

SIWALIK EROSION AND THE GUJJAR COMMUNITY  
OF HIMACHAL PRADESH



SIWALIK EROSION AND  
THE GUJJAR COMMUNITY  
OF HIMACHAL PRADESH

*A Study in the Light of Colonial Policies*

BINDU SAHNI



INDIAN INSTITUTE OF ADVANCED STUDY  
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## Preface



Siwalik is lower range of Himalayas. Una, Bilaspur, Sirmour and Kangra districts of Himachal Pradesh falls under this range of the Himalayas. In Una, Bilaspur and Kangra districts, there are number of *chos/khad* where in summer no water appeared but at the time of rainy season these *khads* create havoc by floods for the local community and in every year several loses have been occurred to the public as well as to the private property by the furious floods in these *khads*. During the colonial period, Una and Bilaspur were directly governed by the British Government; however Raja of Bilaspur and Sirmour got *sannad* to govern. Almost in all colonial settlement and forests reports about these parts of the hills, we got the reference of the destruction made by these eroded range in the area.

Even in the post-Independence period, the havoc in these *khads* has always attracted the attention of the Government. Due to havoc in these *khads* during the rainy season, Swan River which flows through Una district is known as the *sorrow of Una*. Immense damaged has occurred every year due to the flood in these *khads*. To protect the local people from the fury of these *khads*, the Government of Himachal Pradesh has spent huge budget and also getting financial assistance from the Central Government of India for channelization of these *khads*. Himachal Pradesh Government has created a new wing in Una district under the head quarter at

Mandi to protect this range from erosion, named as *Swan River Flood Management Project* (Flood Protection Division) under Irrigation and Public health department of Himachal Pradesh. Through this project all *khads* have been channelized including Swan river to save the districts fallen in Siwalik region from the fury of the flood.

During my PhD research work on the topic *Identification formation among the Gujjars of Himachal Pradesh*, I found that major concentration of Gujjars are settled along the *chos/khad* of the Siwalik region. Even the nomadic Gujjars wander along the bank of these *khads*. So I was keenly interested to know much more about the *chos/khads* of the area. In this context firstly I got the report on the *chos of Hoshiarpur* (1879) written by Baden Powell from the Nehru Memorial library New Delhi. While going through the report I noticed that Gujjars have been blamed for the formation of these *Chos/khads*. The major question in my mind at that time was if Gujjars are behind the formation of these *chos/khads* in the Una district then how all the major settlements of the Gujjars are along the *khads* of this region. The second report which I read about this erosion was of Hamilton's (1935) paper on *Siwalik Erosion*. Then after reading this paper I realized that there might be some unrevealed question behind this erosion and the formation of these *chos/khads*, which need to explore to know much more about the formation of these *chos/khads*. Is this the fact that Gujjars played the role in the erosion of this range? Thus I made my mind to explore all the reasons behind this erosion and finding the truth about the blame on Gujjars for formation of these *chos/khads* and about erosion in the Siwalik range. In the settlement reports of the Hoshiarpur district (Una was earlier the part of Hoshiarpur district) detail description about the destruction has been made. Thus I realized that these havoc in the *khads* have been started from the colonial period and still *khads* have existence in this part. This also raised my interest in this topic.

I have collected the *Wajib-ul Arzs* of the Gujjar prominent villages of Himachal Pradesh. *Wajib-ul Arzs* have detailed descriptions about the rules and customs of the villages. These are unpublished records preserved in the district record rooms of the



states. I collected the *Wajib-ul Arzs* of the prominent villages of the Una, Bilaspur, Sirmour and Kangra. Even in these records I found detailed description about the *khads* of the villages. *Sajra nasibs* (genealogical record) of the village have also useful in getting the information about the formation of the village. In spite of these records I have also done field surveys of these *khads* during my PhD work. Thus, I want to compile my research work with these sources along with the colonial published records like Settlement reports and Gazetteers etc.

Finally I was given chance by Indian Institute of Advanced Study to compile my research work. I am really thankful to Institute for giving me this chance to complete my research work on this topic and I am grateful to the Institute for providing me all facilities and necessary records. The record preserved in the Institutional library is proved of immense important to complete my work.



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I am grateful to my brother, Vishal Sahni, who accompanied me into the deep forests of Himachal Pradesh to interview the Gujjars. I am also thankful to all the Gujjar community of the Himachal Pradesh, who remained very cordial during my visit to their place.

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I am also thankful to Mr. Ramesh Thakur for his supportive behaviour and cooperative nature. I also express my gratitude and a special thanks to my close friend Renu Baliyan for not only providing me moral support in every span, but also helping me to finalize my research work.

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BINDU SAHNI

## CHAPTER 1

# Introduction



The present state of Himachal Pradesh, with an area of 55,673 kilometer, is the seventh smallest state of India. During the Colonial period the state of Himachal Pradesh formed part of the Hill States of the Undivided Punjab. British established their sway over the Hill States by 1846, it was partly governed directly and the rest was left to be governed by the local Rajas/chiefs through the allotment of *sannads*. In the Colonial period the modern districts of Una (formed part of the then Hoshiarpur district), Kangra, Lahaul-Spiti, Sirmaur, Upper Simla and Upper Kullu were directly governed by the British Indian Government; while Bilaspur and Chamba were held under the dominion of the local Rajas. It came into existence as a Commissioner in 1948 by submerging the directly governed British territories and thirty princely states of the Punjab Hills.<sup>1</sup> It graduated through a number of stages of administrative transformation before assuming the status of a full-fledged state of the Indian Union in 1971.<sup>2</sup> It ranks 17th among the states and Union Territories in terms of

1 For details of British territory and Princely states of Punjab Hills see *infra*.

2 *Himachal Pradesh Development Report*, New Delhi: Planning Commission Government of India, [henceforth HPDR] 2005, p. 39.

area with a population of 68,56,509.<sup>3</sup> It is bordered by the modern Indian states of Jammu and Kashmir on the North, Punjab on the Southwest, Haryana on the South, Uttarakhand on the Southeast and Tibet on the East. The state is administratively divided into twelve districts: Bilaspur, Chamba, Hamirpur, Kangra, Kinnaur, Kullu, Lahaul and Spiti, Mandi, Shimla, Sirmaur, Solan, and Una: (**Map 1**).

Himachal Pradesh is situated in the lap of the Himalayas, with three different ranges and Siwalik is the lower range of Himalayas (see detail in geography section). The hills of the Siwalik are unstable and highly prone to soil erosion during rains. The soil in the Siwalik is sandy, embedded with pockets of clay which is highly susceptible to erosion by surface run off. Thus this range of Himalayas is continually eroded and its erosion has affected the other two ranges of the Himalayas. This erosion in the Siwalik range took the shape of formation of *chos/khads* in the plain areas and even this erosion had reclaimed hectares of the fertilized land in the region. The destruction is clearly evident in Una and Kangra (in the shape of *chos/khads*) where later on Chos Act 1900 was implemented by the British Indian Government to protect the so called erosion. Britishers however recognized this erosion in the Hills in 1879 but in all colonial reports Gujjars were blamed for the erosion in Siwalik region. Thus Gujjars since the colonial period are being blamed for the erosion of this range. The study aims to mark the role of Gujjars in the erosion of Siwalik range of the Himalayas in Himachal Pradesh. The study will also highlight the effect of colonial policies which more or less became the cause of destruction in this lower range of Himalayas.

Gujjars are the tribal population of the Hills of Himachal Pradesh. In the 19th century Gujjars were scattered in the Northwest from Indus to the Ganges and from the Hajara mountains to the Peninsula of Gujarat. The Gujjars of the Hills were distinguished by the British Government from the Gujjars of the

3 *Census of India, Provisional Population Totals, Paper 2, Vol. I, Rural-Urban Distribution Himachal Pradesh, Series-3, Shimla: Director of Census Operation Himachal Pradesh, 2011, p. 15.*

Plains. In the Plains Gujjars were tagged as idle and thieving race, and enemies of the cultivation and improvement, but in the Hills they were cattle bearers which formed their main source of income and livelihood. Currently, main concentration of the Gujjars is in Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. Like Jammu and Kashmir, in Himachal Pradesh also Gujjars are bracketed as a Scheduled Tribe. They are pastoralists and considered brave, strong, hard-working, peace-loving, polite, social and hospitable. Nonetheless they are vital component and played an important role in social, economic and cultural life of Himachal Pradesh. Though Gujjars are scattered all over Himachal Pradesh, their major concentration is in Bilaspur, Chamba, Kangra and Una districts. Gujjars of Chamba and Kangra lead nomadic life, while in Una and Bilaspur regions they are permanent settlers. Since grazing is their main profession they wandered in search of good grazing grounds throughout their life. Gujjars being a nomadic tribe always attracted the attention of the British Indian Government.

Being a cattle-rearing tribe Gujjars depended upon the forests for grazing facilities. In the Colonial period they had to face different set of forest rules, distinct from their traditional rights which were implemented by the British Colonial Government, for using the forests. Although the Rajas of the Hills received *sannads* by the British Government to rule independently, yet forests were always kept by the British Government in their charge. Thus the British Indian Government kept the forests under their direct control and enforced different rules on the Gujjars for using the forests. They were blamed for the erosion in the Siwalik area of the region. Thus Gujjars on the one hand had to deal with the Raja of the state (in Bilaspur and in Sirmour) and on the other hand they had to face the forest rules and other acts of the British Government also. There was difference in the nature of the implementations of policies in these states i.e Una, Kangra, Bilaspur, Sirmour and Chamba. After their occupation of Hills the British tried to follow the ongoing rules in the region that was the main reason that the forest and all other acts were implemented very differently in all the different parts of the state.

The British considered that for the management of the forests in the Hills, and to save the Hills from erosion, three rights have to be discussed and managed properly.<sup>4</sup> These three rights were the right of grazing (which earlier was freely used by the pastoralists and villagers), timber for building purpose and looping of coniferous trees.<sup>5</sup> Thus the Gujjars, being the cattle-bearing tribe, were one of the greatest issue for the British Indian Government as in Hills they were in the good book of the local Rajas and would never indulge in any type of conspiracy neither with Government nor with native people. In 1878 British Indian Government introduced *Indian Forest Act* which affected the Gujjars of the Himachal Pradesh in a big way who were solely dependent on Forests for their livelihood. Britishers realized that pastoralist Gujjars were significant contributor to the economy and in the development of the area. So in all their Forest Acts in different regions of the area different rules were implemented upon the Gujjars. Since Chamba was rich in forests, Britishers kept the entire control of the forests of the Chamba region in their own hand. In Kangra, Forest Act was implemented by keeping in mind the priority of the *sawana* Gujjars (Gujjars having *warisee* rights over forests)<sup>6</sup> and they were allowed to use their forest skirts. Similarly, in the case of Chamba, Raja of Chamba was allotted *sannad* in 1846, but the forests of Chamba were governed by the British. Forests were under the British Government and Gujjars here also have to deal with the British government who restricted Gujjars occupation on forests and were allowed to enter only after proper auction of the *dhars* (forest areas) after taking *trini* (grazing dues). So in this study I will try to take all these issues including the pre-colonial grazing rights and alteration made by the Britishers.

The Raja of the Bilaspur was allotted *sannad* by the British Indian Government to govern his territory independently. Thus Bilaspur remained free from the intervention of the Britishers as

4 *Report on Forest Settlement Sutlej Valley Bashar State*, Part 1, 1921, Lahore: Superintending Government Printing Punjab, p.10.

5 *ibid*

6 *Punjab Forest Manual*, Vol. I, 1916, p. 56.



compared to other hill states. The British left the control over the forests of Bilaspur under the jurisdiction of the Raja of Bilaspur. That is the main reason that inspite of having village documents *Sajranasibs* village records pertaining to the earliest settlement of a particular group; and their clan holdings, where Gujjars were shown as primary settler of the villages who cleared the forests and established the village, we do not find a single allegation on the Gujjars for the deforestation of the Siwalik range and were never blamed for the formation of the *chos/khads*<sup>7</sup> in the Bilaspur region. However, in contrast, in Una which was part of Hoshiarpur district and where also one finds tendency of the formation of *khads*, all contemporary documents blamed Gujjars for the erosion of Siwalik ranges and the alarming condition of the *chos/khad* in the area. No doubt even in the present scenario the *khad* of the Una and Kangra district are more furious as compared to the *khads* of Sirmour and Bilaspur on the foothills of the Siwalik range. If Gujjars were blamed for this erosion then in the area of Bilaspur and Kangra there also might be the same condition but the situation is different there. Nonetheless, our data clearly points that British Indian Government policies were rather instrumental in the formation of the *chos/khads* which reclaimed hectares of the fertilized land of the area. Such was the appropriation level that to keep control over this alarming situation pertaining to the erosion of Siwalik ranges *Chos* Act, 1900 was imposed upon Gujjars in Una. Gujjars were banned for grazing in the Reserved Forests by the *Chos* Act, 1900. The impact of this ban was deep upon Gujjars, which the project aims to analyses critically.

Grazing dues, is another issue by which Britishers interrupted the movement of Gujjars in the Hills. Gujjars prevailed upon the British to a limited success and thus retained *warisee* right on their grazing ground from the British Government. Barnes (1850) believed and acknowledged that their rights were as appropri-

7 *Chos/khads* are formed through the erosion in the Siwalik ranges. They are very furious and used to reclaimed hundreds of hectares of fertilized land In the beginning they seems like hill torrent but later on filled with sand and stones. (Detail is given in chapter 4)

ate as the rights of landholders on their land.<sup>8</sup> Barnes mentions that Gujjars have their settled and occupied portion in the forests which they used for grazing purpose.<sup>9</sup> He records Gujjars as *warisee* of the forest skirts. Barnes, defines that the *warisee* is “the hereditary right to possession and culture in the language of these hills.”<sup>10</sup> In Kangra British Government accepted the right of the Gujjars on their *Sawanas* (grazing tracts). Commenting on these *Sawanas*, Lyall mentions that “The Gujar’s right to his *soanaw* as much like that of a man to his *kharetar*; it was an exclusive grazing privilege for a season only. He called his *soana* his *warisi*, and no doubt his right, though a limited one was as true a property as any other interest in land in the hills. It was held direct of the Raja by *patta* like the landholder’s field and descended from father to son.”<sup>11</sup> They used these grazing grounds known as *sawana* in which during the rain they enjoyed exclusive rights.<sup>12</sup> These *sawana* though nomads, they migrate again and again to their same place and used the same ‘area’ for grazing year after years, thus claimant their *warisi* rights. In the settlement reports of the Kangra we found the rights allowed by the British Government to the Gujjars but in the village unpublished records known as *wajib-ul Arz*,<sup>13</sup> there is clear mention that in some context of occupation of forests by the Britishers, there were contradicted between the village community and villagers refused to sign the *Wajib-ul Arz* at the time of its finalizing and it was finalized without their consent. In Kangra district, forest rules were different as compared to those in other small territories such as Dehra, Hamirpur and Nadoun (sub-tehsils). In Kangra, Gujjars were allotted special rights of

8 Barnes, George Carnac, *Report on the Settlement in the District Kangra in Trans-Sutlej States, 1850*, Lahore: Hope Press, 1862, p. 43.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid, p. 18.

11 Lyall, J.B., *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Punjab, 1867-72*, Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1874, p. 45.

12 *Punjab District Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, Part A, *Kangra District, 1924-25*, Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing Press, 1926. p. 305.

13 *Wajib-ul Arz, Mauza Gantour, Tehsil Dehra, District Kangra*, Record Office of the Deputy Commissioner, Kangra, 1868.

being *sawana*. But in other parts, Gujjars have to pay grazing dues to get these forests for grazing. These dues were in the form of cash or *ghee*. In Siba *jagir*,<sup>14</sup> grazing tax was known as *ghiana* as it was taken in the shape of *ghee*. These grazing taxes were taken by the British Indian Government on the earlier ongoing pattern of grazing taxes. In Kangra on one hand they paid *banwajiri* (grazing tax) to the Raja to get their *sawanas* or forest skirts, on the other hand they also had to pay to the British Indian Government additional grazing dues. In the Una, Kangra and Chamba they used to pay grazing tax in different modes. In Bilaspur and Sirmour, they have to deal with the Raja of Bilaspur and here also they used to pay grazing tax in the shape of *ghee*. But in Bilaspur region in spite of giving the grazing tax they have to perform *begar* as evident from the *Wajib-ul Arz* at of the Gujjar prominent villages.

For the use of waste land in the villages Gujjar paid to the village community or to the British Indian Government. In Una, Gujjars paid for grazing their cattle in the waste (*shamlat*) land in the villages. From the *Wajib-ul Arz* of Mawa Sindhia village in Una pargana of Hoshiarpur, we find the rate of the grazing and selling of wood in the *shamlat* land was as high as twenty five rupees.<sup>15</sup> Thus in colonial period Gujjars paid different grazing dues to different authorities. In Una, they used to pay to the local government for grazing in the *shamlator* (waste) land and in Bilaspur they paid to the Raja in the form of one he-goat. To graze in the waste land or *shamlat* land different rules applied in different areas. To get grazing in the *shamlat* or the waste land they had to deal with village communities in the Kangra region; in Bilaspur for grazing in waste land they had to take permission from the Raja of Bilaspur while in Chamba they paid tax (*trini*) to the British Indian Government which was often auction based. In spite of raising the revenue of British Government by giving such type of huge taxes, they also

14 These *jagirs* were referred by the Britishers, However *jagirdari* system in its original form was not prevailed in the Hills. *Jagirdar* were the chiefs of the petty independent states. (infra)

15 *Wajib ul arz*, Village Mawa Sindhia, Tehsil Amb, District Hoshiarpur, Record room Deputy Commissioner Una, 1901..

work for them as *begaris* and even used as woodcutters and used to take the wood logs from the upper hills of the forests to the plain area. They were also considered as *munj-seekers* as Gujjars were supplier of *munj* (one type of grass) which was abandoned in Siwalik region. Britishers blamed them for ruthless destruction in Siwalik range. The study is an attempt to make a clear picture of British policies which affected the Siwalik range in a great manner.

## Geographical Features of Himachal Pradesh

### *Topography*

The state derives its origin from two Sanskrit words: 'him' (snow) and 'achal' (lap) i.e Himachal. Thus, the word stands for the region which lies in the slopes and foothills of snow, that is, the Himalayas. Himalayas are not a single continuous chain or range of mountains, but a series of several more or less parallel or converging ranges, intersected by enormous valleys and extensive plateaus. Their width is between 160 to 400 km comprising many minor ranges and the length of Great Himalaya range which is the Central axial of all range is 2500 km.<sup>16</sup> The long alignment of the Himalayas is divided into three sections: the eastern or Sikkim, the mid or Kumaun section and the north-western or Ladakh.<sup>17</sup> The present region of Himachal Pradesh falls into the north-western section of the Himalayas. Longitudinally, the Himalayas are divided into three zones i.e. the Outer Himalayas (Siwaliks), the Lesser Himalayas, and the Great Himalayas.<sup>18</sup> All the three zones are represented in the State.<sup>19</sup> The Siwalik or the Outer Himalayas

16 Wadia, D.N., *Geology of India*, London: Macmillan & Co. Limited, 1919, p.237.

17 Douie, James, *The Panjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir: Provincial Geography of India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916, p. 10.

18 Wadia, D.N, *Geology of India*, New Delhi: Tata Mcgraw Hill Publishing Company Ltd., 1996 [1919] , p.8.

19 In addition to the above mentioned zones, Spate and Learmonth provide two more divisions of the Himalayas (a) 'the zone of spurs from

covered the ranges upto the 2,000-3,000 ft. (610-915m.) and the Lesser Himalayan 'spurs upto the 7,000-9,000 ft. (2,135-2,745m)'. Here Dhauladhar range (12,000 to 15,000 ft) is the most dominant one, 'that separates the longitudinal sections of Beas and Ravi.' The Greater Himalayas is 'lower and more broken here than in the eastern Kashmir or in Kumaon'<sup>20</sup> (**Map 2**).

Siwalik is the outer most range of the Himalayas, which separated the hills of Himalayas from the plains. This range is the sub-Himalayas foothills that border the higher Himalayas. Siwalik literally means the trees of Lord Shiva. Its importance we can trace from the fact that these are the youngest mountain ranges of the Himalayas which runs parallel to the Himalayas and if this range is erupted or eroded then it will have great impact on the other ranges of the Himalayas and Himalayas is the protection shield of the environmental circle of the all other part of the continental region. The Siwalik hill range is 2400 km long and 10 to 50 km in width with the elevation ranging from 900 -1500 meters. This range is divided into many sub-ranges. The rivers which originated from greater Himalayas like Ganga, Yamuna, Sutlej, Indus, Yamuna, and Brahmaputra, all disbursed in Siwalik and these rivers divided the Siwalik in different small ranges. The Siwalik is composed chiefly of sand stones and conglomerate rock formation that have been created by the solidification of rock material and gravel eroded by the rivers from higher Himalayas. The sediments were deposited by rivers flowing southwards from the Greater Himalayas, resulting in extensive multi-ordered drainage systems.<sup>21</sup> The Siwalik has enormous seasonal streams which deposited silt, sand and coarse gravel in a belt surrounding the foothill. This around the Siwalik is 5-8 km wide and known as

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the main ranges at 15000 ft', and (b) 'Indus-Tsangpo furrow at about 12000-14000 ft.' (Spate, O.H.K and A.T.A. Learmonth, *India and Pakistan: Land, People, and Economy*, London: B.I. Publications, 1969 , p. 27).

20 Spate, O.H.K, A.T.A. Learmonth and B.H. Farmer, *India, Pakistan & Ceylon: The Regions*, London: B.I. Publication, 1954, p. 452.

21 Jreat, Manoj, *Geography of Himachal Pradesh*, New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company, 2006,p. 27.

*kandi* area. “Technically speaking *kandi* region has boulder soil frequently dissected by overland flow from hills through networks of small streams, *choes*, gullies etc.”<sup>22</sup> Siwalik range covers northwestern part of India and forms a long and narrow stretch from Jammu & Kashmir to Uttarakhand, as it pass south-easterly through Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Chandigarh, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh.

TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF SIWALIK REGION UNDER DIFFERENT STATES OF NORTHWESTERN INDIA

<i>Sr no.</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Area (In ha)</i>
1	Himachal Pradesh	Una, Bilaspur, Hamirpur, and part of Sirmour, Solan, Kangra and Chamba	1170
2	Jammu & Kashmir	Jammu, Katthua, and Udampur	421
3	Punjab	Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, Ropar, and Nawansharhar	538
4	Haryana	Panchkula, Ambala, and Yamuna Nagar	192
5	Uttaranchal	Dehradun, Haridwar, and Nainital	757
6	Chandigarh	Whole area	11

*Source:* Yadav, R.P., Pankaj Panwar, Swarn Lata and Prasantha K. Mishra, “Revisit of Shivalik region in Different States of Northwestern India”, in *Journal Geological Society of India*, Vol.86, Sep. 2019, pp 1-10.

The greatest part of the Siwalik range falls in Himachal Pradesh. Then Uttaranchal is the second one where Siwalik covers the 757 hectare area and in Punjab, Siwalik covers 538 hectare area. In Himachal Pradesh, Siwalik range is disbursed in Una, Kangra, Bilaspur, Sirmaur, Mandi, and some parts of Chamba districts of Himachal Pradesh. It disbursed in the region from Chamba to

22 Yadav, R.P., Pankaj Panwar, Swarn Lata and Prasantha K. Mishra, “Revisit of Shivalik region in Different States of Northwestern India”, in *Journal Geological Society of India*, Vol.86, Sep. 2019, pp 1-10.



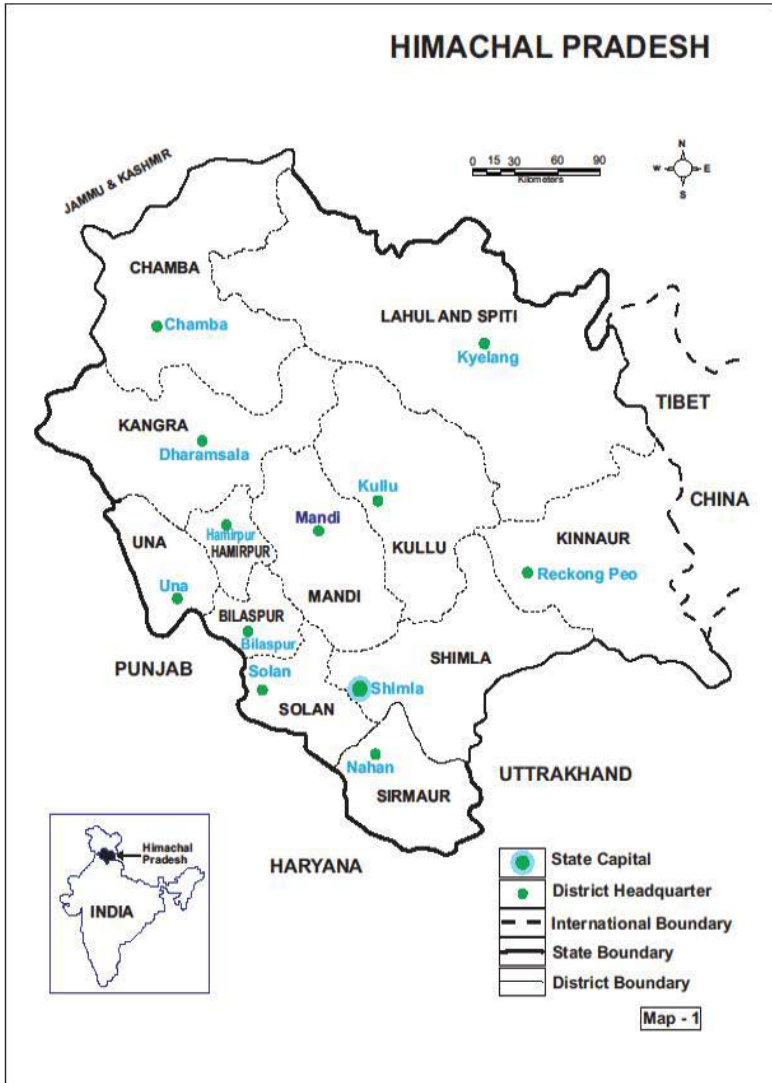
SIWALIK RANGE IN HIMACHAL PRADESH

Sirmour. In Himachal this range had its altitude from 600 meters to 1200 meters. Its width in the state of Himachal Pradesh is 50 kilometer. Siwalik range is not a continuous range in Himachal Pradesh; it is bifurcated in several minor ranges. ‘The crest line of some important Shiwalik ranges is known by several local names like Dhog Dhar in Sirmaur, Ramgarh Dhar in Una, Chaumukhi range, Dharti Dhar, Sikander Dhar and Naina Devi Dhar in Hamirpur and Bilaspur district and Panchmunda hills in Solan district.’<sup>23</sup>

**The Outer Himalayas or Siwalik range** covers the areas of the modern districts of Kangra, Hamirpur, Una, Bilaspur and the lower parts of Mandi, Sirmaur and Solan districts. The soil of the Siwalik is ‘formed of great thickness (15,000-20000 ft.) of Mio-Pleistocene sands, gravel and conglomerates’<sup>24</sup> It is liable to erosion and ‘often degenerating into pebble spreads.’ This makes the

23 Ibid, p.28.

24 Spate and Learmonth, 1969, p. 30.





region agriculturally poor. But in the *Dun* valleys, soil is comparatively more fertile.<sup>25</sup> A combination of shallow black, brown and alluvial is found in Sirmaur, Solan, Una, Hamirpur and Kangra. The soil is red loamy and red sandy in nature, which is useful for horticulture.<sup>26</sup> Loam is the type of soil that is good for growing crops and plants and it contains a lot of decayed vegetable matter and doesn't contain too much sand or clay. This area is rich in the cultivation of maize, wheat, ginger, sugarcane, paddy, potatoes and citrus fruits.<sup>27</sup>

The Siwalik range of the Himalayas covers the area of the northern valley known as *dun* or *duar*. Important Dun valleys in the state are Kangra, Chakki Dun, and Paonta. Dun valleys spread across the Ravi and the Yamuna river. The valleys of the Siwalik are drained by a number of streams, 'which deposit vast quantities of sediments' that makes the valleys highly fertilized, and caused for the high population in this area. The Jaswan Dun in Una district runs along the Swan river, the tributary of the Satluj, which is 72 km long and 13 km wide; the Kiarda Dun which is 40 km long and 15 km wide, situated along the Markanda, the Bata and the Giri tributaries of the Yamuna river in Paonta tehsil of Sirmaur district.

In Solan district the important dun is Nalagarh, 45 km long and 7 km wide. This valley is watered by the 'Sirsa and the other seasonal torrent from the low hills'<sup>28</sup> (**Map 3**).

The prominent rivers in the Siwalik range are Markanda, Ghaggar and Swan which originate from the Siwalik Hills.<sup>29</sup> Swan is the tributary of Satluj; while Markand is the tributary of Yamuna. Ghaggar originates from the Sirmaur district and after 'passing within three miles of Ambala, it traverses the native state of Patiala, where it receives the Saraswati, enters Hisar district [mod-

25 Spate, Learmonth and Farmer, 1954, p. 429.

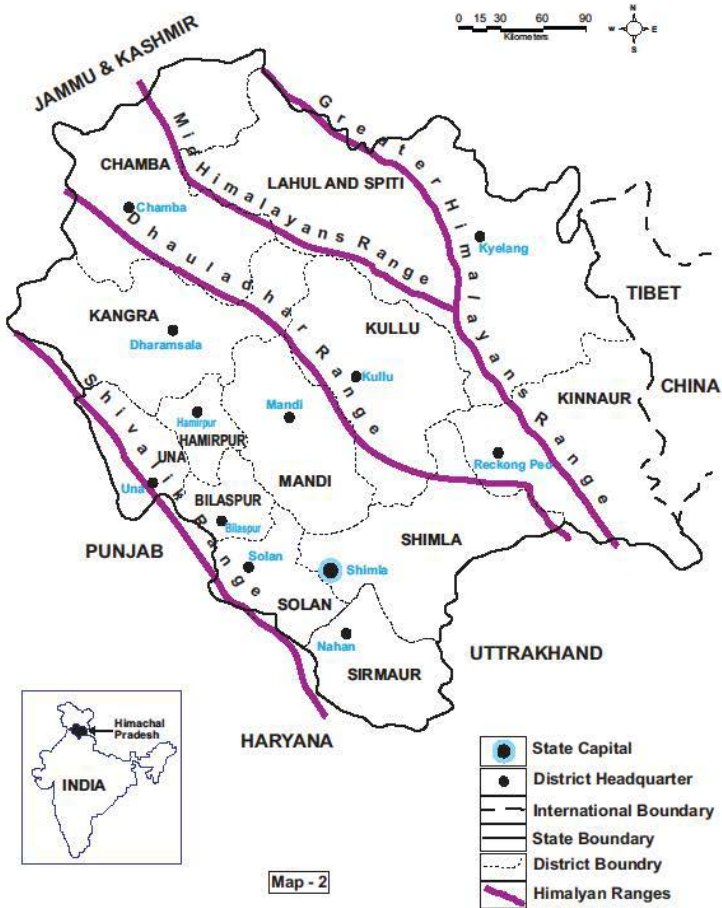
26 HPDR, 2005, p. 60.

27 Singh, K.S, *People of India*, Volume XXIV, *Himachal Pradesh*, New Delhi: Anthropological Survey of India, 1996, p. 3.

28 Joshi, K.L, *Geography of Himachal Pradesh*, New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1984, p. 28.

29 HPDR, 2005, p. 59.

### HIMALYAN RANGES IN HIMACHAL PRADESH



ern Haryana] and finally Bikaner territory near Hanumangarh [modern Rajasthan], former called Bhatnair.<sup>30</sup> Yamuna originates from the Yamnotri (Uttarkhand) and then flows through the Outer Himalayas (i.e. the Siwalik). After entering the Siwalik range it is joined by tributary Tons in the dun valleys and the Giri tributary joins it at Sirmaur.<sup>31</sup>

Another significant feature of the Siwaliks of Himachal Pradesh is its *chos*. *Chos* are seasonal streams which cause 'flash' floods in the rainy season. They are largely formed by the deforestation of the Siwalik. These eroded ranges resulted in the creation of enormous *chos*, particularly in Una district.<sup>32</sup>

**Lesser Himalayas or Mid Himalayas** covers the area of the Pacchad and Renuka tehsils of Sirmaur district, Chachiot and Karsog tehsils of Mandi district and upper parts of Churah tehsil of Chamba district;<sup>33</sup> while the Solan, Kangra and Sirmaur districts are situated between the Siwalik and the Lesser Himalaya corridor; Simla, Kullu and most of the Chamba lie between the Lesser and Greater Himalaya ranges.<sup>34</sup> Pir Panjal and Dhauladhar are the two important ranges of Lesser Himalayas. These ranges are most suitable for the growth of the forests, 'or allow the winter-snows to accumulate.'<sup>35</sup> The Dhauladhar range is situated in south of the Pir Panjal range. It passes through Dalhousie, Dharamsala and Simla district. This tract is famous for *chir*. Dhauladhar range. It is a snow covered range in Kangra receives the rainfall upto 100 inches. (2,540mm).<sup>36</sup> It is cuts across by the Ravi, Beas and Satluj rivers.<sup>37</sup> The Pir Panjal range forms the water divide between Chenab river on the one side and the Ravi and the Beas on the other. The Ravi (Purshuni of the Vedas) originates from the Bara

30 *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial series Punjab*, Vol. I, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1991[1908], p. 186.

31 *Ibid*, p. 191.

32 For a detail discussion on *chos* and its devastation see Chapter 4.

33 Singh, Vol. XXIV, 1996, p. 2.

34 Joshi, 1984, pp. 13-14.

35 Wadia, 1919, p. 6.

36 Spate and Learmonth, 1954, p. 454.

37 *HPDR*, 2005, p. 59.

Banghal, a region of the Dhauladhar ranges, in the Kullu district.<sup>38</sup> Rising from Kullu, it enters the Chamba district.<sup>39</sup>

The most important valleys in the Lesser Himalayan region are Kullu and Kangra. The Kullu valley is formed by the Beas river in the Pir Panjal range (Map 3). The valley is rich in agricultural production. Lush green forests are also abundant in the upper tract. Kullu, Buntar and Naggar are the important towns in the valley.<sup>40</sup> Kangra valley spreads, also known as Kanghan valley,<sup>41</sup> is situated at the foot of the Dhauladhar range.<sup>42</sup> It is vertically about 3600 meter. However, its horizontal span is very narrow covering just a distance of 11km. This peculiarity of spurs makes the valley vulnerable to earthquakes; at the same time its height acts as a barrier to the monsoon resulting in heavy rainfall in the area.<sup>43</sup>

**The Greater Himalayas** cover the area of the Kinnaur district, Pangi tehsil of Chamba district and some parts of Lahaul and Spiti districts of Himachal Pradesh. Rest of the zone falls in the state of Jammu & Kashmir stretching upto China. In this area rainfall is very scarce and is suitable for the cultivation of the dry fruits.<sup>44</sup> The tract is known for its passes which provide passage across Himalayas. The famous passes of the region are Rohtang, Baralacha, Kangla and the Parang.<sup>45</sup> The Beas river (Vipasa of Vedic literature) originating from the Rohtang Pass forms the Kangra and Kullu valleys in the Mid or the Lesser Himalayas. Lahaul valley falls between the Pir Panjal Range and the Greater Himalayan Range. Another valley of the region is Satluj valley that falls in the Chini and Kalpa tehsils of Kinnaur districts. Kinner Kailash is the highest peak in the valley.<sup>46</sup> Satluj River (Vedic *Sutudari*) origi-

38 Douie, 1916, p. 6.

39 *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial series Punjab*, 1908, p. 191.

40 Negi, S.S, *Himalayn Forest and Forestry*, New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company, 2000, p. 19.

41 Wadia, 1996 [1919], p. 12.

42 Singh, Vol. XXIV, 1996, p. 2.

43 Joshi, 1984, pp. 13-14.

44 *HPDR*, 2005, p. 44.

45 *Ibid*, p. 59.

46 Singh, Vol. XXIV, 1996, p. 2.

### RIVERS & VALLEYS



nates from the Mansarovar Lake in Tibet and enters the state in the Kanawar valley in Bushahar tehsil of district Kinnaur, where Li and Spiti tributaries join it at Dahloang. Then it flows through Kullu, Mandi and Simla districts and then the river transverses through Rampur and Bilaspur. After flowing through Bilaspur, it enters Nangal in the Jaswan Duns in modern Punjab.<sup>47</sup> Within the Greater Himalayan zone, the tract runs through the Kinnaur district, Pangi sub-tehsil of Chamba district and Lahaul-Spiti district (dry hill zones; addresses as Alpine zone).<sup>48</sup> 'Kullu receives rainfall upto 30-40 inches (762-1 to 016mm), but the Satluj gorge, transverse to the monsoon currents, are very dry, and in Spiti the scanty precipitation is almost entirely snow.<sup>49</sup> Another important river of the Greater Himalayas is Chenab (Vedic *Askini*). It rises in the 'Himalayan canton of Lahul in two streams: the *Chandra* stream rises from the Bara Lacha at the height of 16,221 feet and the *Bhaga* that rises from the north-west slope of the pass unites at Tandi and forms the river Chenab. Then it flows through the Pangi valley of Chamba and enters the Padar district of Kashmir.<sup>50</sup> (Map 3)

### *Duns/Valleys of Siwalik*

The lesser Himalaya or mid Himalayas rises sharply to the north of the Siwalik range and these two parallel ranges are separated by structure valleys called *Dun*. Siwalik range is not a continuous range. "In some places it is cut through by the passage of streams that drain the interior of the mountains; in others of the two ranges that flank it, and which usually form distinct lines."<sup>51</sup> With the interruption of the streams and ranges of lesser Himalayas valleys

47 Joshi, 1984, p. 10.

48 Singh, 1996, p. 3.

49 Spate and Learmonth, 1954, p. 454.

50 *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial series Punjab*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 191.

51 Atkinson, Edwin T. *The Himalayan Gazetteer, vol.1*, 1998 [1882], New Delhi: Bhavana Books & prints, p.84.

are formed in this range, which are known as dun. These duns are generally covered with the boulders and gravel which deposited in their lower level. In Himachal Pradesh, there are a number of valleys at various elevations which are formed by tectonic forces as well as by the work of rivers and glaciers.<sup>52</sup> The dun valleys of Siwalik are the fine example of the work of river and ranges. These are flat bottomed longitude structural valleys with their own drainage system. Some important dun valleys of Himachal Pradesh are Paonta Valley of Sirmour District, Kangra Valley, Nalagarh dun in Solan and Jaswan Dun in Una district.<sup>53</sup> These valleys were although known for their 'great deposition of alluvium', but they were interrupted and eroded by the furious action of the hill torrents known as *chos*. These streams has eroded the fertilized land of the duns/valleys and the 'erosive action of the Siwalik torrents has left very few valley tracts possessing a really plain surface.'<sup>54</sup> The furious actions of these water gaps are so disastrous that they turned the wide area in waste land. In the dry season the water gets absorbed in the sands of stream beds. 'The stream itself gets choked by the heavy load of sediments washed down by the best of the rain and by numerous rills down the slopes. The duns have thus become filled with alluvium and have developed sufficient depth of soil.'<sup>55</sup>

### *Natural Resources of the Region*

Himachal Pradesh is blessed with rich wealth of natural resources. Himachal Pradesh has extensive river system, the hill and valleys of the State are dotted with numerous water bodies including natural lakes and manmade reservoirs. Some of important natural lakes are Ghadasaru, Khajjiar, Lama, Manimahesh, Mahakali, (Chamba); Dal, Kaveri (Kangra), Kumserwali, Prashar, Rewalsar, Kuntbhyo,

52 Jreat, 2006, p.33.

53 Ibid

54 Joshi, K.L., *Geography of Himachal Pradesh*, New Delhi: National Book Trust India, p.27.

55 Ibid

Kalasar, Sukhasar (Mandi), Bharigu, Sareolsar, Mantalai (Kullu), Chandertal, Surajtal, (Lahual & Spiti), Chandranahan, Karali, Bradasar (Shimla); Nako (Kinnaur), Renuka, Suketi, (Sirmour).<sup>56</sup>

### *Springs*

Perennial fresh water springs are another very important source of water in the state. These are used for drinking purpose. Many hot water springs are also available in the state. Manikaran in the Parvati valley, Vashistha near Manali, Tatapani in Shimla, Jeori, Tapri & some other places are known for their curative powers, mythical legends and invigorating contents<sup>57</sup>.

### *Minerals*

Minerals are non-renewable natural resources essential for mankind and backbone of economic growth of any country. Due to the progress of industrialization, the demand of the minerals has increased.<sup>58</sup> Himachal Pradesh is endowed with several important minerals like limestone, high grade limestone, quartzite, gold, pyrites, copper, rock salt, natural oil and gas, mica, iron ore etc. and is the only state in India where rock salt is mined.<sup>59</sup> The important mines of major minerals in the state are limestones, Baryte, Silica, Boulders, quartzite and rock salt. The area is also rich in important building stones like slates, clay, sand, etc. These minerals are scattered all over the state. Limestone is found in Bilaspur, Sirmour, and Kangra district; salt and slate in Mandi district; gypsum in Rajban Bharli Sirmour district; Lahaul & Spiti and Sapatu in Solan district; baryte in Sirmour, iron ore are in Mandi and Kangra dis-

<sup>56</sup> HPDR, 2005, p. 65.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Kant, Shashi, R. Albert Berry, *Institutions, Sustainability and Natural Resources*, Netherland: Springer Publishers, 2005, p. 11.

<sup>59</sup> Jerat, M., *Geography of Himachal Pradesh*, New Delhi: Indus Publishing Co., 2006, p. 25.



trict; and uranium in Kulu and Hamirpur districts.<sup>60</sup> Limestone is useful in building purpose and preparing cement. Impure limestone generally named as *kankar* 'contain sufficient clay to give it hydraulic character when burnt and much cement is thus manufactured.'<sup>61</sup> Similarly slate is quarried in Kangra and is in demand for flooring of the houses.

### Forests

Douie distinguishes three types of forests in the hills of Punjab (present Himachal Pradesh) i.e. (a) Mountain Forest, (b) Hill Forests (c) Scrub and Grass Jungle in Plain.<sup>62</sup> In the mountain forests he kept the 'forests of deodar, blue pine, fir, and oak in the Himalaya above the level of 5000 feet.'<sup>63</sup> Thus, in the mountain forests he denoted the forests of the Mid Himalayan range (upto 7000 feet) and the Greater Himalayan Range (above 8000 feet). He further states, "The hill forests occupy the lower spurs, the Siwaliks in Hoshiyarpur etc. and the low dry hills of north-west. A Strong growth of Chir pine (*pinus longifolio*) is often found in the Himalaya between 3000 to 5000 feet."<sup>64</sup> The forests of the Siwalik range were kept in the Hill Forests by Douie. Forests which were below 3000 feet were in the category of Spur Forests. Douie mentions that spur forests were rich in bamboo and dwarf palm (*Nannorhops Ritchieana*) trees which is useful for mat making.<sup>65</sup> Thus, forests of Himachal Pradesh are rich in timber, pastures, wide variety of herbs, etc. The forests always remained the main source of income to erstwhile princely rulers of these hill states of the Pradesh. Even for the people these forest supplied firewood, timber for construction of houses and wood for making agricultural and domestic implements including fruits, herbs, resin, etc.

60 *HPDR*, 2005, p. 44.

61 Douie, 1916, p. 60

62 *Ibid*, p. 86.

63 *Ibid*.

64 *Ibid*

65 *Ibid*, 89.

As per the annual administrative report of Himachal Pradesh Forest Department, an area of 14353 sq. km is actual forest cover. This is constituted by 1,093 sq km. of very dense forests, 7,883 sq. km. moderately dense and 5,377 sq. km with open forests. In addition to this, 389 sq. km. area has been described as scrubs. Forests Wealth of Himachal Pradesh is estimated at over Rs. 1,00,000 crore.<sup>66</sup> Most of precious coniferous forests are of such nature that these cannot be truly regenerated by human beings if these are cut once. The state Government has imposed a complete ban on commercial felling and the only removals from the forests are either by way of timber distribution rights to the people or salvage extraction.<sup>67</sup> In the state 67 percent area is classified as “Area under Forest”. In fact actual effective forest cover is much lower than this area.<sup>68</sup> This is due to the reason that a very large area is either alpine meadows or is above the tree line. (**Table 1**)

TABLE 1: DISTRICT WISE FOREST COVER OF HIMACHAL PRADESH 2015  
(AREA IN KM<sup>2</sup>)

<i>District</i>	<i>Geographical Area</i>	<i>Very Dense Forest</i>	<i>Mod. Dense Forest</i>	<i>Open Forest</i>	<i>Total</i>
Bilaspur	1167	24	171	167	362
Chamba	6522	853	773	811	2437
Hamirpur	1118	39	91	115	245
Kangra	5739	310	1221	537	2068
Kinnaur	6401	82	262	260	604
Kullu	5503	586	785	588	1959
Lahul Spiti	13841	15	32	148	195
Mandi	3950	373	735	568	1676

<sup>66</sup> *Annual Administration Report of Forest Department Himachal Pradesh*, Himachal Pradesh Forest Department, 1977, p. 21.

<sup>67</sup> *Forest Manual Vol.1, (Acts & Rules)*, Forest Department, Himachal Pradesh, 2015, p.12.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

Shimla	5131	739	1037	616	2392
Sirmaur	2825	130	568	687	1385
Solan	1936	55	404	391	850
Una	1540	18	302	203	523
Grand Total	55673	3224	6381	5091	14696

Source: Forest Manual Vol.1, (Acts & Rules), Forest Department, Himachal Pradesh, 2015.

### British Colonial State

During the colonial period, state of Himachal Pradesh formed part of the undivided Punjab, known as Punjab Hills. Geographically the undivided Punjab formed part of Indo-Gangetic plains, West-Himalayan region, Sub-Himalayan region, and North-Western dry region ( **Table 2**).

TABLE 2: DIVISION OF THE UNDIVIDED PUNJAB

Zones	British Territory	Princely states
Indo-Gangatic Plains	Hisar, Rohtak, Delhi, Karnal, Jullandhar, Ludhiana, Ferozpur, Faridkot, Lahor, Amritsar	Loharu, Dujana, Gurgaon, Pataudi, Kapurthala, Maler Kotla, Patiala, Jind, Nabha, Gujrawala.
West-Himalayan	Simla, Kangra	Nahan, Simla Hill State, Mandi, Suket, Chamba
Sub-Himalayan	Ambala, Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, Gujrat, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Attock	Kalsia, Sialkot
North-West Dry Area	Montgomery, Jhang, Shahpur, Mianwali, Lyallpur, Multan, Muzaffargarh	Bahawalpur

Source: *Census of India, 1911*, Vol. XIV, Lahore: Civil and Military Gazetteer Press, 1912, p. 2.

Thus the British territories of the present Himachal Pradesh

largely formed part of West Himalayan division; while Una (part of Hoshiarpur) fell in the Sub-Himalayan zone.

### Historical Background

History of the Himachal region could be traced back to the *Vedas*, *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas*. Out of the 10 rivers mentioned in the *Rig Veda* four namely Asikini (Chenab), Purshini (Ravi), Arjikiya (Beas), and Satudri (Satluj) are still flowing through Himachal Pradesh. The Original inhabitants (pre-Aryan) in the area were the Dasa, Koli, Hali, Dagi, Dhangri, Khasa, Kirat and Kinner who were, in turn, said to be defeated by the Aryans.<sup>69</sup> During the Vedic period the dominant groups mentioned were the Trigratas (inhabitant of the present Kangra region) and the Audumbharas (people inhabiting Lower Hills near Pathankot). Trigratas and Audumbaras are even referred to in the *Mahabharata*, and later in the *Puranas* and *Rajatarangini*.<sup>70</sup> By the 6th century BCE we come across two tribal republics (*janapadas*) Kuluta (Kullu region) and Kulindas (across Kangra valley). *Vishnu Purana* couples the Audumbara with the *Trigrata* and *Kulindas*.<sup>71</sup>

### Trigrata

History of the Trigrata as a region and as a tribe is full of conflict-ing charms. The region is largely identified with the present-day Jalandhar (present Punjab) and Kangra (present day Himachal Pradesh). However in ancient period the boundaries between Jalandhar and Kangra region overlapped. Cunningham argues that Jalandhar region applies to the entire Lower Hill country

69 Singh, Vol. XXIV, 1996, p. 4.

70 Stein, M.A. Bungalow, *Kalhan's Rajatarangini*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1961 [1900], p. 488.

71 Cunningham, A., *Archaeological Survey of India Report for the Year 1872-73*, Vol. 5, Calcutta:

Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1875, p. 66.

inclusive of Kangra/Nagarkot/Katoch/Trigrata.<sup>72</sup> Trigrata literally means three-pits or valleys. Cunningham defines the area as the land of three rivers or valleys namely Ravi, Beas, and Satluj falling into Jalandhar region i.e. the Lower Hills. Hutchison, however, questions this claim. He argues that Trigrata applies to the Lower Beas Valley region i.e. Kangra proper along the Banganga, Kurali and Nayagul rivers.<sup>73</sup> These rivers are tributaries of the Beas and join the river at Haripur near the present-day Kangra fort (also known as Nagarkot and Siba fort). However, it seems, both the Jalandhar and Kangra regions fall into the broader Trigrata region. This is explicitly clear from the testimony of Hemchandra (12<sup>th</sup> century). In his lexicographical text *Abhidanachintamani*, he identifies Trigrata with Jalandhar region (*Jaladharastrigartah syuh i.e. Jullundhar is same as Trigrata*).<sup>74</sup> The earliest reference to the king of Trigrata, Susarma, who had stolen the cows of the Virata, the king of Matsya, who was in turn an ally with the Pandavas comes from *Mahabharata*.<sup>75</sup> Cunningham mentions that Susarma initially ruled in the Multan region. Since Susarma sided with Duryodhan in the lost war of *Mahabharata*, after the battle, he was pushed towards Jalandhar region and built the famous fort of Kot Kangra/Nagarkot.<sup>76</sup> Panini (4th century BCE) identifies Trigrata as *Ayodhajivi Sangha*, a confederation of six states (*Trigarta-Shashtha*)—Kaundoparatha, Dandaki, Kraushtaki, Jalamani, Brahmagupta and Janaki.<sup>77</sup> Altekar states that the Trigrata 'later became a unitary state under the name of Kunindas' as the coins issued by the Kunindas (Kulindas) in the later period are found

72 Cunningham, Alexander, *Ancient Geography of India*, London: Trubner and Co, 1871, pp. 136-7.

73 Hutchison, John, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Vol. I, New Delhi: Asian Educational Service, 1994 [1933], p. 12.

74 Chandra, Hem, *Abhidhanachintamani*, Baroda: Luhana Mitra Streaan Press, 1920, p. 239.

75 Buck, William, *Mahabharata*, London: University of California Press, 1981, p. 222.

76 Cunningham, 1875, pp. 148-9.

77 Agrawala, V.S., *India as Known to Panini*, Lucknow: Mehar Chand Munshiram Publishing, 1953, p. 53.

in Kangra and adjoining area.<sup>78</sup> Their coins have the legend *Trakatajanapadas* (means coins of Trakata i.e Trigrata).<sup>79</sup>

### Audumbhara

Audumbhara are classified by Panini as *Rajanya* located largely in the present day Pathankot region.<sup>80</sup> Cunningham also found the coins of Audumbhara in the Northern Punjab. He describes, “The country of the Odumbaras must therefore be looked for near Kangra and Kanet districts, and there the name still exists in the rich tract between the Ravi and Bias Rivers, comprising the forts of Pathankot and Nurpur (or Damari<sup>81</sup>).”<sup>82</sup> Cunningham observes that the ‘Audhumbara or Odumbara’ applies to the area where the coins of the Audumbharas have been found.<sup>83</sup> Audumbharas disappeared finally and over powered by the Kunindas/Kulinda, Yaudheyas, Kulluta and Trigrata.

### Kulindas and Kulutas

The republican tribe of the Kulindas (modern Kanets) were spread along the banks of the river Satluj, while the Kulutas were settled in the region of upper Beas valley region, presently known as Kullu valley, and also partly along the banks of Satluj (Mandi region) and Yamuna (Suket region) rivers.<sup>84</sup> However, Cunningham identifies Kulindas as ‘Ptolemy’s Kullu and Kunawar.’<sup>85</sup> There is also a refer-

78 Altekar, A.S., *State and Government in ancient India*, Bombay: Motilal Banarsi Dass, 1949, p.118.

79 Ibid.

80 Aggarwal, 1953, p. 415.

81 Jahangir renamed Damari as Nurpur after his wife Nurjahan.

82 Cunningham, Alexander, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, 1862-63, Vol. II, Delhi: Ideological Book House, 1865, p. 66.

83 Ibid.

84 Singh, Vol. XXIV, 1996, p. 4.

85 Cunningham, 1865, p. 66.

ence of Ulita or Kuluta in *Vishnu Purana*, *Ramayana* and *Brihat Samhita*.<sup>86</sup>

The ruling family of the Kangra traces their descent from the pre-tribal chief Susarma and claims to be one of the oldest royal family of India.<sup>87</sup> The kingdom of the Trigrata comprised two great provinces; one had capital at *Jalandhar* and another at *Nagarkot* (*Kangra*). Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, who paid visit to this area in 629 CE, mentions Jalandhar as 1000 *li*, or 167 miles in length from east to west and 800 *li*, or 133 miles in breadth from north to south. Thus, the expanse of the Jalandhar or Trigrata as mentioned by Yuan Chwang was then extended upto the modern 'state of the Chamba on the north, with Mandi and Suket in the east, Satadru on the south-east.'<sup>88</sup> Yuan Chwang mentions Jalandhar as the capital of the region having the area of '12 to 13 *li*, or upwards of 2 miles in circuit.'<sup>89</sup> Alberuni also mentions the kingdom of Jalandhar in his itinerary from Kanauj to Kashmir but mentions Dahmal (Nurpur) as the capital of Jalandhar.<sup>90</sup>

The first historical reference of the Hills in the accounts of the Muslim chronicles comes from Ferishta. He states that in the 1st century CE, king of Kanauj, Ram Deo Rathor, invaded and subdued 500 local chiefs of Kumaun and over-ran Siwalik Hills as far west as Jammu. Among the chiefs mentioned by Ferishta, specific mention is made by him of the Rajas of Nagarkot (Kangra) and Jammu.<sup>91</sup> By the early medieval period, we come across that the area was divided into number of small principalities, known as *Apthakurai* (independent kingdoms) headed by petty chiefs

86 Ibid, p. 142.

87 Hutchison, 1994 [1933], p. 133.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid, pp. 137-8.

90 Sacha, Edward, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, London: Kagan Paul, Trench Trubners & Co., 1910, p. 205.

91 Ferishta Mahomed Kasim, *Tarikh-I Ferishta*, English translation by John Briggs, under the title *Rise of the Mohamedan Power in India till the year A.D. 1612*, Vol. I, Delhi : Low Price publication, 1990[1829], p. xxiv.

*Ranas (Rajanaka)* and *Thakurs (Thakkuras)*.<sup>92</sup> The Rana of the Kangra valley mentioned in the Baijnath *Prashasti* (1204 CE) is addressed as *Rajanaka*.<sup>93</sup> In *Rajtarangini* (12th century CE) there is a reference of *Thakur* Dengupal ruling the area adjoining the banks of the Chenab, who married his daughter to Bhiksacara, the grandson of king Harsha.<sup>94</sup>

By the 6th century the prominent Rajput states in the region were Trigrata (Kangra) with its offshoots Guler, Jaswan Datatpur and Siba (ruled by the *Somvansis*), Chamba, Kullu, Mandi, Suket (ruled by *Surayavanshis*), Nurpur, Kotila, and Kotlehar (ruled by the *Pandayas/Pundirs*).<sup>95</sup>

Trigratas in the plains i.e the Jalandhar region lost its control with Mahmud Gazni's siege of Nagarkot in 1009 CE, (Bhimkot of *Tarikh-i Yamini*).<sup>96</sup> However, Rajput princes soon succeeded in regaining control over Nagarkot territory in 1043 CE. Later in the 14th century Firuz Shah Tughluq captured the fort in 1357 CE and changed the name of *Nagarkot* to *Mahomedabad*, in honour of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq who initially tried to capture the fort in 1351 CE, but failed. But Firuz left after the capture and the kingdom was restored to the Raja of Nagarkot.<sup>97</sup>

Mughal expansion in the Punjab region compelled the Hill States to bow down. It was Akbar who brought the Hill states under his sway.<sup>98</sup> Jahangir also sent the forces to occupy the fort of

92 Hutchison, 1994 [1933], p. 12.

93 Kalhan, 1961, [1900], p. 61.

94 Ibid, p. 432.

95 Cunningham, 1871, p. 136.

96 Utbi, Abu Nasr Muhammad, *Tarikh-i Yamini*, English translation by Sir Elliot, Henry Mierns, and John Dowson, under the title, *History of India*, Vol. V, New York: Cosimo Publication, 1907, p. 54.

97 Ferishta, Mohammad Arif, *Tarikh-i Firishta*, English translation by Sir Elliot, Henry Mierns, and John Dowson, *History of India, the Muhammadan Period*, Vol. VI, Delhi: Low Price Publication, 1907, p.225.

98 Allami, Abu'l Fazl, *The Ain-i Akbari*, translated by Colonel H.S. Jarrett, Vol. II, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1989 [1891], p. 884. Abul Fazl mentions the surrender of the Raja Badhi Chand from Nagarkot, Paras Ram from Koh-i Jammu, Raja Basu from



Kangra in 1620 and appointed a Mughal Governor Murtaza Khan to keep the adjoining Hill chiefs in check.<sup>99</sup> Even Mughals directly controlled and governed Kangra fort under a Mughal Qiladar.<sup>100</sup> The Royal family of Kangra only possessed the *jagir* of Raigiri. After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the nominal Mughal control over the Punjab Hills declined rapidly and the Hill chiefs took full advantage of the situation and set themselves independent.<sup>101</sup> However, Kangra continued to remain in the possession of the Mughal *qiladar* till 1783 when finally it fell into the hands of the Sikhs. The last Mughal *qiladar* of Kangra fort was appointed in 1740 during the closing years of Muhammad Shah's reign (1719-1748). Meanwhile Ahmad Shah Durrani, invaded Punjab ten times between 1748 and 1768. Ahmad Shah Durrani entrusted the Governorship (Nazim) of Jalandhar Doab Ghamad Chand (1753-1775), the Katoch Raja of Kangra in 1759. As a result, he acquired supremacy over all the Hill States between Satluj and Ravi.<sup>102</sup>

Sansar Chand (1775-1820) finally laid siege of the Kangra fort in 1789, thus established supremacy over entire Punjab Hills.<sup>103</sup> With the rise of Ranjit Singh's power in the early 19th century Hill States fell under the suzerainty of Ranjit Singh (1815). Meanwhile,

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Mau, Raja Anrudh from Jeswal, Raja Tila from Kahlur, Raja Jagdev Chand from Gwaliar, Raja Sispal from Dahipal, Rai Sansar Chand from Siba, Rai Partap from Makot, Rai Bhunar from Jasrota, Rai Balbhdra from Lakhanpur, Rai Daulat from Sharkot, Bharta Rai Krishna from fort Bhila, Rai Narayan, the proprietor of Suket Mandi, Rai Krishna Iladiya, Rai Udiya Dhamriwal.

99 Jahagir, Nimudin Mohammad, Elliot, *Wakiat-i Jahangiri*, English translation by Sir Elliot, Henry Miers, and John Dowson, *History of India, The Muhammadan Period*, Vol. VI, Delhi: Low Price Publication, 1989, [1877], p. 374 .

100 During Aurangzeb's reign Kangra fort was successfully held by the Mughal *qiladar* Sayyid Hussain Khan, Hasan Abdulla Khan Pathan and Sayyid Khalil Ullah Khan.

101 Hutchison, 1994 [1933], p. 77.

102 Ibid, pp, 175-6.

103 Forests, George, *A Journey from Bengal to England*, Vol. I, London: R. Paulder New Bont Street, 1798, p. 208.

the rising power of the Gurkhas in the Kangra valley under Amar Singh Thapa brought them in open combat with the British. In 1814 British army under Ochterlony captured Nalagarh and Taraghra. After a long and desperate struggle, Ramgarh, the strongest fort of the Gurkhas, was finally occupied by the British in 1815 and the treaty of Sagouli was signed between Amar Singh Thappa and the British in December 12, 1815. Consequently, Amar Singh Thappa agreed to withdraw his army from Cis-Sutlej area and handed over all the forts in his possession to the British. By this treaty the state of Sirmaur, Bilaspur, Hindur, Jubbal, Keothal, Kumaharsen, Bahar, Bashar, Kotgarh and Bhagal came under the British control.<sup>104</sup> British granted *sannads* to the chiefs of the Hill States confirming them and their heirs Lord of their territories.<sup>105</sup>

With Ranjit Singh's death in 1839, the Sikh kingdom fell into disorder. On 9th March 1846, the treaty of Lahore was signed between the British Government and the Sikh Durbar. By this whole of the Doab region (between Satluj and Beas) Hill States of Kangra, Guler, Jaswan, Datarpur, Nurpur, Suket, Mandi, Kullu and Lahaul and Spiti fell to the British.<sup>106</sup> The Rajas of Hill States were allotted *sannads* by the British Government. By virtue of these *sannads* the suzerainty of these states got finally transferred from the Sikhs to the British Government. British also signed a separate treaty on 16th March, 1846 with Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir. The treaty put Gulab Singh in possession of the entire Hill country along with the British controlled region between the Ravi and the Indus, including Kashmir, Laddakh, Gilgit and Chamba, excluding Lahaul. In return, the Maharaja was to pay Rs 75,00,000. The Raja of Chamba, who was tributary to the Sikh government objected to be governed by Gulab Singh. As a result British agreed to allow Gulab Singh to retain Badrawah and acquire Lakhanpur, Chandgraon, and Chamba, on both sides of the Ravi. He was also made the independent ruler through a grant of a *sannad* issued on

104 Farooqi, Mian Bashir Ahmed, *Monograph No 19, British Relation with Cis- Sutlej (1809-1823)*, Lahor: Punjab Government Record Office Publication, 1823, p. 49.

105 Aitchison, Vol. VIII, 1909, pp. 302- 365.

106 Ibid, pp, 160-63.

6th April 1848. The Raja of Chamba in lieu agreed to pay annual tribute of rupees twelve thousand to the British.<sup>107</sup>

The arrangement, finalized in 1846 and 1848, continued throughout the Colonial period and largely the chiefs of the petty Hill States of Himachal Pradesh exhibited friendship and shared a spirit of loyalty towards the British government. Even during the revolt of 1857, several Hill Chiefs such as those of the states of Keothal, Koti, Balson, Bilaspur, Sirmaur, Bhagal, Bhajji, Jubbal, Chamba, Nurpur, Mandi, Siba and Nadaun provided active assistance to the British in suppressing the revolt. They were suitably rewarded by the British with honorary titles, *khilats* and salute of guns.<sup>108</sup> However, the inhabitants of the region actively participated in the protest movements. Inspired by the activities of the *National Praja Mandal* movements under the aegis of Indian *National Congress*, state *Praja Mandals* were formed (at Mandi, Chamba, Kunihar and Sirmaur) in the Hills in 1939.<sup>109</sup>

After Independence, though there was a strong demand of the merger of the Hill States with Punjab, rulers of the Hills opposed the idea. The assembly of the representatives of the rulers and the *Praja Mandals* met at Solan from 26 to 28 January, 1948. Here seeds of the formation of Himachal Pradesh were sowed. Finally, in 1948, Himachal Pradesh came into existence by integrating various Hill states – Chamba, Mandi, Suket, Bashahr (and its tributaries Khaneti and Delath), Keothal (and its tributaries Koti, Theog, Madhan, Ghund, and Ratesh), Baghal, Baghat, Jubbal, (with its tributaries Rawin and Dhadi), Kumharsain, Bhajji, Mahlog, Balson, Dhami, Kuthar, Kunihar, Beja, Darkoti, Tharoch, Sangri, and Sirmur.<sup>110</sup> Initially Raja of Bilaspur resisted its merger with Himachal Pradesh. Finally, on 1st July 1954, Bilaspur was also merged with Himachal Pradesh. However, only in November 1966, by adding the hilly tracts of the Punjab – Shimla, Kullu, Kangra, Lahaul and Spiti, the Nalagarh area of the Ambala district, parts of

107 Ibid, p. 29.

108 *Mutiny Record*, Part II, Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1911, p. 362.

109 *Freedom Movement in Himachal*, 1999, pp. 112-113.

110 Singh, Vol. XXIV, 1996, p. 8.

Una tehsil of Hoshiarpur district, and the portions of Pathankot tehsil of Gurdaspur were merged with Himachal Pradesh. With this reorganization finally a bill to seek statehood for Himachal Pradesh was passed in the Parliament and Himachal Pradesh was granted statehood on January 25, 1971.<sup>111</sup>

### Tribes of Himachal Pradesh

The tribal concentration in Himachal Pradesh is largely confined to the Greater Himalayan zone. The region – districts of Lahaul and Spiti, Kinnaur, Upper Shimla, Upper Kullu, remote areas of Sirmaur, Chamba and Kangra – is inhabited by semi-nomadic tribes – Kinnauri, Lahuli, Gaddi, Gujjar, Lamba, Khampa, Bhot, Pangwala and Swangla <sup>112</sup> However, the tribal concentration in the Outer Himalayas/Siwalik and the Mid-Himalayan zones is too thin. According to the *Census Report* of 2011 Himachal Pradesh has approximately 5.7 % of Scheduled Tribe population. The total population of Himachal Pradesh is 68,64,602 out of which 3,92,126 inhabitants belong to Scheduled Tribe. Schedule tribes of Himachal Pradesh listed in the Constitution (Schedule Tribes) Order, 1950 are Eight (See **Table 6**).<sup>113</sup> Later, by the Punjab Reorganization Act, 1976 Gaddi and Gujjar tribes of Hamirpur, Kangra, Kullu, Shimla and Una districts are also brought into the fold of Scheduled Tribes in the State.<sup>114</sup> Another reorganization followed in the year 2002, when two new tribes, Beta and Demba, are also added to the list of Scheduled Tribe of the State, thus increasing the total number of the Schedule tribes from Eight to Ten.<sup>115</sup>

111 Ibid.

112 *HPDR*, 2005, p. 231.

113 *The Constitution (Schedule Tribes Order 1950)*, Clause-I, Article 342 of *Indian Constitution*, p. 9.

114 *Census of 2001, List of Schedule Tribes*, Annexure 1a.

115 *Annual Development Report of the Scheduled Tribal Areas of the Governor of Himachal Pradesh*, Shimla, Tribal Development Department, Himachal Pradesh, 2007, p. 8.

TABLE 6: SCHEDULE TRIBES OF HIMACHAL PRADESH

<i>Schedule Tribes</i>	<i>By the Act of schedule Tribe, 1950</i>	<i>By the Act of schedule Tribe, 1976</i>	<i>By the Amendment of 2002</i>
1. Bhot, Bodh			-
2. Gaddi	1950; Excluding the territories specified in Sub-section (1) of section 5 of the Punjab Reorganisation Act 1966 (31 of 1966), other than the Lahul and Spiti district	The area excluded now comprises of Kangra, Hamirpur, Kullu, Una and Shimla districts	
3. Gujjar	1950; excluding the territories specified in sub-section 910 od section 5 of the Punjab Reorganisation Act, 1966 (31 of 1966)	The area now comprise of Kangra, Hamirpur, Kullu, Una, Shimla, and Lahual and Spiti districts.	
4. Jad, Lamba, Khampa			
5. Kanaura, Kinnara			
6. Lahula			
7. Pangwala			
8. Swangla			
9. Beta			Added by this amendment
10. Demba			Added by this amendment

Source: Section III, Article 342, Clause (1), *The Constitution of India* (Schedule Tribes) order, 1950.

## Detail of Chapters

The main focus of my research is to highlight and trace the role of Gujjars in the Erosion of Siwalik range in Himachal Pradesh and the work is divided into six chapters with an introduction and conclusion. The Chapter on **Geographical Features** is of immense importance to understand, how the geography influenced the Gujjar settlements and livelihood pattern in Himachal Pradesh. Here, I have explained various ranges of the Himalayas running across Himachal Pradesh. All the three ranges of the Himalayas cut across Himachal Pradesh. Greater Himalayan ranges are covered with snow all the year round. So no vegetation is available here. The other two ranges Mid and Lower Himalayan ranges, have rich grazing tracts. Gujjars movements were largely confined to these two ranges and they never moved upwards in the Greater Himalayan ranges. Siwalik range is situated on the foot hills of the Himalayas. This track is rich for grazing ground. Thus we find Gujjar concentration particularly in Kangra, Una, Bilaspur and Sirmour districts. The mid-Himalayan range falls in Chamba, and it usually receives any snow fall in winters. In summers when snow melts, Gujjars move towards this tract, but in winter they come down and move towards the Siwalik Hills which hardly receives any snow. This chapter also deals with the formation of the Himachal Pradesh after Independence. The state was formed after submerging thirty princely states. Major Gujjar concentration is presently in Bilaspur, Chamba, Kangra Sirmour and Una districts. During the colonial period, Kangra and Una were directly governed by the British; while the Rajas of Chamba, Sirmour and Bilaspur were allotted *sanadsto* govern their territories. Thus, Gujjars had to deal with the British on the one hand and with the ruling chieftaincies on the other.

Second Chapter focuses on the settlement pattern of the Gujjars in Siwalik Range. The chapter deals with the settlement pattern of Gujjars in four districts (Una, Bilaspur, Kangra and Chamba) vary. In Una they frequently move closely along the villages. In Una and Bilaspur, they established their villages and presently are the permanent settlers here unlike Chamba and

Kangra where they still lead a nomadic, or a semi-nomadic life. In Kangra, they are categorized as *Sawana* Gujjars, having *warisee* rights on the grazing tracts. However, the Nomad Gujjars of the region are constantly on the move. These nomad Gujjars known as *Heer* Gujjars in Una, generally move across Kangra, Chamba and Una. In Chamba, Gujjars occupied *dhars* situated in Mid-Himalayan ranges and in Bilaspur their major concentrations are along the *khads* (hill torrents). They never cross over Pangi ranges of Chamba. They move down in winters to the plains of Kangra and Pathankot in search of grazing tracts. Gujjars of Chamba are said to have been migrated from Jammu and Kashmir. Life of Nomad Gujjars is very hard. They generally set up their *deras* along the banks of the *khads*. Semi-nomadic Gujjars, although have their permanent houses, they still wander in search of grazing tracts. However, settled Gujjars have their permanent houses and possess agricultural land. Nomad Gujjars always on the move and do not possess any permanent shelters.

Chapter third is **Customary Right of the Gujjars in Siwalik Range** deals with grazing rights of the Gujjar community in the region. Grazing tracts were available in Mid-Himalayan ranges and Siwalik ranges. However, waste lands scattered around the villages, were also used by Gujjars as grazing tracts. In this chapter I will discuss various grazing tracts of the Hills of Himachal Pradesh which were used by the Gujjars freely before the British annexation of in the region. Chapter will also elaborate various kinds of grazing taxes which Gujjars used to pay to the Rajas of the Hills. Different kinds of grazing dues were paid by the Gujjars in Kangra, Siba Jagir of Kangra, Guler, Bilaspur, Chamba and Una. A study of all these regions is elaborated in the chapter.

A discussion on **Siwalik Erosion: Formation of Chos/Khads and Role of Gujjars** is the theme of the fourth chapter. The Chapter focuses on formation of *chos/khads* in colonial period and nature of this erosion. Alteration made by the colonial Government to protect this range and the effect of colonial forest policies and introduction of tea plantation in the Siwalik region. It will also discuss the dues paid by Gujjar community to the British Indian Government. Even in the colonial period, Gujjars used to pay the

grazing tax in the form of *ghee*, a special tax known as *ghiana* was imposed on them in the region. Grazing dues paid and the impact of British forests laws on Gujjars are also discussed in the chapter. Prior to the British annexation, Gujjars of Kangra used to take the *sawanas* (grazing tracts) in forests after giving *nazrana* to the Raja. British also continued the existing practices. They also started allotting *sawanas* to Gujjars and imposed *banwajirion sawana* Gujjars as per the number of buffaloes. Gujjars were allowed to graze only in Protected Forests and Undemarcated Protected Forests. They were not allowed to graze in the Reserved Forests. And for trespassing Reserved Forests they were fined severely. British occupied the waste land adjoin to the villages for introducing the tea plantation in the area. It highly affected the Gujjar community of the Himachal Pradesh which was earlier using these waste land tracts freely and without any intervention or obstruction of the villagers. Now the British Indian Government encouraged the village community to take grazing tax *trini* from the Gujjars. This developed differentiation between villagers and the pastoral groups. Britishers started occupying the waste land of the Hills for two reasons firstly they introduced the tea plantation in the region and secondly they started colonization of the British soldiers in the region.

Fifth chapter will be about the **British Policies on Siwalik Erosion and Introduction of Chos Act 1900**. It will deal with Implementation of *Chos Act* in the region. Through the implementation of the *Chos Act 1900* they minimize the movement of the Gujjars in the region, which affected Gujjar community to a large extent and they were forced to move only in a set tract of the area. Last chapter will be **Conclusion**, which will highlight policies of the British Government which affected Gujjar community of the Himachal Pradesh and were major cause of the destruction of Siwalik range. And through the implementation of these policies to what extent Gujjars got affected.

The Forest Acts and British Forest policies remained central point of various studies, but no specific work have been taken on impact of these policies in the form of erosion in Himachal Pradesh in general and role of Gujjars of the Himachal Pradesh in particu-



lar. Chetan Singh work *Natural Premises: Ecology and Peasant Life in the Western Himalaya, 1800-1950* is of the immense importance in understanding the natural environment and land use policies in western Himalayas.<sup>116</sup> The study covers the period from 1800 to the time of India's independence. Chetan Singh relates the importance of agriculture and pastoralism in the hills. He provides details on the nature of the distribution of rights in property – cultivated land, forests, grazing pastures and wastelands. He specifically deals with the land revenue and forest policies of the British in the Colonial period. He also briefly touches upon the position and status of Gujjars in Colonial period. Since Chetan Singh's focus is not specifically on Gujjars, he discussed Gujjars very broadly and no micro-study of the Gujjars is undertaken by him. Nonetheless, his command and details in defining the topography, climate and natural environment *vis-à-vis* its impact on settlement and livelihood pattern of the western Himalayan inhabitants is exceptional and of immense value for my study.

Pernille Gooch's article "Victim of Conservation or Rights as Forest Dwellers: Van Gujjar Pastoralists between Contesting Codes of Law" relates to the problem of the subject. However, Pernille Gooch's study covers the Gujjars of Kamoun Hills who suffered as a result of British Forest policies and their herds were restricted by the British Indian Government. However, in the hills of Himachal Pradesh no restrictions were ever imposed on the Gujjars for the cattles and they were allowed to graze in their forest skits. Nonetheless, the article is important to compare the status of Gujjars of Kumaon Himalayas with the Gujjars of hills.

## Sources

British Colonial Records are vital sources of information in constructing the Colonial policies and the life of Gujjars during the Colonial period. After the British annexation of the area in 1846,

<sup>116</sup> Singh, Chetan, *Natural Premises: Ecology and Peasant Life in the Western Himalaya, 1800-1950*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.

*Wajib-ul Arz* are the most crucial primary documents to understand the customs of the villages and local methods of revenue assessment and taxation. In the process of understanding the existing village structure and land rights, British produced the most authentic village records. Thus *wajib-ul Arz* and *sajra nasibs* were prepared at the behest of the British. The *Wajib-ul Arz* contains information related to the customs and tradition of the villages, customs related with the use of forests and the rules for waste lands as well as powers exercised by individual caste groups and the condition of the lower castes. The *Wajib-ul Arz* of the Gujjar prominent villages, are largely unpublished and written in Persian script and in Urdu language. The *Wajib-ul Arz* are one of the most important document related to the village administration. It mentions established mode of payment of the government revenue, the actual shares or holdings etc. It also provides description about the powers and privileges of the *Lambardars*; detailed description of various rules regarding fruits and timber trees; how irrigation was maintained, the appropriation of waste lands; village servants and their fees and the mode of payment to the village watchmen, etc are elaborated in it. These village documents are helpful to construct club historical prescription of different hill states. The pattern of *Wajib-ul Arz* of British governed territories is entirely different from the territories governed through the *sanads*.

Other important village documents in Himachal Pradesh, which are invariably clubbed with *Wajib-ul Arz* are *sajra nasibs*. These are also unpublished so far and preserved in the District Collectorate. *Sajra-nasibs* detail out the ancestral lineages of the inhabitants of the village, particularly about the prominent castes who established the village. *Sajra nasibs* contain a good deal of data and throws light on family structure, etc. The documents available are since 1849. They provide the demography of the entire village along with the details of the founder of the village, their castes, date of the foundation of a particular village, why a particular village was established and revenue claims of the village. From *sajra nasib* we can derive the pattern concerning the division of land between the father and sons, or among brothers, etc. *Sajra nasibs* are mine of information to analyze caste-status,

divisions of land whether a particular village is a single caste village or multiple caste village, rules/pattern of distribution of land among families, etc. However, *sajra nasibs* only speak about the dominant castes and are largely silent about the other inhabitants of the village unlike *Wajib-ul Arz*. Nonetheless, in depths study of the document help us immensely to understand the structure and customs of the village in the region.

**Settlement Reports** of the region are crucial among the published records to extract and have the broad understanding of the area. George Barnes was the first Settlement officer of the Hills (Kangra) whose report is a milestone to understand the position of the Gujjars of the Hills. *Settlement Reports of Kangra* under Barnes (1850)<sup>117</sup>, Lyall (1862)<sup>118</sup>, Anderson (1882)<sup>119</sup>, Shuttlemouth (1914)<sup>120</sup> and Middleton (1919)<sup>121</sup> are vital to construct the history of the Gujjars in the region during Colonial period. For the Gujjars of Una the survey conducted by Melveill (1860)<sup>122</sup>, the first settlement officer of Hoshiarpur and then Roe's (1876)<sup>123</sup> settlement

117 Barnes, George Carnac, *Report on the Settlement in the District of Kangra*, Lahore: Hope Press, 1862.

118 Lyall, J.B., *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Panjab*, 1867-72, Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1874.

119 Anderson, A., *Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the SibaJagir in the Kangra District of Punjab*, 1881-82, Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1882.

120 Shuttleworth, H.L., *Final Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Dera and HamirpurTahsils of the Kangra District*, 1901-15, Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, 1916.

121 Middleton, L., *Final Report of the Third Revised Land Revenue Settlement of the Palampur, Kangra, and NurpurTahsils of the Kangra District, 1913-1919*, Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing Press, 1919.

122 Melveill, P.S., *Report of the Revised Settlement of the Oonah, Hushiarpur, Gurshunkur and HurrianaPurganahs of the Hushiarpur District*, Lahor: Punjabes Press, 1860.

123 Roe, Charles A., *Report on the Revision of Settlement Records, & C. of The U'Nah Pargana of the Hoshiarpur District*, Lahore: Victoria Press, 1876.

Reports of Unapargana are extremely useful to construct the history of Gujjars in the then Una tehsil of Hoshiarpur district.

Chamba was governed independently by the Raja through allotment of a *sannad* but the Britishers kept the forests under their jurisdiction. Thus the ***Forest Reports of Chamba and Kangra*** are very crucial to understand impact of British intervention into the forests in the Chamba region on Gujjars and their problems as forest dwellers. These *Forest Reports* contain information regarding the changing relations of Gujjars vis-a-vis forests and what was the impact of the British forest policies on Gujjars, as a result of restrictions imposed upon them for trespassing the Reserved and Protected forests.

***Travel Accounts*** and *Archeological Survey Reports* are also helpful to construct history of the Gujjars. The travel accounts of George Forrest, *A Journey from Bengal to England*, G.T. Vigne's *Travels in Kashmir Ladak, Iskardo, The Countries Adjoining the Mountain-Course of the Indus, and the Himalaya, North of the Panjab* and Walter Roper Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, are of immense importance for getting the contemporary picture of the Punjab Hills and the Gujjars inhabiting these areas.

## Settlement Pattern of Gujjars in the Siwalik Region



Siwalik as already stated disbursed in Una, Bilaspur, Hamirpur, Kangra and in some context at Chamba districts of Himachal Pradesh. In all these parts of the state Gujjars are considered as the prime settler of some villages in the Siwalik Hills. To know the occupation of Gujjars in the Siwalik Hills, it is required to explain their migration and settlement pattern in these Hills. Gujjars of Himachal Pradesh in the 19th century were mainly cattle rearers who, in turn, were strongly tied up with the available pastures. Their settlement pattern is closely associated with the forest use and the availability of grazing grounds.

### Gujjars Occupation of Siwalik Hills

Gujjars are not listed among the original inhabitants of the region. The pre-Aryan tribes reported in the region of Himachal Pradesh were Koli, Hali, Dagi, Dhangir, Khasas, Kirat and Kinner. This clearly indicates that Gujjars did not originally belong to the region. However, historians and anthropologists are not in unison over the issue of the migration of the Gujjars. Some scholars

like Cunningham<sup>1</sup> and Denzil Ibbetson<sup>2</sup> believe in their migration from Central Asia. K.S. Singh, while explaining about the Gujjars of Himachal Pradesh, elaborates that, 'The probability of Gujjars being the descendants of ancient Yachi or Kushan is suggested by the fact that besides the Jats, they are the only numerous race of foreign origin in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent who are known to have been powerful during the early centuries of the Christian era.'<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Bhagwan Lal, however, believes that the Huns and Gujjars are two separate waves which entered India at different time periods. Huns entered by land from the north between BCE 200 to CE 500 while Gujjars arrived on the scene between 400-600 CE.<sup>4</sup> James Compbell also traces Gujjar association with Central Asia and identifies them with the *Khazar* tribe of south Armenia and north Medra who joins at 'Herat' their brethren, the White Huns of Badeghiz in the 5th century CE. Thus, Compbell believes that the *Khazars* belong to the same stock as those of White Huns.<sup>5</sup> Compbell claims that the *Khazar* tribe occupied prominent position on the borderland of Europe and Asia especially in the 6th century CE. *Khazars* are called Gazar, Ghyssr and Ghusar which are all different forms of Gujjar.<sup>6</sup> Compbell argues that it is likely that the Great Hoard that entered north-west India in the late 5th century CE included three main sections: 'A Juan-Juan or Avar contingent, a coarser and subordinate element, and two sets of White Hunas the Ephthalites from the east Caspian coasts.'<sup>7</sup> He

1 Cunningham, Alexander, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, 1862-63, Vol. II, Delhi: Indological Book House, 1865, p. 73.

2 Ibbetson, Denzil, *Panjab Castes*, Delhi: Low Price Publication, 1993, [1916], p.182.

3 Singh, K.S, *People of India, Vol., XXIV*, Himachal Pradesh, New Delhi: Anthropological Survey of India, 1996, p. 253.

4 *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol. I Part I*, Bombay: Government Central Press, 1896, p. 2.

5 Compbell, James M., *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. IX*, Part 1, Bombay: Government Central Press, 1901, p. 469.

6 *Ibid*, p. 479.

7 *Ibid*, p. 476.

believes that 'as the new comers rose to be Rajputs and Kshatriyas the name Gurjjara passed out of favour among the higher clans and was mainly continued by, and is now almost confined to, the middle and lower class representatives of the great sixth century White Huna horde.'<sup>8</sup> Compbell underlines that on account of this Alberuni also calls "Pallavas Sakas, Mallas and Gurjjara as northerners."<sup>9</sup>

D.B. Bhandarkar seems in unison with Compbell that the Gujjars are *Khazara*, a tribe of the White Huns and the name of the *Khazar* was later Sanskritized to Gujjara.<sup>10</sup> He contends that there also seems association in *Khazar* migration and the emergence of Gurjistans, a distinct region across Central Asia and India. He elaborates that wherever the *Khazars* moved they left their imprint in the form of *Gujristans* to the provinces they occupied on their way. He isolates three Gurjistans in this context – a) the Gurjistan in Central Asia, in the neighborhood of the White Hun capital, Badeghiz; b) the Ujaristan (Gujristan) in Hazara district of the undivided colonial Punjab. He explains that, 'A modern trace seems to remain in Ujaristan, with the initial G dropped, which is situated beyond Arghandab, west of Hazara, and; c) a Gujristan near Ghazni'<sup>11</sup> He explains that in India Gujjar kingdom in the 9th century was near Jodhpur which named as Gurjaratra which included the districts of Didwana and Prabatsar of the Jodhpur State.<sup>12</sup> He argues that Al-Beruni's (970-1031 CE) account mentions about the existence of a Gujarat province to the south-east of Kanauj, 'the capital of which was Bazana also known as Narayan, which is identified with Narayanpur in the north-eastern most part of the Jaipur territory.'<sup>13</sup> Bhandarkar states that Xuan Zwang who came to India in the early seventh century mentions that 'part

8 Ibid, p. 477.

9 Ibid, p. 478.

10 Bhandarkar, D.R., *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1989 [1939], p. 64.

11 Ibid.

12 Bhandrakar, D.R., *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population*, Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1968, [1924], p. 33.

13 Ibid.

of Rajsthan was known as the Kiu-che-lo (i.e, Gurjara) country with its capital at Pi-lo-mo-lo i.e, Bhinmal in Jaswantpura District, Jodhpur State.<sup>14</sup> Bhandarkar explains that as Xuan Zwang refers the king of this territory a Kshatriya, it suggests that by seventh century Gujjars got Hinduized and assimilated into the ranks of Kshatriyas. According to him Varahamihira in *Brhatsamhita* mentions a tribe named 'Kacchara in conjunction with Huna in the northern division of India.'<sup>15</sup> Bhandarkar argues that 'An Ephthalite coin, found in the old Sapadalaksha, which has been described by V. A. Smith has on the obverse [*Khi*]jara and on the reverse *Sri-Prakasaditya*. *Khijara* here is doubtless a mistake for Khajara, another Indian form of Khazar; and the coin shows that Prakasaditya was a Khazar by race.'<sup>16</sup> This *Khazar* is the modified form of the Gujjars. In the eighth century they 'extended their supremacy far beyond Rajasthan, carried arms as far eastward as Bengal, and established themselves at Kanauj. They are commonly styled as the imperial Pratihara dynasty.'<sup>17</sup> Thus, Bhandarkar believes that Pratiharas were Gujjar. Similarly, he underlines that the Chalukyas also had Gujjar descent as "Gujarat of the Bombay Presidency bore this name only after the Caulukyas conquered and occupied it. If the Caulukyas had not been of Gujar extraction, it is inconceivable how that province could have been named Gujarat (Gurjaratra), when it was up till their advent known as Lata."<sup>18</sup> Thus Bhandarkar opines that Gujjars are from the race of *Khazara*, a branch of White Huns who migrated from Central Asia giving name to the area they occupied on their way to India.

Grierson states that Gujjars migrated into India "with the Huns and other marauding tribes about the sixth century A.D."<sup>19</sup> He argues that their one branch settled in Sapadalaksha (sub-Himalayan hill tract or Siwalik range) and "from Sapadalaksha,

14 Ibid, p. 34.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid, p. 56.

17 Ibid, p. 34.

18 Ibid, pp. 39-40.

19 Grierson, G.A., *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Delhi: Low Price Publication, 1990 [1927], pp. 171, 180-81



Gurjars migrated across the Gangetic Valley, to Mewat and thence settled over Eastern Rajputana. In later years, under the pressure of Musalman rule, many of these Rajputs emigrated to Sapadalaksha and again settled there. In fact there was continual intercourse between Sapadalaksha and Rajputana.”<sup>20</sup> Grierson suggests the occupation of Sapaldalaksha area (Siwalik Hills) by the Gujjar. However, there is no unification among the historians regarding the migration of the Gujjars in India. But on the basis of linguistic studies Grierson admitted that Gujjars migrated from outside of India and they were the prime settlers of the Sapaldalaksha region, which is the hill tract of Siwalik range. Thus, the votaries of Gujjar migration into India believe that Gujjar entered in India from the northwest frontier (Himalayan track of Siwalik region) sometime in the 5th or 6th centuries and got settled in the Indus, Hazara, Kashmir and Punjab regions. Then, from Punjab they spread to the southeast into the Yamuna-Ganga valley and to the south into the northern and central parts of Rajasthan.<sup>21</sup> G.H. Ojha,<sup>22</sup> K.M. Munshi,<sup>23</sup> B.N. Puri<sup>24</sup> and A.N. Bhardwaj<sup>25</sup> believes in Gujjars Indian origin.

### Gujjars Concentration in the 19th Century

During the colonial period Gujjars scattered all over the Hilly terrain in the undivided Punjab. Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey Report* (1862) mentions “the Gujars are found in great numbers in every part of the north-west of India, from the Indus

20 Ibid

21 Manku, Darshan Singh, *The Gujjar Settlement: A Study in Ethnic Geography*, New Delhi: Inter India Publication, 1986, p. 4.

22 Ojha, G.H., *The History of Rajputana*, Vol. I, Ajmer: Vedic Yantralaya, 1927, p. 56.

23 Munshi, K.M., *The Glory That was Gujardesa*, Bombay: Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, 1944, p. 6.

24 Puri, B.N, *The History of the Gujjars Pratiharas*, New Delhi: Munshilal Manoharlal Publicaion, 1957, p. 7.

25 Bharadwaj, A.N, *History and Culture of Himalayan Gujjars*, Jammu: Jay Kay Book House, 1994, p. 43.

to the Ganges, and from the Hazara Mountains to the Peninsula of Gujarat.<sup>26</sup> In the Kangra region the Gujjars abounded particularly in Jawalamukhi, Tira and Nadaun.<sup>27</sup> In the *Census of India, 1931*, Gujjar settlements are recorded in Karnal, Gurgaon, Ambala, Hoshiarpur, Patiala, Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Gujrat, and Gurdaspur districts of undivided Punjab. Mostly Gujjars of these regions claim that their forefathers migrated from Gujarat town.<sup>28</sup>

### Gujjar Migration and Settlement in Himachal Pradesh

Being the nomadic tribe, it is extremely difficult to trace migration route of the Gujjars. The *Sapadalshak* region where Gujjar settlements are reported by Grierson as early as 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries includes parts of present Chamba, Kangra, Una, and Bilaspur districts of present Himachal Pradesh.

Gujjar migrants gradually got settled in Una and Bilaspur districts of modern Himachal Pradesh in the 19th century, for we start getting the *Sajra-nasibs* (village settlement records) for these districts from 1846 onwards which speak of the villages established by Gujjars. Nomad Gujjars (locally known as Heer Gujjars) of Himachal Pradesh used to travel all the year around. They did not have any permanent settlements. In Una and Bilaspur districts, these nomad Gujjars wander throughout the year. These nomad Gujjars were never counted in any Government Survey. Only recently, first time, in the *Census* of 2011 an attempt is made to bring them into the *Census* books.

### Gujjars Migration and Settlement in Una District

Una earlier formed a tehsil of Hoshiarpur district in Undivided Punjab. The first settlement of Hoshiarpur undertaken by P.S.

26 Cunningham, 1865, p. 71 and Report of the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies, Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1911, p. 64.

27 Punjab District Gazetteer, Kangra District, Part A, Lahore: Government Printing Press, 1904, p. 83.

28 *Census of India*, 1931, p. 339.

Melville in 1852, the district consisted of five tehsils – Hoshiarpur, Una, Garhshanker, Mukerian, Hariana. However, later on, when Roe undertook the second settlement of the Hoshiarpur district in 1872, the entire Hill tract regions of Hoshiarpur district were placed under the jurisdiction of Una tehsil, while Mukerian and Hariana tehsils were clubbed under a new name Dasuya. Later, Roe published a separate report on the settlement of Una tehsil. Melville's survey mentions 352 villages in Una tehsil, however Roe's survey total number of village swelled to 531 in Una tehsil. An addition of 123 villages of Bet and Manaswal Dasuya *pargana* also shifted in this settlement to Una; thus total tally 654. The details of villages is given below:

TABLE 2.1: TRANSFER OF TALUQAS AND VILLAGES OF THE HILLS TO UNA TEHSIL, 1872

<i>Tehsils</i>	<i>Name of Taluqa [Transferred to Una Tehsil]</i>	<i>No. of villages in appendix V of former report (Melville's Report)</i>	<i>No of villages in present Map</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Hoshiarpur	Amb and Pamroh	...	31	One village formerly included in Amb circle has now been included in Lohara. The increase of ten villages in Dharui is due to the fact that estates formerly measured as hamlets have now been measured as villages.
	Lohara	46	14	
	Dhardi	39	40	
	Total Hoshiarpur	47	57	
		132	142	

Hariana	Panjai	16	17	The increase of one village is because a sect of records have now been made for Panjal-Khas.
	Dangoh	15	15	
	Total	31	32	
U'nah	U'nah	18	18	+32+142=531
	Jaijon	27	27	
	Talhatti	40	40	
	Bibhor	89	93	
	Nurpur	52	52	
	Takhatgarh	31	31	
	Total	257	261	
	Jhandbari	95	96	
Total of U'nah	352	357		
Garshankar	Bet	22	22	
Mukeria or	Manaswal	100	101	
Dasuah	Total	637	654	

Source: Roe, Charles A., *Report on the Revision of Settlement Records, & C. of The U'Nah Pargana of the Hoshiarpur District*, Lahore: Victoria Press, 1876, p. 8

Roe's territorial settlement/classification remained standard throughout the colonial period. However, post-Independence, with the formation of Himachal Pradesh (1966) entire Hill tract was shifted from Punjab state to Una except Nurpur and Takhatgarh regions which were earlier part of Una tehsil.

Presently, the Gujjars of Una district are largely settled. Melveill, the first settlement officer of Hoshiarpur (1852), records that Gujjars were the inhabitants of the Hills of Hoshiarpur district. He elaborates, "The chief agricultural castes of this district are Jat, Raiens, Mussulman, Rajpoots, Brahmains, Goojurs and Hindos Rajpoots – of these, the first three inhabit chiefly the plains, and the last three the hills. Goojurs are very rarely found in the plains; their habits being more pastoral than those of any other class, and

grazing being only procurable in the hills.”<sup>29</sup> Melveill explains that Gujjar settlements along the Hills were largely on account of the availability of abundant grazing facilities here. This also defines the Gujjar migration towards the Hills of Una. Melveill finds that in *pargana* Una, 1452 Gujjars were proprietor cultivators and 25 were only proprietor but not cultivators while 915 were cultivators not proprietors and elaborates that 10 percent in the Una tehsil Gujjars were cultivating proprietors.<sup>30</sup> Thus Melveill’s survey shows that there were in all 2393 Gujjars in Una *pargana*. While they occupied 9% tract in term of spread of villages in the Hoshiarpur district. Melveill further explains that Gujjars were proprietors in eleven villages of the Una tehsil.

TABLE 2.2: PROPRIETOR CASTES IN UNA TEHSIL, 1852

<i>Castes</i>	<i>Villages</i>
Brahmin	26
Koonets	22
Hindu Rajpoots	14
Goojurs	11
Juts	8
Khuthrees	5
Seinees	1
Miscellaneous	8

Source: Melveill, P.S., *Report of the Revised Settlement of the Oonah, Hushiarpur, Gurshunkur and Hurriana Purganahs of the Hushiarpur District*, Lahor: Punjabes Press, 1860, p. 52.

However, Melveill, later in the text, while giving a detailed description about the village-wise population of the different tribes in Una *pargana*, mentions Gujjar occupations in the 34

29 Melveill, P.S., *Report of the Revised Settlement of the Oonah, Hushiarpur, Gurshunkur and Hurriana Purganahs of the Hushiarpur Distrcit*, Lahor: Punjabes Press, 1860, p. 4.

30 Ibid, Appendix III.

villages as against 11 mentioned earlier which formed 9.6 per cent of the total population of the tehsil. This discrepancy can only be explained considering the fact that, probably, they were proprietor and permanent occupants in eleven villages while in rest of the 23 villages their population was scattered and they might have worked as either tenants or cultivators.

Charles Roe's survey done in 1872 shows sharp fall in the spread of Gujjar population in the region. Roe mentions Gujjar concentration in only 15 villages as against 34 of Melveill and thus the population spread also comes down to 2.6 as against 9.6 of Melveill. Roe, however, believes that this is not suggestive of the 'actual' decline of the Gujjar population in the region. Instead, he argues, that this was due to the fact that a big chunk of population spread widely and falls into his 'Miscellaneous' category which is substantially large, i.e. 40.1 per cent as against 21.3 of Melveill.

TABLE 2.3: DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN UNA TEHSIL, 1876

<i>Name of Tribe</i>	<i>Former</i>		<i>Now</i>	
	<i>[Melveill's Settlement 1852]</i>		<i>[Roe's Settlement 1872]</i>	
	<i>Number of Villages</i>	<i>Percentage of Villages</i>	<i>Number of Villages</i>	<i>Percentage of villages</i>
Brahmin	66	18.7	96	14.7
Hindu Rajput	53	23.5	23.9	36.6
Kanets	22	6.2	24	3.6
Khattris	11	3.1	2	.3
Jats	55	15.6	9	1.6
Gujars	34	9.6	15	2.6
Rains and Sainis	6	1.7	-	-
Miscellaneous	75	21.3	263	40.1
Total	352	99.7	653	99.5

Source: Roe, Charles A., *Report on the Revision of Settlement Records, & C. of The U'Nah Pargana of the Hoshiarpur District*, Lahore: Victoria Press, 1876, p. 43.

On account of such scattered population pattern of the Gujjars in the Una tehsil, Roe casts shadow on the accuracy of the Gujjar population survey and doubts that 'no very accurate comparison can be made.'<sup>31</sup> At the same time, Roe while explaining the discrepancy, puts forth the argument that, "A large number are shown as held by "miscellaneous" castes. The proprietary right is held by men of so many castes that no single caste can be considered as the proprietors."<sup>32</sup> Accordingly, mentions Roe, "In Panjal<sup>33</sup> and the hills the case was different; here as a rule there was no systematic colonization. The miscellaneous villages are generally nothing more than groups of squatters who have been thrown out by the neighbouring villages either on to fresh waste or the site of abandoned villages."<sup>34</sup> Roe identifies the concentration of these miscellaneous castes largely in the Nurpur, Takahtgarh, and Bibhour *taluqas*. Roe clarifies and rationalizes the disparity in Melveill's data convincingly by stating that in fact, "There has really been no such diminution of the Khatri, Jats, Gujjars and Ahirs, as is shown in these tables. The reason of the discrepancy is that, as already stated these castes have a strong footing in the miscellaneous villages."<sup>35</sup> Thus, Roe found Gujjars scattered in various villages. He particularly refers to the settlements in Panjal and other Hills where we find Gujjar settlements even now.

The Settlement Report of Montgomery (1882) we don't find such type of detailed village-wise survey of the tribes, as done by Charles Roe. Nonetheless, he confirms the Gujjar settlements towards the Hills: "The Gujjars thrives well in the hill districts where they can combine cattle-farming with agriculture."<sup>36</sup> Here for the first time one finds Gujjars occupying largely the *Kandi*

31 Roe, Charles A., *Report on the Revision of Settlement Records, & C. of The U'Nah Pargana of the Hoshiarpur District*, Lahore: Victoria Press, 1876, p. 43.

32 Ibid.

33 Presently a village in Tehsil Amb, District Una.

34 Ibid, p. 42.

35 Roe, 1875, p. 43.

36 Montgomery, J.A.L., *Final Report of Revised Settlement, Hoshiarpur District 1879-84*, Calcutta: Calcutta Central Press, 1885, p. 5.

and Siwalik villages which formed part of Una *pargana* in the Hoshiarpur district. Montgomery mentions that though, the Gujjars spread throughout the Hoshiarpur district, their concentrations were largely along the *Kandi* areas.<sup>37</sup> Montgomery states that while in the Siwalik region Gujjars were 'proprietors' and 'tenants' in *Kandi* villages they were 'the principal purveyors of wood, Grass, milk and Ghee.'<sup>38</sup> The *Kandi* region, as elaborated by Charles Roe was, "high, undulating lands, higher than the Rakkar [dry rugged land] but less rugged."<sup>39</sup> Writing in 1904, P.L. Fagan also confirms that, "Kandi or tract along the western slopes of Siwaliks is dry and rather unproductive."<sup>40</sup> *Kandi* is unproductive but rich in pastures. Gujjars habitats all *Kandi* villages in the plains area along Siwalik range. Charles Roe in his 1872 *Settlement* identifies *Kandi* region as a district *circle* falling under Una *taluka* of Hoshiarpur district.<sup>41</sup> But surprisingly no Gujjar settlement was identified by him along the *Kandi* region in Una *taluka* at that time. This can only be explained by the fact that Roe mentions *taluka* of Manaswal and parts of a few villages of the eastern side of the Siwalik forming part of Nurpur and Takatgarh *talukas* of the then Una *parana* as part of *Kandi* region. However no *Kandi* circle was defined by the Montgomery in the Una *pargana*. He identifies Gujjar settlement in *Kandi* region of Hoshiarpur and Garhshanker. He mentions, "In Hoshiarpur the *Kandi* villages are occupied by Gujjars, Dadwal, Rajputs and a few Brahmins."<sup>42</sup> He adds, "In Garshankar the *Kandi* villages are inhabited by the same tribes as those of Hoshiarpur, viz., by Hindu Rajputs, Brahmins and Gujjars some Hindu and some Musalman."<sup>43</sup> Gujjars in the Una *taluka* occupied the Hills and not the *Kandi* tracts as Montgomery

37 Ibid, p. 50.

38 Ibid, p. 54.

39 Roe, p. 6.

40 *Punjab District gazetteer*, Vol. XIII A, *Hoshiarpur District*, Lahore: Punjab Government Press,

1904, p. 3.

41 Roe, p. 6.

42 Montgomery, p. 30

43 Ibid.



himself points out, "In *tahsil* Una the Jandbari *taluka* is principally occupied by Brahmin and Kanets. In *talukas* Takhatgarh and Nurpur, Gujjars and Rajputs are found along the hills and on the river bank, while the greater part of the rich level tract between the hills and the river is inhabited by miscellaneous tribes of Jats, Sainis and Bahtis. In *taluka* Babhour again Rajputs are found as superior proprietors, but the majority of the agriculturists are of miscellaneous castes, including Brahmins. From this northward Rajputs and Brahmins predominate as the proprietors; Jats, Sainis, Bahtis, and Gujjar, as tenants,"<sup>44</sup> Even, mentions Montgomery in *tehsil* Dasuya, "the hills are mostly occupied by Bihal Rajputs, Changs and Gujjars, and the plains bordering on the Kangra district by Jarial Rajputs and Sainis."<sup>45</sup> Montgomery's description of the *Zaildars* in Una *taluka* suggests that Gujjars were proprietors and tenants in as many as 127 villages sharing the proprietorship of the regions along with Jats and Rajputs. Clearly Gujjars as proprietors seem to have increased by 1882 manifold Montgomery's survey records them in as many as 127 villages, against Melveill's 11 and Charles Roe's 15 which is almost 10 times higher than both Melveill and Roe's records. Gujjars seems to have occupied settle villages in 126 villages in 1904, as against 127 of Montgomery.<sup>46</sup>

In the last settlement of Una *pargana* of Hoshiarpur district undertake by Shuttleworth (1914) no such village-wise details are provided. However, while defining the castes and tribes, Shuttleworth does mention number of Gujjars inhabiting Una *pargana* as 22,385.<sup>47</sup> This shows marked increase in the settled population of the Gujjars in the Una *pargana* from 2392 of Melveill in 1852, suggestive of almost 8.3 % increased. Shuttleworth places Gujjars at the fourth place in terms of population after Brahmins,

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid, p. 59, Melveill, p. 52; Roe, p. 43; *Hoshiarpur Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 57.

47 Shuttleworth, H.L., *Final Report of the Revision of the Settlement of the Una Tahsil of the Hoshiarpur*

*District*, Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazetteer Press, 1914, p. 5.

Bhatis and Rajputs.<sup>48</sup> Shuttleworth elaborates, “The large Dun villages, stretching from the Siwaliks to the Swan usually contain three separate groups of houses; that of the Gujars towards the crest of the hills, that of the Rajputs or Brahmans on the lower slopes immediately above the level lands and that of the Bahtis or Jat tenants in the alluvial lands towards the Swan.”<sup>49</sup>

It is unfortunate that after 1914 no separate settlement of Una pargana in particular and of Hoshiarpur district was undertaken. However, it succeeded the *Census Reports*. But *Census* hardly records village-wise details, instead only the tehsil-wise consolidated figures of Gujjar habitations in the Hoshiarpur district are available.

TABLE 2.4: GUJJAR POPULATION IN HOSHIARPUR

<i>Census of 1911</i>	<i>Census 1921</i>	<i>Census of 1931</i>	<i>Census of 1941</i>
36,815	82079	93,094	1,21,364

Source: *Census of India*, 1911, Vol. XIV, Part –II, Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette, 1912, p. 153.

*Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XVII, Part –I, Lahore, Civil and Military Gazetteer, 1933, p. 290.

*Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XVII, Part –II, Lahore, Civil and Military Gazetteer, 1933, p. 290.

Here one interesting thing is that in 1911 Gujjar population in Hoshiarpur was 36,815, while Shuttleworth in his settlement (1914) shows Gujjar population in Una pargana as 22,385. This clearly points that major concentration of Gujjars was in Una up to 1914 as compared to other *tehsils* of Una. After independence *Census Reports* provide only the consolidated list of the Scheduled tribes and no separate, individual tribe’s data is available. We do not find detail of the exact number of Gujjars in the districts. Gujjars were included in Schedule Tribes in 2003, hence in the Census of

48 Shuttleworth, 1914, p. 5.

49 Ibid.

2011 we found schedule tribe population of Una as 17202, which includes the Gujjars also.<sup>50</sup>

In the Census of 2011, Schedule Tribes numbered 17202 in Una district. Since only Gujjars come in the category of Schedule Tribe so the number mentioned above does indicate total population of the Gujjars in the district. This number of the Gujjars in Una district is much less than the population before Independence. This is largely due to the fact that during partition, major migration of Muslim Gujjars took place. This is also confirmed from my field survey to the village Nagal Jariala. From 1883 to 1904, the village had a major concentration of Gujjars and a leading family of Ahmed Husain, who are reported as Zaildars of Una by Montegomery in 1883.<sup>51</sup> But now there is not a single family of the Gujjars resides in this village. After enquiry I found that before Partition there were three hundred families of Gujjars in the village but they all were plundered at the time of Partition resulting in mass exodus.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, in the village of Panjawar also there was major concentration of Muslim Gujjars. People of the village informed me that they moved to Pakistan and only a few houses of Gujjar families are left now.

Presently Una has three *tehsils* and two sub *tehsils*. The numbers of villages under these *tehsils* is as below.

50 *Census of 2011, Himachal Pradesh*, Part-III, Government of India, Ministry of Home affairs, Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India.

51 *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur* 1883, p. 126; *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur*, 1904, p. 206.

52 Field Survey Village Nangl Jariala, tehsil Amb District Una, Personal interview with Mr. Amarjit Singh, an old man of the Village. (Rajput by caste)

TABLE 2.5: TEHSILS AND VILLAGES IN UNA DISTRICT

<i>Tehsils</i>	<i>Sub-Tehsils</i>	<i>Number of Villages</i>
Amb	-	243
-	Bangana	306
-	Bharwain	45
Haroli	-	25
Una	-	139

Source: *Census of Himachal Pradesh 2001*, Government of India, Ministry of Home affairs, Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India.

In Una district major Gujjar concentrations are in Amb, Una and Haroli. But in all *tehsils* they are settled along the *khads/chos*. Gujjars migrated here from the *Kandi* region and got settled along the banks of *khads/chos*. In Una generally they migrated from *Kandi* region of Punjab which includes Garhshankar and Hoshiarpur. The Gujjars of the area also confirm that they migrated in Una from the *Kandi* area of Punjab. My field surveys suggest that Gujjars in Una have largely migrated either from Garhshankar or Hoshiarpur, which earlier formed part of Hoshiarpur district. It seems that search for grazing grounds forced them to migrate towards Una. The Gujjars of village Ambota, Una district have migrated from Kotgarh of Hoshiarpur district in Punjab.<sup>53</sup> However, some families in village Loharali, Beetan, Nagnoli said that they were living in the said villages ever since the foundation of the villages.<sup>54</sup> Some settled Gujjars of the region also shows that they are originally from Garhshankar in Punjab (earlier a tehsil of Hoshiarpur). Shuttleworth's settlement report of Una *pargana* (1914) clearly points out towards the Gujjar settlements at the top of the Hills which are generally along the *chos/khads*. Gujjar habitations along the *khads* is also confirmed by the earlier report of Fagan in 1904 where it is defined that, "Gujjars are found in the

53 Field Survey to Village Ambota, Tehsil Amb, District Una.

54 Field Survey to Village Nanagal Jariala and Village Panjawan, Tehsil Amb, District Una.

alluvial lands of the Beas and in the Siwalik range. In the latter they are in some places proprietors, in some tenants. But wherever they are there is sure to be grazing for their numerous flocks and herds.”<sup>55</sup> As the alluvial land is the soil which consists of earth and sand left behind on land which has been flooded or where a river once flowed, clearly indicates towards their occupation on the banks of *khads* as this is the specific quality of the *khads/chos*.

Una is covered with the Siwalik ranges and *chos* are specific feature of the district. During the winter seasons green pastures abound in the long run thus Gujjar migrants started to settle down there. For centuries Gujjars from the plains or from the *Kandi* of undivided Punjab used to migrate downwards towards the Siwalik Hills during the winter season in search of grazing facilities. Melveill is the first who levelled as a serious surveyor and highlights the importance of the *chos*.<sup>56</sup> He mentions, “There is no stream from which irrigation is practiced. But advantage is experienced from the action of the hill torrents or “chos” which, as they gain a certain distance from the hills and owing to the incline of the surface being less, lose a great portion of their velocity, spread out in a net work of smaller channels, and diffuse their waters, laden with alluvion from the higher lands, over a considerable breadth of area. Thus fertility and moisture are imparted.”<sup>57</sup> It was Montgomery (1883), who for the first time blamed Gujjars for the erosion of Siwaliks and for the formation of *chos*. That’s why he wanted to restrict Gujjar movements in Siwalik Hills to control the alarming position of Siwalik. That finally led to the formation of *chos* act. (See *infra*)

These unique geological formations emerged as rich grazing grounds and a great point of attraction for the nomadic Gujjars who were constantly on the move in search of green pastures. By 1883, Gujjar’s winter migrations in the region appears to have reached to such an alarming state that Montgomery levelled serious charges against the Gujjar habitation along the *chos/khads*.

55 *Hoshiarpur Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 57.

56 Melveill, 1850, p. 2.

57 *Ibid*.

He mentions, “The subject has been exhaustively dealt with in separate special reports, but the remedy has yet to be found and applied. The question is complicated by the extent to which it is apprehended compensation will be required for expropriation of the Gujjars whose flocks do so much damage.”<sup>58</sup> He further mentions in *the Gazetteer*, “Number of goats were kept in the hills by the Gujjars, and they, more than else are responsible for denudation of Siwalik range.”<sup>59</sup>



KHADS OF SIWALIK HILLS

This process of the constant migrations of the Gujjars along the *chos/khads* continued unabated till India became independent. The permanent settlement of the Gujjars along the *khads* is a post-independence feature in Himachal Pradesh. Though, a small segment of the Nomad Gujjars (locally known as *Heer* Gujjars) are still continued to migrate along the *khads* to coalescing into Swan River throughout the year. These *Heer* Gujjars in Una district follow a set migration route running across Pathankot and Hoshiarpur districts of the present state of Punjab. They enter Una district from Hoshiarpur district following two directions; one from the north, from the Mukeria tehsil and the other from the south from Garhshanker tehsil. The route followed by the *Heer*

58 Montgomery, 1885, p. 3.

59 *Punjab Gazetteer, Hoshiarpur District*, 1883, p. 106.

Gujjars from the direction of Punjab ran from Pathankot thence entering into Mukeria tehsil of Hoshiarpur district via Mukeria and Talwara entering Una district at Daulatpur, thence moving via Ganari, Sagnai, Ambota, and Loharlu villages finally settling down temporarily at village Lal Singhi along the Swan River. The other migration route of Nomadic Gujjars from the south is from towards Garhshanker tehsil of Hoshiarpur district. Here, these nomadic Gujjars largely move along the Swan River via Ispur, Saloh and Kaluwal villages coalescing at Lal Singhi along the Swan River. They generally migrate in this part of Una in summer season and remain here upto the monsoon season. As winter starts they once again move back towards the plain regions (Mukeria or Pathankot). However, some Gujjars of Jammu stock who migrate into Una from Kangra used to remain in Una even in winter season.<sup>60</sup> These Nomad Gujjars also settle down along the banks of the *khads* in Una district or along the *Kandi* tract of Una.

Presently, Gujjar habitations in the Una district run near or along the *khads* except in Singha village where Gujjar settlements are penetrated inside the village. Gujjars normally, do not reside inside the village boundary, instead, they generally have their habitations outside the village amidst the forests.<sup>61</sup> The present Gujjar settlements in Una District is along khads. (See **Table 2.6**)

### Gujjar Migration and Settlement Pattern in Kangra District

Gujjars in Kangra district occupied a large portion of the forests. Even their rights were acknowledged and recognized by the British. During the colonial period Kangra formed part of Jalandhar division of undivided Punjab. In 1850's Barnes *Settlement Report* of the Kangra district consisted of four *tehsils* - Kangra, Nadown,

60 *Field Survey of Nomad Gujjars on the bank Karluhi khad*, Village Karluhi, District Una.

61 *Field Survey*, Village Nagnoli, Tehsil Amb, District Una, 22 July 2010, 4 August, 2011.

TABLE 2.6: GUJJAR HABITATIONS IN UNA DISTRICT ALONG KHADS

Name of Village	Name of Khads	Gujjar Habitation	
		Gujjar Habitation Based on personal field survey	Gujjar Habitation Based on Information Supplied by Gujjar Pradhan. <sup>1</sup> (Population given in brackets)
Mawa Sindhia	Mawa-Sindhia <i>Khad</i>	Mawa-Sindhia	Mawa Sindhia (1200)
Loharli	Loharli <i>Khad</i>	Loharli	Loharli (8)
Ambota	Boshey ke <i>Khad</i>	Ambota	-
Dhar Gujjaran Di	Garni <i>Khad</i>	Dhar Gujjara Di	-
Beetan	Beetan <i>Khad</i>	Beetan	Beetan (2500)
Bhanjhal	Bhanjhal <i>Khad</i>	Bhanjhal	-
Daulatpur	Bhoot <i>Khad</i>	Daulatpur	-
Sagnai	Gujjar <i>Khad</i>	Sagnai	-
Takarla	Jaswal <i>Khad</i>	Takarla	Takarla (50)
Tatehra	Owel <i>Khad</i>	Tatehra	Tatehra (1000)
Kuthera Jaswala	Loharli <i>Khad</i>	Kuthera Jaswala	-
Gurplah	Bathu <i>Khad</i>	Gurplah	-
Bathu	Bathu <i>Khad</i>	-	Bathu (500)



Nagroli	Nagroli <i>Khad</i>	Nagroli	Nagroli (200)
Chalet	Bhakar <i>Khad</i>	Chalet	-
Panjawar	Panjawar <i>Khad</i>	Panjawar	-
Baruhi	Baruhi <i>khad</i>	-	Baruhi (500)
Kutharbeet	Kuthari <i>khad</i>	-	Kuthari <i>khad</i> (350)
Haroli	Haroli <i>Khad</i>	-	Haroli (15)
Badehra	Kanar <i>Khad</i>	-	Badehra (100)
KoriJarla	Jarla Kori <i>Khad</i>	-	Kori Jarla (250)
Una	Along Swan	-	Una (200)
Fatehpur	Fatehpur <i>Khad</i>	-	Fatehpur (350)
Budhan	Bhadsali <i>Khad</i>	-	Budhan (350)
Baruhi	Baruhi <i>Khad</i>	-	Baruhi (300)
Takarla	Takarla <i>Khad</i>	-	Takarla (50)
Bathri	Palkawah <i>Khad</i>	-	Bathri (250)

Source: *Field Survey*, District Una.

<sup>1</sup> Pradhan of Village Nagroli, Tehsil Amb, District Una, Shri Onkar Singh.

Hureepoor, Noorpoor (Nurpur).<sup>62</sup> Later in 1865 Kolloo (Kullu) and Lahaul-Spiti also formed part of Kangra district.<sup>63</sup> Now Kullu, Lahaul-Spiti and Hamirpur are formed separate districts while Nadown and Nurpur constitute separate tehsils within the modern district of Kangra in Himachal Pradesh. Lahaul-Spiti and Kullu tracts largely fall into the region of upper Himalayan range and almost throughout the year are covered with snow with no grass cover. This difficult terrain was practically of no use for the Gujjars who followed the tracts rich in fodder for their cattle. On account of this, one does not get traces of migrations/any settlements of the tribe in the upper Himalayan range in the colonial period.

### Sawana Gujjars

In the Kangra region Gujjar concentration could be traced from the time of the Katoch Rajas (twelfth century) who used to allot the forests to the Gujjars on payment of certain dues for grazing their herds. Such Gujjars, who took the forests from the Raja, were known as *Sawana Gujjars* in Kangra. These *Sawana Gujjars* were termed by Barnes in the first *Settlement Report* of the region (1850) as 'Warisee' (*Warsi*). These *Sawana/Warsi* Gujjars used to have their habitat on the outskirts of the villages adjacent to their 'warisi' lands which fall in the upper reaches of the hills, where they frequently visit along with the cattle in the hot weather as Barnes records that, "There are certain castes in the hills such as "Goohurs" and "Gudees" who cultivate little, and keep herds of buffaloes and flocks of sheep and goats. Such classes have a claim upon certain beats of the forest which they regard as their "warisee", subject to the payment of pasturage tolls."<sup>64</sup> About the migration in the Hills it is pointed out by Barnes, "During the hot weather

62 Barnes, George Carnac, *Report on the Settlement in the District of Kangra*, Lahore: Hope Press, 1862, p. 65.

63 Lyall, J.B., *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Panjab*, 1867-72, Lahore: Central

Jail Press, 1874, p. 44.

64 Barnes, p. 19.

the Goojurs usually drive their herds to the upper range, where the buffaloes rejoice in the rich grass which the rains bring forth ...”<sup>65</sup> However, during the winter season, they appear to graze their cattle in the lower hills alongside the village tract where they had their settlements. This was the main reason that Gujjars in 1883 appealed to the British Government to grant them *warisee* rights over the tracts alongside the villages in the lower hills. The claim of the Gujjars seems apparently accepted by the British Colonial Government.<sup>66</sup> These *Sawana/Warsi* Gujjars were permanent settlers in the district, the only listed migrations of theirs were seasonal in the winters and summers in the upper and the lower reaches alongside the villages. Barnes (1850) also confirms that ‘The Goojurs are found all over the district. They abound particularly about Joala Mookhee, Teera and Nadown.’<sup>67</sup>

Shuttleworth’s (1914) *Land Revenue Settlement Report* also highlights the strong presence of *Warise/Sawana* Gujjar in the Dera and Hamirpur tehsils of Kangra.<sup>68</sup> In Kangra region no settlement was undertaken after 1914. However, *Kangra District Gazetteer* (1924-25) does mention the presence of Gujjars in the region. It notes that, “The Gujjars are of two classes - the Sowanadar Gujjars and the Ban Gujjars. The former hold *Sowanans* or areas of the forests in which they have an exclusive right of grazing for 3 or 4 months in the year. For the remainder of the year their cattle graze in the same spot or in some forest in the vicinity. The ban Gujjars move about between Nurpur and (in hot weather) in Alps of Boh in the Kangra Tahsil and Mandi.”<sup>69</sup>

65 Ibid. p. 43.

66 *Gazetteer of Kangra*, 1924-25, p. 123.

67 Ibid.

68 Shuttleworth, H.L., *Final Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Dera and Hamirpur Tahsils of the Kangra District*, 1901-15, Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, 1916, p. 26.

69 *Punjab District Gazetteer, Vol. VII, Part A, Kangra District*, 1924-25, Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing Press, 1926, p.180.

## Ban Gujjars

Another group of Gujjars that inhabit the district are *Ban Gujjars* (forest Gujjars). Lyall calls them belonging to *Jammu stock* for they originally are the migrants from Jammu to Chamba thence to Kangra. Here they come as seasonal migrants only.<sup>70</sup> Lyall, writing in 1865, mentions that, Gujjar have, “no land or fixed home, and moves with his herd, spending his summer in a shed on the high ranges, and the winter in the woody parts of low hills. Some few of late years have spent the summer in the high ranges in taluqa Rihlu. Others have long done so in the high range in Chamba territory, whence they descend in the autumn into pargana Nurpur. I have not come across any of them in other parts of Kangra Proper, except as passers-by on their way to Kullu (?)<sup>71</sup> and Mandi.”<sup>72</sup> These nomads Gujjars inhabited the forests in Kangra district where pastures were in abundance and water was easily approachable. These Nomad Gujjars still wanders in Kangra along the rivers in Dera tehsil and Nurpur. In Nurpur and Dehra they spent their winters and in summer they move towards the Una district. They are presently residing in this Kangra tract from the last fifty to sixty years and did not go back to Jammu. Their movements are presently confined largely between Kangra and Una districts of Himachal Pradesh.<sup>73</sup> In Kangra these Gujjars are largely settled along the banks of the river Beas in Dehra and Nurpur tehsils of Kangra.

## Sirmour District

In Sirmour, Gujjars are evidently settled in the villages, as here we got *Sajranasibs* of the Gujjar prominent villages where they were shown as the prime settler of the villages. In *Sajranasib* of *Moza Palsori Chak tehsil Khol Haripur Riyasat* Sirmour, it is elab-

70 Lyall, 1874, p. 44.

71 With the exception of this single reference of Lyall nowhere else is recorded that they ever encroached Kullu.

72 Lyall, 1874, p. 44.

73 Field Survey, Nomad Gujjars in Dehra, Tehsil Dehra, District Kangra.

orated that Gujjars of *Kathana* clan came in that village first then Gujjars of *Avana* clan came there and established that village of the *Haripur Khol*. Gujjars of that clan are considered as the occupant of the village land of this area. *Sajranasib* defines the total amount of revenue that the Gujjar villagers have to pay. In *Gazetteer of Sirmour* district it is elaborated that *khols* in Sirmour district are all occupied by the Gujjars. *Khols* are also one of the specific features of the Siwalik range. About the physical feature of *Khol*, it is stated in the *Gazetteer of Sirmour* district, "A *Khol* is a long, narrow valley. Its soil is usually stony and of inferior quality. But good pasture is abundant."<sup>74</sup> Due to availability of pasture facilities in the *khols*, Gujjars came in that part of region and established village. *Khols* in local language is the plain area covered with sand and stone but this part of Siwalik range is not in such a critical situation as we find in Una and Kangra. The main reason is due to having no easily approach to this part of Siwalik through the woods. Moreover forests were under the jurisdiction of the Raja of Sirmour and only through the permission of the Raja destruction of the woods was possible. However, area was populated by the Gujjars who used the pasture land of the lower part of the Siwalik. Occupation of the *khol* villages by Gujjars are also evidenced from the *Sajranasib* of these villages. About their migration in the Sirmour district T.S Negi, in his work *Schedule Tribes of Himachal Pradesh*<sup>75</sup> explained that Gujjars in Sirmour migrated from Jammu in the time period of Raja Shamsher Prakash (1842-98), who made a request, to Gujjars to come to his state for supplying milk and milk product. However *Gazetteer of Sirmour* (1934) district does not identify any such instance. Moreover this migration from Jammu is elaborated in Raja Shamsher Prakash period (1842-98) while in the *Sajranasibs* of the Sirmour, we found the settlement of Gujjars since very early period of the establishment of village. The Gujjars of the Jammu stock were identified by Lyall (1872) as nomad Gujjars of

74 *Gazetteer of Sirmour State*, Delhi: B. R. Publishing Corporation, 2012 [1934], p. 2.

75 Negi, T.S., *Schedule Tribes of Himachal Pradesh; A Profile*, Meerut: D.K. Publisher, 1976.

the Kangra, thus it can be assumed that the Gujjars which were asked by Raja Shamsher Prakash to come in to his state were that nomadic Gujjars of Jammu stock, who started to use the grazing tracts of the Sirmour Siwalik range and later on settled in this part. We can therefore conclude that Gujjars were already settled in that part of the Siwalik region. Moreover, in the state *Gazetteer* their occupation has been shown in all parts of the *Khols*. Thus, their concentration was in the following parts of the *khol* region:

TABLE 2.6

<i>Nahan Tehsil</i>	<i>Paonta Tehsil</i>
Bhud	Haripur
Tilokpur	Nagli
Matar Bheron	Palhori
Bijara	

Source: *Gazetteer of Sirmour State*, Delhi, B.R. Publishing Corporation, 2012 [1934], p. 2.

### Bilaspur District

Bilaspur formed part of the so-called Sapaldashak region. During the colonial period it was part of the Punjab Hill States under the Superintendent of Hills (Shimla) governed by the local Raja through the allotment of *sanad* by the British (1815).<sup>76</sup> Since Bilaspur was governed practically independently by the Rajas of Bilaspur we do not get any *Settlement Report* or *Survey* conducted by the British Indian Government during the Colonial period. Instead, the British Lieutenant Governor of Punjab instructed the Raja of Bilaspur to conduct his own Survey and prepare the *Revenue Settlements* of the region.<sup>77</sup> As a result, the Raja of Bilaspur, at first,

76 Aitchison, C.U., *A Collection of Treaties, Engagement and Sanads Related to India and Neighboring Countries*, Vol VIII, Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1909, pp. 302-365.

77 *Wajib ul arz of Mauza Bilaspur, Tehsil Bilaspur, Riyast Khalour*, District Simla, Record Room of Deputy Commissioner Office, Bilaspur.

got village-wise *Wajib-ul Arz* and *sajra nasibs* prepared and based on that record *Settlement* was finalized in 1905 and the *Report* got published in 1908.<sup>78</sup> Thus, for Bilaspur we have rich village-wise grassroot data of the late 19th century available which throws valuable light on the settlement pattern of the Gujjar population in the late 19th century.<sup>79</sup>

In Bilaspur, Gujjars are largely having permanent settlements inside the villages or along the *khads*. Only a few *Heer/Ban* Gujjars (Nomad Gujjars) do spill over during the summers as part of Gujjar migration waves from Una, who in turn migrate from Jammu to Chamba and Kangra and thence to Una.

In Bilaspur, there are also numbers of villages where the prime settlers were Gujjars and the villages were established by the Gujjars themselves. *Sajra nasibs*, which contain the detailed records of the demography of the village along with details of the founder of the village, their castes, date of the foundation of a particular village, why a particular village was established and its revenue claims, throw a great deal of light on the nature of these settlements.

The large stock of Gujjar population in Bilaspur comprises permanent settlers; the nature of these permanent settlers is two-fold. One, Gujjars migrated from the neighbouring states and got settled in the area. Second, there are villages where Gujjars are the prime settler's i.e the villages itself is/are established by the Gujjars. During my field surveys of the Gujjar-populated villages conducted from April 2010 to December 2010 Gujjars of the Bilaspur district narrate that originally they came from Rajasthan and Delhi. These Gujjar settlers are generally not the founders of the villages in which they inhabit presently. The Gujjars of village Kankhare, Panchayat Saloha, tehsil Sri Naina Devi, district Bilaspur are from the Chauhan clan. They trace their antecedent to Prithviraj Chauhan of Delhi which is suggestive of the fact that probably they migrated from Delhi. Gujjars of village Dharoat, Bakkar, Palsehar tehsil also claim that they are Chauhans and migrated from Delhi.

78 *Gazetteer of Simla Hill States, Bilaspur State, Vol. VIII*, New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company, 1910, p. 23.

79 *Bandobast Report, Riyasat Khalour (Bilaspur)*, year 1908, Lahore: Manohar Gulab Singh Press, 1913, p. 60.

Interestingly, the Chauhan Gujjars of the Kankhare village have their ancestral deity, *satiyan*, at Garota village in Bilaspur district and they say that Hindu Gujjars of Chauhan clan from Delhi, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh visit and pay homage to the deity.<sup>80</sup> The presence of the deity in Garota instead of Kankhare suggests that probably Gujjars of Kankhare village migrated here from village Garota. The Sikh Gujjars of Nangal Takka village, Solan district adjoining Bilaspur claim that they migrated from the Bagar *desh*<sup>81</sup> in Rajasthan.<sup>82</sup>

The main reason of the migration of Delhi Gujjars towards the hills of Bilaspur seems availability of pastures. Presently, Gujjar concentration in Bilaspur is largely along the *khads* which are rich in pastures. The *Gazetteer of Delhi District* (1883) also echoes the similar voice regarding the migration of the Gujjars towards the Hills: "The most characteristic tribe of the district, next to the Jat is the Gujar, and indeed from the fact that there are a few Gujar villages near the city itself, we hear more of the Delhi Gujar have lived in this part of country from very remote periods and they occupied the hills because no one else cared to do so and because their solidary and in accessible tracts afforded better scope for the Gujar's favourite avocation, cattle lifting,"<sup>83</sup> However in the *Census of Jammu and Kashmir, 1941*, the reason of the Gujjar migration from Rajasthan towards the hills have been elaborated as the Sathin famine.<sup>84</sup>

In Bilaspur, there are also numbers of villages where the prime settlers were Gujjars and the villages were established by the Gujjars themselves. *Sajra nasibs*, which contain the detailed records of the

80 *Field Survey, Village Kankhara, Panchayat Saloha, Tehsil Sri Naina Devi, District Bilaspur.*

81 Presently *Bagar* tract largely constituted the present Haryana. However, during the colonial period portions of it fell into Rajputana. That's why all these Gujjars recall their migration from Bagar *desh* of Rajasthan.

82 *Field Survey, Panchayat Barsha, Village Nangal Takka, District Solan.*

83 *Gazetteer of Delhi District, 1883-4, Delhi: Vinetage Books, 1988 [1885], p. 74.*

84 *Census of Jammu and Kashmir, 1941, p. 10.*



demography of the village along with details of the founder of the village, their castes, date of the foundation of a particular village, why a particular village was established and its revenue claims, throw a great deal of light on the nature of these settlements.

TABLE 2.7: GUJJARS AS PRIMARY SETTLERS, IN RIYASAT BILASPUR

Name of the Village	Founder of the Village/Gotra (Nineteenth century)		Year
	Name of Gujjar	Gotras	
Bassi	Nagahu Gujjars	Janer	1905
	Mansa Gujjar	Haner	
Nilan	Maru Gujjar	Gorsi	1905
	Raj Gujjar	Mainden	
	Bhamki Gujjar	Fulu	
	Bhaji Gujjar	Mahnga	
Mandayali	Virya Gujjar	Chauhan	1905
	Deru Gujjar	Kewar	
	Vadu Gujjar	Ladhi	
	Valia Gujjar	Kasath	
	Bararu Gujjar	Kharu	
	Nigahu Gujjar	Kasar	
	Sagru Gujjar	Chauhan	
	Chuhar Gujjar	Khajer	
	Boya Gujjar	Takar	
Palsid	Joro Gujjar	Chechi	1905
	Sabu Gujjar	Chechi	
Nakrana	Brahman	Chauhan	1905
	Chuhar Gujjar		
Nain Gujjaran	Jeeru Gujjar,	Kharmari	1872
Kanfara	Manjha Gujjar	Chauhan	1872
	Johiya Gujjar	Chauhan	
	Kehnu Gujjar	Chauhan	
	Kura Gujjar	Chechi	
	Kirlu Gujjar	Chechi	

Source: *Sajra Nasibs of Villages Bilaspur, Basi, Nilan, Mandayali and Palsid, Nakrana, Nain Gujjaran, Kanfara of Tehsil Bilaspur, District Shimla, Record Room of Deputy Commissioner, Bilaspur.*

With the exception of *Nilan* village which was established by the Gujjars in the British period Gujjar settlement in all other villages seems to be of pre-colonial period. In *Sajra Nasib* of Nilan village it is mentioned, “This land was inhabitant by the Gujjars in the time of the British rule. Later on it was occupied by His Highness, the ‘Hindu’ Ruler of Bilaspur. The village was a *khad* which had blue water that’s why named as *Nilan* (blue). Earlier British Indian Government was exacting revenue (*dastur wasul jagah*) which later on brought under the Raja Sahib Bahadur Hira Chand.” (1907-1935)<sup>85</sup> The above description in the *Sajra Nasib* clearly indicates that the Gujjar settlement in Nilan was of the colonial period. It is interesting that none of the villages was established by the Gujjars of one single clan, instead individual village were established by more than one Gujjar family of different *gotras* barring two villages— Nain Gujjaran and Palsid which was established by one single family of Gujjars of *gorsi gotra*. (See **Table 2.7**) In the *Sajra Nasib* of Gujjar prominent villages nothing is mentioned about their forefathers. Generally, it is written that they did not know from where their forefathers have come to the region. It is recorded that the village was initially forest and their (Gujjars) forefathers came here and made the place to habitable. Bassi Village was established by two Gujjars Nagahu and Mansa, of different *gotras* (*Janer and Haner*).<sup>86</sup> While Nila village was established by three Gujjars of different *gotras*; Mandayali village was established by a group of nine Gujjars of different *gotras*. Village Nain Gujjaran was established by Jeeru Gujjar of Kharmari clan. However, according to a legend, current among the Gujjars Nain Gujjaran village was established by Naina Gujjar whom they attribute and trace the establishment of Naina Devi shrine in Bilaspur.<sup>87</sup>

85 *Sajra Nasib, Mauza Nilan Pargana Kot Khalour, Tehsil Bilaspur, Record Room of Deputy Commissioner Bilaspur.*

86 *Sajra Nasib, Mauza Bassi, Pargana Bilaspur, District Simla, Record Room of Deputy Commissioner Bilaspur.*

87 Singh, Akshar Mian, Ram Chandar Verma, *Bilaspur ki Kahani*, Bilaspur: District, Education Department Punjab, 1941, p. 10.

Presently all the Gujjar settlements in Bilaspur are along the banks of *khads*. However, unlike Una where Gujjar settlements are of colonial period, Gujjar settlements along the banks of *khads* is a pre-colonial phenomenon in Bilaspur. The *Sajra Nasibs* of the villages shows that they were already leading a settled life along the *khads* of the above mentioned villages in the British period. From my field survey of the Gujjars of prominent villages of Bilaspur appears the following settlement pattern of Gujjars along the *khads* in Bilaspur. (See **Table 2.8**)

TABLE 2.8: GUJJAR SETTLEMENT IN BILASPUR NEAR KHADS

<i>Name of Village</i>	<i>Name of Khad</i>
Dharoat	Dharoat
Bilaspur	Roadjaman
Bakhar	Bagear
Dharoat	Dharoat
Palsehar	Palsehar
Dani	Dani
Dharota	Dawala
Dhabhar	Roadjaman
Dhawala	Dawala
Nilan	Nilan
Bassi	Bassi
Mandayali	Daroat
Palsid	Palsid
Nakarana	Chilli Choda Alloaa
Gathiana	Gathian khad
Kanfara	Gatey wali Khad
Swain	Roadjamin
Behal	Bassi

Source: Field Survey of Villages of Bilaspur District

British themselves promoted Gujjars to make their settlement along the *khads*, as they could get water and grass for their cattle in these tracts of Hills. In *Sajra Nasib* of Nilan village, it is mentioned that, "This land was inhabitant by the Gujjars in the time of the British rule. Later on it was occupied by His Highness, the 'Hindu' Ruler of Bilaspur. The village was a *khad* which had blue water and that's why it was named as *Nilan* (blue). Earlier the British Indian Government was exacting revenue (*dastur wasul jagah*) which was later on brought under the Raja Sahib Bahadur Hira Chand (1907-1935)"<sup>88</sup> The above description in the *Sajra Nasib* clearly indicates that the Gujjar settlement in Nilan was of the colonial period. In the *Sajra Nasib* of Gujjar prominent villages nothing is mentioned about their forefathers. Generally, it is written that they did not know from where their forefathers had come to the region. It is recorded that the village was initially forest and their (Gujjars) forefathers had come here and made the place habitable.<sup>89</sup>

Presently all the Gujjar settlements in Bilaspur are along the banks of *khads*. The *Sajra Nasibs* of the villages shows that they were already leading a settled life along the *khads* of the above mentioned villages in the British period.

Gujjars in this part of the Hills were settled, semi settled and nomads. Their major settlement was in Siwalik range. They used the grazing pasture of this region for their cattle. Gujjars had occupied the Hills of Siwalik since the very early period. They also remained the prime settlers of the villages in these Hills. However historians are unified in their views that Gujjars were occupant of the Siwalik region since the time when they arrived in these Hills. But after the annexation of the Hills by the British Indian Government, their unlimited movement was interrupted by colonial policies.

In Bilaspur and Sirmour, we had the documentary evidence of

88 *Sajra Nasib*, Mauza Nilan Pargana Kot Khalour, Tehsil Bilaspur, Record Room of Deputy Commissioner Bilaspur.

89 *Sajra Nasib*, Mauza Bassi, Pargana Bilaspur, District Simla, Record Room of Deputy Commissioner Bilaspur.

*Sajra Nasibs* (genealogical record) where we found the clan-wise information of their settlement in the villages. Even in Una we found their settlement in some of the villages as defined by Roe (1862) the first settlement officer of the Una. In Kangra, however they were considered prime settlers (*Swana Gujjars*) but they don't have the right if sale and purchase of that land. And they had only the right of use that part. Even in Chamba they for also not considered as the right holders of the land and here they also used to pay to the British government for using the forest tract for grazing. Their customary rights had been elaborated in next chapter.

## Customary Rights of the Gujjars in the Siwalik Region



Siwalik range is rich in chil pine and oak trees, villagers used these trees for fuel and fodder. The tract is also rich in variety of grasses. These open forests provide enough pastures for live-stock from adjacent plains and for local villagers and even in winter it also supports transhumant flocks which migrate down from the high ranges.<sup>1</sup> From the migration and settlement pattern of the Gujjars it is clearly evident that Gujjars in this region were prime settlers of the villages and some Gujjars leads nomadic life while some others are semi nomads. Gujjar is a tribal community of Himachal Pradesh. After British annexation of the region Gujjars remained in the good books of the Britishers and Britishers distinguished the Gujjars of the Hills from the Gujjars of the Plain. This region comes in the dominions of the British Government in 1846 after second Anglo Sikh war. The ruthless destruction of the forests at the same time became the major cause of the destruction of Siwalik range where Gujjars used to move and also enjoyed the

1 Tucker, Richard P., 'The Evolution of Transhumant Grazing in the Punjab Himalaya,' *Journal of International Mountain Research and Development*, Vol. 6, No 1, 1986, pp 17-28.

customary rights given by the local Rajas to the tribe. These rights were prevailing by all the Gujjar community in the region in lieu of that they used to serve the local Raja with milk and other products. This chapter will discuss pre-colonial customary rights of the Gujjars and special privileges provided by the local Rajas to this pastoralist community. This will help in making the clear picture of already prevailing customs and alteration made by the British Government. Exploiting policies of British Indian Government later on leads towards the destruction of the Siwalik range and became the cause of formation of *Chos/khads* in the region.

Gujjars, being a cattle rearing tribe, wander from place to place in search of rich grazing ground. In the Hills they constantly migrated between higher ups and lower Siwalik Hills in search of better pastures. Gujjars in the Hills live largely in forests, in the outskirts of the villages or in the valleys for specific periods and then move to another place in search of green pastures for their cattle. In summer, they step towards higher altitudes and in the winter season, when there is heavy snow, they move down to the lower hills. Gujjars were governed by different set of rules depending on the usage of forests and grazing tracts. It's essential to know about the earlier prevailing practice of the Rajas of the Hills.

In the pre-colonial period there were small princely states who governed their territory independently. Geographically all these states were within one region, and shared political boundaries and ecological environment. Hutchison mentioned that although the main power was ruled under Kashmir, Trigarta and Kuluta but "at the same time it is possible and even probable, that the remote and even inaccessible valleys continued under the sway of *Ranas* and *Thakurs* who enjoyed practical independence."<sup>2</sup> System of *Ranas* and *Thakurs* was ends up in some parts of the Hills and was followed up by the rise of numerous Rajput principalities which held their dominion till colonial period.<sup>3</sup> The strong Rajput ruler suppressed these *Rana* and *Thakurs* and they made strong and

2 Hutchison, John, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Vol. I, New Delhi: Asian Educational Service, 1994 [1933], p. 18.

3 Ibid.

centralized political entities. In pre-colonial period these Rajput chiefs of the Hills states although accepted the dominance of the ruler of the Mughals and later on of the Sikhs, they were practically independent in their territories.<sup>4</sup> Gujjars being forest dwellers had direct dealings with the local Rajas of the region.

The rules and regulations of the pre-colonial hill Rajas were extremely different from other parts of India. Barnes comments that previous Hill Rajas were though the ultimate owners of the land (forests and pasture as well as arable) but they placed taxes only on arable land, not wastes.<sup>5</sup> He further states that “right of people was simply to cultivate.”<sup>6</sup> This indicates the ownership of the Raja on all the land of his territory and the people used the land in the name of the Raja. However they cultivated on that land but land belonged to the Raja only. Lyall mentions that, “Under the Rajah’s the theory of property in land was that each Rajah was the landlord of the whole of his “Raj” or principality, not merely in the degree in which everywhere in India the State is, in one sense, the landlord but in a clearer and stronger degree. The Moghal emperor, in communication addressed to the Hills Rajah, gave them the title of Zamindar i.e. land holder.”<sup>7</sup> Once the Raja accepted the Mughal subordination, he was authorized to govern his territory independently.<sup>8</sup> Mughals never intervened in the forests of these Hills of Punjab. Their need for timber for making boats and ships were fulfilled from the forests of Gangetic basin.<sup>9</sup>

4 Singh, Chetan, *Natural Premises: Ecology and Peasant Life in the Western Himalaya, 1800-1950*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 25.

5 Barnes, George Carnac, *Report on the Settlement in the District of Kangra*, Lahore: Hope Press, 1862, p. 66.

6 Ibid.

7 Lyall, J.B., *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Panjab, 1867-72*, Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1874, p. 24.

8 Allami, Abu’lFazl, *The Ain-i Akbari*, translated by Colonel H.S. Jarrett, Vol. II, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1989 [1891], p. 884.

9 Moreland, W.H., *India at the Death of Akbar*, New York: Macmillian & Co. Ltd, 1920, p.168.



However the Raja of Sirmaur, Raja Bidhi Chand, got a *firman* from Aurangzeb to permit a contractor for taking timber: "By a *firman* dated 11th Zulhji in the 16th year of his reign (1084 H) [1674AD] the emperor asked him [Raja Bidhi Chand] to permit a contractor to take Sal timber from the Kalakhar forests free of charge to refund to him any dues which had been levied. Timber worth Rs 8,000 was in consequences taken for imperial use."<sup>10</sup> Thus forests of the Hills were to some extent useful for the Mughal rulers. The Raja of Sirmaur, Budh Parkash used to send musk, wild pomegranates and game to Begum Jahanara and received valuable *khilat* in return from Begum Jahaara:<sup>11</sup> "Begum's fondness for jungle-fowl and pheasant is expressed in her letter. Ice or snow was also sent to her, being stored at the foot of the hills in ice-pits and thence sent to Delhi in the hot weather."<sup>12</sup> Thus this description about the utilization of the Hills of Sirmour by the Mughal rulers lights up the importance of the Hills of Himachal Pradesh and also clears those forests remained centre of attraction for the Mughals also. Even Mughal rulers asked for permission from the local Raja to extract the forest resources. All land, including the vast areas of forest were belonged to the *rajās* or kings of small princely state. It can be concluded that before the British occupation of the Hills, Forests of the Hills were symbolically under the Mughal rulers in lieu of payment of lump sum tribute while Hill Rajas enjoyed complete independence to govern and control and forests were completely save in their reign.

Entire tract in the Hills remained under the control of the Raja. Lyall describes, "The Rajah was not, like a feudal king, lord paramount over inferior lords of manors, but rather, as it was manorial

10 *Gazetteer of Sirmour State*, (reprint ed.), New Delhi: Indus Publication, 1934, p-15.

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.* The ice was stored in Sirmour and carried by porters to Dhamras on the banks of the Yamuna, where it again, packed in boxes and sent to rafts to Daryapur in *pargana* khizarbad, and again send to Delhi in boats. The journey from Daryapur to Delhi completed in three days. But ice still remained preserved.

lord of his whole country.”<sup>13</sup> Thus all the states belong to the Raja and he enjoyed unrestricted power in his region. Rajas only grant the right to use forests and village pasture lands. These rights were dispensed by the Raja to the courtiers, military supporters or others. Raja used to keep vast unutilized mountain land for their own use as hunting grounds. He posted royal gamekeepers to keep watch and ward of the encroachment in the forests.<sup>14</sup> The tax due from the holder of each field was payable directly to the Raja. Raja had the power to remit the dues from land in some particular conditions. Then the nature and name of that land changed. For example if Raja allotted revenue free land to any caste or adjoining to their settlements for use then it was known as *lahri*. In general *Iahri bassi* land was given to the menial classes by the Raja.<sup>15</sup> Raja had the power to remit the revenue of the land. But sometimes Raja allotted a particular land to some other persons also. A person, who cultivated a piece of land, was not considered his owner. That land would remain the property of the Raja. He could assign that as a *jagir* in lieu of pay, or as a subsistence allowance. On the basis of colonial Settlement Reports, it appears that the position of the actual cultivators of the soil was very weak, but in fact this was not the clear picture, as the cultivators have their complete rights on the land which they used to cultivate. Even Barnes admitted that in the Hills there were “two separate properties in the soil. The first and paramount is the right of the State to a certain share of the gross produce, and the second is the hereditary right of cultivation and claim to the rest of the produce on the part of the cultivator.”<sup>16</sup> Same thing explained by Guha when he talked about the strong position of village community in Tehri Garhwal that, “Here the social structure was polarized between the raja (king) on the one hand, and his praza (citizen), organized in strong and

13 Ibid.

14 Lyaal, 1874, p. 29.

15 Ibid, p. 27.

16 Barnes, 1862, p.54.

remarkably egalitarian village communities, on the other.”<sup>17</sup> Thus Guha explained about the system of hills and says that although in theory the sovereign possessed proprietary rights in the soil, the cultivating body which formed the bulk of the population enjoyed all privileges of ownership except for the right of alienation land.<sup>18</sup> The agrarian income was the primary economic base of any state, but in the Hills cultivation was very rare as it can only be on the suitable plots available on the hill slopes. Moreover for cultivation also villagers depend upon the pastoralists of the region. In the hills of Himachal Pradesh mountain soil is thin and “severely deficient of humus and basin chemicals, crops do not grow without manure.”<sup>19</sup> Gujjars as cattle bearer, thus are considered by the villagers as a source of manuring their field and always welcomed there to stay in their fields. Thus Gujjars had cordial relations with the villagers as well as with the Raja. They were given prime importance by the Raja as well as by the villagers of the area. They were not only beneficial for the fields of the Raja but also served the Rajas with milk and *ghee*. Pastoralists formed inseparable part of the larger economic structure of the region. Singh rightly defines, “The limited size of local markets and the restricted nature of commercial activity within Himachal during the pre-colonial period made pastoralists the prime exploiters of the region’s natural resources.”<sup>20</sup>

A state’s which has rare resources of agricultural land, was largely obviously depended on grazing dues. The important part of their income was thus extracted from the taxes connected with animal husbandry and the exploitation of forest wealth from mountainous areas.<sup>21</sup> Thus, grazing dues were imposed upon the Gujjars since very beginning. The system of grazing rights was

17 Guha, Ramachandra, *The Unquiet Woods, Ecological Change and Peasant Resistance in Himalaya*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989, p. 62.

18 Guha, 1989, p. 62.

19 Tucker Richard, *The Historical Development of Human Impacts on Great Himalayan National Park*, USA: Ann Arbr, 1997, p. 4.

20 Singh, 1998, p. 130.

21 Ibid, p. 21.

established in the Hills in the early period of settlement of Gujjars in the region. All land, including the vast areas under forest, belonged to the *rajās* or kings of small princely states. The Raja gave herders right to graze specific tracts of forest land, called *bans* in the winter grazing grounds and *dhars* in the summer grazing ground. The herders were required to pay a tax for use of the grazing lands. This was also conferred upon the Gujjar community of the Kangra proper, who had their hereditary rights over some of the forest areas in the mountain ranges known as “warisee rights”. Raja acknowledged the rights of the Gujjars in the forests and in lieu of that he used to take grazing dues from Gujjars.<sup>22</sup> Gujjars used to keep buffaloes and usually supplies milk and milk products to the Raja and the villagers as well as manure to the field. Thus, the State encouraged them to insist their fields at regular intervals and even this is the reason that they were denoted as *sawana* Gujjars (having special right to graze) by the Raja of Kangra.<sup>23</sup> Grazing dues taken from the owner of each herd or flock were payable to Raja and these were rarely or never assigned to any *jagirdar*.<sup>24</sup> The agents who collected these dues were the servants of the Rajas and all these men were appointed and paid directly by the Raja himself. Every interest in land, whether the right to cultivate certain fields, to graze exclusively certain plots of wastes, work a water mill, set a net to catch game or hawks on a mountain, or put a fish weir in a stream, was directly held by Raja as a separate holding or tenancy.<sup>25</sup> The incumbent or tenant at the most called his interest a *warisi* or inheritance, not a *maliki* or lordship. Raja had rightful claim over the share of everything “that was either produced within his territory or obtained by his subjects by other means.”<sup>26</sup> Lyall while explaining Raja’s share in 1872 writes, “Rajas claimed even a share of the honey from the owners of bee-hives, the best

22 Barnes, 1862, p .54.

23 Glover Harold, *Erosion in the Punjab its Cause and Cure*, Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Ltd., 1944, p. 15.

24 Lyall, 1874, p. 29.

25 Ibid, p. 24.

26 Singh, 1998, p. 27.

part of the timber of a tree which might be felled or blown down in a man's field, a large fish which might be caught in his weir or fish-trap, or the best-hawk which might be caught in the nets spread in the forests."<sup>27</sup> Even for using the forests lands Raja had right to get grazing dues from the pastoralists of the Hills. In this way these herders were beneficial for the Raja as they used to give grazing tax, and they were also required by the villagers for manuring their land. In the Hills Gujjars enjoyed unrestricted rights over the usage of forests for their herds. Pasture land in region was divided into three categories. The first type was pastures near the villages which were called *jub*, *munchar* and *gochar*.<sup>28</sup> The second kind was those away from the villages, but from which the animal could be brought home at night after grazing which was called *trakar*. The third was on the high mountain ranges, especially on the slopes of the Dhauladhar and the Pangi range which was called *dhar*, *ghar* and *nagahar*. Gujjars visited only the *dhar* pastures.<sup>29</sup> Gujjars used to stay at *kandi dhars*<sup>30</sup> in between their migration in winter and summer grounds. They stayed there for two months.<sup>31</sup> These pasture grounds are situated at the height of the mountains of Outer Himalayas and known as *goth*. Waste lands situated adjoining the villages or hamlets were also used as grazing tracts by the villagers as well as by the pastoralists Gujjars (for further details see chapter 4). Lyall mentions that in lieu of using the waste land state used to take taxes from the villagers. "It was levied everywhere on buffaloes, and in most or all places on sheep and goats; the only distinction was that professional shepherds and herdsmen were taxed at higher rates than other classes."<sup>32</sup> Their occupation

27 Lyall, 1874, p. 24.

28 Rose, H.A., *Chamba State Gazetteers*, Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1904, p. 166.

29 Ibid.

30 *Kandi* villages are those along the side of the great range from Boh to Bir some fourteen or fifteen in all. These are situated at the Kangra side at the outer Himalayan range (Gazetteer of Kangra 1923-24, p.273).

31 *Punjab District Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, Part A, *Kangra District*, 1924-25, Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing Press, 1926, p. 273.

32 Lyall, 1874, p. 20.

on the waste land in the forest was recognized by Barnes, the first Settlement Officer of the Kangra. He describes that, "There are certain casts in the Hills such as "Goojurs" and "Gudees," who cultivate little, and keep herds of the buffaloes, and flocks of sheep and goats. Such classes have a claim upon certain beats of the forest which they regard as their "warisee," subject to the payment of pasturage tolls."<sup>33</sup> About the *warisee* rights Barnes comments that these rights are only privileges for the original descents of the area. He explains that, "I believe the term properly applied only to the descendants of the original settlers, who by their industry and enterprise first reclaimed the waste."<sup>34</sup> Thus, British recognized the claim of the Gujjars on the forest and considered them as the original right holders of some parts of the forests. Barnes accepted the claims of the Gujjars in the Hills and mentions, "Goojur will possess a concurrent claim upon a certain tract of forest."<sup>35</sup> Barnes (1850) considered their right as appropriate as the right of landholders on their land.<sup>36</sup> Barnes mentions that Gujjars have their settled and occupied portion in the forests which they used for grazing purpose.<sup>37</sup> He records Gujjars as *warisee* of the forest skirts. Barnes, defines that the *warisee* is "the hereditary right to possession and culture in the language of these hills 'Warisee.'"<sup>38</sup> Kangra was the only part of the Hills where Gujjars accession on forests was considered and recognized even by the Colonial Government. To distinguished this right of Gujjars, it was a prevailed custom that Gujjars who had their possession on some parts of forests (recognized by local Raja) were denoted as *Swana* Gujjar and their rights were considered as 'warisee' rights. Gujjars got special privilege to graze their animals in forests skirts through the heredity

33 Barnes, 1850, p. 43.

34 Ibid, p. 18.

35 Ibid.

36 Barnes, 1850, p. 43.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid, p. 18.

customary rights known as *warisee* rights in the Hills.<sup>39</sup> These forest skirts in the ranges were known as *sawana* of Gujjar. In the pre-colonial period they had to pay tax to get these *sawanas* for grazing from Raja every year. Barnes (1850) records that; Gujjars are *warisee* of forest skirts.<sup>40</sup> Barnes account makes it apparently clear that they got the *warisee* right only after paying certain grazing dues/*nazrana*. Commenting on these *Sawanas*, Lyall mentions, “The Gujar’s right to his *soana* was much like that of a man to his *kharetar*<sup>41</sup>; it was an exclusive grazing privilege for a season only. He called his *soana* his *warisi*, and no doubt his right, though a limited one was as true a property as any other interest in land in the hills. It was held direct of the Raja by *patta* like the landholder’s field and descended from father to son.”<sup>42</sup> They used these grazing grounds known as *sawana* “in which during the rain they enjoyed

39 *Warisee* was used for the first cultivator of the land. Barnes defines that this term was only used for the person or the ancestors of the cultivators who was first start cultivation on the waste land. (Lyall, 1874, p.43) About *warisee* Lyall records that “it shows that the landholders was rather a crown tenant than a landlord; he called his right a “warisee” or inheritance not a “maliki”, or lordship, and the same term applied to every kind of interest held of the Rajah, even to a claim to some village office.”(Ibid, p.17) Lyall further states that Gujjars of Kangra appreciated the Katoch Rajas who recognized this system. By this right Raja could not remove them from his cultivated right and Raja authorized the right of the person on the land who was first to start and cultivate the barren land; while on the other hand Rajas of Chamba and Guler reserved the right of esictran with them and they could sack “a man out of his ancestral house and lands and gave them to a covetous neighbour.” (Ibid, p.18) Thus *warisee* was the permanent cultivator of the land in Kangra. The title was used not only for the cultivators but one finds that it was also used in the official jobs like chowkidar, Lambardar. By getting this title their post becomes heredity. (Ibid) This title was got by the Gujjars of the Kangra as they occupied forests for grazing purpose after paying dues which accept their right on those forests and titled them as Swana Gujjars.

40 Barnes, 1850, p. 19.

41 *Kharetra* is the grass land near the village.

42 Lyall, 1874, p. 45.

exclusive rights.”<sup>43</sup> Lyall gives brief description on the beginning of this system in Kangra. The Raja of Kangra restricted grazing in the forests for three months during his hunting operation. This hurts the Gujjars. To resolve the issue Raja acknowledged their restriction rights for the usage of forests even during *thak*<sup>44</sup> (prohibited area). *Swana* was started by the Rajas of the Kangra.

Lyall writes that in Kangra :

Rajas used to put all the woods in *thak* (i.e. prohibition of grazing) for some three months of the year, that is for the rainy season. The village cattle could subsist at this season on the grass to be got off fallow fields and open grazing grounds. But this rule pressed hard on the Gujjars in the low hills, whose buffaloes rely greatly on leaves and twigs of trees; so the Raja gave them *pattas* or grants removing the *thak* from certain plots of forests in their favor. The Gujjars call these runs or plots their “*soana*”; they were the exclusive grazing grounds of the Gujjar’s herd for the three months only till the “*thak*”

was removed from the rest of the forest...<sup>45</sup>

In Kangra *sawana* Gujjars once received tracts on *pattah* from the Raja for grazing and they had to pay *banwajiri* (forest dues) which was collected on their occupation of the forests.<sup>46</sup> The tax was taken per buffalo, after the allotment of the *pattah* for grazing

43 *Kangra District Gazetteer*, 1926, p. 305.

44 *Thak* was system by which Raja preserved a portion of Forests for his hunting purpose or in the rainy season approximately for three months and used to restrict the right of the villagers to enter in that part of forests. However, Gujjars were given special permission to enter the forests. In Siba Raja did not put any part of

forest on *thak*.

45 Lyall, 1874, pp. 45-46.

46 Before the British occupation of the Kangra (1846) Rajas used to take *banwajiri* or Forest Department dues which continued in the British period also. This tax was imposed on the villagers or on Gujjars for using the waste land for grazing and woods. Separate staff was appointed by the Raja to collect these dues. This was one type of grazing tax which imposed on every class of community even from the shopkeepers or artisans also.



in the *thak*. Since all the land was Raja's land, waste land was also in the possession of Raja. Lyall mentioned, "The waste land, great or small was Rajah's waste; the arable lands were made up of the separate holding of his tenants."<sup>47</sup> A tax named as "*banwajiri*" was taken by the Raja for using the waste land as grazing ground and for getting wood. Rajas used to take *banwajiri* or Forest Department dues. This tax was imposed on the villagers or on the Gujjars for using the waste land for grazing and woods. Separate staff was appointed by the Raja to collect these dues. This was one type of grazing tax which was imposed on every class of community even from the shopkeepers or artisans also. Tax upon shopkeepers and artisans was imposed on the ground that they used waste land adjoining the village for getting the woods for fuel. This tax was collected by persons authorized by the Raja designated as *mahlundhi*. Lyall defines, "When the flock had settled down in its "ban" and the *banwaziri* collector came to make the "ginkari" i.e. to count the head of sheep and levy grazing fees for Government, the *mahlundi* was the man who dealt with him but every man's sheep paid at the same rate."<sup>48</sup> Thus tax was collected by persons authorized by the Raja designated as *mahlundhi*. This tax was taken by the Raja on account of having his supremacy on the forests of the region and villagers after paying this tax were free to use the forests for their domestic needs. It was an extra tax which was levied upon all the inhabitants for using the waste lands. In Kangra (1883) it is stated that "Gujars paying one rupees per big and eight annas per small buffalo, and the other man four anna or two anna"<sup>49</sup> (Table 3.1). In spite of giving this grazing tax Gujjars also used to give milk and *ghee* to the Raja and perform *begar*.

47 Lyall, 1874, p.22.

48 Ibid, p. 48.

49 Ibid.

TABLE 3.1: RATES OF BANWAJIRI TAKEN BY THE RAJA OF KANGRA AND THE BRITISH

<i>Articles or profession assessed</i>	<i>Amount of Charge Rs 2 per 100 head of sheep or goats.</i>	<i>Ramarks</i>
<i>Gaddi shepherd's flock</i>		<i>A woollenchoga and a he-goat was also taken from each shepherd.</i>
Gujjar herderman's buffaloes	Rs 1 0 0 large buffalo	Oxen and cows paid no grazing tax, apparently on religious grounds (gaikapun). In most taluka these dues were paid in ghi.
Landholders buffalo, cow	Rs 0 8 0 small buffalo Rs 0 4 0	
Julaha or weaver	Rs 0 12 0 per loom	In some talukas these dues were collected not in cash, but in kind that is, each man paid some article of his own manufactures.
Nai or barbar	Rs 0 12 0 per house	
Dhobhi or washerman	Rs 0 12 0 ditto	
Kumar or potter	Rs 0 12 0 ditto	
Lohar or blacksmith	Rs 0 12 0 ditto	
Tarkhan or carpenter	Rs 0 12 0 ditto	
Darzi or tailor	Rs 0 12 0 ditto	
Chamar or tanner	Rs 1 0 0 or one hide	
Karaunk or village watchman	Rs 1 0 0	

Source: Lyall, J.B., *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Panjab, 1867-72*, Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1874, p. 38. (Table is prepared by Lyall on the basis of 'a report made out by an old official of taluqa').

This table clearly indicates that Gujjars were charged on higher side for buffaloes as compared to the other communities of the region. Gujjars were charged one rupee per large buffalo but as compared to them villagers or land holders were charged only four *paisa*. Gujjars and landholders were charged for their buffaloes as it was their profession to have cattle. Tax was also charged from the other castes but it was also on their profession as the *jullahs*

were charged according to the loom they used and *nai* (barber), *dhobhi* (washer man), *kumhar* (vessel man) and other castes were charged as per their work, i.e. 12 paisa per work done by them. For example if *nai* used to cut the hairs of five houses, he had to pay 12 paisa per house. Similarly *dhobi* had to pay per house 12 paisa. So it is cleared that all communities have to pay to Raja in the shape of a tax on their income. Among all the castes Gujjars were heavy tax payer.

In spite of taking taxes different sets of rules were also imposed upon the Gujjars for getting the grazing rights in the forests. In parts of Siba, Dehra Tehsil, in Kangra there was not a practice of putting all the forests on *thak*, Gujjars in these parts used to live inside the forests and considered that part of forests as their *sawana*. In these parts Gujjars did not take the *sawana* from the Raja, instead they lived in the middle of the forests. Lyall while defining about those parts writes<sup>50</sup>:

In Goleir and some other parts the practice of putting all the woods in “*thak*” does not seem to have prevailed, for the Gujjars here, though they often have sheds in the forest, and talk of their “*soanas*” in it, have no real “*soana*,” i.e., no define runs or plots into which no other person can drive his cattle during the rains. In fact they only exercise, in a greater degree, the same right of common of grazing in the forest which any other landholder enjoys.

Their rights in Siba were admitted by the British Government and Anderson (1882), the Settlement Officer of Siba *jagir* mentions that Gujjars were living there in the middle of the forests hence they did not required separate *sawana* rights: “In Dadoa there is no closing during the rains as a number of Gujjars live in the very middle of the forest and graze in it all the year.”<sup>51</sup> In lieu of using that special privileges of grazing facilities Gujjars had to pay *ghiana* cess (tax paid in the shape of ghee).<sup>52</sup> Raja collected graz-

50 Ibid, p. 45.

51 Anderson, A., *Report on the land revenue settlement of the Siba jagir in Kangra District of the Punjab, 1881-82*, Lahore: Printing in Central Jail Press, 1882, p. 3.

52 Anderson, 1882, p. 27.

ing tax in the form of *ghee*, and the tax was only imposed on the milch cattle, "In some places the dues were charged only on milch cows at from ten to five kachha seers of *ghi* for a Gujar, and two or less for a man of other castes."<sup>53</sup> Thus the Gujjar buffaloes were charged heavily and at much higher rates than the other classes.<sup>54</sup> Lyall comments that the Rajas of Kangra exempted only 'cows' from this tax on the religious grounds (*gai ka pun*).<sup>55</sup> In all parts of Hills Gujjars have their rights on the forests which they used as pasture for their cattle and in lieu of that they used to give the taxes to the Raja. However they used to pay the taxes on the higher side but their rights never be distracted by the local Rajput Rajas and the possession of Gujjars on the forests was even admitted by the Rajas. Later on in the colonial period it was totally changed and they have to pay heavily for getting these rights back and even they were restricted from their hereditary customary rights.

In Chamba Gujjars occupation along the *dhars* was entirely different. The State contains rich and extensive pasture lands, some near the village and others on the high mountains ranges, especially on the slopes of the Dhauladhar and the Pangi Range.<sup>56</sup> The animals which were kept at home all the year round and were grazed in the near pastures and not taken to the *dhars* and *gahars* (grazing grounds near the villages) in summer or the low hills in winter were called *ghareri* (animals who used to live in houses) and the grazing dues for these were named *trini ghareri (tax on house cattle)*. *Trini* was taken from the Gujjars who used the pasture land of *dhar* and *gahars*. Gujjars here used the *dhars* of Sadar, Churah, Bhattiyat and Bharmour *wizarats* and usually paid at the rate of Rs. 1 and 8 paise for a milch buffalo, 12 annas if not in milk and the same for a calf. If not the amount then wool and sheep or

53 *Gazetteer of Kangra*, 1994, [1883], p. 170.

54 Lyall, 1874, p. 20.

55 *Ibid.*

56 Rose, H.A., *Chamba State Gazetteer*, Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1904, p. 279.

goats used to pay by Gujjars. The grazier paid these dues directly to the state.<sup>57</sup>

In Bilaspur Gujjars used to graze their cattle on the village land and for this they had to pay for ten sheep and one he goat to the Raja.<sup>58</sup> This clearly indicates that tribal communities who used the pasture land of the region either paid their grazing taxes in the shape of articles or in the shape of cash. In some parts they used to pay in the form of *ghee*, or wool of sheep and sometimes presented sheep or goat to the Raja, while in some area they used to pay in cash also. Nowhere in the region they charged doubled for taxes. However in colonial period they were charged heavily and even both in cash and articles they have to pay.

In the hills of Himachal Pradesh, British realized that to know about the all fringes of the deep forests they need the help of the tribal communities who used to remain in between the forests. Thus, they want to establish cordial relation with the Gujjars also, Gujjar was the tribal community of the Hills and lives in between the forests of the high mountains in the region of Himalayas. Stebbing (1922) defines, “in those early days of our supremacy, nor had we any close knowledge of even a fraction of the country.”<sup>59</sup> This is the main reason that Colonial Government tackled Gujjars in a diplomatic way and in the Hills, they never denoted Gujjars in criminal tribe’s category; however, in plain they were considered as thieving race. After occupation of the Hills, British recognized Gujjars as most important tribal group; who will help them in getting the knowledge of deep forests, as the Gujjars were well aware of all Himalayan ranges. Even they were very helpful for the British officers, they used to bring quarries or small stones (*kan-kar*) with them from the high ranges of Himalayas. British used to take these small stones from Gujjars for making floors.<sup>60</sup> Thus

57 Ibid.

58 *Wajib ul Arz of Mauza Bilaspur, Riyasat Khalour Tehsil Bilaspur, District Shimla*. Record room, Deputy Commissioner Bilaspur, 1908.

59 Stebbing, E.P., *The Forests of India*, London: John Lane the Bodley Head Limited, p. 37.

60 Lyaal, p. 170.

British had cordial relations with Gujjars in the beginning and even recognized their rights on the grazing tracts. Even Gujjars used to supply milk and *ghee* to the Britishers.

But later on Britishers started divisive policies and differentiated between villagers and this pastoral group by introducing several sets of rules in favour of the villagers to deal with this tribe. It was introduced in the settlement that Gujjars had to pay customary dues to the village community. For using the village tract they will have to pay to the villagers.<sup>61</sup> Anderson (1886) in the *Forest Settlement Report of Kangra* mentions, "At the first settlement Mr. Barnes arranged that the village communities should collect the dues paid by resident and nomad gujjars, and this item of miscellaneous income he took into consideration in assessing the revenue. The people have therefore a right to arrange for the continuance of this income in all places where it has hitherto been received and the right of the people to collect the customary dues, and of the Gujjars to graze in their accustomed *Sawanas* has been admitted and recorded."<sup>62</sup> Thus earlier relations of villagers were very cordial with the Gujjars, but later villagers started to impose grazing tax by the British upon them. In the *Wajib-ul Arz* of mauza Gantour, tehsil Dehra, district Kangra (1868) clear mention of the traditional rights of the *Sawana* Gujjars on the land have been elaborated: For these *sawanas* their right on the grazing lands will be passed on to their heirs, but they do not have the right of the *intkal* (having the right to have the land on their name) and even they did not have the sole proprietor rights on that land as they had only the grazing possession but not the right of sale and purchase the land.<sup>63</sup> *Wajib-ul Arz* mentions two types of grazing rights granted to the Gujjars. One type as mentioned above is granted to *sawana* Gujjars in the forests during the *thak* (prohibited area) in monsoon season. The second type was those tracts which were not

61 Anderson, A., *Report of Forest Settlement of Kangra*, Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1886,, p. 7.

62 Anderson, 1886, p. 7.

63 *Wajib-ul Arz of Mauza Gantour, Tehsil Dehra, District Kangra*, 1868. This was recorded in the first settlement of the Kangra.

their *sawana*.<sup>64</sup> Gujjars were allowed *sawana* (buffalo runs) tracts for grazing of specified number of cattle for which they were to pay taxes to the Raja (see *infra*). Since the grazing dues of each *sawana* were fixed, in case an individual Gujjar possessed less than the stipulated number of cattle allowed to be grazed in a *sawana*, *Wajib-ul Arz* clearly states that in that case they were allowed to take the additional buffaloes of the villagers for grazing in their allotted *sawanas*. However, for this an advance permission of the local *zamindar*, as state's representative was required.<sup>65</sup> *Wajib-ul Arz*, however, mentions that this should be done only to compensate excess dues which they were supposed to pay. Accordingly they were not allowed to take the dues for grazing these buffaloes for profit.<sup>66</sup> Through these *Wajib-ul Arz* it is revealed that in the Kangra region British accepted Gujjar's hereditary rights on the grazing tracts of Hills. In other parts of Kangra they were not given such types of privileges. In the *Wajib-ul Arz* of Hamirpur region it is clearly indicated that there are no *sawana* Gujjars (Gujjars who have their hereditary right on the grazing ground were known as *Sawana* ) in the area and only *sawana* Gujjars were allowed to use forests grazing tracts and other nomad Gujjars were not allowed in that parts of forests. They (nomad Gujjars) could only graze in the village, adjoining grazing tracts for which they had to pay to the village community. *Wajib-ul Arz* of Mauza Jungle, tehsil Hamirpur states that villagers were forced to take *trini* (grazing tax) from nomad Gujjars and if Gujjars refused to pay, they can be stop to graze in their village. Thus due to these divisive policies of the British, villagers granted the right of collecting the grazing taxes from the Gujjars which they were supposed to deposit to the British treasury.

Lyall mentions that Gaddis of the Kangra objected to pay the tax to the villagers as their pasture runs were in more than two villages, however Gujjars did not object to pay the village com-

64 Ibid.

65 *Wajib -ul Arz*, Village Gantour, Tehsil Dehra, District Kangra, Record office of the Deputy Commissioner, Kangra, 1868.

66 Ibid.

munities for getting the grazing tracks. Gujjars were allowed their hereditary rights on the forests but in *Wajib-ul Arz* of Gantour village in Kangra district, it is clearly stated that they can take only approved number of buffaloes.<sup>67</sup> Thus grazing dues taken from the Gujjars enhanced the income of British Indian Government, but it affected the Gujjars to a great extent (**Table 3.2**).

TABLE 3.2: RESULT OF FIRST ASSESSMENT OF INCREASED GRAZING TAX ON GUJJARS

<i>Tehsil</i>	<i>Session in which first assessed</i>	<i>Number of Sheep</i>	<i>Number of goats</i>	<i>Gujar Sowanedar's buffaloes</i>	<i>Total tax</i>
					Rs A. P.
Dera [Dehra]	<i>Rabi</i> 1916	10,919	62,061	----	4890 10 3
Hamirpur	1916	----	----	----	6,663 7 3
Palampur	1916	25,422	41,966	558	4,930 8 6
Kangra	<i>Kharif</i> 1917	12,942	43,036	1,009	5,314 6 6
Nurpur	1918	1,954	51,199	----	3,291 8 6
Total	----	51,237	198,262	1,567	24,590

Source: Middleton, *Final Report of the third Revised Land Revenue Settlement of the Palampur, Kangra and Nurpur Tahsils of the Kangra District 1913-1919*, 1919, Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, p.30

From the table it is clear that in 1916 at the time of *Rabi* harvest (in April and May) at Dehra and Hamirpur no *swana* Gujjars are shown. This may also be possible that *Sawana* Gujjars were not imposed upon the grazing charges in 1916. Only sheep and goats of *Gaddis* were charged. However, in Palampur 558 *Swana* Gujjars were taxed (Rs 2 per buffalo) up to amount of Rs 1116 (17,856 *annas*).<sup>68</sup> In Kangra also 1009 buffaloes were charged Rs

67 *Wajib-ul Arz*, Village Gantour, Tehsil Kangra, kept in the record room of the Deputy commissioner Kangra, 1868.

68 In Palampur 25422 sheep were charged 228798 pies (9 pie per sheep), which is equal to 19066 anna (Rs1=16 annas) thus amount chargeable from sheep were Rs 1191/. Similarly, goats in Palampur



2018 (Rs 32,288 *annas*). Thus they were charged Rs 3134/ on the total revenue of Rs 24,590/ i.e 12.74% in the year 1916-18. This tax was counted on the buffaloes of the *sawana* Gujjars, however Gujjars also used to keep goats and buffaloes which were charged separately. Till 1916 *Sawana* Gujjars were not counted for grazing tax and only from *rabi* harvest of 1918 in the re-assessment of revenue they were started to count for tax (Table 3).

TABLE 3.3: RESULT OF FIRST RE-ASSESSMENT OF INCREASED GRAZING TAX FROM *RABI* 1918 ON GUJJARS

<i>Tehsil</i>	<i>Sheep</i>	<i>Goats at anna one</i>	<i>Goats at annas two</i>	<i>Gujar Sowanadars buffaloes</i>	<i>Total tax</i>
					Rs A. P.
Dera	9,081	33,480	19,400	338	5,619 2 9
Hamirpur	25,187	25,808	21,698	176	5,857 14 3
Palampur	17,589	18,493	11,501	529	4,475 14 9

Source: Middleton, *Final Report of the third Revised Land Revenue Settlement of the Palampur, Kangra and Nurpur Tahsils of the Kangra District 1913-1919*, Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1919, p.30.

In Dehra, Hamirpur and Palampur Gujjars were charges as Rs 2 per buffalo. Thus 1043 buffaloes of Gujjars were charged in *rabi* amounting Rs 2086. And at *kharif*, they were charged again, thus annually they used to pay Rs 4,172 almost double the amount. However, Gaddis pay only once in a year for their sheep and goats. Middleton explains, “The tax on sheep and goats is being collected entirely with *kharif* demand, whilst that on Sowanedar’s buffaloes is collected in equal installments at the two harvests; to avoid complication I recommended waiving one season’s tax in three tahsils first [Palampur, Kangra and Nurpur] assessed in the spring harvest, so that throughout the district the tax may be assessed

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were charged as 1 anna per goat which means 41966 anna i.e. Rs 2622/. (Middleton 1919, p.31)

at kharif and collected for the agriculture year.”<sup>69</sup> British justified imposing this tax on the Gujjars as they believed that the cattle of the Gujjars harms the lands and the forests. In Kangra (1924-25) it is stated, “This has been done on account of the great damage done to the Government caused by these buffaloes. There are no *sowan-das* in the Dehra and Hamirpur Tahsils except a few in the Nadaun *Jagir*.”<sup>70</sup> This tax was paid only by the *sawana/warisee* Gujjars while Nomad Gujjars were not charged. However, Nomad Gujjars had to pay to get the grazing grounds from villagers. They used to pay to the village proprietors. This payment was based on negotiation between Gujjars and villagers. But after 1918 Nomad Gujjars were also taxed for buffaloes by the British Government which was fixed at rupees two per buffalo. *Kangra Gazetteer* (1926) records, “The nomadic Gujjars who come in annually from Chamba also pay dues to the village proprietors by mutual arrangements. In 1916-18, however, Government with a view to reducing the numbers introduced each year imposed an additional tax of Rs. 2 per she-buffalo, on all Sowanadar Gujjars and on other Gujjars who do not own land in the District.”<sup>71</sup> Thus inspite of giving grazing dues to the villagers for getting grazing tracts in adjoining village, Gujjars also used to pay to the British Government as per the total buffaloes in their herd. British officers also restrict some pasture lands for grazing purpose and restricted the cattle there. Anderson defines, “When an area are closed against grazing, the whole income from sale of grass will be given to the village communities.”<sup>72</sup>

Even for using the waste land adjoining to the villages they were again charged. For getting the pasture land or waste land in the villages they also had to pay ten *anna* per milk buffalo cow.<sup>73</sup> In *Wajib-ul Arz* of Lohana village in Nurpur it is stated that villagers had rights over the waste lands near their houses. They can allow the Gujjars to graze after taking grazing charges from them.

69 Middleton, 1919, p. 32.

70 Kangra Gazetteer, 1926, p. 305.

71 *Kangra District Gazetteer*, 1926, p. 305.

72 Anderson, 1898, p. 6.

73 *Ibid*, p. 29.

If Gujjars refused to give the charges they refuse the grazing right. These sets of rules restricted the movement of nomad Gujjars towards Nurpur. Even in the forest settlement Anderson (1898) noticed that Gujjars did not move in this tract anymore now.<sup>74</sup> He wrote

“Ban-Gujars [Nomad Gujjars] have for many years come to the Nurpur Tahsil and to Boh in Kangra Tahsil, which places are conveniently situated for Chamba from which they come; but during the last few years they have attempted to establish themselves in other places. The rights of the people in Nurpur and in Ban- Gujjars may as heretofore come into these localities; but they should be strictly excluded from all other places.”<sup>75</sup>

Thus in Nurpur Gujjars were permitted only to use the *Boh* village for grazing their cattle. Waste land or grazing land of other villagers were totally restricted for Gujjars and even in Nurpur they were restricted to use *dhars* (pasture tract). They were only allowed in *Boh* village to use the wood for fuel and looping of trees for fodder. Thus Anderson clearly make this argument, “With this exception the village proprietors have no right to lease the grazing in the waste, nor to take grazing dues, nor to allow than recorded right-holders to graze in it.”<sup>76</sup> This income was collected from the Gujjars after selling the grass to them.

The *Wajib-ul Arz* of the village Lohdawa, tehsil Nurpur (1914) states that to graze the waste lands of the village Gujjars had to pay the grazing tax known as *trini*, and if Gujjars failed to pay *trini* for grazing in the village waste lands then the owner of the land can restrict their occupation in that part of the village.<sup>77</sup> In Nurpur Gujjars used to come for grazing facilities. After forest settlement of Anderson they were even taxed on the waste land and even poor in cultivation, thus in Nurpur also Gujjars were taxed by the British Government. Delimited and Demarcated forests where

74 Anderson, 1898, p. 7.

75 Ibid

76 Anderson, 1898, p.2.

77 *Wajib-ul Arz*, Mauza Lohdawa, Tehsil Nurpur District Kangra, kept in the record room of Deputy Commissioner Kangra, 1917-18.

villagers have given the rights of grazing, Gujjars were taxed as 3 anna per buffalo.<sup>78</sup>

Similar rules were also established by the British Indian Government in the Jagir of Dada Siba where earlier Gujjars were enjoying unrestricted rights to pastures after giving *gasiana* (tax in the form of ghee) to the Raja of Dada Siba. Now after British annexation all the land was controlled by the British Government. In Siba no other grazing dues levied upon the Gujjars except *ghiana*. So Gujjars paid their grazing dues in the form of *ghee*.<sup>79</sup> Anderson mentions the quantity of *ghiana* (grazing tax) extracted in the year 1882 for a village Dadoa<sup>80</sup>:

3 Gujjars of Dadoa paid 3 ser *kachhaghee* per buffalo in full milk.

3 Gujjars of Dadoa paid 1 ½ ser *kachhaghee* per buffalo not in full milk,

3 Gujjars of Dadoa paid ¾ ser *kachhaghee* per cow in milk.

6 Girth of Gahe paid 2 ser and 1 ser per buffalo

6 Girth of Gahe paid 1 ser *kachhaghee* per cow

7 Thakur of Barnal paid 2 ser and 1 ser *kachha ghee* per buffalo

7 Thakur of Barnal paid 1 ser *kachhaghee* per cow.

Source: Anderson, A., *Report on the land revenue Settlement of the Siba Jagir in the Kangra District of Punjab, 1881-82*, Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1882, p. 19.

The above description clearly indicates that even while levying the tax for grazing, Gujjars were charged very high as compared to the other castes. Anderson mentions, “*Gahei* [ghiana] has been left at the sanctioned rates. The average is between Rs 700 and Rs 800; the demand including cesses is Rs 603. Under these circumstances I did not consider any increase requires.”<sup>81</sup> The price of the

78 Anderson, 1898, p.21.

79 Ibid.

80 Anderson, A., *Report on the land revenue Settlement of the Siba Jagir in the Kangra District of Punjab, 1881-82*, Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1882, p. 19.

81 Ibid, p. 8.

*ghee* at that time was not exactly clear. However, Lawrence (1895) comments on the value of *ghee* at Kashmir that, "Ghi used to sell at 4 seers per rupee. Now sells 3 or 2.5 seers."<sup>82</sup> Rose, writing around 1904, states that the price of *ghee* was 1.50 seers per rupee and milk 16 seers per rupee.<sup>83</sup> There seems a rise in the prices of *ghee* for the price of the *ghee* got risen up in 1904, which was 4 seers per rupees in 1895 (Jammu and Kashmir). However, an exact comparison is difficult to make here. For price quoted by Rose for the year 1904 were of Chamba region, while 1895 price quoted by Lawrence was of Jammu and Kashmir region. Nonetheless the above description clearly indicates that in some areas ongoing tax on Gujjars were continued and they were charged in the shape of *ghee* also.

In Siba *jagir* where Gujjars used to enjoy unrestricted rights on the forests skits were also restricted by the colonial Government. Rights of the Siba Raja were altered. Earlier those portion of the forests were used by the Siba Raja as *thak* (reserved for three months from August to November) and where Gujjars living in the mid of forests used their *swana* rights and grazed their cattle, now in that part of land grass of *Kher* was used to grow and in November that grass was auctioned to the villagers.<sup>84</sup> So the right of Gujjars to get special grazing grant in the *thak* of Raja was totally restricted in the Dada Siba Jagir of Kangra. And colonial Government started to auction the grass of the *thak* (Preserved by Raja) to the other communities. In *Wajib-ul Arz* of Bhanwal (a village of Dada Siba Jagir of Kangra District), it is mentioned that special rights were given to the one of Rasaloo Gaddi who used to come to this villages. It is elaborated in the *Wajib-ul Arz* that Rasloo Gaddi who used to come in this village will continually allowed coming. He can get pasture land on the tract of *Machkura Wala* (name of grazing tract) and will have to pay three Rupees and ninety *pasie* on hundred goat and two rupees and thirty four paise on hundred sheep. From this amount Raja of Dada Siba allowed to take two-fifth and

82 Lawrence, Walter Roper, *The Valley of Kashmir*, Jammu and Kashmir: Asian Educational Services, 1895, p. 245.

83 Rose, 1904, p. 232.

84 *Wajib-ul Arz* of *Mauza* Bhalwal, Tehsil Dehra, District Kangras, Record office of Deputy Commissioner Kangra, 1914.

remaining three fifth will be given to the government treasury.<sup>85</sup> Raja also used to take two goats and five woolen shawls from Gaddi in lieu of granting annual grazing rights.<sup>86</sup> This description clears that although the *sawana* Gujjars who were semi nomadic group of the region and used the special pasture land allowed by Raja to them after paying tax in the shape of *ghiana*, their rights were also restricted and on the other side Gaddis, nomadic group who came to the village in winter and use a specific tract for grazing after giving a grazing tax, were allowed to come. This was also one of the divisive policy of the British Government that both these tribal communities Gujjars and Gaddis never come together and be able to fight their customary right together.

In Una, which was earlier a part of Hoshiarpur district, hereditary rights of Gujjars were not recognized by the British Indian Government. Instead the British considered the occupation of Gujjars right over the grazing grounds.<sup>87</sup> But they were allowed to graze their cattle only in those forests which were not demarcated.<sup>88</sup> In those villages where waste land was occupied by British Indian Government as demarcated land, it was up to the villagers whether they allowed Gujjars to graze their cattle in their village or not. If villagers allowed them, they can take grazing dues from this pastoralist's tribe.<sup>89</sup> Thus Gujjars used to pay grazing tax in the waste (*shamlat*) land in the villages. From the *Wajib- ui arz* Mawa Sindhia village in Una Pargana of Hoshiarpur we find the rate of the grazing and selling of wood in the *shamlat* land was twenty five rupees which was considered high.<sup>90</sup> In this way not even in Kangra but also in Una they gave power to villagers to collect grazing tax from the pastoralists and create a gulf between the village community and pastoralists.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid.

87 Cunningham, F., *Gazzetter of Hoshiarpur District*, Lahore: Sang-e-meel publication, 1883, p.104.

88 Ibid.

89 *Wajib ul Arz*, Village Mawa Sindhia, Tehsil Amb, District Hoshiarpur, Record room Deputy Commissioner Una, 1846.

90 Ibid .

In Chamba, Gujjars used pasture grounds in the mountains known as *dhars*. British started taking *trini* (grazing tax) after auction of pasture land. Gujjars were allotted these *dhars* for grazing after taking *trini* on higher rate. Along with *trini* Gujjars also used to pay *patta chuggai* tax which was another tax for taking orders of grazing in *dhars*. Not only Gujjars had to pay these grazing dues but also they paid *langakar* i.e crossing tax. British Indian Government did not abolish any tax which was imposed since the time of Raja. As *Patta chuggai* and *langakar* tax were taken at the time of the Raja as well. It is clearly mentioned in the *Gazetteer of the Kangra* (1923-24) that these taxes continued to be imposed even in the period of the British Government also. Britishers imposed another tax in the form of *trini*, which was paid to the village community.<sup>91</sup> Thus even they imposed several taxes upon the Gujjars but also restricted their movement in the forests of the region.

Gujjars in Chamba earlier used to pay some tax for using the pasture lands adjoining the villages to the Raja. British started auction of *dhars* (pasture land) of the Chamba. To get these pasture lands they again had to pay grazing dues *trini* to the British Government.<sup>92</sup> Gujjars used to pay two *chaklis* per sheep or goat or buffalo (5 *chaklis* = 1 anna). Later the rates were revised and Gujjars were starting to charge one rupee one for milking buffalo and eight annas for barren buffalo. Thus Gujjars have to deal with different sets of grazing rules in Himachal Pradesh. They have to pay three fees annual- one for winter pasture (*dhars*), a second on migration (*Langakar* i.e crossing tax) and third for alpine summer grazing rights (*sawana* rights).<sup>93</sup>

Interestingly unrestricted grazing rights in the forests of Bilaspur, under the Raja of Bilaspur continued in all seasons for Gujjars where they could use the forest grazing tracts of Bilaspur,

91 *Wajib-ul Arz of Mauza Jaladi, Tehsil Hamirpur, District Kangra, Record office of Deputy Commissioner Hamirpur, 1910.*

92 *Ibid*, p. 278.

93 Anderson, A., *Report on the Forest settlement in Kangra Valley*, Lahore: Panjab Government Press, 1887, p. 16.

without any restriction.<sup>94</sup> However nomads (both Gujjars and Gaddis) from Bhushar state were restricted by the Raja of Bilaspur as he founds their entry as extra burden on his state's forest. But later on after the intervention of British Government they were again allowed in the grazing ground along the Satluj tract of Bilaspur tracts.<sup>95</sup> Even in the *Charand* (village pasture) of Bilaspur was used by Gujjars to graze their cattle freely.

In Kangra Gujjars paid *banwajiri* to the Raja for using forest skirts. *Ghiana* was another grazing tax imposed on Gujjars in Siba tehsil. In Una they used to pay to the local Government for grazing in the *shamlat* land and in Bilaspur they paid to Raja in the form of one he-goat. In Chamba they paid to the British Government which was based on *trini* after auction. In spite of these taxes, they were given specific migration route to move and required to move five miles per day. They were specified to stop for one night in any location.<sup>96</sup>

Thus different sets of taxes were imposed by the British Indian Government on the Gujjar community of the region. In Kangra and Una their hereditary rights were restricted by imposing several sets of rules on them. In Chamba different type of tax was levied on Gujjars. However in Bilaspur they used to pay tax in the shape of *ghee* and used to perform *beggar* (forced labour) for the Raja.

### *Pattah Notor* for Exploring Cultivated Land

In the pre-colonial period all landholders had their rights on their arable land through the *Pattah* or 'a deed of grant of the Rajah.'<sup>97</sup>

94 *Wajib ul-Arz Mauza* Bilaspur, Pargana Kot Khalour, Tehsil Bilaspur, District Shimla, 1908, Record Office of Deputy Commissioner, Bilaspur.

95 *Report on Forest Settlement Sutluj Valley Bushahr Part-I*, Lahore: Panjab Government Press, 1921, p.12

96 *Ibid.*

97 Lyall, J.B., *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Panjab*, 1867-72, Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1874, p. 18.



In fact *pattah notor* was the right to open new land to cultivation. This was the major adventure for expanding village population and for exploring any joint family with several sons. Lyall explains, "These *pattahs* were given not for villages or hamlets or blocks of country containing sufficient waste for grazing as well as arable land, but for certain specified fields or cultivable plots only; the name and area of the plot, as well as the rent at which it was to be held, are generally all to be found entered in the *pattah*."<sup>98</sup> The state had the *right to approve* meanings the state had the right to empower any person, "to break up and hold of it any plot of waste; no waste land could be broken up without a *pattanotor* deed of grant."<sup>99</sup> But it was kept in notice that the landholders of adjoining waste lands could not suffer and the land for their cattle "*Nikal dangra*" (place where cattle stand) or "*Sandh* or *Bisk* (place where cattle lie in the heat of the day) could not be allotted to any other person."<sup>100</sup> In the settlement of the Hills the first question to be decided by the British Government was about the status of the Raja and the people with respect to the land. Raja had the control on all the arable and barren land and on the other hand people got the right to cultivate by the Raja through *pattah* and at the adjoining land of their villages they had customary rights of grazing and to use for domestic needs.<sup>101</sup> Mr. O'Brian, the Settlement Officer at that time (1874), decided that the Raja was considered as superior proprietor or *talukdar* of all lands in his *jagir*, and the occupants were constituted as inferior proprietors of their own holdings and of the waste land comprised within their holdings.<sup>102</sup> In the early period these *pattahs* were granted in perpetuity for cultivation to that particular family. But after occupation of the Hills, Britishers started to revise these *pattas* and limited the rights only for five years, though in Guler, Raja (*jagirdar*) got the right of change the

98 Ibid, p. 18.

99 Ibid.

100 Ibid, p. 21.

101 Anderson, A., *Final Report of the revised settlement of Kangra Proper*, Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1897, p. 60.

102 Ibid.

cultivated land at any time through agreement in the *pattah*.<sup>103</sup> He used to change the *pattah* of one landholder to the other. This also changes the right of cultivation on a particular plot.

The British also kept continued with the system of granting *pattah* for clearing forest for extending the agriculture land. In *Report of Punjab Government Forest Commission* it is stated to extend the cultivated land or *notor* by giving permission to clear the forests in the region, "Notor is required in an emergency, e.g. when flood or storm or other natural disasters destroys the zamindar's water-mill or land on which his dwelling was situated. Sometimes it has been granted to Europeans."<sup>104</sup> In fact to raise the revenue grant not only villagers but pastoralists were also encouraged to clear the forests and make cultivation in that part. They encouraged villagers to get "*pattah notor*" (*Notor* means clearing forests to establish agricultural land) from British Government. Diack remarks, "Permission should be freely given to break up waste with due regard to the grazing rights of the people and the forest rights of the Government. And although the Government has a legal right to levy revenue at once on all such cultivation, it has waived its right to do so. The practice is to assess all newly broken land, after an exemption of three or more years, at the Circle rates, but the amount so assessed instead of being paid into the treasury is credited to the common fund of each kothi, to be expended on object which is for the good of the estates."<sup>105</sup> Rajas of Kangra and Una were not allowed to give *pattah notor* to any person without the prior permission of the Britishers. In Kangra region, Raja was not given any right to give the *pattahnotor* to any cultivator. If a person was interested to get the land for cultivation in Kangra, he will have to take the prior permission of British

103 Ibid.

104 Report of the Punjab Government Forest Commission 1937-38, Lahore: Superintendent Governance, Punjab, p .59.

105 Diack, A.H., *Final Report of settlement of Kulu Sub-Division*, Lahore: Government Press, p.20.

Government.<sup>106</sup> In Kangra after the introduction of tea plantation Europeans were given the *pattah* to clear the forests. Under British rule generally a *pata* was given to the grantee after taking the price of standing trees in that forest region.<sup>107</sup> At the time of cultivation revenue charges started from the first crop grown in that land. Raja (Jagirdar) of Dada Siba, which was under Tehsil Dehra, District Kangra allotted the permission to grant *pattah notor*. Raja of Dada Siba had control on five villages so he was only authorized to give permission of *notor* only in that five villages, but permission of British officers was mandatory.<sup>108</sup> All the trees which were on the village land of the Dada Siba were kept under the control of British Government.<sup>109</sup> In Dada Siba, Gujjars who were living in the forests skits affected much by these rules, as they were using these uncultivated lands for their pastures. Clearing forest land for making it cultivable land, affected the nomad as well as settled Gujjar community of the Hills, who were totally dependent on the forests for their survival.

Unlike the Una Raja of Bilaspur had the right to allow the *pattah-notor* to any community. In the second chapter a list of villages has been given which were established by Gujjars in colonial period by getting permission from the Raja and Raj was the prime holder of all the land of the village. In the *Wajib-ul Arz of Mauza Bassi* (1905), Pargana Kot Khalour, Tehsil Bilaspur we found that Raja still had the right of granting *patta-notor*. In Bilaspur, there are a number of villages where the prime settlers were Gujjars and the villages were established by the Gujjars themselves. *Sajra Nasib*, which contain the detailed records of the demography of the village along with details of the founder of the village, their castes, date of the foundation of a particular village, why a particular village was

106 *Wajib-ul Arz of Mauza Lodhava Tehsil Nurpur District Kangras*, 1914, Record office of Deputy Commissioner Kangra.

107 *Punjab District Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, Part A, *Kangra District*, 1924-25, Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing Press, 1926, p.309.

108 *Wajib-ul Arz of Mauza Bhalwal, Tehsil Dehra, District Kangras*, Record office of Deputy Commissioner Kangra, , 1914.

109 Ibid.

established and its revenue claims, throw a great deal of light on the nature of Gujjar settlements. In *Sajra Nasib* of Nilan reason of establishing the village was elaborated that earlier it was the area of forest near the *khad* Nila therefore named as Nilan. This description in the *Sajra Nasib* clearly indicates that the Gujjar settlement in Nilan was of the Colonial period. The clearance of forest land was only possible after getting permission from the Raja of the region, thus it clears that Raja of Bilaspur given this permission not to individual gujjar but to a tribal group, having same *gotra*, which is also explained in the *SajraNasibs*. I have collected the *Sajra Nasibs* of Gujjar prominent villages and in these *Sajra Nasibs* clan-wise information about the tribal settlement have been elaborated. *Sajra Nasib* of Mauza Palsid Pargan Kot Kehlour throws light on the huge settlements of Gujjars in Bilaspur Villages. In Bilaspur Gujjars shared cordial relationship with the rulers as well as with the royal families. So they enjoyed respect in this region. There were many villages where Gujjars were prime settlers. This also makes it clear that in Bilaspur Gujjars or pastoralist were allowed to settle down but in other parts of the region which was directly under the British control one was allowed to get the *pattah-notor*. I could not get any single instance of the establishment any new village in Kangra and Una (which were directly governed by the British). However waste land of Kangra and Una was used differently. In Kangra tea plantation was introduced in the waste land.

Thus in the pre-colonial period Raja used to keep a strong hold upon the wastes and no new fields could be farmed out of the waste without a *patta* or grant from the Raja. Trees, whether in forest or open waste, could not be felled, except with the Raja's permission. *Mafi* (land revenue free) and *Lahribassi* (waste land adjoining to the inhabitations of the village) land was also granted by the Raja to the people who do not have arable land. Grazing facilities on these parts of land were also used by the Gujjars. The artisans and other non-agricultural classes in villages held their *lahribassi*, or garden plots, from the Raja and in turn they were to pay a portion of their products and were bound to render services to him. They were not only bound to perform physical service, even regular landholders were all liable to push them to do service of some kind including

military or menial for them.<sup>110</sup> In pre-colonial time *pattah-notor* was granted to extend cultivated land, but this custom of hills was changed in colonial period. British Government had snatched this power from the Rajas of the Hills and they started to give the permission of *pattah-notor* for utilization the land for commercial purpose as the lad in Kangra starting using for tea plantation. Earlier by getting this facility Gujjars started to live in villages as evidently we found from the *SajraNasibs* of the villages of the Bilaspur. But after British annexation Gujjars were totally ignored in giving these permissions and the permissions were granted to the Europeans also (in Kangra). However in Bilaspur villages were established by Gujjars after clearing forests but simultaneously we got evidences that Gujjars used the pasture land of the Bilaspur region and grazing facilities were available them. In lieu of these facilities Gujjars were supposed to serve Raja of the area with milk, ghee and with other forest products.

In Kangra region Gujjars were denoted as *Sawana* Gujjars who had special privilege to get the grazing tracts in the region. Even in Una Gujjars rights on the forest skirts was admitted by Mr. Roe, the first settlement officer of the Una. Gujjars were considered as important aspect to the economy of the region. In Kangra Gujjars paid *banwajiri* to the Raja for using forest skirts. *Ghiana* (tax in the shape of *ghee*) was another grazing tax imposed on Gujjars in Siba tehsil. In Una they used to pay to the local Government for grazing in the *shamlat* land and in Bilaspur they paid to Raja in the form of one he-goat. Thus in the pre-colonial period there was enough land available for sustenance which could be used by the villagers as well as by the pastoralists of the areas.

110 Lyall, 1874, p. 40.

## CHAPTER 4

# Siwalik Erosion: Formation of *Chos / Khads* and Role of Gujjars



Erosion in the Siwalik range begins with the removal of the vegetable covering. There are two types of erosion: one is Gully erosion and another is Sheet Erosion. Both these kinds of erosion can be seen in Siwalik range. Gully erosion originates from the formation of small channels by water action. Water deepens the channels and “cut back into the hill-side.”<sup>1</sup> This type of erosion is most active in “heavy coherent soils, such as clays and marks.”<sup>2</sup> Sheet erosion is the second type of erosion and it forms with the “removal of soil particles by the flow of water over open surface rather than in channels.”<sup>3</sup> Sandy soil and sandy rocks are most reliable for this type of erosion. As already stated, soil of the Siwalik is reliable for erosion. Moreover Siwalik Hills are steep and soil is of friable nature. Due to scanty forest covering and heavy rainfall, degradation in the Hills accelerated and erosion started in the form of *chos* and *khads*.

*Chos/khads* are significant features of the Siwalik Hills or Outer Himalayas in Himachal Pradesh. They are known as *chos*

1 Hamilton, A.P.F., ‘Siwalik Erosion’ *Himalayan Journal*, Volume. 7, 1935, p. 95.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

in the Punjab plains and *khads* in the Hills of Himachal.<sup>4</sup> These are streams or torrents which flow through the Siwalik mountain ranges.<sup>5</sup> These *chos/khads* (torrents) “sweep down from the southern slopes of the Siwalik Hills during the monsoon” causing immense damage.<sup>6</sup> Spate, Learmonth and Farmer define the *chos* as seasonal streams which “caused flash floods in the rainy season.”<sup>7</sup> *Chos* originate from the hills and flow in “a comparatively narrow outlet, and rapidly widens as it make its way through the plain villages, until it breaks up into a number of separate branches.”<sup>8</sup> *Cho* turns into broad river of “sand with a shallow everlasting bed, and with banks which are unstable and always caused to wash away the fertilized land.”<sup>9</sup> Adds Spate, “The *chos* country is really an immense ‘pan-fan’, in which individual detrital cones are hardly perceptible while erosion is so violent that the *chos* are graded from two to four miles (3-6.4 km) back into the hills- a marked contrast to the usual torrent profile.”<sup>10</sup> The *chos* are the direct result of the deforestation of the Siwalik. Thus, the eroded ranges of the Siwalik resulted into the creation of enormous *chos*. Siwalik ranges between the Beas and Sutlej are sharper than towards the west and more deforested than to the east which was cause of frequent erosions in the region. The Siwalik track around Beas and Sutlej are formed by sand rocks, occasional clays, gravels and conglomerates, “an ideal lithology for gullying.”<sup>11</sup> Here, *chos* are “beds of round boulders and sand from conglomerates”, largely

4 Sharma, B.R, *Gazetteer of Punjab, Rupnagar*, Chandigarh: Revenue Department Punjab, 1987, p.6.

5 *The Punjab Land Preservation (Chos) Act*, 1900, p. 4.

6 Hamilton, 1935, p. 95.

7 Spate, O.H.K, A.T.A. Learmonth and B.H., Farmer, *India, Pakistan & Ceylon: The Regions*, London: B.I. Publication, 1954, p. 535.

8 Cunningham, F., *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur District*, Lahore: Sang-e-meel Publication, 1883, p. 3.

9 Hamilton, 1935, p. 95

10 Spate, 1954, p. 535.

11 Ibid.

caused by the erosion of the Siwalik.<sup>12</sup> In the hills it did not have any well-defined channel but when it enters into the plains “their course become distinct and their channel wide. After flowing for some distance ranging between 5 to 24 kms, each wide *cho* shrinks into narrow streams and finally disappears.”<sup>13</sup> The formation of *chos* is found in Una and Kangra districts only which were under the sway of Britishers and they exploited the forests of these hills, which resulted in the denudation of the Siwalik range.

*Chos* were first recognized by Melveill (1850) in his first settlement report of Hoshiarpur and he recommended that “towards the Satlej they at once entered deep beds flowed away without doing either harm or good.”<sup>14</sup> Clearly till 1850 these *chos* were not in their havoc position. But later on *chos* of the Hoshiarpur became a constant problem for the Britishers. These *chos* occupied hectares of fertilized land. In the *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur* (1883), we found evidently that *chos* had started to create destruction since 1852 and reclaimed approximately 29,410 acres fertilized land (see table infra). In the Hoshiarpur district, these *chos* caused immense damage in the form of enormous floods.<sup>15</sup> These *chos* gradually covered huge fertilized land. The land reclaimed from the *chos* was always of poor quality and mostly unfit for cultivation. It was noticed that the cultivated land of the area is reducing by the havoc of these *chos*. Coldstream (1883), the Deputy Commissioner of Hoshiarpur noticed that 35,000 acres land having revenue of at least at Rs 50,000 was covered with the sand by the *chos*.<sup>16</sup> Referring to 1882, Cunningham records that during this period

12 Shuttleworth, H.L., *Final Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Deraand Hamirpur Tehsils of the Kangra District, 1910-15*, Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, 1916, p. 2.

13 Sharma, 1987, p. 8.

14 Melveill, P.S., *Report of the Revised Settlement of the Oonah, Hushiarpur, Gurshunkur and Hurriana Purganahs of the Hushiarpur District*, Lahore: Punjab Press, 1860, p. 3.

15 Hamilton, A.P.F., *Siwalik Erosion*, 1935, p. 95.

16 Powell, Baden, B.H., *The “chos” of Hoshiarpur*, Selected Record of the Government of Punjab, Lahore: Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1879, p. 4.



in the Hoshiarpur district as much as 442 villages were affected by the *chos* in tehsil Hoshiarpur, 310 in Garhshankar, and 162 in Dasua. Approximately 30,000 acres of fertilize lands have been laid waste.<sup>17</sup> The rapid increase in *chos* in Hoshiarpur district caused the reclamation of the land by the denuded sand which resulted in the destruction of huge fertilizes lands.

TABLE 4.1

Year	Area in Acres
	29,410
1882	44,707

Source: *Punjab Gazetteer, Hoshiarpur District, 1883.*

The above figure clearly shows that as a result of *chos* over the period from 1852 to 1882 the destruction of cultivated/cultivable land was enormous crossing as high as 57 percent over due space of thirty years. Hamilton (1935) also provided the data of the destruction of fertilized land by the *chos*, which is comparatively higher side as provided in the *Gazetteer of the Hoshiarpur*. This may also be due to the reason that Hamilton had also taken the area of Jalandhar for this destruction. The information provided by Hamilton is below:

TABLE 4.2

Year	Area in Acres
1852	48,206
1884	80,057
1897	94,326

Source: Hamilton, A.P.F., *Siwalik Erosion, 1935, Himalayan Journal, Vol. 7 p. 95.*

Hamilton mentioned approximately 18,796 acres land higher as compared to *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur* (1883) for the year 1852.

17 F., Cunningham, *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur District, 1883, p. 3.*

And in the year 1884, he mentioned the damaged land approximately 35,350 acres higher as compared to *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur* (1883). The above figure clears that the fertilized areas was rapidly reduced and *chos* covered the huge tract of the land, resulted in converted that part in barren land. Till 1897 this havoc has covered almost 94,326 hector fertilized land.

These losses of the revenue attract the attention of the British Indian Government. Thus Badel Powell, conservator of Forest of Punjab, comes to inspect the affected area in 1877 and in his report (1879) about the *chos* he argues that, 'I have been unable to attain any geological information regarding them, but their characteristics may be described sufficiently for practical purpose' and mentioned that these *chos* are torrent of sand and stones.<sup>18</sup> *Chos* or the torrent of water generally filled with the sand and silt which was suspended from the hills and during the rainy season these sand and silt comes down with the velocity of water. Then these boulders, gravel and sand usually deposited below the hills. With the decreasing velocity of the steams these sand and silt deposited in the beds of the *chos* and when this stream entered the plains, it spreads out all this material in the fields.<sup>19</sup> This destruction was recorded so great that one may march "for miles and miles with nothing in view but mud-coloured crests and rugged slopes, rarely dotted with grayish and browsed-down bushes."<sup>20</sup> These *chos* (sandy-bedded torrents) flows from the ranges of the low hills (Siwalik Hills).<sup>21</sup> Even colonial reports admitted that these hills were well wooded in the past and *chos* were never at their record of land previously. The whole of this broad Sohan Valley, [from Swan River] of Jaswan Dhun, is affected by torrent action as stones being the chief feature rather than sand; and valley is cut up, not only

18 Powell, Baden, B.H, *The "chos" of Hoshiarpur*, Selected Record of the Government of Punjab, Lahore: Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1879, p.4

19 Glover, Harold, *Erosion in the Punjab its Cause and Cure*, Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Ltd., 1944, p. 17.

20 Powell, 1879, p. 11.

21 Ibid, p. 1.

by the torrents from the northern range, but also by those on the other side of the *Sohan* (Swan River) coming from the north-east slopes of the outer range.<sup>22</sup> The nature of these *chos* of Hoshiarpur never resemble to a torrent in their real sense. As torrent always falls in a fan shaped from the top of the Hills while *chos* generally turned in curves and extended in breadth.<sup>23</sup> These *chos* have very small fall from the Hills which was due to the extreme instability of the material of which the hill is composed. Thus these *chos* arose from the south slopes of Siwalik Hills due to the tendered formation of that hills which are so soft and easy to erode.

The Strata are, as a rule extremely soft; the consequence has been that the whole bed has been cut into by the rain; and as the pebbles beds naturally resisted longer than the sand, and as the sand has only in places (of this more hereafter) been hardened or compared, there is every conceivable variety of fantastic shape communicated to the hills throughout.<sup>24</sup>

Erosion in the form of *chos* is not merely the action of the water but the wind also plays a role in this erosion. As if it is only water action the sand would be deposited and the water absorbed, and the danger would be very great from the constantly increasing supply of sand; but wind blows the dry sand burying fertile lands and raising great mounds of dry sterile sand, continually encroach the fertilized land of the area.<sup>25</sup> The hills of Siwalik are of sand formation, and constantly contributing to silt up the shallow beds of torrent until the water overflows them making a lower level on it. The sand is usually drifted by the high winds which travel with great velocity, churning up and carrying heavy loads of sand patches. When these winds comes into the contact of the cool

22 Ibid, p. 4.

23 Baden Powell compares the nature of torrent from Surel's "Torrent of Alps" and found that these *chos* are quite different from real torrents.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid, p.19.

weather of hills their velocity decreases and they descend down depositing loaded sand on the fertilized land.<sup>26</sup>

### Stages of Chos

*Chos* which flows in Siwalik region “composed of friable sandstone and largely denuded of tree growth” always brings destruction in the monsoons. It took several years for these *chos/khads* to take present form. Douie describes the three stages of the *chos*, in the *first* stage these *chos* are formed as streams in the hills with a well-defined “boulder-strewn bed, which is never dry.”<sup>27</sup> In the *second* stage in the plains, these *chos* expand into a wide range of sand and stones, having only a thread of water passing through it which in the rainy season swells from bank to bank and the water spill far and wide over the fields. In this state *chos* are often beneficial as well as destructive. In the third stage, only *chos* beds leave behind huge residues. This is the state when all the sand has been dropped (by the *Cho*), and the bed shrinks into a narrow ditch-like channel with steep clay banks. At this time at certain points, *chos* bed carrying sticky clay particles convert the soil into stiff clay, where flood water generally remains for weeks without being absorbed into the soil thus helps in the creation of huge water pits, which are locally called *toba* (*tobba*). The generated water thus becomes a great source of water for the villagers.<sup>28</sup> *Tobba* in local language is a pond which contained water. Baden Powell also, laments that the water thus got stagnated into these *tobbas* were frequently used by the villagers for drinking and were cause of disease among the people in the region.<sup>29</sup> Even Gujjar settlement along the *chos/khads* is also due to the reason that these *tobbas* were used as water

26 Powell, B., H. Baden, *Economic Products of the Punjab*, Roorkee: Tomasan Engineering College, 1868, p. 139.

27 Douie, James, *The Panjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir: Provincial Geography of India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916, p. 48.

28 *Ibid*, p. 48.

29 Powell, Baden, *The “chos” of Hoshiarpur*, 1879, p. 6.

sources for the cattle of Gujjars. These *tobbas* are still used as water source by the buffaloes of Gujjars. (See picture infra) These *tobbas* were formed by the stuffy clay of the Siwalik range and during my field surveys in this region I noticed that the native people of the Hills used to make these *tobbas* in their villages to preserve the rain water. These *tobbas* were also useful in the protection of the erosion of Siwalik range. *Tobbas* used to dig in a way that it could preserve water and it had mud walls and thus helped to preserve water. These *tobbas* are useful like ponds having water. By preserving water villagers fulfill their requirement of water and it is also useful in protecting the soil erosion as eroded soil falls in these *tobbas* along with the water which later on cleaned by villagers for preserving rain water and with that stuffy clay they make the walls.

Baden Powell also explains three stages of formation of the *chos*. The first one is when; mountain slopes were cut down by the heavy rain and scrapped in the mountains can be clearly evidenced then. This stage is still continuing and even at present time, we clearly found scrap in the Siwalik. (Picture infra) In second stage, it carried down by the rain water and all that eroded debris accumulated at a place. In the third stage as per Baden Powell's version of formation of *chos*, rain water flows towards the main line of the *chos* carried sand and mud from the surface of the Hill. Thus all this material of surface by abrasion carried away with rain water and disbursed all that material of sand and stone in the plain fertilized lands. This makes that land barren as the soil of the mountain which is cut down by the ravine or the torrent contains stones and masses of the rocks.<sup>30</sup> About the further furious condition of the *chos* Baden Powell remarks.

The disturbance one started in the upper slopes of mountain ranges, augments with the accumulated force obtained by the angle of descent, and thus it happens, that small streams uniting form large torrents, which increasing in power as they flow down, influence the condition of the soil in the valleys, not only by erosion and by

30 Powell, Baden, 'Note on the Demarcation of the Forests area in the districts containing Hill or Mountain Ranges', in *The Indian Forester*, January 1877, Vol 11 No.3, 1877, p. 241.

depositing beds of stones and even large masses of rock, but also by causing the streams to be suddenly flooded without notice, and thus causing a great rising of other streams which receive their contents, the effect of which are felt far down into plains, and even to the mouths of the rivers, where vast alluvial bars are formed, seriously impeding navigation.<sup>31</sup>

*Chos* originated from slopes of Siwalik. In fact these *chos* were in the very beginning water sources at the down of the hills. With the destruction of the forests, erosion in the ranges of Siwalik started which torn over into fast streams with no water. These streams are filled with sand and stones which comes down from the hills after erosion and spread in to the plain area and covered all the fertilized land. This happened not in a single day or time. It took several years to form these *chos/khads*. This is the reason that in first settlement of Melveill (1850) we don't find any negative damaged form of these *khads* and Melveill did not give any worst remarks about the formation of these *khads*. He evidenced the first stage of the *chos* in which it brings fossil soil of Siwalik without sand and stones which at its first stage was really benefitted for the villagers as it removes the barrenness of the fields and brings fertility. The worst position of the erosion might have started in second and third stage. About the origin of these *chos* Montgomery (1879) argues that these *chos* rises far up in the Hills below the watershed.<sup>32</sup> Hamilton argues that there are reliable evidence to prove that these *chos* about 100 years ago were perennial streams originates from hills, which were generally used for irrigation. But later on due to destruction in Siwalik range they only became the cause of floods and remained dry throughout year. It is quite clear that initially these *chos* were small water bodies which later on took the form of hilly torrent filled with sand and stone, having a thread of water in it. In fact all these *chos* originates below the watershed of water bodies and then with the flow of heavy floods and erosion

31 Ibid, p. 240.

32 Montgomery, J.A.L., *Final Report of Revised Settlement, Hoshiarpur District 1879-84*, Calcutta: Calcutta Central Press, 1885, p. 79.

in Siwalik range the water shed becomes a narrow outlet. Later on it widens on its way through the plains and then breaks up into a number of branches.<sup>33</sup> These *chos* leaves that watershed in rainy season with the flood of water and takes “a comparatively narrow outlet, and rapidly widens.”<sup>34</sup> Starting from a very narrow outlet by the process of erosion in the form of sand and stones it widens and slowly covered all the fertilized plain land. Montgomery remarks that after reaching in the plain villages “it breaks up into a number of separate branches.”<sup>35</sup> Native people addressed different part of the *chos* in their own language. But generally local people admitted that the beginning of the *chos* is from the *katora* (bowl) which directly indicated the water sources of the Siwalik range in the form of water bodies. In Siwalik region *para* in local language is a small ravine and several *paras* drain into a *tota* which is a slope of *para*. Several *tota* falls in a *chos*. Then several *chos* falls in a main *khad* or *cho*. A *panga* is the top part of the slopes of a *cho*. Each *tota* and *chos* has a separate name.<sup>36</sup> *Karala* is the soft sandstone of the Siwalik and *sahl* the hard kind.



EROSION IN SIWALIK

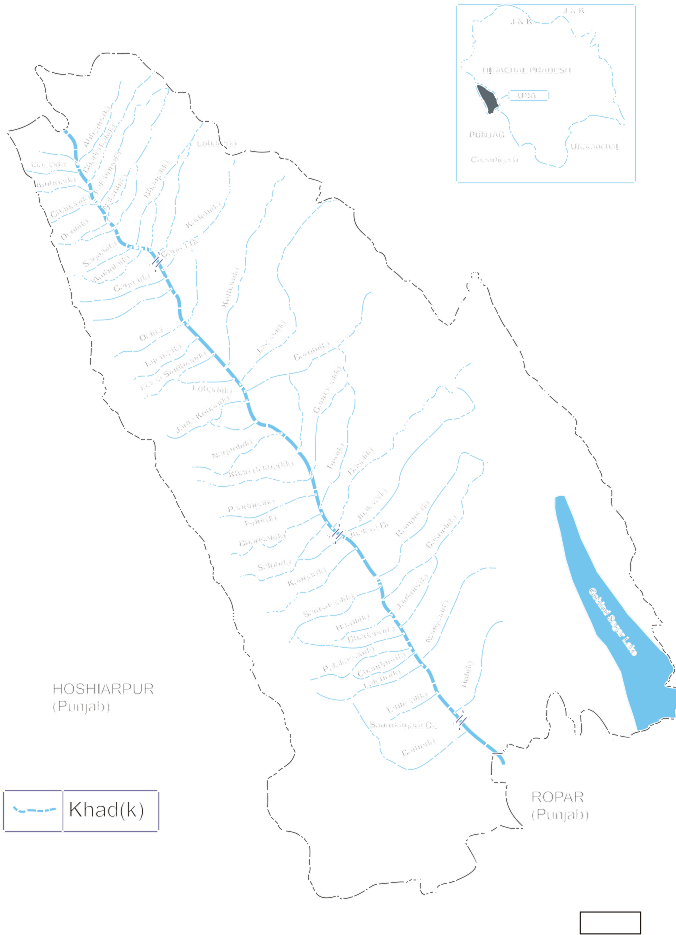
33 *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur*, 1904, p. 3.

34 *Ibid.*

35 *Ibid.*

36 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

## KHADS IN UNA DISTRICT HIMACHAL PRADESH



### Impact of the Chos

Initially *chos* bring fertility to the soil but in the long run its sand deposits taken among the fertile soil and leave behind barren tracts. We did not find any alarming situation in the first settlement report of Hoshiarpur [Una tehsil]. However Melveill, settlement



officer of Hoshiarpur (1850) mentions that “the hill torrent cut deep beds from themselves, and flow away without doing either good or harm, and water is far from the surface.”<sup>37</sup> Sometimes villagers considered that the action of streams or *chos* in bringing down soil into the plain is beneficial as the fossil soil of Siwalik covers the barren land of the villages. Douie also records that erosion sometimes is beneficial also, because it brings ‘silt as well as sand and spread over the country on its banks which is useful for the farmers as compared to the stiff clay.’<sup>38</sup> The instance was from the Dera Ismail Khan, where quality is annually improved by the descent of finely mud from the hills of the Suleman series.<sup>39</sup> But the benefit of the village is very little as sand damaged the fertility of the land, thus Powell remarks:

therefore though it is true that many villages owe their fertility to the *chos*, it is still none the less true that their action in the end is almost wholly detrimental. Many villages continue to benefit by *chos* in this way for many years, some have done so far 40 or 50; but the eventual loss is almost certain, unless the course of the *chos* is changed higher up; and once destroyed it may be taken as an accepted fact that the land will never entirely recover its original fertility. The people have a saying that a *cho* is gold in front and brass behind; which aptly expresses the effect of one of these sand torrents.<sup>40</sup>

The fertilized land was then gradually destroyed by sand, which spread over the fields.<sup>41</sup> In 1879, F. Cunningham, while commenting on the impact of *Chos* in the Hoshiarpur region (1870-74) explains, “For several years before the sand of a *chos* reached in a village, and the enriched by a deposit of extraordinary fertility, composed

37 Melveill, P.S., *Report of the Revised Settlement of the Oonah, Hushiarpur, Gurshunkur and Hurriana Purganahs of the Hushiarpur District*, Lahore: Punjab Press, 1860, p. 3.

38 Douie, James, *The Panjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir: Provincial Geography of India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916, p. 48.

39 Powell, 1877, p.242.

40 Powell, *The “chos” of Hoshiarpur*, 1879, p.3

41 Ibid, p. 3.

partly of clayey particles washed down from the hills but mainly of the debris of good lands destroyed in villages higher up the course of the torrent.”<sup>42</sup> The impact of *chos* can clearly be verified from the Montgomery’s statement, “It is a serious matter that some 30,000 acre of good land should have been laid waste in the last 30 years for it must be remembered that the tract through which the *chols* pass is most fertile and almost every available acre has long ago been cultivated.”<sup>43</sup> Before the formation of these *chos/khads*, the adjoining plains of Siwalik were fertilized lands and when the water bodies at the upper hills filled with mud and sand, it started to erode from the Siwalik Hills, and flow down in the plains. These mud in the early stage of the *chos*, bring back the fertility of the barren land of the area by spreading mud of Siwalik full of fossils.



*TOBBA* (WATER SOURCE IN *KHADS*) AS STATED BY DOUIE

But later, sand and stones come down with the rainy water and when these sand and stones covered the land, it totally destructed

42 F.Cunningham, *Gazetter of Hoshiarpur District*, 1883, p. 3.

43 Montgomery, 1885, p. 18.

the fertility of the cultivated land of the region. So these *chos* brought destruction and use to sweep away men and cattle.

*Chos* not only caused the havoc of the floods during the rainy season but they are also considered as the prime cause behind the drought in the region. Siwalik forests consists of trees, bushes, shrubs, herbs and grasses which are helpful in making the ecological balance in the region. These all are acting and reacting on one another to form one composite association of plants.<sup>44</sup> The leaves, branches and bushes of the trees spread like the carpet of plants on the earth. They used to break the force of the falling rain; thus “humus formed by the decay of fallen leaves and plants soaks up the rainwater like a sponge which, when saturated, lets the rainwater percolate into the soil to emerge weeks later in the springs which feed the brooks and tributaries of the rivers, and raise the level of the water in wells.”<sup>45</sup> In this way plants and shrubs of Siwalik helps in rain fall and maintaining water level in the region. But due to deforestation erosion started and instead of leaves and bushes sand spread on the earth.



KHADS OF SIWALIK RANGE

44 Glover Harold, *Erosion in the Punjab its Cause and Cure*, Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Ltd., 1944, p. 8.

45 Ibid.

Sand does not allow evaporating water and this reduced the water level in the wells and affects the rain fall in the area. There can be little doubt that as a result of deforestation the flow of water from the Siwalik by underground percolation into this zone has been seriously interrupted. Again, since the flow of water in the *cho* beds is confined to very short periods when the floods come down, little water is able to percolation and its effect would be felt more in the upper strata where the walls draw their supply.<sup>46</sup> Sand, which comes down from the erosion of the Siwalik, soaked all the water and from sand, water hardly evaporated which later on became the cause of drought. However, forests are helpful in creating the rains and similarly scarcities of the forests are also the major cause of drought in the region. Baden Powell also explains that the denudation in mountains can become the cause of drought and that affected area receives very less rain Powell remarks, "Negatively we know that drought results from denudation but we do not know positively, that we can induce rain-fall by the creation of forests."<sup>47</sup> This suggestion of Powell was to extend more forests in Siwalik region, which is also need of the hour for the protection of this range. Even Hamilton argues that erosion in Siwalik is due to the deforestation and forests helps to make rain circle and insisted upon creating forests in the area.

The impact of *chos/khads* has also been elaborated in the *wajib-ul arz* (the village documents). These village records clearly indicate that state was aware about the impact of *chos* in the cultivated land. For this state had clearly spelled out the rules. The *wajib-ul arz* of the village Mawa Sindhia (Gujjar prominent village of the Una district), records that village was frequently faced with floods caused by swallowing up the Swan river or *Kuthera khad* or *Mawa khad*. In such a situation if the cultivated land got either eroded (*burad*) leaving the soil unfit for cultivation, then the loss shall have to be borne by the owner (of that land). On the other

46 Hemilton, 1935, p.6

47 Powell, B., 'Note on the Demarcation of the Forest area in District containing Hill or Mountain Ranges', published in *The Indian Forester*, Vol II, January 1877, pp. 239-261.

hand, if the land got reclaimed (*buramad*) than the profit was also left with the owner (of the land). But if the land involved in the process (*burd* or *buramad*) is *Shamlat* (community) land then the entire village had to share the loss and profit.<sup>48</sup> This description shows the importance of *khad* in the area. The *wajib-ul arz* of the Bilaspur district, which was under the jurisdiction of the Raja of Bilaspur (as the Raja was allotted *sannads* to rule the territory), specific rules were laid out. In case the land of the cultivator would be eroded (*burd*) as a result of flooding caused by the *khad* then the damage in the form of compensation was granted at the written request of the owner of the land.<sup>49</sup> However, in case of 'severe' destruction such provision was made, in case of minor damage no such compensation was granted. It is interesting while the territories under the jurisdiction of Raja recovers compensations from the cultivators, the directly Governed British territories (Una tehsil of Hoshiarpur) were provided with no such relief.

### Current Morphology of the Chos in Himachal Pradesh

In Himachal Pradesh, *chos* are largely in Bilaspur, Kangra, Solan, Sirmour and Una districts. These seasonal streams are particularly specific to Una, Bilaspur and Kangra district of the Himachal Pradesh and Ropar district of the state of Punjab. Each *cho* is named after some large settlement situated along its course. In Una district, there are approximately 73 *khads/chos* known as tributaries of Swan River.<sup>50</sup> Some *khads* are seasonal, while others are

48 *Wajib-ul Arz of Village Mawa Sindhia*, Tehsil Una District Hoshiarpur, year 1914.

49 *Wajib-Ul Arz of Mauza Bilaspur, Pargana Bilaspur*, Tehsil Bilaspur, District Shimla.

50 *Report of the Swan River Flood Management Project Una District*, Irrigation and Public Health Department, Himachal Pradesh Government, 2005, p. 122-134. The name of the khads are Chalet Khad, Mawa khad, Ambota khad, Garni khad-II, Garni khad-I, Deoli khad,-I Deoli khad-II, sagnai khad-II, Sagnai khad-I, Ambota khad Gagret khad, Badoh khad, Oel khad, tatehra khad, Mawa Sindhia khad, Mawa Kuthera Jaswalan khad, Kuthera jaswal Khad, Loharli khad, Jadla khad, Nagnoli

perennial. These *khads* creates havoc and brings great destruction in the monsoon season by raising the volume of the river water enormously. On account of the havoc created by the severity of these *khads* Swan River is called *sorrow of Una district*. The destruction caused by these *khads* still continues unabated. Now, the Government of the Himachal Pradesh has decided to channelize all these *khads* by connecting them to Swan River under 'Swan River Flood Management Project'.<sup>51</sup> For the protection from the havoc of these *khads* the state and Central Governments is going to spent 983 crore rupees to make embankment along these *khads*. In Kangra district also *khads* often cause heavy floods in the Beas river in the monsoons.<sup>52</sup> However, the *khads* in Sirmour, Solan, and Bilaspur districts are not as sensitive and critical as those of Una district.

The destruction by these *khads* not only remained a problematical for the British Indian Government but it is also attracting the attention of post independent Government. State of Himachal Pradesh had already spent approximately 922 crores rupees to channelize these *khads* under the Department of Swan River Flood Management Integrating Project. Now almost all 73 *khads* of Una have been channelized and the other 43 *khads* of Bilaspur and Kangra are yet to be taken in hand by Government of Himachal Pradesh. Central Government is giving ads to the state

khad, Panjawaar khad, Pandoga khad, Ispur khad, Bhadsali khad, Saloh khad, Kangar Badehra khad, Dhrampur khad, sansowan khad, Haroli khad, Bhadouli khad, Palkwah -I, Kungrath khad, Lalehra khad, sam-rat khad, Ajar khad, Brampur Khad, fatehpur Khad, Gondpur khad, Kuneran khad, Sunkali Khad, Mubarikpur khad-II, Mubarikpur khad-I, karlui khad, Jaswan khad, Garni khad, Bhaira khad, Dhusara Khad, Turi khad, basal Khad, rainsari khad, Lal Singhi Khad.

51 Ibid, p. 122-134.

52 Shuttleworth, H.L., *Final Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Dera and Hamirpur Tehsils of the Kangra District, 1910-15*, Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazetteer Press, p.2.

Government in taking up these issues and Central Government approved the funds to take up the projects in hand.<sup>53</sup>

### Gujjars and the *Chos*

Gujjars, who were largely cattle bearers were considered and generally blamed for the erosion of the forests in the Siwalik ranges, which in turn was the major factor behind the creation of the *chos*. Gujjars used to wander in search of pastures from hills to hills. Montgomery, as settlement officer in Hoshiarpur district in 1870-1874, blames Gujjars for Siwalik destruction.<sup>54</sup> He comments, "Number of goats are kept in the hills by Gujjars and they, more than anything else, are responsible for the denudation of the Siwalik range."<sup>55</sup> The tradition of using the forest by the Gujjars for grazing was an age-old process. Even prior to the British occupation of the hills, local chiefs/Rajas used to grant permission to the Gujjars to appropriate lands for cultivation, cutting woods, and grass, and also for grazing cattle in the forests particularly of chil, scrub, and bamboo tree which were abundant in these forests. The permission to use the forests was generally granted by the Rajas in lieu of a fixed payment known as *Ban wajiri*.<sup>56</sup> Cunningham blames that on account of grazing rights of Gujjars 'the grazing area in the hills denuded of grass and vegetation.'<sup>57</sup> In the settlement report of Ambala ((1915) which was also under the grip of the havoc of *chos*, Whitehead blamed Gujjars for denudation of Siwalik Range. He comments, "This was plainly the effect of the increasing denudation of the Siwalik Hills which possibly received its first considerable impulse when the Gujjar inhabitants were converted to Islam. The Hindu burns cow-dung and venerates trees

53 Project report of *Swan River Flood Management Programme*, under Irrigation and Public Health Department Himachal Pradesh.

54 Cunningham, *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur District*, 1883, Lahore: Sang-e-meel publication, p.106.

55 Montgomery, 1879, p. 92.

56 Shuttleworth, 1916, p.26.

57 Cunningham, *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur District*, 1883, p.106.

while the Muhammadan uses wood fuel. After 1841 with the rapid operating up of the country and the constantly increasing demand for wood and fuel the destruction of tree and plant growth became progressively speedier and more thorough.”<sup>58</sup> These allegations are totally baseless as the Hindu and Muslim description of Gujjars did not have any concern with the erosion. It clears that while the erosion in Siwalik was due to deforestation, but Britishers blamed only Gujjars for this erosion.

Baden Powell<sup>59</sup> and Stebbing<sup>60</sup> were totally against the forest rights of Gujjars which were only given in the name of *swanadar*. Gujjars being a pastoralist tribe used to graze in the ranges of the outer hills and thus clearly blamed by Stebbing for erosion in the Siwalik range. Stebbing remarks that due to the hereditary grazing rights of Gaddis for their goats and of the Gujjars for their buffaloes in the village common grazing grounds, denudation and erosion in the Siwalik region was reached at its last stages.<sup>61</sup> He mentions that in the forests of Punjab, “The exercise of rights and privileges, including grazing, had been provided for in the Forest settlements which recognized that the local villagers had first call on the produce of the forests.”<sup>62</sup> He blamed that due to over grazing and existence of heavy rights bore in the area forests suffered severely. This is the reason that the Siwalik range was in its last stage of denudation.<sup>63</sup> Stebbing blamed, Gujjars as well as villagers who used to graze their animals in village waste, for erosion in the Siwalik range. He mentions that, “Hill Villages had been accustomed to graze their flocks at will over the village ‘waste’ and resented regulations that restraint their freedom of movement.

58 Whitehead, R.B., *Final Report of the Second revised Settlement 1915-20*, Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, Punjab, 1920, p.6.

59 Powell, Henry Baden, *A Manual of Forest Law, 1841-1901*, Delhi: Biotech Books, 2007 (1997), p.130.

60 Stebbing, E.P., H.G. Champion, and F.C. Osmaston, *The Forests of India*, Vol. 4., Delhi: Asiatic Publishing House, 2010 [1925], p. 368.

61 Ibid, p. 369.

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid.



Nor did they see the reason for restraint when the damage resulting from erosion of the soil did not affect them so much as their neighbour in Plain.<sup>64</sup> He considered that villagers and graziers caused the erosion in the Siwalik range and villagers were not serious about the denudation condition of the forests as the impact of erosion is much more on the villages of the plains than on the villages of the Hills. It's true that erosion had great impact on the villages of the plain as it reclaimed hectares of fertilized land, but the argument that Hill villages were not suffered is quite arbitrary as in the *wajib-ul arzs* of the hill villages we found detailed description about the condition of land (burd or bramad) and compensation made by the Governing authorities. In fact, erosion in Siwalik affected all that area which falls along these hills.

Hamilton (1935) studied this area very minutely, and in his work on *Siwalik Erosion* he argues that till the Mughal period the forests of the Punjab region were protected from the soil erosion and the *chos* were not as alarming as they assumed to become<sup>65</sup> during the colonial period. Hamilton's explanation in this regard is quite appropriate as evidently that Mughal rulers never intervene in the forest policies of the Rajas of the Hills and Hill Rajas never allowed the destruction of the forests for commercial utilizations. However Hamilton remarks that during the time of Ranjit Singh's rule, when the *jagirs* were granted to the Rajputs and the other chiefs in the plains, this forced the peasants, for want of sufficient lands for cultivation, to use the forest lands for grazing cattle and cutting and selling woods for livelihood, and later on became a major cause of deforestation and erosion of the Siwalik Hills.<sup>66</sup> The situation became more precarious in mid-19th century with the allotment of the forest lands to a number of petty landlords resulting in huge deforestation of the area.<sup>67</sup> Glover (1944) gives a

64 Ibid.

65 Hamilton, 1935, p. 7.

66 Hamilton, 1935, p. 6

67 Mr. Moir (1884) also express the same view that the destruction was started by 'the ijaradars whose tenure was temporary and more precarious, were probably less careful and denudation began' (*Gazetteer of*

detailed description about the erosion in the Hills of Punjab (now Himachal Pradesh) in his work *Erosion in the Punjab its Cause and Cure* and mentions four major reasons for the erosion in Siwalik range, which are given below.

1. Dense population who cleared the forests for shifting cultivation
2. Faulty methods of cultivation
3. Grazing rights: shepherds grazing right (Gaddi), professional herder men's right, (Gujjars) and looping of trees
4. Farmer's domestic animals and their grazing in the forests<sup>68</sup>

Hamilton and Glover did not put a single allegation on the colonial forest utilization policies and the ruthless cutting of the Siwalik wood for the commercial utilization. Glover blamed buffaloes of the Gujjar, "The heavy buffaloes churn up the damp earth with their hooves and do much damage this manner in addition to the harm they do by grazing."<sup>69</sup> Even the reasons explained by Glover were contradictory as *pattah notor* (clearing forests for cultivation) was appreciated by the colonial Government and villagers were promoted to get the *pattah* for clearing forests. It was the appropriation of the British Indian Government to bring more land under cultivation so that it could increase the land revenue of the Government. That's why they encouraged the herdsmen to get settled instead of their nomadic culture and generally prohibited to graze in the village waste land. Hamilton justified this point of restricting the movement of the Gujjars in the village and argues that this strict prohibition of allowing Gujjars to graze in waste land of villages will encourage Gujjars to lead a settled life instead of a nomadic lifestyle and it will also make "more land becomes for cultivation, the herdsmen who are often tenants, will tend to give up their pastoral habits."<sup>70</sup> Village settlement in the colonial

*Hoshiarpur* 1904, p. 6)

68 Glover Harold, *Erosion in the Punjab its Cause and Cure*, Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Ltd., 1944, pp. 14-15.

69 Glover, 1944, p. 87.

70 Hamilton, 1935, p. 6.

period, after clearing the forest land showed evidence from the *Sajra Nasibs*<sup>71</sup> of the Bilaspur and Sirmour districts clearly indicates the motive of the British Government. *Sajra Nasib* of Nilla village in Bilaspur evidently explained that British promoted the native people to clear the forest and established the village. As in the *Sajra Nasib*, it is written that village was established during the British period and on the banks of *Nilla khad* villagers cleared the forests and established *Nilla* village. Thus Glover (1944) in his detailed report did not mention even a single allegation on the ruthless cutting of the trees. However from the report of Cleghorn, (1864) we got evidenced that the colonial Government was getting huge benefits from the Siwalik forests after selling the trees. (see infra table) Thus the colonial Government pretended that the destruction in Siwalik range was due to the over grazing in the village waste land and adjoining hill pastures.

Gujjars were considered by the Britishers as a notable tribe in the Hills who could help them to extract knowledge of deep forests. However, they had to pay high grazing tax; which also increased the income of British. Nonetheless, here they never intervene directly in the movement of Gujjars. But they promote the villagers to take strict action against this pastoralist tribe. Gujjars were also well known for the supply of milk in the region. Earlier, villagers welcomed Gujjars in their village and allowed them to use the adjoining waste land of the village. The British Indian Government provoked the villagers to stop the graziers to come in to their village. In the *wajib- ul arz* of Mauza *Lodawa* Tehsil Nurpur district Kangra, it is stated that villagers did not allow Gujjars to graze in their land but then villagers were granted the right of taking grazing tax, *trini* from the Gujjars by the British Government. Thus by providing these rights to the villagers, Britishers drew a divisive line in between the village community and the nomadic community of the region. Even Glover (1944) blamed Gujjars for not caring about the local community and puts allegations that inspite of having so many buffaloes there was general shortage of milk in the area which was so because Gujjars

71 *Sajra Nasib* of Village Nila in Bilaspur District.

used to make *ghi* from the milk and thus the people were generally undernourished and had deficiency diseases.<sup>72</sup> It is clearly evident that the colonial Government wanted to reduce the importance of this tribe who was the prime supplier of the milk in the area. Glover intentionally blamed the Gujjars that they, for their commercial benefits started selling *ghi* instead of milk. However from the *wajib ul arz* of Bilaspur state, we found the information that Gujjars used to indulge in *begar* and sold milk and milk products to the Raja as well as to the local people.<sup>73</sup>

Siwalik was the area where since 5th to 6th centuries Gujjars began migrating to and even settled down here. Being a cattle-rearing tribe, they used to move towards the pasture land and Siwalik is rich in pasture grounds. Grazing can never be the reasons of denudation of this range. There are other major reasons for the erosion of this range which also makes the area highly sensitive. The British established their sway over the Hill States by 1846. By that time, the British Government introduced Railway in Northern India. Transporting cost of woods from Bombay to the north was very expensive, thus to construct the railway in north India railway contractors move towards timber resources of outer Himalayan range which were available in these Hills<sup>74</sup>. Railways required not only sleepers but also fuel and timber for carriage and wagons. In areas which were distant from the source of coal, railways mainly used wood as fuel. Siwalik region was easily approachable through the road side to the plain area. Thus the first priority of the new government was to “stabilize and extend agriculture; second was to exploit and sustain the mountain forests.”<sup>75</sup> Although the Rajas of the Hills received *Sannads* by the British Government to rule independently, yet forests always remained in the charge of the British

72 Glover Harold, p. 88.

73 *Wajib-ul Arz, Mauza Palsid, Tehsil Bilaspur, Record Room of Deputy Commissioner, Bilaspur, 1914.*

74 Tucker, Richard, *A Forest History of India*, New York: Sage Publication, 2011, p. 117.

75 Barnes, George Carnac, *Report on the Settlement in the District of Kangra*, Lahore: Hope Press, 1862, p. 20.

Government. British justified their point of keeping the forests under their jurisdiction. While explaining about the importance of forest management in the Hills, Baden Powell writes: <sup>76</sup>

Forests have two great purpose:-First, they yield timber and other produce; secondly, they occupy a certain place in the organization of nature; and just as it is impossible to neglect certain conditions regarding circulation of atmosphere, drainage and cleanliness in the organization of towns and cities, so is it impossible to neglect the use of forests in the organization of our hill districts, without the certainty of danger.

To take over the management of forests of the Hills in the hands of the British Government, it was justified by colonial officers that the forests helps to manage the air and soil of the region, so proper care of the forests are required. The point to ponder here is that while explaining the importance of forests British Forest Conserver never recognized the rights of the forest dwellers like Gujjars and Gaddis, who solely depend upon forests for their survival. Even the interests of the villagers were totally ignored in the name of proper management of forests. Thus, to have a clear picture it's required to discuss all patterns of forests occupation by the colonial Government.

### Accession of Forest through Forest Acts

Before the British annexation of the region Gujjars had easy access in the forests to use the forest products as per their requirement and also use the pasture land for their cattle. But during the colonial period commercial use of forests increased therefore more and more restrictions were imposed on the Gujjars in the name of catchment plan to rescue the Siwalik Hills. To fulfill the requirement of building material in the towns of Punjab and preparing sleepers for the railways, demand of timber increased. The timber for that requirement was supplied through the Siwalik range.

<sup>76</sup> Powell, Baden, 'Note on the Demarcation of the Forest area in District containing Hill or Mountain Ranges', published in *The Indian Forester*, Vol II, January 1877, pp. 239-261.

British Government first introduced the contractors to meet the demand of timber, but uncontrolled cutting of forests by these contractors raised the issue of forest management. While managing the forest issue of the native states, Britishers blamed chiefs of the state for ruthless destruction of the forests. It has been (*Gazetteer of Simla*) so elaborated, "At that time [1882] the chiefs of the State had no idea that forests were estates which required a proper and conservative management; they looked upon them as the gifts of nature, which could be used or abused to any extent without being harmed; and they did not contemplate the possibility of the forests gradually disappearing under excessive use. The high prices to be obtained for deodar timber, both in Simla and in the plains offered to those Chiefs who possessed forests of that species an easy way of raising money..."<sup>77</sup> Thus, it was blamed that local chiefs of the region are also causing the destruction of the forests as they were using the supply of timber to raise their money. In report it was alleged that local chiefs had no idea about the importance of the forests and ruthless cutting of the forests was carried out in their areas. Keeping in view their attitude the chiefs of the Simla Hill states were asked to manage the forests properly, 'to demarcate the most important of their forest areas; to prepare a record of rights for each demarcated forest; to prohibit the breaking up of land for cultivation and grazing of Gujars or other outsiders in the demarcation forests; and not to sell trees to traders, without first seeking the advice and sanction of the Superintendent, Simla Hill States.'<sup>78</sup> The destruction of forests by the chiefs of the Hills is quite contradictory as in the settlement report of Kangra, Barnes comments that the forests which were under the *jagirdars*<sup>79</sup> or the local Raja of the hills were protected.<sup>80</sup> He comments, "These preserves are still kept up in the jageer estates of their descendants. But in the

77 *Gazetteer of Simla District*, Punjab District Gazetteers, Volume VIII- A, Delhi: B.R. Publishing Company, 2012 [1904], p. 79.

78 *Ibid.*

79 Barnes addressed the local rajas as the *Jagirdars*.

80 The example in this regard is also of the Moorni Hills which were under the Mir of Katwaha and considered by Cleghor more protected as compare to the other part of the area.

Government lands the people on our accession broke loose, and for the first three years could not be restrained from reckless devastation of the timber.”<sup>81</sup> Thus it’s clear that the destruction of the Siwalik Hills started from the period of British occupation of the land and with the introduction of the commercial utilizations of the forests by Britishers.

British India Government had passed first national Forest Law in 1865.<sup>82</sup> Through this law, the British Government was empowered to regulate the issues of forests and pastures, which the earlier land settlement officer, failed to provide. Later, Forest Act of 1878 gave power to the British Government to make forest settlement and managed pastoralist’s problem. Implementation of Forest Act 1878 “quickly brought to light a deep-seated conflict between the subsistence patterns of traditional village life and colonial system’s methods of timber management.”<sup>83</sup> Introduction of *Indian Forest Acts* in 1878 affected the Gujjars of the Himachal Pradesh in a big way as Gujjars were solely dependent on forests for their livelihood. Under this 1878 Act major portion of the Kangra and Hoshiarpur which was in the foothills of the Siwalik was set aside as reserved forests.

According to the 1878 Act in Kangra, forests were divided into four parts (a) Reserved (b) Unclassed (c) Demarcated Protected, (d) Undemarcated Protected Forests.<sup>84</sup> Reserved forests were in Dehra and Nurpur tehsils (this was the reason that system of *Trihas* was not applied in these districts see chapter 5). The occupation of these forests was taken by the British from the village proprietors on the condition that “Government would relinquish all claim to close any of the remaining forests in the village from which the “Reserved” were taken.”<sup>85</sup> Thus, the part of the area which kept in

81 Barnes, p. 22.

82 Stebbing, E.P., H.G., Champian, F.C., Osmaston, *The Forests of India and the Neighboring countries*, Vol.1., London: John Lane, 1922, p. 267.

83 Tucker, Richard P, *The Forests of the western Himalayas: The Legacy of British Colonial Administration*, *Journal of Forest History* Vol.26, No. 3, Oxford University Press, Jul., 1962, pp. 112-123.

84 *Kangra District Gazetteer*, 1926, p. 305.

85 *Ibid*, pp. 305-06.

reserved forests was totally prohibited for the villagers however in the remaining parts villagers were allowed to use. Middleton (1913) explains about this distribution that reserved forests were those parts of Kangra forests which were taken under the Government in 1872-75. Twenty-one villages of Nurpur tehsil and thirty-eight villages in Dehra tehsil became part of the Reserved Forests.<sup>86</sup> The remaining waste tracts of these villages formed part of unclassed forests.<sup>87</sup> Gujjars were prohibited for reserved and protected forests. Nomad Gujjars in the region were highly affected by the restriction imposed by the British in their set route of migration. Nurpur, which was the nearest place for the nomad Gujjars of Chamba to graze, was totally prohibited for Gujjars. British took the occupation of all village forests in Nurpur, Dehra and Palampur from villagers by making an agreement through which villagers were allowed to use the waste land adjoining the village and in lieu of that they left all their right in the reserved forests.<sup>88</sup> In the pastures of waste lands, it was up to villagers that whether they allowed the cattle of nomad Gujjars to graze in the adjoining waste or not. Gujjars could only be allowed after paying the tax to the villagers to graze their animals in village.<sup>89</sup> Anderson (1898), in his *Report of Forest Settlement in Kangra*, explains, “Ban Gujjar [nomad Gujjars] have for many years come to the Nurpur Tahsil and to Boh in Kangra Tahsil, which places are conveniently situated for Chamba from which they come; but during the last few years they have attempted to establish themselves in other places.”<sup>90</sup> Forests of Nurpur, Dehra and Hamirpur tehsil were occupied by the Forest Department.<sup>91</sup> Thus, towards Palampur where tea plantation was introduced by the British Government,

86 Middleton, 1919, p. 27.

87 Ibid.

88 Anderson, 1887, p. 7.

89 *Wajib-ul Arz, Mauza Dasoa*, District Kangra, Record Office of Deputy Commissioner, Kangra, 1868.

90 Anderson, A., *Report on the Forest Settlement in the Kangra Valley*, Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1887, p. 3.

91 Anderson, 1887, p. 7.



Gujjars movements were strictly prohibited. However, forest of the Kangra proper were not occupied due to the reason that “the best had all gone to the tea-planters, or were required in the vicinity of towns and stations and were therefore unsuited for forest purpose and available only for local supply.”<sup>92</sup>

Unclassed forests were in Palampur in those villages in which Government expropriated certain waste lands for the establishment of Tea states.<sup>93</sup> Remaining forests were demarcated by British Government Demarcated Protected Forests: “In the Undemarcated Protected forests cultivation can be permitted by the Deputy Commissioner and no record other than that in the vernacular record exists.”<sup>94</sup> Kangra Reserved Forests were further classified as Delimited Forests and Undelimited Forests. Delimited Forests were those which were near the village where grazing could not be stopped so Gujjars here were not affected much.<sup>95</sup> In Kangra all 69 forests were categorized as Reserved having an area of 18,186 acres under the Forest Department. In these forests all rights were with the government and villager’s entry was banned. For Demarcated Protected Forests, right of each forest was recorded and thus special rules for Demarcated Protected Forests were made which were known as Rules for Protected Forests in Kangra.<sup>96</sup> Under Rule No 4 and 5 grazing was prohibited in these forests:

4. The grazing of cattle in demarcated Protected Forests is prohibited, except by right- holders in the exercise of a right admitted in the records-of-rights, provided that nothing in this rule shall prevent right-holders from grazing any number of cattle (not being sheep and goat) belonging to themselves and any number of sheep and goats belonging to themselves, not more than 30 per cent, in excess of the number they possessed at the last assessment of the revenue.

92 Ibid.

93 *Kangra District Gazetteer*, 1926, p. 306.

94 Ibid.

95 Ibid.

96 *Punjab Forest Manual*, Vol. I, 1916, p. 56.

5.. (1) Except as provided in Rules 29, no person other than the proprietors of the soil of the undemarcated Protected Forests and the proprietors of the cultivated land in the five tehsils of Kangra proper, assessed to revenue and their agricultural tenants, shall graze cattle in the undemarcated Protected Forests.<sup>97</sup>

These were general rules for grazing in the Undemarcated Forests of the Kangra but under these rules Gujjars were not covered as in the clause 7 and 8 it has been clearly mentioned that these rules were not applicable for the *Sawana* Gujjars, they were allowed to graze in the Undemarcated Protected Forests, even *Ban* Gujjars could also graze in these forests:

Clause 7: Nothing in Rule 4 and 5 shall prevent Gujjars from grazing in the sawanas in which under the record –of–right they have a right of grazing.

Clause 8 : Khewatdars and bartandars shall not lease their right of grazing in the protected forests nor give permission to others to graze, provided that the owner of the soil of the Protected Forests in the Nurpur Tahsil and in Mauza Boh of the Kangra Tahsil may allow the cattle of Ban Gujjars and of others who are not right-holders to graze without the areas of which they are owners and may take grazing dues from them, and notwithstanding anything in Rule 4 and 5 such Ban Gujjars and others may graze in such areas.<sup>98</sup>

Protected forest was where Gujjars were allotted the grazing rights. In case they trespassed the Reserved Forests, which was a frequent phenomenon, they were usually fined severely for crossing the reserved forests. The nature of fines for trespassing Reserved Forests has been explained in the *Indian Forest Act 1878*. It was as high as five hundred rupees or six-weeks prison.<sup>99</sup> The article 25 (d) of the India Forest Act 1878 states:

Any person who –

97 Ibid.

98 Ibid.

99 *The Punjab Forest Manual, Vol. I, Related to Punjab Forest Rules Under the Acts, and Other legal Matter*, Lahore: Superintending Government Printing Press, 1916, p. 126.

(d) Trespasses or pastures cattle or permits cattle to trespass; shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine not exceeding five hundred rupees, or with both, in addition to such compensation for damage done to the forest as the convicting Court may direct to be paid.<sup>100</sup>

Thus, though Gujjars got the right to use unclassed forest for grazing, they were not allowed even to cross the reserved forests. The procedure laid out in the Punjab Forest Manual is, “The animal is brought to the officer in charge who enquires into the case and (a) release the animal, (b) compounds with the cattle owner or (c) if the owner is unwilling to compound, then sends the cattle to the pond.<sup>101</sup> Nomad Gujjars of the region were severely affected by the forest policies of the British by which they restricted the movement of the Gujjars in the reserved forests. We do not find any instance of resentment by the villagers as well as by the nomad Gujjars against these sets of rules. However, in the *Wajib-ul Arz* of village *Piasa* in Dehra district of Kangra where the entire land got converted from the *jagirdar* (land holder) to the British Government, villagers refused to sign the *Wajib-ul Arz* which clearly indicates that villagers were not in agreement with those rules and they refused to sign. However, inspite of their refusal the rules were implemented in the region and the land was occupied by the British Government.<sup>102</sup> Thus, different set of rules were enforced on the Gujjars in the region which effected the movement of the nomad Gujjars who had their set track of movement since time immemorial.

In Una district (earlier a part of Hoshiarpur) there were well-wooded forests in the Siwalik range and forests were situated in

100 Ibid, Appendices, *The Indian Forest Act 1878, Act No VII of 1878, An act to amend the law relating to forests, the transit of forest-produce and the duty leviable on timber*, Article 25, Part –d, p. 134.

101 Ibid, p. 114.

102 *Wajib-ul Arz, Mauza Palsid, Tehsil Bilaspur, Record Room of Deputy Commissioner, Bilaspur, 1914.*

between Jaswan Dun.<sup>103</sup> The forests were placed in the control of Deputy Commissioner and during the first settlement (1852), Panjal forests were demarcated as reserved forests. In 1855, “rules for the conservancy of forests in hill tracts of Punjab” were sanctioned by the Government of India; under which Melveill (the then Commissioner of Jalandhar) framed a set of rules which were enforced from 1860. In 1866, the forests of Una were transferred to the Forest Department of Punjab province. In 1869, the conservators of Forests represented that management under Melveill’s rules was impracticable and suggested that an attempt should be made to obtain certain tracts as the absolute property of the Government, and that Government in return should give up or considerably modify its right in other tracts. These proposals were accepted.<sup>104</sup> However in the villages permission to cut inferior trees was given after the payment of one *annas* four paise per tree, which raised the revenue amount of the colonial Government.

All the forests of Una were rich in *bamboo* trees and were totally controlled by the British Forest Department. It was clarified by the Britishers that this range is eroded badly due to overgrazing.<sup>105</sup> Gujjars were directly blamed by Montgomery, the settlement officer of Hoshiarpur (1885), for the erosion of this range.<sup>106</sup> Thus, the forests which were situated in the Una Tehsil were controlled by the British Forest Department. The Government forests in the Una Tehsil were forests of Dhrai, Lohara and Panjal.<sup>107</sup> *Lohara* Forests were transferred to the management of the Forest Department in May 1866.<sup>108</sup> In 1872, Messrs, Roe and Duff were given the charge of managing the forests of Una, which was completely surrounded by the Siwalik range. Almost all main forests (Lohara, Panjal, Dhruai)

103 Cunningham, *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur District*, Lahore: Sang-e-meel publication, 1883, p.108.

104 Bhardwaj P.K., *Working plan for the forests of Una Forest Division*, Government of Himachal Pradesh, p. 41.

105 Montgomery, J.A.L., *Final Report of Revised Settlement, Hoshiarpur District 1879-84*, Calcutta: Calcutta Central Press, 1885, p.79.

106 Ibid.

107 Cunningham, 1883, p. 128.

108 Ibid.

were taken under the control of the colonial Government.<sup>109</sup> Thus they all were fully acquired by the British Government in 1873. *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur* (1883) elaborates, "There are four large reserved forests owned by the Government, the area of each being—Lohara 7,799 acres, Panjal 1,204, Karanpur 3,804, Bindraban 2,529. The Lohara and Panjal forests were regularly demarcated, and finally established as Government forests in 1873."<sup>110</sup> Thus the major forests in Una were acquired by the British Government in 1873, prior to the introduction of Forest Act of 1878. Even in the remaining forests which were adjoining to the villages, hereditary right of pastures Gujjars were restricted by giving the permission or authority of grazing to the villagers.<sup>111</sup> Thus in Una they occupied all the forests including the village pasture lands which forced the Gujjars to remain outside of the villages.

In case of Bilaspur which was part of Simla Hill States, the major reason of non-involvement of the Britisher in the forest was that the forests of the Bilaspur were not considered important from the forest point of view. In the list of the states that had unimportant forests, Bilaspur was also included. It is stated in the forest working plan of the native states, "These are unimportant from a forest point of view, their forests being small and not calling for special notice."<sup>112</sup> Bilaspur was taken as a part of lower hill which have only the forest of *chil*, scrub and bamboos so it did not require any working plan. That was the reason that forests of the Bilaspur never prohibited for the grazing facilities of the Gujjars. And major Gujjar settlement is in this region. Bilaspur have three types of forests (1) *Chil* (*pinuslongifolia*) forests, (2) Scrub jungle, (3) *Bamboo* forests. The *chil* forests were found at an elevation of 2,500 to 4,000 feet and some were found on the banks of Sutlej, at

109 Fagan, P.L., *Punjab District Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII A, *Hoshiarpur District (1904)*, Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1905, p. 130. .

110 Ibid, p.108.

111 *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur*, 1904, p. 130.

112 Ibid.

about 1,500 feet.<sup>113</sup> Scrub jungles contain *shisham* (*dalbergiasisso*) and *tun* (*cedrelatoona*). Bamboo forests cover “a large portion of the northern slope of the Naina Devi ridge.”<sup>114</sup> In these forests main marketable products were *chil*, timber, bamboos and *baggar* grass. *Baggar* grass is used for making ropes, rafting timber and thatching. “The markets for the sale of timber are Doraha and Phillor; for bamboos Naila, Rupar, Dorah, and the large towns in the plains generally; for *baggar* grass Naila; and for fuel and minor produce Anandpur and the neighbouring villages in the Hoshiarpur district.”<sup>115</sup> Gujjars in Bilaspur were prime settlers of villages and shared very cordial relation with the Raja of Bilaspur. Here they used forest resources but never blamed for the destruction of forests. In *Wajib-ul Arz* of Mauza Bassi Pargana Khalor tehsil Bilaspur (*Mauza*Bassi was established by Gujjars) it is illustrated that in the forests of the village, Gujjars had right to graze their animals however they could not take the trees of *chil* and timber without the prior permission of Raja. There were even authorized to use the waste lands of the villages for pasture.<sup>116</sup> In Bilaspur we do not find any such type of classification of the forests which was introduced in Kangra and Chamba by the British Indian Government. Thus, through the introduction of these Forest Acts, Gujjars were restricted only in Chamba and Kangra. However, in Bilaspur Gujjars were prime settlers in the villages. It is evident from *Sajra Nasibs* of Bassi village in tehsil Bilaspur that they cleared forest to establish villages. They were never restricted to graze in the forests.<sup>117</sup>

Forests of Sirmour however were well wooded and contain valuable oak and fir trees. Even the whole tract of the forests was

113 *Gazetteer of Simla Hill States, Bilaspur State*, Vol. VIII, New Delhi: Indus Publishing, 1910, p.16.

114 *Ibid.*

115 *Ibid.*

116 *Wajib-ul Arz, Mauza Bassi, Pargana Kot Khalour, Tehsil Bilaspur, District Simla, Record Office of Deputy Commissioner, Bilaspur, 1908.*

117 *Sajra Nasib of Mauza Bassi, Pargana Kot Khalour, Tehsil Bilaspur, District Simla, Record Room of Deputy Commissioner, Bilaspur, 1908.*

fully useful but as that tract of the forest was not easily approachable, hence the destruction of trees was very less in that part of the state. This tract was also populated with the Gujjars but as the tree destruction was not there thus the erosion was not in such type of venerable condition. *Khols* form the specific feature of the Siwalik of Sirmour and Kiara Dun valley. These *khols* were occupied by the Gujjars for having rich pasture land. In spite of having major Gujjar population and evidence from the *Sajra Nasib* about the role of Gujjars as prime settlers of the villages, we did not find any alarming condition of erosion here and not even a single allegation on Gujjars for the erosion of Siwalik range. The major reason of the save condition of forests of Sirmour in colonial period is that the area of Sirmour was not easily approachable and logs of woods were difficult to supply from here. Neither any river nor any road was available to carry these woods and that's why the forests of the Sirmour remained safe. Cleghorn (1884) also mentions in his *Report upon the Forests of the Punjab and the Western Himalayas* about the unapproachable place of Sirmour forests. He argues, "On the slopes of the Chor mountain between Jubal and Sirmur, within a few days march of Simla, there are sheets of magnificent forest of primeval and stupendous growth, and equal to the building wants of all the hill stations, but which are at present no use by reason of their impracticable position, as regards means of removal."<sup>118</sup> In the *Gazetteer of Sirmour* (1935) same argument about the forests of Sirmour are illustrated:

"Owing to their difficult situation and prohibitively expensive extraction, they are not valuable. At present they provided some grazing for the buffaloes of the nomadic Gujjars and supply their needs of the right holders. All extra wood in them practically goes waste."<sup>119</sup>

It clarifies that forests of Sirmour were only used for grazing of animals and that may be the reason that we did not find any

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118 Cleghorn, H., *Report upon the Forests of the Punjab and the western Himalayas*, Roorkee: Thomson Civil Engineering College, 1864, p. 22.

119 *Gazetteer of Sirmour District*, 1935, p. 80.

type of erosion in this part of the Siwalik region. The forests of the Sirmour remained out of the reach of the ruthless destruction by colonial Government due to non-availability of transport system in the region. However, on the other hand, Una which was easily accessible faced huge destruction in the forests.

British occupied all the forests of the region. Even in Chamba, where the Raja was allotted *sannad* to rule, they kept forests under their jurisdiction. The Raja of Chamba was only paid a token lump sum amount for the timber trees.<sup>120</sup> Raja of Chamba was allotted *sannad* in 1815, but the forests of Chamba were governed by the British. A sum of rupees twenty thousand was decided by the British Government to be given to the Raja of Chamba in lieu of using the forests in Chamba.<sup>121</sup> Accordingly, Chamba forests were divided into two classes; (a) Reserved Forests: Reserved Forests were controlled and managed by the State Forest Department. Five forest ranges were kept under the Reserved Forests (Dalhousie, Chamba (including Brahmaur), Tisa, Bhandal and Pangi). (b) Unclassed Forests were those which were controlled by the Civil Department of the State. These Forests were generally less valued than the reserved forests “and chiefly useful for the supply of timber to Zamindars for local consumption, and as a summer grazing grounds.”<sup>122</sup> Reserved Forests were rich in the valuable wood, and these forests were profitable. Thus for grazing purpose, Reserved Forests were closed. In Unclassed Forests rich grazing facilities were available. Rose states, “These [unclassified] forests afford valuable summer grazing for sheep and buffaloes and considerable revenue is obtained by the State from this source.”<sup>123</sup> Gujjars were not allowed entry in the Reserved Forests, though allowed in the forest but for its usage they had to pay *trini*. Unclassed Forests allotted for grazing were given by the Britishers through auction.

120 Aitchison, C.U., *A Collection of Treaties, Engagement and Sanads Related to India and Neighbouring Countries*, Vol. VIII, Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1909, p.307.

121 Ibid, p. 177.

122 Rose, 1904, p. 233.

123 Ibid, p. 234.



Rose mentions, "Large tracts of these forests are, however auctioned yearly for sheep and buffalo grazing."<sup>124</sup> Gujjars thus used to take the auction of these grazing tracts and were not allowed in the reserved forests. C.G. Trevor, Deputy Conservator of Forests, mentions about the Chamba Gujjars, "The Gujjars, a tribe of Mussalman grazers, owning large herds of buffaloes, arrive in Chamba in May and leave in September. They graze their animals high up in leased areas above the reserved forests, and cultivate no land. They are continually trespassing in reserved forests, and are fined frequently every year."<sup>125</sup>

### Tea Plantation and Land Acquisition Act

British Indian Government introduced tea plantation in the region of Punjab Hills in 1850. Tea plantation was introduced in the lower slopes of the Himalayas or on the plateaus below, at the elevation from 2,500 to 5,000 feet above the Sea. Thus, it was introduced on the great Dhauladhar range of the Mid Himalayas or on the snowy range of the Chamba, "which forms the outer of the several high mountain ranges of the Punjab from Kangra to Karakorum."<sup>126</sup> Through a notification by Punjab Government, dated 28<sup>th</sup> December 1859, it was decided that tea cultivation would be introduced in the considerable portion of the extensive waste lands exist in Kangra district.<sup>127</sup> Since the pre-colonial period this Himalayas tract had abandoned waste land for the use of the indigenous people. This region came into the sway of the British Indian Government in 1846 after the second Anglo Sikh War. Earlier, British settlement officers admitted the earlier

124 Ibid.

125 Trevor, C.G. *Report on the Forests of the Upper Ravi Chamba State*, Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette, 1910, p. 2.

126 Paske, Major Edward H., *Selection from the Records of the Government of the Punjab and its Dependencies, New Series, No. V Tea Cultivation in Kangra District*, Punjab Prining Company Limited, 1869, p. 6.

127 Gowan, A.T.M., *Tea Planting in Outer Himalaya*, London: Smith, Elder & Co., Cornhill, 1860, p. 61.

ongoing customs of the area and considered all waste land as the property of village community. Later the British identified the waste land of the villages to establish tea plantation in the region. As the village community was the right holders of waste land, thus *zamindars* or landlords were inspired to take the occupation of the waste lands from Villagers and transferred it to the Government. In exchange villagers had granted all the rights in trees and grazing tract in certain area adjoining to the villages, known as *ban Mauji*.<sup>128</sup> In 1860, 10,000 acres in Kangra and Palam were gone into the hand of Britishers. Among this 6000 acres were sold to the tea cultivators.<sup>129</sup> Occupation of the waste land in Kangra is elaborated by Major Edward in his *Report on Tea plantation in Kangra District*. He mentions that the British Government occupied the waste land with the consent of the *zamindars* and not with the villagers. Even the pastoralists were also totally ignored. He writes that after their [British Government] taking over of waste land and establishing tea plantation on that land, drastic change occurred in the land scope of that place. He records that earlier the area was covered with bushes and shrubs, but then all parts of those forests were cleared. Now all the forest land transferred to tea factory. Occupation of the waste land by the Britishers affected the pastoralists of the states. Earlier these parts of the waste lands were rich pasture grounds and used by the village community but with this tea plantation all their rights were restricted. To established tea plantation, all the bushes were cleared, which were the prime food for the cattle.

In the beginning tea was introduced in the Holta village just adjoining Kangra and all waste of the village was transferred into tea production land. On almost every plot of waste land Britishers constructed house and factory surrounded by cultivation of tea. Edward (1869) admitted that earlier that part of the waste were dense forests covered with long grass but now, neat paths with hedge rows of fruit trees and wild roses lead through extensive

128 Waste Land allotted to someone for freely using for grazing and other forest products.

129 Gowan, p. 61.

tracts of rich tea cultivation and these tracts, from barren waste, have been turned into rich gardens.<sup>130</sup>

In this context of acquiring the land for tea plantation Land Acquisition Act (1883) was also introduced in the area. This act completely transformed the land ownership in the region. It was suggested to acquire the land under Land Acquisition Act, 1883 in the Hills of Punjab. Land Acquisition Act was implemented on that area which did not come under the Forest Department. This act was implemented for two reasons: first to acquire the land for tea plantation and second was to stop the erosion of the Hills in the Siwalik region by the British Indian Government. It is revealed from the report that when this act was enforced in the villages, pastoralists (Gujjars) used to move for grazing. But through this act they were completely restricted from entering the villages. And acquired part of villages waste was used for the cultivation of the tea plantation. Tea plantation was first introduced in Kangra District in 1850.<sup>131</sup> In 1863 British Indian Government had acquired the land of Palampur, Nurpur and Kangra for tea states. *Wajib- ul Arz* of Mauza Hanwal, tehsil Nurpur, District Kangra mentions that pastoralists were restricted to use the waste land of the adjoining villages as grazing tract.<sup>132</sup> In fact the villages of the Nurpur and Palampur were acquired by the British Indian Government for tea plantation under Land Acquisition Act, which affected the movement of pastoralists in that region. Anderson wrote in the *Forest Report of Kangra 1897*, that now there is no nomad Gujjars

130 Paske, Major Edward H., *Selection from the Records of the Government of the Punjab and its Dependencies, New Series, No. V Tea Cultivation In Kangra District*, Punjab Printing Company Limited, 1869, p. 8.

131 Gray, John, *Selection for the Record of the Government of India, No XXII, Report upon the Present Condition and Future Prospects of Tea cultivation in North-Western Provinces and in the Punjab*, Calcutta Gazette, 1857, p. 52.

132 *Wajib-ul Arz of Mauza Hanwal Tehsil Nurpur District Kangra*, Record office of Deputy Commissioner Kangra, 1918.

in Nurpur.<sup>133</sup> Thus British Indian Government clearly ignored the right of these pastoralists and implemented their rules not only to increase their revenue but also for the promotion of tea plantation in the region in the gests of stopping Siwalik erosion.

Tea industry which quickly penetrated Hills greatly affected the pastoralists- community in the region. "The tea plantations of northern India are classic examples of a foreign-dominated plantation economy which controlled a dependency's land-use patterns and was highly sensitive to market in the industrialization world."<sup>134</sup> In the report of tea plantation it was clearly mentioned that earlier in Kangra there were very scanty settlers but with the introduction of tea plantation, European settlers occupied the valley and made it populated.<sup>135</sup> One of the other reasons for introducing tea cultivation in this Himalayas tract was to established European soldier in this part of the Himalayas. In 1860, Government officers were deputed to help the European in settling down in the region. Special English gentlemen were deputed to facilitate the transfer of waste land to European soldiers.

Later, Forest Settlement also played a vital role in establishment of the tea plantation in the region. Anderson, Forest Settlement officer of Kangra, in his Report *on Forest Settlement of Kangra Valley* restricted the rights of the villagers and pastoralists with introduction of the forest rules. Anderson changed the rules of using the *Ban-Muafi* land, which was allotted to villagers and pastoralists in lieu of taking their occupation on the village waste land where tea plantation was introduced. All rights of using the *Ban Muafi* land were preserved with the proprietors, and not with the pastoralists. He mentioned that "Where ever any waste was recorded as maafi at the revised Revenue Settlement, the trees and other forest produce of the waste belong to the proprietary bodies."<sup>136</sup> The waste land which was considered as *ban-muafi* land,

133 Anderson, A., *Final Report of the revised settlement of Kangra Proper*, Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1897, p. 60.

134 Tucker, 2001, p. 171.

135 Cleghorn, 1864, p. 45.

136 Anderson, 1898, p. 8.

free to use for right holder, it was also restricted to use in Kangra region through new forest rules. Permission for using the trees of *ban-muafi* was mandatory however they will not have to pay for these uses. Pastoralists used this *maufi* land by taking permission from right holders but now with the introduction of such rules in which they required to take permission from the proprietary body (zaildar etc), their movement in village forest waste land was also prohibited. Directly British never indulge in any type of conflict with this pastoralist tribe but by imposing so many restrictions they just forced them to localize in a set area of the region. This leads them towards complete isolation and they forced to live a life of the darkness.

Another discrepancy was made by the British Indian Government in the Hills of Himachal Pradesh about the uses of the trees of the forest land, which was acquired by the British Government for tea plantation. Tea plantation was allotted to the Europeans who indulge in the business of tea.<sup>137</sup> And they acquired the land for plantations. Regarding the matter of the right of tress in that part of land which comes under tea plantation, it was decided that all rights of that trees would be given to the owner of tea planter and they all were Britishers, but trees on the lands of other than tea planter will not be allowed to use by the villagers and pastoralists and to use those trees for grazing pastoralists have to pay to the British Indian Government.<sup>138</sup> However British settlers were free to use these trees. This meant that trees grown on the European land can be used by the plot holder but as compare to them other villager has to take permission for using the trees.

Thus, with the introduction of the tea plantation in the Hills of Kangra, the grazing grounds of the waste land were occupied by the British Government. European soldiers were inhabited in the waste grounds where these Gujjars used to graze in the winter.

137 Gowan, A.T. M., *Tea Planting in Outer Himalaya*, London: Smith, Elder & Co. Cornhill, 1860, p. 61.

138 Middleton, L., *Final Report of the Third Revised Land Revenue Settlement of the Palampur, Kangra, and Nurpur Tahsil, of the Kangra District, 1913-1919*, Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1919, p. 27.

This affected the movement of Gujjars. By introduction of closure of the forests waste for three years they forced Gujjars to concentrate only on set tract. And this is the major reason that affected the movement of the Gujjars. They forced to move in the outer side of the villages and were not allowed to use the waste land. The waste land was allotted to the natives in so many fringes, like *ban-muafi* land, *lahri basssi* land, but the introduction of the forest rules all the rights of the right holders were restricted to use the forest products. And land was preserved from the customary rights of the right holders.

Trees of the Siwalik were the main attraction for the colonial Government. However Colonial administration recognizes the rights of the villagers on the forests but in a limited way. As for as the concern of pastoralists occupation right on trees it was totally ignored by the British officers. Glover (1944) admitted in his work *Erosion in the Punjab: Its Causes and Cure* that the occupation rights on the soil of the forests belongs to the people but the trees to the Government, except in reserve forests, where Government owns both the trees and the soil. In *ban mauafi* forests people owns both land and trees.<sup>139</sup> Customary rights of Gujjars were totally criticized by Glover. He remarks, "forest rights are appendant to cultivated land but cannot be acquired by foreigners merely by the purchase of part of a holding."<sup>140</sup> Glover denoted the pastoralists as foreigners. He denied customary rights of pastoralist community of the region. He considered that pastoralist grazers and herdsmen had more animals than the forest could support. However, it is evidenced that even villagers were never allowed to take the wood without permission. In *Wajib-ul Arz* of Una region, we found that villagers and tribal community have been clearly instructed that they could not sell or use the trees in village waste land as all trees would considered as the property of the Government.<sup>141</sup> Gujjars

139 Glover Harold, *Erosion in the Punjab its Cause and Cure*, Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Ltd., 1944, p. 87.

140 Ibid.

141 *Wajib-ul Arz*, Mauza Mawa Sindhia, tehsil Una, District Hoshiarpur.

got the right of grazing only, the right of falling and selling the trees were held with the Government. In real way British Government had complete control over trees as well as pastures of the forests.

Anderson divided trees in two categories:

- (a) Trees that will ordinary [in general] be given to right-holders on payment of the Zamindari rate, and hereafter called priced trees.
- (b) Trees that will be given to right-holders free, and hereafter called unpriced trees.<sup>142</sup>

Timbers of building using trees were not allowed to cut without the permission of Deputy Commissioner. However other trees can be cut with the permission of Lambardar of the village. In the *jagirs*, Rajas were the sole proprietors of the forests and land but later on major alternation made by the British Colonies Government. In Siba *jagir*, Raja was earlier using the right of cutting the trees and the land holders had to take Raja's permission to cut the trees. But in 1896 it was altered that, "such tree [chil, Amb, Tuni, Mahau Jaman] on private lands can be cut by the sub-proprietor, but only on condition of the payment of half the value of the timber to the Raja."<sup>143</sup> Timber was extracted from the forests of Una, Kangra and Chamba. Chir (Pine Trees) and good quality of bamboo and Sal trees are available in the lower range of the Siwalik which were in great demand in the plain area. In Una Sola Singhi *Dhar* runs parallel to the Siwalik range and makes Jaswan *Dun* in the Una region. In Jaswan *Dun*, Panjal Forest and Lohara forests were located and these forests were full of sal and shisham trees. Cleghorn (1864), while mentioning the pine trees of the Panjal and Lohar forests, admitted that these chil forests yield annual revenue for British Indian Government.<sup>144</sup> Barnes (1850) explained about the chil (Pine) trees of Jawalamukhi, Kangra and Hureepoor, hav-

142 Anderson, 1898, p.3.

143 Anderson, A., *Report on the Land Revenues Settlement of the Siba Jagir in the Kangra District of the Punjab, 1881-82*, Lahore: Lahore Central Jail Press, 1882, p. 4.,

144 Cleghorn, 1864, p. 77.

ing its cost up to one rupee for every tree, and used to sell to the contractors of plain by the British Indian Government. However Cleghorn mentioned that contractors from Amritsar usually take the *chil* trees of Siwalik region after the payment of five rupees per tree. It means the prices of *chil* trees gone higher side and within ten years it raised five times.<sup>145</sup> Chil and Bamboos forests are mainly in Siwalik formation.<sup>146</sup> Bamboo trees of Brindavan and Karampur were useful for extracting the bamboo from the forests. Bamboos were sent to the plain area through the roads. For transportation of these bamboos, printed passes were allotted to the contractors.<sup>147</sup> Bamboos were sold as per three rupees per hundred and eight *annas* in the charge for cutting these bamboos.<sup>148</sup> Seeba and Datarpur *taluqas* were also covered with bamboo forests and trees were marked as Government preservers. Village Lodhwa was thickly forested of bamboo. Villagers only used the lower kind of bamboo trees which were *Nirgal* and *Girch*, they used these bamboo sticks for preparing roofs of their houses and stick of *hookas*.<sup>149</sup> Other bamboo trees were used commercially. It is stated in *wajib-ul arz* of village Lobhwa that all the trees grown on *ban muafi* (village land) land and waste land will be considered as the property of the British Government, and no one is allowed to cut that village trees.<sup>150</sup> Forests of Siwalik range increased the profit of the British Indian Government. Trees of chil, oak, bamboo and decayed trees were sold to the contractors which raised their revenue. For the year of 1862, total forest revenue was rupees 8452 and two *annas* six paise, which comes out from the revenue of selling chil trees upto Rs 2,242 and the Bamboo trees upto Rs 6,209 (See table). Here the revenue after the sale of bamboo trees is much more as compare to the *chil* trees however *chil* trees sold at the

145 Ibid.

146 *Revised working Plan for the Forests of the Bilaspur State Forest Division*, compiled by Ishwar Singh, Forest Officer Bilaspur State.

147 Cleghorn, 1864, p. 77.

148 Ibid.

149 Barnes, 1850, p. 90.

150 *Wajib-ul Arz*, Mauza Lodhawa Tehsil Nurpur, Dstrict Kangra, 1917-18.



TABLE 4-3: STATEMENT SHOWING THE FOREST REVENUE IN THE DISTRICT OF HOSHIARPUR [UNA]

Year	Forest Revenue		Credited to Government		Credited to Forest Fund	Paid to owner of land and others	Cost of establishment	Miscellaneous Expenditure
	Rs.	Annas Paise	Rs.	Annas Paise				
1858-59	6166	13 10	5924		-	177	10 65	0 0 -
1859-60	8124	10 8	7504	14 0	-	331	12 288	0 0 -
1860-61	5550	10 8	5060	11 7	-	201	12 288	0 0 -
1861-62	6386	8 8	438	9 5	5237	1 1	617 11 288	0 0 5 - 0
1862-63	8452	2 6	799	9 8	5864	1 0	738 9 348	0 0 701 14 3
Total	34,880	11 5	19,727	15 8	11,101	2 1	2,067, 11 1,277	0 0 706 14 3

Source: Cleghorn, H., *Report upon the Forests of the Punjab and the western Himalayas*, Roorkee, Thomson Civil Engineering College, 1864, p. 77.

rate of five rupees per tree and bamboos up to three rupees per hundred. This was a great destruction in the area, which was full of bamboo trees. Cleghorn had mentioned a detailed description of the profit from the forests of the western Himalayas:

This table makes a clear picture of the profit of British Indian Government within five year from 1859 to 1863. Forest of the Hoshiarpur region (falls in Siwalik range) had increased the revenue of British Indian Government from 1859 to 1863 up to Rs 34,380 to British Government. All profit was credited to British Government and Rs 19,727 and Rs 11,101 were given to the Forest Department. However on the maintenance of these forests only 4050 were spent including the amount paid to the owner of the land. Till 1862 all profit gone to British Indian Government but after 1862 forests funds were separated and a share of profit from these forests started to credit to forests funds. Some part of this profit was also distributed to the owner of the land but it was only one third of the total amount of profit.

TABLE 4.4: STATEMENT SHOWING THE FOREST REVENUE IN KANGRA

Year	Forest Income			Cost of Establishment		
1858-59	4538	6	9	84	0	0
1859-60	6,026	0	11	84	0	0
1860-61	5,276	6	1	1,128	0	0
1862-63	7,012	1	1	2,580	0	0
Total	22,852	13	22	3,876	0	0

Source: Cleghorn, H., *Report upon the Forests of the Punjab and the western Himalayas*, 1864, Roorkee, Thomson Civil Engineering College, p. 77.

In Kangra region within six-years, the British got the revenue upto Rs 22,852 although they have spent only Rs 3,876 on the maintenance of the forests. These all destructions of the forest trees of the Siwalik later on become the major cause of erosion in Siwalik range.

Timber was cut from the deep forests and then these trees managed in logs and these logs were supplied to the plains through

rivers or through the labour. For extraction of timber Britishers used to hire Gujjars as labour to cut the tree in logs and then send these logs to the plains through the Gujjars or even through rivers and then have carried these to the plain area. Gujjars were quite strong to carry the heavy lodge. To fell the trees, conventional methods were adopted and after felling the trees Gujjars used to cut them in sleepers then took them in frame to the plain.<sup>151</sup> For timber extraction earliest record we found in the region is of 1852 when the Board of Administration wrote to the Deputy Commissioner of Hazar directing him “to use his best endeavors to get timber down the Kunihar (or Nainsukh) River to Jhelum.”<sup>152</sup> In reply Deputy Commissioner mentions that in Kanghan there is no police station, whereby the timber could be supervised. Even valley of Kunihar was under the jurisdiction of Syeds (early rulers of Hazara). He wrote that, “the glen was under the tyranny of the Syeads, whose oppression he had not been able to bridle. It would be difficult to ensure the payments to the labourers (*gujar*) employed to fell the trees.” He mentions that all ‘recompense’ divided between the Syeds and Pathans, who have their say in that area and woodcutter (Gujjar) did not paid for their labour.<sup>153</sup> He suggests to the Board that an agent being sent to the *Garhi* (nearby place) to purchase the logs and said he would try to bring the wood-cutters (Gujjars) down to receive their dues.<sup>154</sup> Thus from this instance it is clearly evident that Gujjars used by British Government as labourer to cut the trees from the mid of the forests ranges, even in some cases they did not get their emoluments. Destruction of timber was the main motive of the British government, but over-cutting of timber or deforestation caused heavy damage to the forests of the area. Thus plantation was immediately required in the Shimla Hills. Stebbing mentions that in 1845, 20,000 young trees were planted at Kotgurh but only 800 survived. This was due to the reason that these plantation was done at that

151 Stebbing, Vol II, 1922, p. 378.

152 Stebbing, Vol 1, 1920, p. 272.

153 Ibid.

154 Ibid.

hills where only grass can grow.<sup>155</sup> Plantation in the low hills was avoided by the Superintendent of the Hills, Mr. Edward due to the reason that in the plain he was in favour of exploring cultivated land to explore revenue charges as he thinks that land after clearing forest can be easily used however trees will take 40 to 100 years to grow. But Mr. Edmondstone, the Commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej States, recommended plantation within the Simla jurisdiction. He suggests that requirement of fueling in Simla should be supplied through the forests of Siwalik range.<sup>156</sup> Thus British policies of cutting huge trees from hills and then suggesting tree plantation in the pasture land of mid and greater Himalayan zones which was used by the pastoralists as grazing ground in summer and winter, all affected the movement of the Gujjars in the Hills.

Gujjars were again strictly prohibited to use the village trees for their domestic uses. In the *wajib -ul* *Arz* of Mauza Jungle, it is illustrated that no tree in the forest of common land of the village can be used or cut without the prior permission of British agents.<sup>157</sup> Even in 1942 chopping of the village trees and village forests was restricted for Gujjars and they were not even allowed to looping in the trees of villages also.<sup>158</sup> In the *wajib-ul arz* of Mauza Tihra tehsil Hamirpur District Kangra it is clearly mentioned that all the trees in the village were the property of the Government and villagers were not allowed to take the trees without permission.<sup>159</sup> This permission really took away all the right of villagers to use the forest freely.

Cleghorn, while writing in 1864, appreciated that wood in the Siwalik was useful for commercial utilization and made approachable only by the Colonial Governments policy makers, as earlier this tract was in the domain of the pastoralist's community of the

155 Ibid.

156 Ibid.

157 *Wajib-ul Arz of Mauza Jangal*, Tehsil Hamirpur, District Kangra,, Record office of Deputy Commissioner Hamirpur, 1910.

158 Glover, 1942, p.137.

159 *Wajib-ul Arz of Mauza Tihri Tehsil Hamirpur*, District Kangra, Record office of Deputy Commissioner Hamirpur, 1910.

region.<sup>160</sup> The views of Cleghorn made a clear picture of exploitation of the forests of Siwalik by the Colonial Government. As the customary rights were never recognized by the Colonial policy maker hence the rights of Gujjars and Gaddis were always criticized by the Britishers. In 1850, Barnes, the first settlement officer, while explaining about the waste land and forests writes, “Extensive wasted and forests are usually considered the undivided property of Government. But even here there are subordinate tenure which cannot be over looked. There are certain castes in the Hills, such as “goojurs”, and “guddis” who cultivate little....”<sup>161</sup> Barnes recognized the right of these nomadic communities on the forests and the waste land tracts of the Hills which later on criticized by the Colonial Policy makers. Melveill prepared separate timber rules for Kangra, through which an attempt to keep the pastoralist community away from the forest and waste land was made. Later on by making different acts and rules Gujjars rules out from their hereditary rights.

#### Timber Rules in the Government Forest of the Kangra District<sup>162</sup>

1. No tree of any kind available for building or other purpose of timber to be felled of a less diameter than one foot, except with special permission.
2. No tree of the above description, whatever may be its size, is to be felled for purpose of fuel, except with special permission.
3. No tree of any size or description whatever is to be felled with in 100yards on either side of any public road or way, except with special permission.
4. No tree of any kind whatever to be felled without permission.

160 Cleghorn, p. 89.

161 Barnes, George Carnac, *Report on the Settlement in the District of Kangra*, Lahore: Hope Press, 1862, p. 20.

162 Cleghorn, M.D., *Report upon the Forests of the Punjab and the Western Himalayas*, 1864, Roorkee, Thomason Civil Engineering College, pp. 91-94.

5. This permission will be granted on application through the Tehsildar, who will forward it for sanction to the district authority; but for the inferior kinds of trees required *bona fide* for agricultural or domestic purpose, the permission of the headman will suffice.
6. The Tehsildar will state, in forwarding the application, whether the applicant is entitled or not to cut timber; and if he be entitled, whether the application made is duly proportioned to his wants. All applications should be in a printed form.
7. Proprietors of land, or hereditary cultivators, are entitled to cut and appropriate whatever timber they may require, for building or agricultural purpose, on paying a fee of four annas; and trees unfit for timber, as fuel, or their leaves as fodder, gratis.
8. Persons having an ancient right to graze, gather dry wood, or to collect leaves for manure, in any Government forest, are with under mentioned restrictions, still entitled to these rights.
9. In order to promote the growth of seedlings, both for timber and fuel, the third part of every Government forest shall be preserved for three consecutive years or for such periods as the local authorities may determine.
10. Any person violating these restrictions to be liable to a fine not exceeding 50 rupees.

Thus in Kangra cutting timber was totally restricted and forests were closed for the easy approach to the trees. In Kangra, Gujjars have special hereditary rights which were also affected by the reservation of the one part of forests closed for three years. Thus not only in the waste land *trihās* (keeping reserved one third part of land for three years) was implemented but also in the forests before the implementation of forest Act in 1878 one third part of the forests of the Kangra was kept reserved for the commercial utilization of the Colonial Government.

However, the point to ponder here is that in Bilaspur rules were quite different as compared to the Forest rules of Kangra and Hamirpur. This was due to the reason that Raja of Bilaspur ruled without any major interruption of the British Government.

In *wajib-ul arz* of village Mauza Bassi, Pargana Kot Kehlur Riyasat Khalour it is stated that all landholders have the right to use the trees grown on their land.<sup>163</sup> We did not find any reference of closing the forests for the pasture facilities or for extracting fuel or wood for domestic use. In Bilaspur, looping and cutting of trees was allowed however they did not have the right to sell that land. Due to all these facilities we found major concentrations of Gujjars in Bilaspur. Even the forests in Bilaspur were never in destructive position as it was found in Una and Kangra.

#### Waste Land and Hay (Grass) Preserver: *Kharetar, Ghasiana or Charand*

Waste land cannot be defined in a particular term. There is no unified nature of waste land. "To a layman waste land is a piece of land which is lying uninhabited and uncultivated and land left over after use or the land which is no longer serving any purpose."<sup>164</sup> Singh defines that waste land is in fact the land which remains in between the cultivated land and forest.<sup>165</sup> In the context of Himalayan villages he further clarifies, here every small piece of land which comes in this category served a different purpose for the villagers and for each of these villagers they have a separate name and context of waste land.<sup>166</sup> These could be defined as pieces of lands which they can't use permanently for agriculture. Usually villagers used the waste land for pasture facilities, getting wood for fuel and to meet other domestic needs. Nature of waste land was of two types - first village waste land where infringes were *Kharetar, Charan and Ghasina*. *Lahri Bassi* was also one type of

163 *Wajib-ul Arz, Mauza Bassi, Pargana Kot Khalour, Tehsil Bilaspur, District Simla, Record Office of Deputy Commissioner, Bilaspur.*

164 Sharma, S.C., R.B. Chaturvedi, O.P. Mishra, *Utilisation of Wastelands for Sustainable Development in India*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1990. p.42.

165 Singh Chetan, *Nature Premise, Ecology and Peasant Life in the Western Himalaya*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 92.

166 Ibid.

waste land allotted by Raja to menial classes with taking revenue. Second type of waste land was forest waste land which was also freely used by the villagers and pastoralists. Village waste land was the common land which generally lied outside and at the fringes of the village boundaries and used by the villagers for grazing purposes. Different names were denoted to indicate this common land by the villagers. This part of land was also used by the pastoralist for grazing.

Prior to the colonial intervention in the region, "village community owned and regulated the use of waste lands and forests as common property resources."<sup>167</sup> Earlier villagers used these waste land mountain tracts as grazing grounds, getting fuel wood and other forests products. These lands, never formed a source of revenue generation during pre-British period, and were been surveyed or laden with any restrictions, barring the traditional rights, since they were far more extensive than what the hill population could exploit. <sup>168</sup> Lyall mentions that the state used to take taxes from the villagers for using the waste land, "It was levied everywhere on buffaloes, and in most or all places on sheep and goats; the only distinction was that professional shepherds and herdsmen were taxed at higher rates than other classes."<sup>169</sup> However, Lyall himself recognizes, "All these rights of the villagers in the waste were alike in this, that they were enjoyed by all residents, not by regular landholders only, and were exercised within limits independent of *mauzah* or hamlet boundaries."<sup>170</sup> This right is known in the local language as the right of *bartan* (use). In these rights, the most universal were the right to pasture cattle or sheep and goats, the right to cut grass or leaves of certain trees for fodder, to cut the trees and thorns for hedges, to break off or pick up dry wood for fuel.<sup>171</sup>

167 Ibid.

168 Rawat, Ajay Singh, *Indian Forestry A perspective*, New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company, 1993, p.171.

169 Lyall, J.B., *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Panjab, 1867-72*, Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1874, p. 109.

170 Lyall, 1874, p. 20.

171 Ibid.



Thus, these waste lands were commonly used by the villagers and pastoralists. Ribbentrop (1900) writes about waste land of Punjab that village boundaries in these hamlets were uncertain. Villages of these hills have abounded waste land adjoining their boundaries. This large area of waste land was unoccupied at the time of British annexation, but it was used only by the pastoralists.<sup>172</sup> These nomadic tribes used these waste as their pasture ground. It was restricted by the occupation of the waste land by the British Government. Ribbentrop further remarks that these waste lands were converted into settled villages, but pastoral tribes still used to come in these grazing tracts.<sup>173</sup> This suggests that village waste were converted into cultivated land to increase the land revenue by the British Government, but Gujjars one of the pastoral tribes, still used to come to these grazing tracts. And that would be the reason of starting double grazing tax on this tribe.

Hayfields on the waste lands in Kangra were known as *Kharetar*<sup>174</sup>, in Kullu it's termed as *ghasian*<sup>175</sup> and in Una district as *charand*.<sup>176</sup> These hayfields were used for long and green grass cultivation which was collectively used by the villagers of the region. Sometimes the long grass was also cultivated by the landowners nearby their cultivated fields or houses. These were reserved and used exclusively by the relevant household. Such hayfield were called *garhu-kharetar* (Hayfields near the houses). Lyall (1874) recorded that these patches were the farmer's private property. While defining the nature of *Kharetar* F. Cunnigham defines, "Although the people graze their beasts indiscriminately in waste lands among the hamlets, guided only as to where they should go by certain vague rules of custom based upon mutual convenience, yet certain parts of such waste are appropriate, for a part of the year, by individual as hay fields, or in the language of the country

172 Ribbentrop, C.I.E., *Forestry in British India*, Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing Indian, 1900, p. 99.

173 Ibid.

174 Anderson, 1897, p. 64.

175 In Kullu common grazing land known as *gasiana*

176 Roe, 1876, p.33, (common grazing land in Una).

*kharetar*.”<sup>177</sup> Thus *kharetar* was the waste land which was earlier freely used by the pastoralists and the villagers. The custom about the *kharetar* was that it was closed for the grazing of the animals from 15 June to 15 October and then the long grass grown in that part of land used by the villagers for making the thatches. However there was no hard and fast rule for closure of these *kharetar* but they were protected from the cattle after making the steepness of the ground and by making a temporary hedge of thrones to keep the cattle away. Villagers considered that part of the waste land as the part of land which they can use for taking grass and their other requirements. Somewhat distant from the village cultivation were the *ban khareto* and this category of hayfield was in common held and used by the village peasantry. Over some waste lands individual farmers exercised control for three months in a year such were *ban kharetar* where individual rights for three months of grass were ensured. In Chamba British Government even kept waste land in their charge, which they further used to sublet to the Gujjars for grazing after taking tax from them. Ribbenton admitted, “The waste land in Chamba and Bashahr belong to the rulers, but the more valuable portion have since been leased to the British Government.”<sup>178</sup>



KHARETAR (GRASS ON VILLAGE WASTE LAND)

177 Cunnigham, *Gazetteer of Kangra, 1883-83*, p.124.

178 Ribbentrop, 1900, p.100.

*Lahri Bassi or Muafi Land*

*Lahri Bassi* was the land in the possession of menial.<sup>179</sup> This land was granted by the Raja to the menials from the waste land available, other than the cultivated land. This land was revenue free land and was allotted to the labourers and menial classes who provide their services to the Raja. In lieu of his services Raja used to allot *lahri* (revenue free land) to them for sustenance.<sup>180</sup> Anderson writes that it was found that certain classes held their lands or part of them free of revenue in lieu of services were known as *lahridar*. Gujjars were also considered as *lahridar*, as they were granted *lahri* land by the Raja in lieu of their services. These *lahridar* got these revenue free lands in lieu of their services to the Raja and landholders. Lyall writes about *lahridar*,

“they were not village service lands in the ordinary sense: the holders were bound to service to the State or Raja only and held their lands of him. Of course they worked for the neighboring landholders, and got paid, sometimes in fixed grain fees at harvest, sometimes in grain, sometimes to work done, but they did not in any way hold their *lahris* of them and connection of employer and workman.”<sup>181</sup>

In the early Settlements it was noted that these *Lahri* were held of revenue free and were described as *abadi* and no record was made of the persons to whom they belonged.<sup>182</sup> *Muafi land* means revenue free land and *lahri* land was considered as *muafi land*. However, in the Settlement of 1887 British measured and recorded the entire village lands and all were assessed for revenue.

Forest waste land was called *bartan* where common villagers enjoyed unrestricted right to use it. In these waste land villagers had right to use the forest products freely. There villagers had the right to pasture their cattle or sheep and goats, they had the right to cut grass or leaves of certain trees for fodder and even cut thorns

179 Anderson, 1897, p. 42.

180 Ibid.

181 Lyall, 1874, p. 42.

182 Ibid.

for hedge or break off or pick up dry wood for fuel.<sup>183</sup> Forest waste land was the land adjoining to the village boundaries which sometimes overlapped. Among these forests Rajas used to keep *thak* (reserved for Raja) for their hunting trips. But some parts of the forests were kept open for pastoralists (Gujjars). Thus, though the state had full control over the forest wastes and village waste land, but villagers and pastoralists were allowed to use these forests. However British occupied all the waste land of adjoining villages and established tea plantation in Palampur and Kangra. They kept the forest waste land under the reserved category which prohibited the Gujjars entrance in that part of the forest.

In the first settlement (1850) British kept the control of waste lands to the village community. No waste lands (except near Holta) were especially reserved as Government property: nor are any available for grant by Government to individual<sup>184</sup> Thus village community used these waste tracts of villages and they paid twenty *anna* for twenty years to use the waste land. British Government realized that it's too cheap as the cost of that village waste should be two to four rupees.<sup>185</sup> Thus British concentrated on the large part of waste lands which was lying along the villages and was not used as individual property. They got this land measured and formulated rules for this land. In the first Settlement Report, Barnes (1850) found it very difficult to conclude the issue of non-tilled land that is waste land. Barnes considered the waste land and the forest land as the undivided property of the state. He dismissed this issue by giving full grazing rights to individual peasants for small plots adjacent to their villages, and by granting the landholders ownership of each village collectively for large grazing and forests area.<sup>186</sup> Barnes made rough draft to prepare boundary

183 *Gazetteer of the Kangra District, Part 1 Kangra*, New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company, 1883-84 [1994], p.107.

184 Gowan, A, T.M., *Tea Planting in Outer Himalaya*, London: Smith, Elder & Co., Cornhill, 1860, p. 61.

185 *Ibid.*

186 Barnes, George Carnac, *Report on the Settlement in the District of Kangra*, Lahore: Hope Press, 1862, p. 20.

walls between the hills and villages. He taxed only crop producing land.<sup>187</sup> He further admitted, "In most of these big wastes certain shepherds or herdsmen possessed a kind of property in the shape of exclusive rights of grazing at certain seasons of the year."<sup>188</sup> Thus although Barnes confessed that the villagers had right to use adjoining wastes to their allotted arable land for the grazing purpose collectively but he did not recognize it clearly. British Indian Government wanted to occupy the waste land of the villages. Lyall (1874) in the later Settlement Report took up the issue of the waste land. He makes the clarification regarding silence of Barnes about the waste land and he argued, "prior to his Settlement, the recognized theory was that all unenclosed waste, small or great, was the property of the State, and that the rights therein of the cultivator or landholders as I prefer to call them, were of the nature of rights of use only."<sup>189</sup> Lyall only recognized the rights of the villagers to use that adjoining waste land. It is suggestive that the waste land was allowed to be used by the villagers for domestic uses and for getting the woods and pasture facilities. Lyall puts forth revised rules of waste land in the Settlement Report of Kangra in 1874. Later on Forest Act, 1878 gave the British Government power to manage the forest and waste land adjoining the villages in the Hills. In the revised Forest Settlement of the Kangra (1874) it was cleared that the waste land belongs to the village communities and the trees, whether growing wild or planted by Government, belongs to the state, with the reservation of the rights of use (*bartan*) by custom and tradition to the land-holders of the *mauzahs* (villagers) and others (pastoralists).<sup>190</sup> Even *sawana* Gujjars who had hereditary rights over the pasture land of Kangra were not permitted to take the leaves of the trees grown on village common land. Anderson (1887) in the *Report of Forest Settlement in Kangra Valley* clearly

187 Barnes, 1862, p. 25.

188 Ibid.

189 Lyall, J.B., *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Panjab, 1867-72*, Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1874, p. 19.

190 Anderson, A., *Report on the Forest Settlement in the Kangra Valley*, Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1887, p. 5.

mentions, “They [gujjar] may not erect cattle sheds on common land without permission, nor may they lop trees for fodder except within the limits fixed in the rules.”<sup>191</sup> All the waste adjoining to the villages were kept in *Unclassed* and *Undemarcated* forests (according to 1878 Forest Act), which were allowed only to the villagers for their domestic uses and not by the pastoralists of the region. In Dehra Tehsil of Kangra district, the Colonial Government occupied all the waste land and restricted the involvement of the villagers in that region. They convinced the villagers that British Indian Government will not further close any more of the waste or forest land for villagers. Villagers were allowed to take the share in the grazing tax collected by British Indian Government from Gaddis. Gaddis directly paid to the British Indian Government; however Gujjars paid to the village community. In this way, villagers started to impose tax upon the Gujjars for using the waste land of the villages which was clear isolation of the traditional rights enjoyed over the waste by Gujjars. About the grazing tracts in the villages, different sets of rules are evident in *wajib- ul arz* of Bilaspur territory governed by independent Raja and Kangra, which was directly governed. In the *wajib ul arz* (village documents) of Mauza Jaladi, tehsil Hamirpur district Kangra, it is stated that in the common land of the village, only the cattle of villagers are allowed to graze and if nomad Gujjars will try to graze there, they would be charged by villagers.<sup>192</sup> *Sawana* rights of Gujjars were accepted only in proper Kangra. In *wajib ul arz*<sup>193</sup> of Mauza Jangal tehsil Hamirpur district Kangra and *wajib-ul arz*<sup>194</sup> of *Mauza* Lodhava tehsil Nurpur district Kangra and Kuthleher, records that, there is no *swanadar* Gujjars in the village. Hence the Gujjars who came there to graze, their grazing should be charged

191 Ibid, p. 10.

192 *Wajib-ul Arz* of Mauza Jaladi, Tehsil Hamirpur, District Kangra, Record office of Deputy Commissioner Hamirpur, 1910.

193 *Wajib-ul Arz* of Mauza Jangal, Tehsil Hamirpur, District Kangra, Record office of Deputy Commissioner Hamirpur, 1910.

194 *Wajib-ul Arz* of *Mauza* Lodhava Tehsil Nurpur District Kangras, Record office of Deputy Commissioner Kangra, 1914.

separately. In the *wajib-ul arz* of Bilaspur we do not find any such discrepancy between villages and nomadic tribe. In the *wajib-ul arz* it is clearly stated that the grazing tracts of the village wastes will be used by the villagers and it will be remained open for all cattle. And even in future no such type of closure will be there on the forests or grazing tracts.<sup>195</sup> This rule implemented only in Kangra to exploit the village resources and forests. Thus, different sets of rules were imposed upon Gujjars and villagers.

The British Government started allotting waste lands for cultivation on very nominal charges. Even the waste lands which lied between mountain tracts of adjoining villages were demarcated in the Settlements. In Una, which was directly under the British Indian Government, the British acquired the waste lands upon high fringes of the village and further allotted them to the contractor on lease. The waste tract along Siwalik was earlier full of *chil* trees, and for its commercial utilization it was leased to various contractors, who exploited the region. One of such instance is illustrated in *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur (1883)*-

“A waste tract called Ban Nandpir, in the northern end of the Siwalik hills was separated off at the first Regular Settlement from the surrounding villages, recorded the property of Government, and leased to Chandhri Bhaga of Badla at a nominal rent. The lease has now terminated and not been renewed: arrangement have been made for the grazing rights of the neighbouring villages; and it is to be hoped that trees and vegetables will again appear in it.”<sup>196</sup>

This clearly points out towards the commercial use of the waste tracts in Siwalik region. The lands were allotted to the contractors on lease for the commercial utilization of the tract. It was elaborated in the *Gazetteer (1883)* that the tract was rich in pine (*chil*) trees. The tract covers the area of approximately 1809 acres land and it was exploited in such a way that the leased could not further be extended. This exploitation of waste tracts in Siwalik region obviously affected the ranges. This leasing of the land also

195 *Wajib-ul Arz, Mauza Palsid, Tehsil Bilaspur, Record Room of Deputy Commissioner, Bilaspur, 1914.*

196 *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur, 1884, p. 170.*

affected the grazing right of pastoralists and the villagers. Then the arrangements were generally made on another tract. For the Ban Nandpir tract as after the completion of the leased of the contractor it seems the tract was barren thus it was completely closed for villagers so that vegetables and plants grow again. It was elaborated in the *Gazetteer* (1883) that “arrangements have been made for the grazing rights of the neighbouring villages; and it is to be hoped that trees and vegetation will again appear in it”.<sup>197</sup> After exploiting the tract it was baseless to hope that the planation again took the same shape as it was earlier. However it was realized by the colonial Government that growing plants are necessary to grow on this range for the complete safety to the Siwalik Hills.

Roe (1876), Settlement Officer of Hoshiarpur, clearly mentions that rules for waste lands will be implemented as per British Indian Government and the occupancy of villagers on the waste land will not be decided as per earlier ongoing rules/customs.<sup>198</sup> He further mentions that occupation on the waste land as per the requirement of their domestic need will be acceptable, but granting full authority for grazing their cattle in the village waste would not be acceptable.<sup>199</sup> It was elaborated in the *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur* (1904) that the waste land which will be left after the occupation of the wastes by the forest department, will be looked after by the *lambardar* of the village.<sup>200</sup> It was recorded that-

the *lambardar* is to see that trees are not needlessly cut, and to be responsible for the carrying out of these rules ; (b) no one is to sell wood or charcoal by way of trade ; (c) any *khevatdar* may, on the verbal permission of the *lambardar*, cut free of charge green or dry wood of any description for marriage or funeral ceremonies ; (d) he may, with the permission of the Forest Officer, cut chit trees for any

197 Ibid.

198 Roe, Charles A., *Report on the Revision of Settlement Records, & C. of The U'Nah Pargana of the Hoshiarpur District*, Lahore: Victoria Press, 1876, p.35

199 Ibid.

200 Fagan, P.L., *Punjab District Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII A, *Hoshiarpur District*, (1904), Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1905, p. 130.



necessary purpose other than those mentioned in the last preceding rule at 4 *annas* a tree, the money thus paid to be credited to village common fund (*malba*) (e) the Government reserves the right of cutting any timber in this waste on condition of paying to the *malba* for every tree so cut a sum not less than half the market price of the day for similar trees growing in a State forest."<sup>201</sup>

It reflects that the lambardar was appointed to keep a watch on the trees grown on the waste tracts of the villages. And villagers could only use the trees for marriage and funeral purpose and for the other uses of the trees, villagers had to pay to the lambardar and he deposited this money to *malba* (village common fund, even the review to colonial Government was paid from this fund). Thus Britishers occupied even the rights over the trees of village waste land. These harsh rules had a deep impact and restricted the movements of Gujjars in the region. They were never permitted even not to take the trees for their domestic uses. However, on the other hand, in Bilaspur all waste land remained under the Raja of Bilaspur. It remained open for all communities for grazing their cattle.<sup>202</sup> Even Gujjars also continued to use that waste land for grazing.<sup>203</sup> Clearly, while the forests used for grazing by the Gujjars are sustainable, cutting of forests for commercial usage is the key factor largely responsible for the destruction of forest reserves and deforestations. Gujjars do not cut the forests, only their herds graze and their usage of wood confines to personal consumption for cooking and making huts. Moreover all the forest tracts of the Siwalik were occupied by the British Government in the name of the classification of the forests and Gujjars were totally restricted from their customary grazing tracts.

British policies left a remarkable influence on this nomadic tribe. Since 1846, when the area was occupied by colonial Government, several rules and acts were introduced in the Hills,

201 Ibid, p.130.

202 *Wajib ul Arz Mauza* Bilaspur, Pargana Kot Khalour, Tehsil Bilaspur, District Shimla, Record Office of Deputy Commissioner, Bilaspur, 1904.

203 Ibid.

which had great impact on the hereditary rights of pastoralists. These policies not only restricted their movement in the Hills but also these can be blamed for erosion in Siwalik range. First tea plantation was introduced in 1850, through which waste land was promoted for tea plantations. The tracts which were earlier used by nomadic tribes as the grazing grounds now totally banned after tea plantation in that area. Then Land Acquisition Act 1883 was introduced in the region through which waste land adjoining to the villages was acquired by the colonial Government and that land was further leased to the contractors for the commercial utilization of the trees. Then forest Act of 1878 and later on 1927 was introduced to cover all the hills tracts under Colonial Government Management. These all new introduced systems were to extract the wood from these hills which were supplied to the plains. The ruthless destructions caused the erosion in Siwalik range and immense damage has been occurred in this part of the hills. Gujjars were affected much by these rules and their movement in Una later on restricted by the introduction of *Chos Act, 1900*. Villagers did not allow these Gujjars to graze their cattle in the waste lands. Tea plantation also restricted their area of grazing. All these factors keep nomadic Gujjars still in the darkness of the past. They are still leading a nomadic life and constantly moving in search of grazing tracts from one place to other.

## CHAPTER 5

# British Policies on Siwalik Erosion, and the Introduction of *Chos* Act (1900)



The natural forests are not very foamy in the Siwalik Hills and it had sufficient shrubs for the use of villagers and graziers. Southern slopes of the Siwalik are very soft in formation and thus made the problem ominous in its scope. The unstable sands and alluvial detritus were exceedingly fragile. The rate of erosion in this part of the Himalayas was among the highest in all of India. The denudation and fragment of the soft sand stones of Siwalik became the cause of well-known *chos*. These *chos* were the major cause of the immense damaged of the rich cultivated land in the plains. The erosion had begun since the colonial period and this erosion attracted the attention of British Indian Government in 1879, as the erosion reduced the revenue amount for the colonial Government. It is pertinent to note that revenue needs, expansion of commercial crops, development of the mining industry and building of railways had accentuated deforestation in the 19th century. Valuable agriculture land of Siwalik region destroyed by the havoc of the sand torrents, originated from the ravines after the destruction of Siwalik Hills. It is noticed in *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur 1904* that since 1852 the fertilized land of the Siwalik region started to get affected by the cruel action of these sandy

torrents. Guha rightly says that it was colonial land control and commercialization of forests that caused deforestation.<sup>1</sup>

The reduction of Colonial Government revenue due to reclamation of fertilized land by the action of *chos* attracted the attention of Britishers. The British Indian Government turned towards taking proper measurements of forests in the region and subject experts were asked to submit the report about erosion in this regard. It was considered that migratory graziers including Gaddis and the Gujjar buffalo herdsman were an important element of the challenge. Baden Powell was the first forest conservator who inspected the area and submitted his report on 'chos of Hoshiarpur' in 1879. This report gave a full description of the origin and nature of the *chos/khads*. Baden Powell blamed the local people who used the forest trees for the fire wood and this deforestation caused formation of *chos*. He argues that supply of fire wood and grazing were the major issues which led to this situation. Powell considered that deforestation is due to the misuse of the forests by the graziers. For this Baden Powell suggested complete closure of forests. By complete closure of forest Gujjars affected much being the forest dweller and therefore they were against this closure. Their interests were totally ignored on the basis of that they did not have permanent rights on the forest but had customary rights for using the forests.<sup>2</sup> However remedial suggestions of Powell (1877) which he made as the conservator of the Forests of Punjab in his article, 'Note on the Demarcation of the Forest Area in the District Containing Hill or Mountain Ranges' were not for complete closure.<sup>3</sup> He remarks that grazing can be provided in the forest area:

1. In forests of trees so aged as to be out of danger.

1 Guha, Ramachandra, *Unquiet woods*, p. 29.

2 Moir's Report on the Chos of Hoshiarpur 1883, published in *Indian Forester*, Vol X, Roorkee: Thomson Civil Engineering College Press, 1884, pp. 271-276.

3 Powell, Baden, 'Note on the Demarcation of the Forests area in Districts Containing Hill or Mountain Ranges', *The Indian Forester*, Vol II, January 1877, p. 254.

2. In places within the forest limit which are turfed only- or having patches or belts of trees, left on them, thus combining the use of forests and grazing grounds.
3. It can be practiced in the option of the villagers in any lands outside the forest line, and they must decide in their own interest, whether they will cultivate all the land or keep some part of it for grazing.<sup>4</sup>

Powell argues that the method of permitting grazing in some special parts of the Hills is adopted in Alps and it required following up in the Himalayas also. To fill the grazing requirements of the people, Powell suggests authorities to count the animals so that grazing facilities for them can be provided. Earlier the grazing facilities were adequate in the area. Colonial intervention in the region started to reduce the area in the name of protection of the Hills. The land classified into two parts- one is the forest land and other one is cultivated land and thus emphasizes on the control of the Government on all kind of waste land whether it is turfed, bare, or ill-used. Forest line which was suggested by the colonial forest conservators was the line drawn to take occupation of all forests of commercial utilization and those which remained out of forest line, had to be decided by villagers whether they want to convert that waste land as cultivated land or the grazing land. Turfed waste land is suggested to be closed to get natural growth and then those belts used as free circulation of the cattle. It was suggested that forest line should be drawn in the following parts of the Hills:

1. On the sharp crests or summits of hills, and in a belt along the top which is undulating or having flat surface. Thus, can be used as cultivation. By drawing a line of forest this just below this slop of the Hills can protect those crests.
2. On all steep slopes, say of 50 degree and over. If these are bare or cultivated, soil is sure to be washed away and land sliding occurred. Thus, forest line can protect these slopes.
3. The fan-shaped hollows, basins or amphitheaters from which

4 Ibid.

the ultimate branches or feeders of streams and torrents take their rise. This includes the sources of all streams and springs.

4. The banks of ravines, torrents and streams, down to their junction with the streams at the bottom of the valley.

The forest line was considered limits and in fact covers all the forests which became the property of the British Government. Villagers had to leave all their interest in those parts of forests. Through this forest line, Britishers took the control of forests which had commercial utilization. It was the strong opinion of colonial officers that closures or forest lines would keep the forests under conservancy. This forest line should be drawn between the commercial used forests and forests used by the villagers for their daily needs. Powell admitted that by taking the authority of the forests from the local people, it affected their early ongoing rights but it will help in conservation of the forests. Powell argues, "The control over the forests is thus compensated for by allowing the people to derive a real profit from it, and I wish it to be considered whether this profit is not as real an advantage to the people as the old methods of leaving the forest free to them subject to permit-restrictions and the prohibition of sale or merchandise."<sup>5</sup> These arguments were quite opposite to the rights of the forest dwellers, since the pre-colonial period native people and nomadic community of the region were enjoying unrestricted rights on forests and by adopting the methods of forest line (to preserve forest out of the reach of village) their interest affected directly. Colonial forest conservators were in favour of complete occupation of the forest having commercial utilization.

British Indian Government appointed Moir in 1882 to look into the matter of erosion in Sivalik and asked him to submit a detailed report with the opinion of the expert of the subject. He was directed to make a further and final report on this issue.<sup>6</sup> Moir,

5 Ibid, p. 259.

6 Guha, Ramchandra, 'Forestry in British and Post British India: A Historical Analysis,' *Economics and Political Weekly* Vol. XVIII, 1983, pp. 44-45.

however, had the same view as suggested by Baden Powell that to save forests of Siwalik, forests should be remained closure from the cattle rearing tribes. But he was in favour of making special grass grounds or suggested that in the part of waste land grass should be grown and given to the Gujjars so that they could take grass manually from grass grounds for their animals. He argues that in fact cattle are not so numerous in the region thus the matter of Gujjars buffaloes can be managed. Thus, nothing much had to do with the necessity of complete closing. Moir (1883), while explaining the original position of the Siwalik range, suggests that the proper closing is required on that place where the tract was denuded as in the denuded tract if cattle grazed it affected much more and that tract could never be saved. So he was positively of the opinion that the closure was required for the vegetation of the denuded tract because if in that tract a small number of cattle would graze it will destroy the whole tract. Besides the denuded tract, other parts of the forest can be used for grazing. Siwalik has sufficient vegetation for animals and if one tract has to be closed for its safety others may be used for grazing grounds. His argument was quite relevant as the region of the Siwalik is full of scrub and bushes which are generally used by the animal as their food. Here Moir's report was quite logical as he was not against the forest rights of the tribal community but he was arguing to protect the denuded tracts by complete closure and even suggested that on that tracts grass can be grown which later on can again be used by the graziers for their cattle. However, his report was totally criticized and not admitted by Colonial Government. The argument was that to safeguard the Gujjars, villages cannot be destroyed. It was remarked, "in curing a great evil, the few must suffer *some* inconvenience for saving the many."<sup>7</sup> Thus Gujjar's grazing had to be stopped. Moir's report (1883) was not accepted by the British Indian Government because the report was in favour of preserving the customary rights of the Gujjars in the region. Further it was also recommended that the compensation for the destruction of land was given only for the cultivators and not for the grazier. This clearly indicates that how-

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7 Moir's 'Report on the Chos of Hoshiarpur 1883', p. 277.

ever the rights of the local people were admitted but the customary rights of the tribes or nomadic community were totally ignored. However, this was only the consideration and in *Wajib-ul Arz* of the Mawa Sindhia village in Una tehsil it is clearly written that in case of *burd* (Lose of fertilized land) or *buramad* (reclaiming the land) with the flood of *Kuthera khad* no compensation would provide for the villagers *Mujaras* or *Murusi* (tenants cultivators). Thus, this was also not admitted by colonial government to give compensation to the cultivators. No remedy was there to compensate the nomadic community who were also affected by the denudation of the tracts. And the policy of complete closure of the forests was promoted. Ribbentrop was also in favour of ignoring the customary rights of the Gujjars and thus commented that it is not just to allow 785 villages to suffer so that 80 Gujjar hamlets may pick up a precarious living.<sup>8</sup> However, Gujjars were not merely 80 hamlets as suggested by Ribbentrop, they were living in all parts of the Siwalik. In some context Gujjars used to roam from one place to the other. Gujjars used the adjoining waste land tracts of their villages for grazing but it was suggested to take stern action against Gujjars villagers to stop their grazing facilities in village tracts. Ribbentrop also agreed with Moir's idea of making grass grounds from where these cattle rearing tribes can cut the grass for their animals. The interest of this tribal community was totally ignored however Gujjars have all their interest in the Hills of the Siwalik.

Ribbentrop advised to make trenches near the steeper slopes of the lower Siwalik Hills, so that soil could not be easily eroded. He believes that if trenches will be provided near the slopes, "the water cannot, as at present, rush down the steep hill sides, but it caught in the trenches, percolates the ground and causes a rich crop of grass of spring up."<sup>9</sup> Then for the safety of the tract it was suggested that where these trenches will be dug to preserve the

8 Ibid.

9 'The Grazing Difficulty in the Punjab Forests', *Indian Foresters*, Vol X, 1884, Roorkee: Thomson Civil Engineering College Press, 1884, p. 165.



water area that should be prohibited for the grazing purpose. This idea of Ribbentrop clearly indicates towards the idea of current 'check dams' in the Siwalik Hills to protect that part from the erosion. This erosion also became the major cause of the scarcity of water in Siwalik area. In 1942 Engineers of irrigation department were called upon to give opinion in this regard. The specialist officer of Irrigation Department came to conclusion that "deforestation of Siwalik was probably a major cause of the fall of the sub-soil water level."<sup>10</sup> For this the suggestion to make check dam was given. Hamilton (1935) also suggests that restoring of water in Siwalik range by making trenches helped to protect the range and increase the rainfall in the area.<sup>11</sup> Thus the necessity of check Dams is required not only to protect the Siwalik erosion but also to get the rain fall in the region. These check dams will not only provide the water for animals and for cultivation but will also provide grass area for cattle, and from that hey field grass can be easily cut for the animals and by doing this treatment denudation can also be protected.

Inspite of all measures taken against the grazing rights of the pastoralist community, the condition in the Siwalik range was going to be worst and this range continually denuded. This was also due to the fact that although graziers were dropped out from the forests but the supply of wood for commercial utilization was still going on. A bewildering variety of grazing fees had grown up over the years, varying from British to Princely districts, and from government to village councils to private landowners. British officers attempted to simplify and standardize the fee structures, with some success. With the raising fees for graziers it was also attempted to place a limit on the numbers of sheep and goats arriving each autumn, not only to limit the amount of pasture consumed but also to reduce the numbers of tree branches lopped for fodder. But the condition of erosion was raised by the worst effect of flood in the Siwalik region. The alarming situation in the Siwalik made the

10 Glover Harold, *Erosion in the Punjab its Cause and Cure*, Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Ltd., 1944, p. 117.

11 Hamelton, p. 6.

British Government to take serious steps. Again, these steps were taken against the Gujjars and special grazing rights given to them by the pre-colonial policy makers as *swanadar*<sup>12</sup> were reduced only to a limited area of Kangra region. In the Forest Act of 1878, the Gujjars were permitted for “grazing in the sawanas in which under the record of rights they have a right of grazing.”<sup>13</sup> But later on, this special right was also reduced and only the Gujjars of Kangra proper got this privilege and in the other villages of Kangra it was written in the *Wajib-ul arz* that *swana* Gujjars should not be allowed there. In the *Wajib-ul arz* of Moza Tappa Tehsil Hamirpur District Kangra it is clear cut written that in our village there is no *swana* (hereditary grazing tract) of any Gujjars, means Gujjars did not have any hereditary right to graze their animals here and if they came in their village then the villagers would take the grazing fees from the Gujjars. In condition Number 2 of *Wajib-ul arz* related to right of grazing in waste (*shamlat*) it is written that from villagers no *trini* (grazing tax) would be taken however Gujjars have to give grazing tax to the villagers. This is a diplomatic policy of the Britishers as they allowed the villagers to graze their animals in the villager grazing grounds or the *Chrand* but did not allow to use that tract by the Gujjars.

A special enquiry held in 1895-97 to deal with the extent of the damage. Sir Patrick Fagan the then Deputy Commissioner of Hoshiarpur devised the *Chos* Act in 1900 for protecting the southern slopes of the Siwalik. On the recommendation of this committee *Chos* Act 1900 was implemented in the area by which local Government was empowered to take over strict action against the rights of grazing, wood cutting etc. in the Siwalik region, as a first attempt to take measure towards making the area reforestation. Denuded and affected area of the Hoshiarpur, Dasuya and Garshanker was demarcated. For preparing the report of denuded

12 Gujjars have special rights in the forest skirts known as their *Warisee* rights.

13 *Punjab Forest Manual Vol 1, Related to the Punjab Forest Rules under the Acts, and other Legal Matters*, Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, 1916, p. 57.

area, the staff consisting of a *Tehsildar*, two Field *Qanango* and fifteen *Patwaries* with five Assistant *Parwaries* were deputed. Total 142 villages were taken under the influence of the denudation and out of these only for 31 villages draft was prepared and for the other villages draft prepared was later on. Out of these 142 villages, 42 were in Hoshiarpur, 24 were in Dasuya and 76 were in Garhshanker.<sup>14</sup> However later on this *chos* act was implemented in all villages of Hoshiarpur. Till 1902-03 after preparing the maps of the denuded area, committee was dissolved. Only *Tehsildar* remained there to give the further reports. Then with the Punjab Government Notification No 643 dated 12th December 1902 this act enforced in all 142 demarcated villages. It was introduced that *Chos* Act is, "An Act to provide for the better preservation and protection of Certain portions of the territories of the Punjab situate within or adjacent to the Siwalik mountain range or affected or liable to be affected by the deboisement of forests within that range, or by the action of steams and torrent, such as are commonly called *chos*, flowing through or from it."<sup>15</sup> And Section 4 of the Act applied vide which wood cutting, grazing & cultivation all were totally prohibited. Even after implemented of this act sheep and goats were totally prohibited to enter in the forests. The area where this *Chos* Act implemented kept permanently or temporarily regulates or restricts and prohibits:

- (a) The clearing or breaking up or cultivating of land not ordinary under cultivation prior to the publication of the notification.
- (b) The quarrying of stone or the burning of lime, at places where such stone or lime had not ordinary been so quarried or burnt prior to the publication of the notification
- (c) The cutting of trees or timber or the collection or removal or subjection to any manufacturing process, otherwise than as described in clause (b) of this sub-section, of any for-

14 *Punjab Land Administration Acts and Rules having the Force of Law Thereunder*, Vol. 11, Lahore: Government Printing Press, Punjab, 1916, p. 113.

15 Punjab Act No. 11 of 1900 *The Chos Act*, published in 15<sup>th</sup> November in *Punjab Government Gazettee*, 1900.

- est-produce other than grass, save for bona fide domestic or agricultural purpose.
- (d) The setting on fire of trees, timber or forest-produce.
  - (e) The admission, herding, pasturing or retention of sheep or goats.
  - (f) The examination of forest-produce passing out of any such area.
  - (g) The granting of permit to the inhabitants of towns and villages situated within the limits or in the vicinity of any such area, to take any tree, timber or forest-produce for their own use therefrom, or to pasture sheep or goats or to cultivate or erect building therein and the production and return of such permits by such persons.<sup>16</sup>

In the clause 5 of this act, there is provision that in those villages where *Chos* Act was imposed 'in respect of any specific village or villages, or part or parts thereof, comprised within the limit of any area notified under section 3' state Government may by special order can restrict or prohibit:

- (d) the admission hereditarily pasturing or restriction of cattle generally other than [goats and camels] or of any class or description of such cattle.

In the villages where the *Chos* Act 1900 was implemented, movements of Gujjars were prohibited through the clause 5 of this act and they were forced to remain out from the villages of Siwalik region.

*Chos* Act was implemented and enforced in Siwalik region along with the Forest Act 1878, "which extinguished pasture and wood cutting rights as well as rights to break up new land for cultivation in the forest areas. Necessary closure was introduced through this act and rotational grazing was forcibly started to control the grazing of cattle."<sup>17</sup> Thus through the recommendation of *chos* act 1900 (Punjab Land Preservation Act 1900), Gujjars

<sup>16</sup> *Punjab Land Administrative Acts and Rules*, Vol 1. Acts, Lahore: Superintending Government Printing, 1914, p. 220.

<sup>17</sup> Glover, 1942, p. 27.

were banned for the grazing in the ranges of the Siwalik. Gujjars were given only set grazing tracts to use. In spite of all these efforts denudation could not be reduced. It was noted that the Deputy Commissioners of Hoshiarpur and Ambala did their best to enforce the *Chos* Act, but failed to tackle with the problem for the reason that they were lack of technical knowledge of the fringes of the Himalayas and of the Siwalik range. Keeping in view these problems in 1934 Forest officer was appointment as Assistant to the Deputy Commissioners; this Forest Officer was responsible to the Conservator of the Forests, Eastern Circle. Forest Assistant was appointed for technical advice and in this way the Forest Department became fully aware of the technical, social, and economic problems with which they were shortly to be confronted.<sup>18</sup> This destruction remained continued due to the reason that although graziers were dropped out from the forests but the supply of wood for commercial utilization was still going on.

From 1914 to 1916, the grazing of sheep and Goat were allowed by the Government on the payment of compensation.<sup>19</sup> After 1914, the system was altered by the colonial Government and the land holders of the villages were asked to collect the grazing dues from the pastoralists and the income of the grazing tax was including in the villager revenue which was collected by the *zaildar*<sup>20</sup> and deposited into the British Government Treasury Offices. The areas in the villages started to be controlled through the implementation rules for their grazing in the *Wajib-ul Arz*. Till 1915 *sawana* used to enjoy their unrestricted rights on the forests after paying the tax of one rupee per big buffalo and 8 *annas* per small buffalo. In Kangra (1883) it is stated that “Gujars paying one rupee per big and eight annas per small buffalo, and the other man four anna or two anna.”<sup>21</sup> Gujjars charges very high rates as compare to the

18 Stebbing, E.P., H. G. Champion, and F.C. Osmaston, *The Forests of India*, Vol. 4, Delhi: Asiatic Publishing House, 2010 [1925], p. 370.

19 Ibid, p. 18.

20 *Zaildar* were appointed by Britishers on the basis of having land and he was assigned the duty of collecting revenue from the villages.

21 Cunnighum, F., *Gazetteer of the Kangra District, Part 1*, Kangra, 1883-84, Delhi: B.R. Publishing corporation, 2012[1884], p. 170.

other classes. In the *Gazetteer of Kangra (1883)* it is stated that, “everywhere the Gujjar herdsman, whether also landholders or not, paid at heavier rates than persons of other castes.”<sup>22</sup> After 1915 Shuttleworth, Settlement Officer of Kangra reduced the number of the buffaloes taken by the Gujjars in the forests and taxed doubled. It was suggested that Kangra ranges were eroded (Siwalik and Mid-Himalayan range) due to over grazing thus grazing tax on Gujjars should be raised high to restrict them.<sup>23</sup> By the Punjab Government letter No 164 dated 12th April 1915 and 13-Forest dated 8th January 1916, it was decided to raise the amount of taxes on the cattle.<sup>24</sup> Thus Gujjars were to charge high amount as compared to others that was 2 rupees per female buffaloes against 2 *anna* for others. This tax was chargeable from *sawanadar* Gujjars, including nine *pies* on every sheep, and one *anna* on every goat. In Kangra: (1926), it is stated, “They paid a tax of Rs 2 per buffalo, which they still pay to the village proprietors.”<sup>25</sup> Even it was popular in Kangra that “jiske pas dhan us ke ban” [The man who had the money can get forests].<sup>26</sup> This grazing tax was included in the land revenue, it means when land revenue was taken from the cultivators, grazing tax was also imposed on pastoralists. Thus, it was move a fluctuating assessment of grazing.<sup>27</sup> This raised tax (Rs 2 per buffalo) was charged as part of revenue assessment i.e. twice a year. First was charged at Rabi harvesting i.e in April and May and second was at *Kharif* harvesting i.e in September or October.<sup>28</sup> *Sawana* Gujjars (have hereditary occupation on the forest skirt) were also have to pay this tax. On account of these higher rates of grazing tax revenue of the British Government got raised enor-

22 Ibid.

23 *Kangra District Gazetteer*, 1926, p. 305.

24 Middleton, *Final Report of the third Revised Land Revenue Settlement of the Palampur, Kangra and Nurpur Tahsils of the Kangra District 1913-1919*, Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1919, p. 30.

25 Ibid.

26 Lyall, J.B., *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Panjab*, 1867-72, Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1874, p. 20.

27 Middleton, 1919, p. 30.

28 Ibid.

mously. Later on, *sawana* rights were reduced and villagers were asked to take the grazing tax from the Gujjars if they used the grazing tract of the village for their cattle, they have to pay separately to the village community. In the *Wajib-ul Arz* of the village *Lohdawa*, tehsil Nurpur District Kangra (1914) it is stated that there is no *swana* of Gujjars in our village and to graze the waste lands of the village Gujjars had to pay the grazing tax known as *trini*, (See detail on *trini* infra) and if Gujjars failed to pay *trini* for grazing in the village waste lands then the owner of the land can restrict their occupation in that part of the village.<sup>29</sup> Gujjar's sheep and goats were also charged separately. Being a nomadic tribe Gujjars used to roam from one place to other so it was difficult for revenue department to collect grazing dues from them, therefore this grazing tax was collected by the forest department of British Indian Government. British raised approximately double the amount of grazing tax on buffaloes in the beginning since 1846 it was Rs 1 on big buffalo and 8 *anna* of small buffalo. But in 1914 revision of grazing tax it was Rs 2 on each female buffalo. Similarly, Gaddis who were earlier paying Rs 2 on 100 sheep and goats in 1914 charged at the rate of Rs 9 *pie* on each sheep and 1 *anna* on each goat. Grazing tracts were restricted for use of the Gujjars, instead grazing taxes were raised which put an extra burden on Gujjar community. These dues were taken for using the Kangra forests and even in Una where after implementation of *Chos Act* their movement was partly restricted.

In 1928, L. B. Holland, soil conservation specialist appointed by British Government to do a systematic study in the matter. He submitted a special report to the Punjab Government on the alarming position of the erosion. He also goes with his predecessors and singled out overgrazing as the major factor behind the deforestation of the forests. He also proposed stringent restriction on the seasonal migration of herders.<sup>30</sup> Holland report faced great

29 *Wajib-ul Arz*, , Mauza Lohdawa, Tehsil Nurpur District Kangra, kept in the record room of Deputy Commissioner Kangra, 1917-18.

30 Holland. L.B., *Report on Denudation and Erosion in the Low Hills of Punjab*, Lahore: Government Press, p. 8

public controversy as he was totally against the pastures of villagers as well as tribal groups. Under great pressure British Government again appointed a special committee to hold public hearing in the major affected districts.

In 1932, a special Committee of the Legislative Council presided over by Miles Irving, Financial Commissioner, was convened and came to the conclusion that the basic cause of erosion was the disappearance of the forests from the hills. The committee centered its attention towards the Siwalik region and took the issues of over grazing seriously. The committee concluded that since 1916 there is reduction in numbers of non-migratory livestock's and settled people have reduced cattle grazing in restricted area but the Gujjars/Gaddis flocks have not declined. The committee remarked that although the extent of pasture land remained constant but its condition was declined in villages as well as Government lands.<sup>31</sup> All this is due to over grazing by the cattle of the pastoralist. To control the denudation again it was suggested to improve the grazing facilities. In 1934, A.P.F Hamilton was appointed Assistant to Deputy Commissioner, Hoshiarpur and Ambala, and was later placed on special duty to report on erosion in the Rawalpindi Division. About the erosion Hamilton argued that deforestation was the major reason of formation of *chos/ khads*. In 1937 Punjab Government appointed a committee with strong unofficial representation under the chairmanship of Sir Colin Garbett, Financial Commissioner, and with A.P.F, Hamilton Deputy Conservator of Forests, as Secretary, to enquire and report.<sup>32</sup> The committee found that the erosion prevalent throughout the low hills of the province. Committee recommended to create a special Conservation Circle, "which eventually dealt with soil erosion throughout the province" to combat the menace.<sup>33</sup> This circle was created in the Forest Department with effect from 1<sup>st</sup> April 1939. "Thus, impetus

31 Tucker Richard, 'The Evolution of Transhumant of Grazing in the Punjab Himalayan' *Mountain Research and Development*, Vol. 6., No 1, International Mountain Society, Feb 1986, pp. 17-28.

32 Stebbing, *The Forests of India*, p. 369.

33 Ibid.



to a movement that proved to be both popular with the poverty-stricken villagers in the remoter tracts of the province and their economic salvation.”<sup>34</sup> The charge of this circle was remained with A.P.F. Hamilton. Through this circle Forest Conservators started to get villagers aware about this erosion and give them knowledge about the preventions used to the protection of the land from erosion. However, committee did not serve its purpose in real sense. However villagers started to grow the soil protected plants adjoin to their lands which still the part of the bank of their lands. For the pasture management Hamilton promoted stall feeding. He argues that where-ever the closure has been applied, villagers were earning from the sale of grass surplus to their requirement. Hamilton was in favour of making much more area under cultivation so that pastoralists were also forced to be settled and start cultivation. He provoked the villagers to make the waste land clear for starting cultivation on it. He encouraged the cultivation so that the needs of the people less dependent on cattle. It was Hamilton idea that if the pastoralists grazing would be stopped and they would encourage to be settled and start cultivation then they could earn from the other sources which were explored as firewood, bamboo, lac and *bhabar* grass. Villagers could have sold bamboo, lac and *bhabar* and earn money after selling these grasses for commercial utilization. All British forest conservators recommended complete closure to stop the erosion. Hamilton suggests the benefits of the closure:

1. Closure will indirectly improve the quality of the cattle and the grass-crop which can be improved and increased by sowing the most suitable species will help to solve the grazing problem.
2. The zamindars will derive an income from the sale of surplus grass and shisham trees, both of which grow readily in the sand.

34 Ibid.

3. By leaving a few trees scattered over the fields and along the borders, the land when brought under the plough, is protected from the drying effects of sun and wind.<sup>35</sup>

Later, Sir Harold Glover has prepared a report in 1944 on the progress made by the soil Conservation Circle within the five year. This report covered the erosion position in the province of Punjab and was entitled as *Erosion in Punjab: Its Causes and Cure*.

The suggestion of complete closure for safety of the Siwalik range, by the forest conservators of the colonial Government have its great impact on the tribal communities of the region. Thus, it was objected by grazier and squatters. However villagers had grass grounds known as *Kharetar* and *Gasiana* adjoining to their arable land which they used to extract firewood and grass for their domestic use but it clearly strikes the existence of the pastoral tribes who were also essential part of the villagers of the Hills as they provided manure to their arable fields while their stay in the migratory journey.<sup>36</sup> As wood being abundant in the hills thus cow dung cakes were not made for fuel and it used for manuring.<sup>37</sup> Moreover colonial forest policies were against the traditional methods of managing forests, which were adopted by these forest dwellers in the Hills of the Siwalik. Forest dwellers never used the parts of the forests regularly but there was a great management between these tribes who move towards the higher hills in summer and comes down only in winter. This gap manages the forest recovery. It's evidenced that, colonial Government continuous the commercial policies which exploit the forests. There is no evidence of any overgrazing pressure in these ranges until after the British occupation began in the mid 19th century. Only after British occupation of this part of Hills closely associated patterns of overgrazing and land-use disputes began to appear. Firstly it

35 Hamilton, 1935, p. 7.

36 Singh, Chetan, *Natural Premises: Ecology and Peasant Life in the Western Himalaya, 1800-1950*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 77.

37 *Gazetteer of the Sirmour State, 1934*, revised by Kahn Chand Kaour, Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 2012 [1934], p. 78.

arose in the outlying low hills or the Siwalik Hills and the Kangra valley, where pasture use and social relations moves together before the British arrival. But later on, the problem of grazing for villagers as well as for the pastoralist communities rose day by day. The issue of erosion was so serious that Colonial Government had thought this perennially. To protect the area from this evil, report in this regard were sought from different forest conservators in a systematically way. It is the seriousness of the subject that *chos* act was also implemented along with the forest act to prevent the erosion. Now question is that what new things were introduced in the region which caused such type of huge destruction that even it reduced the cultivated land of the region, as the fertile land was swapped away by the furious floods in *chos/khads*.

#### Alteration made in *Thak* or *Rakh* System and Introduction of *Trihas* System and *Trini* Tax in the Siwalik region

Colonial officers considered the customary rights of the pastoralists in the forests as the major reason behind the erosion. After occupation of the hilly tracts of the Punjab in 1846, Britishers made some new alternations in prevailed practices in the Hills of Siwalik region; among those the utilization of waste land was most prominent. The waste land was earlier used by the grazier and the villagers freely as there was enough land for the cattle of the area (see Chapter 3). Villagers did not pay rent to the state for using the hay fields and it was prevailed practice in the Hills that if the cultivators pay the rent to the Raja, then that land will remain with him for cultivation.<sup>38</sup> The hay fields in the waste land were only for the use of the villagers and the graziers. As already stated in chapter 4 that in the hills waste was bifurcated in two parts first is *charand* or grazing land and other is *ghasian* or *kharetar* where grass could remain reserve by the villager for their own use. This grass of *kharetar* was used in a systematic way by the pastoralists and the villagers for their domestic needs and nothing was going wrong at that time in these ranges of the Hills. Barnes converted

38 *Gazetteer of Kangra District*, 1883-84, p. 124.

each circuit into *mauzas* and demarcated their boundaries. These *mauzas* were earlier collection of hamlets with patches of cultivation and undefined rights of villagers on the surrounding waste. Then each village was converted into a cooperative body. Thus, the land revenue was assessed at a lump-sum for the entire *mauza* the payment of which was made the joint responsibility of all the villagers. Through this settlement the ownership of the soil of the forest and the waste was transferred to the village co-operative body with certain reservation of rights of Gaddis and Gujjars.<sup>39</sup> Lyall sub divided these *mauzas* into *tikkas* which consist one or two hamlets and adjoining waste land. Then the waste land was sub-divided into *Shamlat Tika* and *Shamlat Deh*. Villagers have to pay for using the *shamlat* land. For *Shamlat tikka* revenue was paid by each *khewatdar* or users while for *Shamlat Deh* revenue paid by each *tikka* for using the waste land. Waste land and forest land was earlier the property of the Raja hence it was transfers to the state as state property. However, in hills unenclosed land adjoining to the village covered with wild growing trees and bushes were also noted as forest land by the people of area.<sup>40</sup> Since time immemorial there was system of keeping *thak* and *Rakh* in the forest by the Rajas of the region. This system was prevailed by Rajput Rajas to preserve the forests of the Hills. Earlier *Rakhs* was the part of forests which kept preserved for shooting of royal family in the Hills. Thus, in these *rakhs* no grazing of cattle or trespass for cutting of grass or branches was allowed. Rajput Rajas preserved these *rakhs* as they protect their gardens.<sup>41</sup> Through this system of *rakh* Rajput Rajas tried to save one third part of the forests out of the reach of the villagers. Similarly, another system which was prevailed in the most of principalities of Hills was the system of keeping *thak* or prohibition of grazing, on all forests for the three months of the rains. *Thak* system was also in practice “partly as an assertion to

39 Kumar, Rakesh, *Revised working plan of Hamirpur forest Division*, 1998-99, Government of Himachal Pradesh, p. 10.

40 Lyall, p. 110.

41 Lyall, 1874, p.21.

authority and partly with an idea of benefit to trees and game.”<sup>42</sup> Raja kept a part of forest closed for three months. During the *thak* (forest area reserved by the Raja) Gujjars were allowed to graze their cattle. Gujjars were important for villagers as well as for the Raja. They were the supplier of milk and *ghee*. Lyall mentions that Raja gave a *pata* to the Gujjars for grazing in some parts of forests during the *thak* period. Thus, both these practices that prevailed in the hills by Rajput Rajas were to protect the forests.

Colonial Government has altered these two systems which clearly reflect from the *Wajib-ul Arz* of the villages. Major alterations were made in the *thak* (keeping forest closed for three months) system of hills. Earlier some portion of the forest was kept closed for three months which helped in making ecological balance in the region. The British, in view of their interests, made major changes in the adoption of this system. As stated earlier the goal of the colonial Government was to raise their revenue. Earlier Rajas of the region were not getting any financial benefits from these *thaks*. The nature of the *thak* was completely changed by the British Policy makers. The customary rights of the pastoralists were totally ignored. Instead of keeping *thak* in forests now in every village keeping the system of *thak* was started. In the *wajib-ul arz* of Mauza Jalari tehsil Hamirpur district Kangra condition no 8 elaborated that “however Raja except the earlier *thaks*, would not have any right to put any new *thak* in the village, but it did not mean that through this way any customary right of the colonial Government would be affected to keep the *thak* (preservers) in village.”<sup>43</sup> Condition clears that Raja was restricted to keep the *thak* in the area but through this custom of the Hills, British Government also started to keep *thaks* in the villages. Another alteration was made in *rakhs*, earlier *rakhs* was to preserve forest area from the domestic uses but in colonial period *rakhs* were

42 Ibid. (Lyall has clearly differentiated between *thak* or *rakh* system. Both of these systems were in fact a similar rule for preserving the one third part of the forests of the Hills)

43 *Wajib- ul Arz*, Village Jalarari, Tehsil Hamirpur, District Kangra, 1910.

started to utilized for growing commercial grass which later on auctions to the contractors. In the *wajib-ul arz* of Mauza Jalari tehsil Hamirpur district Kangra, it is stated that British officers got the right to keep some parts of the village kept closed for commercial grass. Then in condition No 10 of *wajib-ul arz* it is stated that three major portions of the waste land were kept as *thak*. It is written that in our village that there are three rakhs – *nagutilu, tikkatilu and kharidiwali*. And there *godams* were also at *piplu da panga, karoltaraiwali, tikkakaror* which were kept preserved at the time of settlement. In all these *rakhs* grass was kept preserved in the months of *Sawan, Bhado* and *Assu*. In these parts of *Rakh Raja* used to grow *khar* grass. Then this grass was cut and used to auction to villagers accordingly. Villagers who gave higher bid could get this grass. This grass was kept till *kartik* month then the fields were given to the graziers.”<sup>44</sup> Even the nature of *thak* was also changed earlier the forests were kept closed for three months but in colonial period adjoining area of the villages were started to close as *thak* and it was also used to grow the grass in these parts. In the *wajib-ul arz* of Mauza Bhalwal, Tehsil Dehra District Kangra it is illustrated that, “in our village *ballapatan* [name of part of village] place kept preserve and remained the *thak* of Raja for three months. In this period *khar* grass was grown in the field and after the cutting of this grass the ground was given for the grazing to the animals.”<sup>45</sup> These two *Wajib- ul Arzs* of different tehsil i.e. Hamirpur and Dehra clears that the system of *thak* was continued in these parts of the Siwalik villages. It clears that in these villages some part was kept preserved and there since from the month of July grass was grown and usually it was cut in the November. But the *khar* grass was not auctioned for the grazing of the cattle as cattle never eat *khar* grass and it was taken by the villagers to make the roofs of their thatched huts. Thus, new alteration was that in that period of *thak* commercial grass was grown and it was later on auctioned to the higher bidder. *Godams* was kept at the different

44 Ibid.

45 *Wajib-ul Arz*, mauza Bhalwal, Tehsil Dehra, District Kangra, 1914-15.

part of the waste land and in these *godams* grass was kept after cutting and until it auctioned. As the native people used to follow all the rules of the Raja thus *thak* or *rakh* system was introduced to the villagers on the name of the Rajas. The revenue from these *thaks* were add in the village revenue and collected by the colonial officers. Later on, under the colonial rule, the grass of *kharetar* and *charand* was also started auction to the graziers. As the villagers were very few and the tenant or the graziers were many, thus selling of grass to the graziers raised the revenue amount of the village. Sometimes values of grass sold exceed the amount of the revenue and wood sold.<sup>46</sup> Gujjars used to take these hay fields on rent bases from the villagers which will increase the revenue of the village and ultimately increased the revenue amount of the British treasury. In other villages of Jaswan dun valley or in the area of Hoshiarpur and Dehra *kharetar* and *charand* were used in a different way by the colonial Government and villagers were forced to grow the *kharkana* grass in the hay fields. It was made mandatory that *kharkana* grass which was used for paper mills were grown in the reserved parts of the village grazing grounds then it was auctioned and after that the area of *charand* (earlier Gujjars used it freely) was allowed to graze for their cattle.<sup>47</sup> This is also necessary to mention here that *Charand* was not given for cultivation and it was separated from the other *shamlat* land which was given for *pattanotor* to the cultivators.<sup>48</sup>

*Trihas* was another system which was introduced in the region on the pattern of *thak*. Barnes, the first settlement officer of the Kangra, preserved the old practice and recognized the tribal rights on the village and forest waste land.<sup>49</sup> Bailey, who succeeds Barnes, did major alternations in the matter of waste land including the Hay fields of the villages. It was mandatory for the villagers to have *trihas* in the villages. In this system all the forest land adjoining to

46 *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur*, 1904, p. 6.

47 *Gazetteer of Kangra District*, 1883-84, p. 242.

48 *Wajib-ul Arz Village Bhalwal*, Tehsil Dehra, District Kangra, 1914-15.

49 *Gazetteer of Kangra District*, 1883-84, p. 242.

the villages in the hills covered with wild growing trees and bushes was divided into three parts. Each such plot named as *trihai* in succession to be kept in preserve as *thak sarkar* for a period of three or more years.<sup>50</sup> One third of village waste land was kept as preserver in every village. During this period of *thak sarkar* all the rights of grazing, cutting fire-wood or other exercises of the villagers and *zamindars* including cattle herding tribes were prohibited. Thus in *thak trihai* one third was preserved as *thak sarkar* and for the remaining two third of the forest a new law was introduced through which, "firing the dry grass in the winter to improve the crop in the spring was made penal, and clearing jungle to cultivate without the permission of the Deputy Commissioner was distinctly forbidden."<sup>51</sup> However Chief Commissioner of India in 1855 under the Indian Council's Act ordered, "do not pretend to do away with any manorial or proprietary rights of individuals or communities which may exist." "In response of this Mr. Bailey replied that the native people had provided all rights and they were not bar to the exercise of the powers conferred. All occupants and owners of land have provided timber and fuel what they really required for domestic and agricultural purpose."<sup>52</sup> However the answer to the Chief Commissioner of India by Bailey was quite satisfactory but in fact villagers were restricted from their traditional rights through the rules implemented in the *Wajib-ul arzs*. Even the pastoralist community of the region was also suffered by these exploiting methods of growing grass. However, the native people as well as the pastoralist community of the region never objected the prevailed practices and they adopted all the rules. Then the Governor General in Council, in sanctioning the rules, remarked that, from a European point of view, they would appear of an arbitrary character, but that their principal was justified by the unquestionable validity of Government manorial rights in hill forests, and by the undoubted exigency of the matter.<sup>53</sup> After the

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.



introduction of *thak trihai* (putting in preserve of one-third) new alterations made by Colonel Lake Commissioner of the Division in 1859, vide which it was made mandatory that the zamindar's have to apply to the *tahsildar* of the *pargana* for taking timber for building and agricultural purposes and they have to deposit a fees for it in village revenue. Earlier which were their rights now become rules for the extraction of woods. It was also decided that out of one rupees of profit, four *annas* will be reserved for the village community and will divided as three *annas* to the village officials and one *anna* to the village community. British officers justified this by arguing that these new instructions will "on the one hand to make the zamindar's more frugal in their use of timber and on the other hand to interest them generally in the success of forest conservancy."<sup>54</sup> The preserved grasses in the *trihais* were sold by the auction. Then from 1859 to 1860 in the villages (*mauzas*) of Kangra, Hamirpur (including Kotlehr) and in part of Dehra *trihai's* i.e one third part of forest was measured and marked out. Lyall (1872) introduced another system of interchange vide which if the villagers were agreed to leave a portion of forest lands as the full property of the state, then the rest full property of village land will remain with the communities. The natives of the hills never show any resentment in the prevailing rights of their forest uses. However, the villagers of *Baragrion* resisted leaving their interest in the adjoining forest of their village on the ground that they will surrender to the State large blocks if partial right of pasturage therein were maintained for them.<sup>55</sup> The villagers argue that without such concession they would not give little as they required grass for their herds and they did not required timber. Clearly villagers, pastoralists required grasses and not timber. Timber was only used for commercial utilizations. So, the colonial policy makers since from the very beginning of their occupation of the Hills introduced the policies to raise their revenue and started exploitation of the forests. The grass of the *trihai* was auctioned and sold to the highest bidder by villagers. This revenue was counted in the

54 *Gazetteer of Kangra District*, 1883-84, p. 242.

55 *Ibid*, p. 244.

village revenue and it was made a customary law for the villagers to adopt this policy. However, we did not find any reference of the *trihai* in the settlement reports of the Siwalik districts but in the *Wajib-ul arz* of the villages it is clear cut mention that the *trihai* would be auctioned and its revenue would be count in the village revenue. *Trihai* was introduced in Kangra, Hamirpur tehsil and in parts of Dehra in 1860. However, in village of Nurpur it was not applicable on the ground that “no officer being found available in after years for the purpose.”<sup>56</sup> In fact the waste land of Nurpur and Palampur was already acquired as per Land acquisition Act, to introduce tea plantation in the region. Anderson in 1898, while making the forest settlement, demarcated *trihai*s in the larger forests of Kangra. Thus, the system of *trihai*s was started in the forests also. Some of the *trihai*s were very small and not a few of them were almost bare of trees; but they were retained and considered demarcated forests.<sup>57</sup> These *trihai*s were put to close for a long period thus the native people along with tribal community never objected for this closure as they made the habit of keeping themselves out from those parts of the forests. In Kangra (1904) it is illustrated that “they have been closed so long that the people are now put little or no inconvenience, or at all events do not consider their closure as a hardship.”<sup>58</sup> Anderson closed the forest which he occupied for colonial Government under *trihai*s for the period of 37 years. Under section 28(b) of forest act the system was extended for another 20 years. This notification expired in 1917, after these had been closed for 57 years. *Trihai*s was also an alteration form of the *thak* system. The difference between *thak* and *trihai*s was that *thak* was closed for three months however *trihai*s was closed for three years. And later on, *trihai*s forests were kept closed for thirty years and extended upto fifty years.

In Nurpur where *trihai*s was not operated, there *trini* grazing tax was introduced and started taken from Gujars. In the *Wajib-ul*

56 Ibid.

57 *Punjab District Gazetteer*, Volume XA, *Kangra District Part A*, 1904, Lahore: Military Gazette Press, 1906, p. 167.

58 Ibid.

arz of village *Lodhawa* Tehsil Nurpur it is illustrated that the villagers of the *Lodhawa* were asked to take *trini* from Gujjars; however, it did not prevailed in practice earlier but now it was decided that villagers would allow the cattle of Gujjars to graze after taking *trini* (grazing tax).<sup>59</sup> Gujjars were prohibited in all parts of the village grazing lands and when they move towards these hills in the winter season, they faced different kind of rules and charged doubled. It's necessary to mention here that the system of *thak* and *trihas* and even *trini* was only introduced in Kangra and Hoshiarpur region where the destruction of Siwalik started. However, Bilaspur and Sirmour were never kept in this category.

No doubt as stated above that all the forest conservators of the Siwalik region were in the strong opinion that the region was earlier well wooded and due to deforestation, the erosion has been started in this range. Thus, closure was approved by all forest conservator to prevent the erosion in the other parts and to make the region safe from the havoc of the floods. But the suggested closure was for the eroded trenches and rotational grazing was approved which was not confined during the *trihas* and *thak* system. Even making check dams was proposed which was also not taken seriously. Closure through *thak* and *trihas* was only for the improvement of Colonial Revenue and was not implemented in its real sense. To take a comparison of Sirmour and Bilaspur (governed through *sannads*) with the Kanga and Hoshiarpur (directly governed) it could be concluded that the Siwalik forests of Sirmour and Bilaspur were in well protected form as compare to Kangra and Hoshiarpur. It may also be due to the reason that forests of Sirmour were not easily approachable for transportation hence remained preserved. Although through the *Sajra Nasibs* of the Sirmour villages it is evident that in this part of the region Gujjars has been settled since time immemorial and used to graze their animals in the forests of Sirmour. Similarly, Bilaspur which also falls in the Siwalik, but here also the forests are preserved and erosion was not in the furious form as it was in Hoshiarpur

59 *Wajib-ul Arz*, Village *Lodhawa*, Tehsil Nurpur, District Kangra, 1914-15.

and Kangra. From the Cleghorn's report it proves that forest of Hoshiarpur and Kangra were used commercially in colonial period, (see chapter 4) as these areas were easy to access. Thus, the destruction was due to commercial exploitation and not due to use of the forests by the pastoralist's community.

*Trini* was however an early prevailed practice in the Hills but Colonial Government made alterations in this system also. *Trini* was one kind of grazing tax levied on the pastures for using the forest grass. *Trini* was started by the Sikh rulers to raise their revenue.<sup>60</sup> Neeladari Bhandhar while defining *trini* remarks that, "The right to a tax is always a site where power is negotiated, claims asserted and resisted. Such encounters are most intense in tracts where nomads live."<sup>61</sup> Although in the settlement reports of the Kangra and Una we did not get any information about the grazing tax *trini*, which was earlier only implemented in the plain area of Punjab. But Britishers introduced it in the hilly tracts also and in the *Wajib-ul arzs* it is clearly instructed to the villagers to take *trini* from the Gujjars. *Trini* extracted for grazing in the village pasture land. However, it was prevailed only in that part of the plains where the tract was not fertilized and whole village depended upon the pastoralism and used the village tracts only for grazing their cattle. But in the hills British changed its form as per their requirement of raising revenue. In Kangra it was clearly written in *Wajib-ul arz* of village Jungle mauza Dehra that villagers were allowed to take grazing tax *trini* from the Gujjars and it was added in the collective tax taken from the village community by the British.<sup>62</sup> However in Chamba British Indian Government directly dealt with the Gujjars and here the pasture land was allotted to the Gujjars after the auction of *trini*. The alterations made in rules of *trini* can be cleared gleaned from the rules of Jung district (now in

60 Ibid.

61 Bhattacharya Neeladari, *The Great Agrarian Conquest; The Colonial Reshaping of a Rural World*, 2019, Albany: State University of New York, p.348.

62 *Wajib-ul Arz of Mauza Jangal*, Tehsil Hamirpur, District Kangra, Record office of Deputy Commissioner Hamirpur, 1910.

Pakistan) where instead of extracting *trini* from the Gujjars here British imposed *trini* upon the villagers for their own cattle. In the *Gazetteer of Jhung District* (now in Pakistan) a detailed description of extracting *trini* has been given.<sup>63</sup> In *Jhung District* villages were divided in two forms *trini* paid villages and non-*trini* paid villages, "A *tirni-guzar* village is one in which the whole of the village cattle pays *trini* every year, whether they graze in the Bar [village waste] or not. It is taken for granted that the -whole of the cattle graze in the Bar every year- The *ghair tirni guzar* villages are those who are not attached to any *chak*. -It is assumed that the cattle of these villages -never do graze, - and they are therefore exempted from payment of *trini*."<sup>64</sup> Thus *trini* or grazing tax was changed by the British Government as per their requirements and interest. In Jhung district there was no cultivated land available so Britishers to enhance revenue impose grazing tax (*trini*) on the entire village along with Gujjars. Similarly in the Hills of Himachal they gave this right of imposing *trini* to the villagers because they don't want to indulge in any conspiracy with this tribal group in the Hills. Thus, Gujjars one side paid to colonial officers to get the grazing tracts in the forests and for getting the grazing facilities in the village waste land they used to pay to the village cooperative society and that tax was later on counted in the village revenue taken by the colonial Government.

### Issue of Mining

Sand Mining started in these *chos/khads* since the colonial period. While suggesting the measures taken to stop this erosion Hamilton states, "the first requirement is to stop the transportation of sand to the plains."<sup>65</sup> Second suggestion of Hamilton was that there should be tree canopy to cover the forest from the erosion. Gujjars being the forest dwellers were well conversant with the natural sources.

63 *Gazetteer District of the Jhang 1883-84*, Lahore: Arya Press, 1884, p. 155.

64 *Gazetteer District of the Jhang 1883-84*, p. 155.

65 Hamilton, 1935, p.

As already stated, that Gujjars had complete knowledge about the fringes of the Himalayas and that's the reason that the Colonial Government instead of taking direct action against the Gujjars of this region, provoked villagers to take grazing tax and stop the Gujjars involvement in the adjoining waste of the villages.

In fact, Mining was also one of the major reasons of erosion in the Siwalik range of the Himalayas. British started to exploit natural resources of the Hills for commercial purpose. Iron mining was available at the mid-Himalayan ranges. However, iron was found at several points in Dhaoladhar range, which is part of mid Himalayan range, but its major parts were available in the "clusters of villages lying to the east of the village of Bir."<sup>66</sup> The iron found in Kangra was much more superior as compare to the iron of the England. A committee was constituted by the Punjab British Government in 1856 to examine the quality of the iron found in Kangra and in the report Macardieu, who was a member of the committee argues that the nature of the ore found in Kangra was the same "as the products of the best mines of Sweden."<sup>67</sup> Even Baden Powell commented the same about the quality of the iron found in Kangra, "The ore is the same as that of the well-known Dannemora mines of Sweden, and is worked as there, at its outcrop in open quarries."<sup>68</sup> To smelt these iron charcoal is required which used to be made from the wood of the *chil* (*Pinuslongifolia*). The difficulty in these iron mines was that they were far away from the larger market and even the supply of wood was not possible there. The forests which were near to the Bir mines were not able to supply adequate charcoal. It was estimated that "for the production of one ton of crude iron, some 28 trees have to be sacrificed" and to purify the iron for the market much more expenditure incurred.<sup>69</sup>

66 *Gazetteer of the Kangra District* Part 1, Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 2012 [1883-84], p. 19.

67 *Ibid*, p. 20.

68 Powell Baden H., *Hand-Book of the Economics Products of the Punjab*, Vol 1, 1868, Roorkee: Thomason Civil Engineering College Press, p. 4.

69 *Gazetteer of Kangra*, 1883-84, p. 21.

“Each tree being supposed to give ten *maunds* of wood, it follows that 2800 trees are annually expended at Bir for the production of 100 tons of iron.”<sup>70</sup> Iron which was considered as a best mine by the British Indian Government was extracted from the mines with the native methods for which they required wood and this can only be possible by destruction of the forests. And to meet the requirement of the iron, forests of the mid Himalayan ranges were used. Even in the report of Punjab Product committee in 1856 it was suggested that if the “native process to produce the iron was continued no extent forests will be sufficient: and although the banks of the Ul and its tributaries are in some places well clothed with timber, it would soon be expended, if measures were not taken to renew the supply by means of plantation and a proper forest conservancy.”<sup>71</sup> Thus it illustrated that the forest were also required for the iron mining from the region and iron was smelting with the traditional methods for which wood was required from forest. This ruthless destruction of the forests made the need of new plantation in the forests and the tiny plants can only survived with the closure of that area from grazing and restriction of the movement of tribes in the forests. Even Baden Powell comments that “the reckless destruction of the forests without any measures being adopted for their renewal...”<sup>72</sup> Iron mines were in mid Himalayan ranges, however wood to smelt the iron might be supplied from Siwalik ranges. Supply of sand and stones which were eroded from Siwalik still is prevailed in the area and without taking stern action against mining the embankment could never be protected in the *khads*.

Pastoralist grazing rights were considered as a hindrance in the tree regeneration and become a major cause for accelerating the problem of soil erosion in the Siwalik. Gujjars used Siwalik scrub for grazing. Even Grieve (1920) also echo the voice that, “The area grazed over consist mainly of scrub jungle with or without bamboos at the lower elevations, this being gradually replaced by forests of Chir Pine at higher elevation and sorely depleted by

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid.

72 Powell, 1868, p. 4.

grass lands.”<sup>73</sup> Siwalik range has sufficient scrub for grazing and even had rich diversity of trees. In the plain area special fodder was grown in the arable land for the cattle but as noticed in the Kangra (1883-84) in “the mountain or hill villages generally contain much waste grazing land, and the landowners in them are, on the whole, better off, as each man can make some money by breeding and selling cattle, sheep, and goats, and by making and selling a little *ghi* or clarified butter.”<sup>74</sup> In spite of its use as the grazing ground these tracts were exploited for extracting the woods. Gujjars used forests of Siwalik region in the winter season. Siwalik scrub forests are composed with mixture of low-canopy trees and diversity of shrub species. The mountain hills of the Siwalik range are easily accessible hence they always remained subject to intense human use for over a century. Little in way of the original faunal diversity remains in the Himachal Siwalik Mountains.<sup>75</sup> The problem in the forests firstly started by the destruction of the trees and that was never been done by the pastoralist community of the region. it was started by the commercial exploitation of the forests and later on when the graziers went on that similar place which they earlier used as having their customary rights in those particular parts of the forests they were blamed for the destruction. In fact, that destruction was about the tiny plants of the forests which were going to be growing after the cutting of the big and developed trees. Tribes never did any harm to the already existing trees but they did only to new grown plants. But in almost all colonial reports we find all allegations of erosion on the tribal communities of the region. Siwalik Hills have best grazing grass named as *shaulaor khabal* and *Sirala* which used to grow after spring. *Sirala* grass used to graze in winter season after it dried up. *Khabhal* grass is used by the cattle for grazing. *Bagar* is another grass used by the cattle for grazing but

73 Grieve, J.W.A., Note on the economics of nomadic grazing as practiced in Kangra district, *Indian Forester*, Vol. 28, 1920, pp. 330-340.

74 *Gazetteer of the Kangra District*, 1883-84, p. 124.

75 Saberwal, Vasant K., Gaddi Grazing, “Degradation, and Biodiversity Conservation in Himachal Pradesh India”, published in journal *Conservation Biology*, Vol.10, No. 3 (Jun 1996), pp. 741-79.



this grass is also used for making thatches of the nomadic tribe and for making the cow shed. *Munj* is another type of grass grown in Siwalik Hills and used by the cattle.<sup>76</sup> This grass is used for making *munj* mats and chairs. Some shrubs of the Siwalik are considered to be good for taking protection from the erosion. Moir suggested growing the *bhet* or willow (*Salix tetrasperma*) tree, as this tree has good spreading roots and it can work to protect the *chos*.<sup>77</sup> *Banna* is another shrub suggested to grow in the eroded area as it also had deep roots. *Shisham* tree is also considered as a good tree with deep roots to grow to protect the erosion. *Garna* which is the grass feeding for the animals grow in abandoned but it doesn't have deep roots. *Nara* is the best plant to grow for the protection of the *chos* bed and even today we can find the edge of the fields where this *nara* is grown. This is much more affected for the protection against the *chos* action. It resembled with the sugarcane and grows thickly.<sup>78</sup> *Kharkana* is another best grass to be grown for the protection from *chos*. Moreover, *kharkana* grass is more profitable to the people than *nara*. It acts by binding the soil with its roots and also by checking the velocity of the water and thus causing silt to be deposited. *Kharkana* and *Nara* grown after the winter rain and in June and July it grows well with a good height. These grasses are suitable for protecting the soil from the erosion. For growing these grasses grazing can never be affected. Moreover, these grasses are the basic offshoots of the Siwalik area. Bamboo, lakh and *bhabhar* grass were all exported to the plain area for their commercial uses. *Bhabhar* grass was used for the paper making and it was exported in a big quantity from Bilaspur region.<sup>79</sup> The rights of pastoralists were totally ignored for the commercial and economical purposes. Some important grasses and shrubs like bamboo, *baggar* grass, *munj* grass and *bhabhar* grass were exported to make the commercial use of that Siwalik shrubs. To add to this, the expansion of the

76 *Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur District*, 1904, p. 5.

77 *Ibid.*

78 *ibid*

79 Working plan of Bilaspur,

railways and other cantonments, increase in the demand for the firewood and charcoal resulted in huge cutting of the forests.

Within thirty years of the first settlement of the British the destruction was apparent that expedited the fast depletion and then accelerated in the ferocity of *chos* formations.<sup>80</sup> Siwalik forests were categorized in different parts after implementation of forest Acts and on the basis of its uses. Major division was as followed:<sup>81</sup>

- 1) Ban Maufi Forests were absolute common property of the village proprietary bodies.
- 2) Reserved Forests were free of local rights and they were the absolute property of the Government
- 3) Unclassed forests belong to the Government but no closures were made without the consent of people
- 4) Demarcated Protected forests were those in which appropriation of land never be granted
- 5) Undemarcated Protected Forests were those forests in which breaking of land could be sanctioned by the Deputy Commissioner
- 6) Delimited Protected forests areas were subject to the Rotational closure scheme and were permanently maintained as forests.

Delimited Protected Forests were under the proper management of colonial forest department. However, *Ban maufi*, unclassified and undelimited protected forests were in the use. After implementation of *Chos Act* these parts were also remained under supervision of forest department. This is also necessary to mention here that *Chos Act* was implemented only in Una and Kangra. However, Bilaspur is also situated in the Siwalik range and here Gujjars were prime settlers of villages. But in Bilaspur this furious condition of destruction was never raised. Later on *Chos Act* was extended in all parts of the Siwalik.

80 Hamilton, 1935, p. 7.

81 Kang, R.C., *Revised working Plan for the forests of Noorpur Forest Divisions*, Vol. 1, Forest Department, Himachal Pradesh Government, 1991, p. 18.

## CHAPTER 6

# Conclusion



In colonial period, forests were cleared for revenue purposes, agriculture and commercial exploitation. Thus the arrival of the British and the exploitation of India's forest resources marked a new phase in the use of forest produce in India. Free access to the forests by native people was not inhibited. At this time ownership of forests and wastelands of the country by the State had begun. By the mid-19th century, the British Government realized that the forest resources in India were not inexhaustible. Thus rapid depletion in forest cover was observed which forced the British government to formulate regulations to preserve the forest resources. The early years of railway expansion saw an unprecedented assault on the more accessible forests. Great chunks of forest were destroyed to meet the demand for railway sleepers. No supervision was exercised over the felling operations and a large number of trees were felled, whose logs could not be utilized. The sal forests of Siwalik Hills were destroyed. "Thousands of trees were felled which was never removed, nor was their removal possible."<sup>1</sup> In 1856, Lord Dalhousie laid down a definite forest policy which realized the impact of forest destruction due to huge usage of timbers in railways and Government of India decided to take

1 Person, G.I., *Sub-Himalayan Forests of Kumaon and Garhwal*, in Selection from the Records of the Government of the North West Provinces, Vol.2, pp. 132-33.

energetic steps to protect from further destruction the forests that still survived. In 1864 Indian Forest Department was established under the guidance of three German inspectors namely - Dietrich Brandis, Wilhelm Schlich, and Bertold von Ribbentrop. The forest governance established by the British was autocratic in nature and it imposed restriction on the local forest dweller communities on the basis of the rule that makes forest as a national property. These policies acquired control of forest for commercial purposes and national development at the cost of local forest based livelihood, rights and privileges. To take the control of the forests in 1865 Forest Act was introduced and through this act British Government established the claim on the forests. By introducing the Forests Acts they started to establish their control on the forests and ignored the rights of the tribal communities on the forests.

The Forest Act of 1865 was first attempt in the direction of regulation of forest produces by the forest dwellers and asserting the State monopoly over the forest. The state was empowered to declare any land covered with tree as forest and to regulate it by notification, provided that such notification should not abridge or affect any existing rights of individuals or communities. Thus, socially regulated practices of the forest people were to be restrained by law. So, the customary 'rights' of using forest products were transformed as 'privileges'. The Act was applicable only to forests under the control of the Government and no provisions were made to cover private forests. The Forest Act, 1878 was more comprehensive than the previous and extended state's authority over the forests. This act divided forest into three parts namely reserved forests, protected forests and village forests. The Act tightened the government's control on forest by prohibiting certain activities like trespassing or pasturing of cattle. But this was not applicable to neighbouring forests where right was still in the hands of communities. Through this legislation, by one stroke of the executive pen, obliterate centuries of customary use of the forest by rural populations all over India. Thus, when the Colonial State asserted control over woodlands, which had earlier been in the hands of local communities and provided to work these forests for commercial timber production, it intervened in the day-to-day

life of the Indian villages to an unprecedented degree. The first forest policy envisaged the supremacy of the State's interest over the people's interest. The sole objective of the policy was administration of the state forests for public benefit but it imposed restrictions on the inhabitants of the forest and neighbourhood of the forests. It also classified some forest as minor forest for fulfilling the needs of the communities. The commercial value of the forest has prompted the British Government to restrict the community use of the forest. This helped the British to augment their revenue but in the process the rights of the tribals has been curtailed severely. Consequently, this colonial forest policy not only alienated them from forest but seized their forest rights. This policy has made the forest officials to come in the scene and claimed the authority to limit and regulate the traditional tribal rights over the for Forest Acts. The India Forest Act of 1878 was amended in the past by different Acts of local Governments. It was later on replaced by a very comprehensive Act called the Indian Forest Act, 1927. This has not only further regulated the people's right over forest but also codified all the practices of the forest officials. The forest officials, who played crucial role at the grass-root level, had direct interaction with the communities. They were very authoritative and used their power arbitrarily and played havoc with the lives of tribal people. Their coercive behaviour and abuse of power forced many tribes to leave their native places. The Act deleted the reference to community's rights over forests, which were made in the 1878 Act. Persons were expected to put in their claims over forest lands and forest produce before the Forest Settlement Officer who was to enquire into their claims. This Act has put some control on the shifting cultivation, which was considered as biggest reason of forest depletion, with certain special provisions. The gravest consequence of colonial forestry working on commercial and imperial interest was dwindling of customary rights as well as the decline in traditional conservation and management systems. The restriction of communal ownership of forests by the State severely destabilized the subsistence economy of the forest people. It forced many communities to change their occupation. To compensate for the loss of source of livelihood tribes have to be forced to explore

alternative avenues of engagements. So, in the colonial period the legal and policy instruments transferred the right over forests from communities' hand into government's hand. The common property had become the state property and alienation of village communities from forest was begun.

Gujjars and even the Gaddis are generally blamed for the destruction of the forests and erosion problem in the region. In fact the herds of both these communities used to eat the shrubs and not the trees. Trees are used for commercial needs and these communities are blamed for destruction. Mian Durga Sing writes in Forest Settlement Report of Kahlour that "When their flocks of goats and sheep enter the jungle several of the young plants are trampled down by them."<sup>2</sup>

It is obviously clear that sheep and goat can't eat the big plants but the small plants are easily approachable to eat. But the thing is that if the pastoralists used only the shrubs of the forest as their fodder, then how they could be blamed for the destruction of the forests. Interesting thing is that in the working plan of Bilaspur we got several blames on the sheep and goats of the Gaddies for the destruction of the forests but not even a single blame on the Gujjars. The reason for this may be that Gujjars in Bilaspur had very cordial relation with the Raja. They served the Raja with milk and *ghi* and also performed *begar* for Raja. It is elaborated in the *Wajib- ul Arz* of the Bilaspur that Gujjars used to take the canons from one place to other. Thus they worked as collies also. Gujjars used to pay the tax in the shape of *ghee* and that tax was known as *Ghiasana* which was also paid by Gujjars in Bilaspur and Siba Jagir. Glover (1944) blamed Gujjars that in spite of having so many buffaloes there was general shortage of milk in the area which was due to the reason that Gujjars used to make *ghi* from the milk thus the people were generally under nourished and deficiency diseas-

2 Singh, Mian Durga, *Report on the management of and settlement of rights in, the Forests of Bilaspur (Kahlur)*, Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, 1912, p. 6.

es.<sup>3</sup> Here also I want to argue that Gujjars used to make *ghi* with milk as the pastoralists tribe had to pay the tax in the form of *ghi*, however milk was also supplied to Raja and the royal families as a form of *begar* in Bilaspur. *Bandobast Report of Bilaspur* (1908) records that from the Gujjar villages revenue (*Malgujari wajria*) was taken as *ghi*. Gujjars used to take *ghi* to the official stores and got it weighed there. They had to give *ghi* equal to the value of the amount of 1/3 tax on the crops.<sup>4</sup> Thus Gujjars have to pay revenue as well as grazing tax in the shape of *ghi*.

The conservation measures have been started in this region since 1895 but there is constant threat of erosion. This region of the Hills comes under the sway of Britishers in 1846. At the same time in the other parts of India forest have been occupied by the Colonial Government. But in these hills of Punjab British officers realized that the right of the pastoralist community on the forests is very strong hence they never indulge in any conspiracy with this pastoralist community. Earlier villagers or local people have all their rights on land and forests which they used for their domestic use only. Similarly pastoralists were also considered important part of hill economy. However after occupation of the region major alterations were made by the Colonial Government in the use of land and customary rights. The Colonial Government recognized the importance of forest and wasteland in the settlement of the Hill. The disappearance of forests in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was due to ruthless cutting of forests for commercial use. Extension of the cultivation was another reason of cutting the forests. The expansion of tea plantation in the Hills further accelerated the process. In the Hills, colonial forest policies imperil the customary rights of tribes over the forest. All the rights over forests were transferred from tribal and village communities to government's hand. In pre Colonial period Rajas of Hills provided a dignified status to tribes as the ruler had limited or no interest in the woodlands. As Guha (1983)

3 Glover Harold, *Erosion in the Punjab its Cause and Cure*, Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Ltd., 1944, p. 88.

4 *Bandobast Report, Riyasat Khalour, District Shimla, 1908*, Lahore: Rai Sahib Munshi Gulab Singh and Sons, 1913, p. 60.

quoted, "The waste and forest lands... never attracted the attention of former (pre-British) Governments".<sup>5</sup> Forests are treated on one side by professional foresters who believe that timber production can be ensured only through the exclusion of humans and their animals from wooded areas; on the other, the peasants, pastoralists, charcoal iron maker basket weaver and other such groups for whom access to forests and forests resources is crucial to economic survival.<sup>6</sup>No doubt forests are also required for economic survival, but the tribes who are forest dwellers also depend upon the forests. So their interest could not be ignored completely. But here the case is different, and Gujjars are blamed for a major destruction in the area. Thus an in-depth study is required to look into the matter properly.

Railway played a vital role in expansion of forests reclamation of British Indian Government. This is quite evident that this erosion in Siwalik range spread its havoc at the same period when Railway was introduced in the Northern India. As already stated in (Chapter 4) that railway was one of the major reasons behind the destruction of forests for getting logs of wood. It was ordered to the Colonial British officers of Punjab that assistance should be afforded to Punjab Railway Company and "all delays in measuring or removing wood should be reported."<sup>7</sup> Cleghorn states that the chief purpose for which timber was required by the Ordnance Department was for shafts, wheel of carriage, platform planks and sleepers, ammunition boxes, helms of tools, musket-stock and plugs for Minie rifle balls.<sup>8</sup>The demand of timber in market increases the value of timber, thus British turns towards the hills to enable commercial demand of wood. This make entrepreneurs along with local wood merchants started exploiting the lower hill

5 Guha, Ramchandra, 'The Prehistory of Community Forestry in India,' published in *Environmental History*, Vol. 6, No. 2, Oxford University Press, 1983, pp. 213-238.

6 Ibid.

7 Stebbing, E.P., H. G. Champion, and F.C. Osmaston, *The Forests of India*, Vol. 4, Delhi: Asiatic Publishing House, 2010 [1925], p. 370, p. 443.

8 Ibid.



forests. Kangra and Hoshiarpur region which falls in Siwalik range had clumps of *sal* trees. And *chil* forests were also found in this region. *Chil* is used in quantities for charcoal.

Simultaneously in 1860 British introduced tea plantation in the Hills and to promote tea plantation in the area they cleared land along with waste land adjoining to the villages and these waste lands were full of shrubs which were used by the villagers as well as by the Gujjars as grazing grounds. Most of the Forest land of the Siwalik Hills converted into tea states. These tea states not only provided them revenue but also given an opportunity to the settle down European soldiers.

Another effect on the Hills was British policies to increase their revenue growth by provoking villagers to clear the forest land and convert it in agriculture land. For this Britishers continued to give *pattah notor* to the villagers. They promoted the villagers to use untitled land for farming and encourage them to do cultivation on that land. This later on become the cause of destruction, as the farmers started to clear the forest to make more cultivated land for their use. During that time timber merchants also started to cut the best qualities trees for charcoal, timber and furniture. Even to clear the forests villagers started to set fire in the forests which effected the growth of new plants. Thus thousand hectors of forest lands in the Hills have been cleared to make it cultivated land, which later on became a major cause of destruction in the Hills and resulted in the form of erosion of the Hills (see Chapter 4). However Hamilton suggests that to protect the soil erosion it's required to convert all the Siwalik forest land into` the cultivated land. He argues that, "By leaving a few trees scattered over the field and along the borders, the land, when brought under the plough, is protected from the drying effects of sun and wind."<sup>9</sup> British Indian Government was also promoted the practice of getting *pat-tah notor* to convert forest land into cultivated land.

The alarming situation in the Siwalik made the British Government to take serious steps. Ribbentrop (1900) in his work *Forestry of India* argued that the destruction by Hoshiarpur *chos*

9 Hamilton, p. 7.

was one of the major causes for making a proper management in the Forest policies in India:

The Hoshiarpur *Chos* [Una] situated in a rich agricultural country in the north of India, are-owing to the fact that the hills from which they spring are to a great extent composed of very friable and sterile sandstone- one of the most marked examples of the injury which may result from the denudation caused by the destruction of forest growth. Year by year considerable additional areas are covered by unproductive sand, causing an incalculable loss to the country, which may be gauged by the fact that the loss in land-revenue alone since the last settlement was made is said to amount to Rs 90,000 per annum sufficient proof exists that the hills in question were once densely wooded and that the destruction torrents did not then exist. Afforestation would cure the evil and form a monument to Indian forestry that could not easily be equaled.<sup>10</sup>

Ribbentrop mentioned here about the destruction of fertilized land which brings a loss of about Rs 90,000 per annum to Colonial Government's revenue. The destruction was caused by the furious floods and losses were enormous which can never be recovering without giving proper attention towards the forests of the Siwalik region. Thus Ribbentrop stressed upon afforestation of the forests as he admitted that the major cause of this great loss was deforestation and admitted that once this region was densely wooded.

In the Forest Act of 1878 the Gujjars were permitted for 'grazing in the sawanas in which under the record of rights they have a right of grazing.'<sup>11</sup> But later on at the recommendation of Forest reports *Chos* Act 1900 known as Punjab Land Preservation (*Chos*) Act 1900, Gujjars were also banned for the grazing in this range of the Siwalik. Thus *Chos* Act including the Forest Act 1878 was enforced in Hoshiarpur in 1900, "which extinguished pasture

10 Ribbentrop, C.I.E., *Forestry in British India*, Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing Indian, 1900, pp. 50-51.

11 *Punjab Forest Manual Vol 1, Related to the Punjab Forest Rules under the Acts and other Legal Matters*, Lahore, Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, 1916, p. 57.

and wood cutting rights as well as rights to break up new land for cultivation in the forest areas. Necessary closure was introduced through this act and rotational grazing was forcibly started to control the grazing of cattle.”<sup>12</sup> From 1914 to 1916, the grazing of sheep and Goat were allowed by the Government on the payment of compensation.<sup>13</sup> It was proposed that the area where this *Chos Act* will be implemented should permanently or temporarily regulate or restrict and prohibit:

- (a) The clearing or breaking up or cultivating of land not ordinary under cultivation prior to the publication of the notification.
- (b) The cutting of trees or timber or the collection or removal or subjection to any manufacturing process, otherwise than as described in clause.
- (c) The admission, herding, pasturing or retention of sheep or goats.<sup>14</sup>

Thus through this act Gujjars were restricted in forests for grazing tracts. In Una and Kangra where this *Chos Act* was implemented the movement of nomad Gujjars were totally restricted. Even settled Gujjars were also affected by this act.

Glover (1944) mentioned that looping and grazing had destroyed the Oak forest at Kotgarh and throughout Dhauladhar in Kangra.<sup>15</sup> He remarks that, “Over large areas of common land the oaks have been lopped to the top and are dying or have died.”<sup>16</sup> These remarks are arbitrator firstly looping of trees can never destroy the oak tree totally. Secondly it was totally banned through the rules in *Wajib-ul Arz*, to loop the trees. Barnes (1850) mentioned that oak is found in the lower hills as low as 3,000 feet and ascends as high 8,000 feet. “The wood is tough and hard, but liable to wrap and to decompose on exposure to wet. The English resi-

12 Glover, p. 27.

13 Ibid, p. 18.

14 *Punjab Land Administrative Acts and Rules*, Vol 1. Acts, Lahore: Superintending Government Printing, 1914, p. 220.

15 Glover, p. 10.

16 Ibid.

dents at Dhurmsala have used this timber for beams and rafters in building their houses.”<sup>17</sup> Oak was kept in Class A trees by the Forest Department. This tree attains its full size in 100 years. Its leaves used as fodder.<sup>18</sup> Glover’s remarks in this regard are quite unsatisfactory that the oak trees totally vanished from the area through the looping. However, the wood of the oak trees was cut for building purposes and as these trees took time to grow hence the forests of oak in the Kangra region might be somehow reduced.

This is also necessary to mention here that this *Chos Act* was implemented only in Una and Kangra. Bilaspur is also situated in the Siwalik range and here Gujjars were prime settlers of villages, in colonial period it was not in alarming position thus here in this part of Siwalik *Chos act* was implemented at very later stage. Glover mentions its extension in all parts of the Siwalik area including Kangra and Sirmour.

### Impact Factor of Gujjars on Siwalik

The pastoralist Gujjar’s survival was only with their cattle, they were obviously affected by all the remedies which were taken in the name of the so-called erosion. Even settled Gujjars were affected by this *Chos Act*. *Wajib- ul arz* of Bilaspur and Una clearly indicated the rules for the destruction of fertilized land by this erosion and it was suggested that if the fertilized land will be eroded by the furious flood then damage will be compensate by the Raja of Bilaspur. However in case of Una, which was directly governed by British Government, if damaged occurred by the furious floods in the *khads* to the fertilized land of the villagers then the denuded land of the cultivator will be compensated up to Rs 1 only and that amount will also be taken from the revenue of common waste land, that amount was given to the villagers by the pastoralists to graze their animals in the common waste pasture land of villages. It is thus, cleared that damage occurred to the fertilized land of vil-

17 Barnes, 1850, p. 21.

18 Powell, Baden. H., Hand-Book of the Economic Products of the Punjab, Vol 1, 1868, Roorkee: Thomson Civil Engineering College Press.

lagers by the *chos/khads* would be compensated from the grazing tax taken from the Gujjars for getting the pasture land in the village common waste land. So neither Gujjars were allowed in the closer area where *Chos Act* was now implemented and even they were not compensated for the destruction made by the erosion in their *charand* (area of grazing tracts) where they had hereditary rights.

The pastoralist community had set pattern of migration as they moved up in the hills (Mid and Greater Himalayan ranges) during summer season and come down in the hills of Siwalik in the winter season. The pattern somewhat was helpful in maintaining ecological balance in the region. After forest conservators reports about blaming Nomads for destruction in Siwalik, Bilaspur state finally attempted a more radical response to the migratory flocks and they stopped the entry of flocks in Bilaspur. Bilaspur experienced particularly heavy pressure each autumn in the early years as the state was situated on the lower Sutlej River and many flocks used to come down in this region for summer pastures from the high Lahaul and Bashahar states. In 1919 the Raja announced a policy of barring the migrants from crossing his borders at all. He held that position until October 1919 then an open conflict arose for pasture of Nomads. It was recorded that if these pastoralists stopped arriving in Siwalik districts then these herdsmen affected and all these nomads who arrived from the north did not find any place for their survival in the winter. But hurried consultations with British officials averted the crisis in 1919 and after British interference the Bilaspur authorities backed down these restrictions. After this no other district since then had made any attempt to the impossible task of totally resisting the migration.<sup>19</sup> From this conflict it is clear that for the flocks of Bhushar state that used to migrate in the hills of Siwalik during their winter stay, British intervened and convinced the Bilaspur authorities to allow them grazing in Satluz tract. Colonial officers had the opinion that if these herds were stop in Siwalik region it would affect their wool trade with Tibet as at that time wool trade were established with Tibet. Graziers who come down in Bilaspur region were generally

19 Forest settlement Report of Bhushar state, 1919, p. 10.

kept goats and sheep and these animals were used for extraction of wool. That wool trading started from Bhushar to Tibet and if the animal would not get sufficient grazing tract for their winter uses, they suffered and it would reflect in the British trade with Tibet. Thus, British Government for their personal benefits initiated action in the grazing of these Bhushar tribes cattle. Similarly for Gujjar they never intervened directly in any conflict just to make the balance with these nomadic tribes. However if Gujjars with the implementation of different acts in the region were totally restricted in Siwalik area then for their winter stay, they would not get any place. This mismanagement will disturb the nomadic cycle of these tribes.

Thus the issue to what extent we can blame Gujjars for deforestation is difficult to answer and probably the British legacy that tribals appropriation of the forest was the chief factor behind the deforestation lingers in the minds of the post-Independence policy maker to the extent that the Himachal Government is thinking on the issue of Gujjars grazing problem seriously and also planning to rehabilitate the nomadic Gujjars in Himachal Pradesh. To study this problem in post Colonia period Himachal Pradesh Government appointed commissions to look after grazing problem in 1959 and 1970. The first committee was chaired by B. S Parmar, a forester and former subordinate of R.M. Gorrie, who was soil specialist and had studied Siwalik a half generation before.<sup>20</sup> The grazier's petition to Himachal Pradesh Government for reducing the grazing fees and open the area of the reserved forests for the flocks of the pastoralists' community was considered unauthentic by Parmar as he argues that to keep the forest conservancy its essential to make these tribes out of the forest. He reported that "these graziers with large flocks, which are ever on the increase, have always been conspicuous enemies of the forests particularly in hill tracts. In a forest tract, in which gujjar's flocks graze in a concentrated manner or through which they pass, undergrowth vanishes, regeneration in no more, seedlings is eaten away, shrubs

20 Tucker, *The Evolution of Transhumant Grazing in the Punjab Himalayas*, 1986, p. 26.

and bushes are munched and even the saplings cannot escape uninjured.”<sup>21</sup> Parmar’s proposal repeated the colonial strategies of raising grazing fees and restricting the grazing rights of the forest dwellers in the reserved forests. He argues that Gujjars caused the destruction in the forests and they should be banned for grazing:

The animals of the Gujjars are *as notoriously* destructive to the growth and conservancy of forests as the migratory flocks are. The damage done to the vegetation by the buffaloes is universally known and acknowledged. The buffaloes are very much more exacting than the kine. Their greater demand for fodder leads to serious decrease in grass production. With their heavy hoofs they trample down the ground and on steep slopes cause sheet erosion and give rise to ravines.

Thus Parmar had strong opinion that the erosion in the Hills of the Himachal Pradesh is due to the problem of the fodder of the Gujjar buffaloes who used to take much more than the other animals. Even it is written in *Himachal Planning Report(2005)* that, “The traditional migration of the Gujjars communities with their cattle to the high alpine pasture during the summer and return to the lower hills during the winter, degraded and destroyed pasture lands and forests, with consequent impact on soil erosion. Rehabilitation in permanent Gujjar settlement has not succeeded because of their mindset. Training and vocational skill up gradation, social welfare services for their woman and children, coupled with a mechanism to collect their produce are necessary to motivate the Gujjars to settle down permanently, so as to prevent degradation of pasture lands and forests.”<sup>22</sup>

However, major issue is whether appropriation of forest resources, by the nomadic Gujjars was sustainable or not. Probably, problem of grazing of herds by the Gujjars and the destruction of the Siwalik leading to deforestation and erosions in Siwalik and the problem of *chos* seems little over emphasized. Colonial efforts

21 Parmar, B. S., *Report on the Grazing Problems and Policy of Himachal Pradesh*, Simla: Government Press, 1959, p. 14.

22 *Himachal Pradesh Development Report*, New Delhi: Indian Planning Commission, 2005, p. 41.

made for conservation has never recognize the customary rights of the forest-dwellers although Gujjars 'have a right of free users all round like the owner.'<sup>23</sup> Ramachandra Guha in this regard argues that British colonial government denuded the vast forest area of the Hills and disregards the rights of the forest dwellers.<sup>24</sup> However in the Hills of Himachal Pradesh colonial Government had accepted the rights of the *swana Gujjars* in the skirts of forests. Even after implementation of Forest Act 1898, their customary rights recognized in a restricted way. If colonial forest conservators can think about the earlier ongoing rights of tribal communities and villagers then we can expect this from the post-colonial conservators also to identify the traditional rights of the forest dwellers.

Rucha Suresh Ghate in his work *Forest Policy and Tribal Development* rightly argues, "After independence all tribal, social workers working amongst tribals, academic scholars hoped for some fundamental change in the very basic of forest policy. The government was expected to recognize the relationship of tribals with the forests and get rid of the exploitation of tribals which was earlier practiced in the name of 'Forest Management'. The Government of the free India disappoints everybody by adopting all the basic principles laid down by the Britishers. The destruction of forests for the construction of roads, building up of irrigation and hydroelectricity projects ammunition factories and other projects was justified in the name of national interest whereas cultivation on land by the poor shown as forest lands without any actual tree cover was treated as encroachment."<sup>25</sup> Clearly, while the forests used for grazing by the Gujjars are sustainable, cutting of forests for commercial usage is also largely responsible for the destruction of forest reserves and deforestations. Moreover, in the

23 Mr. Moir's 'Report on the Chos of Hoshiarpur 1883', published in *Indian Forester*, Vol X, Roorkee: Thomson Civil Engineering College Press, 1884, pp. 271-276.

24 Guha Ramchandra, 1983, pp. 44-45.

25 Ghate, Rucha Suresh, *Forest Policy and Tribal Development: A study of Maharashtra*, New Delhi: Ashok Kumar Mittal Concept Publishing Company, 1992, p. 41.



Siwalik ranges in the Himachal region the Gujjars settlement are generally along *chos/khads* only.<sup>26</sup> Darshan Singh Manku, while explaining the Gujjar settlement in the Kandi area (Ropar and Nangal) also states that, "Gujjar settlement lie on the meander terraces of the Siwalik Hills *choes* and they form linear pattern."<sup>27</sup> My extensive field surveys to the Gujjar villages of Himachal Pradesh also confirms that even to this day mostly all habitations of the Gujjars live near or along the *khads* and along the village boundaries in the midst of the forests.<sup>28</sup> Gujjar do not cut the forests, only their herds graze and their usage of wood confines to personal consumption for cooking and making huts. Moreover all the forest tracts of the Siwalik were occupied by the British Government on the name of the classification of the forests and Gujjars were totally restricted from their customary grazing tracts. Post-independence Government policies to regulate and restrict the grazing of Gujjars in the Siwalik range have its origin in the 19th century British interests in commercial timber extraction from this lower Himalayan range which was easy to access.

Gujjars being cattle- holding tribe depend upon the forests and their entire existence revolves around the forest. They extract clean water, air, food, medicines, and shelter from these forests. They also get fodder and grasses, raw materials like bamboo, canes and leaves, gums, waxes, dyes and resins and several forms of food including nuts, wild fruits, and honey from forests. Forests are an integral part of tribal social life, because its importance is not only economic but also social, psychological and religious. Tribes worship the trees, bushes and animals, which dwell in the forests, as totem and believe that their gods and ancestors' spirits reside in the forest. So they never want to deplete it but conserve it through their traditional conservative methods. The symbiotic relationship

26 *Sajra Nasib* of the Gujjar prominent villages of Una district (Village Mawa Sindhia, Village Nangal Jarial and village Dhar Gujjara De).

27 Manku, Darshan Singh, *The Gujjar Settlement: A Study in Ethnic Geography*, New Delhi: Inter- India Publication, 1986, p. 17.

28 *Field Survey, village Nagali, District Una.*

between forest and tribes was acknowledged and crystallized by the customary right over forest produces. Regarding the relationship of tribal with the forest, the Committee on Forests and Tribal in India (1982) stated that "they are not only forest dwellers but also for centuries they have evolved a way of life which, on the one hand, is woven around forest ecology and forest resources, on the other hand, ensures that the forest is protected against the degradation by man and nature" by evolving their own unique and conservative systems. These forest dwellers are more familiar with the nature as the forests have always remained as their place to live. In the high hills where these tribes move nobody else can dare to stay.

Since the colonial period, Gujjars have been blamed for the erosion in the Siwalik range. As cleared from above description that Glover (1944) has placed the entire responsibility of erosion on Gujjars. However Gujjars used these forests only for their survival and not for commercial benefits. For the report of the Cleghorn (1864), where profits to the Colonial Government (see chapter 4) have been shown its clear that wood from Kangra and Hoshiarpur forests were easily accessible for Britishers and profit from these woods goes to the Colonial Government revenue. He mentioned, "The forests of Kullu are extensive but the woods of Kangra and Hoshiarpur are open and sparse. They have all acquired an increased value from the advancing prosperity of the district and the approach of railway."<sup>29</sup> Cleghorn was quite satisfied from the supply of wood from this region of Siwalik and appreciated the colonial officers who had put the entire tract under domain of British Government. Here Cleghorn's description is quite cleared that wood was supplied from this part of the area to the other part of the provinces hence logs were supplied through this region. Barnes (1850) attitude of accepting the grazing rights of the Gujjars and Gaddis was criticized by Colonial administrators. Glover (1944) remarks that, "Government has never retreated from the

29 Cleghorn, M.D., *Report upon the Forests of the Punjab and the Western Himalayas*, Roorkee: Thomason Civil Engineering College, 1864, p. 89.

position it took up at the beginning, namely that however much it regretted the original mistakes made at the first Land Revenue Settlement, it refused to withdraw rights which has been granted.”<sup>30</sup> It reveals that however Barnes the first settlement officer of the Kangra admitted the rights of the pastoralists (Gujjar) in forest fringes of the Hills, it was later on criticized by the colonial forest conservator on the ground of preservation of the forests. Thus to take the occupation of the forests of this part of Siwalik, and to restrict the customary rights of the pastoralist community of the region, Bailey, who took the charge of Deputy Commissioner of Jullundhar (1865) after the Barnes (1850) introduced *trihās* system in the area.<sup>31</sup>

In spite of supplying the woods from this part the adjoining waste land of the villages were also restricted for grazing and their also *trihās* was implemented. Hence before blaming Gujjars it's quite essential to look at all aspects of this erosion.

### Efforts made by Himachal Pradesh Government to Save the Siwalik Region from Floods of *Chos/khads* under Flood Management Programme

Dr. Brawn's book *Reboisement in France* (1876) suggests that measures should be immediately taken to protect the area from the torrent affects. It was suggested that 'one may affirm with certainty that if a remedy be not speedily applied' condition became worst. But the colonial Government had not taken any stern action. *Chos/khad* creates havoc in the districts which fall in Siwalik range. The condition is worst in Una, Kangra and now in Bilaspur also. Keeping in view the worst condition of the area affected by *chos*, the Government of Himachal Pradesh had taken necessary measures to protect the area from floods. Thus, Government of Himachal Pradesh had taken in hand the work of making embankment along these *khads* for the protection of the area from the furious floods. Approximately Rs.1500 crores is required to be

30 Glover Harold, p. 90.

31 Cleghorn, p. 89.

spent on these *chos* as per the DPR. The work of making embankment is already in progress. Himachal Pradesh Government had already spent Rs 1100 crores on the banks of these *chos/khads* for making embankment. Approximately 14000 hectares area has been saved from the fury of the floods. Work of making embankment along these *chos/khad* is still in progress to save the denuded area. According to Dr. Brandis the work of embankment is useless without the catchment treatment plan hence the same is going on in Himachal Pradesh along with the execution of work of embankment. Catchment treatment plan is going to be taken in hand by the Forest Department of HP Government. However, *Chos Act* (1900) is still implemented in the region and the beds of the *khads* kept control from the mining of sand as per this act.

Thus, it clearly reflects that at the annexation of the British in the Hills of Himachal Pradesh the condition of these hill torrent was not at that alarming position which they occupied at the later stages which arose after the over cutting of the timber and other trees from these Hills. Along with blocking Gujjars for erosion we also had to think of some more points which were responsible for this erosion. The evil is the result of mistaken policy; there is a debt owing to those who have suffered and to those who will continue to suffer unless money is spent to protect the erosion.<sup>32</sup> About the remedial suggestions for the protection of Siwalik range Hamilton remarks that, "The area is large and delay has increased the difficulties of reforestation; but the task is by no means impossible and if carried out systematically, the work will not prove costly."<sup>33</sup> Thus to protect the region from the furious floods Himachal Pradesh Government had started to take measures to protect land and people. Thus, embankment has started to be made along the *khads/chos* of the Siwalik.

Post-Colonial Himachal Pradesh Government had started remedial solution or the safe side of the region of Una, Bilaspur and Kangra. Work of channelization of these *khads* has been taken in hand by Himachal Pradesh Government in three phases. In

32 Ibid.

33 Hamilton, 1935, p. 6.

the first phase Rs 283 crores rupees spent on the channelization of Swan River along the *Chos/khads*. In phase two Rs 983 crores spent to channelization of major *chos/khads*, 73 *khads* of Una were channelized in this phase. In the phase three small tributaries of these *chos/khads* are going to be channelized after spending Rs 1100 crores.<sup>34</sup>

Through the channelization of the *khads* in the Siwalik region hectares of fertilized land has been recovered for the cultivation and it also brings prosperity in the region. On the other hand, the Government of Himachal Pradesh is also making efforts to construct check dams in the Siwalik Hills which helped not only balancing the environmental issues but also make the denuded tracts to recover by growing grasses in these hills. However Gujjars are still living a hard nomadic life but now they got the grazing tracts in the Hills and specific tracts are opened by the Government for their uses as grazing grounds. Government should manage educational facilities for the children of this nomadic tribe as only by getting the education will the position of this tribe get changed. During my field surveys to this nomadic tribes group, I found that Gujjars have now become aware about the value of the education to change the life style of their community. The children of Gujjars are now taking educations in the Government schools. However, they faced some problems like getting identity cards and *aadhar* cards, bonafide certificated from the Himachal Pradesh Government, but Government has made necessary changes in the formalities of making all these identity proofs which is really need appreciation as only by getting all these facilities Gujjar tribes can lead towards the light of the prosperity in their life.

34 Interview with Superintending Engineer, Flood Protection Circle Una.



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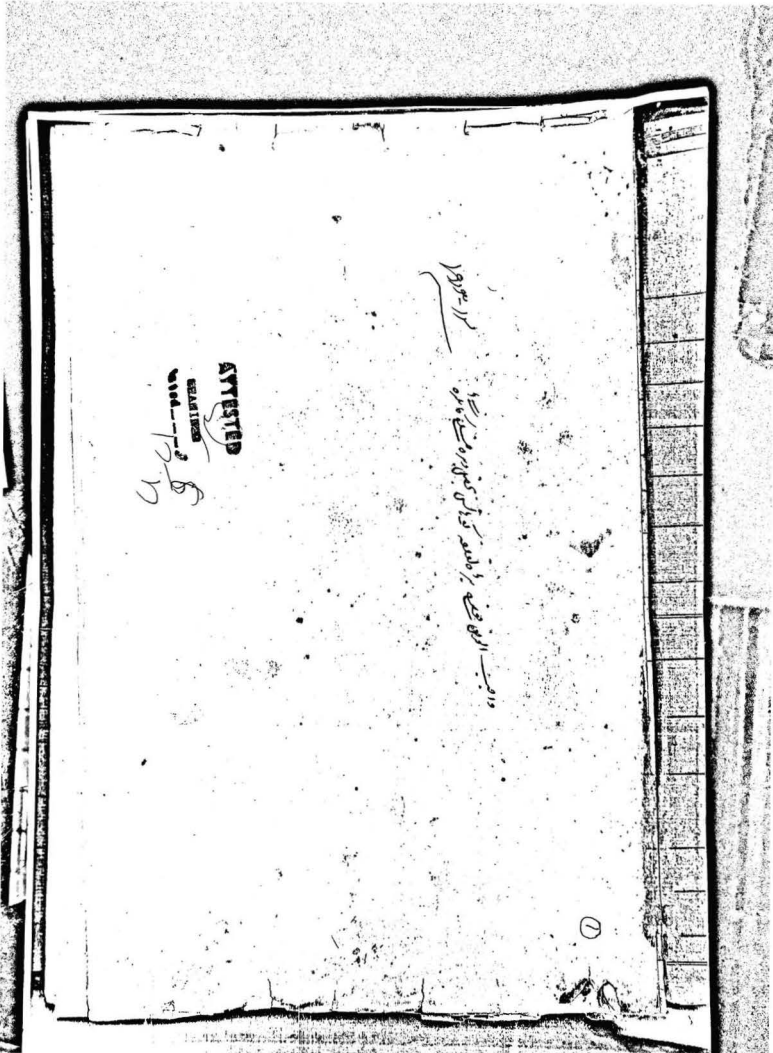
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# ANNEXURES







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میں نے اس کے بارے میں جو باتیں ہیں وہ اس کے بارے میں کہیں نہیں ہے۔

میں نے اس کے بارے میں جو باتیں ہیں وہ اس کے بارے میں کہیں نہیں ہے۔  
میں نے اس کے بارے میں جو باتیں ہیں وہ اس کے بارے میں کہیں نہیں ہے۔

میں نے اس کے بارے میں جو باتیں ہیں وہ اس کے بارے میں کہیں نہیں ہے۔  
میں نے اس کے بارے میں جو باتیں ہیں وہ اس کے بارے میں کہیں نہیں ہے۔

### پر ہے تسبیح و ادب العرش موضع تسبیح

میں نے اس کے بارے میں جو باتیں ہیں وہ اس کے بارے میں کہیں نہیں ہے۔  
میں نے اس کے بارے میں جو باتیں ہیں وہ اس کے بارے میں کہیں نہیں ہے۔  
میں نے اس کے بارے میں جو باتیں ہیں وہ اس کے بارے میں کہیں نہیں ہے۔







<p>6 राजाजान सुलतका चली नलकनी नदीन वा सुलतनी नसावर शिवार कनी</p>	<p>एकारे अंत में निर जदी एनाथ जान प्रीसा-२ माल भयत गली एंगे में निर नकर उषाद प्रिसी खान मनी मलकीपर की अराजी में मफा एा व मलकीपर मलेन अराजी में मदी कसरेटी इराजी में मदी सुजानीन वसावर न लेकी गाळी शिव नकर भयत उपासवार देई की अराजी में ए उन मल को मलकीपर अराजी की नदरकर उपास वार देई की उपासनी लाकराई कषाद न मलवा कांठ कषाद नग ए उन मी एनाथ सुदरगा शिवार एकीपर गइले दीकर</p>
<p>7 राजाजान कुद वराकान</p>	<p>उपासनी उपास वार अंतसाल हीरे ए          एकारे जाल में सुली कुद कान इकरा व रावत से एके ए प्रिसा शरीर व मालकार व कषादनी नग मी कुद दीकर वरावाद ही व उसा की मलकीपर कषाडा नगर ए प्रिस वग नकर सुकी भाग उगी वनवर सुकी एकारे देर में उसा मदी सुजानीन मलेन मलकर कष अराजी २ पास वार वी पर अकडला दीरे शालकान से मदी शिवर ए न अराजी कुद सुवा की कडला में की मदीपर कषाद उपा में - मलकान देर उपासनीनी वे मलकी ए मदी मदी कषा ए मदी कषा ए एकारे मी प्रिसा प्रिसा का एनाथ मदी ए उपास डन मरी मी एपास एपा वी अराजी कुद वे एके नी उपा की सुजानी मलकार से नी नकरा</p>
<p>8 सुलतनी उमादी देर</p>	<p>एकारे मल सुभुभन उमादी एकारे मी मलकान की अराजी-२ मलकीपर में ए। और कनी मरम हार में एके प्रिसा वरुस मी उपास उपासी के न करे उपासी मलका - व उसा अराजी की उपास वार प्रीमर ही उपासी ए उपास प्रिसा-२ उपास कुद मी उपासीपर मलकी ए मी उपासी प्रन उपास कर प्रीमर कान उपासी की प्रीमर प्रिसापर उपा ए। प्रिसा उपासीपर मलकान मी मलकीपर मरीजी कानी ए। एका प्रीमरी और मलकाने उपास वार प्रिसा उपासी उपासवर मी प्रिसा उपास कीर अराजी - मलका शिवर कुजा ए वके अराजी नी मलकीपर कषादकर उपासवर - नी एके उपासी कालेन सुजान को उपासवर क- प्रीमर का एकारे मदी ए शिव उपास कर के नी न अराजी ए उपास मदी कषाद वार कर एकी नी मलकान की उपास देर को प्रिसा निर मी अराजी में मलका ए उपास मदी मलकरा एके कर मर जी न मलान अराजी मलकान देर को प्रिसा शिव मी अराजी में मलका ए</p>



पाठ्यपुस्तक में 1000 से अधिक शब्दों का प्रयोग है। इन शब्दों में से बहुत सारे शब्दों का प्रयोग हमें अपने दैनिक जीवन में करना पड़ेगा। इसलिए हमें इन शब्दों को याद रखना होगा।  
 इन शब्दों को याद रखने के लिए हमें इन शब्दों को अपने दैनिक जीवन में प्रयोग करना होगा।  
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शब्दों की सूची =

इन शब्दों को याद रखने के लिए हमें इन शब्दों को अपने दैनिक जीवन में प्रयोग करना होगा।