petty village
 grantees.

The last two lines of Table No. XVI show the number of persons holding service grants from the village, and the area so held. But the figures refer only to land held free of revenue, which is by no means the only form which these grants assume. Sometimes the land is leased to the grantee at a favourable rent, or on condition of payment of revenue only; sometimes the owner cultivates and pays the revenue, making over the produce to the grantee; while occasionally the grant consists of the rights of property in the land, which, subject to the usual incidents, such as responsibility for revenue and the like, vest in the person performing certain specified services at such time and for so long as he performs them. These grants are most commonly made to village menials and watchmen on condition of, or in payment for services rendered, 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. They are called *dohli* grants; are usually made by the village or a sub-division of it,

less frequently by individual owners; and are personal to the grantee and resumable at pleasure, though seldom resumed, and often continued to heirs.

Every village keeps open-house to the countryside. A traveller (*bateo*) who has no friends in the village puts up, as a matter of course, in the common-room (*chopál* in the north, *parás* in the south) of the village, and receives food and tobacco free; though he will, if possible, choose a village inhabited by his own tribe. Every Government servant passing through the village is fed in like manner; and though this custom is a source of considerable expense to villages on the main roads, it is founded upon the feeling of the people, and not primarily upon the extortion of the officials. Hospitality of this sort is considered a social duty; to refuse it is an insult, and a village which was grudging in its exercise would have dishonour in the sight of its fellows. Mr. Ibbetson writes:—"The people will never take payment for anything supplied by the village as a whole from its own stores, such as milk, wood and grass; and when a headman brings hot milk of a brown colour from an earthen vessel in the pores of which milk has daily gone sour for some months past, throws in some sugar from a corner of his not over-clean *chúdar* in which it has been tied up, stirs it up with his finger, blows on it to cool it, and offers it you to drink, it is very difficult to save at the same time your own stomach and his feelings. When attesting our records in the villages, arrangements had to be made to constantly shift our quarters so as to allow the people in attendance to go home every night; otherwise the burden of hospitality thrown upon the village where the work was being done would have been excessive." The headmen, when absent on village business, charge their expenses, and often perhaps a little more, to the village account. The village common-room, the village shrines, the drinking well, and other public structures, have to be maintained and kept in repair, and occasionally new ones built. Small religious offerings are made on occasion in the name of the villagers; and a menial settling for the first time in the village generally receives some pecuniary help to enable him to start fairly. Process fees (*dastakána*) too, are levied on the village if the revenue is in arrears. All these and similar expenses constitute the common expenditure of the village called *malbá*, literally meaning refuse, sweepings, because of the many miscellaneous items which it includes.

There is generally a *banyá* appointed as *malbabardár* for the village or a sub-division of it; and the headmen draw the necessary funds from them, the accounts being audited by the community when the half-yearly instalment of revenue is collected. The old administration papers fixed a very high limit, generally $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the revenue, beyond which the headmen could not incur these expenses without the previous sanction of the community. In the papers of the Revised Settlement the very much narrower limits fixed by Financial Commissioner's Circular No. 4 of 1860 have been inserted. The headmen grumbled dreadfully; for village hospitality accounts for most of the expenses, these *must* be incurred, and in many of the larger villages the necessary expenses will no doubt often exceed the limits; while among the Játs, at any rate, some of the evil-disposed

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are tolerably certain to object whenever they have an opportunity of making things uncomfortable for the headmen. But, on the other hand, it is probable that the headmen used often to make illegitimate profits from the *malbâ*, realizing up to the limits fixed without regard to the expenditure.

The proceeds of the village may be divided into two classes ; *first* are the occasional proceeds derived from the sale or lease of common property, such as the sale of jungle, the lease of pasture to travelling herds of cattle, the sale of the nitrous efflorescence (*rehli*), which abounds in old homesteads, for the purpose of manure or the manufacture of saltpetre, the small dues sometimes realized from carts which come for dry firewood, the fine often paid by strangers for permission to collect kino, to cut thatching grass, and the like. These are, if of any material amount, generally divided at once among the owners, and the tenants have no share in them. If petty, they are paid in to the credit of the general *malbâ* accounts. The *second* class consists of the regular dues, which are included in and collected with the half-yearly revenue-account, and in which all revenue-payers, whether owners or tenants, share proportionally. The most important head of income is the *kârhi kâmbû* or hearth tax. This is collected in almost every village, and the usual annual rate is Rs. 2 per hearth ; but in small villages, where the common expenses are inconsiderable, it varies with their amount. Thus the fact that it has not been collected at all for several years, when other common income has been sufficient to cover the common expenditure, is by no means decisive against the right to collect. It is paid *only* by non-cultivators ; and *Dâkauts*, sweepers, *Dâms*, barbers, and washermen, so long as they exercise their calling, are exempt. It formed part of the old *chaubitchha* or four-fold levy taken in old days on *pâg*, *tâg*, *kârhi*, and *pînchhâ*, or the head-cloth of the men, the waist string of the male children, the hearth of the non-cultivators, and the tails of their cattle ; and which was often had recourse to cover losses caused by cultivators abandoning their lands and failing to pay the revenue due on them. Mr. Ibbotson thus discusses the nature of the *kârhi kâmbû* :—

“The courts, up to the Chief Court I believe, have held that this cess is in the nature of a ground rent paid by non-proprietors on account of the land occupied by their houses in the homestead, and that a non-proprietor who purchases the land on which his house stands is *ipso facto* exempt from the cess. I cannot help thinking that this is a mistaken view ; and that the real object of the cess is to throw a share of the burden of the hospitality, which is exercised in the name of the village as a whole, upon those residents who would otherwise escape all share in its incidence. In the first place, in villages inhabited wholly by cultivators, such, for instance, as *garhls* or *mâjrs*, and even in the Skinner villages where every levy is taken that can on any pretence be squeezed from the people, the hearth tax is appropriated by the cultivators to the common expenses, although they have, of course, no property whatever in the village site. Again, if a family divides into two households with separate hearths, each household will pay the same cess that the joint family paid before, though the land they occupy is the same. Again, the *Châlorâ*, *Nât* and *Dâm* are exempt, simply because they are utterly impure, and no one would accept hospitality at their hands ; and the washermen are exempt for a similar reason so long as they exercise their filthy calling. *Dâkauts* are exempt because they are

so unlucky that even the grasping Bráhmañ does not accept an offering from their hands; not because they are poor, for they are generally quite the contrary. Again, why should the non-proprietary cultivator be exempt if the cess is a ground rent. On my view of the matter his exemption is reasonable; for the hearth tax never nearly covers the expenses, and the balance is distributed with the revenue, so that he pays his share as a cultivator.⁷

Besides the hearth tax, there are the grazing dues, *chugái* or *charái*. This is chiefly levied in the Nardak, where pasture is extensive, and non-proprietors often keep numerous flocks and herds. The rate is usually 8 annas per buffalo, 4 annas per ox or cow, 2 annas per calf, and Rs. 3 to 5 per hundred sheep or goats. The cattle of proprietors and all plough cattle are always exempt; and, as a rule, the cattle of all cultivators graze free. This cess, when realized in villages with limited pasture, is generally taken only in years when the village expenses are very largely in excess of the common income. It is a payment in consideration of the right of grazing on the common lands, and must be carefully distinguished from the distribution of revenue upon cattle, which is generally adopted in the Nardak villages when a drought has rendered the number of cattle possessed by each a better test of ability to bear the burden of the revenue than is afforded by the areas of fields which have produced nothing. In this latter case the cattle of owners are of course included. Besides these dues there is an annual levy of Rs. 2 upon every oil press, which is occasionally taken; and a small periodical payment is made, chiefly in the Nardak, by every non-cultivator who cuts firewood or *pála* from the common jungles, and is usually quoted at Re. 1 a year on each axe or bill-hook (*gandússá*).

When the half-yearly instalment of revenue becomes due, the *malbá* account is first audited. The list by which the hearth tax is to be levied is then made out, and this is generally so adjusted as to leave a fair share of the general expenses to be paid by the cultivators, who are exempt from the tax. The balance so left, after deducting the grazing dues, is added to the Government revenue (*hálá*, probably so called because originally distributed over ploughs or *hats*) and cesses; and a distribution (*báshh*) of the whole is then made over the cultivated land. This distribution is almost always by an all-round rate upon areas. The distribution of land according to quality made this method of distribution fair enough in the first instance; but greater or less inequalities have grown up in most villages, and especially some of our new systems lead to very peculiar results in connection with it. Still the practice has been adhered to with extraordinary unanimity, and payment by shares or by ploughs or by proportional rates on soils are the exceptions. In some few villages the distribution is made on the area actually under the plough in each year; but, as a rule, land entered as cultivated at Settlement is paid for, whether cultivated or not (*khárá parí ká dím dená*). The newly-broken up land, if chiefly in the hands of tenants, is included; and sometimes the original Settlement rate per acre is charged on this, with the result of reducing the rate upon the old cultivation. When the land has been broken up by owners, it is often not included at all, or not till a considerable area has been broken up, when all land so cultivated up to date is included once for all.

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The distribution of the revenue.

The headmen then collect (*ugáhná*) the revenue. Tenants of any standing almost always pay direct; new tenants often pay through the owners even when they pay nothing in excess of the sum entered as due on their land in the distribution list or *fard dal báh*. Many of the well-to-do pay direct from their private purse; and already the number that do so is considerable, while it is becoming every day more and more the custom for every one who has the ready money to pay in this manner. Those who have not sufficient cash, or who prefer not to pay direct, pay by *ínah*; that is they give in the name of their banker (*sáh* or *sáhnúkar*). The *patwári* then gives each banker a note of the sum due by each of his clients, and the banker pays in the total amount and debits the items in their respective accounts. The *malbá* account is settled, the revenue is paid, the headmen take their allowances, and the *ugáhi* or collection is at an end.

Agricultural partnerships or *lánas*.

The whole agriculture of the district is conducted by means of *lánas*, which are associations of households or individuals, each contributing oxen, or labour, or both, and the whole *láná* working jointly, and cultivating certain lands of which some of the members of the association have the disposal, whether as owners or tenants. The agreements for them are made for the agricultural year, dating from the day after *Dusahva*; the 11th of the second half of Jeth. In the Nardak and elsewhere, where the depth of water necessitates a large staff of bullocks the *láná* often includes seven or eight ploughs of two oxen each; in other places, more often three or four. The sharers are called *sájjí* (*sájjá*, a share); if a man contributes a full plough he is called *ek hul kí sájjí*; if a half plough *káclwá kí sájjí*, from *káclwá*, the space in the yoke occupied by the neck of one bullock; if only his personal labour *ji ká sájjí*, or sharer of his person. This last class never contribute land, and are generally *Chamárs*; while a man who contributes land is seldom or never a *ji ká sájjí*. If a woman, not of the family of any of the landed sharers, is admitted, she is called *khurpi kí sájjí*, or a sharer of a hoe, and takes half the share of a *ji ká sájjí*.

The distribution of the proceeds and the payment of revenue is conducted in two different methods. In all cases the whole of the produce is thrown together, without regard to the yield of individual fields. Throughout the Nardak, and generally among *Rájpúts*, the whole number of heads (*áng*) in the *láná* are counted. The whole of the fodder and the price of all iron used in the cultivation are divided over the oxen equally. The grain is collected, the seed-grain repaid to the *bawá* with interest, and the dues of the *chamárs* and the religious offerings are deducted. One-fourth of the remainder is then separated as *hákimi hissah*, or the share of the ruler; and this is divided among the people who contributed the land in proportion to the area contributed by each, and these people pay each the revenue due on his own land. The remainder is then divided upon the heads of men and oxen; an ox generally taking twice the share of a man among the *Rájpúts*, because the owners provide most of the cattle, while many of the men are non-proprietors; and also in the villages where irrigation is extensive, because the cattle there have such hard work. For this latter reason, an ox sometimes takes twice as much as a man

in the spring, and only as much in the autumn harvest, when there is no irrigation. In other villages oxen and men share equally. In all cases the costs of cultivation, except the iron, are divided on these same shares.

In the second method of distribution the accounts of the *lānā*, which is also called *vāthā*, are kept by ploughs, each sharer contributing a certain number of half ploughs. To make up the number of men required for his oxen, a sharer will often take a *jī kā sājjī* into partnership; but in this case the latter claims from the sharer only, and not from the *lānā* as a whole, in which he is only recognized as a man attached to one of the ploughs. The whole costs and proceeds of cultivation, and the revenue due on the whole of the land, are divided equally over the ploughs without any regard to the area of land contributed by each plough. This sort of *lānā* is also called *bastrā*. The *jī kā sājjī* in this case takes from the man who engaged him one-fourth, or if there are already two able-bodied men on the plough, one-fifth of the produce allotted to one plough, and pays the same proportion of the revenue, the division being by heads, and men and oxen sharing equally. He receives no share of the fodder, and pays no share of the cost of the iron or seed. Under this system the *jī kā sājjī* is entitled to an advance of some Rs. 20 to 25 free of interest, and further advances at discretion at reasonable rates from his employer. His account is seldom cleared off, and till it is cleared off he does household work also; so that he becomes attached to his master as a sort of serf, and if a second employer takes him, he is bound to first settle his account with the old employer. The debt is looked upon by the people as a "body debt" (*sarīr ka qarzah*), and they hold that they are entitled to compel the man to work till he has cleared it off, and grumble much at our law refusing to endorse this view. In all cases the *jī kā sājjī* is expected to do much of the hardest part of the labour, such as ploughing; and they are much more used by Gújars and Rájputás than by Játs or Rors. Among the latter the women of the family are often counted and get shares, which the *jī kā sājjī's* wife does not.

There is another *lānā* made for the express purpose of cutting and pressing sugar-cane. The cane is grown in the ordinary manner; but after *Diwālī* when the cutting time has come, the growers combine and form a *kolhū kā lānā*, or sugar mill association, which will consist of 10 or 12 ploughs, and is worked as follows. Each sharer (whether an individual or an ordinary *lānā*) contributes oxen and grown men in equal numbers strictly in proportion to the area it has under cane, and women and children as near as may be at the same rate; and the account is kept by yokes of oxen (*jot*). The sharers cast lots to determine the rotation (*bārī, ovrā*) in which the work shall be done, one lot for each yoke. Thus, if *A, B, C, and D* be the lots, *A* and *D* may belong to one man who contributes two yokes. The press must be started on Sunday evening; so on Sunday morning the whole of the labourers begin to cut *A's* cane. As the first turn of the season is always a double one, they cut it on Sunday and Monday. On Tuesday they cut *B's* cane, on Wednesday *C's*, and so on. As each man's cane is finished, he falls out of the rota-

The sugar-cane *lānā*.

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tion. The pressing begins on Sunday evening, and all the bullocks work in rotation night and day till the work is done, each yoke going on till the vessel into which the juice first runs (*kāndī*) is full, and then being relieved. They begin to press the cane cut during the day in the evening of the same day, and it generally occupies the press till the evening of the next day. If it takes a little more or less time, the excess or defect is marked by a pat of dung on a rough sundial made by a peg stuck into the ground, and is allowed for when the same man's turn comes round again. Each man takes the *gur* made from his own cane, and pays the daily expenses of his days. The joint expenses, such as hire of evaporating pan, making of press, &c., are distributed in proportion to the number of days the cane of each has taken to press. This is the ordinary system. But the people find that the crowd collected to cut the cane eat and spoil so much that a new system which has come from Rohtak is fast gaining ground. In this each sharer cuts his own cane. He starts his bullocks and presses his cane till one or two *kāndīs* of juice, as may have been previously agreed upon, have been expressed. He then makes way for another man with his cane and bullocks, and so on. When all his cane is crushed, he takes away his bullocks and falls out of the rota. Every morning the *gur* which has been made during the past 24 hours, and the current expenses, are divided in proportion to the number of *kāndīs* contributed by each.

Danguwārā.

Danguwārā is the name of a system by which two or more owners club their cattle together, either for the year or for a special job. The united cattle work for each in proportion to the number of oxen contributed; and the partners have no further claims upon one another, each keeping his land and its produce and revenue distinct.

Agricultural labour-
ers.

Hired labour is made but little use of by the villagers, except at harvest time. The non-cultivating Saiyad and the like, however, often cultivate by servants. A labourer hired by the month or year is called *kamerā*. He gets 18 to 20 maunds of grain a year and his mid-day meal, or Rs. 3 a month, or his board and 8 annas a month, and often has some old clothes given him. A lad will get Rs. 2 a month, and an old man who watches the crops Re. 1 and food twice a day. They always get double pay in the two harvest months. Labourers hired by the day are called *mazdūrs*. They get their mid-day meal, and enough corn to give them grain worth about two-and-a-half annas. But in the press of harvest, and specially in the cities, wages often rise to 6 annas a day or more. The young men of the Nardak, when they have cut their early gram or rice, flock down to the canal and riverain tracts for employment as harvest labourers. The subject of the employment of field labour than other that of the proprietors or tenants themselves, is thus noticed in answers furnished by the Settlement Officer and inserted in the Famine Report of 1879 (page 712):—

“There is a certain very small number of agricultural labourers hired by the year on fixed pay. They belong to no particular caste, and are chiefly found in the towns, and in villages owned by Saiyads and others who will not do manual labour. There are very few of them in other villages. They get 9 to 10 maunds of grain a year and their morning

meal; or all their food and 8 annas a month; or two meals a day, and clothing and Ra. 1 a month; or Rs. 3 a month, one meal a day and some old clothing and a pair of boots every half-year; or Ra. 4 a month with or without one meal a day. They always get double pay in the two harvest months. They are of course very poor, more so than the poorest agriculturist. Occasional labour is resorted to at certain seasons, chiefly at harvest time, when rice is being bedded out, and when sugar-cane is being cut and crushed. The labourers usually consist of the menials of the village, and of the villagers of the high lands, who reap their yearly grain crops and then go into the low villages to help in the harvest. The wages vary from 3 to 6 or 7 seers of grain a day; and I have known 8 annas a day paid at harvest when a sudden hot wind ripened all the crops at once. This class of labourers includes the poorest of the people, and also really well-to-do agriculturists and others, who are attracted by the high wages offered."

The wages of labour prevailing at different periods are shown in Table No. XXVII, though the figures refer to the labour market of towns rather than to that of villages.

Mr. Ibbetson thus describes the village *bania* of Karnal:—

"The village banker or *Sāhukār* is a much, and in my opinion generally a very wrongfully, abused person. Rapacious Jews of the worst type, to whom every sort of chicanery and rascality is the chief joy of life, and in whose hands the illiterate villager is as helpless as a child, do exist, especially in the cities. But they are well-known, and only had recourse to in the last resort. It is unnecessary for me to repeat what has been so often and so well said about the absolute necessity for an agency which shall furnish capital to a class who are, as a rule, without it, and shall receive the produce of the fields in exchange for the hard cash in which alone Government will receive its revenue. But this is not the only function they fulfil. The well-to-do villager keeps his whole accounts with the money-lender; he seldom stores any amount of grain in his house, as he has no means of protecting it, but makes over to his banker the produce of the harvest, and draws upon him for his daily wants. The account is precisely similar to that kept by an English farmer with his banker, but with this cardinal distinction,—that the English farmer starts with a deposit, and has, as a rule, a balance to his credit, while the Indian farmer has, as a rule, nothing to deposit at first, and would not deposit it if he had. He starts with a credit, and, however well-to-do, always owes something to his banker. If he has any surplus wealth, he, as a rule, conceals it or sinks it in jewels for his wife till the time comes for a wedding in his family, when he will spend the whole of it, and an advance from his banker besides. He not unfrequently, unless really indebted, sells his produce to travelling traders at a higher rate than he could get for it in the village; and he very commonly lends money himself in a small way to his friends and fellow-villagers, and is generally exceedingly long-suffering in his treatment of them.

"Nor is the banker himself generally so exacting as he is often said to be. He charges monthly interest at the rate of a *paisa* in the rupee—18½ per cent. per annum—when his client is a substantial man, and from 25 per cent. upwards when the credit of the latter is doubtful. He credits grain received at a seer per rupee more, and debits it at as much less than the market rate. But his chances of loss are often great, the periods of credit are generally long, and at the time of settlement allowances are made and a compromise effected more generally than would be thought possible. His loans are often secured by a mortgage (*gchāū, giroū*); but the mortgage is seldom recorded, for in

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The village money-lender; village banking.

most villages it is thought disgraceful to have one's land shown as mortgaged in the Government papers; and so long as the client is reputed honest, the banker does not press for an entry, though it would greatly enhance his security. The mortgagor, too, almost always continues to cultivate the land, and generally at a fairly moderate rent. It is the city *baniá* in particular that is often as unscrupulous and rapacious as he can be painted. In time of drought and famine the *baniá* is the villager's mainstay; without him he would simply starve. In fact the function of a *Baniá* in a village is very like that of the air-chamber in a fire engine. He receives the produce of the village, the supply of which is fitful and intermittent, stores it up, and emits it in a steady and effective stream. And if some power is lost in the process, it is only the cost at which all machinery is worked; for force cannot be transmuted from one form into another and more serviceable one without some part of it being lost on the way."

The *patwári* is in these parts emphatically a Government servant, the *malbabardár*, who corresponds to the Panjáb *daharwái*, usually keeping the village accounts. Among the Nardak Rájputés especially, the *patwári* often knows little of the private arrangements of the community. But in the remainder of the tract the *patwári* often has the whole matter of the distribution and collection of Government revenue in his own hands. Still it is wonderful how many of the *patwáris* possess the entire confidence of the villagers. Mr. Ibbetson writes:—

"No doubt a good deal goes on which we should be unable to approve of. I believe that only exceptionally scrupulous *patwáris* ever pay their bill with the village *baniá*, the great majority living free at the expense of the village. But I do not think that a *patwári*, who does so, is necessarily corrupt or extortionate. The custom is in consonance with the habits of the people; the burden is so widely distributed as to be hardly perceptible; and as the whole contribute equally, there is no temptation to partiality. So long as the *patwári* is impartial and not too luxurious in his style of living, the people are well content to secure at the price the good offices of one who has very much in his hands, and are, perhaps, not sorry to have little entries in *baniá's* account books which can be brought up against him in case of need; and the gratification is continued, as a matter of course, often, probably, without being asked for. But if he fails in these respects, there is trouble. Of course where such a state of things is discovered, it is necessary to take notice of it; but I am not sure that it is always wise to discover it. Even if it should tend to destroy his independence as between the Government and the village—which I doubt, for his appointment rests with Government—it also tends to keep him impartial as between individual villagers; and the latter quality is the more important, because so much the oftener called into play."

Village menials.

The menials or *kamins* form a very important part of the village community; and nothing is thought to be so effective an assertion of the poverty of a village as to say that the *kamins* have left it. They perform all the *begár*, or work not paid for by the job; and this includes the *sarkári begár*, or services performed free for Government officials when travelling. For this they are specially paid; and when, in 1820, Lord Hastings issued a proclamation abolishing *begár*, or forced labour as it was called, the *kamins* petitioned the Collector to revoke the obnoxious order, as, in the Collector's words, "they were deprived of "their only means of subsistence, as their services were no longer called

“for, and their allowance no longer paid them.” This is of course, an exaggeration; and forced labour is sometimes so taken as to be a real injury to the people. But for the ordinary services which the custom of the country prescribes, the givers are fully paid by the cultivators, who and not the menials, are the people to be considered. The payment to menials is made either by a share of the produce, or by a *kalak* or fixed allowance upon the plough or Persian wheel. The *begâr* is done by the various houses in accordance with a *thikar* or rotation list kept by the *thikar* Baniâ (see page 139 *infra*).

Chamârs or tanners or cobblers. They are in these parts by far the most important class of menials; for, besides their function as artizans, they perform a very considerable part of the agricultural labour. On the 11th of the second half of Jeth, the day after Dasahra, when the arrangements for the ensuing agricultural year are always made, the *lânds* and house-holds agree how many *Chamârs* each wants, and informs the *thikar* Baniâ (page 139 *infra*), who distributes the various houses of *Chamârs* among them by lot. Each *lând* then agrees with its *Chamârs* whether they will be *kamâi ke*, or *begâr ke*, or *sarkârî begâr ke Chamârs*. The *kamâi* or *lâna kâ Chamâr* (*kamâniâ*—to labour, to work at) receives either a twentieth or a twenty-oneth part of the grain produced on the *lâna*, having no share in any other produce; and for this he provides an able-bodied man to be always at work in the fields, and makes and mends all the boots and leather articles needed by the *lâna*. The *begâr kâ Chamâr* receives a fortieth or forty-oneth part of the grain; and for this he provides a man to work in the fields whenever special work is in hand, such as weeding, harvest, &c. He also gives two pairs of boots a year for the ploughman, and two for the woman, who bringst he bread into the fields; and one ox-whip (*narkâ*), and a leather rope *sântâ* to fix the yoke (*jûâ*) to the plough, in the half-year, and does all the necessary mending. The *sarkârî begâr kâ Chamâr* takes an eightieth or eighty-oneth part of the grain; and gives a *narkâ* and *sântâ* half-yearly, mends boots, and does Government *begâr*. Besides the above dues, the *Chamârs* always have some grain left them on the threshing floor, called *chhor*, often a considerable quantity. The *Chamârs* are the coolies of the tract. They cut grass, carry wood, put up tents, carry bundles, act as watchmen and the like for officials; and this work is shared by all the *Chamârs* in the village. They also plaster the houses with mud when needed. They take the skins of all the animals which die in the village, except those which die on Saturday or Sunday, or the first which dies of cattle plague. They generally give one pair of boots per ox, and two pairs per buffalo skin so taken, to the owner. They and the *Châhras* take the flesh also between them, the most usual division being that the *Chamârs* take that of cloven-footed animals, and the *Châhras* that of whole-footed animals and abortions.

The *Bârû* or carpenter receives a fixed allowance; generally 40 to 50 seers per Persian wheel, or half as much per plough; and a sheaf (*bhâr*) and small bundle (*gaira*) of corn; the *bâr* yielding perhaps 10 seers of grain and the *gaira* half as much. For this he repairs all agricultural implements and house-hold furniture, and

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Village-menials.

makes all without payment except the cart, the Persian wheel, and the sugar-press. The wood is found for him.

The *Lohār* or blacksmith receives the same as the *Bārhi*. He makes and mends all iron implements, the iron being found him.

The *Kumbhār* or potter gets the same as the *Bārhi* when he has to provide earthen vessels for Persian wheels. Otherwise he gets 12 to 20 seers per plough. He provides all the earthen vessels needed by the people or by travellers; and he keeps donkeys and carries grain on them from the threshing floor to the village, and generally brings all grain to the village that is bought elsewhere for seed or food (*bij*, *khāj*) or for weddings or feasts. But he will not carry grain away from the village without payment.

The *Chūhra*, *Bhangī*, or sweeper gets half as much as the *Bārhi* or often less, and a share of the flesh of dead animals as already noted. He sweeps the houses and village, collects the dung, pats it into cakes and stacks it, works up the manure, helps with the cattle and takes them from village to village. News of a death sent to friends is invariably carried by him. In villages where the women are secluded, he gets a daily cake of bread from each house in addition, or his allowance is the same as that of the *Bārhi*.

The *Jhūwar*, *Kahār*, or bearer gets about the same as the *Chūhra* and receives a daily sheaf of corn at harvest. He brings water to the reapers, and at weddings, and when plastering is being done; and makes all the baskets needed, and the *boriā* or matting and *bijniā* or fans, generally of date-palm leaves. Where the women are secluded, he also brings water to the house and receives a double allowance. He is the fisherman of the country.

The *Nār* or barber receives a small allowance, and shaves and shampoos, makes tobacco, and attends upon guests. He also is the person to go on messages (*gamīna*), and enjoys large perquisites at betrothals and weddings.

The *Dhobī* or washerman receives as much as the *Bārhi* in villages where the women do not wash the clothes; but only a small allowance, if any, in others, where he is often not found at all.

The *Teli* or oilman, *Gadrīyā* or wool-felter, the *Juddhā* or weaver, the *Chāmpi* alias *Lāgar* or dyer, the *Pūmbā*, *Dhunyā*, or cotton-scatcher, and the *Sonār* or goldsmith, get no fixed allowance, but are paid by the job; usually either by retaining some portion of the material given them to work up, or by receiving a weight of grain equal to that of the materials.

The *Dhānak* is an inferior sort of *Chūhra*, who will eat a *Chūhra's* leavings (*jhūā*), while the *Chūhra* will not eat his. They often take the place of *Chūhras*, and frequently weave cloth.

The *Dūm* or *Mīrāsī* are the musicians of all, and the bards of the tribes other than *Rājput*s and *Brāhmans*, whose *Bhāts* and *Jāgās* seldom reside in the district. The *Dūm* is the very lowest of castes. There are generally a few *Jogīs*—a low caste of devotee who take the offerings to *Shiv* and to *Gūgā Pīr*; and a few *Muhammadian faqīrs* who take the offerings to the *Muhammadian* saints.

The remaining inhabitants of the village are chiefly *Brāhmans* and *Baniās*. The former are the family priests of the people, and even among *Musalman*s play an important part in weddings. They live by

the offerings of their clients. The Baniás seldom follow any other calling than that of trade, though a few families cultivate. On *phág*, the day after Holi, they give a ball of *gur*, and on the day of the great *Diwáli* a little parched rice or some sweets to the proprietors, in recognition of the subordinate position which they occupy in the village. And on the latter day the *hamins* bring small offerings of articles belonging to the handicraft of each.

All inhabitants of the village have a right to graze a reasonable number of cattle, their own property, on payment of the recognized dues, to collect dry wood for burning, to cut such bushes or grass for thatching or ropes as they need for use in their houses and cattle yards, and to dig mud for bricks, &c., from the village tank. But a small cess for every axe or bill-hook is often taken from non-cultivators where jungle is plentiful. Cultivators have ordinarily a right to cut wood needed for agricultural implements and *pála* and grass from the common lands, except in villages where they are very limited in extent and insufficient for the needs of the owners. The manure of the cultivators is used by them in their own fields; but they cannot sell it out of the village. That of the non-cultivators is the joint property of the village; or, if the homestead is divided by wards, of the owners of the ward in which they live. It is kept in great joint stock heaps, and divided by the owners according to ploughs. The oilmen often pay Re. 1 or Rs. 2 on every press to the village.

Non-proprietary inhabitants are the owners of the materials of houses which they have built; but not, unless by purchase from the village, of the land on which they stand. But they cannot ordinarily be ejected from land they have occupied in or about the homestead, whether for houses, cattle-yards, fuel heaps, or the like, so long as they reside in the village and pay the customary dues, unless the land occupied by them is needed for extension of the homestead proper; in which case they would be ejected, and have similar ground allotted them a little further off.

The pay of the village watchmen is fixed by Government and paid by the community equally upon hearths. But the further duties of watch and ward are performed as follows by the whole adult male inhabitants of the village. There is in every village a *thikar* Baniá. *Thikar* literally means a shard; and, as lots are commonly cast with shards, is now used for any rota or roll by which duties are performed in rotation. The *thikar* Baniá keeps a roll of all adult males except himself and the headmen and their next heirs, who are exempt; and these males have to keep watch in the village at night in rotation, the *thikar* Baniá warning each as his turn comes round. In large villages there will be several men on duty at once. The roll is revised generally every 12 years to include men who have grown up in the meantime. This duty is called *thikar* par excellence, though the *thikar* Baniá keeps other rolls, such as the allotment list of Chamars and the like.

Table No. XXXII gives statistics of sales and mortgages of land; Tables Nos. XXXIII and XXXIII A show the operations of the Registration Department; and Table No. XXXIX the extent of civil litigation. But the statistics of transfers of land are exceedingly imperfect; the prices quoted are very generally fictitious; and any figures which we possess afford but little real indication of the econo-

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Village Communities and Tenures.

Inhabitants of the village generally.

Watch and ward.
Thikar.

Poverty or wealth of the proprietors.

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Poverty or wealth of the proprietors.

mical position of the landholders of the district. The system of village banking has already been described (pages 135, 136). The following remarks upon the change in the cost of production and the distribution of produce since the Regular Settlement, which are taken from Mr. Ibbetson's report, throw some light upon the present condition of the people of the district:—

"So far as rise in prices affects the cost of living to the cultivator, the proportional increase in the cost of production is, of course, no greater than the increase in the value of produce, and the cultivators reap the full benefit of the enhanced value of the surplus. But there is little doubt that, in all other respects, the cost of production has increased far more rapidly than has the value of produce. The price of cattle has probably doubled since 1840; at any rate that of the more valuable cattle which are needed for working the deep wells and stiff soil of the Bángar and Nardak, and which are for the most part not bred at home. And, if the people are to be believed, the cost of all implements of agriculture has increased almost in like proportion. The demand for fuel and the extension of cultivation have rendered the materials dearer, the enhanced cost of living has raised the price of labour, and the tendency which has so strongly marked our rule of late years to substitute contract for status and competition for custom has in some not inconsiderable measure relaxed the customary obligations which bind the village labourers and artificers to the communities among whom they dwell. It must be remembered, too, that the extension of cultivation itself increases the cost of cultivation so soon as it encroaches upon the pasturage of the village; for it then necessitates the substitution of stall-feeding for grazing, and the devoting a considerable portion of the cultivated area to fodder crops, which shall support the oxen needed to work the whole. This stage has already been reached in a very large number of the Khádar villages; while in the canal tract *reh* has too often ruined every acre of grazing in the village. Above all, in the canal tract, the price of water—that very important element in the cost of Indian agriculture—has increased since 1842 by 150 per cent. The increase of population which has taken place

since Settlement is very much larger than the corresponding increase in cultivated area. The general results are as shown in the margin. The Census figures of 1852 for the Nardak represented only a portion of the population ordinarily resident, as the drought had driven most of the young men away with the cattle, or in search of labour; and it is possible that the figures in general were not quite correct. But there can be no

Assessment circle.	Percentage of increase to date on	
	Cultivated area of 1842-47.	Population of 1852.
Nardak ..	12	79
Karnal Khádar ..	4	30
" Bángar ..	6	28
Pantpat Khádar ..	9	41
" Bángar ..	1	15

doubt as to the broad fact that population has increased far faster than cultivation has extended; and the sub-division of fields and holdings, and the fact that the two-ox has been substituted for the four-ox plough as the unit of account, tell the same tale.

"The tendency of over-population to produce over-cropping has already been alluded to. But even before this stage is reached, the revenue-paying capacity of the people is affected. The first effect of increase of population is of course to extend cultivation; its second effect is at once to render possible, and to compel the adoption of higher and more careful cultivation; and so far the increase is beneficial, though the minute sub-division of holdings always tends to destroy the elasticity of the revenue-payer,

by reducing the margin which can be made available in a time of difficulty, and by rendering a failure, when it does occur, more complete. But in the India of the present day, at any rate, and in highly-developed tracts like our Khádar and Bángar, a point is soon reached when the extension and improvement of agriculture fail to keep pace with the increase in the number of mouths to be filled; and directly this point is reached, the surplus left over from the gross produce after defraying the expense of supporting the cultivator in the style to which he and his followers are accustomed is encroached upon; and it is from this surplus that the revenue is paid. This question of over-population seems to me of the most pressing nature as regards tracts such as those under discussion. The fact that many of the Bángar cultivators have, as injury from the canal, reduced the culturable area of their villages, taken up land in Jind, by the cultivation of which they supplement the revenue derived from their ancestral holdings, is one of great promise; and I am in hopes that, as soon as the new canal introduces irrigation into the Nardak, an outlet will be afforded for the surplus population of the lower lands; unless, indeed it be closed by the antipathy between the Ját and the Rájput. But the disinclination of the Indian peasant to leave his home permanently and take up his abode in a new neighbourhood is well known; and I fear that difficulty will be felt in the near future. It is in fact, already felt in not a few of the Ját villages; but the tract as a whole is not over-populated as yet, and the question so far arises only in the case of individual villages, though these are too often the finest and best.

“A very considerable proportion of the cultivation is held by tenants who at present pay no rent to the owners; and though the tenants are, under existing circumstances, as much revenue-payers as the owners, yet they are, as a rule, much poorer, and hold much smaller holdings than the latter; and it too often happens that in a famine year many of the tenants are unable to pay, and the revenue falls upon the owners' shoulders. This is in fact usually the case in the Nardak, where true rent is commonly taken in the shape of a share of the produce, and where, therefore, the owner gets nothing from the tenant just when he finds it hardest to meet the Government demand on his own holding.”

SECTION F.—LEADING FAMILIES AND CHAUDHRIS.

The principal families in the Karnál district are—the Mandals of Karnál, the Kunjpura family, the family of the Bháis of Kaithal, now represented by the Bháis of Arnauli and Sadhowal, the Sardárs of Sikri, Dhanaura, Labkari, and Shamgarh (the present head of which last family is Sardár Sham Singh), the Pánípat families, and the Skinner family. The Kaithal, Ládwa, Thánesar and Kunjpura families have already been described in Chapter II, (Section B).

The Mandals, or as they are sometimes called Marals, are said to be a family of Múla Játs or Játs who have been converted to Islám. They generally call themselves Patháns, and they affect the Pathán affix of Khán to their names. They also sometimes assert that they are of Rájput descent, and the poorer Musalmán Rájputs occasionally marry their daughters to them; but under no circumstances would a Rájput marry a Mandal woman, and the latter marry only within the family, which being very limited in numbers, many of the girls remain unmarried. There is no doubt that they are of Ját origin. They come originally from Samáná in Patiálá, where the word Mandal seems

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Leading Families and Chaudhris.

Poverty or wealth of the proprietors.

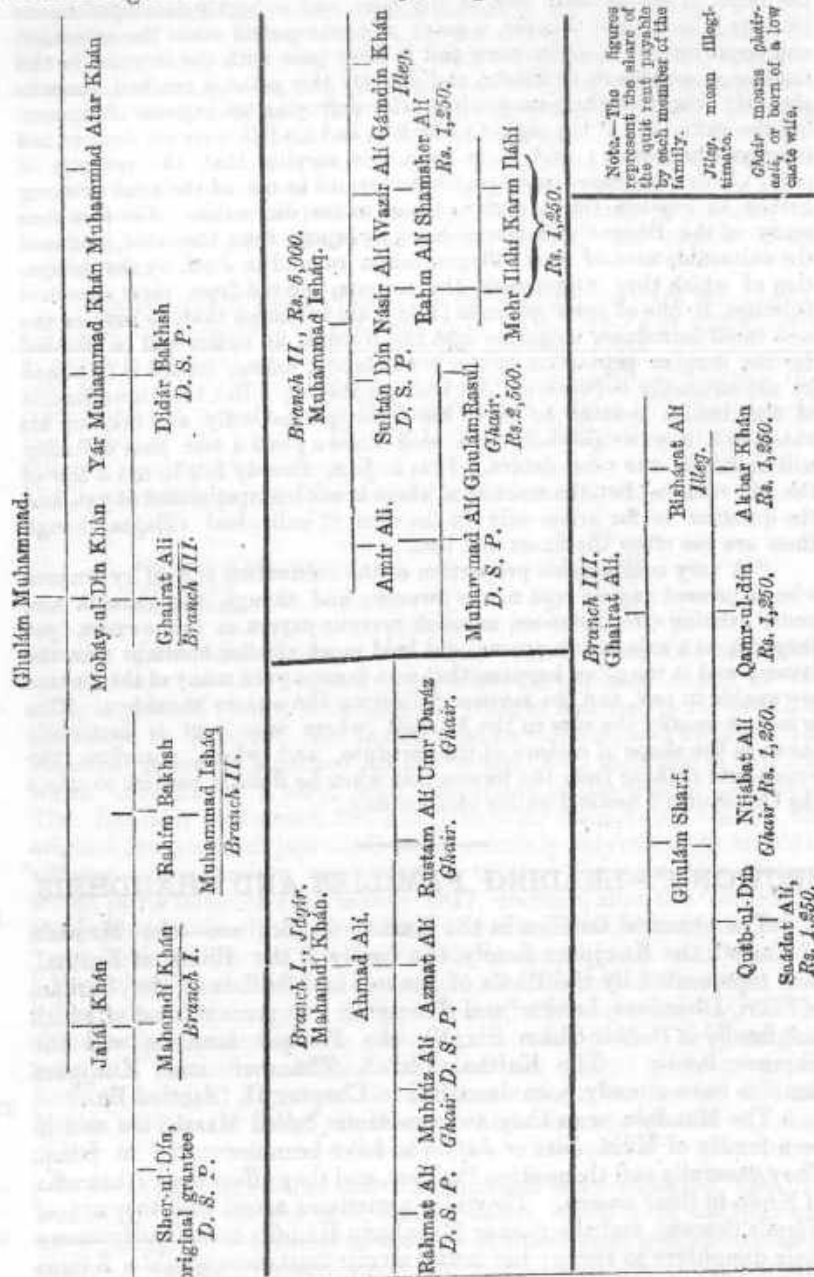
Principal families.

The Mandal family.

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Leading Families and Chaudhris.

The Mandal family.

to have some local meaning.* The family tree is given below so far as regards the Karnal family, daughters not being shown in it



Note.—The figures represent the share of the quit rent payable by each member of the family.
Idgír, mean illegitimate.
Ghair means plebeian, or born of a low caste wife.

* Cf : *mandala*, a platform on which guns are mounted; and *mandal*, the sacred space traced by the Brahmins at marriages, which is in the shape of a fort, with four bastions. The word *Mandal* appears to mean a village headman in Bengal. Another derivation is from *maral* with which this word is sometimes alternated. There is a tradition that an ancestor of the family was raised from the dead by a Saiyad, whence the origin of the name.

In 1780 A.D. Nawáb Majíd-ud-daula granted to Nawáb Sher-ud-dín Khán the *parganah* of Muzaffarnagar, Shoran and Chitráwal in the Muzaffarnagar district, on condition of his furnishing for Government service 200 horsemen fully equipped; and on the death of the grantee in 1789, the grant was continued on the same terms to his brother Mahamdí Khán by Daulat Ráo Sindhín. In 1806 this Mahamdí Khán, with his nephew Muhammad Isháq and his cousin Ghairat Alí, was in possession of these estates; and in accordance with the policy of Lord Cornwallis (Chapter II, page 36), they were induced to consent to an exchange of their possessions in the Doáb for an equivalent tract west of the Jamná. They accepted the proposal with reluctance; and it is said that the estimate that they submitted of the yearly rental of the Muzaffarnagar estates which they valued at Rs. 40,000 was much below the truth, the Collector of Saháranpúr estimating the real income at Rs. 65,000. The 63 villages in *parganah* Karnál, which were then assessed to Government revenue, were estimated to yield Rs. 48,000 yearly income; and in order to induce them to accept the exchange the more readily, it was arranged that they should receive so much of *parganah* Karnál as had not been already granted to others, comprising very many estates not included in the above estimate, and should relinquish the Muzaffarnagar service grant, Mahamdí Khán retaining, however, a smaller separate *jágír* in that district which had been assigned to him personally.

The transfer was effected by a grant signed by Lord Lake and dated 24th March 1806, the translation of which, made and filed with the Supreme Government records, runs as follows:—

“Be it known to the present and future *mutsadís, chaudhrís, qánwángos, muqdmns*, and cultivators of the *parganah* of Karnál in the *Sarkár* and *Súbah* of Sháhjahánábád, that the British Government has at this time for good reasons resumed, with the exception of their ancient *jágír*, the *jáidád* held by Mahamdí Khán, Ghairat Alí Khán, and Isháq Khán in the Doáb, consisting of the *maháls* of Shoran, Chitráwal and Muzaffarnagar, with certain villages thereunto belonging, from the beginning of the month of Asárh 1214F., and has in lieu thereof assigned to them the whole of the *parganah* of Karnál with its fortress and town, with the exception of the *sáyer, maáfi, jágír* villages, *yomia, pinarth, &c.*, which have been in force till the end of the *rabí* 1213F. From the beginning of the month of Asárh 1214F., therefore, the above district has been assigned by the British Government in *jágír* to the above-mentioned persons during the term of their natural lives. The *mutsadís, &c.*, aforesaid must consider them as the established *ámils*; and be ever ready to obey their orders, and pay the regular revenue to them. The aforesaid Mahamdí Khán, &c., must on their part exert themselves to satisfy the ryots by the justice of their rule; and must endeavour by every means to promote the welfare and prosperity of their country and its inhabitants, and act accordingly.”

The Mandals accepted the grant, but begged that some provision might be made for their children; and proposed that the *parganah* should be continued to their heirs on a fixed quit rent. The Supreme Government which, as before remarked, was only too anxious to get rid of lands west of the Jamná, and wished to make what was felt on both sides to be really a compulsory exchange acceptable, then added a supplementary grant, also signed by Lord Lake, and dated 9th April 1806, the authorized translation of which runs as follows:—

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"Beit known to the present and future *mutasaddis* of the *pargana* of Karnál in the *Sabah* of Sháhjahánábád that the villages of the *pargana* of Karnál to the amount of Rs. 40,000 have been granted in *jágir* to Mahamdi Khán, Ghairat Ali Khán and Isháq Khán, Mandals, for the terms of their natural lives from the beginning of the year 1214 F., with the exception of the established *maáfis*, *sáyars*, *yomías*, and *punarthis*; and as the aforesaid persons have never been wanting in their duty to the British Government, His Lordship had been therefore graciously pleased, from the regard which he entertains for their good conduct, to grant the above-mentioned villages, with the exception of the established *maáfis*, &c., to the heirs (*wárisán*) of the above mentioned persons, to be holders by them after decease in *istamrár*, on condition of paying for the same an annual rent of Rs. 15,000 of the current coin"

In pursuance of these grants, the three assignees were put in possession of the *pargana* on the 15th July 1806. The fort was shortly afterwards resumed on military grounds, and Rs. 4,000 compensation paid for it. They immediately began to quarrel with each other, the chief matter of dispute being Mahamdi Khán's claim to be considered the head of the house. On the 16th July 1807 they divided the villages among themselves by a deed attested by the Resident at Dehli, according to the following estimated annual value:—

			Rs.
Mahamdi Khán	...	...	15,000
Ghairat Ali	...	...	13,000
Isháq Khán	...	...	12,000

the city of Karnál and one or two other estates being still held joint.

Neither of the original grants had given any detail of the villages granted; but a list of the 63 villages assessed to revenue and estimated to yield the Rs. 48,000 was on the file; and in 1816 the Principal Assistant attached all the villages not included in this list, which constituted a very large proportion of the whole *pargana*. The Resident demurred, but held that the heirs (and one of the original grantees had just died) could certainly only claim the specified villages. The matter was referred to the Supreme Government, which in its letter of 15th March 1817, declared that the records at head-quarters clearly showed that "the intention of Lord Lake, which "was confirmed by the Governor-General in Council, was that the "Mandal chiefs should hold the *pargana* of Karnál in *jágir*, and their "descendants in *istamrár* on the terms of the second grant." The voluminous correspondence which ensued on the subject gives very full particulars of the history of the grant; and the papers forwarded with Supreme Government of India letter of 15th March 1817 to the Dehli Resident, which forms a part of it, show clearly that by "descendants" was meant "descendants in perpetuity."

Minor assignments of revenue within the Mandal holding.

In 1842 it was found that the Mandals were enjoying the quit rent of the two villages of Goli and Waisri, which were assigned at a fixed demand to a *Bairági* monastery in the former, and its branch in the latter village. Waisri was many miles from *pargana* Karnál; but Government, N. W. P., in its No. 1333 of 29th July 1852, directed that they should continue the enjoyment. In 1852 a question was raised as to who should enjoy the revenue assessed upon the subordinate revenue-free tenures which had been expressly excluded from the

grant, in the event of their resumption. The Government N. W. P., in its No. 2636 of 26th June 1852, ruled that though the Mandals were not entitled as of right to such revenue, which properly belonged to Government, yet the revenue assessed upon resumed revenue-free plots of less than 50 *bigahs* might be relinquished in favour of the Mandals; that entire villages, when resumed, should invariably lapse to Government; and that intermediate tenures should, in the event of resumption, be especially reported for orders in each case. Half the villages of Bahlolpur and Dingar Mazrah have since been resumed, and have reverted to Government; while a resumed holding of more than 50 *bigahs* was reported, and the assessed revenue, which amounted to Rs. 14 only, was, under the orders of Government, made over to the Mandals.

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Minor assignments of revenue within the Mandal holding.

In the mutiny Nawáb Ahmad Alf Khán did admirable service, and the Government of India, in its No. 1341 of 24th March 1858, to the address of Chief Commissioner, Panjáb, remitted the quit rent of Rs. 5,000 payable by him in favour of "him and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten in perpetuity," thus converting his *istamrári* tenure into a *jágir*. But the actual words of the grant would seem to be to "him and his male issue from generation to generation," and it is not clear that there was any limitation as to legitimacy. At any rate the two brothers of the present Nawáb Azmat Ali have been declared to be lawfully begotten.

Conversion of part of the *istamrár* into *jágir*.

In 1860 the Government of India affirmed the advisability of instituting primogeniture in tenures of this nature; the Panjáb Government inquired the wishes of Nawáb Ahmad Ali (see Government circular No. 2 of 25th May 1860); and it has been held by the district court in Azmat Ali's case of 1880 that Ahmad Ali executed an agreement to that effect, which had no binding value.

Primogeniture among the Mandals.

No sooner had the Mandal family settled in their new home than they began to quarrel among themselves, and their descendants followed their example with ardour. The family was too new and too limited, and their new style of too recent origin, for any custom worthy of the name to have grown up; and each was anxious to make for all the rules which suited his particular predilections or interests. By 1845 these disputes had risen to such a pitch of acerbity that they reached the ears of Government. For the next 10 years the Collector, the Commissioner, and even the Lieutenant-Governor himself, vainly endeavoured to induce them to come to some understanding, and to agree to some set of rules which should regulate the future interests of individual members of the family. In 1850 a proposal was before the Supreme Government for legislation which should make such family arrangements binding; and the paper to be drawn up was at first intended to be brought under the proposed law. Later on, nothing further was contemplated than to obtain an agreement to which the courts would probably attach more or less weight; and which would, at any rate, be acted upon privately.

Record of Mandal custom.

In 1848 arbitration was resorted to; in 1850 a code was drawn up; but in neither case was the consent of all the Mandals secured.

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Leading Families and Chaudhris.

Record of Mandal custom.

In the minute laying down lines for the revision of assessment of 1852, the Lieutenant-Governor urged further efforts to induce them to agree upon a code of rules, in failure of which "they must be left to fight their own battles, and ruin themselves." In 1852 and again in 1855, further drafts were prepared; but again objections, more or less frivolous, were raised. In the last code only one objection was raised, and that only by one member of the family. Nevertheless, apparently wearied out by the futility of all attempts to obtain complete agreement, Government abandoned the attempt to frame any administration paper for the Mandals. In Government No. 3826 of 23rd December 1855, laying down the lines on which the revision of 1856 was to be conducted, the Lieutenant-Governor wrote:—"It is not in the power of Government to compose these differences and to establish definite rules by any arrangement prescribed by means of its own authority. The *istamrari* tenure is subject in all respects to the ordinary operation of the laws and courts; and the hereditary grant, by the Sanad of 9th April 1806, is generally to the 'heirs' of the three first grantees. The claims of all persons who may be entitled to any portion in the inheritance must be received and determined by the court. The proposal to form a binding *dastur-ul-amal* under the superintendence of the Government officers can therefore no longer be persisted in, and the subject must be left to the voluntary agreement of the parties themselves, or to the courts of judicial decision." This was written, of course, long before the Pensions Act of 1871; but the principle here affirmed has been followed by the Panjáb authorities in their action in the case of Azmat Ali. See Panjáb Government No. 570 of 4th May 1878. In Appendix A to Mr. Ibbetson's Settlement Report will be found a complete abstract of the various customs of the family as fixed by the arbitrators in 1848, and as agreed to or dissented from in the four codes dated 1st April 1850, 30th October 1850, December 1852, and 24th July 1855.

Mr. Ibbetson thus discusses the nature and incidents of the Mandal tenures:—

Nature and incidents of the Mandal tenure.

"There is one point I would mention. It has often been stated that the *pargana* was given to the present holders in exchange for their ancestral estates in Muzaffarnagar. This I believe to be incorrect. The *pargana* was granted for life to the three original grantees in exchange for a grant which had been made to Sher-ul-din, and after him to his brother. The grant for life was made and accepted, and a formal agreement to that effect, dated 12th March 1806, was signed by the grantees; and the bargain, so far as any exchange was concerned, was at an end. The Government afterwards added, as an act of grace, and at the request of the grantees, the second grant dated 9th April 1806; and it is under the second grant that the Mandals now hold, the first grant having expired at the death of the grantees. This second grant formed no part of the bargain or exchange, as the correspondence mentioned in the preceding sections of this report clearly shows. The point is of importance; because a mere confirmation of an old grant made by a native government, or, what is practically the same thing, a fresh grant given in exchange for such a grant, would be governed by Regulation law; and there would probably be much more hesitation felt in prescribing any rules of succession than would be felt in the case of an entirely new grant originating with the British Government. The grant of 1858, which only affected

the quit rent, and did not otherwise alter the tenure of the *istamvāri* grant, necessarily falls within the latter category; and I believe that the same may be said of the second grant of 1806.

"Whether the *istamvāri* grant was or was not made in exchange for the old Mahratta grant, it is beyond question that the assignment of the tract now held by the Mandals to them was wholly the act of our Government. The village communities were, at the time of the transfer, in full possession of their rights in all the occupied villages; Government possessed only such rights in these villages as it possessed in all other villages, *viz.*, the right to receive the land revenue; and it is hardly to be supposed that Government, in making a grant on political grounds, intended to convey to the grantees any rights which, as belonging to the villagers, it was not in the power of Government to confer upon a third person. That no such possible transfer of property was intended seems clear from the Government letter quoted above, and from the orders which accompanied it, and which are printed at length in my assessment report. Mr. Secretary Thornton there speaks of leaving the subordinate proprietors to the mercy of an assignee of Government revenue; of the obligation lying upon Government to see that *no wrong be inflicted by the act of assignment*; and of the fact that there were *no doubtful claims of proprietary right to investigate, the village communities remaining in all their integrity the unquestioned owners of the soil*. The Government order goes on to say that the rights of Government were assigned to the Mandals, and that "the rights of the village communities had been imperilled by the assignment." It is true that villages which had been unoccupied at the date of the grant, and which the Mandals had subsequently settled, were declared to be their property; but *khālsa* villages in the neighbouring tract which were similarly settled by Colonel Skinner were under the same policy declared his property, though he held them purely on a farm of Government revenue, and solely on the ground of his having broken up the land as in this case the Mandals had done.

"That the early assessments were meant to be assessments of land revenue only, is sufficiently clear from the constant reference to the revenue rates used in assessing Government revenue in neighbouring tracts, which were made both by the Settlement Officers in assessing, and by the superior officers in confirming the assessments. It is true that in the early correspondence the Mandals are spoken of as proprietors. But similarly, in the *khālsa* tracts, the headmen who signed the engagements for land revenue are always spoken of as proprietors and the other owners as *vaijants* in the correspondence of the time. Nor can any argument be drawn from the fact that the Mandals took full rent from the owners up to the Settlement of 1847; for the same custom existed in every village and plot of land throughout the district of which the revenue was assigned, even though the full proprietary right of the rent-payers was undoubted, and has been since recognized and acted upon without question. [The whole question is discussed in Chapter V (Section B), which should be read in this connection.]

"The fact that the Mandal claims were limited to just so much as the Government was entitled to demand was clearly recognized in the very earliest correspondence of the day. In 1810 Mr. Fraser, the assistant, who practically ruled this part of the Dehli territory for so many years, wrote of the Mandals as follows, after sketching the position of a *jāgirdār* as a public officer of state and ruler under native governments:—"But though they hold the little of *jāgirdārs* under a grant or tenure so called, and receive the amount of the land rent of the district, by the British Government he is only looked upon as a privileged pensioner, and possesses

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neither the name nor authority of an executive officer under it. His power is quite limited; and his exercise of right extends only to the demand of the legal and regulated right of Government to the land revenue of that portion of territory specified in his grant.' I could quote many similar passages. As a fact, the revenue demanded by Government was in those days far heavier than the rent taken by the Mandals.

"Finally, I can say with the utmost confidence that the Mandals themselves fully recognise that their claims are strictly confined to the revenue which Government would demand from the estates if they were *khalsa*, and have never entertained the idea of preferring any claim to proprietary rights; though, of course, they would be ready enough to do so if such a course were suggested to them, and there seemed to be any hope of success. They have appealed again and again against successive reductions of assessment, including those now made by me; but the argument that they are entitled to anything more than the Government revenue assessed upon the land has never, I believe, been brought forward by them."

Present condition of the Mandals.

The constant and bitter disputes which have been rife among the Mandals ever since their first Settlement in Karnál, have had the effect which might have been expected upon their position as a family. Other causes, too, have contributed to their decay. As each generation increased the number of the family, the sons, all sharing in the inheritance of the father, not only were relieved from the necessity of earning their livelihood, but also felt it incumbent upon them to keep up as far as possible the style which was traditional in the family on a reduced income which was quite insufficient for the purpose. Being almost without exception uneducated, they fell wholly into the hands of an unscrupulous band of rapacious stewards, who found their interest in introducing them to money-lenders as unscrupulous as themselves. The decadence of the family began early. In 1817 Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote:—

"They have suffered much since they were established in *Karnál*; and the period of their transfer from the Doáb was the commencement of the decline of their prosperity. Their respectability, in all external appearances, has been dwindling away before my eyes in the course of the last ten years. It may be said with justice that their decline is in some measure owing to their own mismanagement, as they received an extensive district capable of great improvement. It must, however, be admitted that something unfavourable in the change must also have operated; otherwise why did not their mismanagement ruin them in the Doáb, where I remember meeting them in 1805, equipped in a style of considerable pomp and splendour. Their present appearance is very different; and their tone to me since 1806 has invariably been that of complaint."

Of course the position of a *jágir dár* was, as pointed out by Mr. Fraser, very different under Native and British rule; and this difference would have been felt even if the Mandals had remained in the Doáb. On the point of mere income, they have little to complain of. The revenue of the *parganah* is shown on the opposite page.

Year.	Assessed revenue.	Owner's rates.	Total revenue.	Quit rent.	Net revenue.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1806, estimate ...	40,000	...	40,000	15,000	25,000
1847, settlement ...	1,04,961	...	1,04,966	15,000	89,966
1852, revision ...	1,00,901	...	1,00,901	15,000	85,901
1856, do. ...	80,957	...	80,957	15,000	65,957
1876, current demand ...	80,058	...	80,058	10,000	70,058
1880, revision ...	60,670	14,595	75,265	10,000	65,265

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Present condition of the Mandals.

The assessments of 1847 and 1852 were never really realised, so that the reduction effected since then is partly nominal. Even excluding from account the remission of Rs. 5,000 quit rent in 1858 on account of special services, the net revenue is still Rs. 60,265 against Rs. 25,000 estimated in 1806. And the Doab was so comparatively fully developed in 1806, and the limitations of the Government demand which have been introduced since have been so considerable, that it is highly improbable that the revenue of their old holdings will now amount to so much as that of their present estate.

The present Mandals are by no means favourable specimens of Indian gentry. Ahmad Ali was a thorough gentleman, and a fine, intelligent, and active man. Muhammad Ali, who is just dead, retained much of the old style. But Azmat Ali, the present Nawab—for only the head of the family has a right to the title, though the other members are commonly called so—has been unfortunate, as all his father's care was spent on his elder brother, who died before him; and Azmat Ali is uneducated and unintelligent, though thoroughly amiable and respectable. His legitimatised brothers have gained a decree for two-thirds of his estate and four *lákhs* of mesne profits; and the result must be disastrous. Of the other members of the family, too many are ignorant, dissolute, unintelligent, and wantonly extravagant to an inconceivable degree. Their estates are heavily encumbered with debt; and they neither have nor deserve the consideration or respect of their neighbours. Even now the adoption of primogeniture would go far towards saving them; but in default of this, it is to be feared that they must inevitably degenerate into a horde of petty assignees, such as we have in Pánsbat.

The present state of the holding are as shown on the next page.

The revenue is that of the whole estate, inclusive of subordinate assignments, *indáms*, and the like.

This family derives its origin from one Kirpál Singh resident of village Gádhá in *parganah* Bhatandá. When a boy of 10 years of age, he came to Ládwa with his sister Máí Karmí, who was wedded to Sáhíb Singh brother of Gurdát Singh, Rájá of Ládwa. Shámgarh was bestowed upon him in lieu of the services rendered to the confederacy of Sikhs in the conquest. This estate was in his direct possession when General Lake arrived at Karnál in the year A. D. 1804. He had three sons by name Jai Singh, Devá Singh and Fátteh Singh. Jai Singh died during his father's life-time. Kirpál Singh himself died after two years in 1830, leaving as his heirs Dewá Singh and Fátteh Singh, who subsequently divided the inherited estate. The present

The Sardárs of Shámgarh.

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Present condition of the Mandals.

No. of family.	No. of holder.	Name of Mandal holder.	No. of villages.	Assessed revenue.	Owner's rates.	Total revenue.	Quit rent.	Shares in joint pro- perty.
				Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
I.	1	Nawáb Azmat Ali Khán ...	25	19,717	4,543	24,260	...	4
		Total of family ...	25	19,717	4,543	24,260	...	4
II.	2	Ghulam Rasúl Khán ...	13	9,867	1,520	11,387	2,500	2
	3	Mahr Iláhi Khán ...	8	5,096	1,435	6,531	1,250	1
	4	Karam Iláhi Khán ...						
	...	No. 2 half ; Nos. 3 and 4 equally half ...						
	5	Shamsher Ali Khán ...	10	6,971	735	7,706	1,250	1
		Total of family ...	32	21,934	3,690	25,624	5,000	4
III.	6	Saadat Ali Khán ...	7	5,671	1,906	7,577	1,250	1
	7	Qamar-ul-dín Khán ...	8	3,681	2,111	5,792	1,250	1
	8	Nijábat Ali Khán ...	7½	5,231	735	5,966	1,250	1
	9	Akbar Khán ...	7	4,436	1,610	6,046	1,250	1
	...	Nos. 6 to 9 equally ...	1	...	...	...	...	...
		Total of family ...	30½	19,019	6,362	25,381	5,000	4
		The three families equally on shares in column 9 ...	6	...	...	...	...	...
		Total of estate ...	93½	60,670	14,595	75,265	10,000	12

Sardár Rám Singh is the Grandson of Kirpál Singh, and is in possession of the estate. He is a well behaved man, but he has unfortunately run into debt, and does not live on good terms with the *samíndárs*. He and his brother Kanh Singh did good service in the mutiny, and got a remission of the computation for one year.

The present Sardár of Sikrí is Jawála Singh. He is the descendant of Bhág Singh a *kirdár* of the Rájá of Ládwa. He acquired possession of Sikrí with other villages making a part of the *jágir* during the period when the conquest of the Sikhs was in progress. Bhág Singh died in 1814. The present Sardár is illiterate.

Sardár Ujjal Singh of Dhanaurá is descended from Saddá Singh an Officer of the Mahárája of Patiálá. He was put in possession of Dhanaurá when the Mahárája wrested it from the Nawáb of Kunjpura. Ujjal Singh has a knowledge of Persian and is of good character. His grand-father assisted the Deputy Commissioner of Thánesar during the mutiny.

Sardár Amar Singh of Labkarí is of the same origin as Ujjal Singh of Dhanaurá. He is also a *jágirdár* in Dhanaurá with Ujjal Singh. He did good service in the mutiny of 1857. He supplied men for Government service and also showed personal activity in rendering assistance.

When the tract was first brought under settlement, the Colonel James Skinner, who made such a name for himself as a leader of irregular horse in the earlier years of this century, and whose biography written by Mr. Fraser forms such an interesting sketch of those times, obtained in fann a considerable number of villages

The Sardárs of Sikrí.

The Sardárs of Dhanaurá.

The Sardárs of Labkarí.

The Skinner family.

for the most part small ones, which had been more or less abandoned by the communities who owned them. He also took up the engagements for several of the larger villages, the proprietors of which had refused to accept the assessment. His management was vigorous and successful, he expended a great deal of capital in extending cultivation and introducing irrigation, his careful personal supervision ensured the success of the undertaking, and the Government officials of the time constantly bore hearty testimony to his qualities as a landlord. The people, who know him as Sikandar, speak no less admiringly of him. Their common expression with regard to him is "*wih to bádsháh the*"—"Ah! he was a king." He was a strict landlord, insisted upon receiving his dues, and made his speculation exceedingly profitable; he ruled his villages with a strong hand, and stories are still current of the evil fate that befel malcontents who complained against him. But he understood and liked the people, and treated them as they would be treated, he was personally known to all of them; he managed them through their own elders and made much of the headmen; and he knew how far a little seasonable liberality goes, and by distribution of turbans, a supply of sweetmeats for all who came to him on business, by keeping his ear open to all grievances, and giving substantial ready relief in really bad cases, he won their hearts and their confidence.

At the regular Settlement many of the large villages which he then held agreed that his farm should be continued, and refused to engage themselves. Most of the small villages, which had come to him in a very low state were then fully occupied by the original owners, such of them as had abandoned their homes having returned on matters improving. Mr. Fraser, the first Settlement Officer, offered engagements for these villages to the resident owners; but the Commissioner quoted a ruling of the Sadr Board to the following effect:—"The reclaiming of waste land had always been considered "by natural law and right to confer the best title to property. In this "country reclaiming waste land by the permission of the Government "has always, as far as the Board is aware, been taken as the best title. "Under this view nothing can be more erroneous than the course "which, during a certain interval, appears to have been followed in "Dehli of taking away lands from those who had reclaimed, peopled, "and continued to occupy them, and giving them to those who came "forward when they found a valuable property created to their hands, "on the ground of obsolete traditions of national or ancestral "possession. When land has been deserted, left waste, and returned "to its natural state, and no one is found on the spot to maintain "a claim to property or possession, it is the undoubted right of Govern- "ment, whose duty it is to promote the perfect cultivation of its "territory, to authorise any person who is willing to occupy the waste; "and such occupant ought, both in practice and policy, to be considered "the owner." This ruling referred to lands in Hariána, which had been "settled and reclaimed by emigrants from foreign parts;" and the villages here in question had been settled and reclaimed by the original owners, with the assistance of Colonel Skinner. The settlement officer, therefore, vigorously protested against the application of the rule; but the Commissioner directed that the engagement for

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Acquisition of villages in proprietary right by the Skinners.

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Acquisition of villages in proprietary right by the Skinners.

the revenue should be made with Colonel Skinner, leaving the owners' column in the records blank. His merits as a landlord were well-known, and in only two cases was any effort made to dispute these orders. The settlement of all these villages was made with Colonel Skinner at specially reduced rates, in consideration of the capital he had expended upon them. Colonel Skinner died in December 1841; and his eldest son, Major James Skinner, succeeded to the management of the family estate. The management would appear to have changed for the worse; for in 1853 the collector reported that every single village complained of it. A few years later Major Skinner died, and was succeeded in the control by Mr. Alexander Skinner, the present manager. The villagers attempted to have their farms cancelled on this occasion, but were unsuccessful. In the recent Settlement all the farmed villages have taken up their own engagements.

In 1851 the Government, N. W. P., issued a notification No. 4158 of 28th November (see Panjáb Revenue Circular No. 8 of 11th February 1852), directing that in all villages in which no owners had been recorded at Settlement (technically called *khánah kháli* villages) an investigation should be made, and where no very clear title was shown by other parties, the farmer with whom the settlement had been made should be declared owner and recorded as such, other claimants being referred to the civil courts. An investigation was accordingly made, and the Skinner family declared owners of all the villages held in farm by them which fell under the above description. Some few of the villages sued for proprietary rights, but failed on the ground of long adverse possession on the part of the Skinners. There is not the least doubt whatever that in almost all these villages the original proprietors were then residing and cultivating their ancestral fields; and it is almost certain that the villages were not wholly abandoned when they first came into Colonel Skinner's hands. The owners no doubt returned gradually, as they did in all the small villages of the tract; and very probably some of them were induced so to return by Colonel Skinner; and it is certain that he spent much money upon the villages, and greatly improved their condition. During the recent settlement the old owners who still reside in the villages sued for rights of occupancy; and without any exception, obtained them on the ground that they had been dispossessed of their proprietary right, and had cultivated continuously since dispossession.

The Kunjpura family.

The origin of the Kunjpura family is said to be that one Nijábat Khán of the Afghán Kákar tribe, resident of the neighbourhood of Kábul, came into this country at the latter end of the reign of the Emperor Furrúkhshír and got service; and in the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Sháh, having performed good service, was promoted to high rank, and received the title of Nawáb; and the *parganahs* of Indri and Azimábád, together with some other villages of *iláqa* Karnál and Badauli in the late Thánesar district, were bestowed on him as *jágir*. In the year 1729 A.D. he founded a town on the banks of the Jammá on a tract of land on which the *kunj* (a description of crane) used to alight in large flocks, and thus the town is called Kunjpura, though the founder called it after his own name, and was the seat of residence of the Nawáb. At that time

the income of the *jágir* is said to have been nearly 3 or 4 *lakhs* of rupees per year. Nawáb Nijábat Khán died in the year 1758 A. D. at the age of 75 years, after ruling for 35 years. Nawáb Nijábat Khán was succeeded by his son Nawáb Daler Khán, in whose time the estate began to be disturbed by the Sikh rule, and was reduced, i. e. several villages were taken out of his possession. In the year 1803 A. D. when the British rule commenced in this part of the country, the *jágir* of Kunjpura contained 37 villages. By the custom of the family the eldest son succeeds to the *jágir*, and the other members are entitled to maintenance allowance. Nawáb Muhammad Ali Khán is the present *jigirdár* of Kunjpura of 37 villages—*jama* Rs 32,444 per year. He used to pay two annas per rupee as service commutation to Government. During the disturbances of 1857 he performed good service to the British Government and remained loyal; in consequence his payment was reduced to one anna per rupee. He has no sons. His uncle Ján Báz Khán is alive, and has a son.

The city of Pánipat, considered as a landed estate, is divided into four *tarafs* or separate estates held by the Rájputs, the Ansárs, the Makhdúmzádáhs, and the Afgháns. These families are of sufficient importance to demand a brief notice of each. The Pánipat Ansáris or helpers of the prophet, are descended from Khwája Abdulláh Pir of Hirát, one of whose descendants, called Khwája Málk Ali, was summoned from Hirát by Sultán Ghiás-ul-dín Balban on account of his repute for learning, and settled at Pánipat. They intermarry only with Ansáris, Pírazádáhs, and the Saiyads of Barsat and Sumpat. Many celebrated men have sprung from this family. Among the most celebrated are—

- (1). Khwája Abdul Rizáq Bakhshi in Alamgir's reign.
- (2). Khwája Muáyin-ul-daula Dilerdil Khán, and his brother Zakaria Khán, sons of (1) and respectively Viceroy of Kabul and Governor of Lahore at the time of Nádir Sháh's invasion.
- (3). Lutfullah Khán Sádik Shams-ul-daula Taháwar Jang, also son of (1), tutor to Azim Sháh, warder of the Fort at Dehli during Nádir Sháh's invasion, and Wazír to Baháder Sháh, Farrúkhsír, and Muhammad Sháh.
- (4). Shakrullah Sher Afghánu Khán Izzat-ul-daula, also son of (1), *súbadár* of Tatta.
- (5). Muhammad Ali Khán, grandson of (3), and author of the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* and the *Bahrulmawwáj*.
- (6). Abdul Mulk, a celebrated saint described in the *Ain Akbari*.

The Makhdúmzádáhs or Muhájarin Arabs are descendants of Abdul Bahmán of Ghazrún, who came to India with Mahmúd of Ghaznavi, settled at Pánipat, and had a descendant, Sheikh Jalál-ul-din Kahi-i-aulia Makhdúm, from whom the family is sprung. His shrine has a *nilm* tree, the leaves of which are a sovereign remedy against *bhúts*; and no *bhút* ever attacks a Makhdúmzádáh. They intermarry with Ansáris and Makhdúmzádáhs only. From this family are sprung—

- (1). Nawáb Muqarab Khán, Governor of Gújrát in Jahángir's time.

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Leading Families and Chaudhris.

The Kunjpura family.

Pánipat families.

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Pánipat families.

Chaudhris.

(2). Shiekh Hasan, grand-father, and Sheikh Bina, father of (1), very celebrated surgeons.

The Afgháns, or Sherwáni Patháns, descended from Malk Sherwán Khán, who is said to have come to India with Mahmúd Ghaznavi. They marry only Patháns.

The Rajpúts, Tánwar family, said to be descended from Rájá Anand Pál of Dehli. The hereditary *chaudhri*-ship of *parganah* Pánipat belongs to this family.

The two hereditary *chaudhris* of *parganahs* Karnál and Pánipat, are Abdul Karim, Chauhán of Jándla, and Riásat Ali, Tánwar of Pánipat, both Rajpúts. There was a Ját *chaudhri* of Bala for the small group of villages belonging to Jind, but the office dated only from recent times. Both these *chaudhris* have now been made *zaildárs* of their respective *zails*. Under the Emperors, the Jándla *chaudhri* always enjoyed a considerable assignment of revenue, as shown by grants now in the possession of the family. Till the transfer of the Karnál *parganah* to the Mandals, he used to receive an allowance of 7 per cent. on the revenue of the *parganah* as *nánkár*. In 1820 this was commuted for an annual payment of Rs. 300, which the Mandal assignees continued to pay till 1850, when they objected to continuing the allowance on the ground that a Regular Settlement had been made. The objection was accepted, and the payment ceased. The other hereditary families of *chaudhris* in this district were formerly five in number.

(1). Mian Khán, Fazlú, Jhagrú and Hamir Singh, *lambardárs* of Siwan.

The above persons and their ancestors formerly had *jágirs* and *ináms* of considerable amount. An allowance of Rs. 60 per annum was in 1857 sanctioned to them for their lives. Each of them had equal shares. Of the original grantees Mian Khán is the only survivor.

(2). Jassi and Goría *lambardárs* of Keorak.

The circumstances of these two *lambardárs* were analogous to those of the men of Siwan. An allowance of Rs. 20 each for their lives was sanctioned under Government orders dated 27th March 1857. They had also an assignment of 28 *bigahs* and 19 *biswás* of land. Both of these *lambardárs* have died.

(3). Assá Rám of Malukpur.

This man, who has since died, was bestowed a grant of Rs. 10 a year by order of Sir John Lawrence, but it was disallowed under Government order, dated 27th March 1857.

(4) Hirá Lal, Narain Singh, Belú, Sadá Rám, Asadullá Khán, Jugrám, Birú and Hákim.

These *lambardárs* used to enjoy a *nánkár* of Rs. 200 in old times. In other respects their circumstances were similar to those of the family of Siwan, and an allowance of Rs. 80 per annum was in 1857 sanctioned to them for their lives in equal shares. The only survivors are Belú and Birú.

(5). Ghoso of Rámba and his ancestors had formerly a *maafi* of 48 *bigahs* of land, it is said since the time of Alamgir. An assignment of 24 *bigahs* and 12 *biswás* of land was released to him for life. He has since died.