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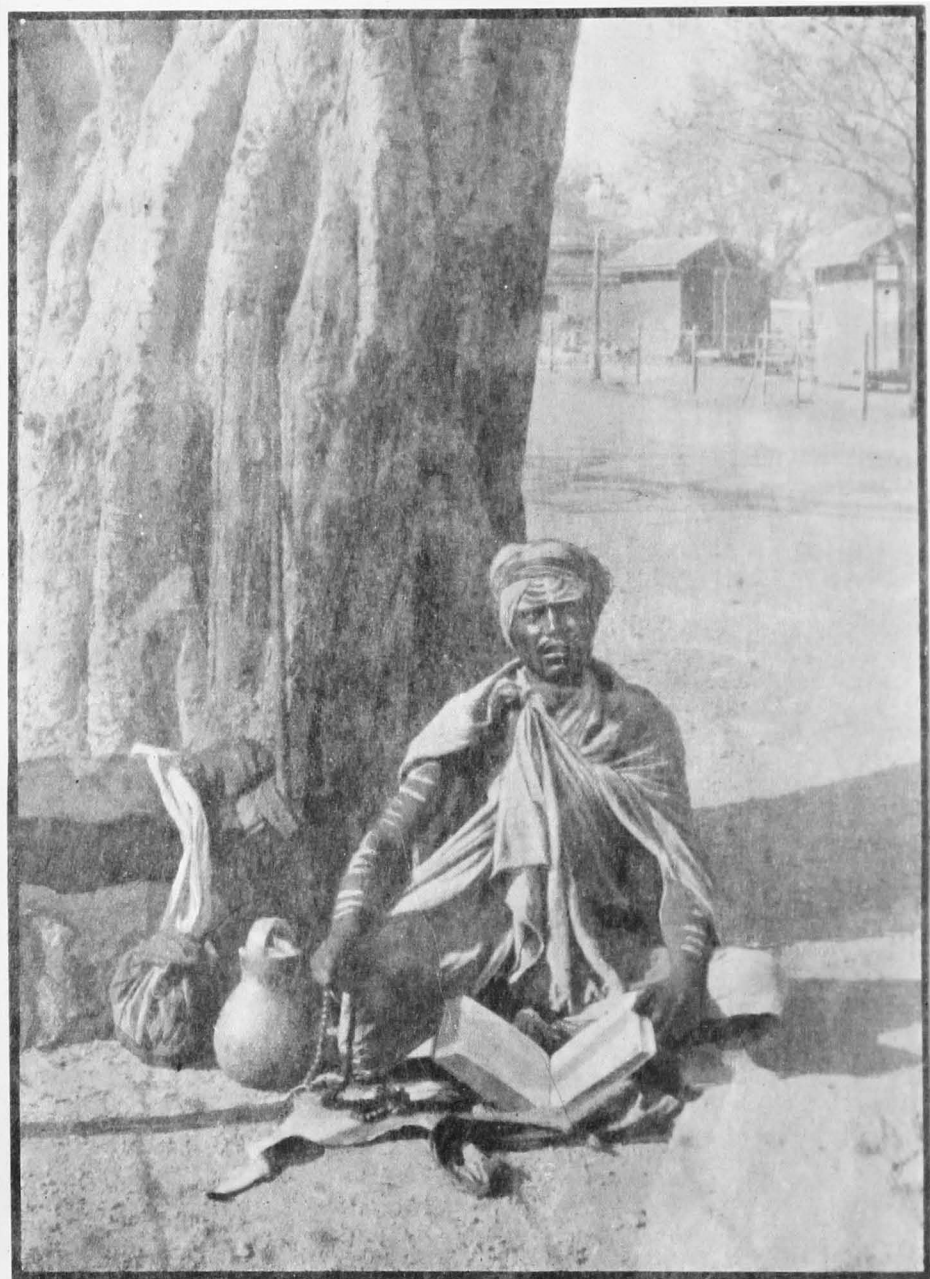


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Rare section

CRIMINAL CLASSES  
IN THE  
BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.



**A Dehliwal Bauriah 'kamaoo.'**

9015

NOTES ON *Rare section*  
CRIMINAL CLASSES

IN THE

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

WITH

*Appendices regarding some Foreign Criminals who  
occasionally visit the Presidency*

INCLUDING

*Hints on the Detection of Counterfeit Coin*

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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BOMBAY

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS

1908

[Price—Rs. 5-2a. or 7s. 6d.]

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## P R E F A C E.\*

THESE Notes, kindly revised, while the proofs were going through the press, by Mr. R. B. Stewart, M. A., I. C. S., Inspector-General of Police, Bombay Presidency, are an attempt to bring together and up to date in a practical form, such information as is available respecting the methods and distinctive characteristics of the Criminal Classes belonging to the Bombay Presidency and of certain foreign Criminal Tribes visiting it for the purposes of crime.

Ethnological and historical details, interesting though they no doubt are, have been avoided as being of no practical use to Police officers in the discharge of their duties in respect to the detection and prevention of crime.

To ensure accuracy and fulness of interesting and useful detail, Gazetteers, Police Records, Major Gunthorpe's Notes on Criminal Tribes, experienced Police Officers and reliable 'informers' have been consulted and the information thus obtained sifted and subjected to verification.

It may be conceded that no book on Criminal Classes can claim to be complete or final but will need revision according to varying circumstances and conditions affecting the criminal fraternity and the changes in their methods of criminality brought about thereby. It is hoped therefore that officers interested in the subject will be kind enough to communicate, from time to time, suggestions for additions and alterations which further experience and changing circumstances may indicate as desirable. Necessary amendments after verification will then appear in revised editions of the work.

The excellent illustrations interspersed throughout these Notes are the work of the Government Photo-zinco Department, Poona, from photographs taken by the Department or kindly supplied by Mr. D. Davies, Mr. H. M. Gibbs, Mr. Luck, Mr. Vincent, and Inspector H. R. Kothavala.

In respect to the notes on Sínsis and Minas, thanks are due to the Indore State for the loan, through Mr. C. Seagrim, Inspector-General of Police, Indore State, of 'informers' and to this officer for an interesting note on these tribes.

Acknowledgments are due, to Mr. Vincent for information obtained from his unpublished notes on some of the Criminal Classes and to the following Police officers in the Bombay Presidency for useful and interesting contributions and co-operation in the collection of material for the present compilation —

Sir Edmund Cox, Mr. W. L. B. Souter, Mr. D. Davies, Mr. W. A. Dubois, Mr. T. S. Greenaway, Mr. H. M. Gibbs, Mr. R. P. Lambert, Mr. T. G. Foard, Mr. F. H. Warden, Mr. R. MacTier, Mr. W. H. Luck, Mr. W. G. Clabby, the late Mr. H. Pogson, Mr. J. A. Guider, Mr. G. H. White, Mr. E. Priestley, Mr. J. A. Wallinger, Mr. K. C. Rushton, Rao Bahadur Mansukhrám Mulji and Inspectors Hector R. Kothavala (for notes on Oudhias and Chhapparbands), Biharilal Bansilal and Bhimaji Balaji Gudi.

Much of the labour incidental to compiling, arranging and verifying the information obtained from the above sources, has devolved on Deputy Superintendent Abdul Rashidkhan and to this officer, for his invaluable assistance always cheerfully rendered, the Compiler is specially indebted.

M. KENNEDY,

*Deputy Inspector-General of Police,  
Railways and Criminal Investigation,  
Bombay Presidency.*

POONA,  
*1st August 1907.*



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## APPENDIX I.

### Langoti Pardees.

The following note on Langoti Pardees by Mr. J. T. B. D. Sewell, District Superintendent of Police, Amraoti, is of general interest. Chapters II and III of Gunthorpe's "Notes on Criminal Tribes" should be read with this; as though many of the customs etc. referred to therein have changed, still it will be easier to trace the details from a comparison of the two compilations, the former of which was written about thirty years ago.

1. Pardees are frequently classed with Takenkars as if they were much the same kind of people: they may have been originally, but are now as distinct as possible. Pardees are Bowries, Takenkars are Wagris. It is not proposed to enter upon an ethnological discussion, but merely to classify these people from a police point of view.

The Pardees have long hair. The Takenkars only wear the *shendi* like other Hindus. The former do not wash after easing themselves, but use a stone or grass, etc., if anything, though it is alleged that mixing with Kunbis and others they are now taking to healthier customs.

Pardees invariably wear the *langoti*—hence their name. Takenkars dress like other Hindus.

2. Langoti Pardees must never be confused with Phas Pardees or Cheetawallas, as beyond the fact that they originally came from the same source, they are quite distinct.

Phas Pardees, in spite of the opinions of European sportsmen not unwilling to see them 'moved on,' do not commit crime, and are quite harmless.

3. The Pardees (and unless specially mentioned to the contrary, the Langoti Pardees are always meant) are subdivided into (1) Chowan, (2) Pohar and (3) Salonki. As a rule they marry girls from another class, thus a Chowan would marry a Pohar girl, and so on. Chowans worship 'Amba,' Powars worship 'Mari Mata,' and Salonkis 'Kali.' All their deities are called 'Bowani' and, as Gunthorpe says, they are very religious.



4. It is said that Chowan females will not ride in a cart or drink liquor. Powar women may *not* ride in a cart, but may drink liquor: and they will not eat anything which lives in water. Salonki women only draw the line at wearing red clothes.

5. Though Pardees talk Maráthi and Urdu fluently, their original language is *Gujerati* and their talk is said to resemble that of men newly arrived from *Gujerat*.

6. Men of Kūnbi, Mali, Teli and other superior castes may be accepted as Pardees, but the conversion of Muham-madans, Dhobis, Mahárs, Mángs, etc., is prohibited.

7. It will be seen that Gunthorpe says women may not wear silver anklets: my information is that wearing of silver 'below the waist' is the forbidden rule. I am told it is only the Salonki women who may not wear red. No Pardee woman may hang her *sári* on a wall or peg, but it must always be kept on the ground: a worn *sári* being impure must not be allowed on the same level as Bhowani.

8. Pardees always feed with their women and not before, as is the custom with other people. This is due to a woman having in olden times poisoned her husband and children.

9. The *pipal* tree is held specially sacred. There is a legend about this tree which connects with the custom of refraining from the use of water after answering a call of nature:—

“A Pardee went on a journey and being fatigued lay down and slept under a *pipal* tree which grew beside a river. On waking up he went and eased himself, going to the river to wash. By accident he scooped up a *pipal* leaf in the water he used, and therefrom resulted a grievous sore at his anus from which he suffered much torment and was like to die. Then he had a vision: the Devi appeared to him and told him his troubles arose from the disrespect he had shown the *pipal* tree. The man confessed his crime, did penance before the *pancháyat* and was instantly cured of his sore. Since then, however, water has been discarded for that particular purpose.”

10. As Gunthorpe says, “the new generation have taken to burglary” and that dacoity used to be their occupation. This is certainly interesting as showing that it is not only “ladies' fashions” which repeat themselves. In the course of conversation with an informer of about 35 years of age (evidently one of Gunthorpe's ‘new generation’), he told me distinctly that whereas all his class had habitually committed burglary they

had to a certain extent given this up and taken to dacoity. The reason being that the police got horribly inquisitive in the matter of burglaries, every burglary (probably rightly so) being attributed to Pardees : so that since 1896, the first famine year, his class had largely gone in for dacoity in place of burglary : they found it more social and easier. He didn't remember his folk going in for dacoity in the olden days, but they may have.

11. Pardees do not, as a rule, injure the people they attack : if all goes well and complainants give no trouble, then they do not hurt them, but they are quite ready and, if people resist, they will not hesitate to beat them. Ordinarily when committing dacoity they are armed with sticks and stones only.

12. In committing burglary they do not take any pride in the hole they make, nor have they any particular mode of breaking through from which the work could be recognised as theirs

They sometimes will dig nearly through a wall, leaving only a thin partition against which the leader will carefully listen before finally bursting through. Then when a hole is made big enough to get through, the leader strikes a match which he holds between finger and thumb, with his fingers stretched out so as to form a shade, and holding this in front of him so that his features are shielded, he has a good survey of the room before entering.

13. Pardees when about to leave their village for any purpose get a 'pass' from the *pâtîl*: this is called taking *dakhla* and is an informal business altogether, which was no doubt introduced by some zealous police officer. The system has in a way defeated its own object, and yet somehow with the swing of the pendulum it may almost be said to have effected it in a way not anticipated.

The *dakhla* was supposed not to be given except for legitimate purposes : consequently a Pardee absent from his village produced his *dakhla* as proof he was occupied innocently : the *pâtîl* also corroborated. Hence the abuse of the system. It has, however, been found that a Pardee never bothers about getting *dakhla* unless he means crime. Hence if a pass has been taken out it may be believed without doubt that the Pardee has left his village to commit crime. Experience shows that the *pâtîl* in almost every instance is aware of the real motive for which the pass is taken out.

14. Without wishing to be unfair to the village officer, I record it as my fixed belief (founded on information given me by many police officers of long service and exceptional experience and on statements made to me by Pardees themselves, and on statements by other responsible persons, and from my observation in cases that have come before me) that where Pardees live, there they live chiefly by crime, and that committed with the knowledge of the village *pátíl*, usually a 'receiver' of stolen property: where there is more than one *pátíl* then one at least of the *pátíls* is a 'receiver.'

15. It is quite impossible to bring their guilt home to these 'respectable' aiders and abettors, because in every village there are either 'factions' or 'no factions' and in the former case the evidence to be obtained is too tainted, while in the latter case no evidence at all will be got. The only way to cure the evil is through the Revenue authorities. That the Pardee is a habitual criminal is undeniable: he does not labour, he can't and won't; his hands are as soft as any clerk's, and prove he does no manual labour in the fields, which is what he professes to do. Village *pátíls* must be led to understand that until it is established that Pardees have taken to honest modes of living their presence in a village will tend to harm a *pátíl's* reputation.

16. Pardees occasionally convene what are called 'deokarias.' These are meetings at which 'ways and means' are discussed as well as caste disputes settled, and results of past offences related. Much food is eaten and liquor drunk. At these 'deokarias' there is no fixed ritual. Sometimes a buffalo is offered up, and as the flesh cannot be eaten by them or thrown away, it is given to a lower class of the Bowri tribe called Hadoti, which lives in Hyderabad, Deccan territory, some of whom are sent for.

17. The penalty for nearly every offence is a fine of so much liquor: that resulting from a man's sin is drunk by the men and that paid up by the women is drunk by the women.

The left ear of both men and women guilty of adultery is cut with a razor. A Pardee guilty of sexual intercourse with a prostitute is punished as if he had committed adultery. Pardee females are said to be virtuous. I have not had this verified, but am assured it is so.

18. At the 'deokaria' a large fry-pan called *karai* is brought in and *ghi* and sugar cooked. Sweetmeats are taken

out of the boiling oil by any Pardee who is pious or who is 'seized by the goddess'; he uses his hand instead of a spoon or other implement. To be able to do so is synonymous with virtue or integrity. An ear-cut Pardee is not allowed near the *karai* nor may his shadow fall over it.

19. Like all such people Pardees have their 'ordeals' and 'omens.' One test is as follows:—An accused person having taken oath is told to take out a rupee and a knife from a vessel of water placed within a space marked off with a circle—called a *kund*. He delivers these to the *panch*. There is no direct manifestation, but if the man be guilty, he will be afraid to touch the knife as his conscience tells him the goddess will punish him if he does.

20. Another test is for the accused to take a knife and going into water up to his chest or neck to there take oath of the goddess.

21. Yet another is for two men to stand within circles drawn in the sand of a river-bank and about seven bamboos distance from one another. Accused stands near one of them while a friend goes into the water. Accused touches one man and runs to the other, touches him and returns. When accused touches the first man the friend dives under water, and if he can remain below the surface till accused finishes his run, the latter is judged as innocent, but if not, then he is guilty; accused is then expected to vomit blood and die,—a not unnatural sequence if not in good training.

22. There is the red hot axe-head ordeal which is, I believe, not peculiar to Pardees, but I give it as mentioned. An axe-head is made red hot and the accused having twenty-one leaves (one source gives nine leaves) of the *pipal* tree on his hand the axe-head is laid thereon and he has to walk ten paces (one source says nine). If he can do so, well and good.

23. The following omens are believed to be unfavourable:—

- (1) meeting an empty water chatty;
- (2) a dog flapping its ears;
- (3) the bellowing of cows—though that of bulls is good;
- (4) mewing of a cat;
- (5) howling of a jackal;
- (6) sneezing;

(7) a snake passing from left to right—though if from right to left is good.

24. Pardees when arrested are very ready at bribing the police in the first place, and if not successful here, then they have been said to bribe Magistrates; at least they boast of having done so, though, of course, this cannot be true. They say they approach the police through the village officers, and the Magistrate through his reader.

25. 'Their 'informant' is known as 'heria' and this man, who is usually a 'respectable' man of some position, always gets his share.

The 'receiver' is called a 'ján'; thus Tookia's 'receiver' is always known and spoken of as Tookia's 'ján.'

It occasionally happens that one man combines the two offices.

26. The following technical terms are used:—

|                               |     |  |
|-------------------------------|-----|--|
| dacoity                       | ... | barbarra.                                    |
| theft                         | ... | isháli.                                      |
| burglary                      | ..  | joopda.                                      |
| petty grain theft             | ... | koomai.                                      |
| petty robberies and dacoities | ... | kooto.                                       |
| house-breaking implement      | ..  | kutturna (as on page 15, Gunthorpe's notes). |
| policeman                     | ... | káli kútri (black bitch).                    |
| stolen property               | ..  | gobur (cow-dung).                            |

27. As a rule they don't divide the property on or near scene of crime, but bring it home and divide there. Generally it is carried by one of the gang well behind the rest so as to enable it to be hidden if the party is challenged. This trick is common to the Bowries from the north.

28. I have noticed a tendency for Pardees to reside in villages on the borders of station ranges, especially ranges on the borders of taluqs and districts. They avoid giving trouble in the range where they reside and hence obtain considerable immunity from supervision. This should not be held to the discredit of the local police officer for he has enough to do to look after men who commit crime in his own range: he can't possibly deal with men who go outside until he is aware of their methods. Hitherto with the village officer and his 'pass' to shield the absent Pardee it would be hard luck on a station-house officer to call him to account for offences committed by his Pardees outside.

29. These notes are naturally very incomplete, as what account of the criminal classes would not be. But I have gathered together as much of what I thought might be interesting, as I could and hope it may be of some use to my brother officers.

I must record my thanks to Inspectors Abdulla Khan and W. Stacey for much valuable aid in compiling the same.

---

## APPENDIX II.

### Harnis.

The following is a note by the Inspector-General of Police, Panjáb, on the Criminal Tribes of Harnis, and is reproduced from the *Supplement to the Central Provinces Police Gazette* dated 3rd October 1906.

*A short description of the Criminal Tribes of Harnis or Harnies in the matter of their origin, mode of life, religion, etc.*

Some centuries ago Mahmud Ghaznavi, on one of his invasions of India, was accompanied by a body of Patháns, residents of Ghanur, a village near Kabul, under their chieftain Babr Khan. Mahmud Ghaznavi gave them the village of Mansuri, near Delhi, to settle in and here they remained for several years. They are next heard of in Bhutnair in Bikanir State, where they founded the town of Harnian Khaira. They intermarried with the Hindu Rajputs of the neighbourhood, and this is probably the reason why the present day Harni sometimes says that his ancestors, before becoming followers of Islam, were Rajput Chhatris. This is confirmed by the names of the eleven *goths* or clans (Tur, Chuhan, Lathik, Gujjar, Malak, Barang, Sanghaira, Leer, Ladar, Nandika, Powar), some of which are Hindu and the remainder Muham-madan.

In the year 1783 A.D. (Sambat 1840) a number of men of this tribe, if we may call it so, were forced by the severe famine then prevailing to emigrate. Numbers of them crossed the Ganges and settled in the United Provinces, where their descendants are known as Hairees and Banjaras. Another branch of this tribe is the 'Chirrimars' of the Sialkot District.

The remainder came into the Panjáb and took service under a certain Rai Kallah, a powerful chieftain, who held under his sway the country in the neighbourhood of the large towns of Raikot and Jagraon, in the Ludhiána District. These men were subsequently joined by their families and relations and were of the greatest assistance to their liege-lord, Rai Kallah, who employed them not only as *shikaris* or huntsmen, but also as mercenary free-booters and the latter, by making constant plundering raids on the lands held by Rai Kallah's

enemies, caused the possessions of the latter to be subject to a ceaseless series of harassment and rapine.

The indefatigable exertions of this band of freebooting mercenaries and their conspicuous and never-failing successes in this method of predatory warfare gained them the name of Harnis or Harnees. This name is derived from either the Sanskrit word *harni* (a thief) or from the two words *har* and *nahin*, *i. e.*, the never-failing or invincible. Some of the Harnis wrongly state that their name is derived from *harni* (a doe) and was given them by Rai Kallah on account of the activity of one of their number, who ran down and caught a wounded doe.

On the death of Rai Kallah, these Harnis, taking advantage of the disturbed condition of the neighbourhood, made themselves masters of the five villages of Chimna, Malak, Panheeni, Sangatpura and Leelan in the Jagraon *ilaga*. They continued their predatory habits and carried them to such extremes that in 1818 A. D. (Sambat 1875) General Sir David Ochterlony brought their conduct to the notice of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, who ordered the Raja of Kapurthala, in whose territories these Harni villages lay, to banish them.

Nothing is known of this tribe from then till 1847 A. D. (Sambat 1904), but it is probable that, in this interval, a number went away and settled at Burj Lamra, a village near Ludhiána, while others went and established themselves in parts of Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Kapurthala and Faridkote, where they are still found to some extent.

In 1847 A. D. this tribe was permitted by a Mr. Kewell (? Campbell), a British Settlement Officer, to establish themselves in the villages of Bir, Tappar and Kiri, in the jurisdiction of Jagraon police station, Ludhiána District.

In the adjacent village of Bodalwála, some Harnis, who had for many years been in the service of the Rajas of Kapurthala, had taken up their residence after payment of a large sum of money, while the Harnis of the neighbouring village of Meerpur were located in it about the year 1850 A. D. by Moulvi Rajab Ali of Jagraon. In 1873 small numbers of Harnis were found in some twenty-nine other villages in Ludhiána District. The total number of Harnis in Ludhiána District at that time was 463 men, 510 women and 1,075 children. The total amount of land in their possession was only 1,725 bighas (owned by 185 individuals) and the



inadequacy of it to support them drove the Harnis to committing burglaries and dakaitis which extended over half the Panjáb and many of the Native States adjoining it. In spite of the faulty identification of criminals of that period, the police registers showed that 202 Harnis had been convicted of one or more burglaries or other offence against property.

It is as well to discuss the *modus operandi* then in vogue among them for committing crime before the Criminal Tribes Act was put in force among them.

Then, as now, the Harni never committed any offences locally, beyond the theft of grain or standing crops or the occasional theft of a stray goat or cow, which were almost immediately killed and consumed.

They invariably journeyed to other districts for their offences and, to prevent local hindrance or obstruction, paid a fixed poll-tax, for each individual going on thieving expeditions, to their own headmen, a *chaukidar*, as well as to the local police.

It is estimated that, at that time, 125 to 150 persons would sally forth every month for the purpose of committing crime and acquiring plunder. If the local police attempted to interfere with these expeditions, the Harnis would retort by plundering in their jurisdiction and the same local terrorism was exercised over headmen, neighbours, etc., by destroying the crops of all those who opposed or gave evidence against them.

Disguised as beggars (*fakirs*), quacks (*hakims*), travelling merchants or potters, they would set out in gangs of ten or twelve able-bodied men, generally accompanied by one or two very feeble old men and a couple of boys. They were invariably accompanied by a 'khumar' or potter and a few mules or donkeys, whenever they were passing themselves off as grain merchants; on occasion they took a few sheep or goats along with them and represented themselves to be butchers or cattle dealers.

Every party had a burglarious implement (generally a *sabbal* or long iron nail), a box of lucifer matches, a sickle and a sharp pocket-knife. Having encamped, the young men would visit neighbouring villages and mark out the most convenient places for their purpose.

In the evening, having reassembled, discussed the results of their inquiries and appointed a fresh rendezvous, the old

men and boys would proceed to the latter, while the remainder of the gang broke up into parties of four. Each party would then set off to the place it was determined to rob. With the sickle four stout sticks would be cut for weapons in the event of their being surprised and pursued. One of the party was left outside the village in charge of the shoes and superfluous clothes of the party and the remainder entered the village.

One man hid himself in a lane, adjoining the scene of the proposed burglary, to keep a watch for the local watchman or any stray passer-by, a second would quickly dig a hole in the roof or wall of the house and enter, leaving the third at the mouth of the aperture to receive the stolen property passed out to him.

The lucifer matches would now be used to guide the burglar to any property worth appropriating, while the sharp pocket-knife was brought into play in cutting open bags or leather boxes or the strings securing the ends of necklaces worn by sleeping women and children.

Having completed their work, these three men would rejoin the fourth outside the village, and, proceeding for some distance over turf or hard ground, would then put on their shoes and proceed to their rendezvous.

Their plunder and implements of burglary would be carefully buried in some adjoining sand-hill or underneath the roots of a tree until their next march.

Day by day the process was repeated until the approach of moon-light nights. All valuable property, such as money, jewellery, etc., would then be made over to one man who would proceed home alone by a separate route, while the remainder would stuff all stolen clothing, etc., into large sacks, filling up the mouths of the latter with cotton or hemp. They then placed these sacks on their animals and returned home by the ordinary route, the old men and boys riding on the animals, while the remainder of the gang walked in twos or threes at some distance in front or behind to guard against any sudden attack. At ferries especially, and also at other places, where they were likely to be suspected, they, if possible, mounted lepers on their animals, and finally crossing the Sutlej, principally at the ferries of Tihara, Sidhwan, Pandari, where the boatmen were in their pay, they made their way to their villages.

The property would be equally divided between the members of the gang (except that the burglar, or individual

who entered the burgled houses, received a double share in consideration of the additional risk of capture, incurred by him) and sold to neighbouring *zamindars* or *mahajans*, the 'purchaser' inspecting the stolen property in the Harnee villages and the property being subsequently taken to his house by Harni women and children. Such was the *modus operandi* of the Harnees of this district (with the exception of the Gownimar Harnis who live in the village of Kiri and whose *modus operandi* will be described hereafter) previous to the year 1873, in which the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act (XXVII of 1871) were put into force and the excursions of the Harni gangs of burglars checked. The enforcement of this Act, the extensive introduction of railways and the greater facility gained therefrom by the police of different districts in co-operating with one another, and lastly the arrest and conviction of a great number of Harnis (who had been concerned in a vast number of cases throughout the Panjáb and its adjoining Native States), by Mr. J. P. Warburton, then District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiána, have caused the Harnees to seek more distant fields for their attention.

The present *modus operandi* of the Harnis will now be discussed. In the village of Kiri in this district, as well as in one village near Kartarpur in the Jullundur District and in one or two villages in Hoshiarpur District, resides a branch or clan of the Harnis known as 'Gownimars.' The name is derived probably from *gooni* (a theft) and *marna* (to commit), hence theft committers or thieves (practically the same meaning as that of Harni).

This clan, now as heretofore, commit practically only one class of offence, their women, while young and comely, take up their residence in the houses of the rich as servants, mistresses or wives. After some time they either seize a convenient opportunity to make over all articles of jewellery or other valuables, that they can conveniently seize, to some one of their male relatives who has visited the house, generally in the guise of a religious mendicant or *fakir*, or else they take all the valuables they can and vanish, leaving behind them as souvenir any children they may have borne to their masters or husbands. Sometimes these Gownimars will enter in disguise houses, in which marriage or other ceremonies are taking place, and steal anything they can.

The remainder of the Harnis now commit only the following offences, of which I shall point out any facts of interest.

No Harni will commit in his own *ilaga* (*i.e.*, the limit of the jurisdiction of his police station) any offence other than perhaps the theft of standing crops or of a stray goat or cow.

If a Harni, bent on plunder, cannot obtain the co-operation of other Harnis he will join local bad characters or members of other criminal tribes, chiefly Sansis, and commit burglaries with them. A Harni will seldom or never commit any offence, other than petty thefts, single-handed. The main characteristic of their burglaries is the very small hole by which they make their way through the roof or wall of the house burgled. These holes are generally very neatly made and are made with a *sabbal* or long iron nail, with or without a wooden handle; when not in use, a loop of string having been affixed to the handle of the *sabbal*, the arm, as far as the shoulder, is passed through the loop, leaving the *sabbal* to hang down and escape notice between the arm and the side. Their usual offence is burglary (attended by *dakaiti* or violence if surprised or opposed) and in many cases of burglaries committed by them, necklaces and other ornaments are removed or wrenched from off the bodies of sleeping women and children. When wandering about India in disguise, they either join local bad characters in burglaries or other offences or else commit petty thefts single-handed.

The following are their principal venues :—

(1) The Panjáb, south and east of the districts of Rawalpindi and Jhelum (though they have been arrested as far west as Multan), and its adjoining Native States, but chiefly the districts of Hoshiarpur and Ambala, and ~~the~~ Native States of Patiala and Faridkote.

(2) Burma.

(3) The Dekkan. A small number are now said to be present at village Parbani, police station Parbani, in Hyderabad.

(4) Bombay Presidency. Some are said to be living in Násak in Násik District.

(5) Guzerát. A number have been and now are living in Surat, where they visit the shrine (*dargah* or *khandah*) of Timur Shah, the *pir* or saint of the Banwa or Benawa Faquirs.

(6) The Central Provinces and Nágpur.

(7) Bombay City.

They visit those places in the following roles :—

A—Jugglers and acrobats.

B—Fakirs.

C—Gurzmars or Gurgmars.

D—Mirasi or singers and players.

E—Potters.

F—Banjaras or Baisatis or grain merchants.

G.—Husbandmen.

As A, they will nearly invariably describe themselves as Ranjars or Muhammadan Rajputs.

As B and C, they will state that they are Ranjars (Rajput Muhammadans) or Qadria Fakirs, Benawa or Banwa Fakirs, or Gurzmar Fakirs. If asked their Shijra or Fakir genealogy they will trace it back to the prophet Ali, and state (in many instances) that their *pir* or saint is Timur Shah of Surat.

As D, they will pass themselves off as Mirasis or Qalandars.

As F and G, they will make out they are Rains or Arains.

Note 1.—In Bombay City they are always found as Fakirs.

Note 2.—They are never seen in any but Muhammadan disguises and are said to be able by a special method of applying a compound containing cocoanut oil to make the hair on their heads and faces grow rapidly.

Note 3.—In Bombay, they nearly always prostitute their womenfolk and beg themselves and make a large income by both livelihoods, as paid-off native sailors and lascars will spend their arrears of pay on the wife, while the husband will trade on the susceptibilities of the generous and reap a rich harvest.

Note 4.—When going to Bombay they go by the narrow gauge railway *via* Bandikui, at which place there is a rich Muhammadan butcher, who sends them, in their guise of Fakirs, free of charge to Bombay in the trains which convey his animals there weekly.

Note 5.—The inhabitants of Bodalwála and Tappar generally go to Nágpur and the Dekkan, those of Bir and Mirpur to Bombay and Burma, while the inhabitants of Kiri seldom go beyond the Panjáb.

Note 6.—As Fakirs they generally wear an 'alfi' or long robe of thick cloth or blanketting.

Note 7.—In nearly every case they will say their ancestors were Rajputs, and in this district, the Harni will often describe himself Rajput *alias* Harni or Rajput *urf* Harni.

If questioned they will invariably state they are residents of districts beyond or adjoining the Sutlej, such as Jullundur and Ferozepore, or else a Native State such as Patiala or Faridkote, where the inhabitants speak a dialect similar to their own.

If, however, they are suddenly and boldly accused of being Harnis, they will often admit the fact.

As a Harni will never, if he can avoid doing so, eat his bread dry, *ghi* or clarified butter will nearly invariably be found in their baggage, except when they are masquerading as faqirs, in which case they will invariably beg or buy some *ghi* to eat with their meals.

When abusing their children they often use the expression 'phot Allah maria,'—may God smite you.

If any persons are suspected of being Harnis, their fingerprints should immediately be sent to the Phillour Bureau, where finger-prints of every registered Harni above the age of twelve are kept.

In religion the Harni is, according to his lights, a strict Sunni, but his religion does not keep him from a desire for and appreciation of alcoholic liquors,—a desire which he will generally gratify on any 'red letter' day.

The average height of a full grown male Harni is about five feet seven inches. They are well made, muscular and sinewy. Being taught habits of activity and endurance from their childhood, they are extremely hardy and have been known to proceed to a spot ten or fifteen *kos* (twelve and a half to nineteen miles) away, commit a burglary and return between nightfall and dawn.

Their food is principally bread made from wheat flour or crushed Indian corn. They are generally monogamous, though a few have a second wife, and the men invariably marry women of their own tribe. The majority of them are absolutely uneducated, nor do they desire education.

Their language is Panjābi, but they use so many words of their own that two Harnis can carry on a conversation without an outsider understanding them. The most common of their words are 'tusian' (policeman); 'dhariwala' (a station house officer of police), 'dhotni' (a woman), 'damrid of Chhetra' (a rupee).

They will absent themselves without permission from their villages for long periods, during their absence remitting sums

of money to their relatives through the post office at Jagraon.

When tired of their wanderings, they often return home and surrender themselves to the police, and by telling a piteous tale of woe as to how they were forced by want and the lack of any means of livelihood to leave their villages without permission, as their applications for passes or tickets-of-leave were either refused or never replied to, often get off with a light sentence as six weeks' imprisonment, and thereafter return to their villages to live on the proceeds of their wanderings.

Those living in the neighbourhood of their villages are loth to prosecute or give evidence against Harnis, as they very often carry on intrigues with Harnee women, while they are in fear of the Harnis in retaliation destroying their crops and ricks.

In the Ludhiána District there are at present the following registered male Harnees (of above twelve to fourteen years of age). The finger-prints of all such are taken and kept at the Central Bureau at Phillour, but the fact that a suspected man's finger-prints are not traced at Phillour is not absolute proof that the man is not a Harni, as several have absconded and do abscond when served with a notice to show why they should not be brought under the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act:—

|   | Number registered. | Number exempted for life from provisions of Act XXVII of 1871. | Number who have been convicted of any offence. |
|---|--------------------|--|--|
| In Kiri, Badalwal, Bir, Mirpur, Tappar ... .. | 727                | 38   | 387  |
| In other villages ... ..                      | 267                | 28   | 77   |

## APPENDIX III.

### Harnis.

Another account of the present-day methods of Harni criminals is reproduced in the form of extracts from a very interesting and instructive report, dated 26th January 1907, on the tribe, by Mr. Frank Clough, Officiating Superintendent of Police, Ludhiána, in the Panjáb.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is now necessary to describe the actual methods employed by the Harni in the commission of burglary or *tápá*, and this is all the more important that other criminals have copied his methods in them and offences committed in this manner can no longer be attributed solely to the Harni, although there is no doubt that he is far bolder and far more skilful and workmanlike in burglary and *tápá* than his imitators.

In committing *tápá*, one man steadies himself against the wall and holds his hands, palms upward, at his shoulders. Another then jumps on his back and places a foot on each hand and is lifted up until he can reach the top of the wall and draw himself up. His descent is made in the same way or by leaping down.

Sometimes only one of the gang enters the courtyard or climbs on the roof; sometimes one or more of his companions will follow him, in which case they will often stand over the sleepers (especially if any be men) with their sticks, ready to beat or frighten them into remaining quiet, should they awake, and deter them from raising an alarm or from attempting to seize any of the gang.

In some cases the gang will quietly fasten the courtyard doors of neighbouring buildings from the outside by putting the chain over the hook; then one of the gang enters the courtyard of the house, the occupants of which are to be robbed, and quietly opens the door of the courtyard from inside to admit his fellow criminals. Should any alarm be raised, the burglars beat the occupants and vanish and the neighbours are hindered, at least for some time, from coming to the assistance of those robbed.

In the commission of *tápá*, ornaments are sometimes cut, sometimes wrenched, and sometimes (as in the case of earrings) torn from off the persons of the sleepers.



Before committing *tápá*, one of the gang will often enter the village as a *faqir* or religious mendicant, and obtain a good knowledge of the ins and outs of the houses and of the ornaments worn by the women and children. The *sabbal* or instrument of burglary is like a long nail (without the head); both the body and tip are round (although in some the tip has four sides) and it resembles a well-sharpened lead-pencil, except that the tip is more gradually rounded off. It is made of iron, heated and beaten into shape, is usually about fifteen to eighteen inches in length, an inch in diameter at the thickest part, and about a pound and a half in weight and has a hole bored through the top, which is carefully rounded off. Through this hole a piece of thick string or thin rope is passed and tied so as to form a loop. This is slipped over the arm tip to the shoulder and causes the *sabbal* to hang down the side between the arm and the body and remain unnoticed.

The other necessary articles, such as the sickle, matches and knife are concealed on the persons of one of the gang. The instrument of burglary is never kept in their houses, but concealed elsewhere and only taken when they are actually setting out for the offence. The sickle or *dátri* has a very toothed or saw-like edge. Before setting out, they eat sweet rice (the reason for which is not apparent but is probably due to superstition). In former days they took a *huqa* with them, now they take a small *narela* (a *huqa* with a short stem, often no mouth-piece, and the receptacle for water consisting of a cocoa-nut) or more often merely a *chilum*. Before stripping for the fray and leaving their clothes outside the village in which the offence is contemplated, the gang will have a smoke, for they are devoted followers of the goddess Nicotine.

Each man having taken up his proper post, if the offence determined on be a burglary, the burglar cleverly selects a weak spot in the wall next the ground and sometimes in the roof and begins to dig through it; in the former case digging into the ground at the same time, so that he may get under the wall to some extent. The work is quickly done, as the Harni pushes his *sabbal* into the wall and wrenches parts away rather than digs them out. The sound made is very very slight and not likely to awaken a sound sleeper. In a comparatively short time, say half an hour to an hour, a hole is made up to the plaster of the inner side of the wall. A

small hole is made in this and the plaster is carefully broken off into the burglar's left hand so that it may not fall on the ground and wake the occupants of the room. As portions of the wall are dug away, they are pushed back by the burglar to the man outside the hole, whom I shall hereafter call the assistant, and placed outside so as to leave the hole quite clear. As soon as the hole is sufficiently large, the burglar rounds his shoulders as far as possible, crosses his arms, the hands being in front of his head and enters the room noiselessly.

The burglar is said by Mr. Warburton to enter the room feet foremost and leave it head foremost ; but in an illustration given me of a burglary, the burglar's head was the first part of his body to enter the room and the last to leave it.

Stepping across the room without a sound, he speedily locates the receptacles containing property (using if necessary a sulphur match). If he can cut open the receptacle, he does so ; if not, he coils a fold of cloth round the point of the *sabhal*, inserts it in the hasp of the lock and, by using a little leverage, breaks the lock open with very little noise.

He will sometimes cut off from a sleeping woman or child a *pouchi* (bracelet fastened with string) or a *hamail* or *kanthi* (necklaces with string fastenings).

As soon as the burglar enters, his assistant comes into the hole and lies there with his face just in the room. Both men have a loose fold of their *pagris* or small turbans tied low down over their eyes, to protect the eyes from dust rather than to guard against recognition.

The burglar hands out articles of value to his assistant who rapidly deposits them outside and, when they have taken all they want, they decamp.

Should one of the occupants of the room stir or begin to wake, the assistant glides out of the hole and the burglar noiselessly and with incredible rapidity assumes his place, seeing what is going to happen. Should the sleeper be thoroughly aroused and become suspicious, both vanish and leave the village with what they may have obtained. Should the sleeper sink into sound sleep again, the burglar enters the room and continues his work.

In some cases the occupant of the room will be aware of the burglar's presence but will be quiet through fear and raise no alarm until the burglar has finished his task and gone away.

If, owing to the nature of the ground, they are obliged to leave tracks, they avoid detection by tying pieces of cloth round their feet, or by treading on their toes and distorting, as much as possible, the prints of their feet. If a suitable opportunity be obtained, they will, after leaving the village, sometimes walk back towards it, leaving these unrecognizable foot-prints, in order to create a suspicion that the offender is a resident of the village.

The hole made by the Harni in committing a burglary is very small and neatly made, for the smaller the hole and the better it is made, the greater the reputation of the burglar.

The Harni has been in times past, and may be at the present day, greatly assisted to escape the law by the nature of the persons despoiled, the character of the village *chow-kidar* and headman, the sloth or ignorance, or both, of the local police, and the doubts entertained by them as to whether a grown man could have entered by the hole used by the burglar.

This is due in many cases to the complainant, intentionally or through mistake, saying that he recognized the accused as being a certain person or that he is sure that such-and-such a person or persons must be the culprits (this is often done to cause annoyance to enemies); to the Harni generally leaving no footprints behind him; to delay in taking up the enquiry; to dissensions in the village and the complainant having many enemies and a reputation for being a 'muqadma-báz', or manufacturer of cases; to the police being influenced by the complainant's statement and, after endeavouring to fit the crime to the person or persons, named by him as having been seen or suspected by him, and failing, being convinced that the complainant has deceived them; this being greatly due to the smallness of the hole made, for I have seen a Harni slip, with ease, through a hole, through which it seemed hardly, if at all, possible for a full-grown man (or even a boy) to pass.

All these causes tend to convince the police that the case is most undoubtedly a false one and they report accordingly, the complainant being sometimes bullied into stating in writing that he has really suffered no loss; the case is often cancelled, or else left untraced; enquiries, in any case, are closed, and, even if the real culprits were to be subsequently sent for trial in the case, ordinarily they would almost certainly be discharged for want of proof owing to the conflicting nature

of the statements, etc., recorded in their former enquiry by the police.

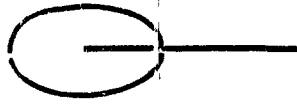
\* \* \* \* \*

Locally, that is, in the Panjáb, Harnis will endeavour to get together a gang of their fellows and to meet near a place suitable for burglary or *tápá*. They effect their purpose by (a) obtaining passes for long periods to sell vegetables or carry goods on camels or in bullock carts; (b) obtaining passes to visit villages in distant parts of their own district or in other districts, where the village headman, who is supposed to record on the pass and verify the date and time of the arrival and departure of the pass-holder, is generally uneducated and nearly invariably entirely ignorant of what he is expected to do, and hence places his seal on a note on the pass to the effect that the pass-holder visited and left the village at certain hours on certain dates, without troubling himself as to whether the dates are correct, or the license-holder remained in the village during the whole of the period mentioned; (c) obtaining passes to go to head-quarters, etc., and spending less time on the journey than they are supposed to have done and thus visiting other places; (d) transgressing the conditions *re* routes, etc., of the pass, and relying on not being detected or, if detected, proceeded against (and such reliance is very often not misplaced); (e) joining with Harnis of Native States where the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act are either enforced not at all or very indifferently; (f) joining Harnis who have life-exemption passes or who have been given passes to work on canals, etc.; (g) absenting themselves for long periods; (h) going away from their villages between sunset and sunrise to places as far off, in some cases, as ten or fifteen *kos* (fifteen or twenty miles).

When a gang of this sort can get together, the members proceed to a village, where a place suitable for the commission of burglary or *tápá* has been marked out by one of the gang, and conceal themselves in the neighbourhood or arrive in the vicinity after night-fall. Having committed their burglary or *tápá* they then disperse, after dividing the property stolen or making it over to one of the gang with a view to its disposal and future division of the proceeds.

If one of the gang, invariably disguised as a *faqir* or religious mendicant, goes to a village "to spy out the land," the rest are left behind, a signal, such as the call of some common animal or bird, having been agreed on; in his absence, should any one chance to be too inquisitive in

his enquiries as to the business of those left behind, or should they, for some reason, deem it advisable to move on, one of the gang will sometimes make on the ground with his foot a very superficial mark like this :



a mark which, even if noticed, would never cause any suspicion to the person noticing it. This is interesting as greatly resembling the marks used by European gypsies.

On his return the spy will see if there is any mark; if there is one, the line will point out the direction in which his friends have gone, if there is not, he will go to some neighbouring eminence, such as a sand-hill, and emit the call previously agreed on, which will generally be answered by one of his friends and enable him to find them.

If a Harni cannot obtain the co-operation of other Harnis, he co-operates, but very rarely, with non-Harni bad characters, but never with those of the village in which the offence is to be committed. He will usually, in such circumstances, resort to some influential Jat Sikh, and, obtaining from him a place of concealment and valuable information, await a suitable opportunity for committing an offence.

Cases have been known in which a Harni has proceeded to some village or town and taken up his abode in the *takia* as a *faqir*, collecting information for the benefit of other Harnis who may visit him.

*No Harni will commit or attempt to commit a burglary single-handed.*

*No Harni will seek, as confederates in crime, members of other criminal tribes, except, and then very rarely, Sânsis.*

The following are the places most frequently patronised by Harnis for the commission of crime:—

1. The Panjáb, south and east of the Jhelum and Rawalpindî districts (although they have been arrested as far west as Multan), and the adjoining Native States, but principally the Ambala, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Ferozepore and Ludhiana districts, and the Native States of Patiala and Faridkot.

2. Burma, and chiefly Mandalay.
3. Haiderabad (Deccan).
4. Aurangabad.
5. Bombay Presidency—Surat, Nasik and Bombay.
6. The Central Provinces.
7. Madras.
8. Ceylon.

Nagpur and the Deccan are patronised mainly by the Harnis of Bodalwála and Tappar; Bombay and Burma by those of Bir and Mirpur; the Harnis of Kiri seldom, if ever, leave the Panjáb, though one was arrested recently in Bombay.

In Bombay, the Harni, in some cases works at the docks as a ship's painter or as a stoker; but, as a rule, he wanders about in the garb of a *faqir*, and by trading on the susceptibilities of generous and religious-minded persons, reaps a rich harvest, in most cases from Rs. 15 to Rs. 30 a month, inasmuch as the shop-keepers of Bombay are said to be very averse to refusing alms to religious mendicants, and the Harni, well disguised as a *faqir*, and calling loudly and speciously on the name of God, imposes greatly on his dupes.

A number of the Harni women of the Jagraon *ilika* in the Ludhiana district reside in Bombay and do very well by following the "oldest profession in the world," inasmuch as they enjoy a very large share of the patronage of Panjábí stokers and sailors, who, when paid off at the end of a voyage, generally have a fair amount of money, which they are not slow in spending, and the greater part of which generally finds its way into the hands of these 'Harnianis.' Their husbands and relatives not only acquiesce in this, and are said, in some instances, to have lived in the houses in which their women ply their nefarious trade and to have acted as door-keepers to the apartments in which they receive their visitors.

Owing to the houses in Bombay being *pakka*, *i. e.*, of burnt brick and mortar, the Harni commits no burglaries there and confines himself to stealing such articles as may be lying about in the front or neighbourhood of shops, etc. It is said that Harnis, when going to Bombay, travel by the narrow gauge railway *viâ* Bandikui, at which place there is said to be a rich Muhammadan butcher, who, believing them to be

*faqirs*, sends them free of charge to Bombay in the trains which convey his animals there weekly.

Beyond the Panjáb, and when wandering about India and Burma, they adopt the following disguises and roles:—

- (a) Jugglers and acrobats, in which case they perform somersaults, sleight-of-hand tricks, etc., for which they are particularly well fitted by their strong and wiry bodies and active habits.
- (b) *Faqirs*.—As *faqirs* they will state themselves to be of the Qadria, Benáwá or Bánwá, Gurzmár or Gurjmár, Madári, Husseini, Nausháhi and Majáwir sects, while some give themselves out to be ‘Panjábi *faqirs*,’ a very general term which may mean anything.

If asked their ‘shijra’ or genealogy, they will readily give a genealogy reaching back to the prophet Ali, and state, as a rule, that their *pir* or saint is Taimur Sháh of Surat.

- (c) *Mirásis*.—As such they will sing to the accompaniment of the drum and make a fair livelihood by this means.
- (d) *Qalandars*.—In this case they will give performances with dancing bears and monkeys; they are very skilful in this and seem, in this pursuit, to completely take in the police and the public as to their real personalities, and to make a very good living. They follow this calling nearly invariably only in Burma, where these performances appear to appeal greatly to the people of the country, and the performer is well rewarded.
- (e) In some cases, and then only in such parts of the Panjáb where they would not be considered foreigners, but very seldom, they go about as potters (Kumhárs), Banjárás or Baisátis (*i. e.*, grain merchants), or Rains, *i. e.*, husbandmen or dealers in hides, etc.
- (f) Some who went in the direction of Colombo are said to have taken up pocket-picking and pocket-cutting, being disguised, when necessary, as ‘Panjábi *faqirs*.’
- (g) Others were said to be in Aurangabad and Parbani in the Deccan, and to have adopted the guise of Husseini and Nausháhi *faqirs*, and to have indulged in swindling passers-by on roads by gambling.
- (h) Last year a gang was said to be in Mandalay; its members were stated by ‘informers’ to be living by

performing tricks with bears and monkeys, *one of the gang also indulging in the robbery of travellers by the administration of stupefying drugs.*

In some cases these absentees indulge in work on railways as gangmen, etc., but they seldom keep to it for any length of time and soon take to some unsettled means of livelihood, such as bear-leading, etc. At the same time, it is only right to say that one or two of the absentee Harnis, who have been arrested in Bombay in former years, have really been earning an honest livelihood as ships' painters and stokers, and some, who have been granted passes, still do so.

We may, therefore, hold, with a considerable degree of correctness, that the Harni will ordinarily indulge in his own province, in burglary and *tápá*, and in other provinces in begging, prostituting his women, cheating (by gambling), petty thefts, pocket-picking (*uchakagi*) and pocket-cutting (*jebtaráshi*), and, in very exceptional cases, robbery by the administration of stupefying drugs: that, in his own province, he will adopt no disguise or else assume the part of a *faqir*, husbandman or Arain, etc., and, elsewhere, the roles which I have already mentioned.

The roles assumed are always Muhammadan ones and I have heard of only one Harni who adopted Hindu disguises, *i. e.*, of a Brahmin, etc.

Their appearance (when they absent themselves) is greatly altered by large beards, for they are said to employ a preparation of cocoanut oil which causes a very rapid and thick growth of beard. Two Harnis captured in Madras certainly had larger and thicker beards than any I have seen worn by any Harni in this district.

The Harni, before absenting himself (without permission) for a tour in India or Burma, takes care to suffer as little loss as possible in so doing. Hence, sometimes before going away, he will sell or mortgage *bá-qabsá* (that is, the mortgagee has full possession of the land until redeemed) any land he may possess to some fellow Harni, and whether any money ever changes hands is extremely doubtful. As a rule, he cannot so dispose of his house, but this is also arranged for. The Harni departs and cannot be traced, and the machinery of the law begins to move against him. Evidence is recorded against him under section 512 of the Criminal Procedure



Code, and under the provisions of sections 87 and 88 of the same code, his goods are confiscated to the Crown and auctioned. All that the Crown can seize, if anything, is the absentee's house and this is knocked down to some relation of the absentee for a mere pittance, for no outsider will be fool enough to step in and bid for or buy it.

The absentee has, meantime, sought other 'climes' (or, at any rate, districts). In a short time, money begins to arrive at his village, remitted by him by money-order from time to time to his relatives through the Jagráon post office or to trusty go-betweens living in Jagráon or elsewhere. This money is well invested or stored up by his relatives against the day of his return. He remains away, sometimes a few years, sometimes many, and, in a few cases, for ever.

As a rule he returns sooner or later; sometimes in custody at Government expense; not unoften he comes back to his village and surrenders himself to the police. In either case, when produced in court, his defence is the same—a piteous tale of woe of hard times in the village, no means of subsistence; his constant appeals for passes or tickets-of-leave to seek work never heeded or answered by a hard-hearted police, unacquainted with his needs and circumstances; his gallant struggle to earn a meagre but honest livelihood in a land far distant from his well-loved home—and has completely hood-winked many a soft-hearted magistrate, unacquainted with the Harni, into passing on him a sentence of the most extraordinary lightness.

Having cheerfully served his time in jail, he returns to his village and lives on the proceeds of his tour for the rest of his life (except when they are so insufficient as to cause him to go on another tour in foreign parts), redeeming the land he mortgaged before his departure or buying that of others. In some cases he then sets down to a life of agriculture, often getting a *sánji* or partner to do the brunt of the work, and in a few years begins to clamour—on the score of a blameless life!—to be exempted from the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act, and, sometimes, with the aid of a complacent *thánedár* is successful in getting a pass of life-exemption from the Criminal Tribes Act.

These methods of crime are not practised by the Gownimár Harnis, who are found only in the village of Kiri in the Ludhiana district, and

I believe, in one village near Kartarpur in the Jullundur district and in one or two villages in the Hoshiarpur district. Their principal method of crime is common to, I think, no other criminal tribe or class in the world, and is this.

Both formerly and at the present day, but to a smaller extent, their women, who, when young, are said to be (to borrow a phrase from Mr. Gordon's remarks on female Berihás) "handsome wenches and endowed with a saucy frankness which contrasts favourably with the demeanour of the ordinary native woman of the plains," while young and comely, enter the houses of rich and well-to-do persons as servants, mistresses or wives. After the lapse of some time, which may extend to several years, they seize a suitable opportunity and make over articles of jewellery or other valuables which can be conveniently carried off, to some of their male relative, who, on information supplied, visits the house as a *faqir* or religious mendicant, or else they themselves take such articles and vanish, leaving behind them as a souvenir or *mement* for their masters or husbands, as the case may be, any children they may have borne during their residence with them. Should, by any chance, it come to light, before they can make their escape, that they have thus disposed of jewellery or valuables belonging to their masters or husbands, they boldly defy the latter to do anything or to inform the police, and by threatening to say that they are either of some very low caste, such as the sweeper, or of a criminal tribe, and to thus expose their masters or husbands to the shame and possibly blame of having knowingly kept such a person in their houses; and for this reason the men are, as a rule, only too glad to make the best of the loss they have suffered and to turn the women out of their houses and wash their hands of them. This being all that the woman desires, she makes her way home and enjoys with her relatives the fruits of her wrong-doing.

The Gownimárs are also said to enter in disguise houses in which marriage or other ceremonies are taking place and large number of people are assembled, steal any articles they can conveniently conceal on their persons, but at the present day, at any rate, no such cases have come to notice in this district.

They are said, too, to commit burglary, but to no very great extent.

In the Harni village of Kiri the Harni is very well-behaved at present ; the men are taking up agriculture and cultivate, besides the land of their own village, land belonging to neighbouring villages. The women are ceasing to follow their hereditary traditions and the men are settling down to the ordinary existence of the Panjābi Muhammadān.

The Harni at home. (District Ludhiana.)

In the Harni village of Bir, Tappar and Bodalwāla and the village of Mirpur (of which the Harnis form about a quarter of the population), the case is different ; the inhabitants are a stiff-necked race, of whom few have any real love for agriculture ; the majority prefer to grow and trade in vegetables, or convey goods on camels or in bullock carts and, for this reason, often mortgage their land to purchase camels or bullock carts and oxen. Some, but very few, obtain passes and serve on camels, one or two working at the docks in Bombay, and three are policemen in different places. They continually absent themselves for long periods, and, after their return and subsequent term of prison-life, live in comfort for some time after. Locally they do little crime except an occasional burglary.

In the other villages, the population of which they form a very small part, the Harnis are generally very well-behaved and make a very comfortable livelihood by agriculture, some owing a fair amount of land and others being hereditary tenants (*mazāra māurusi*).

It must, however, be said in favour of the Harni in his large villages in this district that he is what he is owing, to a very great extent, to force of circumstances. In the inspection register of Jagraon police station, are many complaints by several District Superintendents of Police, these complaints extending to some thirty years back, to the effect that the Harnis of the Jagraon sub-division have not sufficient means of livelihood and that Government has not complied with sections 3 and 4 of the Criminal Tribes Act, *i. e.*, in satisfying itself that the members of this tribe had sufficient means of livelihood before registering them and bringing them under the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act.

The land belonging to each village is probably the same as (and the population no less) it was in 1873 and the land at present in these villages is not sufficient for the subsistence of the inhabitants of these villages. Thus—

| Village.  | Population. | Amount of cultivated<br>land belonging to village<br>Acres. |
|-----------|-------------|---|
| Bír       | ... 554     | 315   |
| Mirpur    | ... 333     | 468   |
| Tappar    | ... 448     | 134   |
| Bodalwálá | 460         | 554   |
| Kírfi     | ... 314     | 422   |

It is clear from this, reckoning the average annual yield of an acre as being about 20 maunds (*khám*) of grain, that, even if there was no revenue to pay, the land of these villages is not enough to sustain its inhabitants.

Some of these Harnis, but not very many, are beginning to take passes and go to other villages for a season and join land-owners in cultivation, while others work on brick-kilns.

In Kapurthala State, Harnis are, I am told, employed in the army and give satisfaction.

In conclusion, one may say that the Ludhiana Harnis are most notorious, being followed closely in this respect by those of Ferozepore, and, but not so closely, by the Harnis of the Jullundur and Hoshiarpur districts.

Even at the present day, the neighbours of the Harnis of large villages are very loth to complain of or give evidence against them for two reasons :—

- (a) because they form *liaisons* with their women ;
- (b) because they are afraid of the Harnis retaliating and destroying their crops.

The language of the Harni is Panjábi, that is, the grammar and idiom are Panjábi, but the Harni in conversing with men of his own tribe will use so many peculiar words, that two Harnis can carry on a conversation of which the uninitiated will understand neither the meaning nor the drift.

I attach a list of about a hundred of the most common words used by them. In them it is noticeable that several words are used with meanings other than those they bear in Urdu or Panjábi :—

| Harni idiomatic words. | English meaning.               |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| báhli                  | ... Harni.                     |
| nikháro                | ... thief.                     |
| pothi                  | ... the comrades of the thief. |

| Harni idiomatic words.                | English meaning.   |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| dáhli ...                             | ... stick or club.   |
| sharna ...                            | ... cloth or clothes.  |
| áera ...                              | ... clothes worn when committing a theft.  |
| gandi ...                             | ... burglary : the act of burglary.  |
| tilkni ...                            | ... shoe.  |
| katwa ...                             | ... a man of another tribe.  |
| jhála ...                             | ... zaildar.   |
| 'bhasriwála ...                       | ... instrument of burglary.  |
| rizak dewa ...                        | ... giver of food.   |
| báhlia darhli birk ...                | ... 'oppose them' or 'resist them.'  |
| mundiwála ...                         | ... lambardar ; a tricky word, as <i>mundi</i> is common Panjábí for a ring.             |
| táuriwála ...                         | ... chowkidár.   |
| chhandria ...                         | ... shop-keeper.   |
| káthra ...                            | ... a Jat or Ját.  |
| bokhra ...                            | ... sweeper.   |
| khonk ...                             | ... house or building.   |
| dhotni ...                            | ... woman.   |
| but ...                               | ... boy or son.  |
| butni ...                             | ... girl or daughter.  |
| pila ...                              | ... gold.  |
| baggi ...                             | ... silver.  |
| hatongar baggi ...                    | ... ornaments of silver.   |
| hatongar pila ...                     | ... ornaments of gold.   |
| bhadrian ...                          | ... ear-rings of gold.   |
| dálha ...                             | ... necklace or bracelet.  |
| dadoni ...                            | ... plate.   |
| jhánjhi ...                           | ... dark night.  |
| diwa ...                              | ... moonlight night.   |
| titan ...                             | ... fire.  |
| poh ...                               | ... buried articles.   |
| obharja ...                           | ... run away.  |
| katra hogia ; thara hogia<br>" ubhro. | (said while committing an offence) ; the stranger knows ; a stranger has come, run away. |
| jamjao ...                            | ... hide.  |
| dhotni upar ke batak hé ...           | ... the woman sleeps on the roof.  |
| barki pei hé ...                      | ... the woman is careless.   |
| khassan ...                           | ... wall.  |
| khassan mun satto ...                 | ... contrive to climb the wall.  |
| chhitra ...                           | ... rupee. (In Panjábí <i>chhitra</i> , broken shoe.)                                    |
| khundi ...                            | ... an eight-anna bit.   |
| agri ...                              | ... two-anna or four-anna bit.   |

## Harni idiomatic words.

## English meaning.

|                               |     |  |
|-------------------------------|-----|--|
| máta ho ja ...                | ... | absent yourself or make yourself scarce.               |
| hokna ...                     | ... | horse.   |
| náka ; náki ...               | ... | ox ; cow.  |
| kadi ...                      | ... | buffalo.   |
| dháski ...                    | ... | wheat.   |
| rorkani ...                   | ... | gram.  |
| náka dáunle ...               | ... | cattle theft.  |
| dhárki ...                    | ... | sword.   |
| bukni ...                     | ... | gun.   |
| nakhár barki hui ...          | ... | stolen property.                                       |
| sákli hogia ...               | ... | he has been put in prison.                             |
| barmohán ...                  | ... | jail.  |
| wadda gehra ...               | ... | jail daroga.   |
| barmohani ...                 | ... | fetters or handcuffs.                                  |
| gehra soráida ...             | ..  | rich.  |
| chatta karo ...               | ..  | hide the property.                                     |
| burkna rodla ...              | ... | 'huqa.'  |
| dochu soti ...                | ... | 'chilum.'  |
| táuriwála táunkda ...         | ... | the chowkidár wanders about.                           |
| gáuni vich katwa burklo ...   | ... | rob some one on a road.                                |
| náundhria ...                 | ... | a Sánsi.   |
| sohli ...                     | ... | bread.   |
| bumba ...                     | ... | liquor.  |
| határka ...                   | ... | the thief's penknife or sickle.                        |
| shakar jatde ...              | ... | to remove the earth from the hole made by the burglar. |
| obhákvva ...                  | ... | box.   |
| daddu burk dé ...             | ... | break the lock.  |
| ronda ...                     | ... | hook.  |
| khula chhaukra ...            | ... | open door.   |
| sufedi ...                    | ... | cloth.   |
| thongria ...                  | ... | goldsmith or banker.                                   |
| kánipatta ...                 | ... | clean place.   |
| chathha ...                   | ... | grove of trees.  |
| bagge chhokre wála ...        | ... | a European or an English gentleman.                    |
| nábal ...                     | ... | ghi.   |
| chikna ...                    | ... | oil.   |
| dhukhna ...                   | ... | a Gujjar.  |
| ráda ...                      | ... | meat.  |
| tokna penda ...               | ... | the dog barks.   |
| gharisna ...                  | ... | cart.  |
| tusia máta ...                | ... | a weak constable.                                      |
| rori ...                      | ... | ladder.  |
| hateli gandi ...              | ... | to mark a burglarious hole below.                      |
| khonk uparle chokre lagdi hé. | ... | the hole (of burglary) is on top or above.             |

| Harni idiomatic words | English meaning.                                    |
|-----------------------|---|
| bhart wáli            | ... the place for making the burglary hole is hard. |
| mudki wále dá khonk   | ... the house of a Mirási.                          |
| hasne dá khonk        | ... the house of a Sayyad or <i>faqir</i> .         |
| báhli nu kharlia      | ... they have thrown down the Harni.                |
| mosliwala             | ... native state territory.                         |
| bagge chhokre da      | ... British territory.                              |
| balharkna             | ... camel.  |
| dhontia dá dáhla      | ... there is a bed in front of the burglary hole.   |
| bagle dá khonk        | ... the house of a Rájput.                          |
| nokhi ho gia ...      | ... some one has been killed.                       |
| chatna ...            | ... sugar or flour (?)                              |
| agrei ...             | ... a pice.   |
| kolohti ...           | ... blanket or rug.                                 |
| khotne đáni ..        | ... turban.   |
| saul ...              | ... penis.  |
| saulni ...            | ... <i>mulieris pudenda</i> .                       |

In religion the Harni is, according to his lights, a strict Suni, but his religion does not prevent a desire for and an appreciation of alcoholic liquors, a desire which he will generally gratify on any 'red letter' day, especially when funds are plentiful.

They greatly reverence Sayyads, and hold in special esteem, being Muhammadans of the Qádri and Hanfi sects, Pir Sháh Abdul Karim Sáhíb of Delhi, whose tenets they follow. They hold in respect the pilgrimage to Mecca, and, among places the Khánqáh of Shádé Sháh in village Gagra, the Khánqáh of Hassu Sháh in village Tappar, the Khánqáh of Záhír Wáli in village Bodalwála (all these three villages are in the Jagráon sub-division of the Ludhiana district), and to a greater extent, the Khánqáh of Amin-ud-din Chisti in Ajmer Sharif, and the Khánqáh of Taimur Sháh in Surat, and, to a very great extent, the Khánqáh of Hazrat Sháh Abdul Karim Sáhíb, referred to above in Delhi.

Very few of them have more than one wife, and the men marry only women of their own tribe.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Harni (male) adult is, on an average, about 5 feet 7 inches in height. They are well, but not heavily made, wiry, muscular, sinewy and very healthy.

Physique and appearance, etc.

They are of a free and outspoken disposition, not slow to voice their sentiments or air their grievances, and hold no one in respect or fear.

They are not such fluent or perfect liars as members of other criminal tribes : and, if treated well and approached in the right way, will sometimes give information about the doings of members of their tribe.

They are taught habits of endurance and activity from boyhood ; and it is said that a full-grown Harni could, if necessary, go ten or fifteen *kos* (twelve to twenty miles) and back between sunset and sunrise and commit a burglary too.

The usual dress of the men is a small turban of coarse cloth, a *kurta* or jacket of the same cloth, and a short or long *teh-band* (or loin-cloth tied round and hanging from the waist) according to their work or occupation at the time. To this is often added a waistcoat, and sometimes, an old, ill-fitting coat ; while in cold weather, like other natives, they envelop themselves in a *loi* or rug or thick sheet (*Panjábi dohar*).

The women always wear petticoats and neither they nor the men ever wear *pájámás* or pantaloons.

Practically none of them have received any education, nor do any desire it.

\* \* \* \* \*

This tribe is also known as *Machhimár*, *i. e.*, slayers of fish, and there is no doubt that it is an offshoot of the Harni tribe. This tribe is found chiefly, if not wholly, in the Sialkot district and also goes by the name of *Chirimár*, *Aráin*, and sometimes *Méó*, *i. e.*, dwellers by rivers. It is registered under the Criminal Tribes Act in Sialkot district.

*Pakhiwára.*

The members of this tribe frequently leave their villages and come to the Ferozepore and Lahore districts for crime and, on these occasions, live with zamindars or agriculturists, who are acquainted with them. In villages they pose as goats' hides merchants, or sell tooth-powder, rosaries, etc., to the women, and in this manner become acquainted with the ins and outs of the houses, which is of great assistance to them in the commission of crime. On dark nights they commit thefts at railway stations and goods sheds and on trains and are also addicted to burglary. They also commit burglary, but, unlike the Harni, generally make an entry through the roof. They commit their offences in the same



way as Harnis, *i. e.*, at places distant from their homes. They visit, in the Ferozepore district, the Dogars living near the river, and are said to pay them monthly sums of money for their assistance.

Some are said to visit the Sammé mohalla near the Bháti Gate of Lahore city and commit burglaries, etc., in Anarkalli and other places. Ostensibly they are mild and pleasant-spoken persons, but in reality they are criminals of the most desperate and reckless nature and hesitate neither to inflict hurt nor to suffer it.

Their women are rank prostitutes, not only in villages, but in cantonments, etc., and convey news for their men.

The men are generally of wheat complexion, big eyes, to which they frequently apply *surma*, and of strong build and frequently wear *gánis*, or very small rosaries, round their necks, and affect the appearance of zamindárs.

They are of the Muhammadan religion.

The women wear petticoats, and the men dress like Harnis except that they give a *wat* to their turbans, *i. e.*, twist the folds in tying them. They carry *huqás* and *tawás* (iron vessels for cooking *chapátis*).

\* \* \* \* \*

It is natural that his surroundings, his religion and his intermarriages with other races have had a marked effect on the physical attributes of the Harni; and, even if it cannot be said that he resembles in figure or feature members of Hindu criminal tribes, such as the Sánsi and the Bauriah, though (I am told) there is no very marked bodily difference between him and the Biloch or the Pachada, yet the moral attributes of both the Harni and every other criminal tribe, Hindu or Muhammadan, *i. e.*, their excessive powers of lying, their love of liquor and tobacco, their looseness of character, the general prostitution of their women, their garb (for very few members, male or female, of criminal tribes, at least in the Panjáb, wear *pájámás* or pantaloons), their special languages (the variations in which are fully accounted for by eminent authorities), their inveterate love of theft and robbery, and, lastly, their dislike to a settled life, point to and prove their common stock, *i. e.*, that of the Indian aborigine or gipsy, the ancestor of all the gipsies of the continents of Europe and Asia.

I close this report by expressing my great obligation to Mr. J. P. Warburton, formerly of the Panjāb Police and now Inspector-General of Police, Patiala, for his full account (left by him in the Ludhiana district) of the Harnis up to the year 1873, and for the copious information and valuable advice, which he has been good enough to give me on various occasions, regarding this tribe, and I regret that I have not been able to consult him, as fully as I wished, on some of the points set down in this report.

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## APPENDIX IV.

### **Chandrawedis.**

The following information on a criminal organization styled 'Chandrawedis' has been collated with the assistance of some of its members, acknowledged experts of the community, by the Criminal Branch of the Indore State Police.

The tradition of the origin of this criminal band, as handed down among themselves, is briefly as follows :—

About 66 years ago there lived in village Raruwa (south-west of Alampur) in Datia State two Sanawars or Sanoriyas who claimed to be Brahmins, named Ramlal and Madan Prasad. They were both learned men, and it is said that one of them was able to predict events, while the other could understand the language of birds. It so happened that a rich merchant was going with his wife on a pilgrimage to Jagannath when Ramlal and Madan Prasad met them at a river. While they were drinking water, a crow sitting on a tree commenced cawing. The Brahmin told his companion that the crow had said that if any one got possession of the merchant's walking-stick, he would become rich. Highway robberies, etc., were rife at this period and travellers used to resort to various devices to conceal their valuables. Sometimes gold mohurs were sewn between the soles of shoes or between the folds of dirty-looking mattresses. This traveller had filled the hollow of his walking-stick with gold mohurs. The two Brahmins accompanied the merchant for a part of the journey, and, as soon as opportunity presented itself, relieved him of his walking-stick and decamped. Encouraged by the success of their first attempt, Ramlal and his comrade not only took it up as a trade, but opened a private school in their village where they taught small boys, irrespective of caste, the art of stealing during the day. Prior to admission, the lads were made to swear by the moon that they would never commit thefts by night. The exploits of these persons were noised abroad and attracted the attention of the Maharaja of Datia who found them such faithful and profitable subjects that when a big *darbar* was held in Delhi, with a view to secure his own safety and that of his property on the journey to and from the *darbar*, he took a large number of the followers of Ramlal and Madan Prasad with him to Delhi. They did their duty so well that when the question came up in the *darbar* as to which

class of subjects of the various States were the most loyal and profitable, the Maharaja of Datia cited the valuable attributes of the followers of Ramlal and Madan Prasad, on which their methods were discussed and they were for the first time dubbed with the name of 'Chandrawedis' as a special mark of distinction.

Chandrawedi is a pure Sanskrit word derived from the following roots :—

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| <i>Chandra</i> (moon)<br><i>bhedi</i> (broken).     | } | The men whose (thieving) acts are <i>broken</i> to pieces ( <i>i. e.</i> , exposed) by the moon.                 |
| <i>Chandra</i> (moon)<br><i>wedhi</i> (bored into). | } | The men whose acts are <i>bored into</i> ( <i>i. e.</i> , ferreted out) by the light of the moon.                |
| <i>Chandra</i> (moon)<br><i>wedi</i> (observes).    | } | The men who <i>observe</i> the moon ( <i>i. e.</i> , desist from doing wrong owing to the presence of the moon). |

It was first presumed that the Chandrawedis belonged to one sect of Hindus, but enquiries have established the fact that Chandrawedis are not a class but a confraternity of criminals recruited from any caste of Hindus (except Sweepers or Chamárs) or even Mahomedans.

(NOTE :—There are at the present only two known Mahomedan Chandrawedis.)

There are two forms of initiation, one used with children, the other with adults :—

(1) *Children*.—Little boys are admitted to a school where they are taught the art of 'lifting.'

(2) *Adults*.—Before anything is taught in the case of adults they are required to take a solemn oath on the 'Tulsi Ganga' that they will under no circumstances divulge the secrets of the fraternity.

For the first year, the novice has to remain on the staff at head-quarters, and is styled a 'derawala' (*i. e.*, one who stays at home). During his novitiate, a 'derawala' is only entitled to a half share. If a 'derawala' has proved himself faithful to the gang during the first year, he is, in the second year if he desires it, made either an 'upardar,' which means a conductor, or a 'chawa' (or 'khaleth') which means 'uthaigir' [*i. e.*, the man who does the 'lifting' (stealing)], or he may, if he elects, continue to be a 'derawala.' This post, however, owing to the small risk incurred, only entitles him to a smaller share of the plunder. An 'upardar' can advance

himself to the position of a 'nalband' or leader. A 'nalband' is usually the richest man in the gang, a position reached only after many years of successful thieving. He is always a man of influence and usually commands a following of from ten to twenty. 'Nalbands' are self-elected by virtue of their skill, experience and wealth.

As 'Chandrawedism' has become synonymóus with rapid and comparatively easy acquisition of property, combined with few of the risks attendant on more violent forms of crime, the number of recruits to its ranks has rapidly increased. From the time of its conception, when it consisted of only two members (its founders), to the present day, 'Chandrawedism' has taken root and thriven to an abnormal extent, there being at the present time several colonies in Alampur with ramifications in Datia, Gwalior, Jhansi and other parts of Bundelkhand.

A 'nalband' usually selects little boys in preference to adults, because instruction is quickly imparted and thieving thus learnt is more dexterously accomplished. The number of boys under training with a 'nalband' varies from one to six, and the art, which they are taught, has two names:—

- (1) '*parsi*' (*i. e.*, secret code vocabulary), and
- (2) '*teni*' (*i. e.*, secret code signals).

The '*parsi*' vocabulary is fairly extensive; some of it is given below. It is chiefly confined to nouns and has no grammar, so that to talk 'Parsi' it is necessary to amalgamate it with Hindi:—

| Chandrawedi.          | English.                         |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| khutarya              | ... bundle.                      |
| kaniyai               | ... purse (money-bag).           |
| gond                  | ... turban ( <i>safa</i> *).     |
| kajthi (kamthi)       | .. turban ( <i>pugree</i> †).    |
| pun-pathoo            | .. dhoti.                        |
| tanai                 | .. coat.                         |
| pujani                | ... drinking-pot.                |
| thanki                | ... dish.                        |
| damri <i>or</i> nethi | . rupee.                         |
| dande                 | ... copper coin.                 |
| kanpi                 | ... cowries (shells).            |
| gulli                 | ... mohur (gold coin = Rs. 15).  |
| bardala               | ... armband.                     |
| paiti                 | ... toda or silver leg ornament. |
| gallaga               | ... necklace.                    |

\* *Safa* and *pheta* are the plain turban.

† *Pugree* is the embroidered turban with gold or silver fringed ends.

| Chandrawedi.                    | English.                             |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| pitghesa <i>or</i> gunjitlai... | gold necklace.                       |
| nukli                           | ... nose-ring.                       |
| tokiya asur gaya                | ... a police constable is coming     |
| khanchdev                       | ... hide it.                         |
| ukanjao                         | ... run.                             |
| seyand                          | ... gold.                            |
| uben                            | ... silver.                          |
| setra                           | ... book.                            |
| 1 bakhole                       | } .. shoes.                          |
| 2. gonia                        |                                      |
| 3. gudari                       |                                      |
| rungathiojaw                    | .. sheet of cloth.                   |
| khoh                            | ... bania's shop.                    |
| kathari                         | ... a safe for depositing valuables. |
| teda                            | ... lock and key.                    |
| dharkarana                      | .. door.                             |
| lamani                          | ... chain.                           |
| banari                          | ... walking-stick.                   |
| mamada bhapat hai...            | you are being watched.               |

'*Teni*' consists merely of signs. For instance, an 'upardar' is conversing with a victim while one of his lads is standing near by, and there is something to be lifted, the 'upardar' raises his hand to his cheek-bone and begins to scratch, which means 'approach nearer.' Next he raises his elbow and points it in the direction in which the article is lying; at this sign the boy picks up the article. If the 'upardar' finds that the boy is watched, he closes one hand, turns the fist upwards and strikes the palm of the other, which means 'wait for further orders.' When the coast is clear, he brings his hands to his chest and gently raises one elbow, which means 'run away with it.' If the boy is detected after picking up an article, the 'upardar's' hand is raised to the shoulder and the elbow brought downwards, which means 'drop it and bolt.' If successful in the attempt and the question is what should be done with the stolen article, both hands are opened out, and one is made to pass below the other pointing to the ground indicating 'bury it.' If the elbow of one arm is raised and the other hand with the thumb turned outside moved across the waist, it signifies 'take possession of the waist-purse only from the clothes, etc., lying there'; and so on *ad infinitum*. An 'upardar' can thus communicate almost any order to a 'chawa' by means of signals.

If a 'nalband' is thoroughly satisfied that the training he has given is complete, he starts out, usually after the rains

in October or November (*after* the Dashera), with a gang composed of ten or twenty, half of the number being usually youths and the other half men. Before leaving head-quarters with his gang, the 'nalband' sends for a 'Jotishi' or soothsayer, offers him sweetmeats, and asks him in what direction they should go, and what time would be most propitious for the start. The 'Jotishi' consults his 'panchang' or astrological almanac, and tells him when he should set forth, and which direction he should proceed in. There are no other particular ceremonies observed, or omens consulted, before the gang sallies forth. Some of the members are, however, usually advised to eat curd mixed with rice and jaggery, and others to eat betel, and some to have their clothes patched as directed by the soothsayer, all these observances tending to bring success to the expedition, and to defeat bad luck.

Before starting on an expedition, a 'nalband' makes ample provision for the wives and families of his party and arranges for their requirements pending the return of the gang which is usually in about eight months. If the 'nalband' has not sufficient money himself, he gets it on loan from a Bania at the current rate of interest and keeps a careful account of all advances he makes.

All being in readiness, the 'nalband' appoints a place near the outskirts of the village where the gang meets. The gang is usually composed of one 'nalband,' one or two 'derawalas,' and some 'upardars' and 'chawas.' If after all have assembled one of the members has forgotten anything or wishes to return to say a word to some one in his family, the rule is that he should, on no account, be allowed to return home, but must send for the article, or the person he wishes to speak to. The gang then proceeds in the direction indicated by the 'Jotishi,' selecting a locality in which they are not known. They then decide on a line of country for their operations and break up into batches of twos and threes as the case may be. The members of each batch, which consists of an 'upardar' and one or two 'chawas,' then take tickets for a station just short of the place for which they are actually bound, while the 'nalband,' accompanied by his 'derawalas,' alights at a pre-arranged spot and awaits the return of each batch of his party which by previous arrangement has to turn up within a given period, usually about fifteen days.

*Modus operandi.*—When three or four Chandrawedis find themselves in the midst of a thickly-crowded bazar, and they

have decided on securing some particular property in the stall of a shop, two of the gang pretend to begin a violent quarrel in the vicinity, on which a crowd collects and the victim also goes up to see what is the matter. A 'chawa' has already posted himself at a convenient spot and when the 'upardar' sees that the victim's attention is thoroughly absorbed in the fight, he gives the signal and the 'chawa' lifts and slips away with the article fixed upon.

A common practice in a fair when there is always a big crowd and much commotion, is for an 'upardar' and a 'chawa' to visit, say, a sweetmeat or any other shop where there are several persons making purchases. The 'upardar' waits till one of the buyers lays down the bundle to take out his money or spreads his handkerchief out to receive the sweets when he pushes close up to his side and signals to the 'chawa' (perhaps, an innocent-looking little boy) who promptly clears away with the bundle. If the 'chawa' is caught, the 'upardar' comes up as one of the crowd and urges pity for the brat; when, ten to one, the lad gets a slap or two and is let go and takes to his heels and soon passes out of sight, while the 'upardar' gradually 'dissolves' with the crowd.

Sometimes three or four Chandrawedis visit a bathing *ghât* where a number of pilgrims are bathing. Two or three Chandrawedis begin to bathe while one lurks about near by. The attention of the bathers is directed to something strange in the water by one of the Chandrawedis or a diversion is created in some other way which leads to a discussion. While this is going on, the 'upardar,' who is standing near by, pretends to take an active part in the conversation, while he is at the same time actually directing the movements of a 'chawa' who on the signal lifts and disappears with something valuable which had been left by one of the bathers on the *ghât*.

Chandrawedis also disguise themselves as servants and take up employment in the houses of wealthy people. They soon win the confidence of their employers by a show of remarkable honesty, and so learn in which box the jewels and other valuables are kept when they rob their masters and disappear.

Sometimes when the occupants of a house are away on a visit or a journey and the door is locked, a Chandrawedi turns up and makes believe he is either the owner or a near relative



of the inmates. He opens the lock, enters the house, remains there for two or three days and ultimately vanishes with all that he can take away. By this ruse, Chandrawedis reap rich harvests when there is an epidemic of plague in the town.

Occasionally a couple of Chandrawedis join a marriage party travelling by road from one large town to another. They proceed to cultivate the acquaintance of some rich person whom they select as being the most gullible of the lot and travel with the party for a few days. Early one morning, a Chandrawedi creeps up to his new acquaintance who is sound asleep and steals his bundle containing valuables. Before the party awake, the Chandrawedis have put several miles between themselves and their fellow travellers.

The railway also receives their particular attention. A few Chandrawedis mix up with third class passengers in a station and sit down among them, when they substitute one of their own bundles, which contains nothing of value, for the bundle of a well-to-do passenger. They also travel by train and if they see a passenger sound asleep, pass his bundle over to another Chandrawedi in the next compartment in the same train. Sometimes a Chandrawedi disguises himself as a woman, and gets into a female compartment, and when he finds the women asleep, makes away with their bundles or removes valuables from their persons while the train is in motion between stations.

While the 'upardars' and 'chawas' are carrying on their operations, the 'nalband' halts, as already stated, at a prearranged place which is called 'band' in the Chandrawedi language, and where he is free from suspicion and comparatively safe. The 'derawala' is the caterer for the gang and has to look after the pals, etc., while the 'nalband' receives all the stolen property, and directs the movements of the gang. The several batches return to their camp on or before the date previously arranged with such loot as they have collected which is then weighed and roughly valued. Should any of the members not return within the appointed time, it is assumed that he has been arrested or that something unusual has happened. If the missing member has been arrested, the 'nalband' never personally goes to his assistance but arranges to send money for his defence and liberation. Should the arrested person be convicted, the 'nalband' has to support his family until his release and return from jail.

During one season's tour, a gang of Chandrawedis will visit several areas and usually return home towards the end of June or the middle of July, partly because fairs and marriages, etc., are not held during the rains and travelling is difficult, also to enable them to look after their cultivation. They do not cultivate much. Many of them purposely rent fields to keep up the appearance of cultivators, but do not till them although they pay the rent regularly.

After a successful trip and on their return to head-quarters, the stolen property is either kept intact or is melted down, as best suits the convenience of the 'nalband'; and a day is fixed for its distribution. The village *patwari* and the Sonár of the gang are called in, the price of the loot is determined, and the division is made as follows :—

In addition to their respective shares, 15 per cent. is set aside for the 'upardars' and 'chawas.'

The *patwari* receives Re. 1 from each batch of three or four men of which the whole party was composed.

The Sonár gets Re. 1 in the same way, *i.e.*, if the gang of twenty had divided up into parties of fours, the Sonár would get Rs. 5.

Rs. 5 is given by each set in charity to the village temple for the annual 'Navaratri' sacrifice. The balance is then divided up into equal shares, except that the 'nalband' gets two shares, and the remaining members, one share each.

The 'Jotishi,' too, comes in for a reward if his prophecies have proved reliable.

If any member does not wish to take his share in actual property but prefers ready-cash, the 'nalband' has the option of buying it up at a reduced rate, say, gold is Rs. 24 a tola, the 'nalband' will purchase it at Rs. 20 a tola.

*Chandrawedis in the Indore State.*—It is difficult to ascertain when these people actually migrated from Raruwa, the birthplace of 'Chandrawedism,' and came into this State; but it is said that they have been in the following villages of the Alamput pergana for several generations :—

- |              |               |
|--------------|---------------|
| (1) Salon.   | (5) Hasanpur. |
| (2) Bhitari. | (6) Kadura.   |
| (3) Barka.   | (7) Nowgaon.  |
| (4) Khuja.   |               |

There are 327 adult male Chandrawedis at the present time in these seven villages which have been recruited from the following castes :—

- |               |                                     |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| (1) Kirars.   | (6) Brahmin (chiefly<br>Sanoriyas). |
| (2) Kachhis.  | (7) Ahirs.                          |
| (3) Kayastha. | (8) Gaderias.                       |
| (4) Kalals.   | (9) Vadhias, etc.                   |
| (5) Khangars. |                                     |

Kirars and Sanoria Brahmins predominate.

Although Chandrawedis by profession, each member strictly adheres to his caste, and there is no intermarriage between castes. When, however, there is a marriage, all the Chandrawedis participate in it. Cultivation is also followed to a certain extent by those who remain at home, who also work as day-labourers—this tends to divert suspicion.

The Chandrawedis have regular 'receivers' of stolen property in each of their own and other villages: the stolen property is taken by these 'receivers' for disposal to Bombay and Jhansi, also to Datia and other States of Bundelkhand.

Chandrawedis during their operations travel anywhere and everywhere, Bombay, Poona, Bhavnagar, Kathiawar, Ajmer, Jodhpur, the Panjáb, the United Provinces, all the States of Central India, and other places of importance. They do not appear so far to have ventured into Southern India. It is reported that a tax of Rs. 8 to Rs. 16 per Chandrawedi is levied by the petty local officials, no receipts, it need hardly be said, being given for the payments. This is doubtless why the Chandrawedis have been having so easy a time of it for many years, and their operations have not been made public.

To look at, a Chandrawedi is like any ordinary native, but they will know each other by sight or can easily identify one of their profession by means of their secret codes. It must, however, be added to his credit, that a Chandrawedi never goes out armed, nor does he ever commit violent crime. Stealing by night he considers an unpardonable sin, as he glories in the fact that his art enables him to accomplish it in broad daylight. Moreover, they never offer violence to anybody, nor have they any cause to, as their methods of stealing obviate the necessity for it. Gunthorpe in his "Hand-book on Criminal Tribes" has described the habits of the Sanoriya and it is obvious that they are the same as those of the

Chandrawedis: 'Sanoriya' is, however, a very old name while 'Chandrawedi' is a comparatively modern one. These facts, combined with the Chandrawedi version of their origin, make it probable that the two Sanoriyas, Ramlal and Madan Prasad, drifted down to Raruwa some fifty years ago, and that it is from their disciples that the Chandrawedi confraternity has sprung. In other words, Chandrawedism is an offshoot of the Sanoriya tree. Another explanation is that 'Chandrawedi' and 'Sanoria' are synonymous terms, being merely different names for the same society, much as the Kanjars of the country round Agra are the same as the Berias or Baghorias of Central India. This view is supported by the fact that the Sanorias, though they claim to be true Brahmins of the Sanadh or Sanaurehya section, are only spurious Brahmins, seeing that they originally were, and I believe still are, recruited as children from almost any Hindu caste. I believe, however, that though for practical purposes Sanoriyas and Chandrawedis are much the same, still it is only the Brahmins, real or assumed, among them who are Sanoriyas, while all the rest who adhere to their respective castes come solely under the classification of Chandrawedis. Thus a Sanoriya can be classed as a Chandrawedi, but a Chandrawedi cannot be classed as a Sanoriya.

C. M. SEAGRIM,

INDORE :                      Inspector General of Police,  
Dated 16th February 1906.                      Indore State.

## APPENDIX V.

### **Chandrawedis.**

Another account of this tribe was given by Mr. A. C. Hankin, C. I. E., Inspector-General of Police and Prisons in H. H. the Nizám's Dominions, when Superintendent of Dacoity Operations, Bundelkhand, Central India, in 1893, in a letter addressed to the General Superintendent of Operations for the Suppression of Thagi and Dacoity, Calcutta, and as the particulars given are instructive and some are not to be found in Mr. Seagrim's account, the letter is reproduced for general information.

In the year 1867 or thereabouts I believe an enquiry was made through the Thagi and Dacoity Department regarding the professional thieves known as 'Sonarias' or 'Chandr-behdis,' with what result I do not know; but in that same year a special enquiry was made by Mr. Ross Knyvett, District Superintendent of Police, Lalitpur, and also by Captain Kincaid, Assistant Political Agent, Bundelkhand, whose reports were forwarded to the Government of India in the Foreign Department. Their enquiries were confined chiefly, I believe, to British India, and Tehri or Orcha, a Native State in Bundelkhand.

These Sonarias are, I believe, a registered class of criminals in the North-Western Provinces, but not in the Central Provinces. In the Native States they were ordered to be settled down and no doubt a great many of them have settled down and taken to cultivation; but during my recent tour in the Datia State of Bundelkhand and the Alampur parganah of Indore, I have come to learn that the Darbars do not exercise such a strict surveillance over the movements of these people as they are expected to do, or as much as they would have one believe they do. From enquiries I find that some hundreds of these men are now absent from their homes on thieving expeditions: they are scattered over the length and breadth of India, visiting all the large fairs. A very large gathering of them is expected at the coming 'Magh Mela' to be held in Allahabad. The majority of those now absent will not return home till just before the rains, when they will return in shoals, with the proceeds of eight months' 'loot.'

I have managed to get hold of some of them who are willing to turn 'informers,' and it is with the object of employing

some of them that I now address you. The North-Western Provinces Police and the Central Provinces Police would no doubt like to employ some of them. The Railway Police too could make great use of these men. Those who return home by rail will alight at Gwalior, Sonagir, and Moth on the Indian Midland Railway; those who come by road, bringing their 'loot' on ponies and camels, will pass chiefly through Native States, crossing the Amola Chandaoni Ghot in Gwalior. These are the chief places near here. They also alight at Agra and Ajmere.

The castes that leave this part are ~~Brāhmins, Kirars,~~ Kangars, Kachis, and Ahirs; some of these men accompanied the last Kabul Expedition (not the Durand Mission). I merely mention this to show what a distance they go.

These 'thugs' or Chandrbehdis, as they are called, all pay so much a head before they start on their expeditions. The rates this year vary from Rs. 4 to 7, and is collected by a special officer. Whether these amounts reach the State treasuries or not, I am unable to say. I should hope not. The probabilities are they do not, but are waylaid as the 'huq' of some superior officials. Be this as it may, the men are under the impression that it is collected for the Darbār.

On their return they are bound by oath in some States to present as a *nazar* anything of very great value, such as stones, valuable rings set with diamonds; in others, they keep all they can get, only paying the usual tax.

They leave generally after the Devali and Dessera after doing *pooja*.

My informers estimate roughly that some 600 or 700 men are now out from these parts—Datia, Alampur, and this side of Gwalior.

They have 'thangs' or receiving houses all over India, the Baniyas being the chief offenders.

These 'thugs' or Chandrbehdis are very expert thieves and their tricks are no doubt well known to the police; but I will give a few examples which may prove useful as well as interesting.

They never commit thefts by night.

Gangs vary from 2 to 15, and are headed by a man called 'jaita' or 'mookiah'; these always take two shares of the plunder; each working member is called an 'oopardar,' and he has a boy attached to him who is called a 'chawa.' They

do not work without these 'chawas,' who are seldom over twelve years of age or under eight.

The 'oopardars' do the work of talking and engaging the attention of the persons to be *looted*, whilst the 'chawa' watches his opportunity and runs off with the 'loot,' which he immediately hands over to another 'oopardar,' who takes it to the halting spot, and there it is quickly buried.

It sometimes happens that two gangs meet, and should one need the help of the other, they divide the spoil equally. They have signs by which they can recognise each other *anywhere*.

They are great in committing thefts on the railways. Two or three get into a railway carriage, and during the journey they manage to pass the stolen property from one to the other till the last one gets up and looks out of the window; seizing this opportunity he flings the article or bundle out of the window and marks the spot by the number of telegraph posts to the station; they then alight and wend their way back to pick up the 'loot.'

They also mix themselves with passengers who are busy taking their tickets and watch any one who puts any parcel or bundle down; as soon as he does, the 'chawa' is off with it and they walk to the next station where they take their own tickets.

They also watch passengers getting out at a station, one who has a lot of baggage; and after he has taken out 4 or 5, and re-enters the carriage for another parcel, the 'chawa' whips off one of the 4 or 5. By the time the passenger collects and counts his things, his parcel has passed through several hands.

When working in the streets and bazars they select a high caste well-to-do looking man, and a 'chawa' passing by manages to rub some filth on his clothes with a stick; a friendly 'oopardar' goes up to the man and tells him that he did not make a very careful selection of the spot where he last sat, and that he ought to wash his clothes at once. The man at once makes for the nearest well, tank or stream, and there proceeds to wash. The 'oopardar' also goes to wash his face and clean his teeth; meanwhile the ever-present 'chawa' whips off with the man's 'busni' (purse).

Another dodge is for an 'oopardar' to select a likely looking individual, and get into conversation with him. A second 'oopardar' brushes past the two, nearly knocking

them down. He is at once sworn at for his clumsiness and he craves pardon, saying he is only a poor sweeper and meant no harm. At the sound of the word 'sweeper,' the 'oopardar' and his companion make off to wash, and at the washing-place the 'chawa' performs his part of the trade by walking off with the 'busni.'

At bathing ghats and river-side they watch for men who go to bathe leaving their wives or mothers in charge of their valuables. As soon as they spot such a woman, an 'oopardar' will sit down in front of her to ease himself. She at once turns her head to look the other way, and in slips the 'chawa' and is off with anything he can lay hands on. They watch Banias' shops, and whilst the Bania is haggling with the 'bypari,' the 'chawa' walks off with the bag of cash.

The Alampur 'thugs' have changed their name to 'Teerat-bashis.'

The Gwalior and Datia 'thugs' call themselves 'Chandr-behdis,' which I believe really means those that will not offend by night or under the light of the moon; they will not commit a theft at night for anything; they think it unlucky.

Towards Neemuch, I believe, they go by the name of 'Byparis.'

In the North-Western Provinces and Native State of Orchha and Central Provinces they are better known as 'Sonarias.' In former days only Brahmins belonged to this class, but it is now common to other castes. They are very clever at whipping things out of tents, dodging the sentries in a very clever but simple way.

The following vocabulary may prove useful if not already known :—

|             |     |     |     |            |
|-------------|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| a shawl     | ... | ... | ... | beenjila.  |
| a lotah     | ... | ... | ... | peani.     |
| a gun       | ... | ... | ... | bharakni.  |
| a sword     | ..  | ... | ... | dharaie.   |
| a bundle    | ..  | ... | ... | kutaria.   |
| a box       | ... | ... | ..  | chirayia.  |
| a blanket   | ... | ... | ... | rungatiao. |
| a purse     | ... | ... | ... | bagori.    |
| a pearl     | ... | ..  | ... | mijna.     |
| a coral     | ... | ... | ... | lalpa.     |
| gold        | ... | ... | ... | siand.     |
| silver      | ... | ... | ... | ooban.     |
| copper pice | ... | ... | ... | daure.     |
| a man       | ... | ... | ... | nimtha.    |
| a woman     | ... | ... | ... | sainti.    |



|                           |     |     |                     |
|---------------------------|-----|-----|---------------------|
| a prostitute ...          | ... | ... | mangania.           |
| a boy ...                 | ... | ... | tulara.             |
| a girl ..                 | ... | ... | chaie.              |
| theft ..                  | ..  | ..  | gamaie and killaie. |
| dhoti ...                 | ... | ..  | pund phüttoo.       |
| pagri ..                  | ... | ... | kythi.              |
| angarka ..                | ..  | ... | taniar.             |
| angarki ...               | ... | ... | taniaie.            |
| bangles ...               | ..  | ... | bardula.            |
| gunj ..                   | ... | ... | pit-goosa.          |
| nose-ring ..              | ... | ... | nakoli.             |
| elephant .                | ... | ... | sondia.             |
| camel ..                  | ... | ..  | lumna.              |
| horse .                   | ... | ..  | phurka.             |
| bullock ...               | ... | ..  | katwa.              |
| cart ...                  | ..  | ... | dharkni.            |
| tent .                    | ... | ... | khol.               |
| money-lender              | ... | ... | tallia.             |
| thanadar ...              | ... | ... | thola.              |
| policeman ..              | ..  | ..  | lokia.              |
| rajah ..                  | ..  | ... | barukri.            |
| zamindar .                | ... | ..  | khadka.             |
| sahib ...                 | ... | ... | kongia.             |
| bania ...                 | ... | ..  | sirwa.              |
| attah ...                 | ... | ... | khunja.             |
| ghee ..                   | ... | ..  | tooph.              |
| wood ..                   | ... | ... | banari.             |
| fire ..                   | ... | ... | keoli.              |
| fire-place ..             | ... | ... | bithula.            |
| a dog ...                 | ... | ... | do.                 |
| to bury property ..       | ..  | ..  | reh kareī.          |
| to sell property ...      | ... | ... | kunj-i-ao.          |
| a boy chawa is caught ... | ... | ... | tekboh.             |
| a stick ...               | ..  | ... | benari.             |
| a thali ...               | ... | ... | thanki.             |

They worship the goddess 'Devi.' They perform the 'Sath Narayan-ki-Katha' ceremony, or in other words, distribute part of the proceeds in charity. This is done by all dacoits and professionals.

If any of these men are caught in Native States and put into jail, they refuse to eat, and plead that they are poor Brahmins and feign dying, and thus often get out of jail.

I have no doubt that most of what I have stated is stale news to most District Superintendents of Police, but perhaps all do not know where to trace these men to, as I know from experience that they seldom or ever give correct names and residences.

The following villages in Datia contain these gentlemen, some in small, others in large numbers :—(1) Rarwa, (2) Parari, (3) Amaoli, (4) Mahona, (5) Rohoni, (6) Bagpura, (7) Cheena, (8) Digwa, (9) Bhagwapura, (10) Rampura, (11) Marseni, (12) Chamgan, (13) Katonda, (14) Eongri, (15) Jaroli, (16) Murgawan, (17) Katapur, (18) Unchio, (19) Korelta, (20) Rajora.

In Indore State, Alampur pargana—(1) Salaon, (2) Bhitari, (3) Burko, (4) Khuja, (5) Hussanpur.

In Gwalior bordering Datia, Indore—(1) Gondari, (2) Maithano, (3) Imilia, (4) Sora in the Daboh pargana.

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## APPENDIX VI.

### **Newsarias.**

Extract from the *United Provinces Criminal Intelligence Gazette*, dated 1st August 1906.

Allāhabad, August 1st.—A reference to this office was made by the Criminal Investigation Department, Simla, regarding a class of criminals known as 'Newsarias.' It had been noted that their *modus operandi* was similar to that of Sonorias and Chandrawedis.

This is apparently not so: the latter are addicted to the crimes of 'picking pockets' and of 'shop-lifting,' both of which offences are known in this country as '*uthaigiri*.'

The 'Sonorias' and the 'Chandrawedis' are not a caste, but a fraternity.

The 'Newsarias,' however, cannot be classed in this way. They are merely called Newsarias because of their pursuit. They are primarily card-sharpers, and the particular game which they affect is that known as '*nausars*.'

'Nausar,' and for that reason they are called 'Nausarbaz' or 'Nausaria.' The game is played with an ordinary pack of cards. Hands consist of three cards, and the highest hand that can be held is three aces, which is known as *nausar* from the fact that the holder of that hand receives nine times the value of stakes from the other players.

There are two other hands known as *sesar* and *dusar* which entitle the holders to three times and twice their stakes.

Incidentally, in order to attract players of means, one of the party is frequently dressed as a 'nawab' and stories are circulated by the rest of the party as to his wealth and his fondness for gambling. When they have succeeded in collecting a number of players, they play *nausar*, or possibly some other game, and it is found that the strangers always lose. From this habit of personating a 'nawab' it has been thought that 'newsara' is a form of cheating by such personation, and not merely of cheating at cards.

## APPENDIX VII.

### **Bhatras.**

The following is a useful note called from the *Special Supplement to the Panjáb Police Gazette* dated 18th January 1907, and the *Supplement to the Panjáb Police Gazette* dated 9th August 1905, on Bhatras.

*Note on Bhatras, dated the 9th August 1904, by W. A. Gayer, Esq., Assistant to the Inspector-General of Police, His Highness the Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad.*

Bhatras are a small tribe of swindlers who have settled themselves in Sialkot district of the Panjáb. They are said to have come originally from Ceylon and have since divided into two sects—the Mona Bhatras and the Sikh Bhatras.

The Mona Bhatras claim to be Brahmans, wear the sacred thread, and observe all the ceremonies of the Sanatan Hindus, but are looked down on by orthodox Brahmans because of their practice of collecting charity at the times of eclipse, when only the lowest classes of beggars are supposed to do so.

The Sikh Bhatras eat goat's flesh and observe the Sikh custom of killing the animal to be eaten with one stroke of a sword: otherwise they follow the tenets of the Mona, except that they do not wear the sacred thread. They wear their hair long like other Sikhs, but preserve to themselves the right to cut it and shave, if this should be necessary for purposes of disguise. This reservation is probably a privilege self assumed to meet the necessities of the swindling profession to which they belong.

In their own district the conduct of the Bhatras is most circumspect. They have, I believe, never been caught stealing or taking part in any of the more exciting classes of crime against property, nor do they carry on their swindling practices in or near their own district. Probably with the object of outwardly appearing what they profess to be, merely beggars and fortune-tellers, Bhatras live in their own villages in the most squalid style, several living together crowded into a room which would barely hold two in even such slight comfort as is ordinarily desired by the poorest classes of native society. They can, therefore, once safely home, defy the police to touch

them under Chapter VIII of the Criminal Procedure Code, and live in perfect security and spend their money on drink and in gambling, the chief vices to which they are addicted.

The particular form of swindling adopted by Bhatras is collecting sums of money for charities and appropriating what they obtain. They are great adepts at disguise and travel as Sanyāsi or Udasi Fakirs, Bairagis, Sikhs, Brahmans, etc., and professing to be delegates from certain temples, schools, hospitals or other charitable institutions, collect subscriptions from sympathizers. They have lists on which donors enter their names and the amounts subscribed, and as they obtain well-known names so their lists become more valuable, as such names lend to them a sort of guarantee of good faith, and often quite large sums are secured from rich and religiously-minded *zamindars*. The individual sums collected are, however, generally small and being so are the more safely taken, as the subscriber of a small sum is far less likely to enquire into its safe arrival at its destination than would be the giver of a liberal contribution. That these small sums amount to a considerable total, however, is shown by the fact that four out of a gang of five Bhatras were arrested in Bengal on suspicion and searched, money-order receipts to the amount of Rs. 1,611 being discovered on them, these dated from 1900 to May 1904, and as they had been despatched from Bombay, Central Provinces, Bengal and Assam, it would seem that during that time these men must have spent much on travelling and on themselves, so this amount, merely representing profits, must have been only a small portion of the sums actually made. At the time the District Superintendent of Police, Sialkot, was communicated with, and reported 450 members of this tribe as absent from their homes; if all these have been equally successful, at a rough estimate that we could put down their profits only at well over a quarter of a lākh of rupees a year.

Before a gang starts on tour, the members are said to appoint a *chaudri* to whom all communications are addressed and all money-orders sent. This however is doubtful, as the money-orders found in the above case were all addressed to various members of the family of the head of the gang, and on one or two occasions to outside persons to whom money was owed. The head-man of this gang was about sixty years of age, and the youngest member a lad of twelve, showing that Bhatras begin young and work to a good age.

The chief villages in which these Bhatras reside are—

- (1) Daska (new and old), tehsil Daska, Sialkot.
- (2) Ghalotian (Kalan), tehsil Daska, Sialkot.
- (3) Bhandewal, tehsil Daska, Sialkot.
- (4) Kampur, near Badoka, tehsil Daska, Sialkot.
- (5) Two small villages near Narowal, tehsil Daska, Sialkot.
- (6) Dhariwal Suraj, tehsil Raya, Sialkot.

A few members of the sect are said to have settled in Hyderabad (Sind), Surat, Karachi, and other places in that vicinity. They are also said to be settling in Amritsar, Multán and Hardwar, and some are said to have settled in Southern India. Their chief shrine, and one to which all Bhatras subscribe liberally, is at Bhadowall in Sialkot.

Their field for wandering is practically unlimited, as they are said to have paid visit at times to Kabul, Persia, Baluchistan, Ceylon and Burma, and are known to travel over the whole of India. They are said to be excessively good at picking up languages and so to have little trouble wherever they go.

I would propose that this note be sent to the District Superintendent of Police, Sialkot, for verification and such further details as he may be able to supply.

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*Note on Bhatras by A. C. Stewart, Esq., District Superintendent of Police, Sialkot.*

(1) In the *Mahabharat* and *Sanghasan Batisi* it is recorded that one Madho Nal, a Brahman Rishi, who was well versed in singing and poetry, fell in love with and married a dancing girl named Kam Kundala. From these two persons are descended the tribe of Madhwas commonly known as Bhatras. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, when exempting the tribe from *tirni*—or taxation—refers to them as Madhwas, descendants of Madho, as can be proved by an original *parwana* dated 7th Assuj, Sambat 1866, to his governors, which is still in the possession of one Pirthi Das, Bhatra of Dhariwal. The term 'Bhatra' is a diminutive of the Sanskrit word *bhat*, a poet, and has been applied to the tribe because Madho was himself fond of quoting poetry.

Madho was born and lived all his life in Ceylon, and there is no evidence of any of his descendants immigrating into India before the time of Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism. In



under 12 shave their heads. They pose as magicians and pretend by looking into a cup of oil to foretell the future, and chiefly frequent the Kangra District.

(6) Bhatras in the Sialkot District are located in eleven villages as below :—

| Village.                | Police-station jurisdiction. | Tehsil. | Numbers. |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|---------|----------|
| Kot Daska               | Daska                        | Daska   | 182      |
| Daska Kalan             | Do.                          | Do.     | 241      |
| Bhadewala               | Do.                          | Do.     | 535      |
| Nikka Kaila             | Do.                          | Do.     | 30       |
| Korpur                  | Samberial                    | Do.     | 32       |
| Galotian Kalan          | Dharamkot                    | Do.     | 389      |
| Dhariwal                | Talwandi Bhindran            | Raya    | 332      |
| Saraj                   | Do.                          | Do.     | 53       |
| Gota                    | Do.                          | Do.     | 43       |
| Sarjapur                | Do.                          | Do.     | 8        |
| Dadian                  | Do.                          | Do.     | 15       |
| Total number of Bhatras |                              |         | 1,860    |

They may be divided roughly into two parts, (a) those residing in Kot Daska, Daska Kalan, Bhadewala, Nikka Kaila, Korpur, Galotian Kalan, (b) Dhariwal, Saraj, Gota, Sarjapur, Dadian. The former (a) are true Sikhs and observe all the Sikh customs. They do not take false names when on tour, though often they wear the garb of Gurus, or rather Akalis and pose as Nihangs. The Bhatras of Galotian and Bhadewala however have lately shown a tendency to disguise themselves as Bairagi Sadhus.

The latter (b) are not orthodox Sikhs in so much as they are nearly all smokers and *jata-dharis* (wearers of long matted hair). When on tour they call themselves *Das* instead of *Singh*, wear *langotis*, cover their heads and bodies with ashes, carry iron tongs and behave as Udyasi *fakirs*. Whilst all are swindlers living on their wits, those shown under (a) chiefly practise astrology, and such like, and thus prey on the credulity of their victims. Those classed under (b) pose as delegates of certain temples and *chelas* of *mahants* and collect subscriptions from pious Hindus.

A form of deception which is peculiar to, and practised only by, some Bhatras of Daska is to make an indelible mark round the neck, and call themselves *Husaini Brahmans*.



These men recite the genealogy and martyrdom of Husain and collect alms from Muhammadans. The origin of this custom emanated from a legend that a Brahman recovered the head of Husain from some *kaffirs* who had carried it off by substituting the head of his own son for it.

(7) Bhatras go on tour after the *Dewali* festival and return to their villages at the commencement of the rainy season. It may be said that all except the very young children and physically infirm males leave their villages. Sometimes, but not often, those classed under (a) are accompanied by their wives, especially if they have daughters of a marriageable age. It is stated that subscriptions are collected from *zamindars* for the marriage expenses and ceremonies of these latter; but the chief forms of swindling of all have been correctly described by Mr. Gayer. As a rule Bhatras do not travel in gangs of more than half a dozen, but they apparently have pre-arranged rendezvous where they meet before finally returning home. The money they collect is remitted chiefly through the post office, but it is said that within the last year some of them have taken to making remittances by means of *hundis*. It is alleged they have many agents in Amritsar, and in this office Confidential Note on Bhatras dated 14th March 1904, mention of one Mussammat Bhudan of that city was made, through whom they sell clothes and other articles collected in their travels.

(8) Out of a total of 1,860 male Bhatras over twelve years of age, residents of the Sialkot District, no less than 780 were found absent from their homes on or about 20th October. Of these absentees, about half may be considered as having permanently emigrated to various places, but they are in close touch with their brethren in Sialkot, whom they frequently visit.

The amount of money collected by Bhatras on their travels is far larger than is generally imagined. An examination of the post office registers showed that 190 money-orders aggregating Rs. 7,516 were paid from 1st October 1903 to 30th September 1904 to Bhatras of Saraj, Gota, Sarjapur and Dadian only. I attach a detailed list of these money-orders, which is instructive as illustrating the enormous distances these people travel and the chief months in which they make collections of money. To realise the extent of these net profits it must be remembered that the total number of male Bhatras in these four villages over twelve years of age is only

119, and as some of them were physically incapable of traveling, the average earnings of those actually on tour becomes very large indeed. And if the earnings of Bhatras in the remaining villages in Sialkot are calculated on the same scale, the money-order remittances only of the tribe are well over a lakh of rupees per annum.

(9) As stated by Mr. Gayer, Bhatras when at home live in the most squalid style. They are inveterate gamblers and as a rule heavy drinkers, and all their earnings appear to be squandered in these vices. Thirty-five members of the tribes in Sialkot have been convicted, chiefly under Chapter XVII of the Indian Penal Code. About half of these convictions were obtained in outside districts.

Bhatras of Sialkot with few exceptions neither understand cultivation nor possess land; but the houses they occupy are their own property.

*List of money-orders distributed by Branch Post Office, Gota, to the Bhatras of Gota, Saraj, Sarjapur and Dadian, from 1st October 1903 to 30th September 1904.*

| No. of money-order. | Date of issue. | Office of issue.   | Name of remitter. | Name and residence of payee. | Amount of money-order. |
|---------------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|
|                     | 1903.          |                    |                   |                              | Rs. a.                 |
| 913                 | 7 Oct.         | Amar Kot ...       | Nihal Singh ...   | Buta Singh, Saraj            | 24 0                   |
| 486                 | 14 "           | Howrah ...         | Nanak Singh ...   | Munshi Singh, Gota           | 10 0                   |
| 922                 | 26 "           | Dehra Dun ..       | Hari Ram ...      | Mussammat Jando, Gota        | 7 0                    |
| 921                 | 26 "           | Do. ...            | Do. ...           | Do. Hardevi, Gota            | 7 0                    |
| 187                 | 16 Nov.        | Montgomery ..      | Bhag Singh ...    | Do. Malan, Gota              | 5 0                    |
| 7                   | 21 "           | Jullunder ...      | Sohan Das ...     | Do. do. Sarjapur             | 10 0                   |
| 8543                | 23 "           | Girgaon ...        | Sawan Singh ...   | Sant Ram, Saraj              | 50 0                   |
| 1943                | 23 "           | Lahore ...         | Budha Singh ...   | Nihala, Saraj                | 24 0                   |
| 8522                | 23 "           | Girgaon ...        | Ganga Singh ...   | Do. Saraj                    | 90 0                   |
| 8540                | 23 "           | Do. ...            | Do ...            | Dhanpat Rai, Saraj           | 10 0                   |
| 598                 | 24 "           | Pulogaon ...       | Arur Singh ...    | Mussammat Nihali, Saraj      | 25 0                   |
| 599                 | 24 "           | Do. ...            | Teja Singh ...    | Do. Jivan, Saraj             | 35 0                   |
| 366                 | 26 "           | Montgomery ...     | Bhag Singh ...    | Do. Malan, Gota              | 2 0                    |
| 655                 | 27 "           | Bombay ...         | Sundar Das ...    | Nihal Chand, Saraj           | 50 0                   |
| 192                 | 28 "           | Atras ...          | Ganga Das ...     | Do. Saraj                    | 100 0                  |
| 918                 | 30 "           | Sagar, Sadr Bazar. | Do. ...           | Mussammat Jivani, Gota       | 25 0                   |
| 917                 | 30 "           | Do. ...            | Lal Das ...       | Do. Budhan, Saraj            | 25 0                   |
| 549                 | 30 "           | Talhara (Akola) .  | Mohan Das ...     | Do. Malan, Saraj             | 25 0                   |
| 498                 | 1 Dec          | Sikanderabad ...   | Bhagwan Das ...   | Do. Ati, Saraj               | 400 0                  |
| 3700                | 1 "            | Gorakpur ...       | Jawahir Singh ... | Ganesh Das, Gota             | 40 0                   |
| 8897                | 3 "            | Bombay ...         | Sharu Das ...     | Mukand Das, Gota             | 50 0                   |
| 8896                | 3 "            | Do. ...            | Ganga Das ...     | Mussammat Jivan, Saraj       | 125 0                  |
| 4257                | 7 "            | Gorakpur ...       | Katasia Singh ... | Do. Budhan,, Saraj           | 12 12                  |
| 629                 | 8 "            | Sikanderabad ...   | Bhagwan Das ...   | Do. Ati, Saraj               | 75 0                   |
| 954                 | 9 "            | Poona ...          | Sukhram ...       | Do. Utmi, Saraj              | 100 0                  |
| 856                 | 12 "           | Kharakpur ...      | Ganga Das ...     | Do. Jivani, Gota             | 37 0                   |
| 860                 | 12 "           | Do. ...            | Lal Das ...       | Do. Budhan, Gota             | 30 0                   |
| 95                  | 14 "           | Girgaon ...        | Ganda Das ...     | Do. Jivan, Saraj             | 75 0                   |

| No. of money-order. | Date of issue. | Office of issue.      | Name of remitter. | Name and residence of payee.   | Amount of money-order |
|---------------------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
|                     | 1903.          |                       |                   |                                | Rs. a.                |
| 182                 | 15 Dec.        | Kurdnadi              | Sonehra Singh...  | Pura Singh, Saraj              | 35 0                  |
| 183                 | 15 "           | Do.                   | Sadhu Das         | Nihal Chand, Saraj             | 25 0                  |
| 184                 | 15 "           | Do.                   | Hardit Das        | Do. Saraj                      | 150 0                 |
| 473                 | 17 "           | Jubbulpur             | Nand Das          | Mussammat Santo, Gota          | 50 0                  |
| 841                 | 21 "           | Aurangabad            | Sant Das          | Bura, Saraj                    | 25 0                  |
| 2659                | 21 "           | Bara Bazar, Calcutta. | Jawinda Singh     | Mussammat Bhagri, Saraj        | 25 0                  |
| 289                 | 21 "           | Butal                 | Tehl Das          | Do. Bhagan, Saraj              | 115 0                 |
| 1420                | 28 "           | Bhawani               | Asa Das           | Do. Aso, Saraj                 | 25 0                  |
| 651                 | 21 "           | Gurgaon               | Ganda Singh       | Do. Jivan, Saraj               | 50 0                  |
| 971                 | 21 "           | Vewli                 | Sham Das          | Karm Singh, Dadian             | 100 0                 |
| 1093                | 22 "           | Lyalipur              | Mela Singh        | Gurmukh Singh, Saraj           | 25 0                  |
| 200                 | 23 "           | Manjpur               | Hira Das          | Pindi Das, Saraj               | 50 0                  |
| 173                 | 30 "           | Belgaon               | Ganga Singh       | Kama Singh, Saraj              | 100 0                 |
| 286                 | 30 "           | Do.                   | Do.               | Mussammat Premi, Gota          | 50 0                  |
| 715                 | 30 "           | Howrah                | Jawahir Singh     | Sardul Singh, Gota             | 40 0                  |
| 131                 | 31 "           | Phagwara              | Damodhar Das      | Mussammat Gangi, Gota          | 25 0                  |
|                     | 1904.          |                       |                   |                                |                       |
| 1917                | 4 Jan.         | Howrah                | Ganga Das         | Mussammat Jivani, Gota         | 60 0                  |
| 1918                | 4 "            | Do.                   | Nihal Das         | Do. Gangi, Gota                | 100 0                 |
| 1912                | 4 "            | Do.                   | Lal Singh         | Ganga Singh, Gota              | 20 0                  |
| 252                 | 5 "            | Meharpur              | Bura Das          | Khera Das, Gota                | 25 0                  |
| 476                 | 6 "            | Howrah                | Moti Das          | Mussammat Bhagwan Devi, Saraj. | 200 0                 |
| 364                 | 7 "            | Jubbulpur             | Bittu Singh       | Nihala, Saraj                  | 50 0                  |
| 604                 | 8 "            | Ras Road              | Bura Singh        | Utmi, Saraj                    | 28 0                  |
| 733                 | 8 "            | Do.                   | Habel Singh       | Mussammat Kishen Devi, Saraj.  | 40 0                  |
| 738                 | 8 "            | Do.                   | Buta Das          | Lochman Singh, Gota            | 20 0                  |
| 737                 | 8 "            | Do.                   | Gopal Das         | Nihal Singh, Gota              | 30 0                  |
| 18                  | 8 "            | Gowhatti              | Ganda Das         | Nihalu, Saraj                  | 40 0                  |
| 15                  | 8 "            | Do.                   | Jia Das           | Lochman Singh, Gota            | 50 0                  |
| 603                 | 8 "            | Ras Road              | Badhawa Singh     | Mussammat Budhan, Saraj        | 18 0                  |
| 48                  | 11 "           | Calcutta              | Do.               | Do. Mango, Saraj               | 30 0                  |
| 341                 | 11 "           | Heli                  | Sohan Singh       | Do. Nidhana, Saraj             | 100 0                 |
| 2963                | 13 "           | Howrah                | Amta Singh        | Sardul Singh, Gota             | 23 0                  |
| 2948                | 13 "           | Do.                   | Gori Das          | Wadhawa Singh, Saraj           | 15 0                  |
| 39                  | 14 "           | Nauder                | Jiwan Singh       | Mussammat Ati, Saraj           | 95 0                  |
| 35                  | 14 "           | Do.                   | Katha Singh       | Pindi Das, Saraj               | 38 0                  |
| 2946                | 13 "           | Howrah                | Johri Singh       | Wadhawa Singh, Saraj           | 15 0                  |
| 1189                | 18 "           | Ras Road              | Sohan Singh       | Bhagwan Das, Saraj             | 25 0                  |
| 103                 | 19 "           | Nauder                | Sant Das          | Pindi Das, Saraj               | 22 0                  |
| 941                 | 20 "           | Tanda                 | Diwan Singh       | Mussammat Chandan, Saraj       | 12 0                  |
| 1661                | 25 "           | Ras Road              | Nand Singh        | Do. Santo, Gota                | 25 0                  |
| 963                 | 26 "           | Lordganj              | Sham Das          | Sham Das, Saraj                | 22 0                  |
| 251                 | 26 "           | Ranchi                | Ganda Singh       | Mussammat Budhan, Saraj        | 25 0                  |
| 312                 | 26 "           | Balapur               | Do.               | Do. Kirpa Devi, Saraj          | 25 0                  |
| 311                 | 26 "           | Do.                   | Mathra Das        | Do. Bhagan, Saraj              | 125 0                 |
| 208                 | 27 "           | Chandak (Madras).     | Ganga Singh       | Karam Chand, Saraj             | 100 0                 |
| 1694                | 27 "           | Howrah                | Do.               | Mussammat Jivan, Gota          | 29 0                  |
| 163                 | 27 "           | Sujanpur Tera         | Khushala Singh    | Do. Aso, Saraj                 | 30 0                  |
| 729                 | 29 "           | Barly (Monimabad).    | Baga Singh        | Ganga Ram, Gota                | 25 0                  |
| 242                 | 30 "           | Sileva                | Nowak Singh       | Munshi Ram, Gota               | 25 0                  |
| 585                 | 2 Feb.         | Indore                | Wadhawa Singh     | Mussammat Ati, Saraj           | 20 0                  |
| 280                 | 3 "            | Nauder                | Sham Singh        | Karm Singh, Gota               | 35 0                  |
| 174                 | 6 "            | Raegaon (Akola)       | Wadhawa Das       | Nihala, Saraj                  | 55 0                  |
| 172                 | 6 "            | Do. do.               | Ganga Das         | Divan Singh, Saraj             | 25 0                  |
| 175                 | 6 "            | Do. do.               | Kala Singh        | Munshi Singh, Gota             | 32 c                  |

| No. of money-order. | Date of issue. | Office of issue          | Name of remitter.             | Name and residence of payee.   | Amount of money-order. |
|---------------------|----------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|
|                     | 1904           |                          |                               |                                | Rs. a.                 |
| 579                 | 8 Feb.         | Umrit                    | Hira Das                      | Pindi Das, Saraj               | 50 0                   |
| 204                 | 8 "            | Khangaon                 | Gurdial Singh                 | Mussammat Ati, Saraj           | 75 0                   |
| 202                 | 8 "            | Do.                      | Kala Singh                    | Sant Singh, Saraj              | 20 0                   |
| 920                 | 9 "            | Tanda Wali Muhammad Khan | Garja Singh                   | Mussammat Ishri, Saraj         | 14 0                   |
| 810                 | 11 "           | Hamirpur                 | Nihal Singh                   | Do. Budhan, Saraj              | 25 0                   |
| 564                 | 12 "           | Sharalun                 | Ganda Das                     | Do. Jivan Saraj                | 100 0                  |
| 767                 | 13 "           | Howrah                   | Jawahri Das                   | Sardul Singh, Gota             | 60 0                   |
| 335                 | 11 "           | Shah Kot                 | Mangh Singh                   | Mussammat Budhan, Saraj        | 12 8                   |
| 45                  | 16 "           | Aurangabad               | Jivan Das                     | Do Ati, Saraj                  | 50 0                   |
| 1434                | 16 "           | Marsaria                 | Garb Das                      | Man Singh, Gota                | 10 0                   |
| 43                  | 16 "           | Aurangabad               | Katha Singh                   | Pindi Das, Saraj               | 100 0                  |
| 660                 | 19 "           | Lahore                   | Radha Sham                    | Gurmukh Das, Saraj             | 5 0                    |
| 659                 | 19 "           | Do.                      | Do.                           | Do. Saraj                      | 25 0                   |
| 601                 | 20 "           | Balapur                  | Ganga Das                     | Divan Singh, Saraj             | 34 0                   |
| 773                 | 22 "           | Gwalior                  | Ditta Singh                   | Nihala, Saraj                  | 40 0                   |
| 774                 | 22 "           | Do                       | Nihal Singh and Tirath Singh. | Nihala Shah, Saraj             | 25 0                   |
| 615                 | 22 "           | Firozpur                 | Dial Das                      | Mussammat Gangi, Gota          | 60 0                   |
| 679                 | 22 "           | Bania                    | Natha Das                     | Dhanpat (Sahukar), Saraj       | 60 0                   |
| 680                 | 22 "           | Do.                      | Sukhu Das                     | Nihala, Saraj                  | 60 0                   |
| 260                 | 23 "           | Khairpur                 | Nihal Singh                   | Buta Singh, Saraj              | 30 0                   |
| 1887                | 23 "           | Howrah                   | Sawan Singh                   | Mussammat Bhagwan Devi, Saraj. | 5 0                    |
| 1723                | 23 "           | Bara Bazar               | Wadhawa Das                   | Khera Das, Gota                | 10 0                   |
| 1679                | 24 "           | Ras Road                 | Jivan Das                     | Mussammat Bhagan, Saraj        | 28 0                   |
| 100                 | 26 "           | Baij Nath                | Labhu                         | Do. Budhi, Saraj               | 10 0                   |
| 2290                | 26 "           | Sukhnam                  | Lal Singh                     | Jai Kishen, Gota               | 12 0                   |
| 1314                | 26 "           | Riwa                     | Asa Das                       | Mussammat Aso, Saraj           | 25 0                   |
| 395                 | 29 "           | Cawnpore                 | Lal Singh                     | Karm Singh, Gota               | 25 0                   |
| 231                 | 1 Mar          | Mandalay                 | Nanak Singh                   | Mussammat Tabo, Gota           | 25 0                   |
| 637                 | 2 "            | Daropka (Kangra)         | Atma Das                      | Do. Murmi, Dadian              | 35 0                   |
| 638                 | 2 "            | Do. do.                  | Do                            | Do. do. Dadian                 | 33 8                   |
| 953                 | 3 "            | Nadaon                   | Kalo Singh                    | Do. do. Dadian                 | 15 0                   |
| 311                 | 7 "            | Pinda Khar               | Sant Das                      | Pindi Das, Saraj               | 56 0                   |
| 441                 | 8 "            | Gulberga                 | Ganga Singh                   | Karm Chand, Saraj              | 100 0                  |
| 1744                | 8 "            | Etawah                   | Sunder Singh                  | Mussammat Ati, Saraj           | 25 0                   |
| 1612                | 9 "            | Jubbulpore               | Ganga Das                     | Do. Jivani, Gota               | 15 0                   |
| 306                 | 10 "           | Aulukswar                | Lal Das                       | Do. Premi, Saraj               | 60 0                   |
| 893                 | 11 "           | Jawala Mukhi             | Nihala                        | Do. do. Gota                   | 25 0                   |
| 220                 | 11 "           | Surat                    | Hira Das                      | Nehal Chand, Saraj             | 34 0                   |
| 282                 | 11 "           | Gurdaspur                | Nabhu                         | Mussammat Budhi, Saraj         | 10 0                   |
| 884                 | 11 "           | Calcutta                 | Jawahri Das                   | Sardul Singh, Gota             | 30 0                   |
| 894                 | 12 "           | Jawala Mukhi             | Utam                          | Mussammat Premi, Gota          | 5 0                    |
| 731                 | 14 "           | Nauder                   | Fakir Das (Udasi Sadhu).      | Do. Bhagan, Saraj              | 60 0                   |
| 2945                | 14 "           | Collectorganj            | Natha Das                     | Dhanpat, Saraj                 | 40 0                   |
| 583                 | 14 "           | Kamalia                  | Labhu Singh                   | Mussammat Ishri, Saraj         | 21 0                   |
| 720                 | 14 "           | Nauder                   | Tehl Das                      | Do Bhagan, Saraj               | 125 0                  |
| 724                 | 14 "           | Do.                      | Haveli Das                    | Do. Sidhi, Saraj               | 10 0                   |
| 728                 | 14 "           | Do.                      | Ganda Das                     | Do. Ishri, Saraj               | 23 0                   |
| 189                 | 15 "           | Azimganj (Murshidabad).  | Jivan Das                     | Do. Bhagan, Saraj              | 37 0                   |
| 630                 | 16 "           | Chatgaon                 | Lahna Das                     | Lochman Singh, Gota            | 50 0                   |
| 1388                | 16 "           | Howrah                   | Ishar Singh                   | Sadho Singh, Saraj             | 50 0                   |
| 380                 | 16 "           | Surat                    | Sant Das                      | Mussammat Mohandevi, Gota      | 26 0                   |
| 1344                | 18 "           | Rajabpur (Murshidabad).  | Khushal Singh                 | Bakhshish Singh, Dadian        | 35 0                   |
| 2492                | 21 "           | Poona                    | Ganda Das                     | Mussammat Jivan, Saraj         | 80 0                   |
| 1744                | 21 "           | Howrah                   | Do.                           | Dular Singh, Saraj             | 40 0                   |

| No. of money-order. | Date of issue. | Office of issue.     | Name of remitter.            | Name and residence of payee.     | Amount of money-order. |
|---------------------|----------------|----------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|
|                     | 1904.          |                      |                              |                                  | Rs. a.                 |
| 502                 | 23 Mar.        | Harda (Hoshangabad). | Ganga Das ..                 | Mussammat Jivan, Gota ...        | 10 0                   |
| 501                 | 23 "           | Do. ...              | Dial Das ..                  | Do. Gangi, Gota ...              | 20 0                   |
| 1113                | 20 "           | Harappa ...          | Mahan Das ..                 | Do. Jamni, Dadian ...            | 20 0                   |
| 534                 | 28 "           | Rorian ...           | Hara Singh ...               | Do. Jivan, Gota ...              | 14 0                   |
| 241                 | 29 "           | Hyderabad, Sindh.    | Gujar Singh ...              | Dhanpat, Saraj ...               | 18 0                   |
| 240                 | 29 "           | Do. ...              | Do. ...                      | Mussammat Ishri, Saraj ...       | 42 0                   |
| 7820                | 29 "           | Girgaon ...          | Jivandas ...                 | Do. Ati, Saraj ...               | 40 0                   |
| 709                 | 30 "           | Aurangabad ...       | Sham Das ...                 | Karam Singh, Gota ...            | 50 0                   |
| 706                 | 30 "           | Bhagwanpur ...       | Hokam Singh ...              | Karur Singh, Gota ...            | 34 0                   |
| 562                 | 31 "           | Samandri ...         | Kaka Singh ...               | Mussammat Hari, Gota ...         | 41 0                   |
| 272                 | 1 Apr.         | Patna ...            | Jawanda ...                  | Do. Bhagan, Saraj ...            | 39 0                   |
| 528                 | 1 "            | Nawada ...           | Karur Singh ...              | Buta, Saraj ...                  | 10 0                   |
| 1004                | 1 "            | Howrah ...           | Guru Das ...                 | Man Singh, Gota, ...             | 8 0                    |
| 3439                | 6 "            | Benares ...          | Nand Singh ...               | Mussammat Santo, Gota ...        | 25 0                   |
| 454                 | 6 "            | Bejnath (Kangra).    | Labhu ...                    | Do. Budhi, Saraj ...             | 10 0                   |
| 64                  | 14 "           | Jalna ...            | Nanak Singh ...              | Nihala (Sahukar), Saraj ...      | 20 0                   |
| 65                  | 14 "           | Do. ...              | Hakam Singh ...              | Sarup Singh, Saraj ...           | 25 0                   |
| 8593                | 15 "           | Girgaon ...          | Akar Das ...                 | Asa Singh, Saraj ...             | 50 0                   |
| 1137                | 16 "           | Bala ...             | Budha Das ...                | Mussammat Bhagan, Saraj ...      | 100 0                  |
| 33                  | 18 "           | Lahore ...           | Rudha Sam ...                | Gurmukh, Saraj ...               | 10 0                   |
| 563                 | 19 "           | Bejnath ...          | Kaka Das ...                 | Mussammat Moni, Gota ...         | 20 0                   |
| 565                 | 19 "           | Do. ...              | Buta Das ...                 | Lochman Singh, Gota ...          | 19 8                   |
| 593                 | 22 "           | Firozpur ...         | Santu ...                    | Mussammat Hari, Saraj ...        | 45 0                   |
| 908                 | 7 "            | Dharmsala ...        | Nihala Singh ...             | Do. Premi, Gota ...              | 25 0                   |
| 663                 | 7 "            | Bejnath ...          | Kaka Das ...                 | Do. Munki, Dadian ...            | 20 0                   |
| 1963                | 7 "            | Aligarh ...          | Khushal Singh ...            | Dhanpat Shah, Saraj ...          | 25 0                   |
| 225                 | 9 "            | Bhaggo (Simla) ...   | Ladha Singh ...              | Pindi Shah, Saraj ...            | 21 0                   |
| 765                 | 9 "            | Polu (Lahore) ...    | Ishar Das ...                | Ram Kaur, Saraj ...              | 20 0                   |
| 471                 | 10 "           | Benares ...          | Jawahri Das ...              | Sardul Singh, Gota ...           | 25 0                   |
| 813                 | 16 "           | Bejnath ...          | Buta Das ...                 | Lochman Singh, Gota ...          | 50 0                   |
| 390                 | 17 "           | Firozpur ...         | Sant Ram ...                 | Mussammat Budhi, Saraj ...       | 40 0                   |
| 854                 | 19 "           | Chamba ...           | Besakhi Das ...              | Do. Premi, Gota ...              | 12 0                   |
| 877                 | 19 "           | Darwah ...           | Bagga Das ...                | Ganda Singh, Gota ...            | 25 0                   |
| 283                 | 21 "           | Dharmsala ...        | Chet Das ...                 | Sundar Das, Saraj ...            | 18 0                   |
| 866                 | 23 "           | Dadal (Kangra) ...   | Sham Das ...                 | Mussammat Khemo, Saraj ...       | 11 0                   |
| 167                 | 23 "           | Do. ...              | Phaggu Ram ...               | Do. Bhagan, Saraj ...            | 25 0                   |
| 148                 | 23 "           | Sherkhpura ...       | Buta Singh ...               | Do. Premi, Dadian ...            | 20 0                   |
| 494                 | 23 "           | Firozpur ...         | Mula Singh ...               | Karam Singh, Gota ...            | 10 0                   |
| 302                 | 24 "           | Lakhi Lara ...       | Wadhawa Das ...              | Khera Das, Gota ...              | 20 0                   |
| 499                 | 24 "           | Firozpur ...         | Asa Singh ...                | Mussammat Premi, Gota ...        | 25 0                   |
| 1138                | 25 "           | Karachi ...          | Mangli Singh ...             | Do. Ishro, Saraj ...             | 9 0                    |
| 1266                | 25 "           | Lyallpur ...         | Nihal Singh ...              | Dhanpat Shah, Saraj ...          | 40 0                   |
| 589                 | 30 "           | Kangra ...           | Buta Das ...                 | Lochman Singh, Gota ...          | 25 0                   |
| 863                 | 1 "            | Kalupur (Admadabad). | Moti Das ...                 | Sur Das, Saraj ...               | 101 0                  |
| 803                 | 1 "            | Kalupur ...          | Ganga Das ...                | Musammat Bhagwan Devi, Saraj ... | 50 0                   |
| 866                 | 1 "            | Do. ...              | Gurdit Singh ...             | Do do. ...                       | 50 0                   |
| 149                 | 7 "            | Karachi ...          | Nihal Singh ...              | Mussammat Ishri, Saraj ...       | 20 0                   |
| 553                 | 8 "            | Sialkot ...          | Superintendent, Post Office. | Do. Ati, Saraj ...               | 23 0                   |
| 829                 | 15 "           | Kasur ...            | Haveli Singh ...             | Do. Aso, Saraj ...               | 25 0                   |
| 827                 | 15 "           | Firozpur ...         | Chanda Singh ...             | Do. Jivani, Gota ...             | 10 0                   |
| 828                 | 15 "           | Do. ...              | Ata Singh ...                | Puran Singh, Gota ...            | 23 0                   |
| 451                 | 28 "           | Do. ...              | Asa Singh ...                | Gunga Singh, Gota ...            | 8 0                    |
| 133                 | 20 Aug.        | Gogera ...           | Nihal Das ...                | Sadhu, Saraj ...                 | 10 0                   |
| 2879                | 15 Sept.       | Bezabada ...         | Nanak Das ...                | Budhu, Saraj ...                 | 21 0                   |
| Total ...           |                |                      |                              |                                  | 7,516 4                |

The mode of cheating adopted by these men is : —

*First.*—They visit different residents (European and native) in every town they go to and pass themselves off as either fakirs, pandits, or fortune-tellers. They produce a two-fold sheet of paper upon which is the sketch of a cow or witch. This is drawn with a piece of alum, and cannot be noticed till such time as the paper is placed in water. Upon the paper being so placed, the figure of a cow or witch appears distinctly. If the figure of the witch should appear, the person about to be cheated is told that the witch was about to kill him, or her (as the case may be), but through witchcraft (*mantar*) they have removed the witch, otherwise death was certain.

*Secondly.*—Should the figure of a cow appear, they tell the person that some time or other he tortured a cow ; and that the cow is now cursing him. But having produced the cow's form or figure through magic, they have saved the person concerned.

The person on seeing either of the figures appears to get quite timid, and seeing this opportunity, the cheat or swindler tells him that the only way to be saved is to make a donation either in gold, silver or clothes. At first they demand gold or silver, telling the person it is the best offering to make, but in the event of not being able to procure gold or silver they accept clothes.

Another way in which they swindle the public is by carrying about a thin piece of iron which is similar in shape to a pair of fire-tongs (*chintas*). They visit the houses of Europeans and natives, and after interviewing their servants and ascertaining particulars regarding the occupants, they send word by the servants that a sacred fakir wishes to tell them their fortunes. On being admitted, the fakir places the iron tongs into water with some salt and other ingredients. As soon as the tongs are placed in the water, sparks fly out and the tongs separate. He then tells the individual concerned his fortune, particulars of which he had previously obtained from the servant. When the fakir finds he has charmed the 'looker-on,' he informs him that he has some girls to marry and is therefore in need of money and asks the persons to give something towards the subscription.

The fakir further states he has opened an institution as an orphanage in his village where orphan children are fed, clothed and educated. The person hearing all this, and noticing the fakir's appearance, sympathises with him and gives him money, etc.

## APPENDIX VIII.

### Pans of Orissa.

The following is an interesting report by Mr. R. Clarke, Superintendent of Police, Angul, on the Pans of Orissa, which appeared in the *Extra Supplement to the Police Gazette of the Central Provinces* dated 27th June 1906.

The Gurjat Pan, like his brother in the 'Mogulbandi,' is a semi-aborigine. He calls himself a Hindu and has caste rules, but Brahmans will have nothing to do with him, and he is in fact a *pariah*, imitating the Hindus in some ways and giving full rein to his aboriginal instincts in others. The word '*pan*' is a contraction of the Sanskrit '*parna*' and means a cave-dweller.

The Pans form about 18 per cent. of the population of the Gurjats. In Angul they number 28,841, or roughly 14 per cent. of the inhabitants. In Dhenkanal State they form 25 per cent., and in the other States their number varies between these figures.

The majority of the tribe are landless, and those that hold lands are very indifferent cultivators, ever ready to mortgage and sell their holdings, and incapable of tackling difficult or uncleared land. Even village *chaukidars* seldom cultivate their small *jagir* of five acres, the majority being leased out to their 'Chasa' neighbours in *bhäg*.

The hereditary profession of the Pans is weaving, but this is only regularly followed by a very small section of the tribe. When cross-questioned, a Pan will invariably say, 'I am a weaver,' but this means nothing, and sounds better than saying 'I am a thief,' which would be the truth. All Pans weave occasionally for their own wants, and they are kept in touch with their handicraft by pretty regular visits to jail.

The Pans bear a very bad reputation among their neighbours; in fact the worst form of abuse one can offer to a respectable man in the Gurjats is to call him a Pan. It is also very noticeable that though the Kotghur rules allow any Pan to be exempt who can get a respectable man to give a bond for him, in no case has this been done. Still in many ways these social outcasts sway the higher castes around

them. They are pluckier, and therefore in request for services requiring personal courage. They do a certain amount of watch and ward. If a cartman is travelling at night he takes a few Pans with him. If a *zemindar* wants backing up in a land dispute, he hires Pans. In this way they are useful, and are therefore tolerated in spite of their evil ways.

Theft is bred in the bone of the Gurjat Pan, but his evolution into a dangerous criminal belongs to the last twenty years, and is an interesting, if small, example of one of the problems of Indian Jail administration. In olden days the Pan was a cattle-lifter in neighbouring States, a cattle-poisoner in his own State, and a pilferer everywhere; but he rarely committed burglary, and never dacoity; of late years, equipped with the excellent criminal training which can now be obtained in a central jail, he has taken to gang dacoity with murder, and is, in the opinion of the writer, going to give serious trouble in the future, unless steps are taken to reorganize the police forces of the Gurjat States, which are at present useless. Crime marches with civilization, and when the Tributary States are more opened up and railways come, one may venture to predict that the Gurjat Pan will make every use of his chances. Possessed of the cunning of the Dom and the physique of the Bhur, he has qualities which these criminals lack. He is a positive lawyer in court; it is very difficult to run a 'bad-livelihood' case against him on account of his influence with his respectable neighbours, and, when cornered, he fights, so that it needs good up-country police to deal with him—the very class that are not available in Orissa. The greatest mistake made up to the present in dealing with the Pans has been sending the long-term prisoners to the big central jails to mix with dangerous criminals, instead of keeping them at Cuttack, as was done formerly. These men stand out as leaders on their release, and all the Pan needs is a leader. Once organized into a gang the Native States police are quite incapable of dealing with them, and the lawlessness spreads to Angul, which borders on no less than seven States. This was what happened in 1902 with Nata Naik's gang. In October of that year a series of dacoities, two of them accompanied with murder, were committed by a mixed gang of Angul and Hindole Pans in Angul, Talcher and Hindole. The principal members of the gang were caught by the Angul police, and against four of them—(1) Nata Naik, (2) Surendra Naik, (3) Haladhar Naik, (4) Nata Naik, junior—a gang case success-



fully instituted and they were transported. These four men were as daring criminals as one could meet. They beat a Hindole head constable to death on the main road, and they were only caught by the Angul police after a stand-up fight, in which two constables were very roughly handled. While they were at large, nobody would travel on the Cuttack and Sambalpur road at night on account of the frequent cases of highway robbery. This gang had hardly been broken up when the Khondmal Pans began to give serious trouble, and a large gang of them, under the leadership of one Kusun Digal, practically held up the Khondmals for nearly two years, and were then only dealt with after a special police force had been sanctioned by Government for the purpose. Twenty-five members of this gang were eventually convicted to terms varying from twenty years' transportation to three years' rigorous imprisonment, and six 'receivers' of stolen property were also convicted.

After the exploits of Nata Naik's and Kusun Digal's gangs, it was decided that something must be done to control the Pans, so the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals sanctioned a set of rules drawn up by the Deputy Commissioner and District Superintendent of Police, Angul, which had for their object—

(1) The confining of all adult male Pans in each village in a single house ('kotghur') at night, under the eye of the village headman, who records their attendance at 9 p. m. and 6 a. m. in a register kept for the purpose, land-owners and any Pan who can get a respectable man to give a bond for him being exempt. The register is brought to the thana by the *chaukidār* on parade days, and the names of all absent Pans noted.

(2) The granting of the tickets-of-leave to all registered Pans who leave their villages for any length of time.

(3) The apprehension of strange Pans who come to a village without tickets. These men are sent to the *thana* with the *chaukidār* and made to give an account of themselves.

(4) The prosecution of Pans who absent themselves from the 'kotghur' under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code, the onus of proving that they have not been committing crime being on them.

The rules have now been in force since 1903, and their effect as a check upon crime was immediate. In 1902 the

average number of cases a month in Angul sub-division was 33·0. In 1903 it fell to 30·7 and in 1904 to 17·3. In the Khondmals the effect of the rules is quite as marked, the figures being—

|   |      |          |
|---|------|----------|
| Average number of cases per month in 1902   | ...  | 16·1     |
| "                    "                    "                    "                    " | 1903 | ... 14·4 |
| "                    "                    "                    "                    " | 1904 | ... 8·0  |

The Khonds took to the new system enthusiastically and during the harvest season they depute some of the villagers to patrol the 'kotghurs' in turn all night, as they say this is simpler than sending many men to watch the different fields. These good results continue in the Khondmals, crime having practically ceased in this tract, except on the border of Ganjam, where foreign criminals come in. In Angul the system is giving more trouble to work, because the Angul *sarbarahkar* (headman) is so unreliable, and is not infrequently a 'receiver' of stolen property and in league with his Pans. The success or otherwise of the scheme depends entirely on the village headman, as the *chaukidars*, being themselves Pans, cannot be relied upon. The 'kotghur' registers are inspected by superior police officers when on tour; and headmen who are not writing up their registers or reporting absentees are sent to the Deputy Commissioner for punishment. A head constable has also been placed on special duty in Angul to supervise the working of 'kotghurs,' but an officer of this stamp is not suitable for such work. A sub-inspector should be placed on special duty, under the Angul and Khondmals Inspectors, for this work only, as it is essential that the headmen be kept up to the mark if the system is to be worked at all.

Confining the Pans in beat houses at night is not a new idea in these parts, but a revival of an old custom of the Tributary States Rajas. It requires, however, constant and extensive supervision to be satisfactory, and should, if the effect is to be permanent, be worked in conjunction with some scheme for inducing the Pans to take to cultivation, the 'kotghur' rules being strictly enforced, and the test for allowing a Pan to absent himself being that he is cultivating land. So long as practically the whole of the Pans are landless they will give trouble, even supposing they are kept in order in normal years of good harvest when labour is plentiful; they will assuredly go out of hand when there is scarcity. This was what happened in 1899-1900 in the Khondmals. Attached to every Khond village there is a small colony of Pans who perform

menial service. They are practically serfs and as such are fed and supported by the Khonds. In 1899-1900, when the famine came, and the Khonds had less than enough for themselves, they turned out the Pans, who immediately became wandering criminals, because a Pan will never patiently starve when he can steal. The Pans, however, are few in number in the Khondmals; but supposing famine were to visit a State like Dhenkanal, where a quarter of the population are Pans, there is not the slightest doubt that crime would increase in the most alarming manner, not only in Dhenkanal itself, but also in Angul and Cuttack. No Government can afford to have one-fourth of its population landless criminals, living from hand to mouth, and the reclamation of the Gurjat Pan is one of the most important and pressing administrative problems in the Tributary States.

Some years ago an attempt was made to start Pan settlements around Purnaghur, the then head-quarters of Angul. A certain amount of good land was acquired, and the Pans who were started upon it were supplied with ploughing cattle and a little money. The men selected were 'dagis' who had never cultivated and were averse to cultivation, and during a season of drought, when the harvest was bad, they sold their cattle and bolted. The experiences of Dom settlements in Gorakhpur and Champaran do not incline one to favour schemes of the above description; still Mr. Daly, the then District Superintendent of Police, Angul, has recorded his opinion that the settlements were a failure, through neglect of supervision, and that if the Pans had been helped a little through the first bad years they would have settled down to cultivation. The Pan has everything against him when he tries to cultivate, for though there is abundance of land, only absolutely uncleared land is available for him, as most of the Chasas in Angul have taken up far more land than they cultivate, owing to the very light assessments on newly acquired land in this district. There is also a considerable amount of procedure before the land is granted, which means attending court and tipping *amlas* which the Pan cannot afford to do. The Chasas also object to the Pans cultivating and do everything they can do to hinder them. The result is that only from two to five per cent. of Pans really earn their living by cultivation, an extraordinarily small proportion in an entirely agricultural country.

It would pay Government and the Tributary States Rajas to be much more liberal with the Pans than they have been

in the past. The Chasas might be made to disgorge most of the lightly assessed land, and the Pans settled on it with *takivi* advances which Government were prepared to write off as lost. The success or otherwise of such a policy would probably depend on the officer who worked it, but it is at all events worth trying. The above remarks may seem somewhat outside the province of a police report, but in reality it is not so, because practically all the crime in the Gurjats is committed by Pans, so that settlement of the Pans and prevention of crime are more or less synonymous terms.

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## APPENDIX IX.

### Haburas.

The following account of the Haburas, taken from Crooke's "Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh," is reproduced from the *Supplement to the Central Provinces Police Gazette* dated 22nd November 1905.

The Haburas are a vagrant thieving tribe, found chiefly in the Central Ganges-Jumna Duab. They are connected with the regular gipsy tribes of Sansiya and Bhatu. They have a traditional connection with the old ruined city of Noh-Khera to the north of pargana Jelasar, in the Etah District, where they frequently make their way during the rainy season to arrange marriage and other caste matters in a series of general tribal councils.

They claim their descent from the Chauhan Rajputs, who lived at Jartauli in the Aligarh District, and have a strong tribal council under a president who manages all caste business.

They are usually exogamous, though in some sub-divisions the only rule of exogamy is the prohibition of marrying in their own camp or horde. Up to the recent times they used to recruit the clan by kidnapping girls of other castes, and there seems good reason to believe that they still introduce in the tribe outcast women of other castes. For a virgin bride the price fixed by tribal custom is Rs. 25 to be paid by the father of the bridegroom, who also pays the expenses of the marriage feast. The feeling against inter-tribal immorality is strong, and a seducer of a married woman has to pay Rs. 120 before being re-admitted to caste. Girls before marriage enjoy considerable freedom, and a departure from strict virtue is not seriously noticed. Generally speaking though the women are not particularly virtuous, they are not habitually prostituted by their male relatives as are the women of other gipsy tribes. Widows and divorced women are remarried and their offsprings are regarded legitimate.

They both cremate and bury the dead. Those who can afford the cost of wood adopt the former, and the rest either bury the corpse or expose it in the jungle.

In religion they profess to be Hindus, but accept little or no service from the Brahmans. In some places when a boy reaches the age of twelve he is initiated before a Jogi and trained in thieving.

Religion.

In other places they worship Kali Bhawani. They observe the usual festivals—Salono, Holi, Diwáli, and Dasahara. They bathe in the Ganges in honour of the sacred dead.

In Aligarh it is reported that they are almost omnivorous, but will not eat the flesh of cows or donkeys. The only castes from whom they will not take any food are the Chamár, Bhangí, Dhobi and Kalar.

Social status and occupation

They do not use any medicine, but when ill pray to Devi Zahir Pir. They have much fear of the Evil Eye, their remedy for which is to get a *fakir* or a *jogi* to blow on a vessel of water, which is then waved over the head of the patient. As a rule they are truthful among themselves, but lie to others to procure the release of a clansman. Their oaths are as follows:—The most binding is to light a lamp (*chirag*) and then blow it out. By this he means, "If I lie may my family be destroyed as I blow out the light." If a Habura can be induced to take this oath, he will never lie. Another form of oath is to cut the root of a *pipal* tree. The third is swearing by Devi.

The vagrant branch of the tribes supplies some of the most audacious criminals in the United Provinces. A recent report says: "They are the pest of the neighbourhoods which they frequent, are continuously pilfering, stealing standing crops, attacking carts and passengers along the road, committing robberies and even dacoities." The boys are trained at first in field robbery and are then taken out on excursions for the purpose of burglary. When they go to rob fields the gang consists of not less than twenty men. When out for the purpose of burglary, eight or nine go together. They seldom use violence except to save themselves from arrest and they never carry any weapon, except bludgeons. If a crime has been committed and traced to any horde, the chief immediately determines who are to be given up. Usually a compromise is made with the police; two out of six or three out of eight are made over to justice, the rest escaping. All the chief does

Criminal habits

is to repeat a form of words, and then taking two of the grains of wheat offered to the god, he places them on the head of the scapegoat. The oath of the brotherhood is upon him, and whether he be guilty or not, he confesses to the Magistrate or Judge and goes to the gallows or to a lifelong exile confident that his chief and brethren will, as they are bound, feed and protect his wife and children.

In Aligarh at the present day if a Habura is killed in the commission of a crime, his accomplices give his widow one hundred and fifty rupees; if he is only arrested, they have to support his wife and family until he is released. Neither men nor women wear any jewellery. They do not go long distances to commit crime, and in the daylight they can easily be identified as Haburas, because both men and women wear the modicum of clothes consistent with decency. They do not attempt to conceal their movements from the police; and if one of the gang be arrested, the headman will at once give notice of the fact. The only stolen property they bring into the camp is grain; jewellery, vessels, and clothes they conceal in earthen vessels and bury them in the neighbourhood of the encampment. They are generally supported by some landowner, who assists them in the disposal of stolen property and gets a commission of four annas in the rupee.

| Argot.               | Their argot -- |                 |
|----------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| corn of all kinds    | ...            | kau.            |
| bread                | ...            | tuk.            |
| mother               | ...            | ai.             |
| father               | ...            | babu.           |
| son                  | ...            | dikra.          |
| daughter             | ...            | dikri.          |
| wife                 | ..             | dhaniyani.      |
| husband              | ...            | dhanni.         |
| son-in-law           | ...            | pahuna (guest). |
| vessels of all kinds | ...            | tanwara.        |
| clothes              | ...            | lugariya.       |
| shoes                | ...            | khakra.         |
| bullock              | ...            | dhanda.         |
| cow                  | ...            | jengariya.      |
| go from here         | ...            | paro hind.      |
| run away             | ...            | nasija.         |
| policeman            | ...            | kapahi.         |
| police officer       | ...            | mota modhana.   |

## APPENDIX X.

### Jadua Brahmins.

The following are particulars regarding the *modus operandi* of a fraternity known as Jadua Brahmins, taken from the *Supplement to the Police Gazette, Lower Provinces*, dated 15th July 1904 and 31st March 1905.

In order to collect information for their depredations they open a small rice and dal shop in some village. One of them visits the village in the garb of a *mahant*. After he has been there a few hours, another one turns up disguised as a *zamindar* and represents to the villagers that he comes from some distant place. Seeing the *mahant* he expresses great joy and begins to worship him with such profound respect as to excite the curiosity of the villagers. The spurious *zamindar* tells them that the *mahant* possesses supernatural powers and gave him *sáris*, money and cattle. He presses the *mahant* to go with him to his home and the credulity of the villagers is worked up and used for swindling.

Their recognized *modus operandi* is usually as follows :— They start out in parties of three or four, and having ascertained by preliminary enquiry the whereabouts of any likely dupe, one of the party enters the village in the guise of a religious mendicant and taking up his quarters in the village pretends to devote himself to religious meditation. A second man generally accompanies him as a *chela*. The others of the party enter the village shortly after and go about inquiring if a very holy Brahmin has been seen. They go to the house of the intended dupe, who naturally asks why they are seeking the Brahmin, and they reply that they have come to do homage to him as he has turned their brass and silver ornaments to gold. The dupe at once goes with them in search of the Brahmin and is greatly impressed at the scene he witnesses between the ' Babaji ' and his accomplices, and at once falls into the trap, saying he, too, has a quantity of silver that he would like to have turned into gold. The Brahmin pretends reluctance, but eventually yields to the dupe's entreaties and allows himself to be led to the house, where, with his *chela* he takes up his quarters in an inner room, dark and with a mud floor. A variety of tricks are now resorted to, to impress the



dupe with a sense of the magic powers of the swindlers. Sometimes he is directed to place a rupee on his forehead and go to the door and look at the sun for five minutes, being assured that when he returns the Brahmin will have disappeared by magic. Having looked at the sun for five minutes, naturally the dupe can see nothing on returning to a dark room, and expresses wonder at the Brahmin's disappearance and gradual reappearance as his (the dupe's) eyes get used to the darkness. Sometimes he is taken out at night to a *bagicha* outside the village, the Brahmin promising to show him the goddess Bhagwati or any other selected deity, who is duly represented by one of the confederates and promises all good fortune to the dupe.

The silver ornaments, all that can be collected, are made over to the Brahmin, who pretends to tie them in a cloth and bury them in the floor of the room. He then calls for *ghi*, oil and incense, and lights a fire over the place where they are said to be buried and bids the dupe watch over it closely for several hours or some days until he, the Brahmin, returns. The Brahmin and his *chela* with the silver concealed about them then leave the village, join their confederates, and make their escape. The dupe patiently watches the fire, until tired of waiting for the Brahmin's return, he digs up the earth and finds nothing in the cloth but stones and rubbish.

This is an outline of the trick as usually practised, but there may be many varieties of it. When the dupe possesses gold ornaments, these are obtained in the same way by a promise that they will be doubled.

The Jadua Brahmins of Alamgunge are all nominally under police surveillance.

## APPENDIX XI.

### Counterfeit Coins.

Mr. F. H. Vincent, of the Indian Police, Bombay Presidency, gives the following hints on the detection of counterfeit coins.

Counterfeits are of two kinds, cast and die-struck. The majority of cast coin are made of base metal like tin, pewter or even lead or an admixture of one or more of these with a very small quantity of copper.

Cast coins.

Colour and other simple tests.

The spuriousness of such inferior cast coins is immediately established by their colour. The colour of genuine rupees, either fresh from the mint or after they have been in circulation, is very distinctive and hence a glance at them enables us to pick out inferior cast coins. Secondly, such coins are softer than genuine ones. Thirdly, their ring is dull. These three tests are, as a rule, sufficient to enable us to detect such inferior cast coins. There are also other signs which often enable us to positively assert that a counterfeit is a cast one, for these it is advisable to provide oneself with a magnifying glass and examine the suspected coin closely by means of it, comparing it with a genuine coin, for preference of the same year's coinage. The surface will, as a rule, be found to be more or less 'pitted,' that is to say, covered with very small holes, the lettering will not stand out so sharply and clearly as on a genuine coin; the finer detail apparent on the design of a genuine coin will be wanting and small excrescences and flaws are almost always present.

In further confirmation it is only necessary to turn to the milling. This instead of being regularly spaced, even, of uniform depth, and of a definite number of serrations for particular years of coinage, will be found to differ in one or all of these details. In bad specimens the milling right round the coin is defective, in better ones only that portion where the strip of metal representing the channel of the mould has been cut off, and in the best class of counterfeits in which the milling has probably been impressed by some implement, such as a milling tool, one must rely on touch and on counting the number of serrations in order to obtain a clue to their spuriousness.

Milling.

Having examined a coin as to colour, hardness, ring and surface finish, we may now turn to the more scientific tests. Of these the simplest and the only one capable of easy application is that of weighment. Fine balances weighing to a fraction of a grain are not always at hand and perhaps the simplest method of checking the weight is to weigh the suspected coin against a number of other coins, preferably of the same year's coinage, using a goldsmith's balance. If in all or even the majority of cases it does not tally with the genuine rupees used, it may safely be looked upon as a counterfeit.

Further tests such as specific gravity or assay, we need not trouble ourselves with, they are best left in the hands of experts, to whom in all cases of doubt coins should be submitted for final inspection.

Totally distinct from the cast coins, both in their method of manufacture and in their appearance, are die-struck counterfeits. Whereas a cast coin is prepared by the metal being melted and poured into the mould, usually of sand or clay, a die-struck coin is made by the impression being struck on to discs of metal by means of metal dies.

In the former process the mould is usually injured after one or two castings, hence it is broken up again and remade preparatory to further castings. In the latter process coins can be struck so long as the dies last, a variable period depending on the material they are made of and the method and manner in which the blow is struck. Die-struck counterfeits can be divided into two classes: those made by means of dies engraved by hand and those by means of dies on to which the impression has been transferred.

Engraving is an art known to very few and it is a safe assertion to make that no die has been engraved by a counterfeiter that would pass any but the most casual scrutiny. Innumerable specimens of counterfeits prepared from engraved dies have come to hand and each and all show certain pronounced defects of which the following are the most common:—

Harshness or hardness of outline and detail. Want of relief. Incorrect lettering or inversion of some letters, more frequently an 'N'. Much of the fine detail of the reverse is also lost and

such a counterfeit requires only one glance to enable one to classify it at once as struck from engraved dies.

On the other hand, counterfeits which have been struck from dies prepared by the other method, exhibit none of these signs and are in every way superior to coins made from such rough engraved dies. They show most, if not all, the finer detail. They are bound to be exact copies, as the impression on the dies was obtained from a genuine coin and they therefore do not show any marked irregularities or mistakes in the features or lettering.

Their fault however lies in want of relief. The lettering also does not stand out as square as that of a genuine coin. Both these faults are in a great measure due to insufficient force being used when the coin is struck. Nearly all such coins exhibit some one flaw which will repeat itself in all struck from the same set of dies and if a number of coins are found all possessing any such flaw we have positive proof of the same set of dies having been used. This of course applies equally to coins struck from hand-engraved dies, as to those prepared from the other class. Common flaws in the latter class are small dots or marks from cracks in the dies.

A sign by which a counterfeit can occasionally be distinguished from a genuine coin is in the non-correspondence of the axes of the obverse and reverse. If a genuine coin is taken between the thumb and the first finger so that an imaginary line passes through the centre of the design of the reverse, and the coin rotated, the head of the obverse will be found correctly and squarely placed. In counterfeits such is often not the case, the fault being due to incorrect adjustment of the dies.

Another sign which immediately exposes a counterfeit is sometimes forthcoming when corresponding dies of the same year have not been used and though such carelessness or indifference may seem extraordinary, yet frequent instances have come to notice. This error becomes particularly glaring when an obverse prior to the year 1877 which contains the inscription "Victoria Queen" is used with a reverse giving a year of coinage subsequent to this date or *vice versa*. It is therefore well to remember that coins up to and including 1876 should have the inscription "Victoria Queen," subsequent

to that date "Victoria Empress." From 1903 onwards coins bear the inscription "Edward VII, King and Emperor."

As regards examination of die-struck counterfeits we of course have again recourse to the tests given under cast coins. Unless made of the proper alloy, their colour will again give us a good indication and due attention must also be paid to the ring, milling and weight.

It must at the same time be remembered that none of these tests are infallible and that a coin may exhibit any of the faults above enumerated and yet be a genuine mint struck coin.

In such a case the coin is either mint defective or has been maltreated. If a coin is by rare chance found which does not ring at all, it may almost with certainty be looked upon as genuine, though mint defective. Firstly, no coiner would make or pass a coin which did not ring at all, and secondly, ocular proof in furtherance of the above statement can usually be found on careful examination of such 'dead' coin, for the edge at some part or other will show a hair-like fissure, or in pronounced cases will even have slightly opened out. Both are sure indications that the coin in its first stage of manufacture was subjected to heavy rolling and hence passed through the mint. Exposure to certain fumes, to fire, burial in the ground, conversion to an ornament and constant circulation, are also factors to be taken into consideration as they all affect a coin and may alter its colour, ring, milling and weight, but such influences will generally make themselves apparent by other indications as well.

Genuine but mint defective  
coins

## APPENDIX XII.

### Counterfeit Coins

The following hints on detecting counterfeit rupees, taken from the *Madras Police Gazette* dated 17th November 1906, will be found interesting and instructive.

(1) A suspected coin should, if possible, be compared with two genuine coins of the same description and examined in a good light.

(2) When rung on a stone slab or similar hard surface, a genuine coin should give a clear high note. Counterfeits do not, as a rule, ring well.

(3) The colour of the coin should be scrutinised, a brassy or dull leaden appearance would generally point to the coin being counterfeit. Some counterfeits have a peculiar glazed appearance. A genuine coin should be silvery and dull or bright according to the treatment it has received.

(4) In a genuine coin the thickness at the rim is made the same all round. In counterfeit coins the rim is sometimes thicker at one point than another (especially in the case of *struck* counterfeits), and the coin itself may be slightly bent or distorted.

(5) The rim of a genuine coin is regularly milled all the way round with straight lines at right angles to the faces. All rupees minted since 1904 have 150 serrations or teeth in the milling. In counterfeits the lines of the milling are often at a slant, the distances between the lines are irregular and the lines (or ridges) themselves uneven and broken. This is a most important test. The milling can best be examined by placing the suspected coin between two good ones (of the same description), so that the rims of all the three are close together and can be seen at the same time. Defects can be readily detected.

(6) The beading on the inner side of the rim of the coin should be even and regular all round, the pearls being uniform in size and shape, and equi-distant from each other. On counterfeits the pearls are often badly shaped, uneven in size and spaced at irregular intervals. A peculiarity of some counterfeits is that the pearls are very small and far apart, but this is also the case in some genuine coins of 1840.

(7) The devices on the obverse and reverse should be clear and well-defined. Blurred lines or edges and an imperfect impression (unless plainly due to wear and tear) are suspicious.

(8) Letters and figures of the inscription should be clear, well-defined and sharp-edged. Blurred, irregular or double lines are to be regarded with suspicion. In some counterfeits the letters are much thinner than on genuine coins.

(9) The plain surface of the coin (*i. e.*, the portion not occupied by device or inscription) should be smooth, even and free from blemish. An uneven, spotted or rough surface is suspicious.

(10) The edges of the rim should be smooth to the touch. Rough, jagged edges are suspicious.

(11) All cast coins are counterfeits. In a cast coin the surfaces may be granulated or pitted with minute pin-holes which appear as black spots to the naked eye, but can be felt with the point of a needle or pin. The milling is often defective, especially at the point where the metal was poured into the mould. The letters and figures in cast coins nearly always present a rounded appearance instead of having square, sharp edges.

(12) A counterfeit coin will generally be found to exhibit at least two of the faults indicated above. A coin should not be condemned for only one fault unless it is very marked.

## ILLUSTRATIONS.



*Descriptive matter of Plate I.*

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**Ex. 31.**

*Dharia* carried by Gujerat criminals.

**Ex. 29.**

Bhil's bow and arrows.

**Ex. 44.**

*Pungi* or blow-gourd forming part of Kaikádi's (Pámlor's and Kall Korva's) disguise.

**Ex. 55.**

*Mina gyán* or house-breaking instrument.

**Ex. 54.**

*Vánsi* carried by Kolis and Vághris of Gujerat.

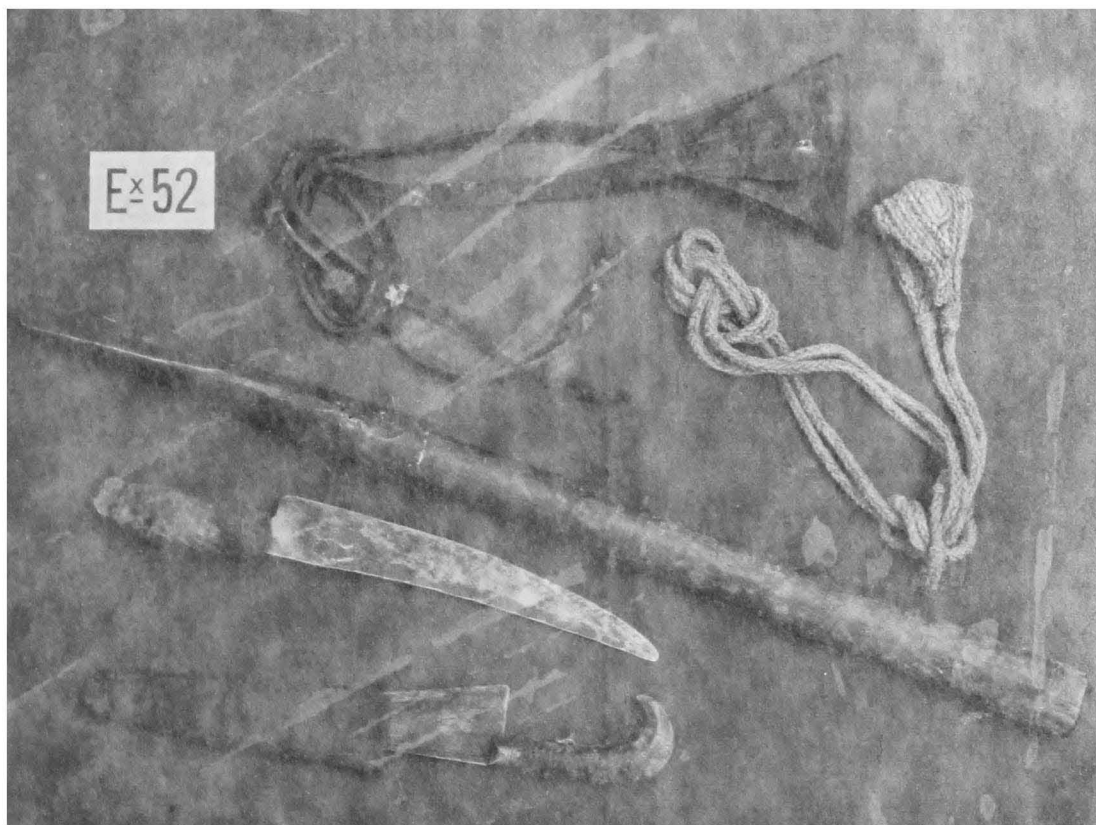
**Ex. 26.**

*Kariyalí dháng* carried by Kolis and Vághris of Gujerat.

**Ex. 11.**

Gujerat Koli's *kátor* or boomerang.

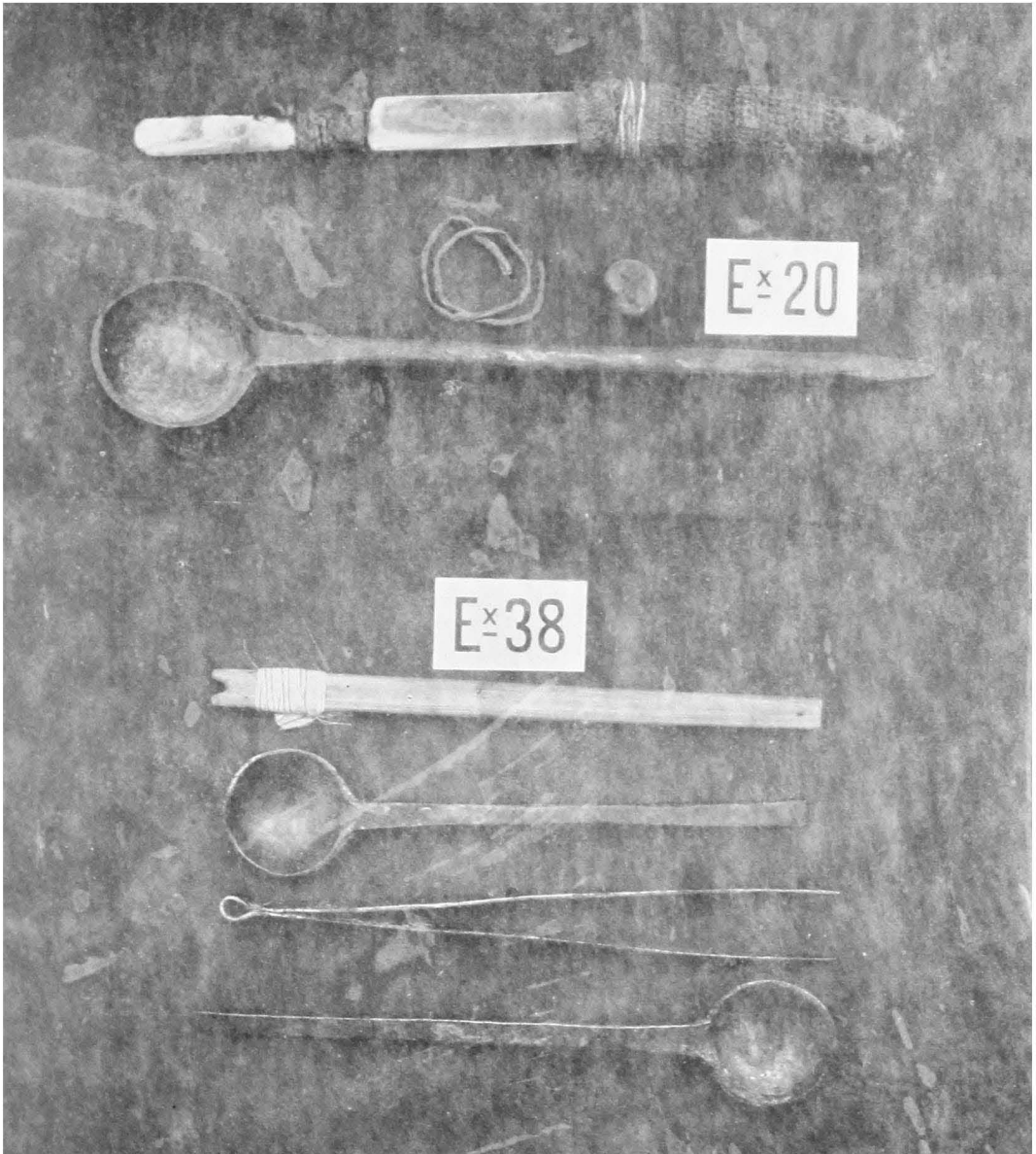
PLATE V.



**Ex. 52.**

**Slings, *khantad* (jimmy) and knives carried by Kanjars.**

PLATE VI.



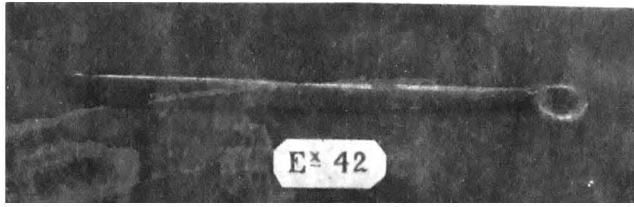
**Ex. 20.**

**Bauriah burglar's knife, waxed taper, ball of wax and *gván* (jemmy).**

**Ex. 38.**

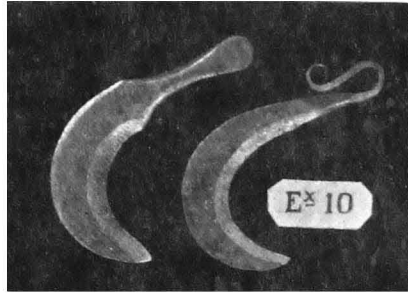
**Oudhia's bamboo fork for lifting window and door fastenings, *gyáns* and tongs.**

PLATE VII.



**Ex. 42.**

*Korne* (chunam scraper) carried by Bhamptas for picking locks (actual size).



**Ex. 10.**

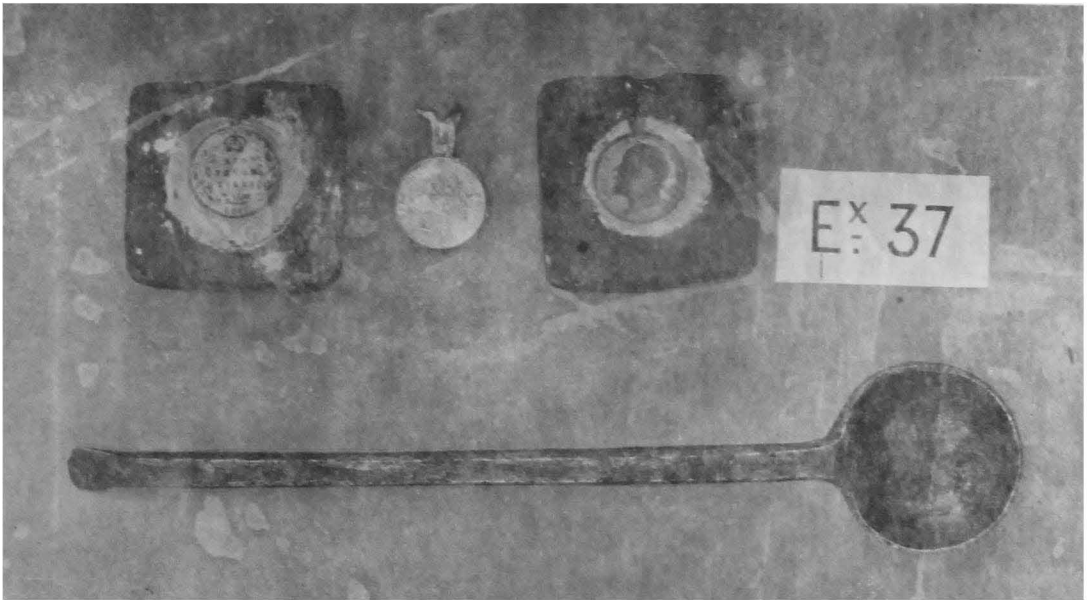
Bhampta's *ulmukhs* or curved knives (actual size)



**Ex. 50.**

Piece of metal made to look like a bar of gold, used by Vághri cheats (actual size).

PLATE III.



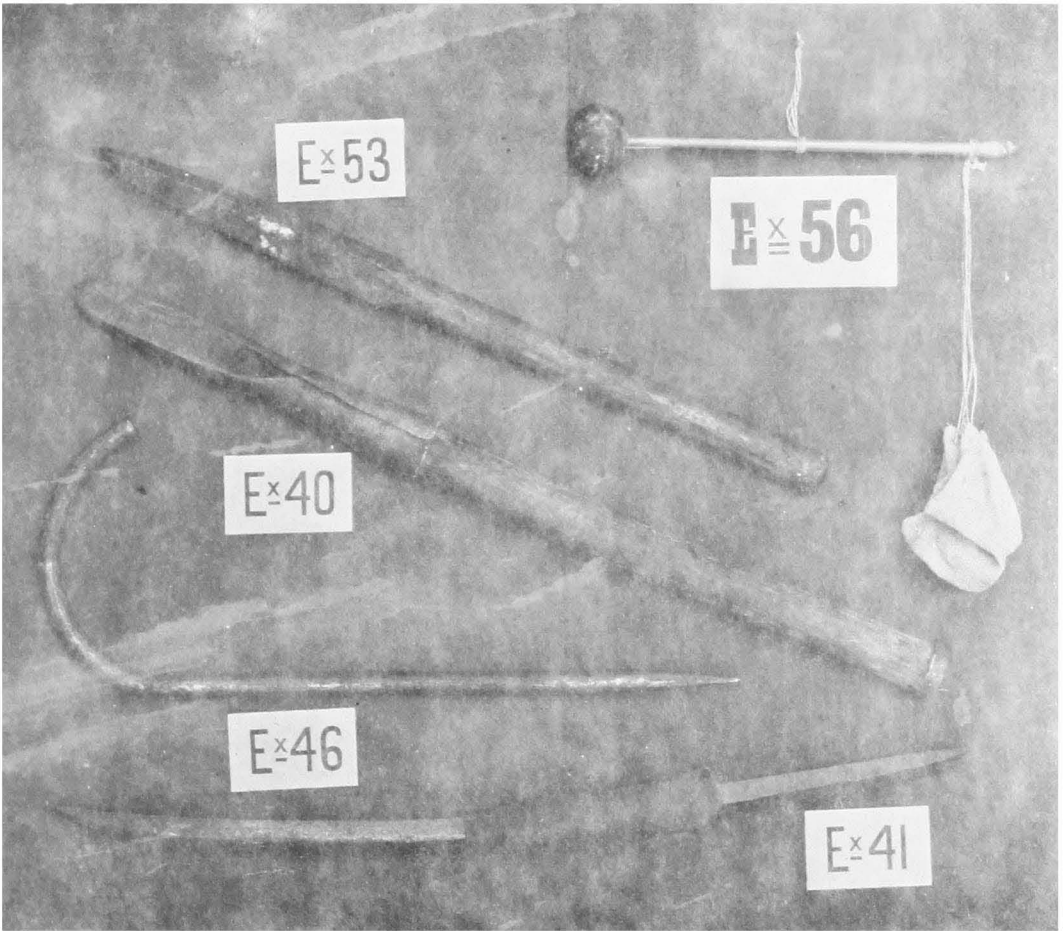
Ex. 37.

**Márwár Báori's** mould, counterfeit rupee in the rough and *palli* or ladle.



**Márwár Báori's** characteristic mould, taken from a drawing.

PLATE IV.



**Ex. 53.**

*Kangatti*: Kaikádi's Waddar's and Berad's jemmy in the Carnatic.

**Ex. 56.**

Bauriah's makeshift scales.

**Ex. 40.**

Jemmy common among nomadic tribes living in páls.

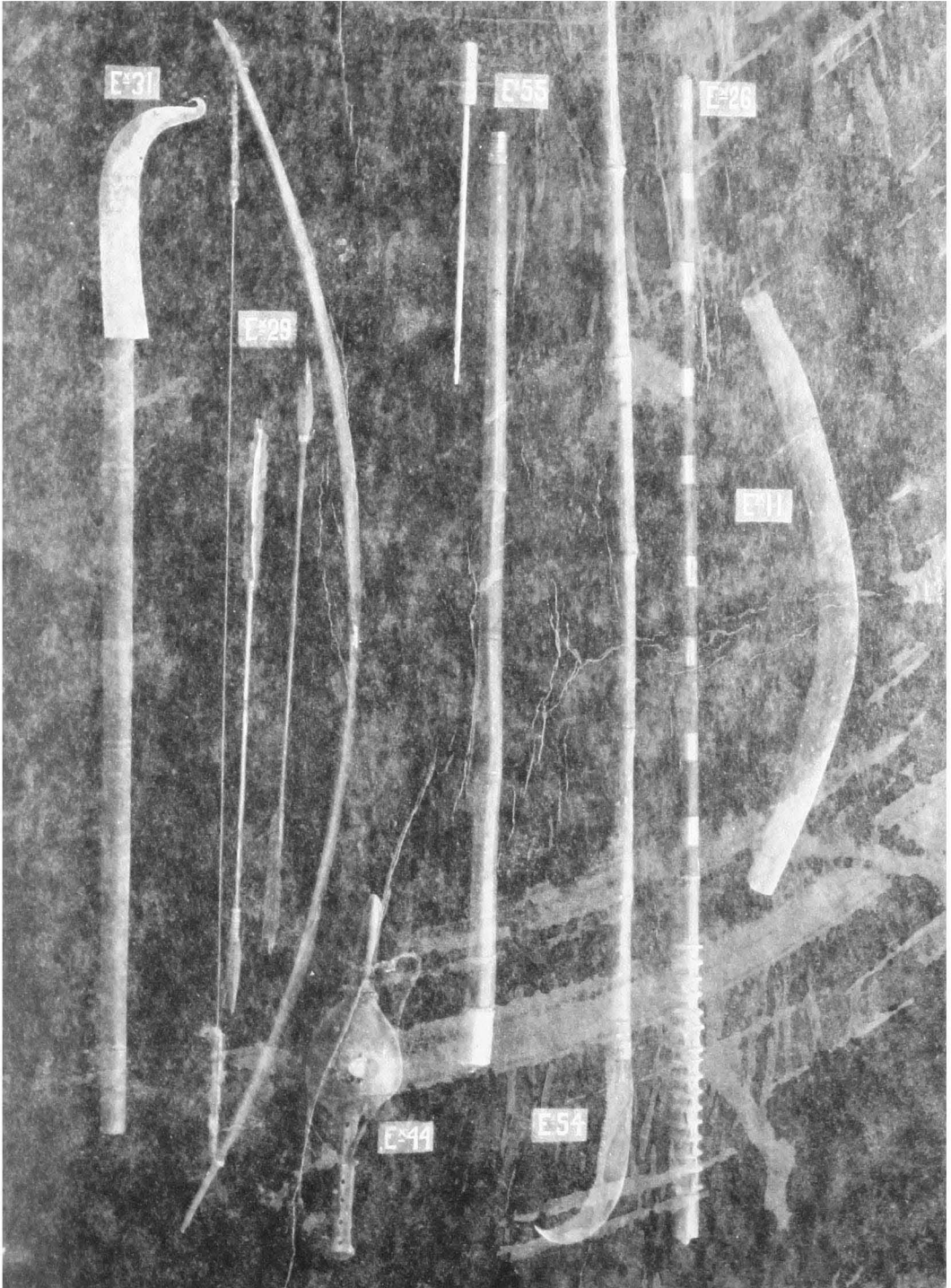
**Ex. 46.**

*Khdtariyà*: Gujerat Koli's and Vághri's jemmy.

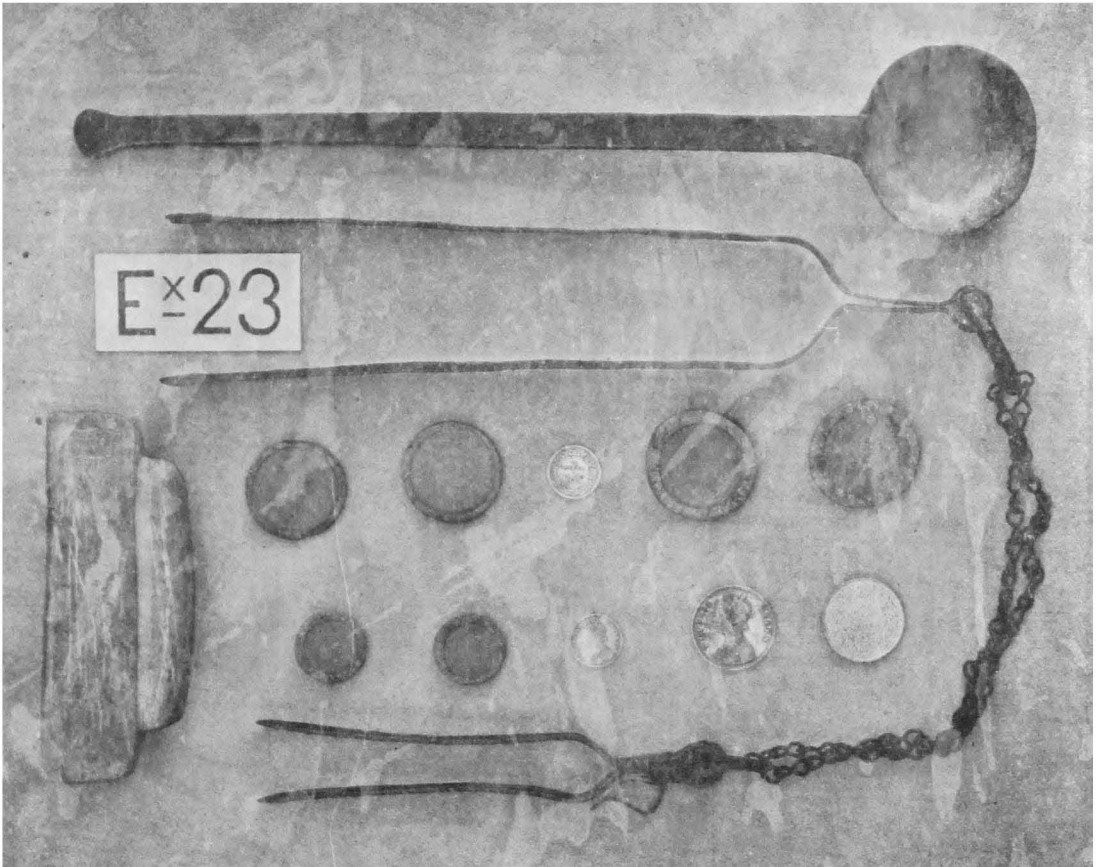
**Ex. 41.**

*Arasukuchi*: Berad's jemmy.

PLATE I.

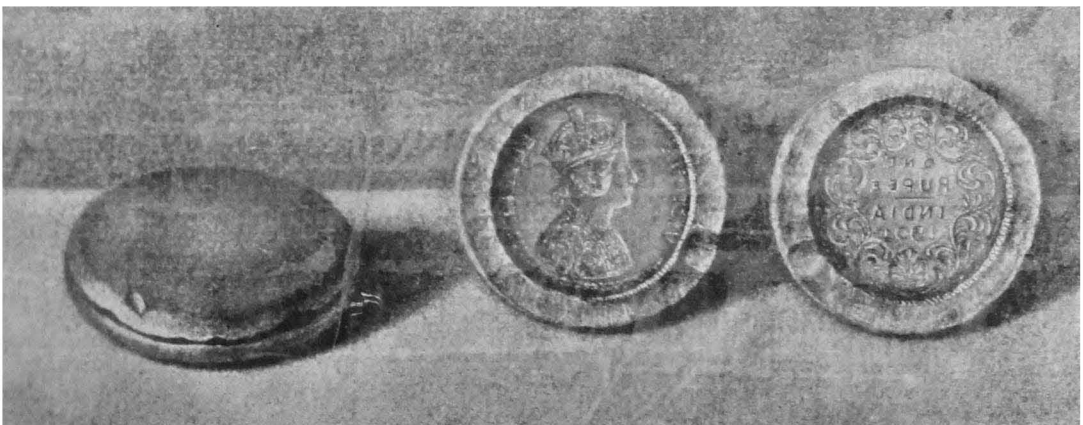






Ex. 23.

Part of Chhapparband's paraphernalia. *Palli* or iron spoon, tongs, moulds for counterfeiting rupees and 8-anna pieces, some of the coin turned out and clay shaped like a *durgah*.



Chhapparband's characteristic mould, taken from a drawing.