

**A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF EX-CRIMINAL TRIBES  
SETTLEMENTS IN ANDHRA : A CASE STUDY OF  
SIDDHAPURAM AND STUARTPURAM  
SETTLEMENTS, 1913-1990**

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**BY**

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**MY PARENTS**

## PREFACE

India has been the home for many heterogeneous ethnic groups of human beings. For thousands of years, the tribes, in general, lived in solitude having no communication with the outside world. As a result, they had no civilizational impact. This was mainly responsible for their poverty and social alienation. In the case of tribes, listed as "Criminal", they have been suffering from a stigma. These people, otherwise innocent, have been oppressed right from the colonial period. These "primitive tribes" have their own ways of living, customs, traditions, superstitions, rituals and ceremonies which separate them from other segments of society. It is in this background, we have decided to study the particular tribes, Yerukulas and Donga Waddars and their living conditions in their present habitats known as "Settlements".

The major objective of the present study is to analyze the socio-economic conditions of Stuartpuram and Siddhapuram Settlements and also to suggest the ways and means to bring about a meaningful rehabilitation. An attempt is made to provide a socio-historical background of these tribes from their origins to the present. The present study makes a serious attempt in establishing linkages between the tribals and non-tribals on one hand, and the colonial administration, on the other. Our main aim, however, is to trace the historical background of ex-criminal tribes in Andhra Pradesh.



Due to poverty, unemployment and indifference, these tribes were forced to take to illegal means to eke out their livelihood. In spite of their alleged profitable criminal activities, they are unable to lead a happy and contented life. These problems are analyzed and viewed from a historical perspective to draw proper conclusions. In addition, the study closely looks into their kinship relations and well-knit family structures. This is meant to get an insight into their life style.

A note on their interaction with other people in and outside the settlements is undertaken. Family planning and welfare programmes and their impact on their lives is also studied. A close look at the "Modus Operandi" of their crimes is of considerable relevance to a student of history as it provides us with an understanding to prevent future crimes. The role of children and women in the family set up and their contribution to the family economy is considered relevant to our study.

The present work also intends to study the rehabilitative measures introduced by the Government to wean them away from crime. The study comprehensively looks into the scenario of the social aspects relating to family and domestic chores, economic aspects such as their occupational patterns, income, expenditure and future of their children, administrative aspects such as rehabilitative measures and crime aspects like treatment meted out to them by the police during their remand and prison life and finally reformation and rehabilitation.

It gives me **immense** pleasure to acknowledge **the help received from many** people during the course of my research work. Foremost among them is Prof. V.Ramakrishna for his **support, enlightened guidance,** sympathetic help and highly valuable **suggestions which helped** me a lot in completing this dissertation. I am equally **indebted to Dr.V.Lalitha** whose parental care and exceptional patience helped me in enriching my ideas which have **gone into each and every** page of this thesis. I thank **Rajagopal, Vamsicharan** and Vidya for their moral support in completing this thesis. I also thank Krishna, **Vijji** and Santhi for their encouragement.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>APSA</b>	-	Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Hyderabad
<b>NAI</b>	-	National Archives of India, New Delhi
<b>NMML</b>	-	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New <b>Delhi</b>
<b>PAPHC</b>	-	Proceedings of Andhra Pradesh History Congress
<b>PIHC</b>	-	Proceedings of Indian History Congress
<b>PWLD</b>	-	Public Works Labour Department
<b>TNA</b>	-	Tamilnadu Archives, Madras



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## **Chapter 1**

# **INTRODUCTION**

## Ex-criminal Tribes of India



Source : D.N. Majumdar, 'Races and Culture of India'.  
Bombay : Asia Publishing House, 1961, p. 374.

After the advent of independence, India is very keen in the upliftment of weaker sections, especially tribal people. The main task before the planners, administrators and politicians is the removal of social and economic inequalities and establishment of an egalitarian society. Their main concentration is on the accelerated development of the tribals to enable them to catch up with more advanced sections of the society. The programme implementation process is expected to improve their levels of living besides enhancing their aspirations and expanding the world view. It is felt imperative to not only study the prevailing occupational situation of these people but also find out their development priorities. This will help in fixing future programme of priorities for them. If the situation of tribal people is bad, it is much worse in the case of criminal tribes who are stigmatized and crippled in history.

The subject of criminal tribes hardly received adequate attention in India, although crime has been on the increase because of various social and economic factors connected with transition from medieval to modern, from rural to Urban and forest to plain areas. An examination of the causes of crime, its relation to the socio-economic environment, law, religion and other agencies of social control, has become imperative. Crime is connected with economic stresses and social strains in our **country.**

Nobody is a born criminal. Criminal is the product of society. How he is made a criminal explains the situation of the making of criminal tribes and their patterns and transition. The frequency of crime in Yerukula tribe presents a real problem. An analysis of their socio-economic and cultural conditions would explain several maladjustments which are mainly responsible for criminal propensity.

Criminality is not hereditary and the criminal behaviour of the Yerukulas is more due to the disintegration of their social moorings and territorial displacements from time to time. They have lost their traditional means of livelihood because of forest laws of the British administration and due to the intervention and encroachment of **non-tribals** into their life. They had to migrate from place to place, from state to state in order to eke out their livelihood.

As **Bhowmick** rightly pointed out,

"This economic and territorial displacement under the new setting affected very seriously their old patterns of economic life and upset the equilibrium of the whole **society.**"<sup>1</sup>

The new revenue policies of the colonial administration and their social and cultural policies dislocated these tribes from their original occupations and social position. The whole structure of criminal tribes has been narrowed down and

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<sup>1</sup> See P.K. Bhowmick, *The Lodhas of West Bengal*, Calcutta, **1976**, p.1.

necessitated for the reconstruction, rehabilitation and readjustment of the whole tribe.

The present study makes an attempt in establishing linkages between the tribals and **non-tribals** on one hand and the colonial **administration** on the other. The main intention is to trace the historical background of criminal tribes which started from nomadism, an advantage for them and transformed them to the present state through an evolutionary process.

Nomadic tribes lived first in forest areas and then shifted to plains. Yerukula, Yanadi, Lambadi and **Domмара** are considered as nomadic tribes in Andhra Pradesh. There are evidences to prove that these people lived in forest areas. The wandering habit and panchayat system prevailing among them established the fact that they are the sons of forest. Their life style today is totally transformed. However, we can still see the traces of nomadism among them. Nevertheless, that they came to cultivate land and settled gradually in some place is a hall-mark of change among them.<sup>2</sup>

Their inability to follow their customs and traditions strictly and their **un-settled** life paved the way to take to crime in their life. We can say that there was no criminal behaviour during their life in the forests. **If** we take the

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<sup>2</sup> See Chirravuri Nagabushanacharyulu, **Adimavasulu**, Tenali, 1949 P.60.

example of Khonds, Chenchus and Koyas, they are not criminals.<sup>3</sup> Moreover they render service to people and they are known for their hospitality. Before shifting to plain areas, their nomadic life had not created any scope for crime. They were law abiding citizens. They depended on handicrafts and other petty trades. Yerukulas and **Lambadis** were experts in trade. They used to bring salt and tamarind from one place and used to sell in other places. Yerukulas in Stuartpuram proved that they were better than Vaisyas in trading skills. They supplied Margosa leaves for the entire Madras Presidency.

The Yerukulas and other nomadic tribes left forests and lived in plain areas and acquired expertise in handicrafts and petty business. They found it easier and so enjoyed their life. Here we have to find out why did these nomadic tribes take to crime? When did they adopt these methods? When and how they chose to this type of life? When they had plenty of food to eat and enjoy, there was no need to opt for this type of life. The advancement of transport and communication facilities became an obstacle for their trade. The patronage for handicrafts declined because of the inflow of cheap factory made goods from England which were transported to nooks and corners of the country through the newly established improved mode of transport system. These factors contributed to the growth of criminal behaviour

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, P.61.

among <sup>4</sup>them.

Another interesting question is why these nomadic people selected crime as their profession? The bare necessities of people were not satisfied. They used to rob the way-laid passengers. It is the need that prompted them to take to crime. However, we cannot attribute criminality to the whole tribe or to the entire generations of the past. Britishers, because of their lack of knowledge and bias described these people as criminals by birth. If we interact with an old person of 90 years of age among these tribals that what was the profession of his father and grand father, he will narrate many interesting episodes about their life. Even the historians are of the view that these ex-criminals started their criminal life only two or three generations ago. All the nomads were not criminals. Ninety percent of them were good and well behaved people. If we take the example of **Stuartpuram** settlement, it is interesting to know that not even ten percent of people are criminals. To dub the entire community as criminals on this basis is absurd. The Criminal Tribes Act implemented by the government had also given scope for suspicion. <sup>5</sup>It is an obnoxious thing to call a child a 'criminal'.

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<sup>4</sup> The Introduction of a railway and road net work, established in the **1860's** in Madras Presidency was a major factor in destroying the trade. Carriage by bullocks could not compete with carriage by rail and with wheel traffic by road. See Meena Radhakrishna, "From Tribal community to Working class consciousness: case of Yerukula women", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXIV, **NO.17**, April 29, 1989, PP. 2-3.

<sup>5</sup> See V. Raghavaiah, *The Problem of Criminal Tribes*, Delhi, 1949, P.6.



Tribal communities are **the** earliest inhabitants of any country. It is at the **same** time true that these are non-static or itinerant groups. In the course of history, due to various **factors**, the isolation among the groups disappeared and they are found to obliterate the transformational phases.<sup>6</sup> It is true as well that they have no "permanent crystalline structures belonging to one stage of historical or social **development**".<sup>7</sup> However, references to these groups are found in many books. These were described as **Dasyus, Sabaras, Nishadas, Rakshasas** and the like. This being their initial **identification**, we shall now try to enumerate the ex-criminal tribes of Andhra Pradesh.

For thousands of years, the tribes, in general, lived in solitude having no intercourse with the outside world. As a result, they had no civilizational impact. This was mainly responsible for their backwardness.

In the modern period, when the East India Company came and established its political, economic and cultural hegemony, they wanted to exploit the forest produce too. For this purpose they enacted forest laws. During the early 20th century, communication facilities such as railways and roads were developed in the hill areas and forests. Thus, an opportunity came for the people from plains to infiltrate into tribal areas and satisfy their

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<sup>6</sup> See V. Lalitha, *The Making of Criminal Tribes: Patterns and Transition*, Madras, 1995, **P.1.**

<sup>7</sup> See P.K. **Bhowmick**, *Op.Cit.*, **P.3.**

selfish ends. This resulted in loss of land and loss of economic independence.<sup>8</sup> Throughout the long history of Andhra, covering the periods of the rule of Satavahanas, Chalukyas, **Rashtrakutas**, Kakatiyas, **Qutbshahis** and Asifjahis, the '**Adivasis**' or aboriginal tribes were pushed back into their **homelands**, the woods and hilly regions.<sup>9</sup> The Adivasis continued to be the easy prey of the Hindu and **Mohammadan** feudal lords almost upto the 20th century. Thus, in this prolonged process of exploitation the tribes lost much of their ancestral land and were often robbed of the fruits of their hard labour.<sup>10</sup>

The British colonial rule in India marks an important watershed in the ecological history of India. There was a drastic change in ecological and social policies under the colonial rule. It was commercial in its nature. In the early

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<sup>8</sup> V. Lalitha, *Op.Cit.*, PP. 1-2.

<sup>9</sup> The words *Adivasi*, *Aboriginal* mean the earliest dwellers. See V. **Subbarayan**, *Forgotten sons of India*, Delhi, 1940, **PP.1-4**. There are misunderstandings caused by the term '**Adivasi**'. The word '**Adi**' means beginning and '**Vasi**' meaning resident of. Hence the word *Adivasi* means the earliest inhabitants of India. A.V. Thakkar in **1940's** used this term in Gujarat on a wider scale. G.S. Ghurye in his book, *The Scheduled Tribes*, condemned the use **of** the term. He felt "it was question begging and pregnant with mischief". He used the term '**scheduled tribe**'. One problem with the term '**tribe**' is that it is an English word which has no historical equivalent in Indian languages. Hence, Gandhian social workers like Thakkar Bapa coined polite **equivalents** such as '**Vanyajati**' and **Girijan**. See David **Hardiman** '*The coming of the Devi, Adivasi Assertion in Western India*, Madras, 1987, **P.15**.

<sup>10</sup> See **Haimendorf** Christoph, Von Furer, *Tribal Populations of Hyderabad, Yesterday and Today, In Andhra Pradesh, Census of India, Part - I, Report of Mazhar Hussain, Hyderabad, 1945. P.6.*

decades of colonial rule, the state was **markedly** indifferent to forest conservancy. A comprehensive piece of legislation was attempted to obliterate centuries of customary use of the forest by the rural population all over India. Some officials within the colonial administration were sharply critical of the new legislation. They called it an act of **confiscation**. The criminal Tribes Act of 1878 strictly prohibited the sale of forest produce.<sup>11</sup>

The forest tribes who were hunters and collectors of jungle produce led a nomadic life. They were less attached to the soil. They were able to evade the domination of the superior people.<sup>12</sup> They escaped to the hills and jungles. In these **regions**, they remained the unquestioned masters of the wilds for many centuries. These tribes were small in numbers because they were relics of larger communities. They themselves had escaped because they became separated in the forest and hills of South India and, in course of time, they developed into different tribal societies. Their hunting and food collecting mode of life forced them to live in small **groups**.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Ramachandra Guha and Madhav Gadgil, "State Forestry and Conflict in British India", *Past and Present*, **No.122-123**, February, 1989, PP. 147-148.

<sup>12</sup> See David **Hardiman**, *Op.Cit.*, **P.11**.

<sup>13</sup> See V. Lalitha, *Socio-economic and administrative aspects of an ex-criminal tribe - A case study of **Kapparallatippa***, unpublished M.Phil dissertation submitted to Sri Venkateswara University, 1977, Tirupathi, **P.7**.

The British colonizers united India for the first time. They extended their administration over the whole land. They also included the jungle tribes in it. The British first became aware of the great riches that lay hidden in the jungles and they began to exploit them. Timber was cut and exported. Forest products were collected and sold. Tea, coffee and rubber plantations were started on a big scale. Tram-lines and motor roads were built into the jungles. The forest tribes were thus disturbed by the invaders who began to exploit them.<sup>14</sup> The government took control of jungle and leased plots of the forest to contractors. In some places, the jungle produce had to be sold to the specific price fixed by the contractors.

These tribes were engaged in barter trade with the surrounding agricultural communities, exchanging forest produce such as herbs and honey for metal implements, salt, clothes and grain.<sup>15</sup> They supplied their forest produce to neighbouring places like Madras, Calcutta, Bombay and distant places like London and Hamburg. Gradually, the population in the plains increased and more and more jungles were cut down by the cultivators and converted into farm land. The jungle tribes turned into shifting cultivators since their hunting and

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<sup>14</sup> See Stephen Fuchs, *The Aboriginal Tribes of India*, New Delhi, 1973, P.244. Also see, Kamal K. Mishra, "National Forest Policy and Tribal development", R.N. Pati and B.Jena (eds). *Tribal development in India*, New Delhi, 1989, PP. 63-64.

<sup>15</sup> See Ramachandra Guha and Madhav Gadgil, *Op.Cit.*, P.148.

collecting forest produce could no **more** provide them sufficient **food**.

With the expansion of **muttadari** system, the tribals became cultivators and depended upon agriculture for their subsistence. Their diet was supplemented by collecting fruits, nuts, roots and honey and by liquor tapped from Palmyra and sago palms. Their principal source of food was the cultivation of millets, pulses and root crops in jungle clearings. The British concentrated on the development of the backward tribals to bring them to the main stream of life. The most visible sign of the transformation of the hills was the construction of roads. This road construction in the hills stimulated the growth of markets. In its ceaseless search for more revenue, the British government promoted the sale of alcohol and narcotics.

Apart from visible impact on the cultivating classes, state forest management also contributed to the decline of artisanal industry. Chief among these was bamboo. The traders, in this manner, advanced money to illiterate tribals and exploited them. Sometimes they were asked to go to the courts also. The tribes treated court as tigers den. This was an advantage for the traders who easily obtained exparte decrees for the confiscation of **tribals'** property. For a debt of 5 rupees a trader might carry off produce and cattle worth a hundred.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> David Arnold, "Rebellious **Hillmen: 'The Gudem-Rampa** Risings: 1839-1924", Ranajit Guha (ed.) *Subaltern Studies I*, New Delhi, 1982, **P.110**.

Their **families** live in one **room**, often hopelessly in debt to the money lender, with no hope of even acquiring independent means, very often spending the little **coolii** they get for drink, instead of saving it to the acquiring of food, clothes, shelter and education for their children.<sup>17</sup> The wages that they get were so little that they could not enjoy the most simple necessities of life, proper food and a decent cloth round the loins, not to speak of ordinary amenities of life which every human being has a right to enjoy.

The construction of new roads in forest area made the tribal inhabitation easily accessible for the military and plain

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**traders.** The British government also built schools and dispensaries but staffed them with plainsmen which was also gave an opportunity to exploit the tribals. A change has come over the views of the forest department in regard to the treatment of jungle tribes. Their traditional method of living was the destructive practice of felling the forest and burning it and growing a crop fertilized by the resultant ashes. The tendency was to regard them as the natural enemies of forest protection.

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<sup>17</sup> **R.C.** Varma, *Indian Tribes through the **ages***, New Delhi, 1990, **P.117.**

<sup>18</sup> See Sivaramakrishna, K., "**Colonialism** and Forestry in India: Imagining the Past in present politics", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.37, **No.1**, January 1995, **P.6.**

The forest department felt the real solution of the problem was to stop the crude methods of cultivation and converting the poor class of natural forest into a valuable timber forest **and** providing the jungle tribes an alternative means of living. They were good guards and watchers of the forest under a sympathetic forest officer who understood the necessity of adopting rigid departmental rules to the desultory habits of these primitive tribes. The jungle tribes were indispensable asset in forest protection and exploitation.

The Chenchus of Kurnool had been a source of trouble from their idle and turbulent habits. The persevering efforts which were made by officers of the forest department to provide the Chenchus with regular work had brought a change **in** their habits.<sup>19</sup> Works such as line clearing, coupe - felling, making bamboo splits were provided. They were collecting minor forest produce and were given small plots of land in the reserve for cultivation and were taught how to till it. Thus a noticeable decrease in **Chenchus'** crime was reported and the Chenchus proved that at forest work they were better workmen than the agricultural labourers.<sup>20</sup> The Khonds were taught road -making and minor industries like bamboo work and charcoal burning. The **Lambadis** were taught to weave gunny bags made of Sunn hemp.

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<sup>19</sup>

See Board of **Revenue**, Madras, (Land Revenue Forests) Proceedings, Forest No. 48, 25th April **1917**, **P.1.** A.P. Gazetteers office, Hyderabad.

<sup>20</sup>

David Arnold, "Rebellious **Hillman...**", Op.Cit., P.m.

Dacoity and other forms of crime prevailed in plain areas. These disturbances were due to the fluctuations of agricultural season. In years of poor harvest there was little for the tribals to eat. The **sahukar** in the harvest season attacked the tribals like a plague of locusts, taking the grain from the thrashing floor and the tamarind from the trees. **However**, for the tribals there was no distinction between good and bad years.<sup>21</sup>

The British government used to squeeze them through taxes like **Madalupannu** (a tax decided by a mansabdar on his own), **Chigurupannu** (a rate varying from one third to a half), **Kalapapannu** (the wood cutting tax) and other taxes like Forest Taxes, Grazing taxes from these people.

From the early **1860's**, with the establishment of a provincial constabulary, the government began to set up police stations in the forest area. But the police became openly corrupt and rapacious. It was the case when a villager died by accident, the police said that they suspected it to be a murder. This is to extract bribe from them. The policemen received gifts from them in the name of a function or a festival on their visit to the village.

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, P.111.



As Booth Tucker pointed out:

"Our spiritual enemy, the **enemy** of our souls was the police... spirit of our fathers help **us, save** us from the government and shut the mouths of the police".<sup>22</sup>

Before the mid nineteenth century, there was no rival  
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agricultural economic system to challenge *podu* cultivation. Animal husbandry was considered as secondary in importance. This practice of *podu* cultivation was destructive in its nature. After adivasis discontinued *podu* cultivation they narrated their woes saying that:

"We daily starved having no food, **grain** in our possession... we have no clothes to cover our body".

They expressed their feeling that the government should bestow attention on the betterment of their life.

As one hill man succinctly put it:

"The forests have belonged to us from time immemorial, our ancestors planted them and protected them, now they have become of value, government steps in and robs us of **them**."<sup>25</sup>

The Chenchus of Hyderabad were very much affected by the forest laws. Their hunting activity was considered to be illegal. They were denied the rights over the forest produce.

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See F. Booth Tucker, *Criminology or the Indian **Crim** and what to do with him*, n.p., n.d. **P.12.**

23

See V.R.K. Reddy, "A critique on Tribal life in Hyderabad State 1901-1951" *Itihas*, Vol. XV, January to June, **1989, P.24.**

24

Ramachandra Guha and Madhav Gadgil, *Op.Cit.,* **P.153.**

25

*Ibid.* **P.165.**

The **cumulative** impact of commercial forestry and the **more** frequent contacts with outsiders virtually crippled the <sup>26</sup> **Chenchus**.

In some places the colonial government forced the adivasis to move into large settlements. Thus they lost their autonomy. They were forced into agrestic serfdom under the more powerful cultivating castes. In south, the Chenchus of Kurnool in desperation turned into **bandits**.<sup>27</sup> They frequented and laid up the pilgrims of Srisailam temple.<sup>28</sup> By the year **1914**, the Chenchus had made themselves a nuisance to the forest department and to the neighbouring ryots.

Mr. Saunders, a police officer of Madras Presidency from 1917 to 1919, reported:

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<sup>26</sup> See **G.O.No.1634**, Development Department, Government of Madras, 6th December 1922, **P.1. TNA**, Madras. Also see Scheduled Tribes, Welfare of Chenchus - Kurnool district, Material Condition, Progress for 1959-60, Report submitted, Kurnool, 1961, **PP.1-5**.

<sup>27</sup>

In the history of Deccan, while prince Mohammed **Masum**, son of Aurangzeb, was passing through Kurnool, the prince gave the Chenchus gold and silver, but they were unconcerned at receiving them. On the report of a gun, they dashed to the mountains with a swiftness uncommon to man. The Chenchus to day are not far different from what they were in the 17th century. Firishta, the Mughal Chronicler, wrote, the Chenchus were "a wild mountainous people who dressed themselves and lived on honey, roots and flesh of wild animals and had a language not in the least understood by the plain folk". See *Tour in Hyderabad*, Pamphlet **No.11**, by the Secretaries of Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, New Delhi, 1950, **P. 3**.

<sup>28</sup>

Cited in A. Aiyappan, *Report on the Socio-Economic conditions of the aboriginal tribes of the province of Madras*, Madras, 1948, **P. 32**. Also see *The Chenchus and the Madras Police*, Part I and II. From the publicity Bureau, Superintendent Government Press, Madras, 1921, **P.1. TNA**.

"While there was no work, the Chenchus satisfied their hunger with little amount they got and leave nothing to their **fami ly**<sup>29</sup> members. Their way of living was hand to **mouth** existence".

Like **Chenchus**, many other groups were also badly affected by these forest **policies**.<sup>30</sup> The **Lambadis** exchanged salt, some **times** grain and metal goods for the bee wax, tamarind and honey collected by the tribals. The Lambadis also were oppressed and exploited by the British colonial administrators.

Lieutenant **Balmer** in his letter to the collector, dated 22nd May, 1865, **No.317**, wrote the following about the Yerukulas:

"The crimes they are addicted to, are dacoity, high way robbery **and**<sub>31</sub> **robbery**; They are the most troublesome of our wanderers".

The different laws on the so called criminal tribes have been influenced by the colonial considerations of political mechanism and economic needs. The colonial administrators believed that maintenance of law and order would be a mere exercise in vacuum unless a better control could be achieved over the indigenous population. It was then imperative that a stray and shifting population could not be conducive to the so called '**good**' government and the colonial notion of '**pax** Britannica'.

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See *Ibid.*, Also see Revenue (Special) Department, **G.O.No.** 2293, **11th** December 1919, **P.9.** and **G.O.No.** 561, 17th October 1918, **P.2.**

<sup>30</sup> See *Proceedings of the Chief Conservator of Forests*, proceedings **No.321**, (Press), 15th July 1932, **P.4.**

<sup>31</sup> **Hukumnamas** and papers relating to Sriharikota **Yanadis**, Vol. **1**, A selection of papers from the old records of the Nellore district, Nellore, 1915, **P.41.**

In order to achieve this, the colonial **government**, unlike in the West where legislation regulated incidence of crime, interception of crime in India was attempted even before the actual commission of the same and tried to confine would-be-male factors to settlements.<sup>32</sup> Some wandering tribes without any fixed habitat became dubbed as '**criminal**' and were setup in settlements. Moreover, the colonial criminal laws were never discussed at length either in Parliament or in public for the fear of some imminent repercussions.

The development and growth of private property also was responsible for the enactment of stringent criminal laws under the colonial regime. In course of time, forests and mines came to be treated as the exclusive concern and property of colonial state. The notion of reserve forests and the new abkari laws were only a few examples to attest this fact. The forest and wandering tribes were seen as potential threats to these '**appropriated**' natural resources under the colonial rule.

The imperialist interest in other areas too had their own bearing on forest policy of the British rulers. In the early stages of expansion in India, during the 19th **century**, the establishment of military camps and the introduction of railway lines meant a control over uncultivated forest regions.<sup>33</sup> Added

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For details see, Anandita Mukhopadhyay, "**Criminal Tribes and British Policy, 1871-1928**", Unpublished M.Phil thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1988, **PP.30-35.**

33 See Mahesh Rangarajan, "Imperial agendas and Indian Forests:

to this, the depletion and shortage of optimal wood in England for ship building activity also motivated colonial officials to embark upon a forest - control policy in India. These colonial economic considerations led to the first steps for control of the use of forests. In the later half of the 19th **century**, the colonial government came to the conclusion that complete control

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of forests by the government was both desirable and **necessary**. Though there was a debate over the government's attitude towards forests, involving both protagonists and antagonists from within the colonial bureaucracy, the final outcome was necessarily towards a regime of control over forests. In this process, forest tribes with vagabond movements who practiced unproductive agricultural methods had been considered trouble shooters. Sincere attempts were consequently made through the first enactments on forests in India like 1865 Act and 1878 Act. The government tried to settle these wandering groups in a few specified areas so as to control their activities which were looked upon as enemical to the forest regions. Whenever these forest tribes were **found** flouting the law they would be dubbed '**criminals**'. Above all, these people in turn had been deployed by the colonial state as manual labour, the employment of which, would have, otherwise, taxed the state heavily.

In some areas tribal revolts took a violent form. Several of

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The early history of Indian Forestry, 1800-1878", *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. 31, **No.2**, 1994, PP.154-163.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

the many '*Fituris*' were directly or indirectly related to the forest grievances. The **Rampa** Rebellion of 1802-1803, in the Godavari agency area of Andhra, was led by **Rambhoopati** near Rampachodavaram.<sup>35</sup> The second revolt broke out around 1879 led by Chandrayya, Sambayya and **Thammadora** and spread over **5,000** square miles. Another recorded fituri was in 1922-23 led by Alluri Sitarama Raju, fought against the British.<sup>36</sup> The fourth revolt took place in the district of Srikakulam in 1968-70 under the leadership of Jangal Sanyal. Another rebellion took place in Bastar in 1910. In 1940 a similar revolt broke out in Adilabad district where Gonds and **Kolams** followed podu cultivation.<sup>37</sup> But the state control over forests was endemic during the period of colonial rule. All the tribal movements have been short lived and unsuccessful. According to V. Raghavaiah, the freedom fighter and social worker, the first two rebellions were due to disputes relating to succession to the **Muttadari** estates. The **Muttadars** were petty tribal chiefs who were appointed by the British East India company's servants for keeping peace and collecting land revenue from the tribal people. Taking ample advantage of this authority, the **Muttadars** used violent methods to terrorize these poor tribals and effect several illegal and unconscionable

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See *Appendix to the police Government Report, 1863, P.15.* (Author not known) It was reported by W. Robertson, the then superintendent of police to Godavari district, that in June 1863 a strong guard was posted for the first time at **Chodavaram** near Rampa. Village police were introduced in detecting crime. This source is got from the State Gazetteers office, Hyderabad.

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See V. Raghavaiah, *Tribal Revolts*, Nellore, 1971, **P.31.**

37

Ramachandra Guha and **Madhav Gadgil**, *Op.Cit.*, **P.156.**

exactions from the helpless and hapless tribal **farmers**.<sup>38</sup>

Thus **in** the British period, certain castes, particularly nomads, semi-nomads and farmers who fought against the British either in direct **face-to-face** warfare or guerrilla warfare. They were declared by the British as criminal tribes. In fact, most of **these** communities belong to tough martial races as they did not bow to foreign rulers and thus were branded victims of their bravery. These communities were tortured by the British. They had to leave their hearth and home in search of livelihood. At times, circumstances forced them to commit petty crimes like **theft**, cattle lifting, robbery etc.<sup>39</sup>

19th century colonial economic policies destroyed the occupations of a number of communities. Specific policies of the administration severely affected communities which were involved in trading. The salt policy of the government destroyed the trade of Koravas, **Yerukulas**, **Korchas**, Brinjaries and **Lambadis**. Under this policy the government took over the manufacture of salt. The traders now had to buy salt from the government. It started manufacturing and trading in salt, resulting in the ruin of both traditional salt traders and salt manufacturers. The

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V. Raghavaiah, *Op.Cit.*, **P.32**.

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See Sanjay **Nigam**, "Disciplining and Policing the '**Criminals** by birth' Part 2: The development of a disciplinary system, **1871-1900**", *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, **Vol.XXVII, No.3**, July - September 1990, **P.273-74**.

above mentioned communities were very much affected.<sup>40</sup>

Within a number of 'lower' sudra castes, typical mass movements had developed. The largest accession is from the **Yerukulas**. Next came the Waddars then the Yanadis and Gollas. These castes move more rapidly and on a wider front. Many families of Yerukulas were converted to Christianity. The Yerukulas were first in numbers among the Sudra converts.

It was stated that:

"All are convinced that Christianity is true and offers the only Salvation of Yerukulas. Some have worshiped their idols so long it will require a few years to banish them from their minds. Some enjoy their sins too much to give them up all <sup>at</sup> once. But all will be Christians in five years or <sup>ten</sup>".<sup>41</sup>

There were three main reasons for the conversion of Yerukulas and Waddars into Christianity. They were 1) the changed lives of out caste converts 2) the loss of faith in Hinduism 3) the influence of the schools and churches.<sup>42</sup>

The government forest policy prevented free grazing of the cattle owned by these groups and prevented them from collecting forest produce.<sup>43</sup> Evidence shows that famines during the early British rule were far more frequent than during any other period.

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N.A., *Appendix to the Police Government Report, 1863, P.4.*

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**Waskom** Pickett, J., *Christian Mass Movements in India*, Chicago, 1933, **P.297.**

<sup>42</sup>

*Ibid.*, **P.298.**

<sup>43</sup>

See *Administrative Report of the Forest Department, Madras Presidency for 1889-90*, Madras, **P.27.** TNA.



**There were** widespread and severe famines in **1866, 1876-1878 and 1898.**<sup>44</sup> It witnessed unprecedented outbreaks of dacoity, food **riots and** looting of markets, house-breakings, cattle-stealing etc.

**The** inspector General of Police observed in 1877 that:

"Dacoity as the 'special famine **crime**' was committed by hungry people, not ordinary criminals".<sup>45</sup>

The 1866 famine allowed grain merchants to hoard and sell it at prices which these communities could not afford to purchase. They lost cattle during famine. Even after famines, a section of them continued with this occupation. In 1824, Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, observed that there were "several thousand men scattered over in our country, whose business from their earliest days has been robbery".<sup>46</sup> These men and perhaps their immediate descendants must pass away before robbery as a profession can be destroyed.

These developments of roads and railways further destroyed their business activity and in turn they lost their traditional

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See Jagannath **Pathy**, "Social Basis of Banditry and the Criminal Tribes Act", *Social Science Probings*, Vol. 1, No. 4, December 1984, **P.497**.

<sup>45</sup> See Meena Radhakrishna, "From Tribal Community to working class consciousness case of Yerukula women", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXIV, No. 17, April 29, 1989, **PP.2-3**.

<sup>46</sup> See Jagannath **Pathy**, *Op.Cit.*, **P.494**.

means of livelihood.<sup>47</sup> Mackenzie, in his book, *The Mud Bank* writes: "These tribes led a vagrant life in jungles, hills and deserts with no fixed abodes. They wandered about with their bag and baggage and pitch their tents on the out-skirts of a village or a city or in some secluded place".<sup>48</sup>

The difficulties and hardships which they faced in earning their livelihood taught them **community** life. In the absence of any substantial means of living, these people depended on begging, cattle lifting and crop stealing.<sup>49</sup> In earlier times, they felt that their life was much easier. But gradually with the advance of '**civilization**' they realized the real situation and faced hardships in the day to day '**criminal**' life.

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See Note showing the progress made in the settlement of criminal tribes in the Madras Presidency up to September 1916, Madras 1916, P. 19. TNA.

48 M.E. Mackenzie, *The Mud Bank*, Pennsylvania, 1959, PP.71-72. The Yerukulas were originally merchants. Their fore-fathers carried salt, grain and other commodities inland, on the backs of the pack animals but, in the march of progress, rail, roads came and transportation was taken out of their lands. Their living was gone, they knew no trade and they resorted to crime. It was easy for them to steal and run away, as they knew every road and by-pass of the country side.

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They felt that if they committed any offence and went to far away places apprehending them would be very difficult, especially as in those days means of communication were not sufficiently developed and agencies for detecting crime were not properly organized. Even if they returned to the same place after a few years, it would be difficult to recognize the culprits and establish their guilt. Thus they felt secure and as the circumstances were favourable, they developed their technique of committing crimes, See P.G. Shah, *Op.Cit.*, P.23. Also See Verrier Elwin, *The Aborigines in Oxford Pamphlets on Indian affairs*, No.14, Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1943, P.1.

To put down crime, the British government took stern steps to arrest and punish these people. They could not forget their bad experiences with Thugs and **Pindharis**.<sup>50</sup> As Biswas stated it is very likely that the present ex-criminal tribes of India are the **off-shoots** of Thugs and, that after the creation of Thuggee department by the then government of India, the migratory habits of these people were stopped and many of them consequently settled in different provinces of India.<sup>51</sup>

Those engaged in **criminal** acts such as dacoity, robbery, stealing etc. were branded as criminal tribes by the then British government.<sup>52</sup> The British and high caste Hindus and police

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<sup>50</sup> They gathered in gangs to roam across the sub-continent for three or four months of every year. They spend the balance of the year in their home villages appearing as ordinary peasants. Sleeman wrote, "**While** I was in the civil charge of the district of Narsingpore no robbery or theft could be committed without my becoming acquainted with it; nor was there a robber or a thief of the ordinary kind in the district, with whose character I had not become acquainted in the discharge of my duty as magistrate". Quoted in Sandria B. **Freitag**, "Crime in the social order of colonial North India", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 25, 1991. PP. 234-36. It appears from **Sleeman's** books that most of the Thugs were worshipers of the 'Female Devi'. The studies of these communities reveal that they can be grouped mainly in five categories as follows: **1.Fighting** men and soldiers lost their jobs and turned into criminals. 2. Communities who were doing the work as village watchmen and who took to criminal life. 3. Wild tribes in distress who took to criminal life. 4. Beggars turned to criminals and some settled castes and tribes who were very poor and considered low in the society took to crime. For other details see, P.G. Shah, **Vimukta Jatis, Denotified Communities in Western India**, Bombay, 1967, P.23.

<sup>51</sup> See **P.C. Biswas**, *The Ex-criminal Tribes of Delhi State*, New Delhi, 1960, P.1.

<sup>52</sup> A. **Balmer**, the then superintendent of Police, Nellore, stated that, The Yerukulas are constantly moving in Nellore district. The Yerukulas make a descent from Cuddapah and Kurnool. They

officers were unable to **comprehend** or **sympathize** with the life style of the nomads. Their peculiar social practices, their consumption of alcohol and inferior types of **food**, their so called laziness and unwillingness to work were the criteria in branding them so. References were made to the immoral women of these communities who would be as a matter of course described as rogues.<sup>53</sup> A gypsy way of life, necessitated by earlier trading activities **came** to be described as vagrancy or a lust for wandering. There was a view amongst the British that the criminal tribes looked different from ordinary human beings in their physical appearance.<sup>54</sup>

Around the last part of the 19th century, on the basis of increased rate of crime, the administration viewed about the concept of the hereditary principle among the criminals. The concept of '**Once** a criminal is always a **criminal**' was adopted by them. Instead of as wandering tribes they were classified as

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spread all over the country. A close watch cannot be kept on their encampments. Some live here and others make a visit now and then. These people unite the occupations of salt and grain carriers with robbery and have friends and agents in every part of the country. Three-fourths of the dacoity and robbery in this district is caused by Yerukulas. In consequence of their roaming habits, the speed with which they travel, the friends they have in all districts, their connection with different gangs, it would be difficult to watch and observe these people. See *Appendix to the Police Government Report, 1863, Op.Cit., PP.24-25.*

<sup>53</sup> See Muhammad Abdul Ghani, *Notes on the Criminal Tribes of the Madras Presidency*, Madras 1915, Also see, Meena **Radhakrishna**, *The Criminal Tribes Act in Madras Presidency, implications for itinerant trading communities, Op.Cit., P.278.*

<sup>54</sup> **W.J. Hatch**, *The Land Pirates of India*, London, 1928, **P.30.**

criminal tribes. Some of them came under the category of beggars, **vagrants**, procurers, receivers of stolen goods and cattle prisoners. Their number since then increased.<sup>55</sup>

In the lowest strata of Indian society, there were three classes of men who were as much depressed as any other class, the aboriginals, the criminal and wandering tribes. These people were sunk in ignorance, despised, degraded and persecuted.

As Bourne pointed out:

"Hindus take little interest in these people and particularly all that has been or **being** done to elevate them is the work of missionary bodies".

The district Manual of Mangalore stated:

"They were considered so unclean that they were not permitted to spit on the public way but had **apot** suspended **from** the neck which they used as a spittoon".

Dadabhoy Naoroji raised the question of the elevation of depressed classes. "The government did not show even least interest to appoint them in the least category of services".<sup>58</sup> He

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56 See Home Department, G.O.No. 1675, 2nd December 1919, P.2.

See Home Department, G.O.No. 1675, 2nd December 1919, P.4.  
APSA.

57 Ibid. P.5.

58 He said, the Avatar hero of Ramayana did not scruple to mix with Guha, a Nishada, a panchama by caste. The sage Kanva, according to Bhavishyattara Purana, admitted into the sacred fold of Hindu **Dwijas** a large number of Mlechchhyas. The Skandapurana relates how a whole tribe of Konkan **fisherman** were elevated into Brahmans. **Ramanujacharya**, the great teacher of the Visishtadwaita philosophy, took the **panchamas** by hand and promoted them in the social scale. See Home Department,

further said in Madras "there are a large number of depressed classes. Some of them are not allowed even to enter in public **places...to** escape from the higher sections the depressed people are driven to embrace either Christianity or **Islam**".<sup>59</sup>

Surendranath **Banerjee** said:

"We cannot discard the depressed classes. They are Indians, They are of us and we are of them, the bone of our bone and the flesh of our flesh and we feel this, that in the onward march which has begun, in the onward national movement, we must take **them with** us, and if we do not do that they will drag us down".<sup>60</sup>

Madhusudan Das stated:

"The man who confessed his guilt to the policeman of having committed theft will conceal it from his neighbour. The soldier who will walk into the mouth of the roaring cannon will shrink before the little finger of scorn of society. Society furnishes a very powerful motive for a man to be worthy of its approbation and to earn its good probation. What is the position of the depressed classes. What wonder if they turn to be criminal? It is all very good to speak of the criminal tribes, very few of us realize the meaning of these two little words. A few men in a village commit an offence to which perhaps they are driven by hunger, and the residents of the village are all put down as belonging to the tribe of criminals. Before a child be born with the impress of God's innocence on his face, while he is actually drawing his mother's blood in his mother's womb, the brand of the criminal is put upon him. That is the meaning of criminal tribes and that is what we have at the present day under the British Government, though the bright jewels on the crown of England earned by abolishing slavery in the world".<sup>61</sup>

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G.O.No. 1675, 2nd December 1919, P.6. APSA,

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. , p.7.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., P.11.

Many of these depressed classes are to be found in the jails. A man goes to the jail and is taught certain skills. It is often found that on the very day he regains his freedom he commits an offence again. A most interesting psychological problem is why does he do this? When he is in the jail he is deprived of the familial contacts. He loses precious enjoyment in life. Once he leaves the jail again he commences his criminal life. It is because the rules under which he works do not present to his mind any reward. He does not associate labour with the reward of labour. He considers the grub he gets is due to his imprisoned conditions. If the jail rules are relaxed, the skills he acquires in the jail should be carried into action to make his life honest and sincere. The jail birds are always under the control of the government.<sup>62</sup> Then, 'once a criminal always a **criminal**' principle is followed in its routine.

Dadabhoy includes tribes and castes which are hereditary criminals and regard a predatory life as their special occupation and means of livelihood. Regarding this, the problem is one of winning them from their criminal habits and finding them the means of making an honest livelihood. When we deal with criminal tribes, it is not sufficient to hunt them down from here and from there or to imprison them or to bind them under the Indian penal code sections. What is required to do with them is to make them honest citizens. The harassment and ill-treatment of police

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<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, PP.11-12.

definitely leads to the perpetuation of crime but not for their reformation. As soon as the country develops in agriculture, in its irrigation facilities or in industry or in other fields of development, people will be developed and the conditions will be **improved** as they are described as hewers of wood and drawers of water.<sup>63</sup>

Many virtues will be found among these men, virtues of patience, courage, sympathy, simplicity and honesty. The wilder men are the true children of nature. Madan Mohan Malavya said that there should not be any impediment with regard to education of child irrespective of his class, creed or community. Once they are educated, they lead the life of cleanliness and come away to normalcy from the clutches of customs, habits and superstitions.<sup>64</sup> The **main** causes of their backwardness are 1) ignorance **2)poverty** 3) oppression or exploitation by other communities. Poverty is largely born of ignorance and oppression is the grand child. Their depressed condition and ignorance is a source of moral disease to the whole community. Their ignorance makes them a prey to any who would exploit them and oppress them and the result is multiplied crime and distress.<sup>65</sup> If education is given to them they will become assets to the nation instead of liabilities.

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, PP.13-14.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, P.15.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, P.31.



When we speak of professional criminals we shall realize what the term really does mean. It means a tribe whose ancestors

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were criminals from time immemorial. The whole caste was dubbed as criminal tribe by the British government.

It was stated that:

"If the local government has reason to believe that any tribe, gang or class of persons or any part of a tribe, gang or class is addicted to the systematic commission of offences it may declare that such tribe, gang or **class** or part of the tribe, gang or class as a criminal **tribe**".<sup>67</sup>

Their dependents were considered to be offenders against the law. The whole tribe had to be examined or accounted for in the manner of the Thugs. If we analyze this view, we may not agree with it. As we have stated earlier that no person is criminal by birth.

The criminal tribe settlements were managed by several Christian missionaries and philanthropic societies who worked for the moral upliftment of the criminal tribes. The following missionaries may be cited: 1) The Canadian mission 2) Chief Khalsa Diwan 3) Deo Samaj 4) **Anjuman-Islamia** 5) **Ahmedia** Society 6) Ahmedia Anjuman **Isad-I-Islam** 7) Sanatana Dharma Sabha 8) Arya Samaj 9) The Punjab Hindu Sabha 10) The Servants of India Society 11) The Ramakrishna Mission 12) The Salvation Army 13) The

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<sup>66</sup> Sanjay **Nigam**, "Disciplining and Policing the Criminals by birth, Part I, The Making of a colonial stereotype - The Criminal Tribes and castes of North India", *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. XXVII, **No.2**, April - June 1990, **P.135**.

<sup>67</sup> See *Madras Criminal Tribes Manual*, brought up to 31st March 1927, Madras, 1927, **P.3**.

American Baptist Telugu Mission 14) The **Brahma** Samaj 15) The  
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Social Service League.

About the management of the criminal tribe settlements there was a debate in Madras Legislative Assembly that why should Christian Missionaries alone should be given the management work of the criminal tribe settlements. Because of the dedication and zeal of the Christian Missionaries, their interest in the **reformation**, rehabilitation of the depressed classes and, in addition to that, their interest in evangelization were responsible for handing over the criminal tribe settlements to  
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these people.

It was at this stage that the government found the successful work done by the Missionaries such as the Salvation Army, the American Baptist Telugu Mission and other philanthropic agencies in reforming these people. The Salvation Army was the first organization that stepped into the activities of the criminal tribes of the country. They started their work with **Doms** rehabilitation in Uttar Pradesh. The successful management

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The Government and non-government bodies and the missionaries dealing with these classes were as follows 1) The Director of Public instruction 2) The Board of Revenue 3) The Depressed Classes Mission Madras and Saidapet 4) Mr. Kesava Pillai, Gooty, 5) The Indian Christian Association, Madras. 6) The Theosophical Society, Adayar. 7) The Servants of India society 8) The London Mission 9) S.D. Bawden and 10) A.H. Curtis. -  
See, Home Department **G.O.NO.** 1675, 2nd December, 1919, **P.9**, APSA.

**69** See, File No. 88/2/1945 Police, Home Department, Police Branch Government of India, **P.4.APSA.**

by the Salvation Army attracted the attention of all the state **governments** in India. The Madras government invited the Salvation Army to take charge of some of the managements connected with the criminal tribe settlements and homes. As Dadabhoy **Naoroji** said:

**"The** salvation army's help has been requisitioned from time to time. Whether it is Salvation Army or whether it is any other reforming body, the religious zeal is very often a necessary element in pursuing difficult task of people of this kind and winning them from evil ways".<sup>70</sup>

William Booth Tucker, the founder of Salvation Army, was known for his selfless service.<sup>71</sup> Thus the Salvation Army in Andhra managed successfully two settlements in Guntur district, one at Sitanagaram (1913) and the other at Stuartpuram (1914).

The American Baptist Mission carried on their Missionary work on the eastern side of Bay of Bengal and later on throughout Andhra Pradesh. They established the mission at Nellore in February in 1836. Thus Christianity offered educational and material advantages to the 'low' castes. More **significantly**, it gave them a feeling of self respect and equality in an otherwise unequal society based on ritual hierarchy and socio-economic inequality. Reverend Bullard and Reverend S.D. Bawden took the responsibility of reforming about 50 families consisting of both

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<sup>70</sup> See, Home **Department**, G.O.No. 1675, 2nd December 1919, P.14. APSA.

<sup>71</sup> A former Governor of Bengal also remarked that:  
**"The** greatest credit is due to the Salvation Army now being achieved". Robert Sandal, *The History of the Salvation Army*, Vol.3, on Social Reform and Welfare Work, New York, **1955**, P.276.

Kathera and **Yerukula** families, who were actively involved in crime. Even before the establishment of criminal settlement at Kavali, Bullard had been planning to establish a settlement for the depressed classes at Kavali.<sup>72</sup> In addition to them, the British government and the Nizam government managed criminal tribe settlements in Andhra Pradesh.<sup>73</sup>

The problem of crime is a major issue faced by mankind though it differs from person to person from place to place, period to period according to the value system of the people. We can say that crime is as old a human failing as the birth of mankind itself. There is no single news paper without mentioning some kind of crime or the other. In India or else where in the world, the mass media are filled daily with lurid descriptions of genocide, sensational robberies, gangsterism, police-politician collusion in matters associated with corruption, unthinkable embezzlement of public funds by respected people in the society.

Hobsbawm stated that there were two types of non-conformists. Classical outlaws who wreak vengeance and the second one the Robinhood type who were peasants rebelling against

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<sup>72</sup> L.E. Rowland, *Report of the American Baptist Telugu Mission From May 1st to December 31, 1928*, Orissa Mission press, **1929**, **PP.39-45.**

<sup>73</sup> Two Tribes mainly migrated into the adjoining territories are the Yerukulas and Waddars. There is a settlement for Yerukulas at Lingala in Mahaboobnagar district in Nizam's territory. The absconders frequently cross over the Nizam's dominions to take refuge here. See **G.O.No. 1537**, Home-Judicial Department dt. 27th July 1917, **P.14.** APSA.

land usurpers.<sup>74</sup> These were named by **Thomas** More as "**The conspiracy of the rich**".<sup>75</sup> Social banditry is a universal and virtually unchanging phenomena. This bandit has to live up to the « expectations of the poor. He is regarded as 'honourable' and non-criminal by the people for whom he is doing great service. He is cut off from the society. For example Tiger Nageswara Rao of Stuartpuram settlement was treated as the hero and he rendered yeoman services to the poor.

**Manudharma** Sastra and Kautilya's **Arthashastra** also mentions about '**theft**'. Sir Richards, an American **Scholar**, in his paper "Banditry in Mughal rule in India" gave two examples. D. **Rizakhan** (1712) an ex-Mughal Fouzdar turned bandit and Papra (1710), a low caste Telugu bandit chief usually known as Survai Papadu, these two have been culled from historical documents.<sup>76</sup>

Criminality is strongly influenced by the economic situation. The crime thermometer of India goes up and down with its harvest.<sup>77</sup> This rise in the crime chart was due to the wave of unrest caused by high prices and failure of rains and consequently of crops. Even now this is noticed in the two settlements of our study. For example, a man in Guntur threw his children and himself into a well because of starvation.

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<sup>74</sup> **Hobsbawm**, *The Primitive Rebels*, London, n.d. P.44.

<sup>75</sup> Cited in V. Lalitha, *Op.Cit.*, P.4.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, P.5.

<sup>77</sup> See, **Fishman** A.T., *Culture Change and the Underprivileged, A study of Madigas in South Asia Under Christian Guidance*, Secunderabad, 1941, P.98.

**Innumerable** theories have been propounded to explain the phenomenon of crime and yet there is no synthesized approach to it. The object of law is to guide and regulate the conduct and behaviour of an individual in his relation to society either fully or partially. The basis of law should be humanitarian in its essence and consequence.

As Sharma describes:

"What the law calls crime is merely conduct which is declared to be socially harmful to the group or groups in state which are powerful enough to influence legislation".<sup>78</sup>

The problem of crime in society has been a gigantic and complex phenomenon in recent times. Qualitative changes are required under the present scenario of socio-economic and political developments. Crime rate, as a whole, is increasing very rapidly all over the world.

As Lalitha opined:

"Crime thrives wherever economic **deprivations**, social disruptions and racial discrimination prevail".<sup>79</sup>

Inequality, economic exploitation, unhealthy greed for material benefits and rapid change in the value system in society constitute the breeding ground of crime in society.

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<sup>78</sup> Sharma, B.S., "Tribal Welfare", *Man In India*, 1958, **P.577.**

<sup>79</sup> V. Lalitha, *Op.Cit.*, **P.6.**

The aims and objectives of the present study are to conceptualize the schema and analyze the various conditions of the ex-criminal tribe settlements at Siddhapuram and Stuartpuram. It is essential to suggest ways and means to bring about a change for the better in them. The environment in both places has been punctuated with crimes. They are forced to take up crime as their primary subsistence due to the forest laws and the intervention of **non-tribals** into their life style which made them as criminals and stigmatized generations together.

In this connection we have to study the historical background of these people who were enforced by the circumstances to become the criminal tribes of India. It is mere injustice to call a tribe or a clan as criminal. We have to study the life style of these people and should know about their family **organization**, educational facilities, internal conflict that arise among both (Yerukalas and Donga Waddars) the communities under our **study**, the type of leadership prevailing among them. It is also significant to note that both the central and state governments have miserably failed in bringing them to the mainstream of life.

As we have already mentioned that no man is a criminal by birth. The social environment, familial relations, good neighbourhood and healthy school education play a very important role in **moulding** the character and personality of a person.

As Haikerwal puts it:

"The Indian family has been the most potent instrument for developing social **attitudes** as well as the most effective means of social control".<sup>80</sup>

It will be Utopian to think of total eradication of crime from the society. This evil can, **however**, be curbed and reduced to a minimum. Through various acts and laws the colonial administration attempted to control crime. Even after the advent of independence several attempts are being made by the Indian government but still the solution is evasive. A radical change is essential in the very socio-economic fabric of the society. The ex-criminals cannot have emotional affinity with others so long as they are not freed from the stigma. Change is a continuous process and it has to be pursued with dedication, zeal and energy. The objectives are primarily related to the understanding of the process of transition and change among these tribals. The study of rehabilitation programmes initiated by the government and the response of these people to them also forms a significant aspect of our study.

In the above background, criminal tribes settlements were established in such districts where grave crime was prevalent. In order to provide a settled life, government opened settlements as agricultural, industrial, penal and reformatory.<sup>81</sup> These

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B.S. Haikerwal, *Economic and Social Aspects of Crime in India*, London, 1934. P.17.

<sup>81</sup> See, O.H.B. Starti, *Reformation of Offenders in India, A Hand book for the use of workers amongst delinquents in India*,



**settlements** were either placed under the control of Salvation Army<sup>82</sup> or the American Baptist Telugu Mission, Canadian Mission and other philanthropic agencies or under the supervision of the government itself.

The earliest criminal tribes settlement in Andhra Pradesh was established by the American Baptist Mission at Kavali in the year 1912.<sup>83</sup> Before that, there was a settlement at Kalichedu in Nellore district for **Dommaras** and Katheras in the year 1911. **Sitanagaram** settlement was established by the Salvation Army in the year 1913. **Siddhapuram** settlement was a voluntary settlement established in the year 1913. The Vedullapalli or Betapudi settlement, known as **Stuartpuram**, was established in the year 1914 by the Salvation Army. **Bhumanna** Gadda settlement was an agricultural settlement intended for the Nawabpeta korchas by the Salvation Army in the same year. Reformatory settlement in

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Bombay, 1933. PP. 3-8. In reformatory settlements the incorrigibles were provided work within the limits of the settlement itself. Kavali settlement is an industrial settlement. The settlers found employment in neighbouring mills or railway workshops or other factories or in quarries. For example, Sitanagaram settlers were sent for construction of dams or canals. In agricultural settlements some land is provided to the settlers. Stuartpuram settlement is an example of this.

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C. Harvey, the then General Superintendent of Thuggee and Dacoity department, wrote in his letter no. 406, dated 26th September 1859, "These robbers have existed as such for several generations, their ostensible means of livelihood, basket and mat-making..., gang robbery perpetrated by several united kotas... under its own distinct and peculiar leader..." See *Note showing the progress made in the settlements of criminal tribes in the Madras Presidency, up to September 1916*, Madras, 1916, **P.23.**

83 L.E. Rowland, *Op.Cit.*, **P.41.**

Guntur was established by the Salvation Army. It was intended to have a home for the prisoners undergoing imprisonment. Chintaladevi settlement in Nellore district was established for the welfare of Kanjar Bhats who belong to Bombay presidency in 1914.<sup>84</sup> Apart from these, the Nizam government opened a settlement for the Donga **Waddars** and **Yerukulas** at Lingala in Mahaboobnagar district in 1917.

The first settlement of our study, **Siddhapuram**, is located in Kurnool district. This is a voluntary settlement established in the year 1913 was managed by the government. The Chenchus who used to way laid the passengers and the Donga Waddars were interned in the settlement.

These Donga waddars are the same people who are variously called as Katheras, Donga Dasaries, Aligaries and Gudu Dasaries, found all over the country.<sup>85</sup> It has been ascertained that these are religious mendicants or the Dasaries or beggars and were driven to lead the life of thieving during the famine of 1876-78. In disguise they frequented fairs and festivals and used to pass for cattle dealers. They mixed freely with the villagers and cheated them easily.

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<sup>84</sup> See, Home Department Police Branch, File **NO.88/2/1945** Report on the work done for the reclamation of criminal tribes in the Madras Presidency, **P.4.** APSA.

<sup>85</sup> See, V. Lalitha, *Op.Cit.*, **P.74.**

The Donga Waddars were more dangerous criminals than even the **Yerukulas**. In the words of Bawden:

"I should say the Dasaries of **Kalichedu** were of a **more** dangerous character of criminals".<sup>86</sup>

The reasons being that these people comprised different tribes and castes and they used to wander from one place to the other and they were known for their cunning and cleverness. The general impoverishment, the introduction of railways, the adverse climatic conditions, the nomadic nature of their life and their behavioural pattern are responsible for their criminal depredations. In addition to that, they used their women as prey to their earnings. All the good looking women cheated the men folk of other communities. These Waddars were a part and parcel of the Yerukulas.

As Paupa Rao Naidu said,

"Aligaries or **capemaris** of Southern India are **supposed** to have been once an **off-shoot** of this great tribe..."<sup>87</sup>

This great tribe being the Yerukulas, presently they are quite distinct from Waddars in their religion, manners, customs, language and other characteristics. When they were separated from the main tribe of the Yerukulas, they were very small in number. So, they allowed other castes to enter their community except

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--See, L.E. Rowland Son, *Report of the American Baptist Telugu Mission*, From May 1st to December **31**, 1928, Orissa Mission press, **1929, P.40.**

<sup>87</sup> **M. Paupa** Rao Naidu, *The Criminal Tribes of India*, Vol. **No.2**, The History of Koravas, Yerukulas or Kaikaries, Madras, 1905, **P.5.**

'malas' and 'madigas'. They used to kidnap the children from the various castes and tribes and thus increased their strength numerically.

These displaced Yerukulas and the mixed nature of their **composition**, their language pattern and acquaintances with wider circles make for the distinction **from** the original tribe. The change in their life pattern is due to the fact that they are drawn from the Boya, Golla, **Wudde** and **Salia** castes. Hindus of all classes and, occasionally, Muslims also are members of their fraternity. Another distinctive character is that they move under the guise of respectable traders, well dressed and wearing caste marks to gain admission into any place they like to visit.<sup>88</sup> They used to acquaint themselves with the names of persons of good social standing and ascertain facts connected with their personal life. But, still they retained their tribal qualities.

Both Yerukulas and Donga **Waddars** have certain affinities -  
1) Both of them do not have faith or confidence in each other. 2) They are notorious for falsehood. 3) Both the tribes use some medicinal herbs to entice people and commit crime.<sup>89</sup>

Among the tribe-wise and caste-wise census, enumerated by the government, there is no mention of Donga Waddars as a caste or tribe. Because of their non-identity with any tribe or caste,

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<sup>88</sup> See, Muhammad Abdul Ghani, *Op.Cit.*, P.125.

<sup>89</sup> V. Lalitha, *Op.Cit.*, PP.77-78.

no benefits of reservation is given to **them**. They are submitting memoranda to the government as well as to the central government to treat them as scheduled tribes on par with **Yerukulas**, but with no positive results.

The second settlement for the study is **Stuartpuram** settlement, established in the year **1914**, in Vedullapalli village of Bapatla taluq in Guntur district. As mentioned earlier, this is an agricultural settlement managed by the Salvation Army. One of the largest tribes of Andhra Pradesh i.e. Yerukulas are interned in this settlement. They are found both in coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema areas. In fact, they are found throughout the **erst-while** Madras Presidency. They are called by different names in different localities. They are known as '**Koravas**' from the extreme south to the north of the North Arcot district. In Mysore, they are called Korchas and in Andhra as Yerukulas. Some Koravas pass for Vellalas and call themselves Agambadia Vellalas with the title Pillai. Others call themselves Pillai, Koravai, Irani, Reddy etc.<sup>90</sup>

The appellation '**Koracha**' or '**Korcha**' appears to be of a later date than Korava and said to be derived from the Hindustani '**kory**' (sly) korrinigga (sly look) becoming corrupted into Korcha. Men and women of this can be easily identified as

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<sup>90</sup> *The Tribes of Andhra Pradesh*, a monograph published by the Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad, A.P., **1964**, P. 12. (No author).

**Yerukulas** unless they disguise themselves as Kapus and Baliyas which they often do.

Their Gotras or clans or divisions are found in considerable number and are in accordance with their gradation. They are **Sathupati**, Kavadi, **Manepati** and Mendra **Gutti**.<sup>91</sup> These are all corrupted Tamil words. Their womenfolk earn their living **mainly** in two ways: 1. tattooing and, 2. fortune telling. They also help their husbands in agricultural operations and are also equally of criminal leanings like their menfolk. The Yerukulas can, in no case, marry a woman of any caste or community lower than that of its own.

The present study is to find out the changes brought about in the life and activities of the ex-criminal tribes as a result of their living in the settlements and the rehabilitative measures introduced by the government which, to some extent, weaned them away from crime. The study covers, the social and economic aspects relating to the family and domestic chores, their occupation, income and expenditure and future of children, administrative measures and crime aspect, treatment meted out to them by the police in the remand and prison life and, lastly, reformation and rehabilitation.

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<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, P.14. In Maharashtra region they are called as Kaikaries. Captain Harvey mentioned about 5 classes of Kaikaries in his report, namely, Gan Kaikaries, Kunchi Kaikaries, Koot Kaikaries, Sursal Kaikaries and Ran Kaikaries.

Case history **method** of collecting information along **with** interviews are adopted to study both the settlements. It constitutes an important source of the study. The information about all the ex-criminal leaders is gathered. We also interviewed social workers like **Lavanam** and Hemalatha **Lavanam** who have been associated with the rehabilitation of ex-criminal tribes in Andhra Pradesh. The study is based on both primary and secondary data. The survey method and field work method are also used. As the study is **historical**, archival sources formed the main basis of the study.

Apart from others, the primary source for the present **study** is the oral testimony collected from different people of varied callings in **Stuartpuram** and **Siddhapuram**. A questionnaire is used to get the information from them. The manager and the wardens of the Salvation Army are also interviewed. A freedom fighter by name **Madigani** Dattu and the village sarpanch Devara Samson have been interviewed in Stuartpuram settlement. Besides, scholars and social workers like Ponna Koteswara Rao and Palaparthi Veeraiah were interviewed. The data is culled further from the retired teachers, aged people, forest officers, village elders of Siddhapuram. Archival sources like revenue, public law, judicial, home, labour, police records have been extensively used for the present study. Andhra Pradesh State Administrative Reports from the year 1956 to 1975 and Madras State Administrative Reports from the year 1925 to 1954 are also consulted. Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and

Scheduled Tribes are also used for a period of 20 years from 1960 to 1980.

Social scientists have paid scant attention to the problem of criminal tribes and have largely followed the premises of colonial administration. Administrators like **Hastings**, Cornwallis, William Bentinck, William **Sleeman** wrote books on criminal and wandering tribes. Meadows Taylor's, *The Confessions of a Thug*<sup>92</sup> and *The Story of My Life*, **Sleeman's** *Rambles and*<sup>93</sup> *Recollections of an Indian Official*, Phillip Mason's, *Call the Next Witness*<sup>94</sup> are some of the contributions of European writers that add to the knowledge of criminal situation in the colonial period. Thomas **Munro's** selections from his Minutes and other official writings give us information about criminal classes not only of Madras presidency but the other provinces also. Sleeman had a prolonged and varied experience of dealing with outlaws in central and other parts of India. His work on history and practices of the Thugs give us information on Thugs and **Pindharis**.

It is sad but true that the studies on criminal tribes are very few. However, they are either anthropological or

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<sup>92</sup> Meadows Taylor, *Confessions of a Thug*, 19th Century English Fiction, New Delhi, 1988; By the same author, *The Story of my Life*, Autobiography, New Delhi, 1986.

<sup>93</sup> W.H. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, New Delhi, 1915.

<sup>94</sup> Phillip Mason, *Call the next Witness*, London, 1945.



sociological in nature. General **Harvey**, many years ago, chronicled carefully some of the crimes committed by Koravas.<sup>95</sup> But this work was designed to record the nomadic life of the people. In the various district Gazetteers in South India,<sup>96</sup> published by the government, too brief an account of these criminal tribes is given. Before and after the revolt of 1857, a few special officers of the Raj made a special study about the criminal tribes. But their task was so vast and unwieldy that it was limited to the matters pertaining to the jurisdiction of police department.

In 1892, F.S. **Mullaly**, the then district superintendent of police of Madras, wrote a book on the ex-criminal tribes<sup>97</sup>. E.J. Gunthrope wrote a book entitled *Notes on Criminal Tribes* in 1882. David Macritchie wrote an account of the *Gypsies of India* in 1876.<sup>98</sup> This book gives valuable information about the origin and the early history of the Gypsies. Mr. E.S.B. Stevenson, **C.I.E.**, Deputy Inspector General of Police of Madras had studied their customs and habits and collected much material concerning them but this work was not published. In 1905, M. Paupa Rao Naidu, of

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H. Harvey, *Cameos of Indian Crime*, London, n.d.

<sup>96</sup> Madras Government Bulletin, Vol. V. **No. 1**, Anthropology: Vision of the **Uralis** and Sholagas, more Marriage Customs in South India, Hook Swinging, Paliyans, Madras, 1903.

<sup>97</sup>

F.S. Mullaly, *Notes on Criminal Classes of the Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1892.

David Macritchie, *Account of the Gypsies of India*, New Delhi, 1976.

Madras Police wrote a booklet on *The History of Koravas*.<sup>99</sup> His works on *The Criminal Tribes of India* and *The Railway Thieves* are the important sources for our study. G.W. Gayer's *Lectures on some Criminal Tribes of India and Religious Mendicants*, in central province, published during the year 1910 gives information on Yerukulas, Waddars including Sanchaloos, **Tirmullees** (also called as Donga Sanchaloo), their slang words, their way of living, origin, cultural habits, mode of committing crime etc.<sup>100</sup> Harold Begbie's<sup>101</sup> works '*Other Sheep*' and the *Twice Born Men* give valuable information regarding these criminal classes. In his book *Other Sheep* Harold Begbie wrote on the **Bhils**, the **Doms**, the Bhatus, the Haburas etc. The work done by the Salvation Army in India, especially on the above said groups, discussed in detail in this book. In the second book the *Twice Born Men*, there is a chapter on the criminals. In this chapter the conditions to become a criminal and the psychology of a hardened criminal were discussed by the author.

Easily the best account on south India castes and Tribes is found in the book written by Edgar Thurston<sup>102</sup> assisted by K.

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M. Paupa Rao Naidu, *History of Railway Thieves*, Madras, 1904; Also by the same author *Criminal Tribes of India, The History of Koravas, Yerukulas, or Kaikaries*, Madras, 1905.

<sup>100</sup> G.W. Gayer, *Lectures on some criminal tribes of India and Religious Mendicants*, 2nd Ed. Principal Police Training School, Central Province, 1910.

<sup>101</sup> Harold Begbie, *Other Sheep*, A study of the people of India with particular reference to the collision between Christianity and Hinduism, London, n.d. Also by the same author, *The Twice Born Men*, A clinic in Regeneration, New York, 1909.

<sup>102</sup> Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. 3 &

**Ranganachari** of the Madras **Museum**,<sup>103</sup> published in seven volumes by the government of Madras in 1909. Muhammad Abdul **Ghani**<sup>104</sup> wrote *Notes on the Criminal Tribes of the Madras Presidency* during the year 1915. This valuable account presents information on the most distinguishing and prominent characteristics of the criminal classes of Madras Presidency. The Book on *The Chenchus and Madras Police* was published during the year 1921 by the publicity Bureau Madras.<sup>105</sup> This book is divided into two sections. The first part gives a brief picture of Chenchus in the Naliamalai forest. The second part deals with the criminal pattern of the chenchus of Naliamalai hills. S.M. Edward's<sup>106</sup> work crime and criminal tribes in India published during the year 1924 is a valuable source of information on various types of crimes, their causes and remedies. He also focused, in a chapter, about the criminal tribes and criminal tribes act of 1871. This work is very valuable as it throws light on the causes of crime and other intrinsic problems about the criminals. In 1928, **W.J. Hatch**<sup>107</sup> wrote a book entitled *The Land Pirates of India* about the Koravas of Tamilnadu which was their homeland. Eleswarapu Ramachandra

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5, Madras, 1909.

<sup>103</sup> *Madras Government Museum Bulletin*, Vol. IV, **No.3**, Anthropology, Madras, 1903; Also vol. V, **No.1**, Anthropology, Op.Cit.

<sup>104</sup> Muhammad Abdul Ghani, *Notes on the Criminal Tribes of Madras Presidency*, Vellore, 1915.

<sup>105</sup> *The Chenchus and the Madras Police*, from the Publicity Bureau Parts I & **II**, Madras, 1921.

<sup>106</sup> S.M. Edward, *Crime in India*, New York, 1924.

<sup>107</sup> **W.J. Hatch**, *The Land Pirates of India*, New Delhi, 1976.

Sastri<sup>108</sup> wrote a book on the History of *Criminal Tribes in Madras Presidency*, published during the year 1929. Another book by this author **Neramu Cheyu Jatulu**, the Telugu version Thieving Communities gave a detailed information on the ex-criminal tribes of Madras Presidency. Various ex-criminal tribes and their cultural habits were discussed in detail in his works. Another Telugu book **Adimavasulu** (aboriginal tribes) by Chirravuri Nagabhushanacharyulu<sup>109</sup> dealt with aboriginal tribes like Khonds, Savarans, Gadabas, Koyas, and Chenchus. The book also deals with the nomadic tribes like Yerukulas, **Yanadis**, Lambadis, **Dommaras**, etc. Some rehabilitative measures for the upliftment of these tribes were also discussed in the last part of the book. O.H.B. Starti's work stressed mainly on the various methods that the colonial administrators adopted to reform and rehabilitate the ex-criminals.<sup>110</sup> B.S. Haikerwal wrote on economic and social aspects of crime in India which is a pioneering work on Indian criminology.<sup>111</sup> A.T. **Fishman's** works provide valuable accounts on the situation of crime and criminal tribes in India.<sup>112</sup> Apart from

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E. Ramachandra Sastri, *History of Criminal Tribes in Madras Presidency*, Madras 1929. Also by the same author, **Neramulu Cheyu Jatula Charitra**, (History of Thieving Communities), Vijayawada, n.d.

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Chirravuri Nagabhushanacharyulu, *Adimavasulu*, Tenali, 1949; Also by the same author *Sanchara Jatulu*, Narasaraopet, 1977.

<sup>110</sup> O.H.B. Starti, *Reformation of Offenders in India*, A Hand book for the use of workers Amongst Delinquents in India, Bombay, 1935.

<sup>111</sup> B.S. Haikerwal, *Economic and Social Aspects of Crime in India*, London, 1934.

<sup>112</sup> **Fishman**, A.T., *For the Purpose*, New York, n.d. By the same author, *Culture Change and the Underprivileged*, A Study of Madigas in South India Under Christian Guidance, Secunderabad,

these aspects, the work of the Missionaries in tribal areas is also given.

Apart from these valuable studies, the present work is also based on the criminal tribes enquiry committee reports of Bombay Presidency (1939), <sup>113</sup> United Provinces (1948), <sup>114</sup> Madras (1924), <sup>115</sup> and All India criminal tribes enquiry committee reports, Manuals of the administration of the Madras Presidency, 1885 and 1886, and Note showing the progress made in the settlements of criminal tribes upto 1930, administration reports of the Harijan Welfare Department from 1953 to 1956, Administration Reports of Hyderabad District of Police for the Years 1945-48, Report on the Administration of Police of H.E.H., The Nizam's Government for 1914-1920, administration reports of habitual offenders settlements. These reports provide an insight into the historical background of the criminal tribes of India.

In 1943, Haimendorf, wrote a valuable book, entitled, The Aboriginal Tribes, Hyderabad Vol. I. <sup>116</sup> This work is an enlightened

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1941.

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*Report of the Criminal Tribes Act enquiry committee*, Government of Bombay, Bombay 1943.

*Report of the criminal tribes enquiry committee*, United Provinces of India, Allahabad, 1948.

<sup>115</sup> *Madras Criminal Tribes Manual, Criminal Tribes Act VI of 1924*, brought upto 31st March 1927, Madras, 1927.

<sup>116</sup> Haimendorf Von Furer, C., *The Aboriginal Tribes of Hyderabad*, Vol. I., (The Chenchus) London, 1943. Other works by the same author are, *Tribes of India, the Struggle for Survival*, New Delhi, 1985. *The Aboriginal Tribes of Hyderabad, Yesterday and Today in Andhra Pradesh*, Census of India, part I, Report of

study on the situation of tribes in Andhra Pradesh. His other works are also valuable on these tribes.

Gillin John **Lewis**,<sup>117</sup> J.H. Hutton,<sup>118</sup> **Verrier Elwin**<sup>119</sup> wrote books on crime and **criminals**. **Elwin's** other works, *The Tribal World* (1964) *A New Book of Tribal Fiction* (1970) were contributions to social anthropology rather than to the study of crime. J.H. **Hutton's** *A Popular Account of Thugs and Dacoits* gives valuable information about the ex-criminal tribes of India. Vennelacunti Raghavaiah wrote *Tribes of India* in two volumes in which there is

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**Mazhar** Hussain, Hyderabad, 1941. *The Aboriginal problem in Narasaraopet Taluq, a tour Dairy*, n.p., 1947. *Tribal Populations and cultures of Indian sub-continent*, Netherlands, 1985.

<sup>117</sup> Gillin, John Lewis, *Taming the Criminal*, New York, 1931.

<sup>118</sup>

J.H. Hutton, *Caste in India, Its nature , Function and Origin*, London, 1963. .

<sup>119</sup>

Verrier, Elwin, ***Muria Murder and Suicide***, London, 1950.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Collection of Jamanlal Bajaj Personal Papers*, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi. In this personal letter it was noted that "In September 1947 the Oxford University press published the *Aboriginals*. In November 1947, he published *Muria Murder and Suicide*. Through this work, "One can understand how much injustice has been done to the aboriginals in India and how much injustice in future can be prevented through **Elwin's** demonstration".

\_\_\_\_\_, *Collection of Bhulobhai Desai personal Papers*, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi; It was stated that, "It is impossible to understand the aboriginal problem unless we realize that there are many different kinds of aboriginals. However, they were mainly categorized under two groups. One group who were already in contact with civilization and the second consists of small groups living in remote and hilly areas. They had collapsed with tragic rapidity when they had been brought too quickly into contact with modern civilization.

a chapter on the criminal tribes.<sup>120</sup> His book on *The Problems of Criminal Tribes*, *The Yanadis* and *The Nomads* are equally valuable. He published another book on Tribal Revolts. His other book on *Tribal Justice* gives us information about **crime**, prevention of crime, punishment and other issues relating to the tribes. **Aiyappan's** book, *Report on the Socio-Economic Conditions of the Aboriginal Tribes of the province of Madras* gives much

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information on criminal tribes and tribal **settlements**. B.R. Ambedkar's writings, especially on the untouchables, is useful

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for an appreciation of the general background of the **tribes**. The Government of Madras published a report in 1948 under the secretaryship of Aboriginal Tribal Welfare Enquiry Committee, *Report on the socio-economic conditions of the aboriginal tribes of the province of Madras*. It contains a brief account of the criminal tribes and criminal tribes settlements in Madras presidency. It is a **valuable** report which deals with their socio-economic conditions. V. Subba Rayan, the Police officer, wrote a book on the aboriginal tribes of India.<sup>123</sup> **This** account provides useful information of fifty two special important tribes like Koyas, Konda Doras, Jatapu, Yanadi, Korava, Lambadi etc. The book is subdivided under three parts. Syed **Khaja** Abdul

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V. Raghavaiah, *Tribes of India*, New Delhi, 1969. Other works of the same author, *The Problem of Criminal Tribes*, New Delhi, 1943. *Tribal Revolts*, Nellore, 1971. *Tribal Justice*, **Nellore**, 1977. *The Yanadis*, New Delhi, *The Nomads*, Secunderabad, 1988.

121 A. Aiyappan, *Report on the Socio-Economic Conditions of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Province of Madras*, Madras, 1948.

122 Ambedkar, B.R., *The Untouchables, who are they and why they became untouchables*, Delhi, 1943.

123 V. Subbarayan, *Forgotten Sons of India*, Madras, 1949.

Gafoor wrote a book on *Tribes and Tribal welfare in Hyderabad*<sup>124</sup> in 1952. It deals with various rehabilitative measures undertaken by the government.

Albert Cohen's work on *Delinquent Boys*<sup>125</sup> and *Hobsbawm*<sup>126</sup> *Primitive Rebels* and *Bandits* are some other books written on the subject. F.G. Bailey's book, *Tribe, Caste and Nation* gives valuable information about the tribes in general and criminal tribes in particular.<sup>127</sup> D.N. Majumdar wrote a book titled *Races and Cultures of India*.<sup>128</sup> Published in the year 1965. This work gives information on various criminal tribes in India. S. Venugopal Rao wrote on crime in India.<sup>129</sup> It is useful to students interested in matters of investigation of criminal aspects. P.K. Bhowmick's book on the *Lodhas of West Bengal* is a detailed study on the life of the Lodhas.<sup>130</sup> P.C. Biswas wrote *The Ex-Criminal Tribes of Delhi State* in 1963.<sup>131</sup> It is a detailed scientific enquiry about the conditions of the denotified communities of Delhi. V. Sivaprasada Rao's study covers mainly the origins and development of Kapparallatippa settlement and a

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**Syed Abdul Gafoor Khaja, *Tribes and Tribal Welfare in Hyderabad*, Hyderabad, 1951.**

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Albert Cohen, K. *Delinquent Boys, A Culture of the Gang*, New York, 1955.

**Hobsbawm, *The Primitive Rebels*, London, 1959. Also by the same author, *Bandits*, London, 1969.**

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F.G. Bailey, *Tribe, Caste and Nation*, Manchester, 1960.

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D.N. Majumdar, *Races and Cultures of India*, Bombay, 1965.

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S. Venugopala Rao, *Facets of Crime in India*, Bombay, 1962.

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P.K. Bhowmick, *The Lodhas of West Bengal*, Calcutta, 1963.

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P.C. Biswas, *The Ex-criminal Tribes of Delhi State*, Delhi, 1960.



brief review of the rehabilitative measures introduced by the government.<sup>132</sup>

In his book, *The Sansis of Punjab*, Sher Singh Sher made an attempt to focus his attention on the criminal tribes, particularly Sansis, of Punjab.<sup>133</sup> He emphasized the fact of their being branded with the designation of "Criminal Tribe" had very tragical consequences for the community as a whole and often placed them at the mercy of unsympathetic and exploiting officials. His work is the best one for other field workers to come forward and study **scientifically** about the castes and tribes of this particular type. George Bruce wrote a book on *The stranglers, The Cult of the Thuggee and its overthrow in British India*. It is a valuable book to understand the problem of Thugs and Pindharis during the colonial period.<sup>134</sup> Gustav Oppert published his work on the criminal inhabitants of India in which he covered all the tribes including the Kurus, Yerukulas and **Kaurs**.<sup>135</sup>

Some of the missionary organizations, like Salvation Army and The American Baptist Telugu Mission, wrote books on the criminal tribes of India with particular reference to Andhra. These valuable accounts describe the early conditions of these

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<sup>132</sup> V. Sivaprasada Rao, **Kapparallatippa**, Unpublished M.Phil. Dissertation, Madras, 1964.

<sup>133</sup> Sher Singh Sher, *The Sansis of Punjab*, New Delhi, 1965.

<sup>134</sup> George Bruce, *The Stranglers the Cult of Thuggee and its over Throw in British India*, New York, 1968.

<sup>135</sup> Gustav Oppert, *The Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsha or India*, New York, 1978, **PP.196-209**.

'habitual offenders'. The Salvation Army officer Frederick Booth Tucker<sup>136</sup> wrote a book on Criminology or the Indian **Crim** in which he talked about crime and various types of criminal tribes. He has vividly described various rehabilitation methods taken up by the Salvation Army.

In **addition**, few writers from Yerukula community also written some ballads, short notes and few articles on their past history. Mention may be made, in this context, of the writers such as Ponna Koteswara Rao, Palaparthi Veeraiah, **Rameswaram** Nagaiah and Ponna Satyanarayana. Ponna Koteswara Rao and Ponna Satyanarayana wrote two ballads in Telugu titled **Kallu-Muntha** and **Rama Rajyam**.<sup>137</sup> They portray the habits of Yerukulas. **Kallu-Muntha** is the story of the Yerukulas and how they behave during the marriage functions is described. The part played by various members attending a wedding feast is portrayed brilliantly by the authors. Being the first graduate of the community, the author, along with other members like chadala **Janakiram**, Rameswaram Nagaiah and Palaparti Veeraiah, toured all over India and narrated the story in the form of a ballad. Like-wise, the other ballads, **Rama Rajyam** and **Yekalavya**, also give detailed information about the cultural habits of the

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<sup>136</sup> F. Booth Tucker, *Criminology or the Indian Crim and What to do with him*, A Report on the work of Salvation Army among the criminal tribes, Habitual and Released prisoners of India, n.p., n.d.

<sup>137</sup> See Ponna Satyanarayana, Ponna Koteswara Rao, **Kallumunta**, (Telugu) (Toddy Pot), Vijayawada, 1950 and, see, Ponna Koteswara Rao, **Ramarajyam** (Telugu), Vijayawada, 1960.

**Verukulas.** Ponna Koteswara Rao published a journal called **Dalit Marg.** It published interesting accounts on the **ex-criminal**

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tribes of Andhra Pradesh. Palaparti Veeraiah wrote an article titled 'What we did', published by Bharatiya **Adimjati** Sevak Sangh.<sup>139</sup> At present he **is** working as the president of **Andhra Rashtra Adimajati** Sevak Sangh which was established in 1948.

Soleving Smith, the Salvation **Army** officer, wrote a book, the story of 100 years of the Salvation Army in India and adjacent countries.<sup>140</sup> This was published during the year 1981. In this, the author mentions the activities of Salvation Army in India and other countries like Burma, Great Britain, Japan and Denmark. The author gives a detailed account regarding the rehabilitation programmes of the Salvation Army towards the criminal tribes of Madras Presidency.

The full story of the Salvation Army was written in the book *The Mud Bank*, by M.E. Mackenzie<sup>141</sup> with thrilling episodes and touching incidents of the heroes and heroines of Salvation Army. It was the full story of the successful missionary officer Mackenzie. He served the people of India for forty four years

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<sup>138</sup> See, Ponna Koteswara Rao, *Dalit Marg*, Telugu, Vijayawada, 1940.

<sup>139</sup> See, Palaparti Veeraiah, "What we did, 1927-1964", Report of the 7th Conference for Scheduled Tribes and Tribal areas, Guntur, A.P., 9th and 10th November 1964.

<sup>140</sup> Soleving Smith, *By Love Compelled*, The story of 100 years of the Salvation Army in India and adjacent countries, St Alboans, England, 1981.

<sup>141</sup> Mackenzie, Mildred, *The Mud Bank, A story of Missionary Endeavor*, Pennsylvania, 1959.

with devotion and love. These events were recorded in this book. It is a true understanding of the **missionary** endeavour. His sympathetic understanding of the tribals of India, especially Yerukulas in **Stuartpuram** and Sitanagaram, was portrayed in this work.

Another Salvation Army officer of recent times by name Ganta Raja Rao wrote an interesting book titled *The History of Salvation Army in Andhra*.<sup>142</sup> Though it is a Christian-biased book, a good amount of information regarding the reformation of the ex-criminal tribes of Andhra Pradesh is given. The work done by the various Salvation Army officers in Andhra is discussed in this book. A brief history regarding the Salvation Army and how it initiated in Andhra Pradesh is given. The rules and regulations laid by the missionaries to reform the criminal tribes are discussed in detail. Apart from various books in Telugu and English the Salvation Army published a monthly called

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*The War Cry*. This was published both in English and Telugu. Various issues taken up by the Salvation Army in Madras Presidency and in other provinces discussed. The work done by the Salvation Army on various issues like criminal tribes reformation in the settlements, particularly in Stuartpuram and Sitanagaram, were published in its columns.

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<sup>142</sup> Ganta Raja Rao, *The History of the Salvation Army in Andhra* (Telugu), Madras, 1993.

<sup>143</sup> *The War Cry*, Salvation Army Monthly, May 1937, Madras.

**Stephen** Fuchs's work *The Aboriginal Tribes of India* gives information on the aboriginal tribes of South India and forest policies of colonial rulers.<sup>144</sup> R.v. Russel and Rai Bahadur Hiralal wrote on tribes and castes of the central provinces of India.<sup>145</sup> The authors discussed the social and cultural aspects of various tribes. There is a chapter on Koravas who are known as Yerukulas. It provides information on their physical appearance, **sub-divisions**, religious customs and occupations. In his **book**, *Whigs and Hunters, The Origin of the Black Act*, E.P. Thompson writes the conditions of the early 18th century to chart the violently conflicting currents that boiled beneath the apparent calm of the **time**.<sup>146</sup> The Black Act, a law of unprecedented savagery, was passed by parliament in 1723, to deal with wicked and evil-disposed men going armed in disguise. These men were pillaging the royal forests of deer, conducting a running battle against the forest officers with blackmail threats and violence. Through this work, we are able to see and understand the major social tensions of the early 18th century. Kamala Devi Chattopadhyay wrote a book on *Tribalism in India*. There is a chapter in this book about the Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh. The chapter deals with the Chenchus of Naliamalai Hills, and their religion, deities, habitation, society, marriage, craftsmanship

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<sup>144</sup> Stephen Fuchs, *The Aboriginal Tribes of India*, New Delhi, **1973**.

<sup>145</sup> R.V. Russell and Rai Bahadur Hiralal, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, **Vols. 3 & 4**, New Delhi, 1975.

<sup>146</sup> E.P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters, The Origin of the Black Act*, England, 1975.

and dances. Chandrasekhar Bhat's work on Ethnicity and **mobility** published in 1984 gives the **emergence** of the **Waddars** in Karnataka and their efforts to achieve upward social mobility through reform and protest.<sup>147</sup> He builds up his arguments on ethnographic material concerning the Waddars of Karnataka in general and a settlement of **Mannu** Waddars in particular.

M.Kennedy wrote a book on *The criminal Classes in India*.<sup>148</sup> This book gives information of the criminal classes of Bombay presidency including Donga Waddars. K.S. Singh wrote a book on *Tribal Situation in India*.<sup>149</sup> It deals with the primitive tribes and the colonial administration and the tribal movements. It has focused on the tribal situation of post colonial scenario. David **Hardiman's** book, *The Coming of the Devi*, is a valuable source of information about the 'adivasis'.<sup>150</sup> The problems faced by the adivasis during the colonial period are discussed in this study. Jakka **Parthasarathy's** work on Yerukulas is a standard ethnographic study published during the year 1988.<sup>151</sup> Syed Siraj **Ul** Hassan's work the castes and Tribes of the Nizam's dominions gives a detailed description of various ex-criminal tribes like

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<sup>147</sup> Chandrasekhar Bhat, *Ethnicity and Mobility*, Emerging Ethnic Identity and Social Mobility among the Waddars of South India, New Delhi, 1984.

<sup>148</sup> M. Kennedy, *The Criminal Classes in India*, New Delhi, 1985.

<sup>149</sup> K.S. Singh, *Tribal Situation in India*, New Delhi, 1985.

<sup>150</sup> David **Hardiman**, *The Coming of the Devi*, Adivasi Assertion in Western India, Madras, 1987.

<sup>151</sup> Jakka Parthasarathy, *The Yerukulas*, an ethnographic study, Calcutta, 1988.

**Dommaras, Yerukulas, Waddars etc.**<sup>152</sup> D. Rabinandan Pratap wrote a book on the tribes of Andhra Pradesh.<sup>153</sup> It deals with Yerukulas of Guntur and Nellore districts. S.S. Shashi and **P.S. Varma** wrote a book on the socio-history of ex-criminal communities.<sup>154</sup> This work gives information about the ex-criminal tribes in India, causes for their crime and the acts concerning them. In the end some rehabilitation measures are also suggested by the authors.

The above review of literature on the subject shows that eventhough a lot of work has been done, what remains to be done is much more substantial. **However**, some scholars wrote a few brilliant works on ex-criminal tribes and their settlements in Andhra Pradesh. In his two books, **Y.C. Simhadri** described the conditions of the criminal tribes.<sup>155</sup>

In his book, *The Ex-criminal Tribes of India* and **Denotified Tribes** Y.C. Simhadri has described different kinds of tribes in general and Yerukulas in particular. The author has focused on the various types of criminal activities and the changes that took place in view of social change. In his book, *The Denotified*

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<sup>152</sup> **Syed-Siraj-ul-Hassan**, *The Castes and Tribes of H.E.H. The Nizam Dominions*, New Delhi, 1909.

<sup>153</sup> Rabinandan Pratap, *Tribes of Andhra Pradesh*, Secunderabad, 1975.

<sup>154</sup> P.S. Sashi, & P.S. Varma, *A. Socio-History of Ex-criminal Communities*, **OBC's**, New Delhi, 1991.

<sup>155</sup> **Y.C. Simhadri**, *The Ex-criminal Tribes of India*, New Delhi, 1979. By the same author, see **Denotified Tribes**, A sociological analysis, New Delhi 1991. "Changing Criminal Behaviour of an ex-criminal tribe in an Indian village", *The Journal of Indian Criminology*, Vol.4, **No.1**, January 1976.

Tribes of **India**, the author attempted to portray the **socio-historical** study of the ex-criminal tribes from pre- 1871 to 1952 **i.e.**, the year of passing of the ex-criminal Tribes Act to the year of passing of the Habitual offenders Act. He also published an article on the **Verukulas** of **Dharmapuram** village. However, Even this is not a socio-economic study. **It** highlights the changing criminal behaviour of an ex-criminal tribe at Dharmapuram village known as Stuartpuram.

The book by **Hemalatha Lavanam** (1985) provides an account of the practical experience of the author in the reformation and rehabilitation of ex-criminal tribes of Stuartpuram, Kapparalla tippa, and other settlements.<sup>156</sup> The letters written by many ex-criminals to the author about their problems in the jails were given in brief in this work. She wrote a novel in Telugu *Jeevana Prabhatam* on the same theme. Lavanam and Hemalatha Lavanam wrote a note on reformation of ex-criminal tribes, published in 1976. This note gives a clear picture about criminal tribes and various measures taken by these social workers. The author's aim is to solve the problem through economic, socio-cultural rehabilitative measures.

Apart from various articles on denotified tribes, nomadic tribes and ex-criminal tribes in various journals, V. Lalitha

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<sup>156</sup> Hemalatha Lavanam, *Nerasthulu Samskarana*, (Reform of Criminals), (Telugu) Vijayawada, 1985. See, by the same author, *Jeevana Prabhatam*, (Telugu) **Vijayawada**. n.d.



published a valuable book, *The making of Criminal Tribes: Patterns and Transition*.<sup>157</sup> It is a **comprehensive** and analytical study of de-notified communities of Andhra Pradesh. The work **mainly** focuses on two settlements of Andhra Pradesh, namely Kapparallatippa and **Sitanagaram** settlements. The author suggests that the existing socio-economic, psychological and cultural barriers must be surmounted, rehabilitating the Yerukulas by undertaking development programmes. The author's M.Phil dissertation, **"Socio-Economic and Administrative aspects of an ex-criminal tribe: A case study of Kapparallatippa"** is also useful in this regard.

In addition to above, there are many articles, written by sociologists and anthropologists on the **Bhils**, Lodhas, Meenas, Yerukulas, Yanadis and other criminal tribes. **Timma Raju Lakshminarayana's** article gives information about the Yerukulas, especially the various sects prevailing in the tribe, their different clans or gotras.<sup>158</sup> It also focuses on the criminal tribes acts and settlement patterns. Another article, "Beechcraft Settlement Workers" written by Ranganayakulu was published in *Sarada*.<sup>159</sup> The author discussed the general

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<sup>157</sup> V. Lalitha, *The Making of Criminal Tribes, Patterns and Transition*, Madras, 1995. See by the same author, "Socio-economic and administrative aspects of an ex-criminal tribe : A case study of Kapparalla Tippa", an M.Phil dissertation submitted to Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, 1977.

<sup>158</sup> Timma Raju **Lakshminarayana**, **"Yerukalavaru"**, *Sarada*, (Telugu Journal) **n.p.**, n.d.

<sup>159</sup> Ranganayakulu, **Beech craft Settlement Workers** (Telugu), *Sarada*,

atmosphere in the **settlements** and how the criminals are being reformed. P.K. **Bhowmick's** articles,<sup>160</sup> on the Lodhas, a Denotified community of West Bengal and Tribes in the changing circumstances of India are useful. The first article presents the changing socio-economic profile of the Lodhas. Their socio-economic problems are discussed. The problems of their development have been listed and the development schemes have been illustrated. Verrier **Elwin's** article gives a detailed description of the wild tribes and their characteristic features.<sup>161</sup> The author subdivided them under two classes. The first is the most primitive and the second are the aboriginals who live in countryside and are attached to their ancient traditions. Apart from many books, V. Raghavaiah wrote some articles of which one on the Yanadis is **important**.<sup>162</sup> This article gives a brief picture of the Yanadis of Andhra Pradesh. Another article on Yerukulas was written by D. Rangaiah published in *Tribes of India* is also equally important. Cressey Paul's article, "The criminal tribes of India" was published in *Sociology and Social Research*.<sup>163</sup> The examples of the

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(Telugu Journal) n.p., n.d.

<sup>160</sup> P.K. Bhowmick, "The Lodhas: A Notified Community of West Bengal", *Man in India*, Vol. 63, **No. 3**, September 1983. See by the same author, "The Tribes in the Changing Circumstances of India", *Man in India*, Vol. 71, **No. 1**, March, 1991.

<sup>161</sup> Verrier **Elwin**, *The Aborigines in Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs*, **No. 14**, Humphrey **Milford**, 1943.

<sup>162</sup> V. Raghavaiah, "The **Yanadis**", *Man in India*, Vol. **XXIV**, Ranchi, 1994. See by the same author, "Yanadis", *Tribes of India: A Collection of 48 Articles*, New Delhi, 1950.

<sup>163</sup> Cressey Donald R., "Application and **Verification** of the Differential Association Theory", *Journal of Criminal Law Criminology and Political Science*, Vol. **III**, **No. 63**, 1955. See by the same author, "The Criminal Tribes of India", *Sociology*

**primitive** tribes are Jarwas of Andaman and Nicobar Islands. **Unprimitive** tribes are the gatherers and collectors of forest produce. They are post-primitive tribes. The examples are Khonds of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh.

In 1952 **K.M.** Kapadia wrote an article on the ex-criminal tribes of India.<sup>164</sup> Other examples of such articles are Arensberg **Conrod's** article on the community study methods.<sup>165</sup> A.N. Sharma wrote an article on Man and crime. This article deals with the causes and types of crime, trends and its Control.<sup>166</sup> M.K. Teng wrote an article on crime, Law and the community.<sup>167</sup> It gives a brief picture of the causes of crime and the behaviour pattern of the criminal, his treatment in the society etc. The article also deals with how to control crime through law.

Roy **Burman** wrote an article titled Meaning and Process of tribal **Integration** in a democratic society.--- His another essay Challenges and Responses in Tribal India also gives a brief picture of the difference between the primitive tribes and the

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and *Social Research*, July-September, 1936.

<sup>164</sup> K.M. Kapadia, "The Criminal Tribes of India", *Sociological Bulletin*, I. 6 II, March, 1952.

<sup>165</sup> Arensberg Conrad, "The Community Study Methods", *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1954.

<sup>166</sup> A.N. Sharma, "Man and Crime", *Mankind*, Vol. 16, No. 8, 1958.

<sup>167</sup> M.K. Teng, "Crime, Law and the Community", *Mankind*, Vol. 11, NO. 6, 1960.

<sup>168</sup> Roy **Burman**, "Meaning and Process of Tribal Integration in a Democratic Society", *Sociological Bulletin*, No. X, Vol. 27, March, 1961.

tribes who are not primitive.<sup>169</sup> Jeffery's Criminal Behaviour and Learning Theory<sup>170</sup> was published in Journal of criminal Law, criminology and political science in September 1965 and Haekenberg's Parameters of an Ethnic Group,<sup>171</sup> are useful to our study. In 1968, Patrick Clarence H., wrote "The Criminal Tribes of India"<sup>172</sup> with special emphasis on the Mang Garudi. All the above articles give information about the problems of ex-criminal tribes.

Rishi Ram Gupta and J.S. Mathur wrote an article on "Social pathology of Denotified Tribes".<sup>173</sup> The study was undertaken in 1972 to investigate the nature of social pathology of the denotified tribes of Kalyanpur and Kanpur. The authors also suggested some welfare measures for their upliftment. Jagannatha Pathy wrote an article on social basis of Banditry and the criminal tribes Act.<sup>174</sup> The article is an attempt to explain the origins of banditry during the colonial period.

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In his opinion the primitive tribes are those who depended on nature with a simple technology and do not produce their own food.

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Jeffrey, C.R., "Criminal behaviour and learning Theory", *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Political Science*, Vol. LVI, No.111, September, 1965.

171 Robert, A., Hackenberg, "The parameters of an Ethnic group: A method for studying the total tribe", *American Anthropologist*, October, 1967.

172 Patrick Clarence H., "The Criminal Tribes of India with special emphasis on the Mang Garudi: A Preliminary Report", *Man in India*, Vol. 48, July-September, 1968.

173 Rishi Ram Gupta, J.S. Mathur, "Social Pathology of Denotified Tribes", *I.C.S.S.R*, Vol. 3, No.1, October, 1973.

174 Jagannatha Pathy, "Social Basis of Banditry and the Criminal Tribes Act", *Social Science Probings*, December, 1984.

There is an essay on social **movements** among the Santals written by Joseph Troisi.<sup>175</sup> It discusses various movements led by different tribals against the economic exploitation and social oppression of colonial administrators. The paper concentrates on three tribal movements such as Santal Rebellion of 1855-57, the Kharwar movement and the **Jarkhand** movement. R.N. Pati and B. Jena wrote an essay on ex-criminal tribes especially, Yerukulas, **Lambadis** of Andhra Pradesh, Telagas of Tamilnadu and Sansis of Madhya Pradesh, **Kanjari** and Pasis of Uttar Pradesh, Berial of Punjab and Bawarous of Bihar.<sup>176</sup> The essay also deals with various criminal tribes Acts. Some suggestions are also made for the reformation of these communities at the end of the paper. V.R.K. Reddy wrote an article on tribal life in Hyderabad state during 1901-1951.<sup>177</sup> The article includes tribes such as Gonds, Koyas, Andhs, Yerukulas and Hill Reddies in Warangal and Adilabad districts of Andhra Pradesh.

David Arnold's article, "**Dacoity** and Rural crime in Madras 1860-1940"<sup>178</sup> throws light on the causes of dacoity and crime in south India. Far from being confined to '**criminal** tribes',

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<sup>175</sup> Joseph, Troisi, "Social Movements Among the Santals". n.d.

<sup>176</sup> R.N. Pati and B.Jena, "Ex-criminal tribes; Are they neglected", *Tribal Development in India*, New Delhi, 1989.

<sup>177</sup> v.R.K. Reddy, "A Critique on Tribal life in Hyderabad State 1901-1951", *Itihas*, Vol.XV, January to June 1989.

<sup>178</sup> David Arnold, "Dacoity and Rural Crime, Madras, 1860-1940", *Journal of Peasant Societies*, January 1979. By the same author, '**Rebellious Hillmen**', "The **Gudem Rampa** Risings: 1939-1924", Ranajit Guha (ed). *Subaltern Studies*, Vol. 1, New York, (1982).

recourse to **crime** was frequent and wide spread in rural **society**, especially in response to famine and high prices, a reaction to the disruptive impact of colonialism and the attempts; of declining rural groups to maintain or regain their earlier **pre-eminence**.

**Meena Radhakrishna's** article from Tribal community to working class consciousness: Case of Yerukula **women** <sup>179</sup> discusses the militant struggles of women tobacco workers in Guntur in 1938.

Meena **Radhakrishna's** other articles are on criminal tribes acts in Madras Presidency and their implications for itinerant trading communities. Sanjay **Nigam's** articles on disciplining and policing the criminals by birth, part I, The making of a colonial stereo type - the criminal tribes and castes of North India are educative and useful to our study.<sup>180</sup> Mahesh Rangarajan wrote an article, Imperial agendas and India's forests, the early history

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Meena Radhakrishna, "**From Tribal Community to working classes consciousness: Case of Yerukula Women**", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXIV, **No.17**, April 29, 1989, **PP.2-3**. By the same author, "Surveillance and Settlements under the Criminal Tribes Act in Madras", *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. XXIX, **No.2**, New Delhi, April-June 1992. "The Criminal Tribes Act in Madras Presidency: Implications for Itinerant trading communities", *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. XXVI, **No.3**, July-September, 1989.

<sup>180</sup> Sanjay **Nigam**, "Disciplining and Policing" the Criminals by Birth" Part I, The Tribes and castes of North India, *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. XXVII, No.2, April - June 1990, **PP.131-161** and part-2. "The Development of a disciplinary system", 1871-1900, *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, vol. XXVII, **No.3**, July September 1990, PP. 257-287.

of Indian forestry 1800-1878<sup>181</sup> and Ramachandra Guha and **Madhav Gadgil's** article state forestry and conflict in British India<sup>182</sup> provide detailed information on the criminal tribes and the forest policies of the colonial administrators.

Apart from the above articles, some more important articles are written by **Lavanam** and Hemalatha **Lavanam** with specific focus

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on ex-criminal tribes in Andhra **Pradesh**. Vennelacunti Raghavaiah wrote a number of articles on tribal problems. His notes on criminal Tribes throw much light on the subject. V. Lalitha wrote extensively on the subject which are highly illuminating.<sup>184</sup> They deal with the life of the criminal tribes

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**Mahesh** Rangarajan, Imperial agendas and India's Forests: The early history of Indian forestry, 1800-1978 in Indian Economic and social History review, Vol. XXXI, **No.2**, April-June 1994, **PP.147-167**.

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Ramachandra Guha and Madhav Gadgil, State Forestry and Conflict in British India, *Past and Present*, **No.122-123**, February 1989.

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Lavanam and Hemalatha Lavanam, "The Problems of denotified Tribes an experiment on **Stuartpuram**", 1975. (procured from the authors). Other articles by the same author, Notes and reflections on our work in rehabilitation of ex-criminal tribes people in Settlement, Gandhi Peace Foundation, Vijayawada, 1976. Our experiences in Stuartpuram, Nastika Kendram, **Viajayawada**, 1976. Some events of a decade's criminal reformation work, Nastika Kendram, Vijayawada, n.d. Ex-criminal tribes an explanation, Nastika Kendram, Vijayawada, n.d. A Bird's Eye-view of a decade's work, criminal reformation conference: Vijayawada, 17th June 1984. Sarma Maria, **Samskar**, a profile Gandhi Peace Society, Germany, 1992.

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V. Lalitha, "Establishment of Criminal Tribes settlements in Andhra - A Historical survey", *Proceedings Andhra Pradesh History Congress*, (hereafter PAPHC, Vth session (Chirala & Guntur 1980) **PP.33.-34**. See, by the same author, "Ethnographic Background of Yerukulas", **PAPHC6th** Session, Warangal, **1988**, **PP.5-14**. "Katheras an Ex-criminal Tribe", **PAPHC**, 8th Session (**Kakinada**, **1984**), **PP.24-30**. "Criminal Tribes Settlements and the role of Christian Missionaries", **PAPHC**, 9th Session, Kurnool, 1985, **PP.129-135**. "A profile of **Sitanagaram**

and criminal tribe settlements.

Jacques Pouchepdass wrote an article on the criminal tribes of British India.<sup>185</sup> The paper deals with the Maghiya Doms of Southern Bihar in Gorakhpur district and the criminal tribes act of 1871. Sandria B. Freitag wrote an article on crime in the social order of colonial North India.<sup>186</sup> The article analyses the aspects of colonial social order by focusing on its legal system, particularly what the Britishers identified as extraordinary crime. P.K. Bhowmick's article on tribes in the changing circumstances of India describes the major tribes such as Koyas, Gonds, Santals, Oran's, Minas, Kolis, Khasis etc. The article also deals with various steps taken, in this context, by the government from time to time. N. Ashirvad wrote an article on

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Settlement", PAPHC, 10th Session, Guntur, 1986, PP.171-177. "Criminal Tribes Settlements in Andhra Pradesh" PIHC, Goa, 1987. "Katikaparis (Funeral Attendants): The profile of a Neglected Semi-Nomadic Tribe", PAPHC, Nellore, 1991. "Tribes in Transition, A study of Dommaras, A Semi nomadic and ex-criminal tribe in Nellore district", PIHC, Gorakhpur, 1989-90. "Unnava Lakshminarayana - Undavalli Criminal Tribes Settlement", PAPHC. Nagaram, 1987, PP.133-145. "Description of Settlements in Malapalli", Unnava Centenary Souvenir, Kavali, September 15-16, 1979, P.17-19. "Historical background of Kapparallatippa Settlement", PAPHC, 1978. "Denotified Communities of Andhra Pradesh, some problems of rehabilitation", PAPHC, Hyderabad, 1982. "Neersshikaris, an ex-criminal tribe", PAPHC, Anantapur, 1994. "Criminal Tribes Settlement in Princely State: A Caste Study of Lingala Settlement in Nizam dominions", paper presented in IHC, Calcutta, 1996.

<sup>185</sup> Pouchepdass, Jacques, "The Criminal Tribes of British India: A Repressive concept in theory and practice", *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. I & II, No.2, New Delhi, 1982.

<sup>186</sup> Freitag Sandria B., "Crime in the Social Order of Colonial North India", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 25, No.2, Cambridge, 1991.



Glimpses of tribal culture.<sup>187</sup> The paper attempts to study the life, occupation, living conditions, social structure, literacy rate, political organization and aspects that are related to the culture of tribes in Andhra Pradesh. C.P. Vithal's article on, Socio-Economic transformation of a primitive tribal group: A study of Chenchus in Andhra Pradesh.<sup>188</sup> It highlights the nature and extent of socio-economic transformation of a very interesting primitive tribal group of Andhra Pradesh like the Chenchus. It also focuses the traditional life and distribution patterns of the tribes. Sushil Arora and A.K. Haldar wrote on the Economy

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of the Nomadic communities of India. It deals with the causes of Nomadism in various places. It further examines in brief the broad conclusions as regards the type of economic activities of the colonial administrators. They also studied various nomadic tribes. K. Sivaramakrishnan's article, "Colonialism and Forestry in India: Imagining the past in present politics" gives information about the colonial forest policy and the criminal tribes Act of 1871 and the position of the tribes in colonial India.<sup>190</sup>

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**187** N. Ashirvad, "Glimpses of Tribal Culture in Andhra Pradesh", *Man and Life*, Vol. 18, **No.3** & 4, July-December 1993.

**188** C.P. Vithal, "Socio-Economic transformation of a Primitive Tribal group: A study of Chenchus in Andhra Pradesh", *Man in India*, Vol. 72, **No.2**, June, 1992.

**189** A.K. Haldar, "The Economy of the Nomadic communities of India", *Man in India*, Vol. 74, **No.2**, June, 1994.

**190** Sivaramakrishnan K., "Colonialism and Forestry in India: Imagining the past in present politics", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.37, **No.1**, January, 1995.

The present study is divided into five chapters. The first chapter provides background to the criminal tribes settlements and it also deals with the scope and purpose of the study. In the same chapter, the British forest policies and their impact are discussed and how the change from shifting cultivation deprived these tribals from their roots; how they emerged to take crime as a means of livelihood, are also discussed. Further, the review of literature is made covering not only Andhra Pradesh, but the other regions of India. During the course of our study, we have tapped both primary and secondary sources. As already mentioned, with the help of a questionnaire, interviews have been conducted. Field work techniques are adopted including participatory observation and case study methods are followed. The simple random method is used in eliciting the information. A brief ethnographic profile of **Siddhapuram** and **Stuartpuram** settlements are also provided.

The second chapter deals with the phenomenon of crime and criminal tribes from a historical perspective. In this chapter attempt has also been made to focus on different criminal tribes' acts enacted from time to time. The formation of criminal tribe settlements and colonial description of a criminal tribe and how they are stigmatized is also discussed. The role of social workers and the administrators in repeal the criminal Tribes Act are also discussed.

The third chapter gives a brief account of the tribal society of **Yerukulas** in general and **Stuartpuram settlement** in particular. So also a brief account of **Katheras** or Donga waddars of **Siddhapuram** is also given. Past history of both the settlements are dealt with in a historical perspective. Attempts have been made to look at their conditions over a period of time up to the present. The chapter presents the geographical conditions of the two settlements and how they determined their living conditions different from each other. The socio-economic structure of both the settlements is also discussed.

The fourth chapter analyses how the settlers have been reformed and rehabilitated by different managements and the welfare measures adopted by the government. The problem of the ex-criminals is not one of correction but economic rehabilitation is considered as primary measure to bring them to the main stream of life. The ultimate aim is to re-socialize the offender, to re-adjust him to the society and rehabilitate him and change him. In this context, the Siddhapuram settlement is crippled with regard to employment or industrial base. Hence the major difference between the two settlements. That is the reason why we have come to the conclusion that economic rehabilitation should be combined with social and cultural rehabilitation. The structure developed around the settlements should be dismantled and the new structure should be built on that. Aloofness from society, fear of police, far from the family members made the criminal cruel, stubborn and angry. This feeling of hatred and

suspicion is not conducive for the growth of the **nation**. So **these** ex-criminals should be brought to the main **stream of life** and they should become assets but not liabilities in a **developing nation**. In view of this we have given few suggestions to **improve the rehabilitation programme** of the denotified tribes of **Andhra Pradesh**.

In the concluding **chapter**, we opined that modern democracy should not allow a tribe, to continue its predatory acts or to terrorize the people, however, estranged they are from the main stream of the nation. It is also stressed that every segment of **the** society should be conscious of its being a small part in a larger fabric of society. The economic plight has become a social barrier between an ex-criminal and other members of the society. Different managements undertook the responsibility of rehabilitating the criminals in response to the call of the government. The contemptuous treatment, often meted out to the settlers by the public prick their sensitive feelings. There is a considerable difference between the punishment meted **out** in the olden days and in the present times. Now all the **criminologists** advocate only reformatory theory of punishment. Clinical approach and therapeutic treatment should be given to the criminals. Education will open new avenues of work for him. To **sum up** a concerted action on all fronts has to be initiated.

## **Chapter 2**

# **CRIME AND CRIMINAL TRIBES ACTS**

**Crime**, according to Clarence Darrow is, "an act forbidden by the law of the land, and one which is considered sufficiently serious to warrant providing penalties for its **commission**."<sup>1</sup>

**Parmalee** describes crime as,

"an act forbidden and punished by law, which is almost always immoral according to the prevailing ethical standards".<sup>2</sup>

According to law crime may be defined as,

"The commission or omission of an act which the law forbids or commands under the fear of a punishment <sup>3</sup>to be imposed by the state by a proceeding in its own name".<sup>3</sup>

The law is a tool of social control used to protect people in general from the consequences of dangerous individual conduct. What the law calls crime is merely conduct which is declared to be socially harmful to the group or groups in a state which are powerful enough to influence legislation.<sup>4</sup> Generally, law may be defined as a principle established and enforced by the state. If there were no criminal laws there would be no crime. Whenever a criminal law is passed and enforced, acts that were not crimes previously, then become crimes. In this sense crime is a violation of law.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Darrow Clarence, *Crime, its causes and Treatment*, London, 1934, p.10.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in S.Venugopala Rao, *Facets of crime in India*, New Delhi, 1962, p.10.

<sup>3</sup> **Cited** in Robert G.,Caldwell, *Criminology*, New York, 1965, p.5.

<sup>4</sup> Sharma A.N., "Man and Crime", *Mankind*, Vol.2, No.11-12, June, July, 1958, Hyderabad, P.977.

<sup>5</sup> S. Venugopal Rao, *Op.Cit.*, P.17.

The phenomenon of crime has been present in all ages ~~and~~ in all societies in varying degrees. Crime is an act in violation of the law and the criminal perpetuates it. Crime has always been an integral part of human civilization. Thus, one may say that a criminal is one who has committed a crime and is found guilty by a court of law. In order to consider a person a criminal in India, he must violate the Indian Penal Code or the law passed by the Central or State Governments.

Here, one may ask the question as to why crime is committed? A person commits crime because, as some believe, he is prompted and instigated by **evil**. Beccaria and Bentham enunciated the theory that a criminal is an ordinary member of society who yields to temptation.<sup>6</sup> The school of **Lombroso** came forward with the new maxim that the criminal, especially the habitual criminal, differed widely from the normal man. He based his theory on physical stigmata.<sup>7</sup> Another school argued that criminals are made but not born. Bad homes, undesirable environment, poverty, alcoholism etc., are essential factors behind crime. It means, in other words, society is responsible

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for producing the criminal. Another school of criminologists advocates that the force of circumstances plays a greater part in

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<sup>6</sup> B.S. Haikerwal, *Op.Cit.*, p.18.

<sup>7</sup> Lombroso was an Italian doctor. In his book, **Luorno Delinquent** (The Criminal man), he declared positively the atavistic origin of the born criminal. See P.D. Biswas, *The Ex-criminal Tribes of Delhi State*, Delhi, 1960, P.186.

<sup>8</sup> S.S. Shashi, P.S. Varma, *Op.Cit.*, P.13.

the making of the criminal. According to **Mercier**, crime is due to two factors in each individual - the environmental factor or stress acting upon the predisposition of the offender, which represents the inherent or constitutional factor. In **India**, insanity, mental deficiency and mental instability have been recognized as factors in criminality.<sup>9</sup> Lombroso studied the anatomical features of criminals. His student, Enrico Ferri examined the social factors which contribute to crime. His contention is that crime is,

"the synthetic product of three major types of factors, namely physical or geographic, anthropological and psychological and social."<sup>10</sup>

**Rabael** Garofalo laid greater emphasis on the psychological aspects of criminals rather than on the physical and stressed the importance of heredity in this respect. The studies of these eminent **criminologists** of the Italian school included such widely divergent factors as heredity and environment of the criminal, ecological influences, economic and political conditions and psychological traits. Religion, social customs, superstition, caste and **communal** hatred, sectional vendetta, alcoholism and drug addiction are other factors which have appreciable influence on the incidence of crime in India.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Margaret S. Wilson Vine, "Gabriel Tarde", **Hermann** Mannheim (Ed) *Pioneers in Criminology*, Quadrangle Books, I.N.C., 1960, PP. 228-38.

<sup>10</sup> S. Venugopala Rao, *Op.Cit.*, P.12.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, P.13.



It is a popular **misconception** that adverse economic conditions have a direct **bearing** on the incidence of crime. Although many offences like robbery and theft which form the bulk of acquisitive crime may be traced to economic **causes**, to the extent that the criminals are poor or unemployed. However, it is not true that they are really driven to crime by extreme necessity or hunger.

Sutherland says:

"The studies of economic factors in crime do not demonstrate that economic needs, measured in psychological terms and abstracted from social **definitions**, play a significant part in the causation of crime."<sup>12</sup>

He further says that hunger and poverty do not normally drive a man to crime. It is his emotional instability which prepares him to accept crime as justifiable for personal assertion and achievement. This economic insecurity and the lack of basic needs in life give scope for anti-social behaviour.

In attempting to determine the relationship between crime and economic factors, Justice P.N.Ramaswami asserted that criminality is strongly influenced by the economic situation and that favourable factors for increase in crime are feeble monsoons, bad harvests and rising prices.<sup>13</sup> B.S.Haikerwal supported this argument.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> See Sutherland and Cressy, *Principles of Criminology*, New York, 1955, **P.12**.

<sup>13</sup> P.N. Ramaswami, *Magisterial and police Guide*, **vols, I and II**, Madras, 1951, **p.27**.

<sup>14</sup> B.S. Haikerwal, *Op.Cit.*, **P.18**.

The positive theorists like **Lombroso**, **Ferri**, and **Garofalo** attributed criminality to inheritance. It has been proved beyond doubt that criminality is not **inborn** but **affected by environmental** conditions. Another sociologist, by name **Tarde**, came to the conclusion that criminality was not **inborn**, but social in nature. Speaking generally, he concluded that **the head of a** rogue resembles the head of an honest man. Tarde examined **the** prevailing theories of crime, causation and rejected the biological and physical ones as inadequate. Crime, he concluded, has predominantly social origins. He stated that,

"biological and physical factors might play a part in creating a criminal, but he showed that the influence of **the** social environment was most significant in moulding criminal behaviour."<sup>15</sup>

One of the more famous formulations of the idea of economic determinism may be found in the words of Karl Marx. He stated,

"The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social and spiritual process of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary their social existence determines their consciousness."<sup>16</sup>

Bonger, the Dutch **criminologist**, basing his theory on the writings of Karl Marx, attributed crime to the weakness of capitalism. In his doctoral thesis, he showed that economic conditions are of utmost importance in criminality as a mass

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<sup>15</sup> Margaret S.Wilson, "Pioneers in Criminology: Gabriel Tarde", *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology and Political Science*, vol.45, 1954-55, p.4

<sup>16</sup> Cited in **Y.C.Simhadri**, *The Denotified Tribes*, **Op.Cit**, p.36.

phenomenon.<sup>17</sup> According to his school of thought, the exploitation of the labouring class leads to poverty and misery of the masses and these conditions in turn, cause crime. The merits of Bonger's theory are that he recognized poverty and social environment as contributory factors for the criminality among the poor. It was around 1940, that a basic American sociological theory of criminal behaviour was proposed. This was done by Sutherland and it was called differential association. He emphasized that crime was a social phenomenon. He said that criminality was not a biological, psychological or climatic phenomenon but it is an excess of contacts with delinquency which causes criminality.

According to Haikerwal, criminals in India could be classified into :

- 1) The Incurrigible
  - 2) The Habitual
  - 3) The Accidental Criminal
  - 4) The Criminal Tribes or Castes.
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#### 1. The Incurrigible Criminals:

The incurrigible is one who deliberately chooses crime as a profession.<sup>19</sup> The incurrigible finds it a profitable and easy way

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<sup>17</sup> Cited in Vold George.B., *Theoretical criminology*, New York, 1958, p.174.

<sup>18</sup> B.S.Haikerwal, *Op.Cit.*, p.128.

<sup>19</sup> F. Booth Tucker Said, "the incurrigible is a Habitual, but

of obtaining a livelihood. Though he is given an opportunity to earn an honest livelihood, he will never take it because he does not believe in it. He does not always **commit** crimes himself. More **frequently**, after a successful career of crime, he employs others to execute his plans and sees that the punishment falls upon them and not upon himself. Sometimes he is a man of affluence. As such, he can employ lawyers to defend his clients. If he fails in all his trials to defend his clients, he will often support the family of the imprisoned man. Reforming these people is the most difficult **task**.

## 2. The Habitual Criminals:

The habitual criminal is one who commits crimes continually. He is to a large extent the victim of circumstances and economic stress and he cannot escape from this. The habitual offender, however sincere he may be in his desires and efforts to reform, ordinarily has no chance of doing so. When one or more convictions are against his name, reformation is not easily possible.

## 3. The Accidental Criminals:

Compared with the above two, the accidental criminal is a very careless type of individual. He is neither a professional

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every Habitual not necessarily an incorrigible. The incorrigibles are not curable. The successful leaders of gangs, the Robin Hoods, and Dick Turpins come under this category". F. Booth Tucker, *Op.Cit.*, **P.5**.

criminal like the incorrigible nor does he **commit** crimes as **the** habitual without being much prepared or inherited. A large portion of accidental criminals are becoming dangerous criminals.<sup>20</sup>

#### 4. The Criminal Tribes and Castes:

The criminal tribes are those sections of the people traditionally following criminal activities such as stealing, robbery, dacoity and other such criminal acts in order to obtain a livelihood. However, after the criminal tribes act was repealed in the year 1952, these criminal tribes were termed as denotified communities. They are also known as ex-criminal tribes.<sup>21</sup>

According to F. Booth Tucker, the **classification** of Indian criminals are under the following heads. 1) The incorrigible 2) The habitual 3) The hereditary 4) The ordinary 5) The Juvenile-Adult (youth) 6) The child criminals.<sup>22</sup> We have already explained the incorrigible, the habitual, the hereditary and the

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<sup>20</sup> Mackenzie, *Op.Cit.*, p.18.

<sup>21</sup> These tribes are in many cases the direct descendants as the pre-Aryan aboriginal people of the country. Many of them had kingdoms and dynasties of their own. Some others formed the bulk of the plundering armies. Expropriated from their ancient professions, they were watched and harassed by police. Their freedom was curtailed. They regarded the police as their oppressors. What is needed in their present life is nothing but sympathy. See F. Booth Tucker, *Criminology or the Indian* **Crim... Op.Cit., P. 4.**

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* , p.4.

ordinary type of **criminals**. The remaining two categories such as **the** youth and the child criminals are discussed below:

5. **The Juvenile Adult:**

The hardened old offender must necessarily be more difficult to reform than the youth. That is the reason Why the government opened the Borstal Jail for juvenile adults. Denapur settlement was opened by the Salvation Army for these youth which later proved to be successful.

6. The Child Criminal:

These belong to two classes. 1) The hereditary child criminal who is trained from his or her infancy as a matter of course, to a career of crime and becomes a professional. 2) The waifs and stray children of big cities who drift on to the streets and are becoming an increasing menace to the society.

Risely defines a tribe as,

"a collection of families or group of families bearing a common name which, as a rule, does not denote any specific occupation, generally claiming common descent from a mythical or historical ancestor."<sup>23</sup>

Following Risely's definition, **Y.C.Simhadri** defined a criminal tribe as,

"Such tribal groups of people in India who have traditionally committed criminal activities for their

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<sup>23</sup> Risely Sir Herbert, *The people of India*, Calcutta, 1908, **p.61.**

livelihood and who accept such activities as their way of life."<sup>24</sup>

O.H.B. Starti was of the opinion that,

"A tribe is an ethnological unit possessing common social organization and therefore belonging to the same religion. It may consist of sub-units like clans. In no case, should a tribe as a whole be declared a 'criminal tribe', unless the ethnological unit is held or addicted to a systematic commission of non-bailable offences".<sup>25</sup>

A gang is a voluntary association for criminal purpose. A body of persons individually addicted to the commission of crimes cannot be classed together as a gang. Generally a gang could be more than one member but in practice its number shall not be less than five. Such tribes who were addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences were called as criminal tribes.

The tribes in India are of two fold - 1) Criminal tribes and 2) ordinary tribes. The criminal tribes are those groups of families who traditionally follow criminal activities as their own profession. Those tribes who do not accept criminal means of livelihood as their profession are called ordinary tribes. Gillin classified these criminal tribes into two groups, namely, those that wander about like gypsies and those settled in

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<sup>24</sup> Y.C.Simhadri, *Op.Cit.*, p.2.

<sup>25</sup> See *Report of the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee*, Government of Bombay, Bombay, 27th May 1943; Also see O.H.B. Starti, *Reformation of offenders in India, a hand book for the use of workers amongst delinquents in India*, Bombay, 1933, P.65.

villages. There are **many criminal** and wandering tribes **in India** **from** times immemorial, who earned their livelihood by practicing nefarious acts. These people were dubbed as criminal tribes by **the** British government, irrespective of their age, sex or any other distinction.

Several theories have been advanced regarding the origin of these criminal tribes. According to one view, they have descended from the gypsies.<sup>27</sup> Gypsies are found all over the world and it is believed that they all have emanated from a common origin. But there is little evidence to show that these criminal tribes belong to the same stock as the gypsies in the present day of Europe or other parts of the world. It is held by some that the criminal tribes owe their origin to the aborigines, who had been displaced from time to time by the incursions of the inhabitants of central Asia.<sup>28</sup>

The early history of the criminal tribes is not known. However, we have the views of **Risely**,<sup>29</sup> Shoobert,<sup>30</sup> Ghurye<sup>31</sup> David

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Gillin John Lewis, *Taming the Criminal*, New York, 1931, P.106.

<sup>27</sup>

**Chamanlal**, *Gypsies - Forgotten Children of India*, New Delhi, 1962, P.62.

<sup>28</sup>

David **Macritchie**, *Account of the Gypsies of India*, New Delhi, 1976, P.48.

<sup>29</sup>

**Risely**, Sir Herbert, *Op.Cit.*, p.61.

<sup>30</sup>

Cited in *Ibid*, p.9.

G.S.Ghurye, *The Aborigines - so called and their future*, Bombay, 1949, P.21.



**Macritchie**<sup>32</sup> and others who believe that the tribes are the original inhabitants of the country. Verrier **Elwin** called the **Baigas**, one of the criminal tribes, the original inhabitants of the region in which they lived.<sup>33</sup> Sher Singh Sher noted that the **criminal** tribes were first dealt with by a regulation in 1773 and later on in the year 1871.<sup>34</sup>

J.V. Stephens, the member for law and order stated,

"The special feature of India is the caste system. A family of carpenters will be carpenters, <sup>a</sup><sub>35</sub> century or five centuries, hence, if they last so long".<sup>35</sup>

Keeping this in mind, the meaning of professional criminal is clear. It means a tribe whose ancestors were criminals from times immemorial, who are themselves destined by the usages of caste to commit crime and whose descendants will be offenders against law, until the whole tribe is exterminated in the manner of the Thugs.<sup>36</sup>

J.V. Stephens, member of the viceroy's council, in-charge of law and order stated in the year 1871 that,

"when a man tells you that he is an offender against the law, he has been so from the beginning and will be so to the

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David Macritchie, *Op.Cit.*, P.30.

<sup>33</sup> Verrier Elwin, *The Baiga*, New Delhi, 1986, P.395.

<sup>34</sup> Sher Singh Sher, *Op.Cit.*, p.244.

Cited in Y.C. Simhadri, *Ex-criminal tribes...*, *Op.Cit.*, P.29.

<sup>36</sup> V. Raghavaiah, *The Problem of Criminal Tribes*, New Delhi, 1949, P.6.

end. Reform is **impossible**, for it is his trade- his caste **almost** I may say his religion to commit **crime**".<sup>37</sup>

These tribes lead a vagrant life in **jungles**, and hills **with** no fixed abodes. They wander about with their bag and baggage and pitch their tents on the out-skirts of a village or a city or in some secluded and out-of-the-way places.

The criminal tribes village writes Booth Tucker,

**"is** like a rabbit warren. When the ferret appears at one end, they escaped at the other. They will sleep in the open - air, in places from which they can observe all comers. They will scatter themselves over a wide area amongst out of the way villages, where police supervision is impossible".<sup>38</sup>

In earlier times, their life was easier, but gradually with the advance of civilization in the country the struggle for existence became more and more acute for these nomadic people and they had to face increased hardships in their criminal career.

The gangs of thugs used to travel by roads in the disguise of merchants and ordinary travellers and used to strangle, plunder and kill innocent travellers on finding opportunities to commit these nefarious acts.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> See *Report of the Criminal Tribes Enquiry Committee, United Provinces of India, 1947*, Allahabad, 1948, **P.4.**, NMML.

<sup>38</sup> F. Booth Tucker, *Op.Cit.*, **P.23.**

<sup>39</sup> See Meadows Taylor, *Confessions of a Thug*, New Delhi, **1988**, **P.70.** Also see W.H. **Sleeman**, *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, Delhi, 1915, **P.651.** (First published in **1844**).

Sleeman writes:

"Large gangs **from** Hindustan and the Deccan used to rendezvous in these groves, **remain** in them for many days together every year, and carry their dreadful trade along all the lines of road that pass by and branch off them, with the knowledge and connivance of the two land holders by whose ancestors those groves had been planted, I should have thought him a **fop** or a mad man; and yet nothing could have been more **true**".<sup>40</sup>

The operations went on upto 1853 when Thuggee was **eradicated**.<sup>41</sup>  
Then emerged **Pindharis** who proved a great menace to the country.  
The earliest mention of the Pindharis occurs **in** 1689.<sup>42</sup> By 1860, the suppression of these pirates was completed and there was

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See William Sleeman, **Ramaseena** and *A vocabulary of the peculiar language used by Thugs*, Calcutta, 1836, PP. 32-33. Also see Sandria B. Freitag, "Crime in the social order of colonial North India", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 25, 1991, P.234.

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See W.H., Sleeman, *Op.Cit.*, P.650.. .

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*Ibid.* P. 162. The name '**Thug**' signifies a '**deceiver**'. Between 1799 and 1808 the practice of '**Thuggee**' reached its highest peak. The earliest historical notice of Thuggee appears in the region of Firoz Shah Tughlak, 1351-88. The next mention of Thugs refers to the reign of Akbar (1556-1605). Meadows Taylor and **Balfour** affirm that many Thugs were executed. In the year 1666, during the end of Shahjahan's reign, the traveller De-Thavenot noted that the road between Delhi and Agra was infested by Thugs. After the capture of Srirangapatnam in 1799, the attention of the Company's government was drawn to the prevalence of Thuggee. In 1816 Dr. Sherwood Published a paper entitled "On the Murderers called '**Phansigars**' (SIC) Stranglers" in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, It was reprinted in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XII (1820). During the year 1831 the existence of the Thug organization became generally known. Thus the Thug organization existed continuously on a large scale from the early part of the 14th century until Sir William **Sleeman's** time. The Origin was **much** more ancient but records are lacking. A sculpture representing a Thug strangulation exists among the sculptures at Ellora executed in the 18th century. During the years 1831 to **1837**, Thugs were disposed off in one way or another. Amir **Ali's** confessions are recorded in Meadows Taylors book. The Confessions of a Thug written in 1837 and Published in 1839.

peace in the country. After complete suppression of the Thugs and Pindharis, the English paid their attention to the nomadic and Gypsy tribes roaming in India.<sup>43</sup>

It is difficult to enumerate all the tribes declared as **criminals**, but the report of the All-India enquiry committee enumerated 136 of them besides the various mixed groups declared as such.<sup>44</sup> The total population of these criminal tribes was estimated in different states totaling four million.<sup>45</sup> In 1981

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**W.H.Sleeman**, the hero of the department wrote, "The system is destroyed, the profession is ruined, the guild is scattered never again to be associated into a great corporate body. The craft and the mystery of the Thuggee will no longer be handed down from father to son." *Op.Cit.*, p.143.

44

**C.B.Mamoria**, *Social Problems and Social Disorganization*, Allahabad, 1960, p.232.

45

According to third five year plan, the total number was four million. **C.B.Mamoria**, *Tribal Demography in India*, Bombay, 1957, p.29. Some of the criminal tribes in Bombay Presidency were, Berad, **Bhamptus**, Bauriah, Bhars and Pasis, **Bhils**, Chapparbands, Dharalas, Futgudis, **Kaikadis**, **Kammis**, Katbus, Kathodis or **Katkaris**, **Kolis**, Lamanis, **Mangs**, Mang Garudis, **Marwar**, Baris, **Minas**, Oudhias, Pardhis, **Ramoshis**, Sansia, Tadvis, Vanjaris, Waddars, Bagdis, and **Waghris**. Berads were cattle lifters, highway robbers, dacoits, crop stealers and burglars. Bhamptus travel all over India and commit thefts in crowds. Mundwa **settlement** near Poona is famous. Bhamptus are also known as Ghantichors, Waddars and Donga Dasaries. Bauriahs visit Bombay province in guise of Sadhus or Bairagees in small batches. They are expert burglars. Bhars and Pasis belong to United Provinces. They commit murders. Bhils were first brought under the operation of criminal tribes act in 1914-15. Chapparbands were wandering tribe throughout India. In Mughal times, *Chapparbands* were contractors. On the breakup of the Mughal empire they took to *coining*. Chapparbands were the first tribe to be interned in the settlements under the criminal tribes act in Bombay province. Dharalas were addicted to robbery, dacoity, theft and house breaking. Futgudis were famous burglars. Kaikadis are armed with house-breaking implements to commit crime. Kammis are local thieves. Katbus are experts in drawing pictures on deer skin. Kathodis and

## Ex-criminal Tribes of Andhra Pradesh



**Source : Available in the Office of the Criminal Investigations Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh.**

census, it is **estimated** that the tribal population crosses the margin of 50 million against the total population of 659 million.<sup>46</sup>

A report prepared by the Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, (Tribal Welfare Department, Hyderabad), Andhra Pradesh cited 59 sects of denotified tribes of Andhra Pradesh.<sup>47</sup>

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**Katkaris** are crop stealers. **Kolis** are cultivators and field labourers. **Lamanis** are transporters of grain and salt merchants. **Mangs** are experts in passing off brass ornaments for gold. Mang Garudis are beggars. **Marwar Baoris** disguise in Sadhus. **Minas** are burglars. Pardhis are noted for hunting and poaching. **Ramoshis** are village watchmen. Sansids wander through out India in gangs and camp outside villages. Tadvīs are converted to Islam. **Vanjaris** are notified as criminal tribe. Waddars lived where work was available. A branch of these waddars are settled in Andhra Pradesh. Bagdis pose as Mahadev **Kolis**. Waghris were addicted to theft and cheating. See *Report of the criminal tribes act enquiry committee*, Bombay, n.d. PP. 12-25. Forty seven tribes are notified under the criminal tribes act in United Provinces, namely, the Pasis, Bhars, **Mallahs**, **Doms**, Banjaras, Dalera, **Dusadhs**, Haburas, **Chamars**, Nats, Aherias, Bahelias, Bhawapurias, Banmanas, Badaks, Musahars, **Bauriahs**, Bantu, **Borya**, Borya Bhat, **Sansias**, Saperas, Karwals, Kaparias, Gidhias, Sonarias, Kanjars, Hindu Gosains, Gujars, Khatiks, Kori-Barwar, Gandila, Oudhias, Kewats, Taga Bhats, Lodhas, **Mewatis**, Bhawapurias, **Madaris**, **Kanmalias**, Lonachamar, Mongias, Khurpaltas and Aughars. Few tribes such as Mahawats, Kalandar Faquir, Lungi Pathans, Muslim Banjaras are Muslims. Majority members of criminal tribes are Hindus. Gujars, Bhars, Kewats belong to scheduled castes. See *Report of the criminal tribes enquiry committee united provinces of India*, Allahabad, 1948, PP. 2-4.

The Nats were a tribe of gypsies who had no fixed home. They were acrobats and trainers of performing animals, bears and monkeys. See Philip Mason, *Call the Next Witness*, London, 1945, PP.55-64.

<sup>46</sup> *Census of India*, Special Tables for **ST's**, Series 2, 1981.

<sup>47</sup> These tribes are as follows: Telaga **Pamulas**, Dandasis, Konda Doras, Rellis, Paidis, Kintil, Kalinga, Nakkalas, Piriki Mukkalas, Donga Yathas, Vedurupaka Malas, Boyas, Netti

The criminal tribes were shown as a separate category **for the first time** in the 1911 census. Most of these tribes **followed** Hindu beliefs and customs. This probably led Ghurye to **think** <sup>45</sup> **that** they were Hindus. He called them "Backward **Hindus**". Some were Muslims and some belonged to the Scheduled Castes. A few claimed descent from higher castes. Whatsoever their claim, from **whom so ever they descended**, their social status was low.

The government proceeded with these criminal tribes on three basic assumptions. First, all persons born in a particular group or caste would become criminals from the birth, because they take up their **fathers'** profession. Second, when once they learn such law-violating behaviour, they will always continue to be criminals, because they believe it to be a profession; and thirdly, because of continuous criminal practices they become hardened criminals. These three assumptions led to the idea that the so called criminal tribes were dangerous elements in the society.

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Kothalas, Reddikas, Yanadis, Dommaras, Yerukulas, Anipi Malas, Vaddi Upparas, Budabukkalas, **Lambadis**, Waddars, **Kemparis**, **Pamula**, Reddi, Yanadi, **Jarugumalli** Madiga, Donga Dasari, Mondi Banda, Donga Yanadi, Donga Yerukula, Donga Waddars, Donga **Dommaras**, Jogula, Nawabpeta Korcha, Annaboina Mala, Mutharachas, Pichiguntala, Sugali, Korcha, Donga Mala, **Amagunta** Palegars, Paraya, Thota Naiks, **Bhattu**, Turaka, Pedda Boya, Dabbala Korchas, Donga Korcha, Dasari, Sakala, **Peddigolla**, Mondi Vagula, Nirshikari, Donga **Ura** Korchas, Iranis, Kanjarbhatt, Jatur mixed gang, Donga Boyas etc. Cited from the **files, Superintendent of Police, Crime Branch, Hyderabad, Vide No. 1185/CIB 58, dt. 27.2.1958. APSA.**

<sup>48</sup> G.S. Ghurye, *Op.cit.*, p.21.

As **K.M. Kapadia** stated,

"As time passes the **members** of these tribes will more and more realize the injustice done to them and this position may turn them **into** permanent enemies of the society as well as government".

These people were bound by their own code of morality. They were physically strong and mentally sound. They had their own code of conduct and secret dialect to communicate with each other in the performance of their task.

Several scholars argued out the main causes of criminality among these criminal tribes in different ways. Venugopal Rao attribute to the environmental factors. Kapadia attributed much to the economic factors. Anthropologists like **Biswas**, criminologists like **Gillin**, historians such as Bruce and others attributed tribal criminality to poor economic conditions. Biswas studied criminal colonies in Delhi state and came to the conclusion that their expenditure was more than their income. Hence they were forced to commit crime in order to compensate their deficit budgets. A.O. Hume in 1885 regarded the criminality among these tribes as the direct consequence of absolute hardship and the intolerant and often brutal attitude of the police. He says:

"Almost savages and utterly reckless of life, they are perpetually goaded into crimes. They are forbidden to rest even for a single day, no matter where. The moment the police hear of their arrival, they proceed to drive them

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<sup>49</sup> **K.M. Kapadia**, "The Criminal Tribes of India", *Sociological Bulletin*, No:1 & **II**, (March 1952), p.45.



away hounding them **from** village to village with hard words and harder blows from their own neighbouring **thana**."<sup>50</sup>

**Gillin** describes their deplorable living conditions as being the causes for criminal behaviour. In his words:

"It is easy to see that the bulk of the population lives on the verge of starvation most of the time. Let a famine come along and millions die unless they are assisted by government or relief organizations. Under such conditions, there is small wonder if whole families and ~~the~~ tribes have resorted to criminal methods to get a living."<sup>51</sup>

Gillin further says that,

"When the first batches were brought into the settlements, most of the men were clad in rags. The women had hardly enough clothing to cover their shame and ~~the~~ children upto 12 years of the age or so were **stark** naked."<sup>52</sup>

Fishman writes:

"The spread of modern education and technical knowledge, and the improvement in communications has brought about an alarming increase in the more sophisticated types of crime such as bogus company promoting, coining, forgery, confidence tricks, ~~and~~ enabled the criminals to work over much larger areas."<sup>53</sup>

Regarding the vagrant criminal tribes, it has been said:

"That the opportunities of permanent agriculture have not always been available to them... explains that India has to-day about four million persons who adopt crime as an hereditary calling, a challenge to the social order and a legacy of the high caste Hindus' crime of **unapproachability**."<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Sanjay Nigham, "Disciplining and Policing Criminals by birth," **part1:** The making of a colonial stereotype - The criminal Tribes and castes of North India", *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, vol.XXVII, No.2, April-June, 1990, p.150.

<sup>51</sup> Gillin John Lewis *op.cit.*, p.106.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> Alvin Texas Fishman, *Culture Change... Op.Cit.*, P.98.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, P.98.

Fishman Writes:

"Peaceful occupation had no attraction for the spirited and enterprising men of the community. As they were debarred by birth from entering into the civil and **military** service of the state, they took to high way **robbery...**"<sup>55</sup>

Members **of** Criminal tribes, who are restricted in their **movements**, but not confined to settlements, are naturally suspected of having other than purely religious motives for approaching the missionaries for baptism. Missionaries are inclined to be more charitable than police men in judging motives and although they may try honestly to give aid to the oppressed.

The factors conducive to crime among the criminal tribes in India are: 1) deprivation of facilities for earning a living by cultivation of the soil; 2) discriminatory rules which deprive the group of participation in some harmless activity necessary to their social **well-being**, 3) Laws which make some harmless pursuit a crime and the gross misuse of such laws, 4) Traditional customs which define property rights in unsocial ways.<sup>56</sup>

Conversion to Christianity as a means of controlling crime is doubtless overrated by both missionaries and some public officials and underrated by many police officers. Crime among the under privileged is not so much a problem of a specific group as a disease of the social organism.

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, P.99.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* P.101.

A general economic crisis during the colonial period led to the frequency of famines and the consequent growth of banditry. Famines during the early British rule were frequent. In Madras **presidency**, there were widespread and severe famines in 1866, 1876-1878 and 1898.<sup>57</sup> Being deprived of their livelihood many people became bandits.

Hunter lamented,

"The revenue could not be collected, the inhabitants made a common cause with the marauders, and the whole rural administration was unhinged."<sup>58</sup>

The common feature throughout the country was that wide spread and severe famines increased **dacoities**. The years of 1866 and 1876-78 and 1898, witnessed unprecedented outbreaks of dacoity, food riots, looting of markets, house-breaking, cattle stealing etc, due to famines in Madras province. The inspector General of Police observed in 1877 that dacoity as the special  
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famine crime committed by hungry people, not ordinary criminals. Even after famines, a section of them continued with this occupation. The so-called professional criminals committed only a very small percentage of dacoities during the famine years.

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<sup>57</sup> See Jagannath **Pathy**, "Social basis of banditry and the criminal tribes act", *Social Science Probings*, Vol. 1 **No.4** December 1984, **P.497**.

<sup>58</sup> **W.W.** Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, London 1897, PP. 71-72.

<sup>59</sup> *Madras Police Administration Report for the year 1877*, Madras 1888, **P.1**. For example, out of 980 reported cases of dacoity in 1876 in Madras, only 132 were committed by criminal tribes and in 1877 only 283 out of 1695 cases were committed by **them**.

The following classes of **settlements** and institutions **have been** established by the Salvation Army.

1. Agricultural settlements.
2. Mixed Agro-industrial settlements.
3. Industrial settlements.
4. Homes for released prisoners.
5. Homes for Juvenile Adult Released prisoners.
6. Homes for children.
7. Schools for training, weaving and silk reeling.
8. Depots for disposing of goods and obtaining orders.
9. Plantations of mulberry and eucalyptus.
10. Factory for handlooms, warping, reeling and twisting machines.<sup>60</sup>

There were six purely agricultural settlements with **6,800** acres. In addition to that, the Salvation Army had 2,300 acres of land in connection with mixed agro - industrial institutions made a total of **9,100** acres throughout India. There were three agricultural settlements for **Sansias**, one for **Doms**, one for Yerukulas and one for Veppur pariahs. Of these, the agricultural settlement of **Dom's** is a great success under the control of Salvation Army.<sup>61</sup> The settlers were engaged in handicraft works.

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<sup>60</sup> See F. Booth Tucker, *Op.Cit.*, **P.50**. It was frequently alleged that criminal tribes would not take to agriculture. They **were** given a piece of bare land often unoccupied because it is **not** worth cultivating. The crops must be watched by night, hence it is impossible to confine them to their lines.

<sup>61</sup> 16 Agro-industrial settlements were under the control of the Salvation Army. The **main** industries on which **the settlers**

The Salvation Army **managed** twelve industrial settlements including children's homes. Under proper direction and supervision of agriculture officers an excellent opportunity was provided for many settlers to earn homes and sufficient living. In Punjab, the work was started by Louis Dane on voluntary lines, but failed. There were five settlements run by the Salvation Army. In Bengal, a beginning was made with a settlement for Karwal, Nats and Siddhpur. In Bihar and Orissa, two small settlements, one agricultural and the other industrial, were started. In Bombay, a settlement for **Sansias**, one home for Kanjar boys, a silk school and workshop were opened. **Willington**, the then governor of Bombay, opened the settlements.--

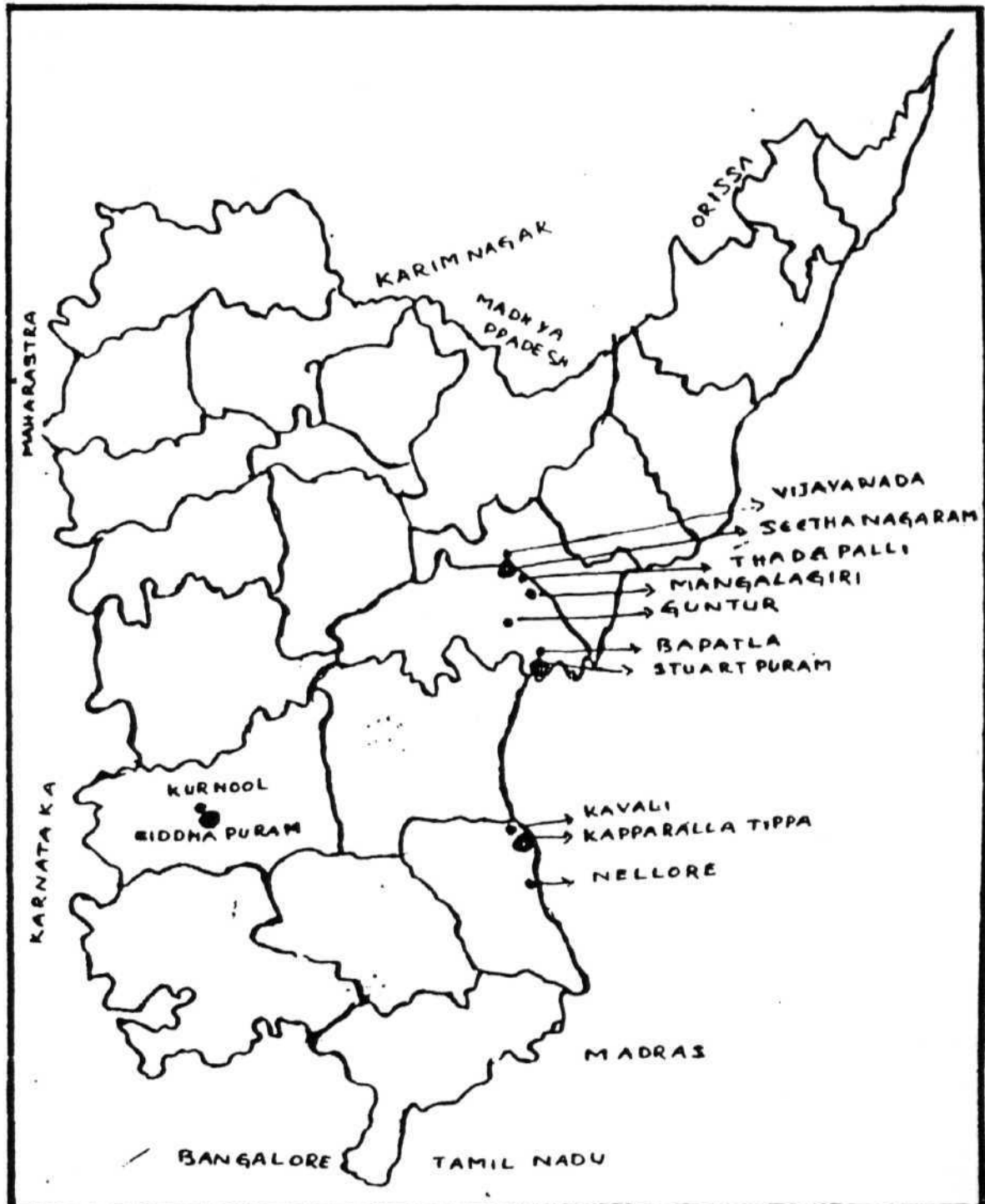
Though the Salvation Army started the reformation work in Madras late, it had proceeded with full speed. Nowhere in India, have the provisions of the criminal **tribes'** act been so effectively taken advantage of as in Madras. Ten settlements were there under the control of the Salvation Army and one boarding school opened for the children of the ex-criminals. Harold Stuart got support of Pentland, the then governor of **Madras**.

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concerned were handloom weaving and silk. Four industrial **homes**, five homes for Juvenile adults were opened for adult prisoners by Salvation Army. The Madras and United Provinces governments are the only ones which have the industrial **homes** for children of criminal tribes. There were altogether six schools of this character. See Booth Tucker, *Op.Cit.*, PP. 50-51.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* , PP.56-59.

## Ex-criminal Tribes Settlements in Andhra Pradesh



Source : The above map is taken from an unpublished thesis 'Tribes in Transition, A case study of Kapparalla Tippa in Nellore district and Sitanagaram in Guntur district' by Dr. V. Lalitha, submitted to Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University, Calcutta, 1987, p. 223.

The Lieutenant Governor of United Provinces, John **Hewett**, said:

"The most gratifying feature in the history of criminal tribes has been the success of the Salvation Army settlements. The preliminary results have been most encouraging. Booth Tucker and other self sacrificing members of the organization were on the way to turn the criminals <sup>63</sup>from hopeless enemies of mankind into useful citizens".

A brief survey of the existing ex-Criminal Tribes settlements is given below.

1. Kalichedu Settlement, Nellore District:

This settlement was first started in 1911 by Ludwig. 200 people belonging to Katheras or Donga Dasaries of Nellore were provided employment in mica mines near Kalichedu. But the Katheras never honestly took to the work provided for them. They were declared to be a criminal tribe along with the Donga Dasaries of Kurnool and Guntur districts. Some **Dommaras** of Nellore district were brought to this settlement and they were provided work in the mica mines of Kalichedu. Industries such as agriculture, mat-making etc. were also provided to the settlers.<sup>64</sup>

2. Kavali Settlement, Nellore District:

Kavali settlement was started as a settlement for Donga Yerukulas of Nellore district in October 1912 by E.Bullard of the

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<sup>63</sup> See **F. Booth Tucker**, *Op.Cit.*, P.59.

<sup>64</sup> Note showing the progress made in the settlement of criminal tribes in the Madras presidency upto September 1916, Madras, 1916, P.1. TNA.

American Baptist Mission. The Superintendent of police informed Bullard that they might have to take care in the future of the entire gang of Yerukula criminals which would entail opening about 600 prisons. The American Baptist Mission readily accepted the proposal to provide the necessary conditions for **social**, industrial, educational and hygienic improvement of the criminal settlement. In December **1916**, Kavali criminal settlement transferred some of its settlers to Bitragunta. This agricultural settlement at Bitragunta was declared to be a part of Kavali criminal settlement in January 1917. This was under the supervision of E. Bawden who worked hard to make the Yerukulas a self-respecting and self-supporting people.<sup>65</sup>

The reformatory settlement at Kavali was transferred to Bitragunta with effect from 1st April 1933. Government took its control in 1934 from the American Baptist Missionaries. With the repeal of the criminal tribes act, the inhabitants were let free in September 1948 and the settlement office was abolished and the records were handed over to the district police office. The problems at **Kapparalla** Tippa are to be viewed from socio-economic and human angle.

### 3. **Sitanagaram** Settlement, Guntur District:

**Sitanagaram** settlement was opened in January 1913 with a few men who were released from Jail. Mr. Mackenzie of Salvation

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<sup>65</sup> See V.Lalitha, *The Making of Criminal Tribes*——Op.Cit., P.85.



**Army** took charge of the responsibility of Sitanagaram settlement.<sup>66</sup> In October **1915**, the Sitanagaram settlement was divided into two parts namely Sainayapuram and Kondapet settlements each under the management of the Salvation Army.<sup>67</sup>

Sitanagaram settlement is a penal settlement. Agriculture was the chief means of livelihood and the other main occupation was stone quarrying. Cultivation continues to be **their** chief occupation even today. The work was further developed by the Salvation Army with the assistance or rail-link to the quarries, weaving, silk-reeling, carpentry and securing the other subsidiary industries provided for the settlers and they took interest in mat and basket making also.

#### 4. Bhummannagadda Settlement, Chittoor district:

This settlement was opened for Nawabpeta or Vayalpad Korchas in the early part of 1913. The settlement was taken charge on 7th January 1914 by Mr A. **Allen** of the Salvation Army. The sudden change of control from the police to the salvation Army led to early disasters. Booth Tucker complained about the police interference even after the settlement was handed over to the Salvation Army. The manager of the settlement Allen could not understand Telugu. So he was replaced by captain Swami Das. The chief employment provided to the settlers was agriculture.

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<sup>66</sup> See Mackenzie, *The Mud Bank...*, Op.Cit., P.87.

<sup>67</sup> See V. Lalitha, *The Making of Criminal Tribes...* Op.Cit., P.104.

Besides **agriculture**, the settlers were also provided with employment in weaving and silk production. The Korchas made ropes and baskets.

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##### 5. Lingala Settlement, Mahaboob Nagar District:

The Lingala settlement was started in the year 1917. **In** the beginning the village was unhealthy, the water was poisonous and the locality full of malaria. An area of 14,560 acres of virgin forest land was given for the Lingala settlement. The criminal classes brought to Lingala settlement were **Lambadis** (sugalis) Yerukulas, **Waddars**, Pathruds, and **Dommaras**. A school was constructed for the education of the children of Lingala settlers during the year 1917. The subjects taught were Telugu,

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arithmetic, sewing, gardening and physical **drill**. Hankin, the criminal tribes settlement officer, guided the settlers efficiently. Vilayat Hussain, **Shamsuddin**, Turab Ali, the settlement officers, further developed the settlement into a little oasis in the desert.

The tribe known as Nizam waddars, originally belonged to Hyderabad state, restricted their movements to Lingala

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Note **showing** the progress made in the settlement of criminal tribes in Madras presidency upto September 1916, Op.Cit., **P.12**.  
Report on the administration of the district police of H.E.H., the Nizam's Government for the year 6th October 1917 to 5th October 1918 (1327 **Fasli**), Hyderabad, 1919, pp. 27-28. A.P. State Gazetteers Office, Hyderabad.

70 Ibid. , **P.24**.

settlement. A large **number** of Yerukula families from Andhra region escaped to the Nizam dominions. Some families of Yerukulas were brought from Gulbarga, Bellary and Lingsur districts of the then Hyderabad state. The then Nizam, **Usman Nawab Alikhan**, started one settlement in Lingala in Mahaboobnagar district. The settlement is 104 miles away from **Hyderabad**.<sup>71</sup> Lingala settlement is in the midst of Naliamalai forest area. The name '**Lingala**' was derived from the **Shaivalingas** in the surrounding areas. Those who are giving trouble to Nizam government were the people that were interned in the Lingala settlement.<sup>72</sup> It comprised of three tribes 1) Yerukulas 2) Chenchus and, 3) **Lambadis**. 90% of the Yerukulas had relations with the people from Karnataka. The peculiar feature of Lingala settlement is that these three tribes have marital relations with each other. There is no other settlement in India in which marital relations exist between three different tribes.

At present, the settlement has a hospital, police station, schools for boys and girls, post office and a temple. The children are well clothed, fed and taught at the expense of the state. They are sent to the workshops to learn the work for which they are best fitted. They are experts in weaving,

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<sup>71</sup> Haikerwal, B.S., *Op.cit.*, PP.194-195.

<sup>72</sup> See V. Lalitha, "Lingala Settlement", an unpublished article, submitted to Indian History Congress, 56th Session, Calcutta, 1995, P.3.

carpentry, tile and brick-making and laundering. Many families **are** farming plots given to them by the Nizam's government.

The above mentioned account gave, in brief, the information about the existing settlements in Andhra Pradesh along with **Siddhapuram** and Stuartpuram which constitute the theme of the present study.

The Government used to deal with the individuals caught in criminal activities individually or collectively, first under the Regulation XXVI of 1793, then under the Act of XXX of 1836 and, later, under the Indian Penal Code of 1860.<sup>73</sup> Thus, legally until the year 1871, no tribe as a whole was dubbed as criminal tribe. When the control of the traditional criminal behaviour on the part of certain tribes became a problem for the British Government, they felt it necessary for preventive and deterrent purposes to treat the entire tribal group legally as a criminal tribe. In this way all the members could be kept under continuous watch and vigilance.

#### The Criminal Tribes Acts

##### The Act of 1871:

The main aim of the 1871 Act was to keep an eye on the activities of the criminal tribes. A constant surveillance over and vigilance about their activity was planned, **but** it was not

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<sup>73</sup> W.H. Sleeman, *Op.Cit.*, P.89.

the intention of this act to check the **nomadism** of these people. The **aim** of the Act was to control the crime and help the members of criminal tribes to reform and rehabilitate themselves. This Act gave wider powers to the provincial governments. The provincial governments were authorized to declare any group of people whom they suspect as incorrigibles as '**Criminal Tribes**'. In this act the phrase '**criminal tribe**' was first coined and the system of registration begun. The act was applied in Sindh and

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nowhere else in the Bombay presidency. This Act provided for the maintenance of a register in which the names and other particulars of all the members of a tribe were written. They were required to register the information about births and deaths. Some of them were required to report at regular intervals to the police station. From time to time policemen used to take a round of their colonies and take roll-call of all the members.

It was discovered that the families of these men were usually involved in criminal activities. If the men were thrown into prison, the families either had to continue their depredations or suffer in great financial and emotional stress. The authorities found that criminals who were released from prison were worse than before. As a result of experience gained, the act was amended in 1897 and power was delegated to the

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<sup>74</sup> *Report of the criminal tribes enquiry committee, united provinces of India, 1947, Allahabad, 1948, P.4.*

provincial governments of notifying tribes. Enhanced penalties for repetition of offences and breach of rules were also **provided.**<sup>75</sup>

The Criminal Tribes Act of 1908:

In 1908, the colonial government passed another Criminal Tribes Act. It permitted the various provincial Governments of India to make plans whereby tribes suspected of living by crime could be registered and supervised by the police and those members of criminal tribes which had been convicted could be placed in settlements. In these settlements they were taught to work. Instructions were given to lead an honest life. Their children were sent to schools. It was hoped that such steps would bring about a complete reformation. If any family failed to furnish the required information they were liable to punishment. They were forced to remain in the settlement until the authorities were firmly certain that they could be trusted to remain honest and law-abiding citizens. Individually the criminal was not kept in the settlement. His entire family was brought to the settlement. For **example**, in Unnava

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<sup>75</sup> Explaining these changes Wood Burn said : "Originally Humanity is not the sound Humanity which exhausts all its pity on the criminal and forgets the sufferings of the people upon whom that criminal preys". See Report of the criminal tribes enquiry **committee**, united provinces of India, 1947, Allahabad, 1948, **P.5**.

**Lakshminarayana's novel, Malapalli** the whole family of **Ramadas** was brought to the **settlement**.<sup>76</sup>

The Criminal Tribes Act of 1911:

As the desired goals could not be achieved by the Act of 1908, another Act was passed by the **government**, known as Criminal Tribes Settlement Act in 1911. The main features of the Act were: If the local government has reason to believe that any tribe, gang, or class of persons, or any part of tribe, gang, or class is addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences, it may, by notification in the local official gazette, declare that such person or group was a criminal tribe as the term is used in this Act.<sup>77</sup> There are two methods of dealing with these people - registration and settlement. Registration attempted to keep track of them under police surveillance in the communities where they live. Settlement means locating in a special place provided, so that they can be more closely controlled than by registration. In the settlements they were

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<sup>76</sup> *Malapalli* is a reputed novel in Telugu written during the national movement. It deals with the life of Dalits (**Harijans**). In course of the novel, the author depicted the life of criminal tribes' in the settlements. See Unnava Lakshminarayana, **Malapalli**, (Telugu) **Machilipatnam**, 1922, **p.50**.

<sup>77</sup> See Note showing the progress made in the settlements of criminal tribes in the Madras Presidency upto September 1916, *Op.Cit.*, **P.1**. The main difference between the act of 1871 and that of 1911 was that 1) The act of 1871 was only applied to certain provinces in Northern India, namely, Bengal, the United Provinces and the Punjab etc. It was not extended to Madras. But 1911 act was applied to the whole of India. Also, See Gillin John Lewis, *Op.Cit.*, **p.111**.

under the control of the Criminal Tribes Settlement Officers.<sup>78</sup>

In accordance with this Act, schedules were prepared **for** various criminal tribes. Personal identification **marks** and the thumb and palm impressions of each of the members of the tribe were taken into consideration. This was done with a view to track down the criminals with ease. Besides, the more notorious members of the tribe were put under very strict observation. Their activities were minutely watched. The government could remove any child of the age of six or above from the 'criminal' parents and give him education and training in governmental institutions. Under this Act, Provincial Governments were given special instructions for control of these tribes.

According to the Act of 1911, the Criminal Tribes were classified into three categories. 1) Tribes who were originally criminal but had settled down to honest occupations although some sections of them continue to live by committing crimes. 2) Tribes who had settled abodes and generally on some ostensible occupation but who periodically committed dacoities and robberies at distant places from their homes and lived by such gains and, **3) Nomadic** tribes who wandered continuously and committed robberies whenever they found an opportunity.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> **Y.C. Simhadri, Op.Cit., P.26.**

<sup>79</sup> **Madras Criminal Tribes Manual, Criminal Tribes Act VI of 1924, brought upto 31st March 1927, P.1. TNA.**



## **The Criminal Tribes Act of 1924:**

On the recommendations of the Indian Jail Enquiry Committee, the Criminal Tribes Act was again amended in 1923, and it was applied to the whole of British India in 1924. In many aspects, the 1911 Act was found defective and contained many loop-holes. Basically, in aim and intent, it was preventive and not corrective. There were virtually no attempts in it to reform and rehabilitate the present criminals. Of course, there was provision for separating children from the parents and giving them proper education. But there were practical difficulties too. Intermixing the parents and children will add new problems. The atmosphere of the '**Culture of Crime**' will be continued.

The committee recommended that a formal enquiry was necessary before any individual was registered as a member of a criminal tribe. Some of the main features of the Act are:

- 1) **Notification,** 2) Registration, 3) Settlement of Criminals
- 80

and, 4) Unjust punishments and sentences.

### 1. Notification:

Section iii of the Act empowered the local government to declare any tribe or class of persons or a part thereof, as a

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<sup>80</sup> *Madras Criminal Tribes Manual - criminal tribes act VI of 1924 brought upto 31st March 1927, Madras 1927, P.1.*

**criminal** tribe, if it has some reason to believe that they **are** addicted to the commission of non-bailable **offences**.<sup>81</sup>

2. Registration:

After the notification of a tribe as criminal, the district magistrate was asked by the local government to make a regular register of the members of criminal tribes living within his jurisdiction. Then the district magistrate called every member of the tribe concerned and asked each one to furnish the information required by him.<sup>82</sup>

3. Settlement of Criminals:

Section 16 of the Criminal Tribes Act provided for the establishment of reformatories and educational and agricultural settlements for criminals and it empowered the local government to place any tribe, group or any individual in any type of settlement. This could be done even for a man with his previous conviction. They were sent to the criminal settlements for not paying a fine.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* P.1.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

#### 4. Unjust Punishments and Sentences:

Section 23 of the Criminal Tribes Act declared that any person belonging to the category of ex-criminal tribes, convicted once for any offence under the Indian Penal Code, specified in the schedule first, if convicted of the same offence for the second time, he will be punished with imprisonment for ten or not less than seven years and on a third or any subsequent conviction with transportation for life. This section contemplates further punishment also.<sup>84</sup>

The instance of getting a pass and reporting oneself to the police led the policeman and village headman to take forced and free labour from the poor. This gave birth to bribery at the local level.

The Criminal Tribes Act was amended a number of times to control these people. Though the Act remained in force for about 80 years, it failed to achieve its purpose. The policy of the government was to suppress the turbulent elements among the tribes and also to encourage them to settle on land and to provide them with means of earning an honest livelihood. But the conditions and the status were the same as before.

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<sup>84</sup> Sher Singh Sher, *op.cit.*, p.56.

The leaders and social reformers realized that the dubbing of a people as Criminal Tribe was a blot on the Indian society. Nehru stated in a speech delivered at Nellore (Andhra Pradesh) in October 1936 that:

"I am aware of this monstrous provision of Criminal Tribes Act which constitutes a negation of civil liberty. Wide publicity should be given to its working and an attempt made to have the Act removed from the Statute Book. No tribe could be classified as criminal as such and the whole principle is out of consonance with all civilized principles of criminal justice and treatment of **offenders.**"<sup>85</sup>

B. Pattabhi **Sitaramayya**, angrily pointed out that,

"cattle that are sold and brought in the market, wild animals that are hunted out of villages, worms that are trodden **under** the feet are not worse treated than Criminal Tribes."<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup>. Quoted in V.Raghavaiah, *The problem of criminal tribes*, *Op. cit.*, p.11.

<sup>86</sup>

*Ibid.* He further **said**, "the state of suffering of families and tribes classed **as** criminals not because of misconduct or of evil deeds done but because of their birth is a tale of woe and wickedness. A.A. Said the then Home Secretary to the chief commissioner, Delhi writing to **B.C.Mukherji**, the then secretary to the government of India Home **Department**, that, "I am directed to say that the Chief Commissioner does not agree that the criminal tribes act is a blot on the Statute Book or that its total repeal is called for in the conditions prevailing at present It will be agreed in general that a large number of persons dealt with under the existing Criminal Tribes Act (1924) have not reformed sufficiently to justify the total abolition of restrictions on their movements and activities. As is well - known, a large number of criminal tribes men are still addicted to crimes, so that some sort of control over their movements and activities is essential; for, Otherwise, being reluctant to carve out a decent living for themselves and their families by honest means they are sucre to continue to prey upon society and indulge in their anti-social **activities.** **Instances** are not lacking today all over India of Criminal Tribesmen being found concerned in large number of cases of thefts, burglaries, robberies etc. The chief commissioner, however, agree that while the total abolition of the criminal tribes Act in question is not called for, it may

Criticizing the criminal tribes act Vennelacunti Raghavaiah, a well known social worker stated that:

"Born amidst such strange and outrageous notions about caste system and the supposed heredity of crime, this act destroyed domestic peace, embittered human life and led to the most false of all theories i.e., once a criminal, always a criminal.<sup>87</sup>

**M.V.** Subba Rao, former acting Chief Justice of the Madras High court, characterized **the** criminal tribes act as follows:

"There are laws which offend the conscience of progressive India. Take for instance, <sup>ss</sup>**the** criminal tribes act which disgraces our statute book".

While sending a message to the criminal tribes conference held in Tinnevely district on 14.5.1937, he further said:

"I desire to state the need to repeat the obnoxious provisions of criminal tribes act. The act treats certain people as born criminals and what can degrade humanity <sup>more</sup> than to make birth, in a particular community, a crime".

**M.S. Aney**, former governor of Bihar, who presided over the all

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be possible to make some of its provisions less stringent and more in conformity with modern ideas of penal reform." see *Criminal Tribes Act enquiry committee*, Government of Bombay, May 1946, P.167. Home Department, Resolution No 9849/3, Bombay castle, 27th May 1943. B.C. Mukherji, the then chief secretary to government, said, "The removal of the entire tribes from the operation of the act would affect the interests of the peaceful and law-abiding citizens as most of the crimes in **many** districts are committed by persons belonging to these tribes. Therefore steps for prevention of crimes and reclamation of these tribes must be taken side by side". *Ibid.* , P.168.

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See V. Raghavaiah, *The problem of criminal tribes*, Op.Cit., P.11.

88

*Ibid.* , P.11.

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Cited in V. Lalitha, *The Making of Criminal Tribes Patterns and Transitions. ... Op.Cit.* , P.27.

India criminal **tribes'** conference in 1939 **remarked,**

"It is after mature consideration that we have protested against registering whole tribes as criminal for the faults of some of **their**<sup>90</sup> **erring** members and also objected to inhuman restrictions..."<sup>91</sup>

Thakkar **Bapa**, secretary, All India Harijan Sevak Sangh, remarked that "Criminal tribes act **is** disgracing our statute **book**". -- He appealed to the Congress and non-Congress ministers:

"To expedite legislation to do justice to a much neglected section of our country men, **who** were never and could never have been criminals by birth".<sup>92</sup>

Desabhaktha Konda Venkatapaiah Pantulu observed that:

"It is **the**<sup>93</sup> most inhuman statute that has outlived its purpose".

K.N. Katju remarked: As minister for justice, that

"it is an insult to God and humanity to **treat**<sup>94</sup> innocent children of criminal tribes as born criminals".

V.V. Giri said about the criminal tribes:

"Governments are actually aware of the inequalities in the country which become glaring when contrasted with the prosperity of some sections of the community. Change in social structure and the removal of the poverty are two aspects of **the**<sup>95</sup> same question. One cannot be achieved without the other".

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<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.* P.27.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, P.11.

<sup>92</sup> See V. Lalitha, Socio-economic and administrative aspects of an ex-criminal tribe, *Op.Cit.*, P.29.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, P.28.

<sup>94</sup> V. Raghavaiah, The Problem of ex-criminal tribes, *Op.Cit.*, P.

<sup>95</sup> See Report of the **Commissioner** for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1969-70, 9th report, Delhi, 1970, PP. 95-96.

He further said:

"To class therefore a whole tribe, indeed a sixtieth of the population of whole India as criminal is it self an act of criminality of which governments are guilty. It is really an unchallengeable example of the exercise of brute force, of which all the governments are incarnation on earth. The state of suffering of families and tribes classed as criminals not because of misconduct or of evil deeds done, but **because**<sup>96</sup> of their birth is a tale of woe and wickedness".

The Habitual Offenders Act of 1948:

It came into force from 29th April 1948. It aims at the control of the criminals who take to crime as a profession.<sup>97</sup> It was taken up after the rules under the Act were published in the Fort St. George Gazettee dt. 22nd November 1949.<sup>98</sup> The then Deputy Inspector General of police Railways and Central Intelligence Department Madras noted:

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<sup>96</sup>

Cited in Sher Singh **Sher**, "Plea for denotified and Gypsy Tribes of India" *Tribal Souvenir*, Bharatiya Adimajati Sevak Sangh, Vol.3 No.2. P.113.

<sup>97</sup>

3,117 members were notified upto 31st March 1950. 2970 were formerly registered members. Offences falling under sections 379, 380, **400**, 414, 420, 454, and 461 of Indian Penal Code and 411 of receiving stolen property are the most common forms of crimes they commit. The relaxation of the act made all the habitual offenders to roam all over the areas in the country and take to their profession. This is the reason for the increase of crime in most of the provinces. See *Administration Report on Habitual Offenders Settlements for 1949-50*, Madras **1950, P.13**. APSA.

<sup>98</sup>

5,268 persons were restricted under the act of whom 4,097 are ex-notified members during the year 1951-52. The act had very little effect in controlling crime and criminal tribes. See *Administration Report on Habitual offenders settlements for the year 1951-52*, Madras 1952, **P.11**.

"The application of the Act is very limited. The Act has application only to such **criminals-convicted** of serious offences and criminal minded persons interned in the settlement. The government of India published an All India Habitual offenders bill which is an effective instrument to exercise better control over the **criminals**".<sup>99</sup>

N.G. Ranga also strongly fought for the repeal or abolition of the Criminal Tribes Act and the upliftment of criminal tribes in Madras presidency. He said the criminal tribes act was used to 'suppress political works' to those days.<sup>100</sup> Two bills were passed in the central legislative Assembly. The first bill was sponsored by Venkatsubba Reddyiar who was an M.L.A. to repeal the criminal tribes act. The second bill was sponsored by N.G. Ranga. He proposed to repeal sections 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 19 and 20 of the criminal tribes act. It was stated in the report of the criminal tribes enquiry committee, united provinces, 1947, that "Ranga's proposal amounts to willing to wound but afraid to strike; It seeks to retain the best of the criminal Tribes act and remove its kernel. In a special penal legislation such as the criminal tribes act, the only justification can be the absolute necessity of provision of coercive and restrictive measures for the protection of society and if these are to be 'deleted or diluted' as Sri Ranga's bill proposes, the raison d'etre of the Act disappears".<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>99</sup>

See *Administration Report on Habitual offenders settlements for the first half year 1953-54*, Madras 1955, P. 6.

<sup>100</sup> See *Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee Report*, Government of Bombay, May 1943, P.173.

<sup>101</sup> See *Report of the Criminal Tribes enquiry committee, united provinces of India 1947*, Allahabad, 1948, PP.11-12. Also see



## The Habitual Offenders Act of 1952:

The Indian government appointed a committee in 1949 to study the usefulness of the law. It expressed the view that the Act was against the spirit of the Constitution. The public also moved and as a result the Criminal Tribes Act was repealed in 1952, and in its place the Habitual Offenders Act was enacted in that year. With the repeal of the Act, about 2,268,348 persons in the country were legally set free.<sup>102</sup> Now the status of the Criminal Tribes in law is the same as his fellow Indians. The committee also recommended that suitable steps should be taken for the amelioration of the problem of Criminal Tribes after the repeal of the Act. The government is now involved in initiating necessary steps to ameliorate the hardships of these groups of people. In spite of all the facilities provided by the government of India, the social position of the criminal tribes remains the same as before. The stigma still haunts them. These people are unable to free themselves from social bondage.

Various states in India took steps to repeal the Criminal Tribes Act. The Madras government was the first to take steps to repeal the Act in 1949. The Andhra Pradesh Habitual Offenders Act was passed in 1948. With this Act the government could

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file No.24/2/43 police branch 1943, government of India, Home department, P.1. Also see *Government of India, Police Branch, The Criminal Tribes amendment bill* by Prof. N.G. Ranga, File No.32/3/45, Delhi, 1945, P.I.NAI.

<sup>102</sup> Y.C.Simhadri, *The Denotified Tribes*—Op.Cit, p.29.

direct the district magistrate to make a register of habitual offenders within his district. The register was to be placed in **the** custody of the superintendent of police who shall, from time to time, report to the district magistrate any alteration to be made therein. The district collector or any officer, authorized by him on his behalf, may at any time order the finger and palm impressions, foot prints and photographs of any registered offender to be taken. with this Act, if any habitual offender is found outside the area, to which his movements have been restricted, he may be arrested without warrant by a police officer, village headman or village watchman. This Criminal Tribes Act was again repealed in 1954. Another Act was passed in 1965. With this Act the government of Andhra Pradesh formulated some rules.<sup>103</sup> They are:

- 1) The Superintendent of Police shall, from time to time, examine the cases of individuals residing in the area within his jurisdiction.
- 2) A register is maintained in the settlements.
- 3) Every registered offender is supplied with a certificate of identity.
- 4) Every registered offender shall give his certificate of identity for examination or inspection when required by any police officer.

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<sup>103</sup> Y.C. Simhadri, *Denotified Tribes.... OP.Cit.*, PP. 172 & 186.

5) Every registered offender shall report at the nearest police station.

If a registered offender was arrested or convicted, the certificate of identity shall be treated as his personal property and dealt with accordingly. When a village headman receives information that a registered offender of another village has spent a night or part of a night in his village, without a certificate, he shall promptly inform the Station House Officer. Any registered offender who intends to leave the house in which he is residing, during night between 10.00 P.M. and 5.00 A.M., before his departure, he has to inform to the village headman, the date and time at which he intends to leave the house and return, and the place to which he is going.<sup>104</sup>

It is unfortunate to call the whole tribe or a clan or family criminals. There is no country in the world, to our knowledge, whose people practice crime as their occupation. To our surprise, even blind persons are also registered. To reform the criminal tribes, it is necessary to impart to them some professional skills of earning a livelihood, for it is hopeless to expect them to be honest without proper food and shelter.

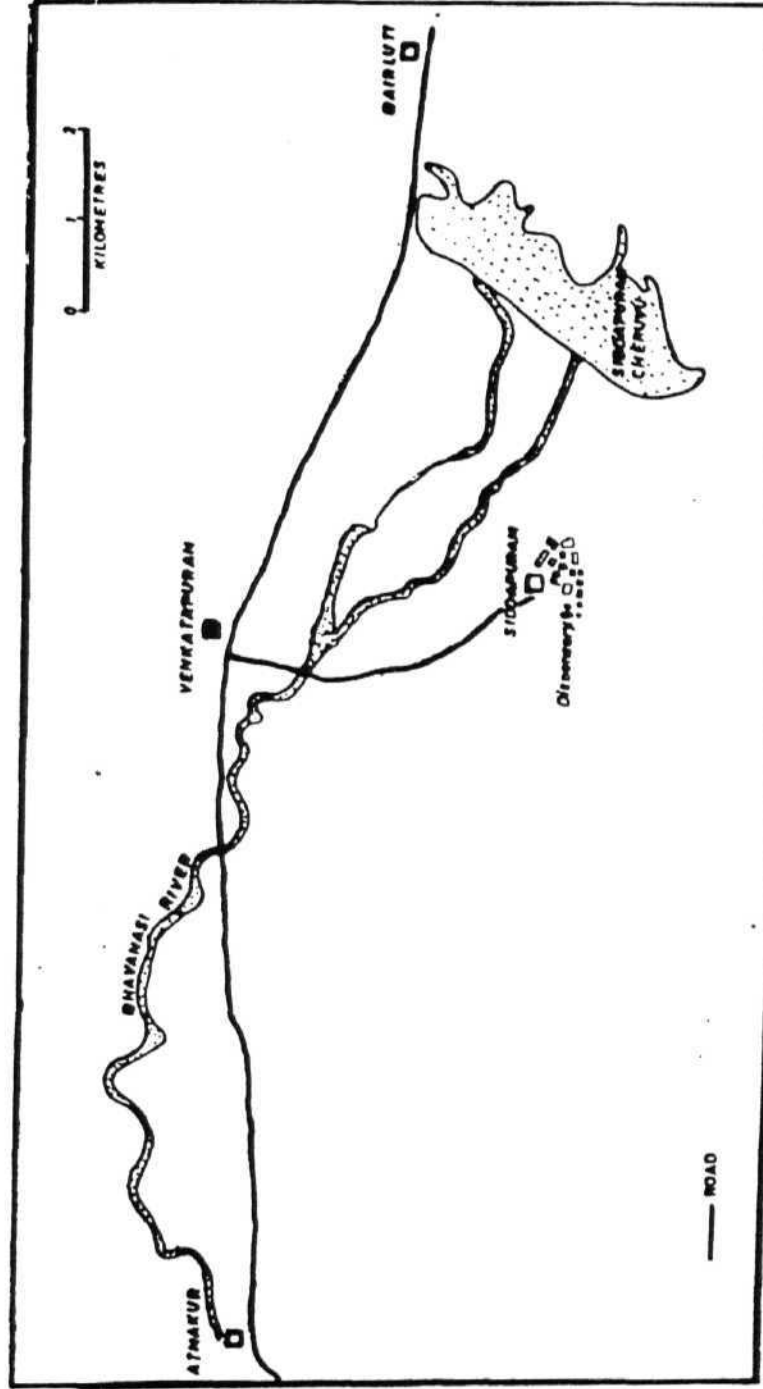
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<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

## **Chapter 3**

# **SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF SIDDHAPURAM AND STUARTPURAM SETTLEMENTS**

## Location of Siddhapuram Settlement



Source : Part of the Toposheet No. 57 $\frac{1}{g}$ , Kurnool District.

The reclamation of a criminal tribe or caste, as they **are** called, represents a problem which is at once unique as well as delicate and difficult. The work of gradually weaning these criminal classes away from criminal habits, by affording these classes from wholesome training and honorable employment, has been undertaken in India chiefly by non-official organizations such as the Salvation Army, American Baptist Telugu Mission, Canadian Mission etc. The success of both official and unofficial agencies in this respect has been phenomenal, while the way in which the criminal tribes and castes have themselves responded to discipline and the creation of new social and economic opportunities gives us hope, one day these people, may be converted into law-abiding and useful citizens. This requires a radical economic as well as social reform.

## SECTION I

### **SIDDHAPURAM SETTLEMENT**

There are few countries in the world where the transformation from an agricultural to industrial system has been successfully adopted. Crime has been on the increase as a result of the accompanying social stress and strains. Throughout India, it is economic conditions of depressed castes and tribes often give a clue to Indian social gradation. In this background, we have to study the voluntary settlement at **Siddhapuram** managed by the then government and Stuartpuram settlement managed by Salvation Army, which are taken for our study. We have to

analyze the facts of both the settlements and draw conclusions accordingly in order to present a comparative picture. The background in which they are brought up and the way in which they are trained for reclamation speaks volumes of the respective settlements.

In the early part of the 20th century about 20 or 30 super **numeraries** of **Waddars** wandered in Guntur and Kurnool districts and the Nizam dominions. The Waddars of Kurnool district i.e., gang no XIV became notorious for professional dacoities, robberies, house breaking and cases of a miscellaneous **nature**.<sup>1</sup> Under these circumstances the government considered a proposal to establish a settlement at **Siddhapuram** Kurnool district under section 12 of the criminal tribes act for Donga Waddars and a section of Donga Yerukulas. These Donga Waddars have already been informally settled at Siddhapuram.<sup>2</sup>

Siddhapuram settlement was a voluntary settlement. The boundaries of this settlement were as follows. In the North-Southern boundary there is **Krishnapuram** Agraharam. In the West-Southern boundary there is Velgode Reserve and **Dornal-Atmakur** Road. In the East, the boundary runs south west along the Sim's line to a point where it meets the Siddhapuram tank bund and in

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<sup>1</sup> See *Home Judicial Department*, G.O. No. 1279, 10th June 1915, P.2.TNA.

<sup>2</sup> See *Home Judicial Department*, **G.O.No.** 1860, 5th September 1917, **P.1**. Donga Waddars are registered as criminal tribes by the criminal investigation department, Gang No. XIV, and Yerukulas Gang No. **XIII.TNA**.

the south, the boundary runs to the south-east corner of **Kandam**. Likewise, in the west, the boundary runs northwards of the velgode reserve (terailine) to the starting point.<sup>3</sup>

The site of the **settlement** was shifted to the interior village in the forest area about 13 km. east of Venkatapuram village on **Atmakur** Srisailam road.<sup>4</sup> It is in **Atmakur** police station limits and about 12 **k.m.s**, east of Atmakur town.

The old site was malarious. The whole settlement was within 200 to 300 yards of the bund of the big tank. Between the bund and the village is a depression from which earth for the bund was excavated. Water stagnates throughout the year and there is a dense growth of bulrushes and other marsh-grasses. Two hundred yards to the north of the village is a drainage depression in which water stagnates and bulrushes flourish. Four to five hundred yards south and south-west of the village, the same conditions prevail along the course of the Bhavanasi nullah for a distance of 2 to 3 furlongs.<sup>5</sup> The village is surrounded by ideal breeding grounds for Anopheles. These stagnant pools are largely

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<sup>3</sup> See Home Judicial Department, G.O.No. 1284, 27.3.1937, P.4.TNA.

<sup>4</sup> See Home Judicial Department, G.O.No. 6170, dt. 22.12.1938, P.3.TNA.

<sup>5</sup> The pits continued to act as a breeding place for mosquitoes. They were connected with each other by drains during rainy season. Other pits were located within a distance of about 2 furlongs from the settlement village site. The soil was very damp during rainy season. It was proposed to remove the settlement to the safe and convenient locality on 20.12.1926. See Public Works Labour Department hereafter **P.W.L.D.** G.O.No. 52, dt. Jan 1927, P.2.APSA.



the result of the building of the tank and are fed by sub-soil percolation. There are deep pits in the tank bed which hold water all the year round. During the south-west monsoon when malaria is most prevalent, the wind blow from the village and probable source of infection. The Bhavanasi adjoins the new site is clear of growth of weeds.<sup>6</sup> The forest humidity and weather logging bred mosquitoes and malaria claimed a heavy death toll.

A new site was selected about 1 1/2 miles from the old site. This was 1 1/2 miles distant from Bhavanasi nullah. The non-possibility of preventing the anopheles round the site was because of the cost and the village was situated directly below the bund of the big tank could not but be damp.<sup>7</sup> The change of new site contributed to the health and comfort of the settlers. The site of the settlement was shifted to the present place in January 1927.<sup>8</sup>

Siddhapuram has been divided into three blocks, viz., 1. Jandrapeta 2. Gummadi-peta, 3. Santa Mutchupeta. This colony has one main road. The huts are built on both the sides of the road. There may be one or two pucca houses which speak about the poor economic condition of that settlement. On the other side of the road twenty Reddy families are residing. The settlers are residing on the left side of the road away from the Reddy

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<sup>6</sup> See P.V.L.D., G.O.No. 137, d.t. 19.1.1927, PP.1-2. APSA.

<sup>7</sup> See P.W.L.D., G.O.No 1719, dt. 9.8.1927, P.13. APSA.

<sup>8</sup> See P.W.L.D. , G.O.No. 2190, 28.7.1930, P.5. APSA.

families. There is no special **interaction** between **Waddars** and Reddies. Besides **them**, 70 Harijan families are also residing. At present, this village has a police station, elementary school, women's welfare center, temple, church and a bus stop.

### **Ethnic Background:**

The settlers, interned in Siddhapuram settlement, were Donga Waddars. These Donga Waddars were known as Katheras or Donga Dasaris. They were also known as Gudu Dasaris or Mucherikalas settled in all districts of Andhra Pradesh. According to some, they were drawn from the Boya, Golla, Daddur and **Saliakas**.<sup>9</sup> In Siddhapuram settlement, the term Donga Waddars is used for these people. The term Waddera is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word 'Odhra', the name of the country now known as Orissa from where these people are supposed to have migrated.<sup>10</sup> The members of this gang -were nomadic but majority of them have settled in different parts of the country, especially in Kurnool, Guntur, Krishna, Banaganpally, Chittoor, Cuddapah and Nellore districts of Andhra Pradesh.<sup>11</sup> In Gribble's Cuddapah district manual, this tribe is classified as house-breakers, cut-purses (pick-pockets) and cattle lifters. Gribble, as early as 1875, remarked that these Waddars were the most hardened class of criminals.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See V. Lalitha, *The making of Criminal Tribes . . . .Op.Cit., P.74.*

<sup>10</sup> See *Home Judicial Department, G.O.No. 1279, 10th June 1915, P.1. TNA.*

<sup>11</sup> E. Ramachandra Sastri, *History of the Criminal Tribes in Madras Presidency, Madras, 1929, PP.17-18.*

<sup>12</sup> See *P.W.L.D., G.O.No. 2146, 28th August 1928, P.2. APSA.*

These **Waddars** live in detached settlements, conical huts similar to those of the **Dommaras** with a low **entrance**.<sup>14</sup> The huts were far away from any village and most probably live in selected jungles.<sup>14</sup> They used to wear a waist cloth and an upper cloth and put on '**namam**' and a '**bottu**'.<sup>15</sup> In the name of **Kal-Waddars** or **Matti** Waddars, they watch the topography of each house in that village, pitch upon such houses and commit house-breakings. They were skillful to break open any stone or mud wall without much difficulty. They go out in batches to villages for work and commit crimes.<sup>16</sup>

Previously, they lived in **Bodducherla**, Markapur taluq, Kurnool district and later, in 1890, they came to Kothalur in Vinukonda taluq of Guntur district.<sup>17</sup> This formed as the headquarters of the gang. This can be well cited that Machi Reddy a Kapu criminal (of Cumbum taluq of the then Kurnool district)

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<sup>13</sup> Houses were constructed to the settlers an enclosure of 540 feet by 340 feet fenced with split bamboo to a height of 10 feet. The huts were constructed in six blocks. Each hut measured 12 feet by 10 feet. It was thatched with grass. An open space of 60 feet left between the huts on all sides. These houses were very poor. They were made of tatee and mud walls with thatched roofs. When the settlers were in better circumstances they would be made to repair their own places and kept them clear of jungle growth. See *Home Judicial Department*, G.O.No. 1860, dt. 5th September 1917, P.1. Also See *Home Department*, G.O.No. 2661, dt. 25.10.1920, P.3. NAI.

<sup>14</sup> F.S. Mullaly, *Op.Cit.*, P.78.

<sup>15</sup> See *P.W.L.D.*, G.O.No. 2146, 28th August 1928, P. 2. APSA.

<sup>16</sup> See *P.W.L.D.*, G.O.No. 2146, 28th August 1928, P.1. APSA.

<sup>17</sup> See *Home Judicial Department*, G.O.No. 1279, 10th June 1915, P.1.TNA.

organized a gang of **Waddars**. Another criminal by name **Vemulanagadu** was the head of the other gang. These two parts of the **gang** **were** formerly registered as gang No. 83 and 84 of the criminal investigation department.<sup>18</sup> After the death of **Vemulanagadu**, Machi Reddy became the head of the gang. Their total number was 33. These leaders became old and infirm, lived together for certain time but later split up into small parties headed by their own nominal heads. They occasionally united at marriage celebrations and other occasions. They took to a wandering life committing crimes throughout the ceded districts. Thus a notorious gang settled at **Siddhapuram** in Kurnool district.<sup>19</sup>

F.S. Mullaly, in his notes on criminal classes of the Madras presidency, wrote, "in ceded districts some of the Waddars were known as Donga Waddars" or thieving Waddars from the fact of their having taken to crime as a profession.<sup>20</sup> These were desperate, and at times very cruel when any opposition comes across and ready to inflict severe personal injuries on their victims. Paupa Rao Naidu mentioned about the 14 different divisions, of Donga Waddars located in different places had their own peculiarities.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> L. Withinshaw., *Memorandum on Donga Waddars in Note showing the Progress....*, *Op.Cit.*, P.36.

<sup>19</sup> G.W. Gayer, *Lecturers on Some Criminal Tribes of India and Religious Mendicants*, (2nd edition), Principal Police Training School, Central provinces, 1910, P.46. Also See Mohammed Abdul Ghani, *Op.Cit.*, P.124.

<sup>20</sup> Frederick S. Mullaly, *Op.Cit.*, Madras, 1912, P.80.

<sup>21</sup> M. Papa Rao Naidu, *History of Railway Thieves*, *Op.Cit.*, P.16.

In the manual of North Arcot district these Donga **Waddars** were **summed** up as natives of the **country**, quarrying stone, sinking wells, constructing tank bunds and executing other kinds of earth work more rapidly than any other classes.<sup>22</sup> Thurston in his Castes and Tribes of Southern India writes that these people have two sub-divisions according to their occupations. 1. The **Kallu** or **Rathi** Vaddars (stone workers) and 2. The **Mannu** waddars (earth workers).<sup>23</sup> M. Kennedy further subdivides these people as *Bhandi Vaddars* or *Gadi Vaddars* (cart men), **Pathrat**, *Janti* or *Dagdi vadders* (stone dressers), *Ghatti Vaddars* also known as *Donga* (thief) or **Takku** (cheat) Waddars.<sup>24</sup>

All Waddars are not criminals. The Donga Waddars of the ceded districts form as a separate section living by means of criminal propensities. The ordinary Waddars wander about the country living temporarily where they get work. In Banaganpalli state they were called as Takku Waddars. In Chengelpat district they were called as Kallu Waddars and in **Gudiatham** town of North Arcot district they were Mannu Waddars. In Kurnool, Bellary, Cuddapah, Chittoor, Anantapur, Nellore and Guntur districts of Andhra Pradesh they were called as Donga Waddars. Takku Waddars (Donga Waddars) were inveterate house breakers and burglars.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> See Note showing the progress made in the settlements of Criminal tribes... *Op.Cit.*, P.36. Also see V. Lalitha, *Op.Cit.*, P.49.

<sup>23</sup> Edgar Thurston, Vol. 5, *Op.Cit.*, P.422.

<sup>24</sup> M. Kennedy, *Op.Cit.*, P.165.

<sup>25</sup> *Takku Waddars* of Siddhapuram were experts in stone cutting. During the year 1945, R. Dorai Swami Ayyar sanctioned advances to start the industry. They were permitted to cartage stones

Besides building walls, they were skillful stone-cutters. Under the disguise of mending grind-stones, they used to obtain useful information about the houses to be looted or parties of travellers to be attacked.<sup>26</sup> In committing a highway robbery or dacoity, they were always armed with huge sticks and sometimes use violence in case of defence. Their depredations were usually confined to a radius of 20 miles presently (32KMs) from their encampment. They seldom set out in large bands for the purpose of committing crimes.<sup>27</sup>

The **Waddars** are a fine looking people. They are dark in complexion and capable of much endurance and generally hard working. The males are well-built, and wear Vaishnavite trident marks on their foreheads, arms and breasts.<sup>28</sup> As a class they are dirty, thriftless and hard drinkers. They wear scanty clothing. The male's dress consists of *Dhotar* (loin-cloth) or **Cholna** (short-drawers) *Angi* or *Pairan* (shirt) a **Rumal** or a piece of cloth for the head, a **Hachda** (coarse sheet) and **Kambal** (blanket) or shoulder-cloth worn over the shoulders.<sup>29</sup> Women's dress is a

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from Naliamalai hills to the settlement and from there to Atmakur and neighbouring villages for sale. See Home Department, G.O.No. 504, dt. 15.2.1945, PP.1-2. NAI.

<sup>26</sup> See *P.W.L.D.*, G.O.No.2146, 28th August 1928, P.2. APSA.

<sup>27</sup> G.W. Gayer, *Police Lectures on Some Criminal Tribes of India and Religious Mendicants*, (2nd Edition)(Principal Police Training School, Central Provinces), 1910, P.35. Also see F.S. Mullaly, *Op.Cit.*, P.22.

<sup>28</sup> Muhammad Abdul Ghani, *Op.Cit.*, PP.124-125.

<sup>29</sup> M. Kennedy, *Op.Cit.*, P.167.

sari with the upper end passed over the head and across the bosom. Men do not wear shoes and women do not wear the bodice nor glass bangles on the right hand.<sup>30</sup> They wear brass or kasa bracelets. The looks of many of the younger women would compare favourably with women of the better class.

The Waddars of Siddhapuram were originally from different parts of Andhra Pradesh. Some of them were related to each other. Kinship plays a very important role in the life of the Donga Waddars of Siddhapuram. They like to live close to their relatives. They also prefer to establish marriage ties within their settlement itself. They maintain their social ties with their kith and kin in different parts of Andhra Pradesh.

Being exclusively a Telugu sect, their language is a corrupt form of Telugu, but those settled in the southern districts are conversant with Tamil. They also speak Marathi or Canarese according to the district they live in.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> The Waddars never wear shoes of any kind on their feet, though sandals may be worn nor do their women wear **cholis** or jackets. Their legend is that ages past rats stole all their shoes and cholis and as their forefathers were deprived of them they may not use them, and that is why they are inveterate enemies of the rats and dig them up and eat them whenever they can. See G.W. Gayer, *Op.Cit.*, P.36. P.B. Thomas, the then Deputy Commissioner of Police, writes in 1899 that: "I am not aware of these people using any peculiar shoes. They use slippers (sandals) worn by riots and the lower classes. These they get by stealing". See Kamala Manohar Rao, *Op.Cit.*, PP.121-122.

<sup>31</sup> F.S. Mullaly, *Op.Cit.*, P.79.





constructions, road-metaling and cutting or grind stones. They were more in the districts of Bangalore, Bellary, Chitradurga and Kolar. Uppu Waddars trade in salt and tamarind. They are found in Bangalore, Kolar and Chitradurga districts. In Andhra Pradesh, they are found in Chandragiri Mandal of Chittoor district. Bandi Waddars are stone workers. They live in huts made of mats, grass etc. They are accompanied by their families, pack donkeys. Girini Waddars derived their name from their profession of cutting grind stones. Raja Waddars are employed in public construction works. Tudugu Waddars are highway robbers. This group of Waddars were referred by Edgar Thurston and Muhammad Abdul Ghani. Aragu Waddars collect and sell forest products like gum, and wax. Uru Waddars weave ropes. Ghatti Waddars encamp in the forest or on waste lands. They were also accompanied by their families, pack asses, goats etc. The Waddars believe that they originally formed a single endogamous group but in due course were split into a number of smaller endogamous groups. Each sub-caste is named and the name indicates the occupation.<sup>35</sup>

They eat all types of animal food such as, rats, fish, pigs, black faced monkeys, jackals, antelope, fowls, cats, deer, goats and all sorts of birds, crows, sparrows, and squirrels. They

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<sup>35</sup> During the early part of the 20th century their trade suffered due to frequent droughts in the area of their operation. The land which a few of them possessed hardly gave enough for their sustenance. Under these conditions, they migrated to Venkatagiri, Puttur, Nellore and Cuddapah.

eschew beef.<sup>36</sup> They are generally non-vegetarians. They go for **begging** and hunting. They smoke **ganja** and tobacco. They are addicted to drinking.<sup>37</sup> They do not hesitate to **mix up with** Dommaras, Madigas, Malas and Yerukulas.<sup>38</sup> Mannu, **Kallu** and Bandi <sup>39</sup>**Waddars** interdine with each **other**.

### **Economic Life**

Before coming to Siddhapuram settlement, the Donga Waddars had a meager income. They led a hand-to-mouth existence in the surrounding areas. Even now their earnings from agricultural operations are insufficient to maintain their families. The Waddars of the Siddhapuram settlement mainly depended on agriculture. The British government constructed a huge water reservoir to cultivate the lands attached to the settlement. Since it is rain-fed and the rainfall inturn very scarce the bund is most often empty. If it functions well, it is useful for 20 villages of surrounding areas. Every year the crop yield has been dismally low. Even the manual work is not fetching more than Rs. 15 per day. The primary occupations of Donga Waddars of Siddhapuram are 1. Agriculture 2. Manual work 3. Cutting wood and processing it. 4. Daily labour work 5. Basket and mat making 6. Business 7. Quarrying, and 8. Crime.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> E. Ramachandra Sastri, *Op.Cit.*, P.19.

<sup>37</sup> S.S. Shashi, P.S. Varma, *Op.Cit.*, P.87.

<sup>38</sup> E. Ramachandra Sastri, *Op.Cit.*, P.21.

<sup>39</sup> *Gazetteers of Bombay State, Dharwar District*, Vol. XXI, 1884, Bombay, P.64.

<sup>40</sup> See G.O. No.1433, P.W.L.D., 31.3.1928, P.2. APSA.



Poor Living Conditions

Apart **from** the subsidiary industries the main source **of** livelihood for the settlers was agriculture. 1066 acres of land was distributed to the settlers in the beginning. They were provided with bullocks. Rope **making**, basket making and mat weaving was done by other settlers for whom material was available. Marketing facilities were also provided for them. About 173 acres of land was cultivated during the year 1920.<sup>41</sup> Horse gram and **cholum** were mainly cultivated and others included ragi, chillies and vegetables. Necessary agricultural implements were provided.<sup>42</sup> Chaff cutter was provided. Males and females were employed on monthly wages. Rs. 8 for men and Rs. 6 for women were given for looking after cattle and for watching fields.<sup>43</sup>

They used to undertake several kinds of work and by that they maintained their life happily. The tamarind crop gave them encouragement to get more money. While doing hard work the settlers showed an inclination to take up agriculture in a big way. A vast improvement was effected during this year and more land came under cultivation.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> The year 1920 has been a more successful one in all respects. The settlers were more cheerful to take up agriculture. The health was fair notwithstanding the bad season. More land cleared and more cultivation was done. See *Home Department*, G.O.No.2661, dt.25.10.1920, P.4. NAI.

<sup>42</sup> See *Home Department*, G.O. No.2661, dt.25.10.1924, P.2. NAI.

<sup>43</sup> See *Home Department*, G.O. No.2661, dt.25.10.1920, P.1. NAI.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, PP.4-5.

Implements were provided for repairs, people were given seeds for their crops, fodder was supplied to the cattle of **the** settlers. Cow boys were employed. **Maistries** were appointed to instruct them about the value of land and the knowledge of **the** production of various crops.<sup>45</sup> The land cultivated by settlers **was** different from government lands. The government used to extract work from the settlers, but the produce was stored by the government for **its** own administration.<sup>46</sup> The whole process was supervised by the **maistry**. The total area of land cleared in the year 1927 was 210 acres of dry land belonging to the government directly. 10 acres of wet and 100 acres of dry land of settlers was brought under cultivation. The settlers paid a rupee per an acre for the lands which they cultivated for themselves. That year due to the unfavourable monsoon the yield was not upto their expectation.<sup>47</sup>

The settlers earned money from various heads of the public works department such as 1. construction work 2. forest contract work 3. cultivation 4. spinning 5. weaving 6. petty shops 7.

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<sup>45</sup> See **P.W.L.D.**, G.O. No.2425, dt.12.11.1935, P.1. APSA. The agricultural maistries were given **Rs.18** as salary per month.

<sup>46</sup> The government constructed a granary at Siddhapuram settlement during the year 1927 at a cost of Rs. 2,300. The purpose of the granary is two fold. 1. To store food grains, and 2. To store agricultural products until a favourable price was obtained, see **P.W.L.D.**, G.O. No.137, dt.19.1.1927, P.3. APSA.

<sup>47</sup> Due to unavoidable reasons **like** lack of sufficient water and bad season there was a great damage done to the agriculture in the settlement during the year 1927. The settlers got money from the sale of dried and fallen wood in the settlement area. See **P.V.L.D.**, G.O. No.1719, dt.9.8.1927, P.6. APSA.

clearance of jungles and 8. sale of cattle **etc.**<sup>48</sup> The average monthly earnings per family from 1.4.1926 to 12.12.1926 were Rs. 11. The increase in harvests further added materially to their income figures.<sup>49</sup>

The settlers were allowed to take water from the tank. The settlement land was not included in the regular ayacut of the tank. The tank had never received full supply of water. There was small extent of wet cultivation in the settlement. Government spent considerable amount in leveling the land and **making it fit** for wet cultivation.<sup>50</sup> The position of tank is not changed even now. The inhabitants of the settlement are feeling unhappy about the negligence of government to make it fit for further cultivation. They also say that 20 villages of the surrounding areas depended upon this tank.

Agricultural loans were granted to the settlers by the labour commissioner, Mr. Moir. The loans were used for purchase of cattle and carts. Installments were regularly paid.<sup>51</sup> Mr. Tyler, another labour commissioner, appointed a head man on a pay Rs. 8 per month to perform duties analogous to the village headman. The settlers were appointed as Talayaris on Rs. 6 per

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See **P.W.L.D.**, G.O. No.2543, 5th September 1929; Also see **P.W.L.D.**, G.O. No.137, dt.19.1.1927 . **P.4.APSA.**

49 See **P.W.L.D.**, G.O. No.137, dt.19.1.1927, **P.4.** APSA.

50 See **P.W.L.D.**, G.O. No.137, dt. 19.1.1927, **P.5.** APSA.

51 See **P.W.L.D.**, G.O. No.137, dt. 19.1.1927, **P.3.** APSA.

month to see the welfare of the settlement.<sup>52</sup>

A survey was conducted by the revenue department to know the exactness of the land of each settler. The government, after the assessment of the land, was to sanction permanent **pattas**.<sup>53</sup> The settlers were provided capital in the form of bulls and carts to make them self sufficient. This was to bring them to the main stream of life. In course of time these criminals transformed themselves into ryots. Traces of healthy signs of development of village life were seen. The land under cultivation was virgin soil and yield was expected to be good. Temporary pattas or 'D' form pattas were granted for a period of 5 years to the settled settlers. After 5 years, on satisfactory behaviour, permanent pattas were supposed to be provided.<sup>54</sup>

During the year 1930 they had cultivated 200 acres of land of which 40 acres was wet. They had a fairly good crop. They were more and more interested in cultivation. The second crop could not be raised for want of water in the tank. Agriculture

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<sup>52</sup> See **P.W.L.D.**, G.O. No.1843, dt.25.8.1927, P.1. APSA. Thus the gradual transfer of power passed on from the police department to the settlers.

<sup>53</sup> See **P.W.L.D.**, G.O. No.137, dt.19.19.1927, P.6. APSA.

<sup>54</sup> There was a great demand from outsiders for the settlement land which is a sign of its value. To develop the minds of the settlers with an idea that they are ryots and not criminals the manager, 1. removed a few **families'** names from the registers who had done good. 2. a headman was appointed to perform the duties of those of the ordinary village headman 3. two talayaris were appointed to control the community and, 4. temporary pattas were given for 5 years. See **P.W.L.D.** G.O. No.137, dt.19.1.1927, P.7. APSA.

supplied labour to many of the settlers and some of the neighbouring villagers had paid attention to it. Another receipt **which** goes under agriculture is the sale of fuel.<sup>55</sup>

The margin of profit in the case of agriculture was little **and** less in the case of inexperienced cultivators like the settlers. They found it difficult to make both ends meet after paying the heavy rates of land revenue and water **rates**.<sup>56</sup> The assessment of the land revenue was cheaper than the other land. The government wanted to make Siddhapuram settlement purely an agricultural settlement. The Donga Waddars were slowly losing interest in cultivation and they were in a mood to revert back to the old life.

The '**black quarter**' broke out in July 1934 and timely inoculations carried on by the veterinary department prevented deaths of the cattle. The government supplied Ongole breeding bulls in 1932 to the settlers to improve the livestock. They were also provided more cows. Cows were given as gifts to the settlers who showed interest in agriculture. It was an incentive to other settlers to evince similar interest in agriculture. **Cholum** was the staple food of the settlers and it was grown on greater extent.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> See **P.W.L.D.**, G.O. No.2190, dt.28.7.1930, P.4. APSA.

<sup>56</sup> See **P.W.L.D.**, G.O. No.2190, dt.28.7.1930, P.7. APSA.

<sup>57</sup> See **P.W.L.D.**, G.O. No.2671, dt. 6.12.1934, P.4. APSA.



The commissioner of labour maintained a government farm in Siddhapuram settlement. As the bulk of the settlers were highly ignorant of farm practices two farm servants in addition to the agricultural maistry were appointed at the cost of Rs. 7 per month.<sup>58</sup> The government farm provided labour work to the settlers who had no cultivation of their own land also to others when they did not have work on their fields.<sup>59</sup>

The reserve forest department had been complaining of the behaviour of the settlers. The district forest officer devised means for the prevention and the prompt booking of such offences.<sup>60</sup> Sometimes they used to go into reserved forests, stole and smuggled some timber and sell it in Krishnapuram. The present condition of the settlement is that the officials of the forest department harass them. They apprehend the people who go to hillside in search of work and force them to give names of others also belonging to the settlement. Afterwards, they issue warrants for their arrest. Unless they yield to their monthly demands they will be jailed.<sup>61</sup>

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See P.W.L.D. , G.O. No.2194, dt.4.9.1928, P.4. APSA.

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The manager of Siddhapuram paid wages to coolies working in the government farm at the rate of annas 6 per adult males, 3 3/4 annas per adult women and 4 1/2 annas for youths between the ages of 16 and 21 per day. On account of economic depression and the rise in prices of food stuffs, the coolies above the age of 12 demanded 8 annas since the neighbouring villages were paying the same rate. See P.W.L.D. , G.O. No.2671, dt.6.12.1934, P.5. APSA.

<sup>60</sup> See P.W.L.D. , G.O. No.2671, dt.6.12.1934, P.10. APSA.

<sup>61</sup> Interview with, Peetla Sathenna an ex-criminal Siddhapuram settlement, dt.24.11.94.

In Siddhapuram settlement an agricultural advance was sanctioned in the year 1932-33. In the first year of loan, they had to work on the land which they had cleared and get enough money to maintain themselves. In the second year, they could not save much. In the third year, crops were a failure for want of rains. Hence the manager recommended for three more years to repay the amount.<sup>62</sup>

Wet and dry lands were cultivated on behalf of the government partly to teach the settlers proper method of agriculture and partly to provide a certain amount of labour for them. In connection with the cultivation and for instruction of the settlers, two agricultural maistries, one on Rs. 18 per month and, the other on Rs. 17 per month, were employed. A bonus annually to the maistries upto a limit of Rs. 100 per annum were given to the head maistry and the assistant maistry. During the year 1942 the total land brought under cultivation was, 1,538 acres.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> See P.W.L.D., G.O. No.1782, 9th August 1935, P.1. APSA.

<sup>63</sup> The officers of the agricultural department visited the settlement frequently. Materials were supplied to the settlers. The efforts of the persons like maistries, non-technical persons were very effective towards the improvement of agriculture. The cultivation of the farm was left in the hands of maistries. They were allotted multifarious duties in addition to the cultivation of the fields. To serve as a model to the settlers and to teach techniques to them, a trained person in the category of a demonstration maistry was appointed. He supervised the cultivation operations of the farm. This maistry worked under the guidance of the agricultural director at Atmakur. See Home Department, G.O. No.1217, dt.6.3.1939, P.3. NAI.

<sup>64</sup> See Home Department, G.O. NO.568, dt.23.2.1944, P.5. NAI.

The adult settlers in the **settlement** were allotted lands of one acre wet and five acres dry each for cultivation. The lands were reclaimed and kept in reserve for future **entrants. i.e.** 1. those who were released from jails and sent to the settlement 2. transferred from other settlements and, 3. settler youths who attained **majority.**<sup>65</sup>

It was during the year 1944, 1538 acres of land were brought under cultivation. **Dalwa** paddy and ground nut yielded good results. The sinking of a few wells enabled them to save their paddy fields.<sup>66</sup> Tobacco seedlings were grown during the year 1948-49 and a profit of Rs. 6,000 they got from its sale.

During the year 1949, the total extent of land cultivable was 2,150.45 acres and, out of this, only 429 acres of wet and 158 acres of dry land were under cultivation. But the settlers lost their interest in cultivation as they were only tillers of

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the soil, and not the real owners. On account of frequent transfers of the managers, there had been considerable dislocation of work. Loan applications for purchase of bulls **etc.**, left undisposed for months together. The settlers usually go deep into the forest and used to steal timber and other forest **produce.**

<sup>65</sup> See Home Department, G.O. NO.2113, dt.13.7.1944, P.1. NAI.

<sup>66</sup> See Home Department, G.O.NO.568, dt.23.2.1944, P.1. NAI.

<sup>67</sup> See Administration Report on **Kallar Reclamation, Korava reclamation, Habitual offenders Settlements, Yanadi and Sugali Reclamations for the year 1948-49**, Madras 1950, P.33. NMML.

<sup>68</sup> See P.W.L.D., G.O.No.1053, dt.12.5.1927, APSA

The neighbouring villagers whose **lands** were situated at a lower level than those of the settlers, **managed** to utilize **most** of the available water. The present condition of the settlement is, that in order to encroach on their lands, government officials are colluding with land grabbers and encourage goondas to threaten them. Their lands are being forcibly occupied by these people.<sup>69</sup> Another menace was the damage of crops by wild animals. During the year 1951, the government reserved 1,135,40 acres of land in **Siddhapuram**. The remaining lands distributed to political sufferers, landless poor and ex-service men. Conditional pattas were issued by revenue department to take steps to improve the land.<sup>70</sup>

The tank was broken in 1947 and later repaired in order to supply sufficient water for the settlers. The revenue collection was discontinued in other settlements where as it was not done in Siddhapuram. This change of life from crime to cultivation brought some of the settlers to a reformed life.

During the summer, the settlers faced a hard life. There was no sufficient water for drinking purpose even.<sup>71</sup> During the year 1964, out of an extent of 1251.35 acres available land, an extent of 1,066.04 acres was distributed among the colonists,

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<sup>69</sup> Temporary pattas were issued with a promise to change them as permanent pattas after 5 years. This assurance was given on the ground of their good behaviour.

<sup>70</sup> See *Madras State Administration Report for the year 1950-51*, Part I, Madras 1954, P.42.

<sup>71</sup> See *P.W.L.D.*, G.O.No.3259, dt.18.11.1930, P.1.APSA.

96.94 acres to artisans and 62.75 acres were given to the model agricultural farm run by the agricultural department. An extent of 25.62 acres was vacant. The agricultural farms were managed by the manager of the colony, transferred to the agricultural department for running as state seed farms.<sup>72</sup> Thus, due to lack of sufficient rain fall, cultivation is badly affected. The bore wells and wells constructed in **Siddhapuram** settlement are not properly working.

Till January 1942, Donga Waddars maintained themselves by doing **coolli** work such as, 1. road repairs 2. improvements to schools and **managers'** quarters 3. tank revetment 4. repairs to the police lines. The average earning of a male was annas 3 per day (9 **paise**) and, a female annas 1 1/2 per day (7 paise).<sup>73</sup> They had sufficient scope to earn a living by coolli work. 1. cultivation of their own lands and also of the ryots. 2. coolli work such as ploughing and weeding. 3. reploughing of land after harvest, clearing of lands over grown with nutt (**Nuttu** in Telugu **means** bent grass). 4. cutting fuel and selling it in head loads. 5. cutting grass and selling it as fodder. 6. cutting *tangedu* wood and removing its bark. 7 coolli work and repairs of roads etc.<sup>74</sup>

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See *Andhra Pradesh State Administration report 1961-62 Vol.1, Hyderabad 1963, P.111.*

73 See *Home Department, G.O.No.1227, dt.24.3.1942, P.10. NAI.*

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**Nattu** in Telugu means Bent grass. *Tangedu* leaf **is** Much found **in** plains and sterile tracts. Tooth-brushes are made from the branches. It is used exclusively for tanning purposes. See CD. Maclean (ed.), *Glossary of the Madras Presidency*, New Delhi, 1982, **P.932.** See *P.W.L.D., G.O.No.2543*, 5th September

During the year 1954, about 1,300 settlers were **employed** during the tobacco season. The **Siddhapuram** tank is one of the biggest tanks in Kurnool district with a tank-bed of 504.06 **acres.** It has abundant facilities for fishing. During March and April months, they were expected to make use of their rights in fishing in Siddhapuram tank. Fishing in the tank has been a supplementary occupation for the settlers in the past several

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years. It goes a long way to solve their food **problem.** Though they are involved in social forestry programme, they are not being benefited by the same. No productive investment is so far done by them. Let the banks strike off the previous loans and extend its help for new loans, then they start some new programmes like poultry making and dairy farming etc.

Donga **Waddars** are employed by the public works department on the Siddhapuram tank project. The number of Donga Waddars at Siddhapuram settlement in Kurnool district on the 31st December 1914 was 112 consisting of 30 men, 40 women and 42 children. They are employed on Siddhapuram irrigation project.<sup>76</sup>

There was distress among them. Their condition became worse. Mr. Turner of the Krishna cement works had kindly

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1929, P.1. APSA.

<sup>75</sup> See Home Department, G.O.No.2063, dt.7.6.1952, P.1. NAI.

<sup>76</sup> The Donga Waddars of Siddhapuram employed on the Siddhapuram project in Kurnool district continued with 57 males, 57 females and 71 children on the last day of the year 1916.

consented to provide work for some **settlers** in the lime stone quarries at Kaza. Thus 10 families were sent to Kaza.<sup>77</sup>

During the year 1960, the **Siddhapuram** colony's advisory committee resolved to provide a match factory on cottage industries scale in the colony to provide subsidiary occupation.<sup>78</sup>

The settlers had a large airy wool shed with 12 looms and other accessories. The looms were all locally made under the supervision of the acting inspector and turned out very fair blankets. The settlers made 182 **comblies** during the year 1920. They had the Salvation Army loom. One of the settlers was their weaving maistry. He got Rs. 12/8 a month and for extra work he was paid more. On the daily wages, the settlers were given 5 annas (15 paise) for males and 3 annas (9 paise) for women. On

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<sup>77</sup> The settlers were **employed** in the reclamation work. A maintenance allowance of Rs. 7 per mensem was granted to each settler. It was treated as a famine relief work to supply labour to the settlers to enable them to eke out their livelihood for 6 months when no other employment was available. The manager stated that, even if the government undertakes the cultivation of reclaimed lands, the yield was low in the first year. The amount derived from the crop was inadequate to maintain the settlers. The manager reported to the Commissioner of Labour the following information.

1. Whether the settlers and their families transferred to Kaza?
2. Can the settlers be able to support themselves from the reclaimed lands after six months.
3. How the families were maintaining.
4. Any wages paid to them.
5. What work were they employed in.
6. Their present condition due to the failure of rains.
7. What particular advantage there was in the reclamation of lands installed for the settlers concentration.

See *Home Department*, **G.O.No.1227, dt.24.3.1942, P.10.** NAI.

<sup>78</sup>

See *Andhra Pradesh state administration report for the year 1960-61, Vol. I, Hyderabad, 1961, P.86.*

piece work they earn from 5 to 9 annas for males and 3 to 5 **annas** for females a day.<sup>79</sup>

The weaving shed was blown off in June 1927. A sum of **Rs. 4,800** was sanctioned for the construction of a pucca building.<sup>80</sup> There was steady demand for the better class *cumblies* costing Rs. 4 to 5. Difficulty was experienced in finding a market for the cheaper *cumblies* costing between Rs. 2 and **Rs. 3**. The weaving industry was vital to the success of the settlement during the year 1921. There was no demand for the *cumblies* produced here. *Cumblies* produced elsewhere in the district were cheaper. Mill made ones from Bangalore and other places were cheaper and finer too. The weaving shed was burnt during the year 1930.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> See Home Department, G.O.No. 2661. dt. 26.10.1920, P.2. Also see Note showing the Progress made in the Settlement of Criminal Tribes in the Madras presidency upto January 1925, Madras 1926, PP. 29.-30. A.P.State Gazetteers office, Hyderabad.

<sup>80</sup> There was no cotton industry during the year 1927. The woolen industry did not make much loss owing to want of weaving shed. Only 155 *cumblies* were manufactured during the year 1927. An amount of Rs. 5588-80 was credited into the treasury. The settlers got money from the sale of dried and fallen wood in the settlement area. Due to the problems, the settlement was removed to a healthier site 1 1/2 miles distant from the old site. See P.W.L.D., G.O.No. 1719, dt. 9.8.1927, P.3. APSA. The bad season spoiled the year's record. The woolen and cotton industries were improved by construction of suitable buildings. see P.W.L.D., G.O. No.1719, dt.9.8.1927, P.1. APSA.

<sup>81</sup> The weaving business received heavy loss during the year 1930. The *cumblies* were well prepared. It was a valuable alternative livelihood for the settlers particularly in a bad season. See P.W.L.D., G.O. No.2190, dt.28.7.1930, P.5. APSA.



Adi Andhras of Pedda Anantapuram and Atmakur were permitted to stay in the settlement during the year 1943. The manager stated these families were good weavers and agriculturists. They helped the settlers in teaching them weaving and in executing war supplies of Gauze cloth.<sup>82</sup> The weaving of gauze cloth for some of the government hospitals was also undertaken and their demands complied with. The manager reported that it was very difficult to run the industry at a profit or even on self supporting lines for the following reasons.

1. Because of unfavourable fluctuations in the yarn market, e.g., the price of yarn purchased in March 1949 was much higher than 1950 and as 15% of the price of the yarn and 10% of the weaving charges were to be added to the cost price of the woven cloth. The price of the cloth was not comparable to the local market rates.
2. The cloth of finger counts was available in the market at a cheaper rate. There was difficulty in finding a market for the coarse cloth, manufactured in the settlement.
3. There was no scope for unlimited expenditure or production to balance possible losses etc. The weavers could not weave finger counts.
4. The settlers were not evincing much interest in the industry because of low paid wages.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> See P.W.L.D., G.O.No.1425, dt.5.5.1944, P.1. APSA.

<sup>83</sup> Weaving was the only organized industry till 31st October 1949. The weavers got an average of Rs. 1 per day. An amount of Rs. 725-1-0 was paid as wages. 68 upper clothes, 57 dhotis, 555 3/4 yards of plain cloth, 3,911 yards of gauze cloth was manufactured. Rs. 2,200-8-3 was spent on others. The profit

Though weaving industry was started to provide supplementary income to settlers, it failed because there was **no proper interest** evinced by **them**. As a result this was **closed on 31.10.1949**.

Sericulture programme was developed in the settlement but it also failed. The men at Siddhapuram drew a hill allowance at the rate of 3/10 th of their pay<sup>84</sup> A co-operative society was formed in the settlement during the year 1925. Through the co-operative society all loans were advanced. It was felt pre-mature to attempt to form a co-operative society. The settlers had ploughing bulls, goats, cows and **she-buffaloes**. The co-operative society was organized by the settlers themselves and it was supervised by the manager. The savings of the settlers increased. The co-operative society was started to enable the settlers to obtain loans from the government. The necessary money was given by the government. It was to be paid back without interest in installments. The society had to be worked by the manager. Necessary registers were maintained in his office.<sup>85</sup>

The managers of the settlement reposed confidence in the **settlers** and made them understand that they were ryots and not

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**was** 128-5-7. The coarse cloth did not find ready market.

<sup>84</sup> See *Home Judicial Department*, G.O. **No.1860**, 5th September 1917, P.4. TNA.

<sup>85</sup> *P.W.L.D.*, G.O. **No.2190**, dt.28.7.1930, P.2-3. APSA.

**criminals.** The managers treated them as an independent village community. They removed the names of the settlers who proved to be good from the register. The labour commissioner, **Mr. Moir**, stated, "**The** success of this settlement was due to the efficient and tactful management of Mr. K. **Subramania** Ayyar, the then inspector General of police. He was associated with the

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settlement since its inception in **1913**". It was his main aim to make the settlement a full fledged village. He took real interest and invited Donga Waddars from the neighbouring villages to reap the benefits of settled life. Charges of various types involving immorality, loss of articles, evidence, extraction of statements were dealt by the Manager of the settlement. The overall supervision was exercised by the labour commissioner.

The relations between the police and the managers were not satisfactory. The main reason was the functional variation. The police tried to control crime when the manager wanted to maintain friendly relations with the settlers. But the settlers misused this friendly attitude of the manager for doing wrong things. Hence the whole authority came to the police. This created unnecessary tension to the manager of the settlement. Further it was decided to keep the Deputy Tahsildar or Co-operative Sub-deputy Registrar as the in charge of the settlement.<sup>87</sup>

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He maintained a through control over the settlers. The settlers looked upon him as their friend, guide and philosopher. For his commendable zeal and serious work, he was awarded the distinction of '**Rao Saheb**' during the year 1927. See **P.W.L.D.**, G.O. No.1719, dt.9.8.1927, PP.5-6. APSA.

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See *Administration Report on Habitual offenders' Settlements for 1949-50*, Madras, 1950. **P.19.**



**A Group of Settlers from Siddhapuram**

## Social Life

Siddhapurain consists of two types of families, **namely**, nuclear and **extended** families. There may be one or two single membered families also. In course of time, they will get the nuclear status. The settlers divided under five main groups viz., 1 to 15, 15 to 30, 31 to **45**, 46 to 50 and 51 above. Altogether there are three hundred families living. We have interviewed the inmates of each and every hut and gathered the information about the present state of affairs. The 300 families comprise of 2000 people. On an average, each family has 3 to 5 acres of land. Some families have more and some have not even one acre of land. Some settlers do not have permanent huts. Their average monthly incomes on all sources may be between Rs. 300 - 500.<sup>88</sup>

While doing the construction work, they came in close contact with ordinary waddars and hence the possibility of inter marriages between them. The general marriage ceremony among the waddars is performed in two stages. 1. *Okkaku bettedi* (**tambulam bettedi**) i.e *betrothal* and 2. *pendli* (marriage). This takes place in the presence of elders. Ganga Raju (the Village head) plays an important role in conducting marriage ceremonies.<sup>89</sup>

When the parents of the boy or a girl find a suitable match for their son or daughter, they exchange betel leaves, **betelnuts**,

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Interview with **K.R. Somanna**, an ex-criminal, Siddhapurain Settlement, 24,11,1994.

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Chandrasekhar **Bhat**, *Ethnicity and Mobility*, New Delhi, **P.103**.

**turmeric** and fruits to the girl's house accompanied by Ganga Raju

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and a few elder members. The members of the boy and girl sit in two separate rows facing each other and bargain their demands. After receiving the betelnuts in the presence of village headman, the brahmin fixes the auspicious day for marriage. F.S. **Mullaly writes**, Brahmins exercise spiritual jurisdiction over these people and are consulted in matters connected with marriage and other ceremonies. The marriage ceremony is not a tedious one. It consists of the bride and bridegroom walking three times round a stake placed for the purpose in the ground.<sup>91</sup>

The marriage involves a number of rituals and social ceremonies spread over a period of two days. The important rituals in a marriage are, the *Nalugu*, **Gangapuja**, *Dare*, *Tali*, *Ol i* and **Muyee**. The *Nalugu* ceremony is performed by five or seven elder women of their community. The maternal uncle presents new clothes to the bride and the bridegroom. The bridegroom receives two white dhotis and a shawl and the bride a white saree and a blouse.<sup>92</sup>

This ceremony is followed by a procession to the village temple where the bride groom performs puja. After the visit to the temple, food is served at the bride groom's house. The tali tying is performed accordingly as it is arranged earlier. This ritual is performed by the bride's father who takes rice in

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<sup>91</sup> See Syed Siraj Ul Hassan, *Op.Cit.*, P.649  
F.S. Mullaly, *Op.Cit.*, P.81.

<sup>92</sup>

G.W., Gayer, *Op.Cit.*, P.48.

both hands and drops it over the head of the bridegroom and the bride. This is followed by tying the *tali* or *mangala sutra*. The maternal uncle of the bride plays a dominant role in this function. He presents *mettelu* a pair of copper or silver toe-rings. The *oli* (bride-price) and *muyee* (gift-giving) ceremonies are generally performed after the feast. Ganga Raju begins the *oli* ceremony. Its cost is Rs. 8. The bridegroom gives Rs. 20 to Ganga Raju as a payment to the community God.<sup>93</sup>

It was observed that these **Waddars** are slowly bringing changes in the institution of marriage. This is due to the Sanskritization process. The impact of higher castes is felt on these people. On one hand *oli* system is continued, on the other, the educated Donga waddar bridegrooms are demanding dowry.<sup>94</sup> Some marriages are taking place in the churches due to the influence of Christianity. Pastor will perform the ceremony.

Widow marriage exists by mutual agreement between the two spouses to live as husband and wife with the approval of the *kula panchayat*. No ritual significance is attached to such a marriage. The bridegroom and his party visit the bride's house with saree, ornaments and flowers.<sup>95</sup> The headman performs the ritual.

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See V. Lalitha , *Op.Cit.*, P.59.

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Their marriages are arranged by the *Kulapanchayat*. Though they are particular in observing their *Gotrams* in their marriages, slowly the intercaste marriages are taking place now a days.

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V.Lalitha, *Op.Cit.*, P.59.

When these Donga **waddars** were first settled in **Siddhapuram**, they had no marriage **ceremony**. The practice of the tribe was that those members who happened to be out of Jail should assort themselves as man and women locked up in intimate relationship with each other- As some come out of Jail and others went in, new alliances were contracted. There was no such thing as stable marriage relationship. This was changed largely through the influence of the Managers. The marriage ceremony and regular relationship are the order of the day with the **settlers**.<sup>96</sup>

Divorce and remarriages were common among Donga waddars. Thurston reports polygamy and divorce are freely allowed to men. Women who had seven husbands are much respected and their blessings on the bridal pair is greatly praised. Divorce is possible at any time but Rs. 16 has to be paid to the bride's parents. The children by the marriage are divided between father and mother as decided by the **Kulapanchayat**. Divorces are of very infrequent occurrences. **Infant** marriages are allowed but seldom practiced.<sup>97</sup>

Festivals, ceremonies and superstitions

Birth ceremony is another happy occasion among the Donga Waddars. Though it is observed among all the castes, the practice

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<sup>96</sup> See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.137**, dt. 19.1.1927, **P.6**. APSA. Also see *Home Department*, **G.O.No.6170**, dt. 22.12.1938, **P.3**. NAI.

<sup>97</sup> See Mohammed Abdul Ghani, *Op.Cit.*, **P.126**.



varies from caste to caste. It is customary for a waddar women to give birth to her first and second child at her natal home under the care of her mother. She is sent to her natal home during the fifth or seventh month of her pregnancy. The Donga waddars believe that the mother-daughter relationship is the most tender and affectionate one and a pregnant daughter always looks forward to her mother's care during the last stages of her pregnancy like other caste women. The relationship of a daughter-in-law to her mother-in-law is one of great respect. The Donga waddars feel that a daughter is unwelcome to the family. They pray for son, who perpetuates the family prestige. He toils hard and protect the family from economic difficulties. A girl after marriage becomes the member of other family that is the reason why she is considered to be a loss to the family.

The birth of a child causes pollution to the mother, child and all the other members of her conjugal household. The mother and the child are given a bath on the third, fifth and seventh days. On the 9th day, turmeric paste is applied on the mother before she is given a bath to remove her impurity. No sacred offerings are made. On the 9th day the house is cleaned and purified by sprinkling water mixed with cow dung.<sup>98</sup> The members of the family light a wall-lamp to worship the household deities. They prepare sweet pongal and offer coconut to the household deities. Among Mannu waddars, the naming of the child is

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<sup>98</sup> See V.Lalitha, *The Making of Criminal Tribes... Op.Cit.*, P.60.

performed on the 11th day. The presentation of hair to the deity is another important ceremony found among them. The temples that the Donga Vaddars generally visit are Venkateswara of Tirupati, Penchala Narasimha Swami temple of Penchalakona, Malakonda Swami temple of Pamuru, Veera Brahma Matham of Cuddapah, Mallamkonda Swami temple, Peddamma temple of Nellore etc.<sup>100</sup>

When the death occurs, they keep the body with its head resting towards south.<sup>101</sup> Valuables are removed from the dead person. The eldest son of the father or the youngest one of the dead burns incense at the feet of the corpse. Rich people erect grave stones and monuments and the others put stones on the grave. The Donga waddars believe that the spirit of the dead visits the grave on the third day. The food is kept on a leaf and the people move to a distance so that a crow can come and touch it. The Donga waddars observe ritual pollution caused by death for ten days and participate in the purificatory rituals on the eleventh day. If a death occurs on a Tuesday or Friday, they believe that the spirit of the dead normally remains malevolent for at least three months.

The Donga waddars are more superstitious and put great **faith** in omens. Some of their bad omens are 1. any member sneezing when they are about to start. 2. the meeting of two sudras on their way. 3. a cat crossing their path and 4. the howling of a dog. If any of the above happens, they will put off their expedition. Some of their good omens are 1. the meeting of one sudra 2. the neighing of a horse 3. the braying of an ass and 4. the flight of a swallow across their **path**.<sup>102</sup>

The Donga Waddars of Siddhapuram perform their religious functions just like the Donga Waddars of Anantapur and Cuddapah districts. But they were not in any way related to either of them by blood relationship.<sup>103</sup> The settlers were accustomed to celebrate Hindu festivals and attend the temple in the settlement for worship and prayers. General meetings were held now and then and moral instructions were given to the settlers by the Managers and police officers. Banjaras who lived there used to enjoy the evenings by singing and dancing. Apart from Donga waddars, other caste people living in the settlement were Donga Dasaris, Dalits, Muslims, Kapus, Chenchus, Reddis, **Yerukulas**, **Sugalis** and converted Christians. The Christians who were converted, originally belonged to the backward communities. Among the Donga waddars, there used to be converted Christians who attended the

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<sup>102</sup> See Mohammad Abdul Ghani, *Op.Cit.*, P.126.

<sup>103</sup> See *Home Judicial Department*, G.O.No.1279, 10th June 1915, P.4. TNA.

churches and performed Christinas and January 1st like other Christians.<sup>104</sup>

#### Education

For the education of the Donga Waddar children, a school was constructed during the year 1915. 26 boys and 26 girls were receiving instruction during the year 1916. Education was imparted in the 3 R's and no attempt had been made to give them industrial training. The attendance was fairly regular. The school was run by 2 masters and 1 mistress who were paid Rs. 15 and Rs. 12 and Rs. 10 respectively.<sup>105</sup> Educational department was inspecting the school now and then.

The average attendance during the year 1924 was 76.<sup>106</sup> The boys were made to learn agricultural work in the fields during the season. Carpentry, weaving tapes, masonry and brick-making work was taught. The girls were taught sewing. They had the

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Some of the converted Christians among the Donga waddars families came from Kapparallatippa settlement. The population of Hindus are more in number. 200 families of Hindus are converted to Christianity. This is because they are transferred from other settlements, managed by Christian missionaries. They are always at cross with the Muslims who are still treating these settlers as criminals. See *P.W. L.D.*, G.O.No.2671, dt.6.12.1934, P.6. APSA.

105 The teachers were supplied clothing, rations and all sorts of contingency grants. A special pay, unhealthy locality allowance, of Rs. 5 per month was sanctioned to the assistant teachers in **Siddhapuram** elementary school. The higher elementary grade teachers were placed in the scale of Rs. 27 1/2 -1-1 1/2 -50 scale from 1.4.1932. Rs. 10 were paid as unhealthy locality allowance from 1.4.1932. See *P.W.L.D.*, G.O. No.1675, dt.9.8.1932, PP.1-2. APSA.

106 Of the 76 children at the settlement 23 boys and 17 girls attended the school. The average attendance was 19.5 for the whole year 1924. See *Note shoving the Progress made in the Criminal Tribe Settlements in Madras Presidency upto January 1926*, Madras 1927, P. 30.A.P.State Gazetteers office, Hyderabad.

proficiency in making their own jackets. Taylor, the then labour commissioner, said:

"The children look well-cared<sup>107</sup> for and show satisfactory knowledge of their subjects".

The settlement was excellent in every way. Most of the boys used to read and write Telugu well. They were smart, clean and well drilled.

The following table shows the class-wise distribution of children during the year 1927.<sup>108</sup>

TABLE 1.  
The Strength of **Siddhapuram** School, 1927

Standard	Boys	Girls	Total	
Infant	8	7	15	
1st class	2	2	4	
2nd class	—	3	3	
3rd class	3	2	5	
4th class		5	—	5
5th class	4	—		4

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See *P.W.L.D.*, G.O. No.137, dt.19.1.1927, P.5. APSA. The children are kept away from their parents. The younger children are sent home at night. Others sleep in the school building. Also see *P.W.L.D.*, G.O. No.1719, dt.9.8.1927, P.2. APSA.

108

The strength of the school during the year 1930 was as follows

Standard	Boys	Girls	Total
I	24	26	50
II	2	1	3
III	2	2	4
IV		3	3
V		5	5
Total	36	29	65

See Home *Department*, G.O. No.3557, dt.6.9.1937, pp.1-3. NAI.

The scout troop of boys was started in 1923. The boy **scouts** paraded for the inspection of officers. The officers were pleased with their smart turnout. The educated **Waddar** settlers **were** sent to **teachers'** training at Kurnool and were later appointed as teachers in the school. The school worked for 253 days **in** a year.<sup>109</sup>

The school mistress, the wife of the **compounder**, took care of the girls in the lower classes. Elementary school boys were given practical lessons in agriculture on the government farm. The school was regularly inspected by the deputy inspector of schools, the district educational officer and the sub-assistant inspectors.

Agricultural readers were taught and elder boys were given manual work on the government farm. Some were sent to weaving also. Some boys were trained as scouts. The best boys were presented with 8 goats as school prizes to promote industry and interest in education.<sup>110</sup>

The headmaster was a secondary grade trained teacher. He possessed good teaching ability and organizing capacity. English **was** introduced as an additional subject in the IV and V standards during the year 1937, as suggested by the collectors. The

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<sup>109</sup>

See *P.W.L.D.*, G.O. No.2190, dt.28.7.1930, P.7-13. APSA.

<sup>110</sup> *P.W.L.D.*, G.O. No.2671, dt.6.12.1934, P.5. APSA.

headmaster was the only person who was competent to handle that language.<sup>111</sup> We can draw comparisons between Siddhapuram children to those students of advanced localities in the district. The Waddera children were brought under excellent discipline. They were trained to become self reliant and useful members of society.

The old boys of the school were encouraged to form into a dramatic troupe and enacted four street dramas. It served them as a diversion and moral instruction. "The animal week" was celebrated and the settlers were taught how to show sympathy towards their animals. Leaflets were read and explained to them. The supply of mid-day meals to the school children commenced in Siddhapuram from 13.3.1937.<sup>112</sup>

Sometimes the settlement manager used the innocent settlers in scandals. Since the manager was the incharge of the school, tuition work was given to the grown - up girls. Elderly girls in the school used to visit delinquent's houses for preparing lessons and learnt Banjara songs. Brutal assaults were made on school girls. It was very sad to know that, "In a school, especially of criminal settlers, a strict standard of discipline was absolutely essential and any chastisement by the head master in the exercise and maintenance of such a discipline should not

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<sup>111</sup> See *Home Department*, G.O. No.6170, dt.22.12.1938, P.36. NAI.

<sup>112</sup> See *P.W.L.D.* , G.O. No.2671, dt.6.12.1934, P.6. APSA.

be criticized. Exercise of discipline must be **measured** with a different standard".<sup>113</sup>

The school was developed into a first grade elementary school during the year 1938. Pupils who completed 5th standard joined **in** higher elementary school.<sup>114</sup> The government sanctioned to open the sixth standard in the settlement school at Siddhapuram during 1947-48, and to convert one of the higher elementary grade **teachers'** post into a secondary grade post. The students who passed the sixth standard were sent to Velgode for further studies in the Telugu lower secondary school. The **settlers'** girls who passed the sixth standard were sent for training **in mid-wifery**.<sup>115</sup>

The students of elementary school and secondary grade school were too slow to understand lessons due to lack of proper training. The children in each classes were more in number. This was not an easy task for a teacher to coach up more than a reasonable number. The parents of the children did not appreciate the value of education. They constantly goaded to send the children to the school.

The strength of the school during the year 1948-49 was as follows.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> See Home Department, G.O. No.6170, dt.22.12.1938, P.3. NAI.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> See Home Department, G.O. NO.149, dt.11.1.1947, PP.1-2. NAI.

<sup>116</sup> The strength of the school was improved after the internment of Golla **Kuppam** Donga Dasaries. After passing v th standard, the children were sent to Kurnool for studies. See *Administration*



TABLE 2.

The Strength of **Siddhapuram** School during the Year 1948-49

Class	Average Attendance Strength 1948-49	
	Boys	Girls
1st standard	18	17
2nd Standard	10	6
3rd Standard	9	6
4th Standard	10	2
5th Standard	6	1
6th Standard	4	11
Total	57	43

At present, the location and condition of the school at **Siddhapuram** is in a deplorable condition. The **teacher**, an ex-service man of the british period is running the school. It is not planned properly, since there is no syllabus, or curricula. The environment is not conducive for the children to study. There are only two graduates in the settlement who are still unemployed.

#### Health and Hygiene

A medical officer was appointed on **Siddhapuram** tank project and all the sick settlers were treated by him. Malaria was common disease among the settlers in **Siddhapuram**. High temperature was responsible for the deaths, particularly old

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*Report on Kallar Reclamation, Korava Reclamation, Criminal Tribes Settlements, and Yanadi Reclamation for 1947-48, Madras, 1949, P.13.*

people and children. A large number of sellers suffered **from** venereal diseases. All the interior forest areas are **malaria-prone** areas even now.

A register had opened in the settlement to record the names of persons found **sick**, name of disease and other remarks. **The** sub-assistant surgeon of Atmakur used to visit the settlement monthly and got medicines from Atmakur hospital and handed over to the officer in charge of the settlement.<sup>117</sup> The sick had to be sent to Atmakur for better attention. A dispensary with a compoundry was opened in April 1929. The average daily attendance at the dispensary was 24. The common diseases treated in the settlement were bronchitis, rheumatic fever, malaria, **pitumonia**, dyspepsia, small pox, common cold, digestive disorders, ear and throat complaints, ulcers and skin diseases and a few cases of influenza. The cause for low birth rate was the loose character of both men and women. They change husbands frequently and suffer from syphilis and other venereal diseases. **Neo-salvation** injections were given for syphilis. For high **mortality** malaria was the chief cause.<sup>118</sup> All these factors indicate the sympathetic and sympathetic approach adopted by the British administrators and how they bestowed interest on the settler's health problems. Even the minutest problems were taken care off.

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<sup>117</sup> See *Home Department*, G.O. NO.2661, dt.25.10.1920, NAI. P.3. Since September 1926, the sub-assistant surgeon of Atmakur paid four visits monthly. See G.O. No.137, P.W.L.D., dt.19.1.1927, P. 4. APSA.

<sup>118</sup> See P.W.L.D., G.O. No. 2190, dt. 28 . 7 .1930. P. 6. APSA.

The number of deaths increased during the year 1927. A large number of people suffered from venereal diseases.<sup>119</sup> The district medical officer sent the settlers to the Guindy hospital for examination. Necessary steps were taken to eradicate the diseases. A weighing machine was purchased by the manager to enable the doctor to take the weight of the school children from time to time to watch their health. The manager encouraged small hand-cinema. Magic lanterns were purchased for the entertainment of the settlers. He could occasionally arrange for the cinema to visit the settlement.

It is an interesting factor that the manager of Siddhapuram settlement was instructed to keep a record<sup>120</sup> of all the settlers living in the settlement with a brief note of their history, associations, avocations, movements, conduct, behaviour with a view to help the police as well as the management to have a proper control and watch over them. The subdivisional officers of police used to watch the settlement periodically and inspect them annually. Police constables and head constables from the police outpost in the settlement used to go round in the nights regularly and check the settlers to find out whether they go out in the nights for committing crimes.<sup>121</sup>

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See *P.W.L.D.*, G.O. NO.137, dt.19.1.1927, P.4. APSA.

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*Ibid.* P.6. A mid-wife was appointed in Siddhapuram Settlement at the cost of Rs.25 per month. See *Home department*, G.O.No. 2113, dt.13.7.1944, PP.1-8. NAI. There was a steady increase in the number of deaths due to fever and small pox. It was prevented by timely vaccination. See *P.W. L.D.*, G.O. Nos.2190 APSA and 2671 of 1930 and 1934, PP.13 & 12.

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See *P.W.L.D.*, G.O. No.2671, dt.6.12.1934, P.2. APSA.

The 'health week' was celebrated every year in Siddhapuram settlement. The district medical officer and the commissioner of labour celebrated the health week from 20th October 1930 to 27th October 1930 . In connection with the celebration of the health week the manager proposed to award prizes as follows.

1. For cleanest house 1 st prize Rs. 6.
2. For cleanest house 2nd prize Rs. 4
3. For healthiest baby 1st prize Rs. 2
4. For healthiest baby 2nd prize Rs. 1.

Total Rs.13

These prizes were an incentive to the settlers to keep their huts and surroundings clean and to devote more attention to the health of their babies. The amount of prizes raised from year to year. Thus, during the year 1934, for the cleanest baby Rs. 3 and for the cleanest hut Rs. 9 were given as first prizes. 122

The condition of the village at present is really pathetic. The only hospital established in 1929 became disfunctional. Women die at the time of delivery. For medical help they have to rush to Atmakur. They pleaded for a hospital.

Until March 1937, it was a voluntary settlement. In 1937, the government declared the settlement as a regular criminal

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See P.W.L.D. , G.O.No.2970, dt.8.1.1934. APSA.

tribes **settlement.**<sup>123</sup> The **management** of the settlement was under **the** police department and the circle inspector of police used to manage it. Upto 1941, the administration of the settlement was under the control of the commissioner of labour. From **1943** onwards the administration was taken over by the DIG of **police.**<sup>124</sup> The administrative control of the settlement was transferred to the Harijan welfare department in June 1954. There after, in 1955, the management was handed over to the social welfare department. It was again, in 1965, handed over to the tribal welfare department. Again it was brought under the revenue department in the cadre of deputy Tahsildars. Finally, in 1976, it was declared as a free colony.

#### Criminality-Modus operandi

The Donga Waddars have never settled and are always nomads. The women are as criminal as men. They are clever at poultry and other petty thefts. They are very daring. They are adepts in the art of spying and of concealing and disposing of stolen property and also in collecting information useful to the males in the commission of crime. Women are most troublesome and they rescue the males from lawful custody. The children are equally clever at petty thefts.<sup>125</sup>

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123

See A. Aiyappan, *Op.Cit.*, P. 38.

--- See Home Department, G.O. No.1035, dt.15.3.1947, P.19. NAI.

125

Home Judicial Department, G.O.No. 1279, 10th June 1915, P.1. TNA.



**"Hero" of Yesterday**

In committing a highway robbery dacoity, they are always armed with stout sticks and use great violence in times of need. For breach of walls, the implement ordinarily used is the crowbar. It was used by them in their profession as stone-workers. Another implement used by them is called the **parkuchi**, a stick with a long iron ferrule. This is an ineffectual weapon and more ordinarily kept as a means of defence. While committing depredations, they are armed with daggers and battle axes. Some of them will carry baskets to contain the stolen property and others carry pieces of meat to be thrown to any troublesome dog.<sup>126</sup>

The Donga waddars get information of wealthy persons of a village by making friendship with the low caste people such as Malas, Madigas and Boyas. After acquiring sufficient information they move to a distant place for operation. Gangs are formed from six to seven members or sometimes more. These seven people discuss the plan of action. Some of them guard the lanes, while the more experienced and courageous under Ganga Raju rush to the house and sack it. Signals are exchanged by whistles and gestures.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> See M. Kennedy, *Op.Cit.*, P.172.

<sup>127</sup> The modus operandi of these settlers is that they go to the busy shops on the pretext of purchasing provisions. They engage the shop-keeper in bargaining to divert his attention. They steal goods or money when opportunity comes. If the shop keeper finds the loss and chase them, they conveniently thrust the box in the bags of others, whom they have already arranged and concealed themselves in order to throw the blame on others. The offences they generally commit are road thefts, highway

**They** make holes near bolts to open the doors. **They also do the same** in the walls big enough to allow **a person to pass through.** The breach is made at the back or side of the house **near the** foundations. One peculiarity of these breaches is **that their** edges are neat and straight as made by them. Where there has **been** one successful case, there are invariably several signs of unsuccessful attempts in the neighbourhood.<sup>128</sup>

The Donga waddars mutilate the person by cutting the nose, ear etc. of owners of property who gave chase to arrest them. In some cases they assaulted the police officers, carried off their carbines and ammunition and even killed them. Escapes from police lock-ups are very frequent. In order to escape from the custody they jump from the running trains. Various articles belonging to higher castes are thrown at or near the scene of the crime to mislead the police.<sup>129</sup>

After commission of crime they carry the property to the out skirts of the village. The cash is always retained and grain is handed over to the toddy shop-keeper for safe custody.<sup>130</sup> Jewels

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dacoities, house-breakings, bank robberies, forest thefts, animal thefts and pick-pocketing etc.

<sup>128</sup>

See F.S. Mullaly, *Op.Cit.*, P.80.

<sup>129</sup>

Women are not, as a rule, ill-treated and the **mangal-sutra**, the Hindu **married** woman's insignia and toe rings are never touched.

M. Kennedy, *Op.Cit.*, P.170.

<sup>130</sup>

F.S. Mullaly, *Op.Cit.*, P.81.



are disposed off to the receivers such as Komatis, Kapus, Gollas, **Kammas** and Ediga Baliyas and Reddis of the place. Some village **magistrates** and village *Taliairies* have also acted as receivers. In some cases the property will be buried near the place where the gang is halting. It is not unearthed and taken away with the gang when it moves off, but some days afterwards two or more of the females will return secretly and hide it in some more distant places. As regards the division of stolen property, it is invariably shared equally amongst all except the Ganga Raju. Males, females and children receive an equal share. Ganga Raju receives two shares because he leads the gang.<sup>131</sup>

As already mentioned the Donga waddars had no fixed place of residence. They frequently escape from surveillance and commit crime. It is felt that a criminal who has no settled abode and whose movements are unknown is more dangerous than a known criminal with a fixed residence. These Donga waddars live in a hilly and sparsely populated area covered with scrub jungle. To take any action against them in such a locality is out of question.<sup>132</sup> Hence all the members of Donga waddars were kept at Siddhapuram tank project.<sup>133</sup> The then executive engineer, Kurnool, provided them with work and quarters. Some Donga waddars settled at Siddhapuram voluntarily and others were brought from different

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<sup>131</sup> G.W. Gayer, *Op.Cit.*, P.47.

<sup>132</sup>

L. Withinshaw, *Memorandum on Donga Waddars in Note showing the progress made in the settlement of criminal Tribes in the Madras presidency, upto September 1916*, PP. 3 6-37.

<sup>133</sup>

See Aiyappan, *Op.Cit.*, P.38.

places as mentioned earlier.

Some of the Waddars lived in **Selampad of Guntur taluq**, a distance of 24 km. from Guntur. Toddy obtainable in abundance is a special attraction for the criminals of **various tribes**. It affords opportunities for exchange of criminal intelligence, **formation** of organizations and disposal of stolen properties. The villagers or higher caste readily receive the **stolen** properties. It is very difficult for an investigating officer to get clues in any case. Most of the villagers are in hand and glove with them. The rest are terribly afraid of these upper classes because they are upto anything. The villagers stood as sureties for these hardened criminals not minding the forfeiture of bonds in some instances. Under these **circumstances**, they stepped into **Siddhapuram** settlement.<sup>135</sup> When the settlers were in need of money, their numerous patrons and receivers of stolen property freely lent them money un hesitatingly. Then they abscond and commit crimes and bring the booty. They are violent criminals. They are a menace to the peaceful public.<sup>136</sup>

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134

As the work provided by the public works department completed by 1918, the government allotted a block of forest land measuring 650 acres in 1917. On 1st April 1919, 65 males, 65 females and 74 children were on the rolls of the settlement. See *Note showing the progress made in the settlement of criminal tribes in the Madras presidency upto January 1926*, Madras, 1926, P.29.TNA.

135

See *P.W.L.D.* , G.O.No. 1201, dt.22.5.1935, P.5. APSA.

136

All possible efforts to control their activities **under criminal tribes** act were not successful. Ordinary prosecutions under criminal tribes act was not effective. Hence their **movements** were restricted to Siddhapuram settlement. They were made to **work** regularly under the supervision of the Manager. **The habit of heavy** drinking was systematically controlled. See *Home*

Criminal gangs were very active in Siddhapuram. They **commit** offences in Anantapur, Nandyal, Prakasam and Mahaboobnagar districts. During the year 1937, the government applied the sections 11 and 16 of criminal tribes act to check the movement of the settlers.<sup>137</sup> **Stuartpuram**, Sitanagaram, Bitragunta, Madras, Villivakkam and Lingala criminals were having relationship with the criminals of Siddhapuram. They used to commit serious offenses and at the same time they were helping each other for disposal of the stolen properties in their areas.

They loot both lorries and government buses. They place the carts across the ghat roads near Pacherla and rob the passengers. The offenders pelt stones on the vehicles and also beat up the victims and inflict severe injuries with sticks and stones.<sup>138</sup>

The criminal propensities of Donga waddars had in no way abated and it was considered necessary to restrict their movements. Endeavours were made to organize settlements for these gangs under the control of some non-official agency. But the then government wanted to experiment a voluntary settlement. Then it started in Siddhapuram. Hence Siddhapuram developed as a voluntary settlement. Police took charge of the settlement.<sup>139</sup>

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*Department, G.O.No. 2500, dt. 16.5.1938, PP. 1-5. NAI.*

<sup>137</sup> The criminal tribes act was replaced in 1948 and the movements of habitual offenders alone were restricted.

<sup>138</sup> See *Home Judicial Department, G.O.No. 1140, dt. 20.5.1920, P.1. TNA.*

<sup>139</sup> See *Home Judicial Department, G.O.No. 1279, 10th June 1915,*

### **Administrative setup**

The settlement is kept under the charge of a **sub-inspector of police** assisted by a constable. The sub-inspector is **the key person** to manage the settlement. During the year **1917**, there **was** one inspector, one sub-inspector and two head constables **and** 60 constables in Siddhapuram.<sup>140</sup> Quarters for the staff were separately constructed. The constable used to watch the settlers and **supervision** was his responsibility. The items **of work** suitable for the employment of Donga waddars in Siddhapuram **were:**

1. Earth work in connection with the clearance.
2. Earth work for excavating distributory channels.

That work provided employment to a gang of 120 persons for **about** one and half years. Like wise they calculated work for three years to come.<sup>141</sup>

The settlers were given daily labour such as breaking clods, spreading earth, supply water to machinery, pushing empties and loaded wagons at the site of the navy etc.<sup>142</sup> They were found unsuitable on account of their inborn idleness and insubordination to the orders of the maistries under whom they were posted to work. It was not feasible to get the proper **turn**

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**P.1. TNA.**

**140**

See *Home Judicial Department*, G.O.No. 1860, **5th September 1917. TNA.**

**141**

See *Home Judicial Department*, G.O.No.1860, 5th September 1917, **P.5.TNA.**

**142**

**Navy** = Unskilled work. See *Home Judicial Department*, G.O.No.1860, 5th September 1917, **P.5.TNA.**

out of work from them. The **maistries** were threatened by the desperate **employees**. The next alternative was to employ them on piece-work system.<sup>143</sup> Least skill was expected in certain work such as quarrying stones, building revetment, sectioning and sloping bund and gravel backing. They were employed only on earth work which required no skill.<sup>144</sup>

The quantity of earth work to be done from them was **3,083** units during the year 1917.<sup>145</sup> 120 coolies were engaged on the work. The recruitment of some of the Donga Yerukulas would definitely affect the progress of work. This was a good solution to complete the work in a speedy manner. But, the Inspector General of Police P.L. Moore informed on 27th August, 1915, that the government approved his proposal to exclude the Donga Yerukulas from the scheme. This was planned to provide employment to Donga **Waddars** exclusively. So it was confined only to these people. Moore said they were employed on irrigation works because the settlers were originally earth-workers by profession.<sup>146</sup>

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143

The manager was given power to take up contracts at scheduled rates. Such contracts were taken up in the name of the settlers. If any small contracts were taken up, considerable sums must be spent on paying **coolis** to the workers before any amount was received. Most of the contract work was taken from the public works department or the local fund authorities. See **P.W.L.D.**, P.6.APSA.

144

*Ibid.*

145

**146** *Ibid.*

See Home Judicial Department, **G.O.No.** 1860, 5th September 1917, **P.6.** TNA.

There were no artisans in the settlement. The net result was that the settlers had to depend upon the neighbouring villages for these services. Such services were obtained with much inconvenience and at higher cost. The **manager** invited a few families of necessary artisans to live in the **settlement**. **They were** provided all the facilities on par with Siddhapuram settlers. They were provided land and concessions with regard to free-grants for the construction of huts. They also advanced loans to these people to purchase the required facilities. Dalits lived side by side with the Donga **Waddars**.<sup>148</sup> They were not happy with the forest life where the amenities were not available to lead a good life. Even now these Dalits explained to us that they are leading a miserable life and nobody is evincing interest to improve their life style. After spending so many years in the midst of the jungle, they donot know where to go or how to go! These settlers depended upon the mercy of a barber from **Atmakur**, a carpenter and a blacksmith from neighbouring villages. But it was so inconvenient for them to depend for a long time on all these people. The villagers had to pay whatever charges demanded by them. This sort of dependence had been found very irksome. They spend an expenditure of Rs. 300 per mensem for these

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147

See **P.W.L.D. , G.O.No. 3325**, dt. 25.22.1930. **P.2.** APSA. The following artisans were brought to the settlement during the year 1930. Two families of dhobis, Two families of barbers one family of potters, two families of carpenters, one family of blacksmith, one family of Madiga or charmarkar to **do leather work**.

148

There is a small settlement of Malas in Siddhapuram. They **were** brought to show the Donga Waddars how to cultivate and perform useful service in skinning dead animals, carrying corpses etc. See **P.V.L.D. , G.O.No. 137**, dt. 19.1.1927, **P.5.** APSA.

purposes. In villages these artisans received some wages called  
149  
**mera** from the ryots for their services.

A group of Nizam waddars, originally belonged to Hyderabad state, migrated to some places in coastal Andhra districts. The reason for their migration was the low wages paid for them in the settlements. Those areas were Krishna, Guntur, East and West Godavari districts. They distinguish themselves as Nizam waddars. They lived by daily labour. Their movements were restricted to Lingala and Nizam Sagar settlements. They were not regular in their work. Some of them were convicted for burglaries and thefts. Their operation was confined to big towns and rich delta villages. They were accompanied by their children to go to the places of operation. They used their children for disposing stolen property. They were dangerous criminals and very clever and were experts in melting the gold. They were declared as a criminal tribe during the years 1913, 1915 and 1921. The area most affected by their activities is the Bandar Taluq. (present Machilipatnam). A large number of Donga waddars were settled in Bandar.<sup>150</sup>

A few sugali families were given a grant of 20 acres of land within the settlement limits. They were supplied manure for

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150 See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.** 3325, dt. 25.11.1920. **P.7.** APSA.

Some times they bring their children for whom they hand over the stolen money purse. If that is identified, then they beat the children for doing wrong and try to prove their innocence before the owners of the money bags. See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.** 781, 1st April 1933. APSA.

their fields.<sup>151</sup> Kapus worked as farm labourers for the settlers. Some Donga waddars lived in Piler circle of Vayalpad Taluq, Chittoor district and they were brought into this settlement during the year 1928.<sup>152</sup>

During the year 1929, the Manager brought new families from Hubli settlement.<sup>153</sup> 25 members of Donga waddars came voluntarily in January 1930 from Betamcharla as a result of propaganda by the Manager. They were related to the old Donga Waddars. They began to settle down in the settlement to become land owners. But their creditors in Betamcharla were against this proposal, because they wanted to exploit their labour at cheap rates.<sup>154</sup> 32 families of Tak-waddars came in February 1929 from Pattikonda taluq, some were brought from Anantapur and Cuddapah districts.<sup>155</sup>

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151

See P.W.L.D., G.O.No.127, dt. 19.1.1927, P.5. APSA.

152

See P.W.L.D., G.O. No2146, 28th August 1928, P.1.APSA. It was the practice to transfer the settlers from one settlement to the other. Some of the settlers of Kapparallatippa settlement are still the residents of Siddhapuram settlement. They said Ludwig was instrumental in their development. Their forefathers always respected and held him in high esteem. Ludwig in fact found his way into some of the ballads of local people who took protective measures to save their life.

153

See P.W.L.D., G.O.No.293, dt. 6.3.1929, P.1. APSA.

154

See P.W.L.D., G.O.No.2190, dt.28.7.1930, P.1. APSA.

155

They were called Tak waddars because they make mill-stones by 'Tak-tak' noise. Doraiswami Aiyar, the then Deputy Superintendent of Police, crime branch reported, during the year 1945, that making grinding stones would be a useful subsidiary occupation to some of the settlers. They cartage the stones from Naliamalai hills to the settlement and from there to Atmakur and neighbouring villages. The Tak waddars are experts in stone cutting. The stones were cut and made into mortars, grinding stones, tubs etc. The old Donga waddars are absolutely lazy and clamour for gains without pains. All the new entrants were provided with land, bulls and other agricultural implements. See Home Department, G.O.No. 504,



The District Superintendent of Police, Kurnool, transferred some Donga **waddars** in the **reformatory** settlement at Kavali since they were found incorrigible. The Manager, **Siddhapuram** settlement admitted some Donga waddars of Sitanagaram during the year 1933. They were sent to the **Kommur** settlement for employment as gang coolies in the railway. As they were found **medically** unfit there, they were sent to Siddhapuram settlement on '01' passes.<sup>156</sup> The Manager of Siddhapuram settlement transferred them to Bitragunta settlement. They did not show any signs of reformation and obtained their bread by pick - pocketing in shandies and fairs.<sup>157</sup> They were a menace not only to the society, but to the co-settlers also. Some criminal tribe members of Stuartpuram were transferred to Siddhapuram on the ground they originally belonged to Atmakur of Kurnool district.

Twenty families of Kanjar Bhats were brought from Konnur settlement. They brought their own culture to the new settlement. Their inter mixture with the settlers made them hardened criminals.<sup>158</sup> Some families of Donga **Yerukulas**, Donga Dasaries from various settlements were transferred to Siddhapuram settlement, during the year 1937. During the same year some members of Nawabpeta Korchas and Donga waddar tribes were

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dt.15.2.1945, PP.1-2. Also see *Administration Report on Reclamation of Kallars, Koravas, Yanadis and Sugalis during 1952-53*, Madras 1954, P.3. NAI.

<sup>156</sup> See *P.W.L.D.*, G.O.No.2247, dt.17.10.1933. P.1. APSA.

<sup>157</sup>

<sup>158</sup> See *P.W.L.D.*, G.O.No.2247, dt.17.10.1933, P.1. APSA.

See *Home Department*, G.O.No.1284, dt. 27.3.1937. NAI.

transferred to **Sitanagaram**. They **became** out of view from 1.9.1937 without '**G**' pass and arrested on 16.1.1938 in the hills. They were '**incorrigible**'<sup>159</sup> criminals who led purposeless life. These criminals committed a number of burglaries in the surrounding areas. Boyas were transferred from Tanjore to Siddhapuram during the year 1938. They passed out of view in 1943 and committed series of house breakings and dacoities in Kurnool and Nandikotkur circles.<sup>160</sup>

#### Siddhapuram Today

To know their present conditions in the Siddhapuram settlement interviews are conducted. They shared with us their present problems in the settlement. The secretary of ex-criminals' welfare association (in Siddhapuram), K. R. **Somanna**, demanded that the government should include all the ex-criminals in the list of scheduled tribes.<sup>161</sup> The Madras police department of the

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The term '**incorrigible**' means, 1. Persons residing in settlements other than the reformatory settlement 2. those who show no signs of reformation and who seriously retard the progress of other settlers 3. who have absconded more than three times 4. those who were removed **from** the **reformatory** settlement due to unsatisfactory behaviour of the settlers. 5. Persons who abscond from the reformatory settlement. See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.** 3006, dt. 25.10.1930. **P.4**. Also see Home Department **G.O.No.1217**, dt. 6.3.1939, **P.1**. NAI.

<sup>160</sup> See Home Department, **G.O.No.312**, dt.29.1.1946, **P.3**. NAI. The transfer of settlers from one settlement to the other meant not only in Andhra area but the whole of Madras presidency. See Home Department, **G.O.No.2509**, dt.16.5.1938. **P.1**. NAI.

<sup>161</sup> All these are the different connotations of the same Yerukula tribe. These are not actually **Waddars**. They left Yerukulas and kidnapped and abducted the children of other castes and expanded their families. Presently, the government has included them in the BC - A group. Still their habits,



**A Passionate Plea - Settlers of Siddhapuram**

colonial era prepared a report on their life style. According to the **report, Waddera**, Korava, Kathera and Korcha tribes have been wandering tribes, getting involved in criminal offences. They married women from other tribes like Yanadi, Sugali, Chenchu, Yerukula etc. Waddars claimed that they are the descendants of the foregoing tribes and demanded that they should be included in scheduled Tribes. Siddhapuram was officially recognized by the government as an ex-criminal tribe settlement. Members of other settlements like Bitragunta and Golla **Kuppam** went to the court to get the status of scheduled tribes but still that is not sanctioned.

Government officials are unable to see the strength of this truth. In fact, these settlers have lost confidence in the government officials because their hopes and aspirations are never understood by them. Somanna said, "Old people are not getting pensions, physically handicapped members are not receiving the benefits; the children are neglected".--- Somanna said, "we are harassed by the police and forest officers. Still we are suffering with stigma as criminals. No body passes in our life without suffering. Everybody is afraid of us but no body

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traditions, customs are all equal to that of Yerukulas. These two tribes have interdining and marital relations also. **Somanna's** plea to the government is to include them in the list of scheduled tribes. Interview with **K.R.Somanna**, Siddhapuram, **dt.24.11.1994.**

16 Some of the settlers underwent eye operations in a camp organized at Byrluti and were given a token fiscal assistance of Rs. 200 to 300 per head.

comes **to** our rescue. What a pathetic and deplorable life we **are** leading. We are not getting the loans. When we approach **revenue officials**, we only get empty promises of house loans and **other loans**".<sup>163</sup>

"Our country is not a poor country but the corrupt officials are neglecting us. If that is the situation poor will become poorer and the rich will become richer day by day". The settlers questioned about the social justice and its negligence in this land of cultural heritage. Even for bribing these officials again they have to commit theft. The ex-settlers are in the vicious circle of corrupt officers, greedy lawyers and unsympathetic public. They say that their life is always on the verge of danger.

Whenever the police suspect a person he will immediately arrest the person and apply third degree methods. To avoid physical torture and mental harassment the person generally gives the names of other settlers. Taking this as excuse, the police conduct raids on the houses of settlers and loot the same, molest their womenfolk and register false cases against them.<sup>164</sup>

E. **Lakshmayya** said,

"Every night the police are gathering information about our ex-settlement. Recently one of our youngsters was shot dead by police when he was returning from a pilgrimage to Srisailam

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163

Interview with K.R. **Somanna**, *Ibid.*

164

**For** example a police officer lost **his** revolver and arrested **the** son-in-law of Somanna, for the same. The officer demanded a bribe of Rs. 10,000 to release him. Since, he could not **pay the** bribe, his son-in-law was sentenced to seven **years imprisonment**.

hill. Whenever and wherever there is a crime, settlers of Siddhapuram will be under severe stress. Police officials always find an easy prey in the settlement whenever they are in need of more cases. Many of our members are still undergoing trials in various courts and are thrown behind bars for no fault of theirs. Who will look after us? Earlier, the police people themselves used to motivate us for committing thefts and burglaries. we were forced to give false witness **in various** cases. In fact, we are made criminals by the police".<sup>165</sup>

Somanna said,

"we are really happy that Mr. Bhaskar Rao, the police sub-inspector, has been very helpful and the entire settlement heaved a sigh of relief under his benevolent administration. In 1914, the superintendent of police used to supervise Siddhapuram settlement. When approached, the superintendent of police asked us to abstain from criminal activities and such an act alone would fetch us government help. **We did** accordingly and in course of time we got lands and loans".<sup>166</sup>

The state government had taken various measures for their welfare such as, 1. provision of suitable land for cultivation 2. setting up upper-primary schools for education 3. starting handloom weaving centers as cottage industries. 4. setting up co-operative societies for supplying credit and other necessities of life. 5. opening of dispensaries in the areas 6. construction of pucca houses for habitation 7. imparting training for the inmates of industrial and agricultural settlements etc. Apart from the government, social workers also helped the settlers to engage themselves in gainful occupations and thus lead a life of normal citizens.

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<sup>165</sup> Interview with, **E.Lakshmayya**, Siddhapuram, **dt.24.11.94.**

<sup>166</sup> Mr."Bhaskar Rao initiated many steps for our welfare. He transformed the entire atmosphere in the settlement. He was instrumental in looking after prohibition and advised us to keep ourselves away from politicians. He instructed us to freely cast our votes." Interview with **K.R.Somanna**, *Op.Cit.*



**Interaction with Forest Department Official**

The **settlement** was situated in a forest area at the foot of the Naliamalai hills, and hence snakes and cheetahs abound the area. The inhabitants found unsafe to move about after sun set. It is therefore proposed to provide lights in the settlement. The government sanctioned money Rs. 900 during the year 1951-52 for the provision of street lights. The settlement was electrified during the year 1952. The lights were installed on 17.3.1952 in the place of kerosene oil lights in **Siddhapuram** settlement.<sup>167</sup>

Some time ago, the forest ranger of Bairluti asked them to come and help them in the forest region. Accordingly, many of them from the settlement worked there. They are always ready to involve themselves in any employment. "We only feel that we should be paid according to the rates prevailing. Some times this is not so. For example the forest ranger of Byrluti informed us that what ever amount the government earmarks for works of present nature the same amount will be distributed in the settlement. However, the sanction of the government is always lower compared to the existing wage rates".<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> See *Home Department*, G.O. No.3570, dt.27.1.1951, PP.3-5. NAI.  
<sup>168</sup>

Interview with Wodde **Lakshman**, an ex-criminal settler, Siddhapuram, dt.22.11.1994. The forest manager assured the ex-criminals that he would provide work for them in all the schemes designed by the local **mandal** revenue officer, block development officer and integrated tribal development authority. He further informed them that they need not 'spend their entire time and energy. He said, "we should strive hard to earn money in a legitimate way." He said that the schemes were framed and financed by the government and asked them not to play truants to work.





We are determined to change our husbands  
from liquor addiction

K.R. Somanna stated that they require congenial atmosphere to strive hard and **develop** colony and he was very much satisfied with the present district forest officer and his staff. There is no response from the district collector in any matter and all their attempts to convince him failed. It is their plight. Neither officials nor the politicians are taking interest in their village. K.R. Somanna further explained elaborately the agony faced by the villagers. Even the Venkatapuram panchayat in which their village is located is neglecting them. In spite of the drought conditions, to their misfortune Siddhapuram was not considered as famine stricken area.

At present the entire three villages are plagued by the evil of illicit liquor.<sup>169</sup> The local liquor barons encourage the settlers in this direction. Whenever the excise people unearth these activities, they are always at the receiving end and the real culprits escape punishment. They amass huge wealth. While they are rolling in luxuries, the settlers are reeling in poverty. Lack of proper employment makes them lay their hand in it. Due to prohibition they stopped manufacturing liquor. " We have **almost** abandoned the criminal activities and learning how to

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<sup>169</sup> **"Political** parties of all shades approach us very often and ask us to associate with them and lure us into their trap by promising us jobs and bright **future".Interview** with **K.R.Somanna, Op.Cit.** In the Waddar community of **Siddhapuram**, three sects of people are living. They are 1.Gadidala 2. **Santhamuchu** 3. Donga Waddar. Siddhapuram has been divided into three blocks. 1. Jandrapeta 2. **Gummadipeta** 3. Santhamuchupeta.

live by our sweat. Let the government take stringent measure to curb the liquor **addicts**".<sup>170</sup>

"Avocations like mat-making and carpet making cannot sustain our families. If industries are established, there by providing us some gainful employment, we are confident that we can lead a trouble-free life. In recent past the government initiated **seri-culture** programme and associated us with it. It is regretted that the programme did not succeed. Even to equip ourselves with ration cards, unless civil supplies officials are bribed we do not get our ration **cards**. we are in a dilemma as we cannot resume our criminal activities or to get ourselves away from the present scenario."<sup>171</sup>

## SECTION II

### STUARTPURAM SETTLEMENT

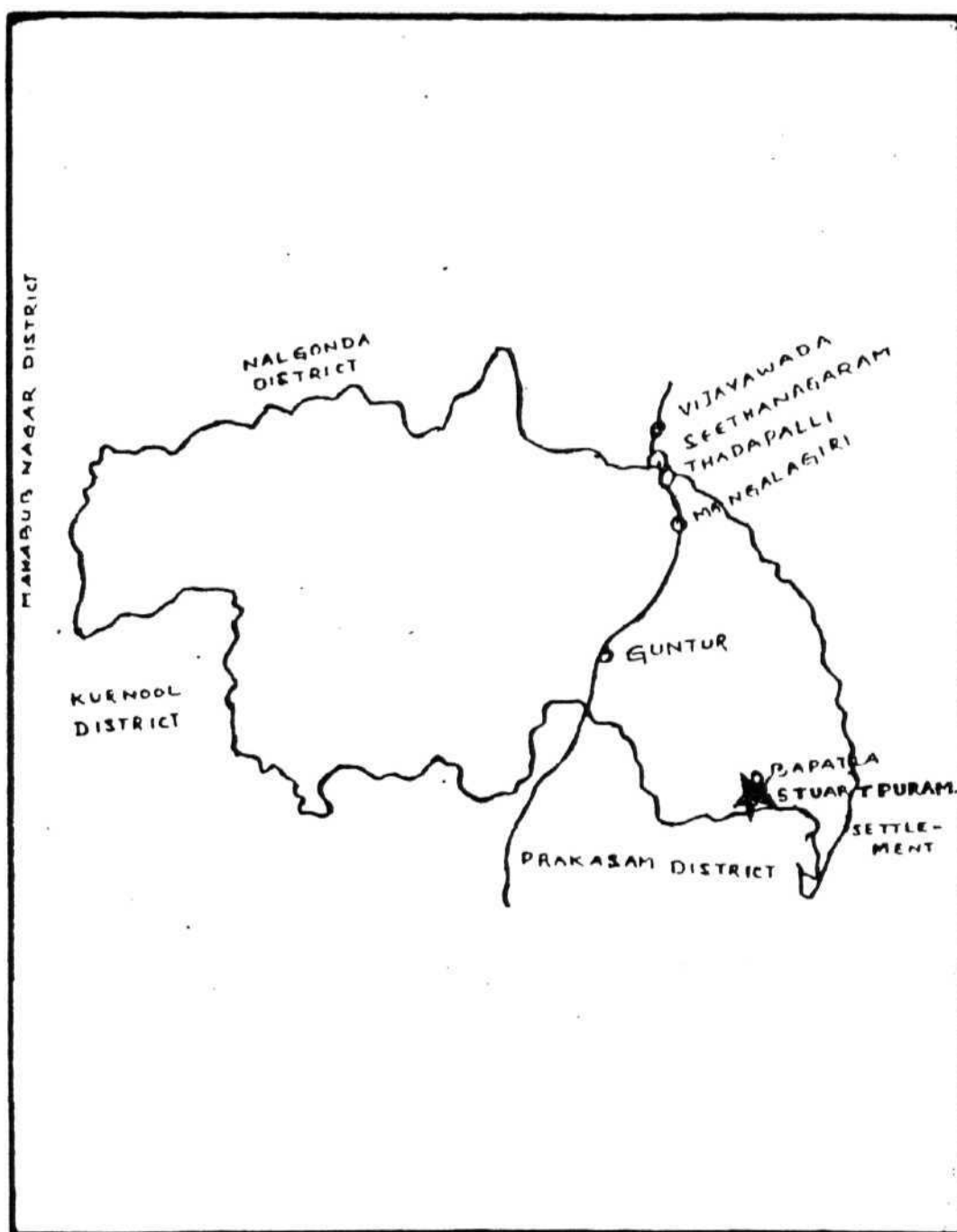
In Andhra Pradesh, according to 1981 census, tribal population accounted for 5.93% that is 32 lakhs, in the total population of 5,35,49,679. In 1977 and 1979 the **Lambadis**,

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<sup>170</sup> Somanna continued to say that poverty was the main cause for the ex-criminals to commit crime. In his opinion, District Forest Officer's and police officers are responsible for the continuation of crime. If they are helpful like the present District Forest Officer, their problems will be solved. Otherwise lion's share in their booty will go to them. "In fact our miseries and suffering are the real base for the luxuries of these notorious officials." *Ibid*.

<sup>171</sup> Interview with Erragadindla **Ramdas**, an ex-criminal settler, **Siddhapuram** Settlement, **dt.24.11.94**.

## Location of Stuartpuram Settlement in Guntur District



Source : Office of the Superintendent of Census Operation

yerukulas and Yanadis were included in the categories of scheduled tribes. The tribal population increased substantially with the inclusion of these tribes.<sup>172</sup> These people occupy 30,000 sq. miles of area i.e. 11% of the total area of the state. They are spread over 6197 villages.<sup>173</sup>

#### **Ethnic Background:**

In South India, among the various tribes, yerukulas occupy an important position. According to the 1981 census report the Yerukulas occupy the fourth place out of 33 groups of tribes, and their number was 3,00,557. These Yerukulas were found in almost all districts in Andhra Pradesh. However, their number is higher in Rayalaseema and coastal Andhra Districts.

The Yerukulas spread all over India with different languages and dialects and are known by different names in different localities.<sup>174</sup> From the extreme South to the North Arcot district in Madras Presidency, they were called Korvas. From North Arcot district they are called Korchas or **Korcha** up to the ceded districts. From ceded districts they are called Yerukula. Thurston found, in Calcutta, that these were practicing quack

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172

*Census of India special tables for ST's, Series 2, 1981, P.11.*

173

V. Lalitha, *Making of Criminal Tribes... Op.Cit., P.173.*

174

These people were called 'Yerukulas' in Telugu '**Kaikadi**' in Marathi '**Korava**' in Tamil and '**Kurwi**' in Carnatic districts. See **Syed-Siraj-ul-Hassan, Vol. 1, Op. Cit., P.185.**

doctors. Writing about Yerukulas, Paupa Rao Naidu observes that "as railways spread all over the country they readily adapted themselves to travelling by them and the opportunities afforded for going quickly far from the scene of a recently committed **crime** or for stealing from sleeping passengers, were soon availed of."<sup>175</sup>

H.A. Stuart stated that he found Yerukulas, a vagrant tribe, in Madras Presidency as well as in many other parts of

176

India. The Yerukulas, Koravas and Korchas were in fact branches of the large **Korava** community operating in different regions of Madras Presidency. Yerukulas lived and traded in Telugu districts, Koravas in Tamil<sup>177</sup> districts and Korchas in coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh. In the Andhra **region**, these people were called Yerukulavandlu or Korachavandlu but they always speak of themselves as *Kurru*. In Nellore they speak of one another as *Kurru* and **Kula**.<sup>178</sup> It has been suggested that *yeru* is connected with '**Erra**' meaning red.

In Telugu, *Yerukulavandlu* means fortune-tellers and Oppert suggests that this is the origin of the name Yerukula. He says, "It is highly probable that the name and occupation of the **fortune-telling** - Kurruvandlu or Kulavandlu indicated the Telugu

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<sup>175</sup> Cited in Edgar Thurston, Vol. 3, *Op. Cit.*, P.4 39.

<sup>176</sup> Cited in Chalavadi Satyanarayana, "**Yerukulas** -An Ex-criminal Tribe of Andhra and its Settlement (**Stuartpuram**)", unpublished **M.A.** Dissertation, Sagar University, 1959-60. P.8.

<sup>177</sup> Meena Radhakrishna, "The Criminal Tribes Act in Madras Presidency...", *Op.Cit.*, P.273.

<sup>178</sup> Edgar Thurston, Vol.3, *Op.Cit.*, PP.440-441.

people to call these people 'Yerukulavandlu'".<sup>179</sup> He further connects the word *kurru* with the root *ku* a mountain<sup>180</sup>, and Thurston informs that in a Tamil work of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (*Tirumurukairuppadi*) *Kurru* or *kuru* is given as the name of a hill tribe.<sup>181</sup> Brown and Wilson in their glossaries, used the word,<sup>182</sup> *Erukalavandlu* or *Erukulawaru*, a plural in Telugu for *Erukavadu*.

The Yerukulas are black in complexion. They are muscular and hardy, exceedingly dirty and almost naked. Both men and women have tattoo marks on their heads and forearms.<sup>183</sup>

Each caste has its own sub-castes and its own caste rules. Social customs, religious beliefs, omens, ordeals and standards of morality vary from tribe to tribe and from one social group to another. Their social customs and religious beliefs are perfectly in tune with their criminal career. From times immemorial, the members of the criminal tribes have been following Hinduism in its crude form. Similarly, these Yerukulas also have their own way of living, customs, traditions,

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179

Gustav Oppert, *Op.Cit.* P.205.

180

*Ibid.* P.208.

181

Edgar Thurston, *Op.Cit.*, P.441.

182

This is mentioned in *Hukumnamas* and papers relating to Sriharikota Yanadis, Vol. 1, A selection of Papers from the old records of the Nellore District, Nellore 1915, P.42.

183

M.A. Sherring, vol.3. *Op. Cit.*, P.137.

superstitions, rituals and ceremonies. These traditions **separate them from other** population.

Easily identified, traditionally, the men dressed only in a **gochi**, or piece of cloth around the loins and possessed a bag called *Vadi Sanchi* (made of stripped cloth). The Yerukula women wore a black cloth. Necklaces and beads, made of variegated colours, were common to both men and women.<sup>184</sup> Silver, glass or brass bangles adorned them from the wrist to the elbow. Silver rings on their fingers were also common. The new generation has gradually moved away from these traditional modes of dress and they are increasingly copying the Hindu women. Here we find the Sanskritization process which M.N. Srinivas talked about. The Yerukulas split up into infinite divisions, some criminal and some non-criminal. They wander over the districts of Nellore, Kurnool, Guntur, Krishna, Godavari and Hyderabad. They are divided into seven main divisions known as Criminal Investigation Department Gang Nos. IV, V, VI, **VIII**, IX, X and **XIII**.<sup>185</sup>

To check their criminal tendencies, the Madras colonial government established several criminal tribes settlements in various parts of Andhra. The Yerukulas had no education worth

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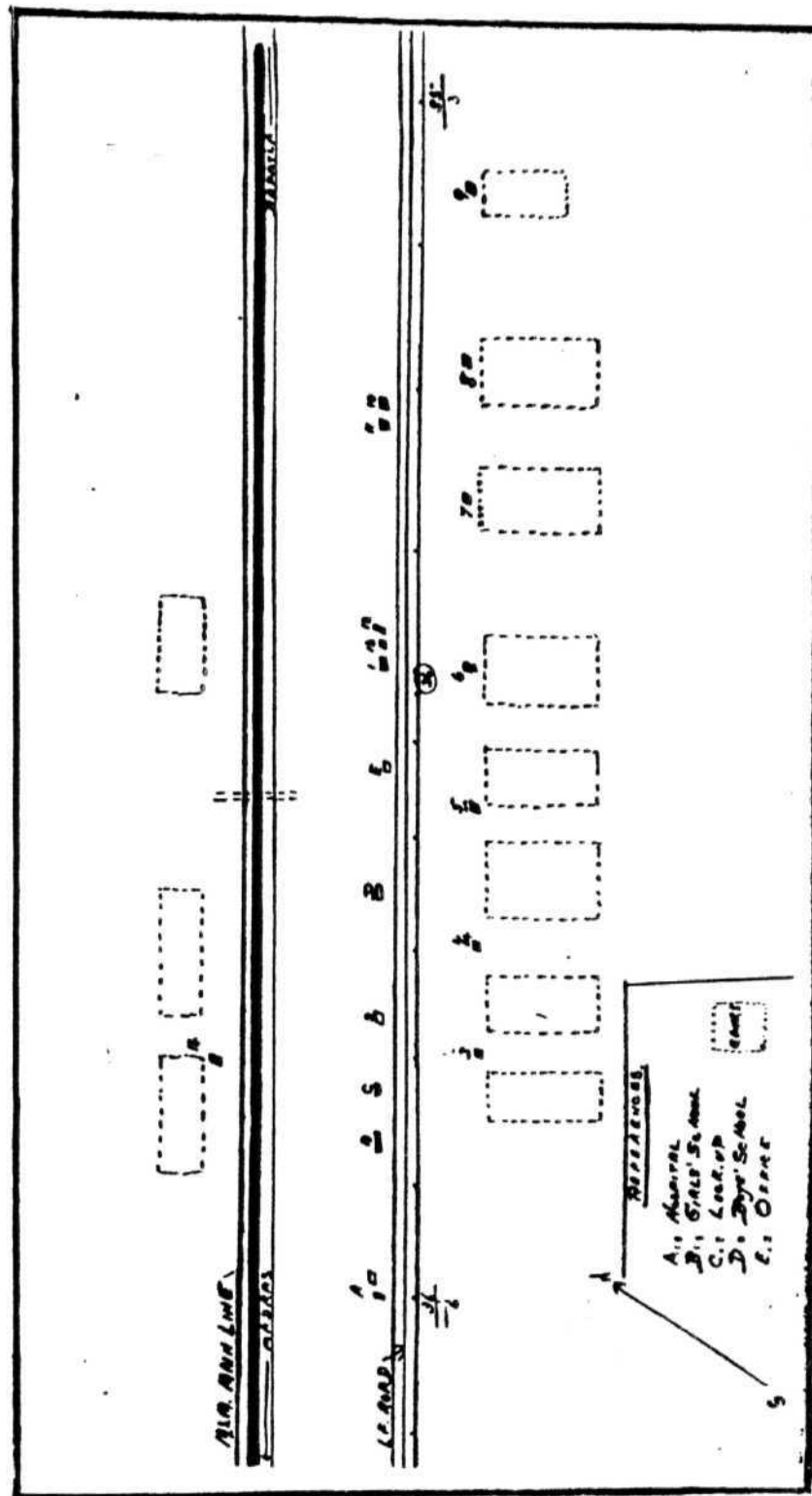
**Chalavadi** Satyanarayana, '*Yerukulas...*', *Op.Cit.*, P.26.

185

See Note showing the progress made in the settlement of criminal tribes in the Madras Presidency upto September **1916**, Madras **1916**, PP. 19-20. The different divisions wandering in the following districts are Nos. V and X in Nellore **and** Bellary Nos. IV in Godavari Nos. VI, **VIII** and IX in Guntur **No. XIII** in Kurnool.



# Rough Plan of Stuartpuram Settlement



Source : Home Department, G.O.No. 5701, dated 30th October, 1939, NAI, New Delhi.

the name. Primary education is being imparted to children in these settlements. There are also graduates and post-graduates among them. Between 1910 and 1935 the Madras government declared 30 tribes or castes as 'criminal' and among them were **Yerukulas**, Donga **Dasaris**, Donga **Waddars**, Yanadis, **Dommaras**, etc.<sup>186</sup> Originally the Yerukulas were innocent temple servants. Subsequently they took to petty trading and selling of agricultural products in several places. With the development of communications, the yerukulas discontinued their trade. This disorganization in their social and economic life made them become petty criminals to make their both ends meet.

Generally they feel that it was an absurd thing to work a whole day for six annas. By courage and good luck one night adventure may bring in thousands of rupees.<sup>187</sup>

Beginnings:

**Stuartpuram** is in between Bapatla (Guntur district) and Chirala (Prakasam district) on the Madras - New Delhi grand trunk rail -road. It is bounded on the north by Tenali (Guntur district), on the south by Ongole (Prakasam district), on the east by Bay of Bengal and on the west by Narasaraopeta (Guntur District).<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> V.Lalitha, '**Tribes in Transition . . .**', *Op.Cit.*, **P.179-80.**

<sup>187</sup> See, *The War Cry*, (The Salvation Army Monthly), April 1937, **P. 3.**

<sup>188</sup> Note showing the Progress made in the Settlement of Criminal Tribes in the Madras presidency upto September 1916, **N.A.,**



**A View of the In-gate to Stuartpuram Settlement**

**Stuartpuram settlement** was established in the year 1914. This was purely an agricultural settlement managed by the Salvation **Army**. Stuartpuram settlement was called a good conduct settlement. It means men who behaved well at Sitanagaram were sent to **this** place and the misbehaved were taken to **Sitanagaram**.<sup>189</sup> The manager was captain H. Robilliard,<sup>190</sup> and he was assisted by his wife and the Indian assistant. The strength, in the beginning of the settlement, was 691 consisting of 200 males 196 females and 295 children. Captain H. Robilliard managed the settlement effectively and won laurels for his praise worthy efforts.

**Gillman Says:**

"Captain Robilliard had done wonders and is to be heartily congratulated on the success".<sup>191</sup>

It was named after Stuart, the then Home member for the Madras Government.<sup>192</sup>

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Madras 1916, **P.6.TNA.**

189

See Mildred Mackenzie, *The Mud bank, Op.Cit., P.67.*

190

See Captain Robilliard of the Salvation Army, Manager of the Stuartpuram criminal tribes settlement, Bapatla, Madras, Written statement on the work of Stuartpuram settlement, **P.64.** Stuartpuram Settlement was opened on the 1st June, 1914. Few families lived at No.8 division, known then as Ratnapuram in a few dilapidated huts.

191

See *Written statement on the working of Stuartpuram Settlement, Op.Cit., P.87.TNA.*

192

Stuart, the then acting chief secretary to government of Madras, the secretary to government of India, cited in Meena Radhakrishna, *Surveillance and settlements under the criminal tribes act in Madras' Op.Cit., P.179.* Also see Mildred Mackenzie, *Op.Cit., P.77-83.*

In **Stuartpuram settlement**, tribals belonging to **Yerukula caste** were more in number. Once upon a time, they used to live in **jungles** at the nook and corners of the hills. Mainly they used to live in hill places of Kurnool, Cuddapah, Anantapur, Chittoor, Vijayawada, Guntur, Vinukonda, Macherla, Narasaraopeta, Nellore, Kavali, **Gudivada**, Bapatla, Kurnool, Nandyal, **Markapuram** Etc.<sup>193</sup>

#### **Economic Life:**

These people were very poor and depended on forest produce. They used to eke out their livelihood by selling some forest products and carrying petty **business**. They were experts in **making** baskets, ropes etc. Harold Stuart said: "**They** had been traders dealing in salt and grain carried by their pack animals hundreds of miles interior. Adjustment to new conditions was difficult, they had the cattle, they had a wide field of operation and they continued their migrations. Cattle trading often became cattle stealing and the disposal of stolen property from other gangs who entrusted their booty to them and built up a combine of criminal organization".<sup>194</sup> Due to their meager livelihood they were accustomed to commit petty thefts. They

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See *Lav (General) department*, **G.O.No.** 1714, 22nd October 1921 **P.8.** APSA. Also see *Law (General) department*, **G.O.No.** 3187, 14th November 1924, **P.1.** APSA.

194

See Mildred Mackenzie, *Op.Cit.*, **P.84.**

started their life with thieving **habits**, later on they became **dacoits** and **robbers**.<sup>195</sup>

It was stated that:

"Whether they were **criminals** by choice or driven to crime by poverty is difficult to say, but the fact was they had sunk as deep down as any group of human beings can ever sink. They were unhappy wretches, hated by every body, and hounded and persecuted by the police. This state of affairs had gone on for ages and most of them really believed that they were perfectly justified in committing crimes as a livelihood".<sup>196</sup>

The Salvation Army introduced agriculture to transform their life style. In the beginning a block of 360 acres of dry land and 1500 acres in the **Romperu** swamp were placed at the disposal of the Salvation Army in 1914.<sup>197</sup> In addition to these settlers, some other Yerukulas belonging to Sitanagaram, **Siddhapuram**, Kalichedu, **Bhummannagadda**, Bitragunta, Nawabpeta, Nellore, Kavali, **Lakkavaram** etc. were brought to this settlement.<sup>198</sup> The new

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The Donga Yerukulas of Guntur district used to camp near the village of Betapudi, Bapatla taluq, from December to August every year, to carry grain for the ryots of the Ongole, Bapatla and Tenali Taluqs. From August to December they grazed their cattle at Vinukonda. In 1913 with the police becoming more active and attentive, the Yerukulas took shelter under the wing of the Salvation Army. See *Note showing the progress made in the settlement of criminal tribes in the Madras Presidency upto September 1916*, P.6. Also see Mildred Mackenzie, *Op.Cit*, P.83.

196

See *The War Cry*, Salvation Army Monthly, April 1937, P.3.

197

See *Lav General Department*, G.O.No. 1327, February 14, 1925, P.1. APSA.

198

See *Administrative Report of the Inspector General of Police*, 1915, and 1923, (Madras, 1924), P.28. In December 1915, The government transferred 200 yerukulas from Kavali settlement. See *note showing the progress made in the settlement of Criminal Tribes, Madras presidency upto January 1925*, Madras, 1926, P.7.

people who were brought from various places were also provided **more** than 525 acres of land. The land was made into small plots and distributed to the Yerukulas by giving 2 or 3 acres of land to each house hold. In his report on the working of **the** settlement Mackenzie stated:

**"The** irrigation difficulty threatens to <sup>be</sup> a serious one. **The** settlement was not self- supporting".<sup>199</sup>

During certain parts of the year, the Salvation Army employed some agricultural **maistries** from old settlers. They used to supervise the fields and made provision for planting trees in the settlement. They used to instruct the new settlers on the techniques of cultivation. They neither had the inclination to cultivate the land nor the proficiency in doing it. the settlers were placed in different groups under the incharge of a **maistry**. His duty was to bring his gang when the bell rings at 5.30. in the **morning**. He takes them to work and bring them back in the evening. It was quite difficult to get these people to work in the beginning. Some settlers do not even know how to hold a basket or a *salagapara*. Some had to be instructed for two years and some for three years. Gradually, the old settlers became a strong backbone to the settlement and exerted a reassuring influence on new arrivals.<sup>200</sup>

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199

See *Home Judicial department*, **G.O.No.** 2074, 18th August, **1916**, **20P.4.** TNA.

One maistry was appointed to supervise every 100 acres of land. See *Home Judicial Department*, **G.O.No.** 2074, 18th September **1916**, **P.6.** TNA.

The settlers, however, cultivated paddy, ragi and ground nut on this land. They also got money from mats, ropes, baskets, curry leaf, tomato and green gram cultivation. In addition to agriculture, these settlers were also given road work, stone quarrying, drain digging and other works from the department of public works. The wages given to daily labourers and piece **workers** were four to **five** annas a day for men and three annas a day for women.<sup>201</sup> From the law report of Madras presidency, we come to know that their income during the year 1915 from the above source was Rs. 19,52 0,08.<sup>202</sup>

When the land was given to the settlers on the basis of individual pattas, it became an eyesore to the rich people in the neighbouring villages.<sup>203</sup> The adjoining ryots fought **with** the

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See *Law General Department*, **G.O.No. 1714**, 22nd October **1921**, P.3.APSA. Also see *Law General Department*, **G.O.No. 3187**, 14th November **1924**, P.1.APSA.

202

They got 100 candies out of 200 acres of paddy cultivation. They sold each bag at a cost of Rs. 60. The income of the settlers from various sources for the year 1915 were as follows:

1. Hired labour	Rs. 4837.80.
2. Trading in cattle	Rs. 1385.00
3. Transporting paddy	Rs. 5807.00
4. Value of paddy	Rs. 1535.00
5. Sale of <b>Karvepaku</b>	Rs. 0385.00
6. Value of Ragi	Rs. 0482.00
7. <b>Sale</b> of Baskets	Rs. 0960.00
8. Sale of ropes	Rs. 1149.01
9. Sale of mats	Rs. 2979.51.

See *Home Judicial Department*, **G.O.No. 2074**, **18**, August **1916**, P.4.TNA. In 1914, the total income was about Rs. **18,206**. This shows an increase of Rs. 1,314,08. The increase of paddy alone ~~200~~ was Rs. 4,4 65.

See *Home Judicial Department*, **G.O.No. 305**, 7th February **1918**,



settlers to vacate their patta lands. But the settlers unitedly fought **with** the neighbouring people.<sup>204</sup> They appealed that the lands were in nobody's possession. It was assigned to the settlement. On careful enquiry, the government realized that the settlers were not responsible for the crime in the neighbourhood and the agitation was due to certain unworthy and selfish personal motives.<sup>205</sup> With the object of giving protection to the inhabitants of Bapatla, the **government** sanctioned authority to the local police to watch and patrol the roads properly. Since the settlers were under no- body's control they could **come** and go as they pleased. To obviate this difficulty, in October 1916, Betapudi was declared to be a criminal settlement under section 16 of the Act.

The manager leased out lands to the settlers. The total extent of land leased out in 1916 was 420 acres. The Salvation Army collected Rs. 1126. At the opening of the settlement a loan was obtained from the government, amounting to Rs. 10,000, with 6 percent yearly interest. When Harold Stuart, in company with **Marjori** Banks, visited the settlement the question was brought up

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PP.3-4.TNA.

204

Moneyed people belonging to Bapatla, Chirala, **Karamchedu, Karlapalem** etc. began buying the land at cheap rates and rack-renting the actual cultivator whenever a crop could be raised. See Meena Radhakrishna, *Op.Cit.*, **P.184.**

205

It was regrettable fact that some of them were suspected without any cause of committing crime. See *Note Shoving the Progress made in the Settlement of Criminal Tribes in Madras Presidency, Upto September 1916*, **P.7.**

as what the settlers would pay for taxes. Harold Stuart noted:

The case of **Stuartpuram** settlement is unfairly. This settlement was the most successful having the best land. Its progress appeared fast.<sup>206</sup>

**Marjori** Banks proposed Rs. 7 per acre on each settler. But it was reduced to Rs. 5, some settlers were charged Rs. 3 Rs. 2 and Rs. 1 according to value of their crops.<sup>207</sup> The Salvation Army issued 140 pattas of 2 acres each during the year 1916. Each patta gave its holder the right to cultivate his portion without any interference so long as he continued to behave satisfactorily. A major portion of this area was cultivated by the settlers holding Settlement Pattas.

The normal rainy season in the locality extended from July to middle of November. The rainfall varied from 21 inches to 50 inches per annum. The settlers started cultivation from the month of May. In May, seeds were sown in nurseries. They kept the seeds till July doing work such as watering and looking after the nurseries in general. The seedlings were kept for 50 days growth, before they were transplanted in the fields. A shallow pit was dug in the sand nearby which supplies surface percolation water and the seedlings were pot watered three times a day. They transplant the seedlings during the first week of August.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> See Home Judicial Department, **G.O.No. 572**, 8th March 1917, **P.12.** TNA.

<sup>207</sup> See Home Judicial Department, **G.O.No. 305**, 7th February 1915, **PP.1-4.** TNA.

<sup>208</sup> See Home Judicial Department, **G.O.No. 572**, 8th March **1917**, **P.1.TNA.**

From August to September, ploughing, seedling and transplantation continued. The wives and children rendered help to their husbands during this time. From October to January, they used to do watering such as opening small terrace bunds and closing them daily, thus allowing the water to circulate among the fields.<sup>209</sup> They attended to weeding in the same period. From January to March, the reaping and harvesting season used to start. Even now, people finish thrashing the paddy by March and start terracing till May. The people were kept employed all through the year under efficient manager.<sup>210</sup>

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209

About the time the seedlings attained their full growth and they were ready for transplantation, the floods in the **Romperu** were awaited. There were on average four floods in an year. The first flood comes in the month of August. They transplant the seedlings during the first week of August. The second flood comes within a week or two weeks after the transplantation. There was no danger to the seedlings during this time. The seedlings could live without irrigation during this interval of three weeks between first and second floods. If the second flood did not come within three weeks after the first, the seedlings will die unless they were irrigated either through gravity channels or with pumps. The Romperu is a surplus water drain and will have no water in it. If the second flood does not come within three weeks of stipulated time it would cause inconvenience for cultivation of settlement lands. The two sources of water made available were 1.wells and, 2. the storage of water. There were subsequent floods in the Romperu upto November. Generally the flood season is from July to the end of October. They expect the harvest flood in the **month of September**. See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.** 1551, 20 July 1927, PP. 5-6. APSA.

<sup>210</sup> See *Home Judicial Department*, **G.O.No.** 572, 8th March, 1917, P.2.TNA.

The jail committee opined some subsidiary industry **was** necessary at Stuartpuram, either casuarina plantation or **tomato** canning. Bazlulla, the agricultural officer, set up a scheme for casuarina and for tomato canning. **Robilliard** favoured planting coconut and eucalyptus.<sup>211</sup> **Robilliard** had extreme success. The land was pure sand and heavily manured for successful cultivation. 160 acres of waste land in Murakondapadu was handed over to the settlers. It was a valuable gift worth rupees **1000**, per acre in those days. Krishna canal water was allowed for the wet lands in the settlement.

In order to give a better supply of water to bring greater area under cultivation, a dam across the river Romperu was built in June 1919.<sup>212</sup> The next manager of the Salvation Army was Pearson. He constructed canals, wells and introduced new implements in agriculture. Gradually, there was improvement in the conditions of the settlers of Stuartpuram. A majority of the

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About 30 acres of land was used for coconut intermixed with Mulberries on an experimental basis. Gordon Brown, an instructor of the Federated Malay, states who visited the settlement in 1918, that 40 x 40 was considered as the correct planting. See *Home Judicial Department, G.O.No. 305, 7th February 1918, P.8.TNA.*

212

See Note *showing the Progress made in the Settlement of Criminal Tribes in the Madras Presidency upto January 1925, Madras 1926, P.9.* It was hoped that by the construction of the dam, the settlement lands would be assured of a continuous supply of water during the cultivation season. But there was no justification for such optimism. In addition to this, the **manager** suggested the construction of a dam across the Perala Drain. See Note *showing the progress made in the Settlement of Criminal Tribes in the Madras Presidency upto the 1925, Madras 1926, P.9.*

settlers were satisfied with their paddy cultivation.<sup>213</sup>  
Groundnut, pulses and Ragi were also grown in their lands.  
Irrigational facilities were very much satisfactory.<sup>214</sup>

To over come the problem of manure, they purchased some cattle and kept it under the control of the manager. Good behaviour was a sin rather than a profit for the settlers as there was no place for them to go.<sup>215</sup> The Salvation Army, in 1921, realized, that when the good conduct settlers were exempted, these homeless poor would go back from where they were brought. The only alternative for them would be thieving i.e., going back again to their old profession. The Salvation Army found that the real success lay in colonizing these people.

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213

Stuartpuram settlers cultivated the lands without interruption. The damage from floods gradually decreased on account of limited rains and the introduction of perala drain. See *Home Department*, G.O.No. 749, 18th March 1920, PP. 1-2.NAI. Mackenzie writes, "The projects of agriculture, draining the land, irrigation projects, the planting of gardens of fruit and tomatoes, putting up buildings, a hospital, two schools, staff accommodation and housing, two large halls for meetings were some of the accomplishments. It yields rich rewards". See Mackenzie M., *Op.Cit.*, P.85.

214

See *P.W.L.D.*, G.O.No. 475, 19th February 1920, P.1. APSA.

215

Here we have to mention one fact that the settlers with good conduct was sent out by the Salvation Army manager during the year 1921. This was done without providing an alternative employment to them. The settlers worked on their lands for so many years. Hence it is quite natural for them to settle in the settlement. Moreover, if they leave the settlement, where can they go? What is their native place? This good behaviour was a real punishment for them. Again they came and settled side by side with so called settlers. This is what has happened in **Sitanagaram** also. See *The War Cry*, Salvation Army Monthly, May 1937, P.5.

There was an increase of the settlers income from Rs. 84,189,05 to Rs.1,03,109,08 (SIC) during the year 1923.-24.<sup>216</sup> However, their total earnings from various sources from the year 1925 to 1930 were as follows.<sup>217</sup>

TABLE 3.  
Income Pattern of Stuartpuram Settlers

Year	Total Earnings: Rs.
1925	1,25,741,40
1926	0,75,327,00
1927	1,47,522,45
1928	1,08,513,00
1929	1,83,981,35
1930	1,16,066,23

During the year 1924, the Salvation Army handed over some mango, cashewnut, coconut and other plantations to the settlers in order to boost up their incomes.<sup>218</sup> The Salvation Army collects

<sup>216</sup> See *Law (General) Department*, G.O.No. 3187, 14th November 1924, P.1.APSA.

<sup>217</sup>

The table is based on Government orders from the year 1925 to 1930. See *P.W.L.D.*, G.O.Nos. 1926, 2881, 1147, 1313, 1996, 2007, 967, 1551, of 20th January, 1927, 2394 of 23rd August 1929 and 2338 of 19th August 1929. These earnings were derived from various sources like paddy crop, ground nut, Ragi, making of mats, ropes and baskets, hired labour, trading in cattle, Margosa leaves, sack sewing, wages from Indian Leaf Tobacco company and domestic service etc. Their total income of the above sources at the end of the year 1949 was Rs. 65,31,88,73. Milk cattle were kept in the settlement and one milk man was appointed in the settlement. The amount gained by the sale of milk was Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 per mensem.

<sup>218</sup>

The government, in the year 1917-18, had considered the question of establishing casuarina plantation in an adjacent forest reserve. The government passed a condition that the plantation remained their property. Booth Tucker reported that

'land revenue' for the 600 acres of land which is being kept under its control. The salaries of various Salvation Army officials were paid from this amount. The rest they used to spend on the maintenance of the village.

The settlement land was partly swamp and partly dry sandy soil. Every year the cultivation became a gamble. The settlers had little encouragement to venture their little capital in which there was no certainty. The government prepared to spend a very considerable outlay in reclaiming the land. During the year 1926, 335 acres of the settlement lands and 110 acres of block no. 600 were cultivated under paddy. 50 acres of ground nut and 50 acres of **ragi** were also cultivated.

George Paddison proposed to build a bund in order to protect the fields from submersion of water from the swamp. The object of the pumping installation was two fold. 1. To provide water for irrigation at times of scarce supply, at the beginning

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the condition laid by the government was not acceptable. He did not under take the work. During the year 1918-19, the government asked Mr. Paddison, the then labour commissioner, to take up the work. However, the district magistrate, Guntur was against the proposal since the proposal was a loss to the government. Later Mr. Moir, the next labour commissioner, condemned the proposal of establishing causation plantation. Instead of casuarina plantation, he suggested for purchasing of cattle for manure purpose. Then the government agreed with Mr. Moir. See Note **showing** the progress made in the settlement of criminal tribes in the Madras Presidency upto the January 1925, Madras, 1926, P.9.

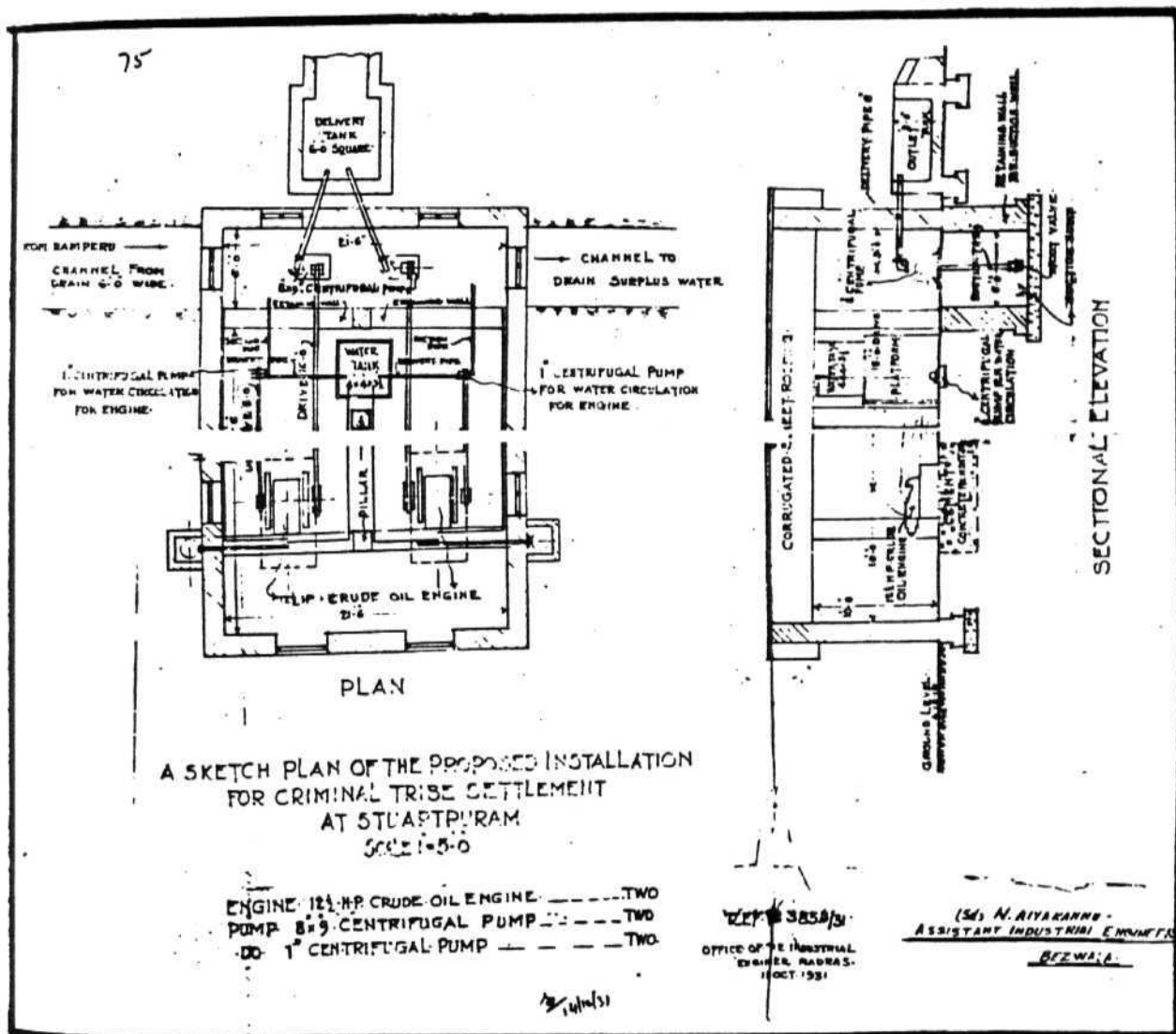
219

2 See P.W.L.D. , G.O.No. 697, 1st July 1926, PP. 2-3. APSA.

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See P.W.L.D. , G.O.No. 1551, New Delhi, P.1. APSA.

## A Sketch Plan of the Proposed Installation for Criminal Tribe Settlement at Stuartpuram



Source : Ref. No. 358B/31, Office of the Industrial  
Engineer, Madras, dated 15th October, 1931.



of the season (i.e. in the month of October). 2. To irrigate an  
221  
additional area of land.

Cultivation was taken up with great **enthusiasm** from the year 1927. The cyclone in November 1927 ruined the whole crop of paddy. 63 acres of groundnut, 75 acres of **Sazza**, 75 cents of Zonna and 50 acres of ragi were cultivated. The plots of ragi and ground-nut near their houses helped them as lucrative employment during the time when out **side** work was slack.<sup>222</sup>

The settlers planted 609 acres of paddy during the year 1928. 158 acres of ground-nut, 80 acres of ragi were cultivated. The total value of the crop was Rs. 29,557.<sup>223</sup> Slater, the then

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See *P.W.L.D.*, **G.O.No.** 268, 5th **February** 1927, **P.2.** APSA. The Pumping plant was located at 2 1/2 of miles distance from the settlement. The manager now and then visited the pumping plant. He could not spare time or physical energy for work. Therefore the government sanctioned a pony for the use of the manager to supervise the working of the pumping plant. The plant pumped water for irrigation of the lands. See *P.W.L.D.*, **G.O.No.** 2192, 4th September 1928, **P.1.** APSA. The real problem at Stuartpuram has always been to find out some means by which Krishna canal water could be made available to the settlers. A number of schemes had been suggested but one after another failed. In March 1923, the Chief Engineer promised to supply water from **cammamur** canal through Sakhi **Kalva** drain. But this failed due to considerable wastage of water. In December 1924 a proposal was laid to construct a dam across the Murakondapadu but it was **deferred**. A third proposal was to excavate a canal parallel to the **Romperu** drain, but this involved additional supply of water from **Commamur** canal. Hence the Public Works Department was unable to recommend. See *Note shoving the Progress made in the settlement of Criminal Tribes in the Madras Presidency up to January 1925*, Madras 1926, **P.10.**

222

See *P.W.L.D.*, **G.O.No.** 1654, 6th July 1928, **P.1.** APSA.

223

See *P.W.L.D.*, **G.O.No.** 2394, 23rd August 1929, **P.1.** APSA.

**commissioner** of Labour visited **Stuartpuram** settlement in July 1928. The settlers presented a petition to him requesting **that** they **might** be given permanent **pattas**.<sup>224</sup>

In a dry year, crop was wealthier and in a wet year they are liable to submersion. Robilliard, in his record of daily occupations, showed that some of the settlers resorted to begging in which case there was ample scope for stealing.<sup>225</sup> That was the reason for giving grants to destitutes, aged and physically handicapped. The **settlers'** income was very poor. The following reasons caused for their poverty in the settlement.

1. The lands were virgin and newly reclaimed.
2. The transplantation was done very late.
3. The seedlings were purchased at a high price.
4. A long duration paddy was raised in a portion of the lands.
5. No rotational crop was raised.
6. Lands were not well manured and properly prepared due to the lack of new technology.
7. Cultivation was not done properly due to inexperience and laxity on the part of the settlers.
8. The full extent of land that had favourably brought  
226  
under irrigation was not attempted.

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224

See **P.W.L.D.** , **G.O.No.1147**, 26th May 1933, **P.1.** APSA.

225

See *Home Judicial Department*, **G.O.No.475**, **dt.19.2.1920**,  
**P.2.TNA.**

See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No. 1654**, 6th July 1928, **P.6.** APSA.

The Deputy Director of agriculture **came** to the settlement during the year 1930 and made suggestions for the improvement of the sandy **soil** by means of suitable **measures**.<sup>227</sup> The executive engineer of Bezawada furnished suggestions for methods of  
228  
irrigating various parts of the land based on a schedule.

449 acres of wet land and 70 acres of dry land were cultivated during the year 1931. Out of 174 candies of paddy, the settlers earned Rs. 14,711. 45 acres of ragi and 25 acres of ground nut brought Rs. 2820 to the settlers.<sup>229</sup> To augment the water supply, the public works department authorities had fixed a 12' pipe sluice in **Cammamur** canal exclusively for the benefit of the **settlers'** lands. The water from this sluice was carried through a drainage channel called **sakki-kalva** which ultimately empties itself into the **Romperu drain**.<sup>230</sup>

During the year 1932, 654 acres of paddy yielded 328 candies. They got Rs. 16400. The sale of straw was Rs. 1640 and thus the total income was Rs. 18040. The ragi crop yielded Rs.

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See **P.W.L.D.** , **G.O.No.2338**, 19th August 1930, **P.3.** APSA.

228

See **P.W.L.D.** , **G.O.No.36**, 4th January 1930, **P.1.** APSA.

See **P.V.L.D.** , **G.O.No.1313**, 17th June 1932, **P.2.** APSA.

230

See **P.W.L.D.** , **G.O.No.1838**, 30th August 1932, **P.9.** APSA  
Shutters were provided to the dam across the **Romperu** drain in connection with the irrigation of Stuartpuram settlement in order to save water and control floods by the public works department. See **P.W.L.D.** , **G.O.No.1149**, 28th October 1930, **P.1.** APSA.

1325 on 43 acres. 200 acres of ground nut realized **82 candies at a price of Rs. 3690.**<sup>231</sup>

A number of settlers had given evidence that they became **permanent** settlers and regularly cultivating the pieces of land placed **at** their disposal for a number of years. The collector of Guntur issued permanent pattas to the **settlers'** lands of those who had been regularly cultivating for a considerable period. In connection with this subject, the Tahsildar of Bapatla visited the settlement. He suggested all those settlers who had been regularly cultivating for a period of 3 years and against whom there was no complaint of crime were given permanent pattas. The Salvation Army and the Labour Commissioner agreed to **the** suggestion. According to this proposal 262 families were found eligible for the issue of permanent pattas. However, there were some problems involved in it. They were as follows. 1. The permanent assignment of the lands to the settlers was inconsistent with the word '**settlement**'. 2. The total area under the control of Salvation Army was about 2,300 acres. The permanent assignment of the lands to settlers required the re-survey of the land into small sub-divisions. The services of **a** special deputy supervisor was required for it which was financially unbearable for the settlers. 3. All the lands **were unsuitable** for dry cultivation and portions of them were being brought under wet cultivation. 4. The land revenue on **the**

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<sup>231</sup>

See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.1996**, 16th June 1933, **P.4.** APSA.

settlement lands was being remitted every year on the ground that Salvation **Army** was not deriving any income on the cultivation of the lands.<sup>232</sup> To be on guard, rights of ownership were granted on the condition that, 1. the land should not be mortgaged for a period of 10 years and, 2. the lands should never be sold to **non-Yerukulas**. Failure to abide by these two conditions would result in forfeiture of the land.

In addition to agricultural **maistries**, a **Karnam** (village officer) was appointed on full time basis to look after the land records, measurements, allotments and supervision of the cattle.<sup>233</sup> It was stated that the only person in the settlement who had knowledge in cultivation was the settlement **Karanam**.<sup>234</sup> He had to attend to the office from 8 am. till 5 pm. every day. During dry season he was occupied with duties such as,

1. collection of all land cess.
2. Remeasurement of cultivation plots.
3. Settling disputes regarding lands and boundaries.
4. Repairs to channels and clearance of silt.
5. To prepare estimates for the ordinary annual repairs to the present settlement buildings and,
6. He was also responsible for the maintenance of peace and **tranquility** in the settlement.

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<sup>232</sup> See **P.W.L.D.**, G.O.No.1147, 26th May 1933, PP.1-2. **APSA**.

<sup>233</sup> See **Lav General Department**, G.O.No. 748, 8th August 1925, P.1.**APSA**. Also see **P.W.L.D.**, G.O.No. 36, 4th January 1930, P.1.**APSA**.

<sup>234</sup> **Ibid**.

For example even to arrange a hut for some person, he was responsible.<sup>235</sup>

The date on which the Karanam joined duty was 1.10.1933. The Karanam was given the pay of Rs. 27 per month. The post of Karanam was included in the miscellaneous staff in Stuartpuram settlement. The Karanam of Stuartpuram settlement was not a government servant but an employee of the Salvation Army. He was paid from funds provided by the government. The name of the Karanam was changed as 'farm bailiff as his duties entailed much more than a Karanam.

The government gave up land cess over the settlers' lands to encourage cultivation. Most of them, later on, picked up the techniques of cultivation and understood the value of land and the favourable effects of cultivating it. 1000 acres of dry land were cultivated by the settlers and the yield was 500 candies of paddy and 1000 bags of ragi during the year 1950. 700 families were allotted lands.<sup>236</sup>

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It was noted that the Karnam of the village was responsible for many quarrels in the matter of lands in the settlement. A penalty was put upon the settlers by the way of an enhanced assessment of 3 times the ordinary amount. See P.W. L.D.,  
235 G.O.No.1551, 20th July 1927, P.1. APSA.  
Administration Report on Habitual Offenders Settlements for 1949-50, Madras, 1950, P.2.

A government official in high position, when visited **the settlement** said, "I noted specially the large amount of ragi cultivation in the sand by pot cultivation and individual settlers casuarina patches".<sup>237</sup>

There was gradual improvement in the cultivation of the settlers every year. The total extent of land available in the settlement during the year 1964 was 2007.71 acres of land and the extent of land cultivated by the settlers was 1772.58 acres.<sup>238</sup>

The Salvation Army encouraged the settlers to engage in small scale industries like weaving, knitting, basket **making**, mat-making, rope making etc. to get substantial income. The manager stated that it was an agricultural settlement and no provision was made for them to provide employment for the settlers. The manager was providing continuous work for the settlers some how or other. The nature of work was road construction work, drain digging, stone quarrying and other works from the public works department.<sup>239</sup>

Women and children made ropes, mats and baskets. They see a chance of getting money in an easier way. When forced to work

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See *The War Cry*, Salvation Army Monthly, April, 1937, P.31.

238

See *Andhra Pradesh State Administration Report for the year 1963-64*, Vol.1., Hyderabad, 1965, P.111.

239

See *Note showing the progress made in the Settlement of Criminal Tribes in the Madras Presidency upto January 1925*, PP. 9-10.

they resort to **crime** and keep away from work. Women found making **mats** very fast. It paid them better. Men also joined women in **making** mats. When they asked to go to work they refused. Then an order was given that no kind of passes were given to the settlers, not even for purchasing rice. Thus they were made to go to work.<sup>240</sup>

The cases of escapes and of overstayals of leave were more in number in the settlement. The district magistrate suggested that a majority of these cases should be left to the manager to deal with instead of taking them to the court. This was usually in connection with police prosecutions for escaping from the settlement or overstaying passes etc. **Marjori** Banks, the Salvation Army official, suggested the construction of a lock-up at the settlement during the year 1916. A great majority of such cases were left to the manager to deal with and stopped taking them to the court. There were three supervising officers in the settlement. Absconders were rigorously prosecuted.<sup>241</sup> It was stated that, many a night we kept vigil watching for the out of views to walk into traps laid for them, and in many cases, we were able to arrest them but more often we failed.<sup>242</sup>

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See Home Judicial Department, G.O.No. 572, 8th March 1917, P.2. TNA.

241

See Home Judicial Department, G.O.No.2 074, 18th August 1916, P.1. TNA.

242

See **The Var Cry**, Salvation Army Monthly, April 1937, P.3.



The settlers were allowed very often on leave to go out in the jungle to fetch raw material for manufacture of **baskets, mats etc.** The settlers took this opportunity and committed robberies. An arrangement was made with the trustworthy person living outside for the supply of raw materials as sticks and **bamboos.** 243

The practice of issuing passes made some of the settlers to abscond from the settlement. From the police point of view, the **settlement** was running satisfactorily. But the question of passes remained unsatisfactory. It was for the benefit of the police department. First, it was not understood why the settlers should have any necessity for going on long leave when they had no outside interest. Becket, the police official, reported cases of day passes being issued to 14 young Yerukula boys. The manager possessed the great faith in them. Date leaves were brought by settlement authorities and retailed to the settlers.<sup>244</sup> The government established a store market within the settlement limits.

A store was opened in the settlement during the year 1919. In the store, two kinds of rice were available. One broken rice (Nukalu) and whole rice. The broken rice was so fragmentary as to be practically worthless and contained good deal of dust. The

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See *Home Judicial Department*, G.O.No.1759, 5th August 1918, P.2. TNA.

244

See *Home Judicial Department*, G.O.No.1255, 15th June 1917, P.1. TNA.



rice **was extremely** cheap. There were many ways to cheat the settlers **in** all ways.<sup>245</sup> The broken rice was retailed to the settlers at 5 seers a rupee, whereas the price in the bazaar **was** 8 seers **a** rupee. The whole rice was also inferior and was being retailed to the settlers at 4 1/2 seers a rupee. The price in the bazaar was 7 seers for the first sort and 7 1/2 seers for the second sort of **rice**.<sup>246</sup>

The Salvation Army was also responsible for the **opening of a railway** station in 1921. It was stated that the opening of **the railway** station extended their **income** by introducing **the** cultivation of tomato growing.<sup>247</sup> The crop was excellent for them and they began to supply the crop to distant places.<sup>248</sup> A gate and level crossing were laid for crossing the way that runs **through** the settlement for two miles. In the beginning, several persons were killed and many heads of cattle were lost because **of this deficiency** in the matter of crossing. Children on their **way to** school from four gangs came through this way twice a day at the risk of life and limb. To prevent accidents and the technical trespasses on the railway line by settlers, a crossing was provided.<sup>249</sup>

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246 See Home Judicial Department, G.O.No.475, 19.2.1920, P.2. TNA.  
See Home Judicial Department, G.O.No.2062, 10th September 1918, P.1. TNA

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Mildred Mackenzie, Op. Cit.P.84.

248 See Lav General Department, G.O.No. 1714, dt. 22.10.1921, P.6. APSA.

249

See P.W.L.D., G.O.No. 1916, dt. 6.1.1993, P.5. APSA. Harold

In addition to the agricultural activity and labour **work**, the settlers were also provided work in an industry by name Indian Leaf Tobacco Department (**ILTD**), opened at a near by village Ramanagar (Epurupalem) in **1915**, and there by created **employment** to these Yerukulas.<sup>250</sup> In the ILTD, men used to be paid wages at the rate of 8 annas per day (48 annas per week, i.e., Rs. 3.00 .16 annas made a rupee in those days) and women 7 annas per day (42 per week, Rs. 2.62)<sup>251</sup> and used to be **paid** the amount at the end of the month. Further, these people were also provided small works in different places.

The Yerukulas were employed in pounding paddy belonging to the Komatis at Chirala, Perala, Epurupalem, Bapatla and in carting stones from Karamchedu during the year 1920. Some settlers worked in settlement gardens. The manager engaged **them** in filling up of pits.<sup>252</sup>

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Stuart on his visit to Stuartpuram settlement said,

"The railways seemed to have been largely responsible for driving the people into crime. Hence the least could do was to build a railway station at Stuartpuram".

Stuartpuram station today is one of the regular stations on the Madras line. See Mildred Mackenzie, *Op.Cit.*, **P.85**.

250

See Meena Radha Krishna, "From Tribal Community to working class consciousness case of Yerukula women...", *Op.Cit.*, **25pp.3-4**.

See Lav (**General**) Department, **G.O.No.3187**, 14th November **1924**, **P.1**. APSA.

252

See Home Judicial Department, **G.O.No.1974**, 10th August 1920, **P.6**. TNA.

The settlement worked under heavy economic difficulties during the year 1926. But, the Indian leaf Tobacco development company at Perala some how supported the settlers and saved the settlement from **its** financial **difficulties**.<sup>253</sup> However, much difficulty had been experienced in finding sufficient employment for the people in the settlement. The settlers were unemployed for five months in **ILTD** company. **Cooli** labour on the piece work system was supplied by ILTD factory upto an amount of Rs. 37,060 during the year 1926.<sup>254</sup>

There were a number of absconders from the village during the year 1925-26. The abscondings in the settlement were chiefly due to the following reasons:

1. unemployment.
2. domestic troubles or family disputes.
3. slackness of work.
4. the general spirit of unrest.
5. the policies of the government.
6. the harassmt of the police, and  
255
7. strict supervision etc.

Though land was given to these people, agriculture was entirely foreign to them. Due to frequent occurrence of floods, cyclones, late supply of water and infertility of the soil, they

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<sup>253</sup> See **P.W.L.D., G.O.No. 697, 1st July 1926, P.3.** APSA.

<sup>254</sup> See **P.W.L.D., G.O.No.1551, 10th July 1927, P.2.** APSA.

<sup>255</sup> See **P.V.L.D., G.O.No.697, 1st July 1926, P.3.** Also See **P.W.L.D., G.O.No.1551, 20th July 1927, P.4.** APSA.

were loosing their crops. It was reported that 80 to 90 percent of the convictions in Stuartpuram resulted from absconding. The number of absconders on the rolls, from the beginning of the settlement upto the end of the year 1920-21, was 168, and the number of absconders, since then, upto the end of the year 1924, was 161.<sup>257</sup>

The following table shows the residential status of the settlers with criminal behaviour in the village from 1921 to 1930.<sup>258</sup>

TABLE 4.

Residential Status of Stuartpuram Settlers from 1921-30

Year	Men	Women	Children	Total
1921	546	500	561	1,607
1922	556	541	682	1,779
1923	539	526	718	1,783
1924	649	638	829	2,116
1925	666	657	881	2,204
1926	664	651	907	2,222
1927	699	640	890	2,229
1928	678	615	743	2,036
1929	679	601	775	2,055
1930	692	611	813	2,143

The development of seed buds cultivation, directly by the company, simplified the problem of employment. Mr. Whitted, the

<sup>256</sup> See *P.W.L.D.*, G.O.No. 298, 8th July 1924, P.3. APSA.

<sup>257</sup> See *Lav General Department*, G.O.No. 2267, 6th July 1925, P.1. APSA.

<sup>258</sup> See *Administrative Reports of the Inspector General of Police*, Madras Presidency from 1921 to 1931. Also see *Lav General Department Proceedings*, Madras Presidency from 1921 to 1931. APSA.

**manager** of **ILTD**, made experiments in the cultivation of tobacco on the sand. It was successful. Every year the tobacco cultivation expanded on the sandy area.

The Salvation Army was successful in making some people to adopt new means of earning livelihood. While some of them have learnt farming and become agriculturists, others have learnt to make new arts and handicrafts. Some are land-owners doing their work independently and some are working as labourers in surrounding areas. A co-operative society was organized with 290 share holders before 1927. The share capital, amounted to **Rs.2947.70**, was paid. Through this society, the settlers were able to help the people in improving their land, providing the irrigation facilities etc.<sup>259</sup> The main purpose for which co-operative societies were organized were as follows.

1. Acquisition of house sites on the easy payment system.
2. Loans for agricultural purposes.
3. Cultivation and reclamation of land.
4. Discharge of loans borrowed at ruinous rates of interest from money lenders.

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**259**

See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.1551**, dt. 20th July 1927, **P.4**. During the year 1927, the share capital amounted to **Rs. 2947.70**, was paid. Fixed deposits were to the extent of **Rs. 345** made by the settlers. Shares and fixed deposits received amounted to **Rs. 4360.90**. **Rs. 4282** were let out as loans to the settlers during the year 1927. A sum of **Rs. 3555-11-11** was received by the society. The voiceless settlers thanked the authorities for their better days than they were earlier. See **P.V.L.D.**, **G.O.No. 1654**, dt.6th July 1928, **P.2**. **APSA**.

5. collective bargaining
6. Sale and trade, and
7. Relief for persons affected by the floods.<sup>260</sup>

George Paddison, the then commissioner of labour and, **HMFM** Tyler, the then Deputy Registrar of co-operative societies visited the settlement during the year 1927 and had given the settlers their valuable suggestions.

The financial condition of the co-operative society in the settlement from the year 1948 to 1950 was as follows.<sup>261</sup>

TABLE 5.  
Financial Condition of Co-operative Society in  
Stuartpuram Settlement, 1948-50.

	1948 Rs.	1949 Rs.	1950 Rs.
1. Reserve fund	454.00	454.00	501.00
2. Shares collected	49.00	38.00	N.A.
3. Total share capital	2146.00	2156.00	2188.00
4. Assets	6008.00	6174.00	6424.00
5. Liabilities	5421.00	5529.00	5039.00
6. Loans paid out	350.00	350.00	450.00
7. Loans collected	404.00	509.00	587.00

<sup>260</sup> See Report on the *Administration of Madras Presidency, 1925-26* Madras 1927, P.120.

<sup>261</sup> See *Admn. Report on Kallar, Koravar and Yanadi Reclamation and Habitual Offenders Settlements from 1948 to 1952*. TNA.



The cooperative society and stores in the settlement were wound up in July 1949 as they were running on a **loss**.<sup>262</sup> However, the **government** sanctioned an amount of Rs. 5000 to the tenants co-operative society of Stuartpuram during the year **1961-62**.---

During the year 1930, the settlers were sent on 'O' passes to the Kodanda Rama Mica Mines in the Rapur taluq of Nellore district for employment. The manager of the mines also offered **employment** to a certain number of Kavali settlers. The work in the mica mines was temporary. It was a partial solution to the problem. Another batch proceeded to **Thummala** Thalpur, village in Rapur taluq (Nellore District), for employment.<sup>264</sup>

The tobacco company was completely closed from September 1930 to March 1931 due to lack of sufficient funds and hence unable to provide **employment** to the settlers. F.W. Stewart, the district magistrate, made suggestions for vegetable growing during the year 1930. Some others worked on the village tank scheme at Parchoor 17 miles away from the settlement.<sup>265</sup>

Further these people were also provided small works in different places. The minor works included road construction,

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See *Madras State Administration Reports for the year 1949-50*, Part 2, Madras, 1954, **P.67**.

263

See *Andhra Pradesh State Administration Report, 1961-62*, Vol.1, Hyderabad, 1963, **P.87**.

264

See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.** 170, 21st January 1931, **P.3**. APSA.

265

See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.** 1926, 30th June 1931, **P.2**. APSA. Also See *Administration Report of the Inspector General of Police for the Year 1921*, Madras, **P.28**.

digging of pits, fencing, manuring, spraying and watering plants.

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etc. Referring to the unemployment during the year 1930-31, the **Inspector** General of Police, Madras said that the manager **should** be congratulated on successfully tiding over the crisis in the year 1930.<sup>267</sup>

There were cases in which the Salvation Army protected some people from the hands of the police. A beat post was opened prior to 1956 to check the physical presence of the criminals in the settlement. C.B. Cunningham, the then Inspector General of Police, Madras wrote:

••The commission of occasional crime by settlers or other inmates of the settlement is inevitable and we have reason to be grateful that so many habitual criminals have been reformed and are being **reformed** here. The police should come to the manager with their **problems** and difficulties as a fellow worker and colleague".<sup>268</sup>

Some male members used to absent themselves at midnight **but** returned in the morning. Their intention was not free from committing crime. They were prosecuted. A new form was introduced in the settlement to facilitate the **identification** of unregistered persons. The **real** problem was how to arrest these settlers who left without the knowledge of the management. The

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<sup>266</sup> The daily income of each person was Rs. 2.80. Their earning for **the** calendar year 1948 was **Rs. 3,22,857**. See *Administration Report on Kallar Reclamation Korva Reclamation, Criminal Tribe Settlements and Yanadi Reclamation for the year 1947-49*. **PP.17** & 27.

<sup>267</sup>

See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.1313**, 17th June 1932, **P.7**. APSA.

<sup>268</sup>

See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.1926**, 30 July 1931, **P.3**. APSA.

names of old absconders of ten years were removed from the out of view (o.v) registers on the advice of the **D.I.G.** of **police.**<sup>269</sup> **Unemployed** settlers settled and discontinued their old habits. Not a single crime was reported during the year 1932.<sup>270</sup> In addition to that the improvement of tobacco company was their good fortune in **smoothening** their life in the settlement.

In connection with the employment of women at the **ILTD** company factory, a nursery creche for infant children was provided. The mothers carried their babies to the Company. They left their children in the shed outside the factory gates in the charge of some old women.<sup>271</sup> This was like modern creches. Women who had more children had no one to take care of them. The forest department attracted the children to collect the date leaves and hence mothers used to take children along **with** them.<sup>272</sup>

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269

See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.694**, dt.19.3.1934, **P.1.** APSA.

<sup>270</sup> See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.1313**, dt.17.6.1932, **PP.1-2.** APSA.

<sup>1</sup> See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.1996**, 16.1.1933, **P.7.** APSA.

<sup>272</sup> See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.1654**, 6.7.1928, **P.2.** APSA. Vedullapalli reserved forest situated within the **limits** of Bapatla village. It extended from Vedullapalli to Leper Home at Bapatla. It **measured** 801.44 acres according to revenue accounts. But according to the figures of the forest department it measured 779.00 acres. It was the chief grazing ground for the cattle of the adjoining villages. The then range officer Bapatla **said**, "There would be no standing room for cattle if that reserve be deforested and assigned. The people of Bapatla many times stood against the formation of Stuartpuram settlement". E.A. Davis strongly opposed to the grant of Vedullapalli reserve to the Salvation Army. See. *Home Judicial Department*, **G.O.No.** 305, February 1918, **PP.1-2.** TNA.

There were lapses and fighting amongst the settlers. This was largely due to the sale of toddy in neighbouring villages like Vedullapalli, Ipurupalem and **Gavinivaripalem**. Whenever toddy was obtainable, there feuds were inevitable.<sup>273</sup> The granting of license for the sale of liquor in the village of **Epurupalem** was indiscreet. Many settlers pass through the village (Epurupalem) twice a day from work at the **ILTD** company.<sup>274</sup>

During full seasonal time, 3500 people both men and women, were employed in **ILTD** factory. The free colony settlers regularly attended the factory work. The settlers walked 7 km. to work in the morning.<sup>275</sup> The commissioner of labour stated,

"The settlers were not incorrigibles and they were not confined behind barbed wires. No special police staff was employed to ~~watch the~~ settlers when they were working in Tobacco **factory**".<sup>276</sup>

Old men and women received subsistence allowance under two **main** categories. 1. Widows with children **and**, 2. women whose husbands absconded or in jail.<sup>277</sup> The money was misused in many

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See **P.W.L.D.**, G.O.No.1313, dt.17.6.1932, P.1. APSA.

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See **P.W.L.D.**, G.O.No.2007, dt.11.9.1934, P.5. APSA.

275

See **P.W.L.D.**, G.O.No.543, dt.1st March 1935, PP.3-4. APSA.

276

See **P.W.L.D.**, G.O.No.170, dt.21.1.1931, P.3. APSA.

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Circumstances	Amount Paid per month
1.Widow with two young children	Rs. 4 - 00
2.Husband in jail, one son in school	Rs. 4 - 00
3.Abandoned woman with 2 children	Rs. 4 - 00
4.Widow with two young children	Rs. 4 - 00
5.Husband in jail, with 3 children	Rs. 4 - 00
6.Husband in jail,	Rs. 3 - 00

directions. Getting good food was appreciated by all those in real need. An arrangement was made by a new system by which the food and cloth required by the incapables was supplied. The Administration Report for the year 1933-34 stated,

**"One** thing is obvious. The cash as given at present may be misused in many directions. Whereas the certainty of getting food would be appreciated by those in real need".<sup>298</sup>

During the year **1936**, nearly 168 families were released on 'O' passes and permitted to live in a newly formed colony near Chirala adjoining to the premises of the ILTD company where some other extra work had been provided for them.<sup>279</sup> 1003 settlers were employed in ILTD factory during the year 1949 and they earned Rs. 4,93,118-73. The factory was closed down in the year 1949 due to slack season. It was re-opened in January 1950. 300 more old settlers were employed. Employment was also provided in connection with the **Romperu** drainage scheme undertaken by public works department. Each settler was given **Rs.2.80** paise a day **for cooli** work. Some settlers traded in cattle.<sup>280</sup> The settlers who were employed in ILTD factory received an increased rate of wages

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**7.Husband** in jail, one young child Rs 4 - 00

See *P.V.L.D.*, **G.O.No. 170**, dt. **21.1.1931**, **P.3**. APSA. Also see *P.W.L.D.*, **G.O.No.1926**, dt. **30.7.1931**, **P.3**. APSA.

278

See *P.W.L.D.*, **G.O.No.2671**, dt. **6.12.1934**, **P.4**. APSA.

279

See *Administration Report of the Inspector General of Police*, 1936 Madras 1937, **P.26**. 'O' pass is an identity card issued by the local police authorities to these settlers to go **for work out** side. This is for easy **identification**.

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See *Administration Report on Habitual Offenders Settlement for 1949-50*, Madras, 1950, **P.1**.

and also bonus during the year 1948.

**Social Life: Family:**

The society was based on the patriarchal system. Women occupied a relatively important position. Women are treated well in general. Both the joint and the nuclear family system evolved. The decision-making power rested with man. The relationship between married children and the parents is good. Freedom was given to the married members of the family. Even now there are some traces of Joint family system.

The society of yerukulas in **Stuartpuram** consists of three types of families - nuclear, joint and single membered families. However, the number of nuclear families are more. The population is divided into four age-groups i.e 1 to 13; 14 to 20, 21 to 59 and 60 above. The age group of 21-59 represents the highest number of people.<sup>282</sup> Basically the houses are 1) *tataku itukillu* (thatched brick houses) and 2) *penkutillu* (brick houses). The thatched houses are large in number because of the poverty - stricken conditions of the settlers. In Stuartpuram settlement, both men and women are hard working. Both are busy with their work. Generally men go for works like agricultural operations, rickshaw-pulling and work in the Indian Leaf Tobacco Department.

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See *Administration Report on Kallar, Koravar Reclamation and Criminal Tribes Settlements and Yanadi Reclamation for the year 1947-48*, Madras, 1949, P.20.

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**Y.C. Simhadri**, *The ex-criminal tribes of India*, Op.Cit., P.80.

Women, when not employed, stay at **home** and look after household work.

Position of women:

Traditionally, women were greatly oppressed and this has changed a little and for the better. They are expected to show respect to the male members of the family. In general, the brother-in-law or other children accept women as part of their family. They cannot call their husband by name. Some Yerukulas are particular about the reputation of their womanhood and consider it a serious matter, if any of them return home without an escort after sunset. Debauchery is considered to be the most sinful act and is severely condemned. The fortune-telling women carry a basket, winnow, stick and wicker tray in which coury shells are embedded in a mixture of cow dung and turmeric. The basket represents Kolapuriamma. The women go about the streets calling out '**Yeruko Amma yeruka**' which means 'prophecy, mother,

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prophecy'.

Gotrams or clans:

They have their own '**Gotras**' or clans. They are **Sathupati**,

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**Kavadi**, **Manepati**, **Mandragutti**. These are all corrupted Tamil words. **Sathupadi** is a corruption of **Sattupadi** which means adorning a Hindu deity with flowers, jewels and vestments,

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Edgar Thurston, *Op. cit.*, P.441.

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**W.J. Hatch**, *Op.Cit.*, P.62.

**kavadi** means a pole carried on the shoulders with two **baskets**, pendants hanging **from** both ends. **Manepati** is a corruption of **manpadi** which means stitching a pair of shoes and presenting them to the temple.<sup>285</sup> In earlier days, these people were very particular about their **gotrams**. Of these four major divisions, **Sathupati** and **Kavati** gotrams are considered superior. A **kavati** man (styled as **Pothuvadu** in Telugu), according to the tradition, can marry into a **Sathupati** family as they are **endogamous**. However, the reverse is not generally acceptable, though there are very few exceptions.

These tribes are said to have many sub-divisions but these refer chiefly to the various occupations they follow. Some of them are, **Kavali** Yerukulas, **Uppu** Yerukulas, **Dabba** Yerukulas, **Karrepaku** Yerukulas, **Parigimugga** Yerukulas, **Koot** Yerukulas, **Kotulas**, **Bhazantri** Yerukulas, **Ram** Yerukulas, **Nagi** Yerukulas, **Suvva** Yerukulas, **Kunchapari** Yerukulas, **Sathupati** Yerukulas, **Kuddikatti** Yerukulas, etc.<sup>286</sup> Some men who were appointed as watch

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<sup>285</sup> See *The Tribes of Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad, 1964, P. 14.

286 **W.J. Hatch, Op.Cit., P.62.** Yerukulas have innumerable family or house names: **Wuyyala**, **Bandi**, **Malli**, **Kampa**, **Karriyeddula**, **Gajjala**, **Samudrala**, **Ragala**, **Kundanati**, **Manepati**, **Gutti**, **Vallagi**, **Chavata**, **Pujari**, **Katari**, **Katta**, **Ballani**, **Devara konda**, **Kandra Konda**, **Anapa**, **Itta**, **Madigani**, **Meda**, **Kavati**, **Peram**, **Chinapotula**, **Mota**, **Sangadala**, **Pakala**, **Peeriga**, **Garika** etc. **Inteperu (surname) or exogamous** sects; the following which were given by **uppu** Yerukulas may be cited. **Dasari**= Vaishnavite mendicant; **Sukka**=Star, **Kampa**=Bush of Thorns; **Avula**=cows; **Toka**=tail; **Anaga**= **Pongamia-gabra**; **Bandi**= cart; **Gajjala**= Small bell; **Mogali**= **Pandanus Fascicularis**, **Wuyyala**= swing; **Ragala**=**Ragi** grain; **Pula**=flowers, **Katari**=dagger; **Malli**=jasmine flower; **Samudrala**=sea. Fawcett writes of these houses or sect names may be useful in order to establish a man's identity.



men were called **Kavali** Yerukulas. Some men who maintained their livelihood by taking the business of salt were called **uppu yerukulas**. **Dabba** Yerukulas were those who prepared bamboo baskets. The people who sell **karvepaku** leaves were called **Karvepaku** Yerukulas. **Pamulas** were those who catch snakes and exhibits them in the villages to earn a living. **Parigamuggalas** were those whose profession is tattooing . The people who obtain their livelihood by prostitution are called **koot** Yerukulas. In Telugu areas, these people were called **Bogamuvuru**. They also kidnap and sell children; **Kotulas** were those who trap monkeys and perform. The people who play the orchestra at the time of festivals, marriages and other cultural proceedings were called **Bhazantri** Yerukulas. **Ram** Yerukulas were those who live on the profession of working in rocks. The people who eat monkeys are called **Nagi** Yerukulas. Some gather roots in forests and make them into long brushes. They are excellent hunters. They are called **Kunchipuri** Yerukulas. **Satupati** Yerukulas were those whose main source of livelihood is preparing baskets. **Etapulla** Yerukulas were those whose main occupation is net weaving. **Suvva** Yerukulas were those whose main occupation is the basket making with iron rods.

In the settlement at **Stuartpuram**, there are basically three religious groups viz., Hindus, Christians, and Muslims. But the

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Cited in Edgar Thurston, *Op.Cit.*, P.452.

number of Hindus and converted Christians are large in **number**. The Hindus worship Venkateswara, Lakshmi, Siva and other gods of Hindu pantheon. The Christians attend the church service. But due to the influence of the Salvation Army there are a good number of people who go to the church though they are traditionally Hindus. Both Hindus and Christians used to celebrate their festivals like Dasera, Deepavali, **Pongal**, Christmas and the New Year **Day**. **Some** of the people who engage in criminal activities are animists. They believe in natural forces and worship all kinds of idols, animals, birds and supernatural forces.

The *hula Dharma* (caste duty) of Yerukulas was **dongatanamu** (the thieving). Before going out on a house breaking excursion or a raid on a peaceful village they used to pray to the Modevi (goddess of sleep). The contents of the prayers being that they themselves might be kept alert that a heavy sleep might fall on their victims and that the police would not interrupt their operations. When the Yerukulas first came to Stuartpuram settlement it was not easy to get them attempt ordinary honest work. <sup>288</sup>

#### Language:

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**Y.C. Simhadri**, "*The ex-criminal....*" *op.cit.*, P. 71. The Hindus are high in number and the caste groups of the Hindus in this village are Brahmins, Komatis, Reddis, Kammas, Telagas, **Naidus**, Weavers, **Kummaras**, Gowdas, Yadavas, **Mangalis**, Vadde **people**, Boyas, etc. In Christians there are only two **sub-sects**, **mala** and **madiga** communities. See **Simhadri** Y.C, *The ex-criminal tribes....*, *Op.Cit.*, P. 73-74.

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See *The War Cry*, Salvation Army Monthly, April 1937, **P.3**.

These tribes have their own language but no script. The words of **Yerukulas** and koravas appear to be taken mainly from other south Indian languages such as **Tamil**, Telugu and Canarese. The wandering tribes speak more than one language to make friendship with others. But the settled people speak the language of the locality.<sup>289</sup> Those yerukulas who were spread all over the Andhra region speak only Telugu language. They use slang expressions which are unintelligible to the outsiders.

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Examples of a few words from their language are given below:

**Numeral Series** - Cardinal Numbers. 1= Ondu, 2= **Rendu** 3=**Mudu**, 4=**Nalu**, 5=Anju, 6= Aaru 7=Egu 8=Ettu 9=Nambudu 10= Pattu. 100=Nooru, 1000=Pattunooru.

**Nouns:**

Father= Ava

**Mother= Amme**

Elder brother= Annu

Younger Brother= **Tambi**

What is your Name=Naberu Andadi?

My name is **Ravi=Nanu** Ravi

**Rice=Soru**, **Water=Tanni**, Wife= Mondu, Stone =**Kellu**, Hand= Kiya, Right hand = Sorakiya, Left hand = Purakiya. **Husband=Managam**, Daughter = **Magale**, Son= **Magane**, Younger Sister = **Tamsi**, Tooth=**Pellu**.

**Pronouns:**

I = **Nanu**, You = Ninu, Ninga We = Nanga, What = Enda.

**Phrases:**

I Drink **Water=** Tanni kudikiren

I Eat rice = Soru Tingaren.

My wife = Na Mondu

I am Here = Nan ity ikkiren

You all = Ninga Andderu

A good Man = **Nalla** Mannaso

I will beat him =**Nanu** attu Mottikkren

See **Hukumnamas** and *Papers relating to Sriharikota Yanadis*, Vol.1. n.d.

Also see Edgar Thurston, *Op.Cit.*, P.447. A selection of papers from the old records of the Nellore district, Nellore 1915, P. Appendix 1-3. Also see Triligna (Telugu) Journal April 1919, P. 1-3.

See Chalavadi **Satyanaryana**, *Op.Cit.*, P.25.

The **yerukulas** in the settlement have their own language. Parents generally talk in yerukula language. Some of the children learn this from their parents. Language is the factor which contributes to their **unity**. and they recognize very easily the **non-yerukulas**. In the settlement the people observe their gotra/ns or kinship relations very strictly while performing marriages. They identify a certain person by his house name. Thus they follow endogamous rules. Today, inter-caste **marriages** are taking place in Stuartpuram.

#### Food:

Cats, Fowls, monkeys, jackals, field rats, deer, goats, sheep, antelope and all sorts of birds, crows sparrows, squirrels, parrots etc., serve as articles of food for these people.<sup>290</sup> They are totally non-vegetarians and love hunting. But due to their economic scarcity they are turning into vegetarians. They drink toddy heavily. They also take drugs. They eat all varieties of vegetables. They are restricted to eat with other communities like pariahs and Muslims.

#### Marriage system:

The type of marriage that among Yerukulas is polygamy. But it is weakening now. They are favouring monogamy. Elders arrange their marriages. They freely admit other caste women into theirs, except those of the lowest order, such as **Malas**,

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Edgar Thurston, *Op.Cit.*, P.475. Also see Gustav Oppert, *Op.Cit.*, P. 203.

*Madigas* and the like. At present, they are admitting these women also into their fold. A marriage is generally negotiated between the parents of the bridegroom and the bride and the former promises to pay a **voli** or bride price of Rs. 3.50 for the first

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**marriage** and seven rupees for the remarriage of a man or **woman**.

Child marriages are not allowed. Dr. Shortt stated that "A custom prevails in the tribe whereby the maternal uncle may claim the first two daughters of family as wives for **his** sons".<sup>292</sup> Generally, the selection of a match was followed in the following manner. First, they select a suitable bride and the parents of the bridegroom visit the bride's house with all elderly persons. The village head was the mediator between the two parties. If they find that the girl is suitable to their bridegroom, they give their acceptance. Instead of bride-price, the dowry system slowly stepped into their life due to the Sanskritization process. People take dowry according to their social status. It is taken in terms of fields, cash, gold, vehicles and other luxurious goods.

Soon after the selection, they celebrate the occasion with the drinking of toddy in the presence of the village head. Parents of both the parties exchange toddy and also supply one

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**M.A. Sherring, Op.Cit., pp. 137-138.**

See *Madras Government Bulletin*, Vol. V, **No.1**. Anthropology vision of the Uralis and **Sholagas**; More Marriage customs in Southern India, Hook-Swinging, Paliyans. Madras, **1903**, PP. 23-24. The value of a wife is fixed at 20 pagodas. The **maternal** uncle's right to the first two daughters are valued at 8 out of 20 pagodas.

vessel to the head of the **kulapanchayat**. Feast will follow **after** drinking. After the betrothal ceremony is over, the parents of both the parties are bound by the contract. Otherwise a **meeting** is called for and explanation is given accordingly for the breach of **the** contract. The *Kulapanchayat* gives its judgment and it will be followed strictly.

Generally, for those that follow Hindu customs, a brahmin priest fixes the marriage **muhurtam** (auspicious time) and **Performs** it. A Pastor performs the marriage for converted Christians. The *Tali*<sup>293</sup> consists of black beads and *Talambralu* (rice grains over the heads of bride and groom) will follow.<sup>294</sup> Widows are not allowed to participate in the function. Another custom that exists in their family is to make contract between two individuals before the birth of their children. They say to one another: "If your wife should have a girl and mine a boy or vice versa they must marry".<sup>295</sup> But if a brahmin objects, **then there is a scope for its breach.**

### **Puberty:**

Puberty is a happy occasion to the tribals. If the girl attains puberty, the news is sent to her maternal uncle. The girl '**sits**' for five days and observes pollution. Her uncle gives her

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<sup>293</sup> Gustav oppert, *Op.cit.*, P. 203.

<sup>294</sup> *Madras Government Museum, Bulletin, Vol. IV, No.3, Anthropology, Madras, 1903, P.165.*

<sup>295</sup> *Thurston, op.cit.*, P. 487.

new clothes, comb, mirror, flowers, *kumkum* (coloured powder), nuts and bangles etc, and also arranges for a feast to her. Sweets are distributed to celebrate the occasion.

#### Divorce:

Divorce is rare and, if it takes place, the divorced parties may rake up their differences and become enemies. In the case of elopement, the father of a boy or girl summons a meeting at which the accused is penalized. The man who elopes with the girl is forced to marry her. If a **married** person elopes with another girl, both woman and man are strictly punished by the village elders in the *kulapanchayat*. Certain amount is also fixed on the accused. This system is also implemented on those who have illegal contacts. If a man, already having a wife, does not have children, then he is eligible to take a second wife. Otherwise he is punished. He is obliged to pay for the maintenance of the first wife.

#### Widow marriage:

Widow marriages are quite common in this community. It is said that a widow can marry for seven times. A woman who marries seven times is called ***Peddaboyasani***. She is considered to be a sacred woman in marriages and other religious ceremonies. A person who wishes to marry a widow will buy a new saree and accepts her as wife in the presence of others. This is what is

called **cheerakattukovadamu** (wearing the saree).<sup>296</sup> The head of the **village** acts as a **mediator**. They celebrate it with drinking toddy. Another custom prevailing **among** them is that in the absence of her husband who is in jail, his wife lives with other person. On his return, the husband again accepts her along with the new-born children.<sup>297</sup>

Birth ceremonies:

In earlier days, immediately after the birth of the child, they burn incense in front of the hut. They purify the hut with cow dung. After this **purification**, everybody is allowed to see  
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the new-born baby. They also follow certain practices for the safety of the child in order to escape from a supernatural force. They bestow attention on mother and child. They take bath on the 9th day.<sup>299</sup> Toddy and dinner are served. Naming the child **will** take place after a few months. These names are most probably selected

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<sup>296</sup> Syed **Siraj-ul-Hassan** writes "The ritual in vogue at a widow marriage is simple and consists in dressing the widow in new clothes, putting bangles on her arms and taking her home". See Syed Siraj **-ul-Hassan**, *Op.Cit.*, P.190.

<sup>297</sup>

W.J Hatch, *op.cit.*, P. 77.

<sup>298</sup>

Writing about **Yerukulas**, T. Cain informs us that immediately the woman feels the birth-pains, she informs her husband, who takes some of her clothes, puts them on and places the same on his head. She retires into a dark room where there is only very dim lamp, and lies down on the bed, covering himself up with a long cloth. When the child is born, it is washed and placed on the cot besides the father. **Asafoetida**, Jaggery (Molasses) and other articles are given not to the mother but to the father. See Kamala Manohar Rao, *Bulletin of Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute*, Madras, 1901, PP. 114-115.

<sup>299</sup>

Gustav oppert, *Op.Cit.*, P. 206.



from their ancestors, sometimes their heroes or from their gods and goddesses. Generally, the names are Venkatigadu, Gangadu, Nagir Ankali etc. After a name is given, a black string is tied to the wrist of the infant. The maternal uncle takes interest in the new-born child. They consider it a good omen if the child is born on the new moon night.<sup>300</sup> If the child is born with an umbilical chord twisted round his neck, they take it as a bad omen and expect death of father or the maternal uncle. They would like to overcome this by killing a fowl and wearing its inner parts round the neck and afterwards burning them along with the umbilical chord.<sup>301</sup> The yerukulas teach their children to answer negatively to whatever questions are put to them and also teach them all sorts of methods of committing crime.

#### Disposal of the dead:

If a wandering yerukula dies, he is buried as quickly as possible, by keeping the head to the north and feet to the south. They cover the corpse with new clothes and he is given bath and a coin is placed in one corner. They invite crows thinking that the spirit of the dead is moving around. Exactly after one year, they perform a function and that completes the major death ceremonies. More or less the procedure is followed by converted Christians with minor changes. Some Yerukulas used to plant a

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<sup>300</sup> It is considered that children born in such auspicious circumstances will become expert thieves. See E. Thurston, *Op.cit.*, P. 492.

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.*

**tulasi** plant at the place where the body is burnt.

### **Superstitions:**

Falling of a lizard in front of them is considered bad luck and if it chirps on other sides, it is taken as a sign of good-luck. While starting, if any **member** of his family sneezes once, it is considered to be bad-luck but if it is **done** repeatedly, it is considered to be good. It is inauspicious **to them** to see an oil man, a barber, a police constable and a cock-eyed man while they are going. A crow flying towards the right hand side is considered a good omen, but if it flies **over** the **head** of a person, it is considered a bad omen. If the crow cries, it is supposed that somebody is coming to their home for a visit. It is unfortunate, when starting on a journey, to see widows, pots of milk, dogs barking, a man leading a bull. Number three is considered ominous and an expedition never consists of three. Sundays are auspicious for weddings while they are inauspicious for crime. Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays are unlucky.<sup>302</sup> It is a bad omen to meet with a bundle of wood or cow dung cakes. If they meet a well-dressed widow or a cat it is considered as serious and bad omen.

### **Weapons:**

Most yerukulas possess knives and a kind of 'billhook',

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<sup>302</sup> W.J. Hatch, *op.cit.*, PP. 92-97.

called **Kodavali**, which is a sort of compromise between a sword and a sickle. The back of the blade is heavy and renders it capable of dealing a very severe blow. With this implement, animals are slaughtered, murders committed and bamboos split. For the purpose of committing burglaries they use an iron instrument called *gadikolu* or **sillukolu**.<sup>303</sup>

Kulapanchayat:

In the **past**, the village head played a very important role in tribal communities. He was the person concerned with register for the births and deaths and the new arrivals into the settlement. All the settlers were controlled by him. He was elected on the basis of his popularity, age and the ability to deal with the cases of various types.

The Panchayat comprises of five persons. These five elders of the tribe are called **Berumanusom**, big people or elders from the council. All the individuals respect their unwritten law and obey the will of *Kulapanchayat*. Any violation of these conventions is seriously dealt with.

The meetings of the panchayat are held at a common meeting

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<sup>303</sup> Each family had its snares for edible birds and nets for game, such as hares etc., and they use them to catch the birds and other pet animals. The men go out hunting with these and bring back live birds and small animals which they kill and eat, or sell for grain or money. This is a means of livelihood and source of income in addition to basket making. See Kamala Manohar Rao, *Op.Cit.*, P.117. Each family has a cot, like a wooden cradle, with rope-matting bottom. See *The Tribes of Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad, A.P. 1964, P. 15.

place. The alleged culprit and his people usually sit at the left side and the aggrieved party on the right side or vice versa while the elders sit in between the two parties. The elders secretly decide the type of ordeal to test the guilt of the culprit.

It is customary that the accused should dip his fingers into the boiling oil and it is an indication to prove his innocence or guilt. Still there are **some** traces of this custom. The other system of this sort is lifting a red-hot crow bar from fire and carrying a pot filled with water to its brim without slipping a drop.

The tribal panchayat usually deals with 1) cases of immorality within the members of the tribe. If any woman is caught red-handed when she is involved in adultery, the husband brings the case to the members of the **kulapanchayat**. On an enquiry, the *Kulapanchayat* decides the punishment. The culprit is expected to bear the cost of it. 2) persons who violate the social custom 3) property disputes 4) marriage disputes 5) disputes pertaining to the division of the parental property 6) to admit new **persons, and** 7) disputes of stolen property etc.

#### Education:

The Salvation Army thought that education was compulsory for the **Yerukulas** of this settlement and, therefore, started an **elementary** school in 1916. Elementary education was made



**Salvation Army Elementary School in  
Stuartpuram Settlement**

compulsory and those not attending the school were **strictly punished**. Out of 481 children in the settlement, 250 **children were school** going during the year 1916. 74 children **attended the** school regularly. The children in the school were very bright. The governor of Madras was delighted with the school and took a photograph of the boys.<sup>304</sup>

The school was run in a palmyra shed of the size '60 1/2' x 20' which was leaky. In the elementary school, the children were taught three 'R's' and general knowledge, including rural science, gardening, nature study, English, Physical training **and** the Bible. In the higher standards of the school, industrial education and moral training were introduced. Instruction in agriculture was made compulsory in school education. The school was a co-education school. There were 40 children in each section. Class books, maps, slates and slated pencils, pictures of animals and plants, a globe, Ananda primer and Ananda Readers for standards I, II and III and garden implements for children were purchased by the manager. Night classes were conducted for adults. The teachers employed in the day school taught in the night schools also. The wives of the teachers evinced keen interest in **girls'** education. For this, the teachers were given extra salary of Rs. 8 to head master and Rs. 5 for assistant teachers. The subjects taught in the night school were reading,

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See Home Judicial Department, G.O.No. 2074, 18th August 1916, P.4. TNA.

writing and Arithmetic.<sup>305</sup>

The strength and attendance of students in the elementary school on 29th October 1917 was as follows:<sup>306</sup>

TABLE 6.  
Strength of Elementary School Stuartpuram, 1917

Standards	No. on rolls		No. Present		Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
Infants A	14	11	14	9	23
Infants B	22	14	13	11	24
Infants C	15	23	10	18	28
Infants D	30	34	25	27	52
1st Standard	8	03	06	02	08
2nd Standard	11	01	08	01	09
3rd Standard	07	03	07	03	10

The management of the school and the employment of teachers were left entirely to the Salvation Army. The government desired that the rules obtaining in the Educational Department should be adopted. An interesting feature of that time was that qualified teachers from the Yerukulas, both men and women, were appointed as teachers in the school.<sup>307</sup> This was done with the intention of creating an atmosphere in the settlement primarily to promote the self-confidence of the whole tribe and, secondly, to prove that those who were committed to do any work they were asked to do seriously. To strengthen this, periodical inspections were

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<sup>305</sup> See Home Judicial Department, G.O.No. 1225, 20th May 1918, PP. 7-8.

<sup>306</sup> See Home Judicial Department, G.O.No. 1225, 20th May 1918, P.6. TNA.

<sup>307</sup> See Mildred Mackenzie, Op.Cit., P.85.

arranged by the educational officers of high **mental caliber**. The teachers were given better salaries and provided with free quarters in the **settlement**. *Ganji* (boiled rice **water**) was supplied at noon to the students who were present both in the **morning** and **in** the evening.<sup>309</sup>

The following Table describes the teachers in the school during the year 1918.<sup>310</sup>

TABLE 7.  
Position of Teachers in Stuartpuram Elementary School.

Name of the Teacher	Qualifications	Scale of Pay
K. Jacob	L.S.P.T.C of 1915	25/-
Ch. Joseph	S.S.L.C of 1915	20/-
Santhoshammal	L.S.P.T.C of 1915	15/-
Soubhagyammal	L.S.P.T.C of 1915	15/-
P. Simon	unpassed	12/-
Lyssammal	Passed 4th Standard	12/-
B. Solomon	unpassed	12/-

The newly established boarding school helped the settlers in withering away of the crime atmosphere. The boarding school was established for the sake of, 1. Orphan children 2. children whose parents were in jail. 3. Children of parents who were miserably poor. 4. Children of parents just returned from jails. 5.

308

See *Lav General Department (Annual Report)* G.O.No. 3187, 14th November 1924, P.3. APSA.

309

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*

The two unpassed teachers were sent up for the sessional school. See *Home Judicial Department*, G.O.No. 1225, dt. 20th May 1918, P.6.



Children of parents from whom separation was made because of the bad character of parents or because of the suspected character of children and, 6.Children of absconding settlers.<sup>311</sup>

The boarding school was very well managed and in a report the manager stated that the school was an asset to the settlement. In order to improve the sleeping conditions of the children of the settlers, the commissioner of labour constructed separate dormitories for boys and girls. Two matrons were appointed separately to take care of them. Another classification was the young children and the older ones. A separate compound was arranged for recreation purpose.

The meeting of parents and children either at the school or at home added to the disturbance of the children's minds. It was felt that reformation was impossible in an atmosphere where the crime culture was not forgotten. The Salvation Army dissuaded the parents from meeting their children. But the influence of the parents on their separated children was very severe. The new generation was made up of honest people. The Salvation Army visualized the hours of work as to make use of the timings in such a way that no time was left for them to visit their parents and hence no perpetuation of crime among the youth.<sup>312</sup> Thus they

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<sup>311</sup> See Law (General) Department, G.O.No. 1714, 22nd October 1921, P.4.APSA.

<sup>312</sup>

Settlers criticized that it was cruel to separate the children from their parents. The Salvation Army made the parents to understand that the separation was done to enable them to get in future an honest employment. The parents put forward no

segregated their children **from** their parents and arranged a boarding school in the settlement and permitted occasional visits of the parents.

The Salvation Army established peons for the reformation of the children of the ex-settlers. The peons for these schools were selected from the settlers themselves.<sup>313</sup> Their duty was to go round and collect the children for the school. At the age of 5 years the settler's children were sent to schools.<sup>314</sup> In the elementary school, instruction was given upto 5 standards. The headmaster was with a certificate of higher grade training.<sup>315</sup>

There was an increase in the number of children attending the school every year. During the year 1924 there were nearly 401 children on rolls and the average attendance was 261. Furthermore, the outside influences were felt by the children. The Salvation Army authorities considered that the solution to the problem was in sending girls to Nellore and boys to Perambur

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objections. However, we can note that both Mabe and Robilliard were strongly opposed to the separation of children **from** their parents. They did not object for the boarding schools in the settlement where the parents were allowed to see the children under supervision. See *Home, Judicial Department*, G.O.No. 1759, 5th August 1918, P.1.TNA. Also See *Home Judicial Department*, G.O.No. 475, 19th February 1920, P.3.TNA.

<sup>313</sup> See *Law General Department*, G.O.No. 2267, 16th June 1925, P. 2. APSA.

<sup>314</sup>

<sup>315</sup> See *P.W.L.D.*, G.O.No. 2338, 19th August 1930, P.2. APSA.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>316</sup> -

See *Law General Department*, G.O.No. 3187, 14th November 1924, P. 3. APSA.

(Near Madras city) .<sup>317</sup> It would help them in the **reformatory** process. Mackenzie, the Salvation Army official, wanted to change the structure of the building to create a new atmosphere in the settlement. The availability of buildings at Nellore was a positive factor and this was congenial to the growth of children. The Salvation Army suddenly closed the boarding school in **stuartpuram** and shifted some of the girls to Nellore girls school. But the closing down of the Stuartpuram boarding school<sup>318</sup> (1926) had a severe blow on the **settlers' children**.

A significant feature of this settlement was that, the manager L.R. Gale, gave a Christian bias to the whole atmosphere of the settlement. When the first batches of Yerukulas were brought into this settlement, men and women were dirty looking and they involved in petty thefts and road robberies. It was not an easy task to teach the 'criminal tribes man to walk on the way of righteousness'. But much had been done towards this good end. The younger generation understood and responded well.<sup>319</sup>

The Salvation Army constructed a church in the year 1915, ostensibly to reform the Yerukulas by giving Bible education and there by making them disciplined. All the settlers were gathered and brought into the church. The manager used to read the gospel

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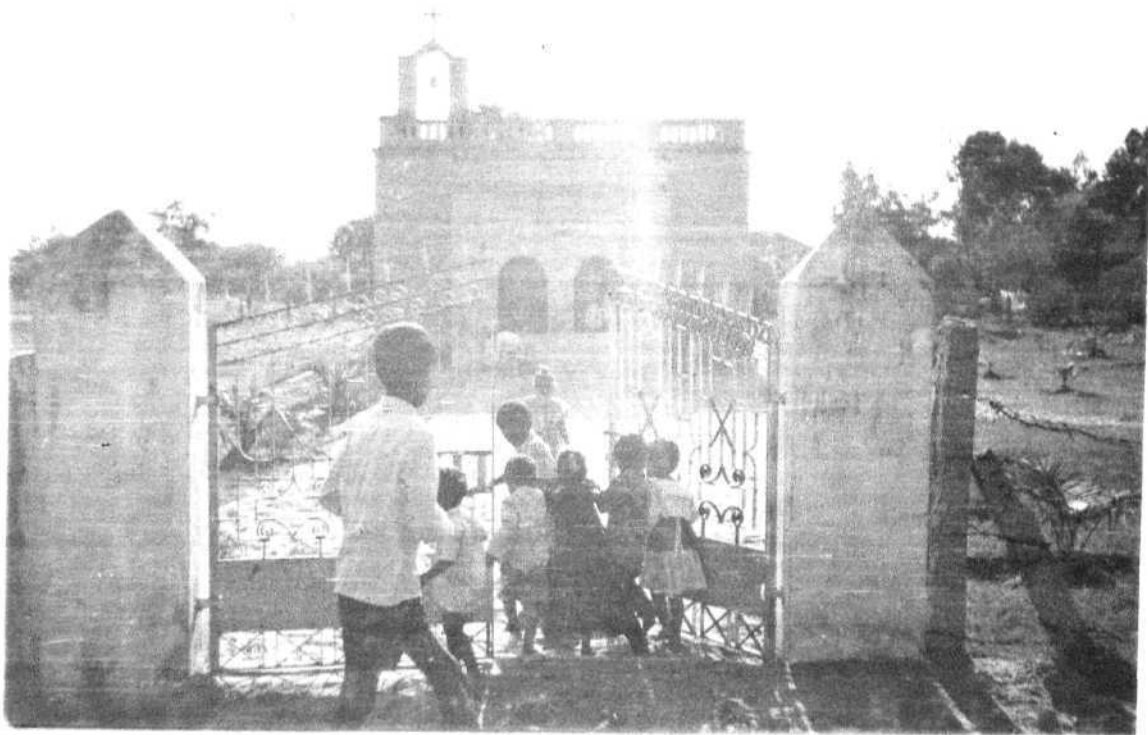
See Law General Department, G.O.No.1907, 15th June 1925, P.1. APSA.

318

See Law General Department, G.O.No.2267, 16th July 1925, P.2. APSA. Also see P.W.L.D., G.O.No.697, 1st July 1926, P.2. APSA.

319

See P.W.L.D., G.O.No. 1551, 20th July 1927, P.6. APSA.



**Church Building in Stuartpuram Settlement**

to these settlers once in every three days including Sundays. All the settlers used to be busy for six days and during Sunday, they would be at their homes. Hence, the manager advised all the settlers to attend the church compulsorily. **Sometimes**, the manager used to call higher clergy from distant places to preach them.

The leaders of the Salvation Army and E.J. Higgins visited Stuartpuram during their tour through India and Ceylon during the year 1933. She delighted to visit the settlement and expressed her view as,

"The settlers impressed us much and gave evidence of the care taken and sympathetic help rendered by all who have had the responsibility of management".<sup>320</sup>

She congratulated all the persons who contributed for the success of the settlement.

S.H. Slater, the labour commissioner, bestowed attention on the school children. Some students got through the SSLC (Secondary school leave **certificate**) examination. Those who failed also were taken care off. They were admitted either in Paddison hostel or in the Industrial school **Perambur**, Madras.<sup>321</sup> Some of the boys who passed through the five standards in the settlement school were admitted in 4th and 6th forms of the high school at Bapatla.<sup>322</sup> **Dowson**, the then deputy Inspector General of Police,

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<sup>320</sup> See **P. W. L.D. , G.O.No.1996, dt.16.1.1933, P.8. APSA.**

<sup>---</sup> See **P.W.L.D. , G.O.No.2061, dt.21.8.1928, P.1. APSA.**

<sup>---</sup> See **P.W.L.D. , G.O.No.1926, dt.30.7.1931, P.2.**

Madras, inspected the settlement school on 8.7.1931 and wrote,

"I knew this **settlement** in its earliest infancy. My visit today was peculiarly interesting. My first visit was in 1914. Today i.e, 8.7.1931 it is possible to see that the settlement **has** completely filled the purpose which it was **instituted**".<sup>323</sup>

After inspecting the school he said,

"The kiddies looked fat and happy. Neither the manager **nor** the police had any **controversies**. The settlement is in a most flourishing condition".<sup>324</sup>

The parents made merchandise of the children. They sell them to the highest bidder. The price of a girl ranges from Rs. 300 to 500. Some girls were often quite drunk. Sometimes **the** parents alleged that the girls need to attend the wedding feast of their relatives. But it was found out that the girl herself had been married to someone. A general rule was made that the selection must be limited to reformed boys and reformed girls at a reasonable age. The parents should consult the managers to **fix** the marriages under whom the children were brought up. The privilege of **getting** a wife or husband was a reward for good conduct and stimulates good behaviour. The children knew that as soon as they get to marriageable age, a suitable wife or husband will be forth-coming in due course that they themselves have a voice in the selection. Arrangements were made for **the**

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<sup>323</sup> See *P.W.L.D.*, G.O.No.1313, dt.17.6.1932, P.7. APSA. Also See *P.W.L.D.*, G.O.No. 1996, dt.16.1.1933, P.8. APSA.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*

prospective brides and bridegrooms to see each other and confirm the choice. The manager encouraged both parties to save money so that they were devoid of debts which would hamper their married life. The wedding expenses were limited to the provision of a moderate wedding feast and the gift of a few saris and vessels to the bride. The bride grooms should be in a position to support their wives after their marriage.<sup>325</sup>

The Salvation Army opened a new girls school for the development of women's education during the year 1921 and there were nearly 100 girls in it.<sup>326</sup> During the year 1926, few girls were transferred to Nellore industrial school. Owing to the closure of the girls reformatory school at Nellore, a number of girls were sent back to their parents. There were no classes above 5th standard. The girls who studied at Nellore in the higher classes were again sent to the higher elementary Boarding school at Kavali. Nursing and sewing training were given to the girls. The manager of Stuartpuram settlement selected some women who were familiar with three R's, talented with the art of conversation and possessed with the ability describe, explain them completely to have an idea of such topics. In addition to

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<sup>325</sup> Booth Tucker said that, "if a man wished to marry one of the girls in the settlement he had to come into the settlement and live there". Gillman pointed out that the proposed husband would, in the majority of cases, be already a member of the tribe. See *Home Judicial Department*, G.O.No. 1759, 5th August 1918, P.13-17. APSA.

<sup>326</sup> See *Note showing the Progress made in the Settlements of Criminal Tribes in the Madras Presidency upto January 1925*, Madras 1926, P.10.

that, they were also trained in the proper **maintenance** of the house or the working place by sweeping, dusting and cooking. For extracting talent **from** them, they were encouraged. For example, on 10th March 1928 a medal was won by a girl for essay writing on '**home sanitation**' during health week competition.<sup>327</sup>

The settlers had a brigade of scouts since 1923. Although the **members** were constantly changing owing to employment and other circumstances they had a creditable brigade. A small bugle band had been formed and equipment supplied. The assistant manager had taken a keen interest in the movement and himself<sup>328</sup> went into camp with the scouts. The scouting activities in the schools were conducted by the school teachers who were trained as scout masters.<sup>329</sup>

A post office was opened in the settlement on the desire of the management of the settlement during the year 1934. Between 1st May 1935 and 15th August 1935, it was maintained on free of cost. The post office was inaugurated for the convenience of the settlement people.

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327

See *Home Judicial Department, G.O.No. 1639, 8th August 1917, P.2.TNA.* Also see *Annual Administration Reports of Nellore Girls School for the year 1927-28, P.2.*

328

The scouts went into camp during the year 1931 for 5 days and enjoyed the outing. See *P. W. L. D. , G.O.No.1313, 17th June 1932, P.6. APSA.*

329

See *Home Department, G.O.No. 1571, 21st April 1947, P.1. NAI.* Also see *Administration Report on Kallar, Koravar reclamation criminal tribes settlement and Yanadi reclamation for 1947-48, Madras 1949, P.18.*



All the adult-reformed settlers were expected to give importance to morality. Polygamy were prevalent and the traces of polyandry were rare among them. The Salvation Army thought that religious and moral instruction were greatest factors for their improvement. They used to instruct the women folk of the settlement to take stern steps to control their crimes. But it happened to the contrary that even the wives were also involved in the culture of crime.<sup>330</sup>

The supply of mid-day meals was started at Stuartpuram for the first time only from December 1947. Other **settlements'** school children were also supplied with mid-day meals at the government cost at Rs. 3. The introduction of mid-day meals to the school children was to encourage the children to attend the school regularly and make them fit to receive instruction.<sup>331</sup> The school children were taken to excursions. The government authorities, the DIG of Police, CID and railways sanctioned the expenditure not exceeding Rs. 50 per year.<sup>332</sup>

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<sup>330</sup> See Home Department, **G.O.No.1508**, 21st March 1938, **P.1**. NAI.

<sup>331</sup> See Home Department, **G.O.No.1571**, 21st April 1947, **P.1**. NAI. Also see Administration Report on **Kallar**, Koravar Reclamation, Criminal Tribes settlements and Yanadi Reclamation for 1947-48, Madras, 1949, **P. 18**.

<sup>332</sup> See Home Department, **G.O.No. 2178**, 8th June 1946, **P.1**. NAI.



**Salvation Army Boys Hostel :  
Staurtpuram Settlement**



Salvation Army Girls Hostel ;  
Staurtpuram Settlement

It is striking to note that among the Yerukula community of **stuartpuram** settlement already some secured good employment both in central and state governments.<sup>333</sup> At Present, more than 150 members even received University education. This is obviously to some extent due to the efforts of the Salvation Army and the awareness among the youth. Separate hostels are also being maintained by the Salvation Army for these children. Consequently, there are nearly 155 students in these hostels today. In the hostels there are 101 boys and 54 girls studying in class I to the S.S.C.(10th class) It is providing scholarships, food, hostel facilities and clothes to the students.

The Salvation Army had requested the secretary, government of Madras, to sanction a general library for children outside the premises of the school and it was conceded. Even now it is maintained by the Salvation Army.

In the year 1958, the Salvation Army combined with the Inspector General of Police, opened a new high school for the children of the settlers. The school comprised of mainly Yerukula children and some converted Christians together with the children of upper castes. Later, it was converted into a middle school from the academic year 1958-59. It was run by social

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<sup>333</sup> Solving Smith, *By Love Compelled, The Story of 100 years of the Salvation Army in India and adjacent countries*, London, 1981, P.108.



Salvation Army High School :  
Stuartpuram Settlement

welfare department. The high school followed the syllabus prescribed by the Board of secondary education, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad. The strength of the high school as per the annual record of the year 1991 is 277.

The division of boys and girls from class VI to X was as follows.

TABLE 8.

The Strength of High School in Stuartpuram, 1991

Class	Boys	Girls	Total
VI	34	26	60
VII	29	18	47
VIII	26	17	43
IX	34	28	62
X	41	24	65
Total			277

#### Health and Hygiene:

Death rate was high during the year 1915 due to influenza. A new hospital was built by the government. The hospital was two furlongs from the nearest gang. It was on the right side of the main road. The small dispensary was watched by a qualified European nurse. Complicated cases were sent to Chirala and

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Interview with the head mistress, Stuartpuram High School, dt.6.2.1991.

335 Ibid. , dt.6.2.1991.

Bapatla, five miles away from the settlement. Hypodermic syringe, abscess knife probe, glass eathelir and spatula were used.<sup>336</sup>

The manager of **Stuartpuram** reported that the settlement was in a state of famine on account of failure of rains. Rs. 2000 were sanctioned as a famine relief measure. The Surgeon General visited the settlement and opined that the pits should be filled up at once. He considered it as a source for malaria. This filling up further provided labour to the settlers. To avoid the calamity, the settlers forced to approach the government for famine relief work. Cooked food was distributed to the settlers upto September 30th 1919.<sup>337</sup>

During the year 1918, the death rate was distinctly high largely owing to influenza. Giffard, the medical supervisor

<sup>338</sup>

disliked to attend the hospital in the settlement. At Chirala, Vetapalem and Bapatla malaria affected severely. Hence there was a great effect of Malaria in Stuartpuram. The Roman Catholic priests abandoned their mission owing to Malaria. The District

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336

See Home Judicial Department, G.O.No.2074, 18th August 1916, P.4. TNA.

337

See P.W.L.D., G.O.No.1974, 10th August 1920 PP. 27-29. APSA. Also see Home Judicial Department, G.O.No. 878, 22nd March 1920, P.1. TNA.

338

See Home Judicial Department, G.O.NO. 475, 9.2.1920, P.3. TNA. Also See Note shoving the progress made in the settlement of criminal tries in the Madras Presidency upto January 1925, Madras, 1926, P.8.

**medical** and sanitary officer **recommended** the following anti-malarial **measures**:

1. The filling in of the drain. 2. The distribution of Febrifuge. 3. Destruction of all rubbish. 4. Filling in all pits. 5. Burying all broken pots and empty tins found near dwelling houses and, 6. use of pyrethrum and kerosene in closing up pits where **mosquitoes** breed.<sup>339</sup> The Salvation Army took the responsibility.

A sub-assistant surgeon was called bi-weekly from Bapatla and medicines were supplied for diseases like dysentery, cholera, malaria, fever, small-pox, beriberi, boils, heart diseases, stomach ache. The daily average attendance was not less than 200.<sup>340</sup>

Stuartpuram is an extensive settlement but very scattered. Their houses were scattered over an area of two or three furlongs.<sup>341</sup> The settlers lived out side their houses camped all through the year sleeping outside. They use their little 'beehive-like' huts during rains or heavy dews. The visitors

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See Home Department, G.O.No. 1974, 10th August 1920, P.4. NAI,  
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See Lav General Department, G.O.No. 1714/ 22nd October 1921, P.6. APSA. It **was** recorded that during the year 1925 the number of deaths were **innumerable** in the settlement. The consequence was that large number of **Yerukulas** absconded the **settlement**.

341

See Lav General Department Proceedings, G.O.No.732, 8th August 1925, P.1. APSA.





**Stuartpuram Settlement :  
Poverty the Primary Cause of Crime**

often questioned why the settlers were not provided with better houses. The main reason was that **mud** was too expensive. The opinion of Deputy Inspector General of Police on the subject was worthy to note:

**"There** is trouble over getting **mud** for hut building. This is caused by there being no road out to **Ratnapuram**, but **aboye**, all, there being no level crossing over the railway line".<sup>342</sup>

On the settlement, there were a number of settlers who were very poor and some of them were very old. Whenever there was a cyclone, it had an enormous effect on their dilapidated huts. **Pennik**, the Salvation Army officer, stated,

"The roofs of all the huts have been blown away and that they needed reconstruction. It would be useless to rely on Palmyra leaves being available in the locality. The cyclone had struck **not only** the settlement but every hut in the neighbourhood".<sup>343</sup>

A grant of Rs. 4 was sanctioned for each damaged hut for reconstruction. Some of the government buildings had been badly damaged and need urgent repairs. The staff of the Salvation Army and number of the younger generation of the community responded to the emergency. They saved the lives and the safety of the people. The Salvation Army purchased 50 bags of rice to supply food. Passes were not issued and all settlers were kept in the settlement. **Rs.3700** was spent by the Salvation **Army** in rebuilding huts damaged by the cyclone, feeding the settlers as

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<sup>342</sup>

See *P. W. L.D.*, G.O.No.1996, 16th January 1939, **PP.5-6**. APSA.

<sup>343</sup>

<sup>343</sup> See *P.W.L.D.*, G.O.No.3064, dt.5.11.1936, **P.1**. APSA.

an emergency measure and, for urgent repairs, to government buildings damaged by cyclone.<sup>344</sup>

It was reported that,

"A most interested feature of the settlement is the excellent houses which those settlers who have taken to agriculture have recently built for themselves, evidence that ~~they~~ do propose to make the **settlement** their native place".<sup>345</sup>

The Salvation Army paid special attention in times of cyclones, drought and other natural calamities. For the **maintenance** of huts, the government of Madras used to sanction **money** from time to time on an average cost of Rs. 16 per hut to each family.<sup>346</sup>

Individual cases were given continuous treatment until they were cured. During the year 1927, 10,650 cases had been attended in the dispensary. To our surprise, The national Health Week, was celebrated for the first **time** during the year 1927. Government sanctioned **Rs.250** towards national health week celebration. The

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There were all together 14 buildings in **Stuartpuram** during the year 1934. The original sketch shows the relative position of 14 buildings. Building no. 1-6, was occupied by the manager. Building **No.2.** was by Assistant **manager**, Building **No.3,4,5,6,7,8** and 14 were occupied by teachers. Building **no.10** was by nurses. Building **no.11** by **compounder** Building **No.13** was store room, Building **No.9** was post office, Building 13 was Manager cook. See **P.W.L.D., G.O.No.1757, dt.6.8.1935, P.1. APSA.**

See *The War Cry*, Salvation Army **Monthy**, April 1937, **P.3.**

<sup>346</sup> See **P.W.L.D., G.No.1996**, dt. 16th January 1933, **PP.5-6.APSA.** Also see *Law General Department proceedings*, **G.O.No. 748**, 15th September, 1925, **P.3. APSA.**

yerukula settlers responded well.<sup>347</sup>

The medicines supplied to the **supplement** dispensary were inadequate to meet the needs of the people. Kondayya Naidu **was** appointed as a medical officer during the year 1927 and **helped** the **settlers**. **A compounder** was appointed in Stuartpuram dispensary during the year 1927. The scale of pay of **the** compounder was Rs. 30 - 1/2-35 5/5 - 40.<sup>348</sup> The Salvation Army appointed **compounders** who had the same **qualification** as **the** compounders **in** government hospitals.<sup>349</sup>

J. Gray, the commissioner of Labour, Madras visited **the** settlement during the year 1929. He inspected the isolation **ward** of the hospital for cholera and infectious diseases. There was no one to attend on such patients except the compounder and **the** attending nurse. A ward boy was appointed on Rs. 10 per month to assist in looking after the patients.<sup>350</sup>

The medical issues were taken care of by V. **Sitarama** Ayyar, a sub-assistant surgeon, during the year 1930. He took a keen interest in the well-being of the settlers. He even allowed some of **the** settlers to be in his local fund hospital at Bapatla so as

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<sup>348</sup> See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.1551**, 20th July 1927, **P.4**. APSA.

See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.1654**, 6th July 1928, **P.3**. APSA.

349

See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.973**, dated 3rd April 1928, **PP.1-7**. APSA.

<sup>350</sup> See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.3260**, dated 18th Nov. 1930, **P.1**. APSA.

to have the benefit of his constant attention. G.R. **Premayya**, a non-official visitor, **made** the following remarks,

"It is a great blessing to the settlers to have an experienced compounder and a mid-wife living in the settlement".

The hospital was very useful for the settlers. As regards the health of the settlers, they ar **happier** in the hospital which was ventilated in a good fashion and also the government provided all facilities for the settlers to lead their life in a comfortable **manner**.

A maternity ward was opened in the settlement during the year 1930. The territorial commander of Salvation Army stated that the number of out-patients and the **number** of maternity cases had been steadily increasing. A full time medical officer was appointed in the place of the visiting medical officer in the settlement.

Cases of dysentery and eczema were frequent due to unsuitable diet of the people. The Yerukulas lived almost exclusively on broken rice and chill powder.<sup>352</sup> There were twenty four villages within a radius of four miles from Stuartpuram. People made frequent requests that the hospital be made open to the public.<sup>353</sup> The hospital was untidy and it smelt unhealthy. The

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See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.1526**, dated 30th July 1931, **PP.2-3**. APSA.

350

See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.1996**, dated 16th January 1933, **P.1**. APSA.

353

See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.2007**, dated 11th September 1934, **P.6**.

doctors were irregular. Some settlers were infected with leprosy during the year 1934.<sup>354</sup> They were given treatment as out-patients in the Salvation Army Leper colony at Bapatla. Clothes, food and **medicines** were supplied. Records were **maintained** for the births and deaths in the settlement by the Salvation Army.<sup>355</sup>

The destitute parents were not given adequate attention **and** care of their children. Many of them were children of widowed mothers who could not provide sufficient food. The children did not attend the school regularly and it was found difficult to compel them to do so in these circumstances. The Salvation Army fed the children at government expense at the rate of Rs. 3 per head per mensem.<sup>356</sup> The feeding of destitute children in **Stuartpuram** boarding school was subject to the following conditions. 1. The expenditure on each child should not exceed Rs. 3 per month. 2. The children should attend the school regularly. 3. The feeding should be discontinued when any child ceased to be destitute. 4. In any case, feeding for the child should be discontinued after attaining the age of 16.<sup>357</sup>

The **compounder** at Stuartpuram was discharged when the rural

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APSA.

<sup>354</sup>

<sup>354</sup> See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.1298**, dated 4th June 1935, **P.1.** APSA.

See **P.W.L.D.**, **G.O.No.543**, dated 1st March 1935, **P.5.** APSA.

<sup>356</sup> See **P.W. L.D.**, **G.O.No. 1925**, 25th September, 1936, **P.10.** APSA,

<sup>357</sup> See *Home Department*, **G.O.No. 5701**, dt. **30.10.1939**, **P.22.** NAI.



Manager of Salvation Army :  
Stuartpuram Settlement  
*Sri. P. Jakaraiah*

medical practitioner took charge from 4th January 1949. The mid-wives in the dispensary helped the maternity cases in the settlement. There was a serious attack of small pox in Stuartpuram settlement during the year 1950. Timely action was taken by the health department to eradicate small pox in the settlement.<sup>358</sup>

In the beginning, the police used to consult the Salvation Army for the whereabouts of the settlers. The police could not enter the settlement without the permission of the manager of the  
359  
Salvation Army. The manager visited the other settlements in the presidency as well as the settlement in Bombay and Nizam dominions. This is for the exchange of ideas, on rehabilitation and reclamation policies of different managements.<sup>360</sup>

In spite of the manager and local police, there used to be constant fights between the settlers. So they became court

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See *Madras State Administration Report for the Year 1950*, Part I, Madras 1952, P.34.

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See V.Lalitha, *Op.Cit.*, P.46; one Head Constable and ten constables were appointed in connection with the reclamation of the criminal classes in Stuartpuram during the year 1926. See P.V.L.D., G.O.No. 576, P.1. APSA.

360 See P.V.L.D., G.O.No.1926, 30th July 1931, P.3. APSA. The manager visited from Bezawada to Lingala settlement, Secunderabad, Hotgi, Sholapur, Bijapur, Bagalkot, Gaddak, Gaddak Falls, Hubli, Tiruchinopoly, Madurai, Tinnevely, Kulasekarapuram, Tanjore, Borstol institute, Aziznagar, Pallavaram, Kavali, Bitragunta and Allur. C.B. Cunningham, the then Inspector General of Police, expressed his idea about the support and co-operation given by the staff members for the development of the settlement.



birds. Maintenance of peace and order was a very big problem. ~~The~~ police used to apply security sections on these people. Those settlers who found themselves **criminally** active and **uncontrollable**, were brought under restrictions and penalties section 10 of the Madras Habitual offenders act 1948.<sup>361</sup>

After independence, Indian government removed all the powers of the Salvation Army. The authority of the management was shifted to the tribal welfare department. But still the Salvation Army continues doing its work in the settlement. A **manager**, his wife, and some wardens are looking after the medical dispensary, church, schools and hospitals. In the hostel there are 101 boys and 54 girls studying from 1st to **S.S.C.**<sup>362</sup> It is providing scholarships and clothes to the students. It is also collecting land revenue for 600 acres of land which was kept under its control. The settlers have a lot of faith in the Salvation Army due to its zeal, in its reformatory services.

#### Criminality - A Modus Operandi:

In the **C.I.D** records, for the verification of crime, they divided them into several gangs. The names of these gangs are as follows: 1st gang, also called store gang for Gadida Yerukulas.

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<sup>361</sup> See *Administrative Report on Habitual Offenders settlements for the year 1951-52, Madras 1953, P. 10.*

<sup>362</sup> Interview with P. Jakkaraiyah, the Manager of **Stuartpuram** settlement, Stuartpuram, dt. 2.2.1991.



Opulence through Crime, A Household of an Ex-criminal:  
Stuartpuram Settlement

2nd gang for agriculturists, 3rd gang for labourers, 4th gang also for labourers, 5th gang for the workers in ILTD and other traders, new gang for Uppu Yerukulas, Kella gang for Yeddu

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Yerukulas (Traders), Ettapuram or Mitrapuram farm labourers.

The village has a post office, panchayat office, police station, residence of village munsif, hospital, restaurants, cine theatre, arrack shops, village market and railway station.

We get a fair account of their crimes and causes through the interviews conducted in the settlement. The types of crime they generally commit are:

1. Pick pocketing 2. Dacoity 3. House Breaking 4. Animal theft 5. Railway robbery 6. Bank looting 7. Shop snatching 8. Chain snatching and, 9. Rafu (Placing artificial gold instead of real gold and pass it to the customer in the process of bargaining) etc.

The following five factors prompt the people in the settlement to commit crimes. They are, 1. Lack of alternative avenues of livelihood. 2. Lack of proper upbringing of children. 3. Their poor economic conditions. 4. Laziness in work and, 5. The harassment of the police department even after giving up

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See *Administrative Report of the Inspector General of Police/ 1950, Madras, 1951, P.15.*

criminal activities.<sup>364</sup>

When interviewed, one criminal said, "My parents from the beginning belong to Stuartpuram settlement. My father used to commit petty thefts since my childhood and was a drunkard. He died of tuberculosis. My mother died after that. After the death of my parents, I faced acute financial troubles. Then started my criminal life and, in course of time, I grew into a notorious criminal.<sup>365</sup> Another settler revealed that, the police would arrest even the children of the ex-criminals. This police harassment of the children and the parents will leave strong impact on the tender minds and it would sometimes forcibly make them take to crime.<sup>366</sup>

In the interviews, the 'criminals' narrated several ways of committing crimes. To start with, they choose the place of their operation and gather information through the local people about the potential rich homes. Generally, they go in batches to commit theft. They steal money, gold, silver and other costly goods. Sometimes they act like rich people and go in hired cars to commit robberies. They never return to their homes without

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<sup>364</sup> Interview with Gajula Parvathi, A Woman ex-criminal in the settlement of Stuartpuram (Betapudi), dt. 6.2.91.

<sup>365</sup> Interview with Bochu Prabhakara Rao, Brother of well known Tiger Nageswara Rao, Stuartpuram, dt. 7.2.92.

<sup>366</sup> Interview with Gajjala Prasad, an ex-criminal of **Stuartpuram** settlement, Stuartpuram, dt. 1.2.1992. Also see *Andhra Jyothi* (Telugu weekly), 5.8.1994, **PP.76-77.**

stealing. They have their own code language when they are doing  
the crime. **Some** of the words they use are listed below. 367

Word	Meaning.
1. <i>Oluku</i>	Torchlight
2. <i>Sonapam</i>	Gold
3. <i>Kanchakam</i>	Money
4. <i>Boko llu</i>	Police
5. <i>Berikeda</i>	<b>Sub-inspector</b>
6. <i>Pullakollu</i>	Leader of the gang
7. <i>Ellavi</i>	Assistant leader
8. <i>Nemati</i>	Man
9. <i>Tella Belupu</i>	Silver
10. <i>Ulli Mukka</i>	Knife or screw driver

The nature of the criminals in this settlement is **that they** never reveal the secrets of their gangs. Whenever they feel the threat to their lives they even kill people in order to escape from the danger. The fact is that there are nearly 20 batches in the settlement and each batch is consisting of four to five **members**. People in one batch should not join another batch until their operation is over. Each batch has its own leader and **an** assistant. No batch reveals the secrets of the other batches. They commit crimes only in the late nights between 12 o' clock in **the** midnight and 3 o' clock in the morning. They enter **by making** big holes in the walls, breaking locks and **windows**. **They**

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**367** Interview with Ballani Ankaiah, an ex-criminal of Stuartpuram settlement, Stuartpuram, dt. 1.2.91.



**Women Ex-criminals, Stuartpuram Settlement**

cleverly escape when they find any problem in committing thefts. They call their type of crime as **Chori**. They call it dacoity when they rob the house in front of people in the house by threatening them.

The number of women criminals in the settlement are also large in number. There are 20 families in which women go for thieving. The crimes they indulge in are pocket picking, suitcase lifting, snatching both from the railway passengers and busy shopping centers. The main reasons for these women to commit crime are, more or less, the same as that of their men folk. However, in some cases, these women, divorced and widowed, both categories going without subsistence, along with other women who are undergoing imprisonment, take to these criminal activities.

The criminals of this settlement have links with some of the other notorious criminals in the state and some times even outside. One criminal has narrated how they robbed a rich temple in **Simhachalam**. They went in a gang consisting of twelve members and planned to steal precious jewels and ornaments from the temple. They went to Visakhapatnam and gathered information about the temple. After a week, they went to that place with all kinds of weapons. First, they went to visit the temple for Darshan and returned. The next day they entered the temple and threatened the priest and looted money and jewelry. Soon after finishing the temple robbery, the priest was killed in the operation but the police got information about them and all of

them were nabbed in the settlement and were kept behind bars.

It was reported that the police were responsible in perpetuating crime in the settlement. The police encourage crimes and they claim a lion's share in the looted property. In return, they rescue them in times of need. It is a matter of routine that the police demand money from them. Unable to bear the police harassment, the criminals give false names. When interviewed, a woman criminal stated that police never allow them to stop thieving. They want their *mamullu* (bribe). In order to escape the harassment of the police some criminals are forced to dispose off their property and other belongings such as grain and vessels to bribe the police. In this context, a criminal stated, there were no minimum facilities in the jail. Moreover, the police used to ill-treat his relatives whenever they visited him. They even extorted money from his relatives and sometimes committed rapes on their women. In prison he was beaten severely with lathis three times a day.<sup>369</sup>

The mention of a dacoity anywhere in the state makes the police to involve Stuartpuram people even if they are not concerned with it. Radio, T.V. or the news papers also emphasize the same. It is a pity, however, that real culprits are never

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Interview with Gajjala Prasad, an ex-criminal of Stuartpuram, Stuartpuram, dt. 1.2.1991.

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Interview with Ballani Anakaiah, an ex-criminal of Stuartpuram, Stuartpuram, dt. 5.2.91.



punished. An ex-criminal in an interview gave a graphic account of this. "In **Eeenadu** (Telugu daily) there was a **statement** twenty days back that a theft took place at **Mangalagiri** (Guntur District), and in that crime it was reported that two young persons by name Golla Sreenu and Venkaiah are involved. It is also reported that both of them belong to **Stuartpuram** settlement".<sup>370</sup> But these two people do not belong to the same place. **Unfortunately**, the very mention of the place Stuartpuram is associated with criminal activity and this shows the notoriety it assumed over time. An ex-criminal explained that, in Tirupati, a police officer reported to the news papers that a dacoity and murder was committed by **Stuartpuram** people. Consequently they were arrested. But what actually happened was quite contrary to the police officer's public pronouncement. In the **CBI** enquiry it was later revealed that the ex-criminals of Maharashtra were involved in the crime. He further elaborated on how the police used them as pawns in their game.<sup>371</sup>

It is true that Stuartpuram settlement produced a good number of criminals. Among them a notorious criminal who was their hero gained popularity in the settlement. he was the local Robinhood and spent a major portion of the stolen wealth on his fellow men i.e., the poor people. Being an orphan himself, he

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<sup>370</sup> Interview with Bochu Prabhakara Rao, *Op.Cit.*

<sup>371</sup> Interview with Vallagi **Mosha**, an ex-criminal of Stuartpuram, Stuartpuram, dt. 7.2.1991.

gave shelter to orphans. This '**hero**' was Tiger Nageswara Rao. He became so legendary in his own life time that songs: were composed extolling his philanthropy, kindness etc. In one of the songs, the atrocities committed on him by the police, who killed him later, were also vividly mentioned.

#### **Stuartpuram** Today:

**Stuartpuram** consists of both criminal and non-criminal families. The section of non-criminal families are employed in government jobs, industrial establishments, agricultural operations and petty trade. Among the criminal families there

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are two categories, '**white collar**' and '**blue collar**' criminals. These people have criminal background, but they are averse to committing crime. The reasons are obvious viz., 1. some of their kinsmen are killed by the police 2. they are unable to bear the ill treatment and harassment either by the police or from the public. 3. Education has enabled them to realize their folly. 4. They are interested in the future of their children and, 5. They want to lead a respectable life by joining the mainstream of life. Gradually they are taking to small jobs and business and changing their life styles. But there are not many opportunities either in the private or public sector to provide them with some

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**'White** collar' criminal is one who does not actively engage in thieving but assists the thieving. Friends and investors are included in this category. The '**blue** collar' criminal is one who actually goes to the field and commits theft. Women escorts also come under this category. See W.J. Hatch, *Op.Cit.*, **P.20.**



**Out-gate of Stua rtpu ram Settlement**

meaningful occupations, even though the **government** is providing some succour in the shape of **small** loans, cattle, rickshaws etc. It is needless to state such measures are inadequate.

**Siddhapuram and Stuartpuram : A Comparative Study**

1. **Siddhapuram** settlement is in the midst of Naliamalai forests. Their life style is completely depended upon the forest produce, whereas Stuartpuram is a plain area.
2. Siddhapuram was a voluntary settlement, whereas Stuartpuram was managed by the Salvation Army.
3. **Stuartpuram** settlement was an agricultural settlement. Irrigational facilities were provided by the Salvation Army. Water is easily available since the land is sandy soil. Siddhapuram settlement is located in dry area. The only water source is rain. Though a tank was constructed for the irrigation purpose it is disfunctional. It is not completely repaired by the government. The people of Siddhapuram feel that not only themselves but surrounding twenty villages will be benefitted by the **tank, if** repaired.
4. **In** Stuartpuram, the Salvation Army took interest in agricultural, educational and medical facilities. That as not done in Siddhapuram settlement.
5. Yerukulas in Stuartpuram settlement were nomadic in their habit because, 1. the acquisition of skills in trades and 2. Due to their displacement of original positions they were compelled to take crime as their profession. In Siddhapuram settlement, the ex-settlers were also nomadic

by their nature. Different groups such as Dommaras, **Katheras**, Nawabpeta Korchas, Dasaris, Yerukulas were brought to this **settlement**.

6. In **Siddhapuram** settlement, there is no philanthropic organization to take care of the settlers. The government took direct control over the settlement. Forest was their life and every thing. Siddhapuram was not in the main stream. So it was not accessible to other places. These people could not go to any other place and were compelled to stay in the same place. There was no exposure to knowledge outside the world. That is the reason why they are still backward in the economic, social and political spheres. If at all there is alternative employment for **them**, it is the preparation in the sale of country liquor. The land lords and the rich people of neighbouring villages or the **non-tribals** gradually who were habituated to make use of the forest produce and especially teak wood from the forests and became business people. The forest laws, on one hand, and these land lords, on the other, deprived the forest produce to these settlers and hence their life was congested and became static. Even the family planning programmes or the process of modernization has no effect on these people.

7. The **Stuartpuram** ex-settlers belong to the Yerukula community. Yerukulas by nature intelligent and hard working. The impact of neighbouring villages and towns were very much felt on these people in the fields of

education, **employment** and political awareness. **Yerukula** Tribe association was started and still it is going on. There were district and taluq associations in which dedicated social workers like Takkar Bapa, V. Raghavaiah, Palaparti Veeraiah, Rameshwaram Nagaiah and other were involved. They worked for the advancement of Yerukula community. Due to the efforts of the Salvation Army, some of them from this community have become not only graduates and post-graduates but some are working in All India Services. In the political sphere, a women by name **K.** Kamala Kumari, became the first member of Parliament (Loksabha) among the Yerukulas. This shows the fact how much awareness is there in Stuartpuram settlement. In addition to this, Stuartpuram settlement has past history also. There were people like Devara Konda Hanumantha Rao, a freedom fighter, who participated in the national movement. He inspired hundreds of ex-settlers for the abolition of criminal tribal act. In Siddhapuram settlement, the awareness of these people was not felt by any body. They were not aware of the national movement and hence no effect on these people.

8. The Salvation Army took much interest in the education of the ex-settlers at **Stuartpuram**. In some families, the educated women motivated their children to further studies. From such families, all the children were educated and they are well placed in life. In Siddhapuram settlement, although they established school and hostels, there was

negligence on the part of the **government** to supervise these activities. There are two or three graduates in the whole settlement. It is surprising to note that only 10 to 15 S.S.C.(10th standard) students completed their high school education. **It** speaks their backwardness and every ex-settler now realizes the fact that they are deprived every thing in life.

9. Yerukulas belong to Scheduled tribe community. Reservation facilities are enjoyed by the children of the ex-settlers. In Siddhapuram settlement, Donga Waddars, though originated from the Yerukula community, are denied the opportunity of the reservations of scheduled tribes. These Donga waddars are included in B.C. (A) category. It is directed that the government should include them in the scheduled tribes list on the basis of their origin.
10. Committed social workers like **Gora, Lavanam** and **Hemalatha Lavanam**, Thomas and others strove hard for the amelioration of the upliftment of **Stuartpuram** settlement. Some of the notorious criminals are reformed here. Stuartpuram settlement from its inception was notorious for its criminality and hence much exposure was there. No committed social worker or organization worked for the amelioration of Siddhapuram settlers.

## **Chapter 4**

# **REFORMATION AND REHABILITATION**



The present chapter analyses how the settlers, both at **Siddhapuram** and **Stuartpuram** have been reformed and rehabilitated by the Salvation **Army** and by the government. The measures that were taken up in this context have been discussed. Attempts have also been made to show how the changes have taken place in their life style over time.

The depredations of some of the criminal groups were violent and brutal and they struck terror in the hearts of the people. To protect society from this, punishment becomes necessary. Punishment is a means of social control. '**Prevention** is better than punishment', is the major task of the solution of the **problem**.

K.M. Kapadia stated that,

**"The** theory of weaning away these criminal minded people from their anti-social activities have **aggravated** the problem in many ways instead of solving it".

The popular conception of punishment is the infliction of some sort of pain on the offender for the violation of law. Physical torture, mutilation, flogging, branding, public humiliation, fines, forfeit of property, banishment, transportation and imprisonment were some of the punishments followed by different countries in the past.

"These punishments make an offender cautious about concealing his activities; stigmatize him and isolate him

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<sup>1</sup> K.M. Kapadia, "The Criminal Tribes of India", *Sociological Bulletin*, No. 1 & 2, March, 1952, **P.45**.

from society, martyr him; develop in him an **anti-social** grudge and strong resentment of authority".<sup>2</sup>

**W.J. Hatch** stated in his book *The Land Pirates of India* that,

"The criminal is like a philosopher who governs his conduct and gives inconvenience to the public and for the government who have deprived him of his freedom."<sup>3</sup>

He further stated:

**"Society** is against him; laws have been codified, elaborated and framed in **the<sup>4</sup> legislative** councils to prevent him having his freedom.... "<sup>4</sup>

The problem of the ex-criminals is not only of correction but economic rehabilitation. As the Tamilnadu local news paper observed,

"As it is criminal who goes to jail is harassed by being given **various** kinds of worse punishments than that of a **beast**".<sup>5</sup>

People who are economically rehabilitated have been weaned away from crime and are leading a normal life at **Stuartpuram** settlement because of the land that the government provided along with other employment facilities. The ex-settlers here come to the main stream of life.

The ultimate aim is to resocialise the offender, to re-adjust him to society and rehabilitate and change him.

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<sup>2</sup> Cited in V. Lalitha, *Op.Cit.*, P.132.

<sup>3</sup> W.J. Hatch, *The Land Pirates of India*, *Op.Cit.*, P.65.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Report on **English News** Papers examined by **C.I.D.** Madras on 31.3.1923, (confidential), APSA.

As Haikerwal pointed out,

"The whole economic frame work of society must be remodeled; the social and psychological conditions of the **state**, the class and the family must be altered, and wholesome work and healthy recreation provided for every one; and every hindrance in the growth <sup>6</sup>of the personality of each individual must be removed".

With the repeal of the amended criminal Tribes Act of 1924, the ex-criminal tribes in India were freed in 1952 from the stigma of born criminality. Accordingly, the restrictions to their **movements** were removed. Enhanced punishment was not given to any criminal on the ground that he belongs to a criminal tribe. These people are one on par with scheduled castes and backward communities. **Steps** are being taken to restore them to normal position. The number of ex-criminals on the repeal of the act was about 24 lakhs and 64 thousand, approximately.<sup>7</sup> The government since then have launched many programmes for their rehabilitation, but their pace is rather slow. The **problem** of rehabilitating of the denotified communities and of weaning them away from the path of crime is a complex one. G.P. Bharal stated that "**as** the problem is a complex and different from one group to another it should be tackled **differently**".<sup>8</sup> For example, in the two settlements which we have taken for the study are quite different from one another. With regard to education, there are

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<sup>6</sup> B.S. Haikerwal, *Op.Cit.*, P.125.

<sup>7</sup> *Report of the Backward classes commission*, Vol. 1, 1954, Simla, 1955. P.10.

<sup>8</sup> G.P. Bharal, "Denotified Communities and their **problems of rehabilitation**", *The Journal of Social Work*, Vol. XXVII, NO.4, January, 1968, PP. 353-358.

many post-graduates, doctors and engineers who are employed in Stuartpuraxn **settlement** which is situated on the main grand trunk railway line between Delhi-Madras and Madras-Calcutta and it has interaction with the civilized and advanced public. However, **Siddhapuram** settlement, because of its geographical isolation, it is cut away from the main stream of life. The opportunities **are** found to be less with regard to education and other facilities. Thus the Siddhapuram ex-settlers are completely alienated **from** the rest of the society and still they live in a culture of crime. We are not denying the fact that even now many ex-criminals are notorious and continuing their depredations. But the percentage of **committing** crime has considerably comedown in recent years.

The central and state governments have not bestowed their full attention for the amelioration of the ex-criminal tribes. Even now the ex-criminal tribes are still leading a miserable **life.**<sup>9</sup> We shall endeavour to analyze reasons for their misery. They should be provided with minimum basic amenities to lead their lives as human beings.

M.M. Siddique, the former deputy secretary to the government of Uttar Pradesh, stated in 1947, that,

"To better their Economic condition it is necessary to provide either more land to **these** tribes or to re-settle them in industrial concerns".<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>

*Report of the criminal tribes Act Enquiry committee, 1949-50, 10Op.Cit., P.67.*

*Report of the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee, Uttar*

In this context, we have to say that **Siddhapuram** settlers are crippled with regard to employment or industrial base. Even after the repeal of the act, the so-called denotified communities are not removed from restrictions. Still they are segregated and dis-regarded as respectable human beings.<sup>11</sup>

At present, these ex-criminals are under the surveillance of the police. The functions of the police are the prevention and detection of crime, prosecution of offenders and maintenance of law and order.

The police commission of 1902 commented that,

"The police force is far from efficient; it is defective in training and organization. It is inadequately supervised; it is generally regarded as corrupt and oppressive and it has utterly failed to **secure**<sup>12</sup> **the** confidence and cordial co-operation of the people".

These tribes, when segregated from the society, naturally develop hostile attitude towards the government and people. They have lost **self-confidence** and developed an attitude of resignation and distance even towards their own kith and kin. The ex-criminal considers that he / she is let down by the society and, in turn, he would like to deceive the society. Moreover,

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*Pradesh 1947, Allahabad, 1948, P.72.*

<sup>11</sup> **K.M. Kapadia**, *Op.Cit.*, P.104.

<sup>12</sup>

Anand Swarup Gupta, "Police reform in **retrospect**", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 24, **No.1.**, Jan-March, 1978, PP. 59-69.

**"Destitution** and poverty are great causes and **curses** to lower the **status** and dignity of an individual or a **community**".<sup>13</sup>

In Europe, or in the western countries, social measures were adopted for the uplift of their degraded **classes**, the vagrants, tramps, and criminals. In England, at Thrope Arch, near Leeds, an industrial school is maintained for the children of criminals and delinquents. In Switzerland, the education colony at **Witzwill**, at Berne for vagabonds and tramps had created a revolution. These efforts are not confined only to Switzerland. It was a new gospel of reclamation and progress which found favour in distant lands. France was **profitted** by the Swiss example. It was the same story every where, **enlightenment** and advancement, of course with varying degrees of success.<sup>14</sup> The picture is quite different when we come to India. Here, the problem is not tackled seriously and no scheme is launched for the elevation of the aboriginals, the wandering and criminal tribes. In almost all the states, an effort was made but it is not fruitfully done. A regrettable indifference is noticeable among the authorities in all spheres, of activities such as education, employment, social, political and economic spheres. In these activities humanitarian approach is missing. The government is heavily depending on missionaries and philanthropic enthusiasts.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Report of the backward classes commission*, Vol.1, Simla, 1955, P.35.

<sup>14</sup> See *Home Department*, **G.O.No.** 1675, 2nd December, 1919, **P.3.** NAI.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

No serious **attempts** seems to have been made to collect **detailed** information covering all aspects of their life nor to tackle their problems on a scientific basis. Prior to the formulation and implementation of proper rehabilitation programmes, a serious study regarding their social and economic conditions should have been made.

Commenting upon the plight among the criminal tribes, J.H. Hutton said that,

**"Unless** their condition be such that even if they ceased to be criminals by habit or occupation and lived as peaceable and law-abiding citizens, they should still be depressed on account of their social position as distinct from their occupational stigma".<sup>16</sup>

It does not mean that the welfare activities of these communities must take the form of spoon feeding.<sup>17</sup> These people should be instilled with self confidence and their faith in humanity should not be shaken.

Panakal further said that,

**"No** reformation of the denotified communities is complete until the **society** accepts them in their fold without **distinction**".<sup>18</sup>

The rehabilitative programmes concerning these denotified tribes should either be entrusted to the educational institutions

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<sup>16</sup> J.H. Hutton, *Caste in India, Its Nature, Function and Origin*, Bombay, 1973, **P.197**. (first published in 1946.)

<sup>17</sup> J. J. Panakal and V.B. Puneekar, *Welfare of **Denotified** Communities*, Bombay, n.d., PP. 1-3.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* , **P.4**.

as part of their extension **programmes** or be handed over to genuine and reputed social service organizations who can evince real interest in them. Those who work with them should offer them co-operation without suspicion, hatred or pity.

As **Rishiram** Gupta, a medical social worker, said,

"Through the medium of the three basic methods of social **work**, namely, social case work, social group work and community **organization**, the rehabilitation work could be carried out".<sup>19</sup>

A social worker should help this community. P.K. **Bhowmick** stated that the work of the voluntary organizations was appreciated by the Lodhas of West **Bengal**, whereas the colonies managed by the government agencies proved to be a total failure.<sup>20</sup> Sher Singh Sher suggested the following measures for their rehabilitation.<sup>21</sup>

1. The government should collect the census details of the denotified tribes.
2. A proper analysis of the problems confronting the denotified tribes should be made.
3. The term '**de-notified tribes**' should be dropped and it should be substituted by displaced tribes.

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<sup>19</sup> Rishiram Gupta and J.S. Mathur, "Social Pathology of Denotified tribes", **I.C. S. S.R.**, *Research Abstracts Quarterly*, Vol. 3, **No.1**, New Delhi, 1973, **P.1**.

<sup>20</sup> See P.K. Bhowmick, "Essential Primary Considerations for Rehabilitation Schemes from some Case histories", a paper presented in a seminar on "The socio-economic Progress of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes" held at Kavali, (Nellore district, Andhra Pradesh), sponsored by Jawahar Bharathi, 5-6, November 1970.

<sup>21</sup> Sher Singh Sher, *Op.Cit.*, **P.17**. Also see by the Same **author**, *Report of the Commissioner for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes -1979-80*, New Delhi, 1981, **P.117**.



4. Reservation facilities should be extended to them statutorily both in services and in political representation.
5. Special officers should identify themselves with the **rehabilitative** programmes.
6. Segregating them from the main stream of society should be discontinued.
7. They should be reoriented in their time-honoured professions such as agriculture and animal husbandry.
8. Social education should be imparted.
9. In the curriculum, topics relating to their origin and history should be taught.

It is a Herculean task to reform a community of active criminals whose criminality perpetuated for generations together. These are the heroes of the living drama of reformation. The prime reason for their living at the subsistence level is their unstable occupations with uncertain income and disproportionate expenditure. They realized the fact that their children should not lead the same life. They are very much worried about the future of their children.

The success of any reformation depends upon the quantity of honesty and truthful behaviour, the systems that promotes reformation.<sup>22</sup> Jaspal Singh, the former superintendent of police, Nellore expressed the view that **"the** most formidable obstacle

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Lavanam and Hemalatha Lavanam, *Our Experiences in Stuartpuram*, Vijayawada, 1976, P.2.

against their reformation is the existence of the settlement

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itself". Vennelacunti Raghavaiah, a social worker and freedom fighter, favoured the dispersal of the criminal gangs to surrounding villages so that concentration of these people in **one** place which leads to proliferation of crime may be avoided. The behaviour of the ex-criminals should be slowly cultivated in close association with other members of the community. Personality is viewed as a social product. The development of personality is traced within an established social system through a learning process. Opportunity should be given to the ex-criminals to intermix socially with other higher castes in Indian society. They should learn to earn their bread through the sweat of their brows.

"They should, as far as possible, be refrained from forming themselves into a closely knit brother-hood which develops loyalty to the **tribe**".<sup>23</sup>

These people have been grouped in a closed society for generations together, encouraged the perpetuation of their criminal propensities. Unfortunately, the younger elements are taking to criminal pursuits and consider that as normal course of action in their life.

As **Sikka** Krishnalal D., rightly pointed out that,

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**Jaspal Singh, *Reformation of ex-criminal tribes*, Hyderabad, 1976, P.1.**

<sup>24</sup> Kluckohn Clyde, *Mirror of Man*, New York, 1949, P.6.

V. Lalitha, "**Socio-Economic and Administrative aspects of an ex-criminal tribe, a case study of Kapparallatippa**", *Op.Cit.*, p. 61.

"Family is the **spring** board of the child's social and personal growth."<sup>26</sup>

"Juvenile Delinquency has reached **alarming** proportions, it is a serious augury for the **future**."<sup>27</sup>

The entire gamut of reforming the ex-criminals depends on how best educational facilities can be provided to these ex-criminal children. It paves a way for them to become a part and parcel of the mainstream of national life. Education helps to channelize their energies into productive purposes.

"Education is **an effective** weapon and instrument of social transformation."<sup>28</sup>

Education plays a significant role in changing the fortune and life-style of the ex-criminal **tribes'** children. Their economic plight and environmental influence have their impact on their education. Comparing themselves with the people of other strata of society, they are bound to suffer from an 'inferiority complex. When we interviewed the ex-criminal tribes of **Siddhapuram** settlement, they stated that their children couldn't reach higher echelons of society because of the psychological barrier they suffer from.<sup>29</sup>

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**Sikka** Krishnalal D., "Application of psychology and psychiatry in corrections", an unpublished M.Phil thesis submitted to the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, 1978, **P.9.**

27

**Paripurnanand** Varma, *Crime, Criminal, Convict*, Agra 1963, **P.264.** The author was the president of all India Crime prevention society.

28

J.S. Apte, "Talwada Ashram School - an experiment in Tribal Education", *Vanyajati*, Vol.8, **No.2**, April, 1960. PP. 81-82.

29

**Interview** with Peetla Chinna **Laxmaiah**, an ex-criminal,

A detailed study of the schooling facilities presents a grim picture in Siddhapuram **settlement**. Where as in Stuartpuram the case is quite different. D.N. **Majumdar** held the view that 'some of the children of the criminal tribes whom they have **examined** were highly **intelligent**, active and alert".<sup>30</sup> As **Haikerwal** pointed out "little by little", as the child grew up, he was initiated into the mysteries of crime in which his tribe specialized.<sup>31</sup> Lack of education among them leads to lack of social and political consciousness. They have no representatives in the legislatures who can genuinely push through the ideas of reform in the settlements or to urge the administration to provide them with basic needs of life. Fortunately, there is one representative among the **Stuartpuram** settlement by name **K. Kamala Kumari** who rose to the level of the ex-minister of the central **government**.

Another problem the ex-criminals are facing today is **the** fear complex that they have suffered from for a long time. Even today, we observe the prevalence of such feeling among them. It appears, as though, they want to take revenge against the society which, according to them, has been unjust and unkind to them. It is generally believed crime is due to economic backwardness.

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Siddhapuram, dt. 24.11.94.

<sup>30</sup> D.N. Majumdar, *Races and Cultures of India*, Bombay, 1965, **P.384**.

<sup>31</sup> B.S. Haikerwal, *Op.Cit.*, **P.166**.

Haikerwal expressed the view that **"criminality is strongly influenced by the economic situation"**.<sup>32</sup>

David Arnold also agreed with that view. He said,

**"Famine was a major cause of crime and disturbances, especially in the last quarter of the 19th century, and its effect often outlasted the immediate crisis"**.<sup>33</sup>

B.S. Bhargava also expressed his view that,

**"The crime Barometer of India rises and falls with the general prosperity of the masses"**.<sup>34</sup>

To remove the stigma attached to their community is **another** aspect of rehabilitation.<sup>35</sup> Sher Singh Sher, in this context, stated,

"...the stigma of their being 'criminal' strained **them** more glaringly as people always doubted **a**<sup>36</sup>**person** who had spent some time in a criminal reformatory".

Removed from their parents, and the pernicious influence of the environment of the settlements in their impressionable **age**, the children may be educated in a healthy and proper environment, free from crime, oppression, fear and harassment and suspicion.

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<sup>32</sup> B.S. Haikerwal, *Op.Cit.*, P.50.

<sup>33</sup> David Arnold, "Dacoity and rural crime in Madras 1860-1940", *Journal of Peasant Societies*, Vol. 12, No.8, 1979, P.162.

<sup>34</sup> B.S. Bhargava, *Criminal Tribes of India*, Lucknow, 1949, P.19.

<sup>35</sup> M.A. Windi, a village reconstruction organizer, Nellore, prepared a report on **Kapparallatippa** Settlement, submitted to district authorities in Nellore in 1977.

Sher Singh Sher, *Op.Cit.*, P.250.

**Economic** rehabilitation should be combined with social **and** cultural rehabilitation. Different types of people should be taken to their areas to **promote** social and cultural intercourse which **might** indirectly help to achieve some reformation among them. With all the defects and **inadequacies**, the reformation programmes are slowly yielding results among the settlers because of the urge for self respect and hope for better future of their off springs. They are found willing to take to regular and honourable occupation, profession or employment.<sup>37</sup>

It is also observed in this context that they crave for **sympathy** and understanding from the government as well as the public. Their rehabilitation largely depends on how far they are integrated into the society. Tempered rehabilitation with **a** human **approach** is the sole question.<sup>38</sup> These reformatory measures should lead to radical transformation of the settlers and in **its** turn the gradual eradication of their stigma.

In this context **Lavanam** said that,

"Transformation is taking place from the culture of crime to the culture of sociality. From anti-social means to social means of livelihood. From eternal fear complex to co-operative spirit and from harsh behaviour to reason and **understanding**."<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Lavanam, *Our experiences in Stuartpuram*, Op.Cit, P. 4.

<sup>38</sup> V. Lalitha, "Denotified communities of Andhra Pradesh some problems of rehabilitation" A.P. History Congress Proceedings, Hyderabad, 1981, P.8.

<sup>39</sup> **Lavanam**, *Our experiences in Stuartpuram*, Op.Cit., P.5.

The vital aspect of the entire question is how to wean them away **from** crime and make **them** an integral part of the mainstream of society by providing alternative means of livelihood. The rehabilitative measures can never be a permanent solution. Despite their innumerable criminal depredations at **Siddhapuram** and, to some extent, in Stuartpuram, the settlers are still in the clutches of poverty. The fruits of their nefarious activities are being snatched by a section of people like the rich **land** lords, merchants, money lenders, politicians, lawyers and corrupt police officers.

During our survey in **Stuartpuram** settlement, it was observed that the life style of **Stuartpuram** people is quite different from those at Siddhapuram settlement. It is because most of the settlers at Siddhapuram depend not on crime but on agriculture. No female member in the Donga **Waddar's** family of Siddhapuram could be seen with a glitter of gold chain or ear rings on their bodies. But in Stuartpuram, at least some women are having gold ear rings and chains. In Stuartpuram settlement, we can categorize the people into four categories. There are some rich people who have become selfish and not evincing much interest in their brethren. The second category are educated and employed but not in a position to help the other ex-settlers. The third category of people are still indulging in criminal activities. They may form 20% of the total population. The last **category**, that is majority, are still in poverty stricken condition. They are **not** able to sustain themselves and leading a miserable life. In Siddhapuram settlement, there may be very few families who **can**

afford a respectable life, whereas all others **are** still in a deplorable condition. Despair and **discontentment** are clearly reflected on the faces of Siddhapuram ex-settlers. Even then **majority** of ex-settlers in these two settlements have not **come** out of their economic misery and got into the main stream of life.<sup>40</sup>

Economic development is a continuous process. So steps should be taken accordingly to rehabilitate the ex-criminal tribes. Also rural banks should be opened in the settlement areas for mobilizing the savings of the settlers. The structures developed around the settlements should be dismantled and new structures should be built on that. It is a vicious circle in which stolen property dealers, corrupt police **officials**, investors in crime and greedy criminal lawyers form a part and parcel of exploitative conditions of the settlements and the booty is distributed among all these people. The report of the backward classes commission declared that,

"The economic programme should go hand in hand with a dynamic and suitably oriented programme of social education so as to **wean** them away from socially undesirable tendencies".<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> One of the leaders of Stuartpuram settlement by name Gajjala Prasad remarked that the society is biased against them. The same society is treating the real plunderers i.e. white collared criminals as respectable human beings. He said that this was unfair and unjust. *Minutes of Interview with Gajjala Prasad, Stuartpuram, dt. 21.2.1992. Interview with Kunchala Lalithamma, Woman ex-criminal, Siddhapuram Settlement, dt. 25.11.94.*

<sup>41</sup> Report of the study team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward **classes**, Vol. I, New Delhi, **1959, P.16.**



The **welfare programmes** should be launched by the government, keeping in mind the adventurous spirit and traditional skills of the respective people of the settlements.

As K.M. Kapadia remarked:

"Economic crimes are more often undertaken when the existing social system or economic organization makes it difficult for a section of society to continue its existence".<sup>42</sup>

The main motive behind such anti-social activities, in general, is primarily to satisfy the economic needs of **the** underfed, though in some cases such activities even aim at taking vengeance on the society for keeping them underfed.

The primary object of a criminal settlement is reformation but not segregation or confinement. Its **management** is also fallen into the hands of the police. The police and the government officers had no training for the reclamation of criminals. Their duty is to inspire distrust in the criminal classes. It is a hindrance to reclamation. In the non-official agencies the government will get a body of self sacrificing men who are prepared to devote their lives to the reformatory work. The government officers who is keenly interested in the public service are transferred sometimes. Then it is difficult to find a suitable substitute to carry on the work. It is noticed **that** the **work** of non-official agency for management has been

successful. The consideration is its **economy**. The **government** cannot get skilled service for the **remuneration** actually it **pays** to the non-official agencies. The manager of a settlement **has** full freedom to undertake the responsibility of criminal **tribes** in the settlement. But the non-official manager **enjoys** independence and prestige. He refuses to inform unimportant **matters** to higher authorities for decision. To maintain peace **and** order, the government officials will take the help of the police/ The work of reclamation is more likely to be done effectively **by** men who make it their main object in life than by public servants. The public servants may not show the necessary interest on the **reclamation** work.

The government of India opined that,

"The experience gained in other provinces indicate that organizations like Salvation Army carried out <sup>43</sup>the reclamation works with less money and got good results."

Thus the management of the settlements was left to the hands of the missionaries like, The Salvation Army, and the American Baptist Telugu Mission etc.

The Madras government felt that agricultural and industrial settlements are the best sources for reformation work on these '**criminal**' classes. In the **coolli** work, the labourers do little work. If a man is given a small plot of land he goes to the land

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See *Note showing the Progress made in the Settlement of Criminal Tribes in the Madras Presidency up to January 1925*, Madras, **1926**, PP. 1-2.

early in the **morning** and works till late. Even if he has other works to perform, he will spare some time to work in his plot. Hence the government made it compulsory in all settlements that agriculture should be the main industry. Each family **was** distributed a block of dry land and a piece of wet land to **maintain** themselves. If any one is found to neglect his land he was given punishment with harsh work such as breaking stones, digging earth etc. and the land was taken away from him **and** given to another. The government considered **that**, in course of time, a patta for his land may be given to the settler.

After the commencement of the Gorakhpur settlement for '**Doms**', the Salvation Army took up work with two more communities in the United Provinces. The example set by the government of the United Provinces was quickly followed in succession by the Punjab, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Orissa and Madras governments.

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The reclamation of the criminal is a personal and individual problem. Any agency which looks only to the change of conditions but not to the personal relationship is bound to fail. Directly a

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Here we can cite the example of William Booth Tucker, the founder of Salvation Army, known for his selfless service. See *Home department*, G.O. No. 1675, 2nd December 1919, **P.70**. NAI. '**Dom's**' are North Indian '**Criminal**' Tribes. The prestige of the Salvation Army with the government was such that William Booth Tucker, the salvation Army's influential officer, was awarded the prestigious title **Kaiser-I-Hind** by the Viceroy in recognition of his services. Under his stewardship, the Salvation Army launched many experiments. Based on the past history of the Salvation Army, the Madras government invited them and entrusted them with the reformatory job. See Harold Begbee, *The Other Sheep*, *Op.Cit.*, **P.19**.

problem comes to be regarded as a merely official one, it often loses its human aspects. It is for this reason specially necessary to recruit the manager. The manager is recruited with the special purpose of bringing the '**criminal**' tribe to the main stream of life. They should not be selected for official efficiency to boss over them.

Hence, by policy, the itinerant communities were singled out for setting penal settlements. Operations under the criminal tribes Act fell into two categories, action against the **itinerant** communities through the Salvation Army and action against **the** settled communities through the police. The initiative to **form** settlements for itinerant communities was thus left in the hands of the Salvation Army. By 1933, the Salvation Army was able to manage 35 settlements.

Blackman wrote,

"The Salvation Army alone is now responsible for 35 settlements in various provinces... These settlements **are** not charitable institutions where the inmates are maintained in idleness. They are placed <sup>45</sup> where criminals maintained themselves by honest industry".

In **Blackman's** opinion, these tribals should become models of well conducted life, skilled artisans, educated and accustomed to observing social and hygienic rules.

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> See Robert Sandal, *The History of the Salvation Army*, 3rd Vol.1 New York, 1955, PP. 255-256.

A former governor of Bengal/ Ronaldshay, also remarked that,

"The greatest credit is ~~due to~~<sup>47</sup> the Salvation Army for the success now being achieved."

The settlements were successful because, 1) the avoidance of police harassment 2) they were secure in the settlements as they were not sent to Jail and 3) segregation of children from the parents in order to bring them up in a more wholesome atmosphere.

As Booth Tucker remarked,

"Our work in Madras was started late, but ~~has~~<sup>48</sup> quickly forged ahead of other presidencies and provinces".

In the agricultural settlements, the government of Madras transferred some land to the missionaries to maintain these people. They in turn distributed these lands to the settlers. The missionary was the sole authority in this task. A rent was also fixed on their lands in order to meet the expenses of the settlement. The missionaries believed in hard work. Punishment was given to the lazy and easy going people. Some were punished by entrusting them with the work of breaking stones, digging earth and stone quarrying. Their land was transferred to other families in case of negligence. Pattas were sanctioned to people

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid. P.276.

<sup>48</sup> The reformatory work was handed over to the missionaries due to the following reasons. 1) Effective Control, 2) individual knowledge of each inmate to exercise a personal influence 3) take a paternal interest in them and, 4) assign lands for all the members of a small settlement. See Home Judicial Department, G.O.No. 1537, 27th July 1917, P.11. TNA.

with hard work and good conduct. The government was the final authority in sanctioning the pattas at the appropriate time. **This** was to ensure honesty **from** the settlers and the task of **reforming** the criminals would then be completed.

The agricultural settlements failed for a number of reasons. The reasons are: 1) the settlers were not accustomed to do cultivation 2) the tools were too primitive 3) the quality of **the** land was too poor 4) the wages given to the settlers for cultivating land were much less than they got as agricultural workers outside, and 5) active opposition by the surrounding land lords to the whole scheme of settling the landless on land.

The manager fixes the hours of individuals in agricultural settlements. Adults were given nine hours work a day and the juvenile adults under 16 years were given 7 hours work. Children under 13 years had to work 4 hours a day.<sup>49</sup>

In industrial settlements, the following piece work was given: 1) silk worm rearing 2) silk reeling, spinning and weaving 3) wool spinning or weaving 4) carpet making 5) cotton weaving and warping 6) carpentry and blacksmithing 7) shoe making 8) tailoring 9) mat and basket making 10) coir picking 11) **pottery** 12) fitting and metal work 13) stone **breaking, dressing,** quarrying or mining 14) gardening 15) building and **repairing**

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See Home Judicial Department, G.O.No. 2356, 29th September 1916, P.7. TNA.

buildings 16) making of bags and boxes 17) tending poultry **and** live stock and, 18) scavenging etc.<sup>50</sup>

**Any** settler who disobeys the rules or refuses to obey **any** reasonable order, the following **punishments** were given: 1) **a formal** warning 2) additional arduous work with loss of wages 3) cancellation of leave 4) loss of privileges 5) daily roll-call 6) restriction of **movements** to any particular area within **the** settlement 7) fine and, 8) prosecution etc.

The rewards of good behaviour by the concerned managers of the settlements were: 1) **exemption from** roll call 2) more liberal grant of passes 3) Increased payment for work 4) allotment of **more** land for cultivation and, 5) promotion to positions of responsibility etc.

In the criminal tribes settlements there were three grades of criminal classes They are: 1) those in the settlements 2) those restricted to the areas of district and, 3) those freed from all restrictions.<sup>51</sup> These tribes were absolutely in danger of starving unless they rob in the particular locality. Hence they were removed to the centers where their labour is required, well paid and where the temptation to crime was less.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> See Home Judicial Department, G.O. No. 2356, 29th September, 1916, **P.20.** TNA.

<sup>51</sup>

See Home Judicial Department, **G.O.No.** 2671, 14th **November, 1916, P.11.** TNA.

<sup>52</sup> See Home Judicial Department, **G.O.No.** 1537, 27th July **1917,**

The **missionaries** understood that economic rehabilitation and **moral reformation** should go hand in hand. The manager established a moral or spiritual ascendancy over the settlement.<sup>53</sup> For example, the manager, major L.R. Gale, appointed by the Salvation **Army** gave a Christian bias to the whole atmosphere of the settlement. The educated Hindu residents resented this.<sup>54</sup> Some held the view that change of **circumstances** with opportunities of honest and remunerative work alone can reform the criminal. Legh, the Salvation Army officer, argued to **remove** temptation and provide honest means of livelihood. Souter, another Salvation Army official, said it is necessary to inculcate the general principles of honesty. He said, "we devote most of our time and attention to the education of children. The managers provided **by** the Salvation Army are weak in character, incompetent **and** unsuited for the management of criminal settlements. Some do **not** know the language of these people."<sup>55</sup> Under these circumstances/ their lands were sold, there were frequent cases of **absconding**. Hence there was no progress towards reformation.

There are two distinct types of criminals. They are, 1) persons driven to criminal lives for want of means to **live. e.g.**

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**P.9.** TNA.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* **P.20.**

<sup>54</sup>

A. Aiyappan, *Op.Cit.*, **P. 37.**

<sup>55</sup>

See *Home Judicial Department*, **G.O.No.** 1537, dt. 27.7.1917, PP. 20-21. TNA. The settlers of **Stuartpuram** were not under proper discipline. Caste prejudices existed among them. Outside people were employed in the settlement.



the Donga Yerukulas. In their case, economic improvement is sufficient to wean them from criminal pursuits 2) **Persons who** adhere to crime on account of the **excitement**. e.g. the **Katheras**. Here **the** only remedy is a close settlement and the extermination of the adult.<sup>56</sup>

The Salvation Army relied on the noisy methods of street demonstration, flags, singing and excitement. Further, the **men** had to go to work, the women urged to keep clean and **tidy**, their children were sent to school and taught, they were learnt to speak truth and purity and so on. The Salvation Army thought a man who cannot talk daily and hourly cannot exhort or convince the people is not suitable for bringing reformation.<sup>57</sup>

The following persons were kept in the settlements. 1) Idiots and Lunatics 2) Cripples 3) Blind persons 4) All persons incapable of earning their living due to their age or physical infirmity.<sup>58</sup> A monthly allowance per each individual fixed by government. For example, the rate of new settlers in **Stuartpuram** settlement is Rs. 6 to 9 per mensem.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* , P.23.

<sup>57</sup>

See Home Judicial Department, G.O.No. 1482, 22nd June 1918, P.4. TNA.

<sup>58</sup>

See Home Judicial Department, G.O.No. 2436, 24th October, 1919, P.1. TNA.

<sup>59</sup>

See Home Judicial Department, G.O.No. 19, 5th January 1920, P.1. TNA.

The reasons for removing certain sections of people from their districts and localities and placing them in a settlement were as follows:

1. The area in which they inhabit abounds with stolen property dealers. Until they are removed from such places, it is not possible to reform them because they invest money to commit crimes.<sup>60</sup>
2. They frequently contravene and absent themselves in suspicious circumstances.
3. A number of the members of the gangs are out of view.
4. They are scattered over an extensive area. This gives an excuse for constant movements of individuals. This provides them with opportunities for committing crime.
5. They attach themselves to criminals of other communities to commit crime.
6. Their children are not receiving education. To prevent them from growing up with the same criminal habits as their ancestors.

After a long discussion among officers,

"The placing of<sup>61</sup> these gangs in a settlement was done to control crime".

Steps should be taken to expand the base of agriculture by providing necessary requirements. However, the irrigational facilities constitute the most important aspect of this

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<sup>60</sup> See Home Judicial Department, G.O.No 87, dt. 18.2.1926, P.3. TNA.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

**programme.** The economic **improvement** should aim at: 1) Providing land to the cultivators 2) Giving subsidiary occupations for those who had land to cultivate.

The Salvation Army in **Stuartpuram** settlement provided **land** to the settlers. The total extent of land measuring 2023.78 was distributed over four villages, viz., Murukondapadu, **Wada**, Epurupalem and Perala. Of this, 1617.13 acres wetland and 406.65 was dry land. 897.98 acres of wet land was assigned to 495 **Yerukula** house holds and 1125.80 acres were kept under the Salvation Army. 140.00 acres of cultivatable waste land **was** located in **Romperu** drain divided into 126 plots measuring 0.90 cents assigned to the Yerukulas of Stuartpuram.-- Their concentration on agriculture made it as a stable source of income. The manager leased out lands to the settlers also. The government from time to time used to give them loans for cultivation purposes.

Harold Stuart, the then secretary to the government of **Madras**, remarked that,

**"Stuartpuram** Settlement was the most **successful** having the best **land**".<sup>62</sup>

When the land was given to the settlers on the basis of individual pattas, it became eyesore to the rich people in **the**

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<sup>62</sup> See Chenchuraju, *Stuartpuram Girijan Settlement, A rehabilitation Center for Ex-convicts*, Hyderabad, 1981, **P.2.**

<sup>63</sup> **Home** Judicial Department, G.O. No. 572, 8th March 1917, **P.12.** TNA.

neighbouring villages.<sup>64</sup> The land lords used to **complain that it** was difficult for **them** to live in the midst of thieves, **robbers** and dacoits. Rights of ownership were granted to the settlers on the ground, that 1. the land should not be mortgaged for a period of ten years and, 2. The land should never be sold **to non-Yerukulas**. Failure to abide by these conditions would result in forfeiture of the land.<sup>65</sup> Thus agriculture became the **main** source of income for these people. Even now 90% of them are cultivating the land in addition to their other sources of income. Thanks to the services rendered by Thomas, the police officer and M.V. Krishna Rao, the then Home Minister, visited the settlement and evinced much interest on the rehabilitation of people.

In **Siddhapuram** Settlement also, the land was distributed to the settlers by the government. Land pattas were distributed **to** the settlers like other settlements. But these settlers depended **more** on the forest produce. Though the land was fertile, unfortunately the tank was not repaired properly and they could not succeed in cultivation. Even now they are facing the same problem with regard to the **tank**. The inaccessibility of the village had not given scope to any politician to take keen interest in that settlement. The settlers submitted a number of memoranda to the government but the result was nil.

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<sup>64</sup> Moneyed people belonging to Bapatla, Chirala, **Karamchedu, Karlapalem** etc. began buying the land at cheap rates and rack-renting the actual cultivator whenever a crop could be raised. See Meena Radha Krishna, "Surveillance and Settlements under the criminal tribes Act in Madras", *Op.Cit.*, **P.184**.

<sup>65</sup> **Ibid.**

There is an important development in the employment of Stuartpuram ex-criminals after the repellation of the settlement. In addition to the agricultural activity and labour work in Stuartpuram, **ILTD** (Indian Leaf Tobacco Department) provided employment to the settlers. With regard to the wages, gender discrimination was followed. This industry supported the settlers and protected them in times of need. However, much difficulty was still faced by the settlers with regard to the employment. The settlers were put to great hardship when this company was closed down during the year 1930.<sup>66</sup> But the Salvation Army provided alternative employment to these people. It was possible to tide over the financial crisis which happened every now and then. It is really a matter of pride that some of the children of these ex-settlers rose to the position of Gazetted officers. Few students became **I.A.S.** officers. Though these are exceptional cases, but they denote the fact that how much awareness is created in the ex-settlement.

Likewise, if we take the conditions of Siddhapuram settlement the position is quite different from Stuartpuram. Only two graduates came from Siddhapuram and very few secured employment elsewhere. Even now the school and its surroundings, the negligence of the officials and the non-official stream of education is completely neglected in Siddhapuram. In the entire

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<sup>66</sup> Meena Radha Krishna, *Op.Cit.*, P.16.

village, there is not even a single woman graduate. This shows how education is neglected and we have to pin point **that the** government has to shoulder the responsibility of providing good facilities for the **improvement** of education.

The attitude of the officials, right from the tribal **welfare** department down to the reclamation officer, should be conducive to the welfare of the settlers. A little **more** responsiveness from the bureaucratic brass to the crying needs of the ex-criminals would do more good than what was promised to them so far in **the** rhetoric of the politicians.

The most formidable task one faces in bringing up these settlers close to the contemporary world is in setting an ideal tone for ensuring better societal relations between inter **and** intra - relations and between the police and the ex-criminals and finally between the public and ex-criminals. The social experience of the ex-criminals still adds to their lurking fears of being dominated by the more vociferous strata of the society. Equal opportunities and equal treatment with others, if provided, the ex-criminal would really come out of their shell.

These people had to suffer chronic economic difficulties as well as social neglect for centuries. As P.K. **Bhowmick** remarked that this **"made** them hostile to the so-called **neighbours"**.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Bhowmick P.K., *Some Aspects of Indian Anthropology*, Calcutta, 1980, **P.127**.

Their social status should be raised in order to wipe out the long cursed social negligence.<sup>68</sup> Dominant sections of the society should not oppress them, so that the 'stigma' shrouding them will slowly vanish from their minds. As long as they suffer from the 'stigma', they cannot enjoy their due share of the nation's growth. Crime is, in essence, a concrete response to the political and socio-economic tensions of the day. In this context, if we analyze the present day society, the un-employed youth have become real 'menace' to the society due to the lack of foresight on the part of the government. Today, crime is not exclusively confined to the ex-criminal tribes alone. It is pervaded in the whole society. It is difficult to define who is a criminal in the present day society.

The Indian police has an excellent record of discipline and gallantry of resoluteness, valour and courage of high order.<sup>69</sup> To the average citizen, the police are the visible symbols of established order. Maintenance of law and order are in their domain. In the opinion of people, the police department has a bad image. They are considered as unscrupulous, un-cultured, corrupt and they behave as petty tyrants, who preserved the innocent and have no decency to respect the individual liberty and freedom. This may be due to the deep rooted prejudice against them.

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<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, P.129.

<sup>69</sup> S. Venugopal Rao, *Facets of Crime in India...*, Op.Cit., P.181.

Venugopala Rao **said,**

"Of all services he alone comes closest to the people, **yet** remains the farthest".<sup>70</sup>

The police are blamed by everybody for their inefficiency, high-handedness and aloofness. They are surrounded by suspicion, sullenness, and inexplicable hostility.

As N.S. Saxena points out,

**"Corruption** of any kind lowers the image of the police, destroys the officer's own capacity for bold action, makes police-public **co-operation** difficult and thus indirectly promotes crime".

The second factor which lowers the image of the police is, for the sake of showing sound statistical record, they register a large number of false cases. The third rate methods used by the police, generally at the lower level, explains their inhuman behaviour and **unsympathetic** attitude towards these people. This attitude develops in them a negative attitude which paves **the** way for the hardened criminals. Sometimes, as Jaspal Singh, a police officer said, that

**"The** police officers have misappropriated the stolen properties recovered from the criminals for their own benefit. Sometimes they are the investors of the crime and also share the booty after the commission of an offence".<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, P.184.

<sup>71</sup> N.S. Saxena, "Main Reasons for Increase in Crime in India in Recent Years", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XXI, No.4, October-December 1975, PP. 678-93.

<sup>72</sup> Jaspal Singh, *Reformation of ex-criminal Tribes*, Hyderabad, 1976, P.3.



Aloofness from society, fear of police, distanced from the family made the criminals cruel, stubborn and angry. They developed a feeling of hatred and suspicion. As Rajendra Prasad, the first president of India said, "the policeman should not forget that he himself is a human being and he has to deal with human beings and, in dealing with them, he should have always have his own

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humanity before himself." The entire police administration should be streamlined, the police should be trained and equipped properly. Then only he will imbibe in himself a spirit of service and genuine consideration for his fellow beings. The qualifications and emoluments should be raised in order to be on par with the other jobs in the society. It is very essential to have a radical change in the functioning of the police department for taking up reformative activities. Otherwise any slackness on his part will encourage the criminals to commit the most heinous of crimes. If the radical change is not found among them, then the very social fabric of ex-criminals will be badly damaged.

The development of socially backward classes is an integral part of the national development. The central and state governments are given equal responsibility to execute the constitutional guarantees given to the scheduled tribes. The commissioner, at the central level and, the social welfare director, at the state level, are the two functionaries who deal with these guarantees. At the state level, the programmes

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<sup>73</sup> Dr. Rajendra Prasad, from a speech delivered at Kurnool on 19th August 1959.

designed for the welfare of scheduled castes and tribes often overlap with each other as both of these are dealt with in a combined manner. As a result, many of the needs of scheduled tribes are not fulfilled. For example, except the expenditure for ex-criminal tribe settlements, other heads like scholarships of scheduled tribe students and subsidies to hostels are drawn from the funds earmarked for Harijans (scheduled castes). This is often leading to repeated claims of officers concerned that there are no specific instructions to them in case of scheduled tribes. Such an attitude culminates in the discontentment both among scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.<sup>74</sup>

The enquiry committees, anthropological reports and various social reformers have clearly stated that the effects on the social customs of these tribes in turn influence their economic development and educational progress. It is opined that in the absence of a separate department, the welfare programmes of these tribes do not make any progress. To this effect, memoranda had been submitted to both central and state governments to appoint a special minister to look after their welfare. Though central government did not initiate any such measure, the state government separated the scheduled tribes department from social welfare department and appointed one of the revenue board members as a special officer.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup>

*Adivasi - Telugu Monthly*, Published by R. Nagaiah, Vijayawada, issue No. 2, Vol. 10, dt.15.5.1962, P.2.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, P.2.

**After** the repeal of the criminal Tribes Act in **1952**, it was contemplated that all state governments should undertake **welfare** schemes **for** these **people**, in order to enable them to **stand on** their **own** legs and be weaned away from their past habits **with a** view **to get** them ultimately absorbed in the society. In **order** to supplement the efforts of the state governments to **undertake such** schemes, it was decided by the central government, for the **first time**, in 1953 to give grants for the welfare schemes **for** ex-criminal tribes. The following programmes were introduced by the government: 1) Education 2) Agriculture 3) Housing 4) Cottage industries 5) Medical 6) Public health 7) Aid to **voluntary** agencies and, 8) Miscellaneous.<sup>76</sup>

Dr. Rajendra Prasad said,

**"State** governments had played their **part** satisfactorily **but** much more remains to be done by them".<sup>77</sup>

The welfare schemes for denotified communities **were** undertaken by the concerned states as part of their state sector programmes in the first five year plan. In the second five year plan, funds were sanctioned by the government for education **and** economic development. During the 3rd five year plan, **a plan**

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<sup>76</sup> See *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1954*. 4<sup>th</sup> report by L.M. Sreekant, New Delhi, 26th February 1955, **P.232**.

<sup>77</sup> See *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the Year 1953*, 3rd report by L.M. Sreekant, New Delhi, 1954, **P.200**.

provision of Rs. 375.00 lakhs was **made** for the purpose. An estimated expenditure of Rs. 55.36 lakhs was incurred **during** 1962-63. Special steps were initiated in the 4th plan for a close study of the problem of these people. **Economic, social and cultural** aspects were taken into consideration. A sum of Rs. 439.00 lakhs was incurred on these communities. In the fifth **five** year plan no separate provision has been made under centrally sponsored programmes for undertaking schemes for denotified communities.<sup>78</sup>

In **1974**, the state government made a special effort as **an** experiment to reform the ex-criminals of **Stuartpuram**. As a result of the various steps taken by the government, the indiscriminate raids on the colony have **come** to an end and the police no longer fraternized the criminals. About 135 acres of fertile land were assigned to 145 criminals or their families. Arrangements were made for the payment of wages, supply of seeds, **fertilizers**, pesticides etc. The **Girijan** co-operative gave rickshaws to some of the settlers on a **loan-cum** subsidy basis. Loans were given by the state government for the purchase of sewing machines, making baskets etc. These measures, to some extent, brought an **improvement** in the situation prevailing in the colony.<sup>79</sup>

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**See** Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes **and** Scheduled Tribes for the year 1962-1974. Also see Report of **the** 7th Conference for Scheduled Tribes and Tribal **Areas**, Guntur, 1964, **P.66**.

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**See** Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes **and** Scheduled Tribes 1973-74, 22nd Report, New Delhi, **15th** September 1975, **P.288**.

Input supply programme was implemented to help the agriculturists under economic support schemes. During the year 1973-1974, trade loans to a tune of Rs.12,200 were sanctioned to 62 tribal households and agricultural implements worth Rs. 7250 were supplied to the tribal cultivators. Besides, 12 pairs of plough bullocks were supplied to tribal cultivators in Stuartpuram. During the year 1976-77, milch cattle were supplied to 65 tribals under economic support programme. A scheme has been prepared and submitted to District Tribal Welfare Department by the Block Development Officer, Bapatla to supply short term inputs, land reclamation etc. During the year 1980-81, under economic support programme, 29 identified tribal households were supplied with milch cattle.<sup>80</sup>

Various societies such as Bharatiya Adimajati Sevak Sangh (New Delhi), Andhra Rashtra Adimajati Sevak Sangh and Andhra Rashtra Yerukula Maha Sangham came forward to reform these people. Thakkar Bapa was the pioneer social worker who developed a philosophy and technique of the missionary approach to tribal welfare. His approach was entirely humanitarian and was saturated with service and sacrifice. Bharatiya Adimajati Sevak Sangh has been publishing a Journal *Vanyajati* and holding conferences every now and then.<sup>81</sup> Rajendra Prasad was the president of the Sangh and

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See Chenchuraju, *Op.Cit.*, p.3.

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*Monthly Letters of Bharatiya Adimajati Sevak Sangh, NAI. New Delhi, 1949, P.1. Also See Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1953, 3rd report, New Delhi, 1954, P.194.*

**Thakkar Bapa was its vice-president.**<sup>82</sup>

Andhra Rashtra Adimajati **Sevak** Sangh took its birth in 1948 under Thakkar **Bapa**, the father of the Indian tribal welfare **movement**.<sup>83</sup> The vice - president of this Sangh was Palaparti Veeraiah. Prior to this, the Andhra provincial Yanadi Sangh was in - charge of all tribal welfare work. It was started in 1927 in Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh.<sup>84</sup>

The main achievements of Andhra Rashtra Adimajati Sevak Sangh were colonization and liberation from slavery **and** education. The Sangh worked among Yanadis (20,5,381) Yerukulas (12,8,024) and Banjaras (96,174), thus a total of **4,29,579**.<sup>85</sup>

The main aims and objectives of Andhra Rashtra Adimajati Sevak sangh were, 1. Liberation. 2. Education. 3. Co-operative system. 4. Cottage Industries. 5. Literature. 6. Abolition of **mal-** practices like slave trade and ordeal tests. **7.Prohibition**<sup>ft\_6</sup> and wages and, 8. Sadachar work etc.

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<sup>82</sup> See Palaparti Veeraiah, "What we did 1927-64", *The Report of the 7th conference for Scheduled Tribes and Tribal areas*, Guntur, November, 1964, **P.111**.

<sup>83</sup> See Palaparti veeraiah, *Ibid*.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>86</sup> Palaparti Veeraiah, *Op.Cit*.

The Sangh convinced the late **prime** minister, **Jawaharlal** Nehru, and the Indian Government and secured the **repeal** of the Criminal Tribes Act throughout India in 1952. It did **pioneering** work **in** liberating millions of criminal tribes **with active** co-operation, fatherly guidance and limitless encouragement. **The** Sangh formed 300 colonies of Yerukulas, Yanadis and Banjaras **in** Chittoor, Nellore, Guntur Krishna and Godavari districts **in** 1927.<sup>87</sup> Nomadism was stopped in 1957. Yerukulas, Yanadis **and** Banjaras were included in the list of scheduled tribes by the parliament in 1956 owing to the efforts of B.N. Datar, the **then** minister of Home affairs. Nomadism was reduced to 50% among Yanadis, 40% among Yerukulas and 10% among **Lambadis**.<sup>88</sup> The first school was started by the Sangh in 1934. The first Harijan hostel was started in 1929. The first tribal hostel was started **in** 1939. Female education among tribals was taken up by the Sangh.

Forty co-operative societies were opened for fishermen, mat and basket weavers. A Rickshaw Pullers Society was opened for scheduled tribe workers at Nellore to enable the drivers to become owners of the vehicles.<sup>89</sup> Various types of books, magazines and articles were published in Telugu and English. The best examples are **Kallumunta**, **Rama Rajyam**, **Yekalavya** which are ballads. **Adivasi**, **Dalit ttarg**, **Girijana Jyoti**, **Yekalavya**

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<sup>87</sup> See *Adivasi*, Issues 9 and 10, dt. 15-12-1962 & 15-1-1963, **P.1.**

<sup>88</sup> Palaparti Veeraiah, *Ibid.* **P.112.**

<sup>89</sup> *Adivasi*, (Telugu monthly), Published by **R. Nagaiah**, Vol. 10, Nos.9 and 10, Guntur **dt.15.12.1962** and **dt.15.1.1963**, **P.1.**

*Patrika* and *Hari janoddhar ana* were other important news papers

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published by **Andhra Rashtra Adimajati Sevak Sangh**. **Research work was carried out** by the Sangh. It had taken active part in Sadachar activities. The Sangh assisted the government with advice and co-operation. In 1947, it was suggested to the Madras government to establish the social welfare department and it was done. The Sangh strove hard to make prohibition of arrack.

The Sangh effectively stopped the sale of tribal women from Lingala ex-settlement to purchasers from Punjab for amounts ranging from two to five thousands.<sup>91</sup> This obnoxious trade was carried out under the nose of the police station located in the

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**Kallumunta** is a ballad. The authors of the work are Ponna Koteswara Rao and Ponna Satyannarayana. It was published by Andhra Rashtra Yerukula **Mahasangham**, Vijayawada in 1950. **Rama Rajyam** is another ballad on Yerukulas by Ponna Koteswara Rao. It was published by Jayanti publications Vijayawada, during the year 1960. Ponna Koteswara Rao, along with Palaparti veeraiah, Chadala **Janakiram** and others, visited many places in India and played Burrakatha (ballad). These two sources, though very valuable, are out of print today. These books are procured from Ponna Koteswara Rao. I thank him for this. However, these two important sources give detailed information of the culture of Yerukulas, how they perform their marriages. They also provide information on the general conditions in the settlements. *Adivasi Patrika* is a Telugu monthly published by **Rameswaram** Nagaiah from Guntur in 1943. Each issue was priced at 1 anna and the annual subscription rate was Rs. 1. **Yerukula Patrika** was published by **Kampa** Punnaiah during the year 1943. **Dalitmarg** was another monthly by Ponna Koteswara Rao. Some other papers of the same kind were **GiriJana Jyoti** and **Yekalavya**. Out of financial crisis these publications were stopped from 1980 onwards. However, Ponna Koteswara Rao is trying to publish the same if the government gives him financial help.

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Interview with Palaparti Veeraiah, President, Andhra Rashtra Adimajati Sevak Sangh, Vijayawada, dt. 10.11.1995.



settlement. The Sangh suggested for tightening the penal **code** sections relating to slavery. It was approved by the central **law** department. It was considered by the **home** ministry. The **Sangh**

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discouraged tribal ordeals.

V. Raghavaiah, endeavoured hard for the upliftment of **these** people. His primary aim was to fight for the repellation of **the** Criminal Tribes Act. 1. He started a colony for 160 families of Yanadis, Yerukulas and Chenchus at Siddhipuram and also one at Sangham (both in Nellore district), for tribal people.<sup>93</sup> 2) He had given radio talks at Vijayawada on tribal culture, tribal conditions and tribal uplift. 3) He read a paper on aboriginal uplift at the provincial social welfare workers conference presided over by the Governor of Madras. 4) In 1949, he toured Rajasthan and submitted a report recommending the stopping of outlawing of the Sansis, the **Kanjaras** and the Minas. 5) He secured for the Adivasis of Madras province the same privileges, scholarships and fee concessions. 6) He formed a co-operative contract work society for Harijans and adivasis. He secured canal repair work for the adivasis of Siddhipuram by the **Adimajati**

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Palaparti Veeraiah, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 111 to 114.

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In the interview with Dr. V. Lalitha, we came to know that the people living at Sangham stated that they are indebted to Raghavaiah for the good life they got and they also narrated instances how he stopped nomadism and for every thing in their life, they are indebted to him. *Interview with Palaparti Veeraiah, Op.Cit.* Also See *Adivasi*, issue 10, **No.1**, dt. **15.4.1962, p.2**. See *Adivasi*, Telugu Monthly, issue **10**, No.2, dt. 15.5.1962, **P.1**.

**sevak** Sangh. He opened co-operative societies in Guntur for **yanadis**.<sup>94</sup>

The first Chenchu conference was held at **Macharla**, Guntur district on 30.12.1949. It was presided over by V.Raghavaiah. It was attended by 600 Chenchus and **Sugalis**. The flag hoisting ceremony was done by an illiterate Chenchu by name Jallellamudi Gurrappa who was **almost** with a bare body. Kavuri Venkayya was an ardent social worker among the aboriginals of Guntur district and a member of the district board. The first Chenchu students hostel was started by V.Raghavaiah. An adivasi elementary school was started there. The Chenchu association was formed at Gurajala during the same year.<sup>95</sup>

Andhra Rashtra Yerukula **Mahasangham** was formed in **Epurupalem**, Prakasam district of Andhra Pradesh during the year 1947-48. The association published a fortnightly called *Adivasi* in Telugu. Reformative marriages were encouraged. Liquor, meat and flesh were done away with. Propaganda work was carried out in Chittoor, Anantapur, Nellore, Guntur, Krishna and West Godavari districts. Cultural demonstrations were organized by the Sangh during the year 1948-49. The Sangh dealt with **economic**, ethical and social problems of the Yerukulas and other

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Bharatiya **Adimajati** Sevak Sangh, *Report of the work of the Sangh and its affiliated institutions during the period-October 1948 to October 1949*, New Delhi, 1950, **P.5.**

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*Monthly letter of Bharatiya Adimajati Sevak Sangh for the year 1949 (N.A.)*, New Delhi, 1950, **P.2.**

aboriginals. In addition to the boys hostel, run at, Bezawada a girls hostel for Yerukulas and other Adivasis was opened at Chirala during the year 1948-49.<sup>96</sup>

The secretary of Andhra Pradesh Yerukula association R. Nagaiah, along with its vice-president Palaparti Veeraiah and the executive committee member Y. Yellesu, discussed the revival of West Godavari district Yerukula Mahasabha at Vijayawada on 6.5.'62 and 7.5.62. It is decided that the members should 'visit the district to initiate welfare measures.<sup>97</sup> R. Nagaiah, Secretary of Andhra Pradesh Yerukula association, visited Nellore in connection with the reconstruction of the district Yerukula association.<sup>98</sup> The reception committee of the Krishna district Adivasi Sabha was organized at Vijayawada and it was agreed upon that the convention should be arranged at Kankipadu. It was in the first week of June 1962 and invited Vennelacunti Raghavaiah, secretary Andhra Pradesh Adimajati Sevak Sangh, Chennupati Ramakotaiah, Ponna Koteswara Rao, Galeti Venkateswarlu, Tiruveedhula Samabaiah, Secretary, Andhra Pradesh Yanadi Association, Rameswaram Nagaiah Secretary Andhra Pradesh, Yerukula Association, Ramavatu Laloo Naik, Member, Andhra Pradesh

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*Bharatiya Adimajati Sevak Sangh, Report of the work of the Sangh and its affiliated institutions during the period October 1948 to October 1949, New Delhi, March 1950, P.15.*

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See R. Nagaiah, *Adivasi*, (Telugu Monthly), Issue 10, No.1, Guntur dt. 15.4.1962, P.1.

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See *Adivasi*, (Telugu monthly), Issue 10, No.4, Guntur, dt. 15.7.1962, P.4.

**Sugali association and Ponna Satyannarayana to the convention.**<sup>99</sup>

**In addition** to the Salvation Army and various social organizations, social workers namely Gora, Lavanam, Hemalatha Lavanam of Atheist center Vijayawada and M.V. Thomas, former superintendent of Police, endeavoured hard to reform these people. Hemalatha Lavanam, along with Lavanam, is seriously involved in social reformation in the Stuartpuram ex-settlement. They started the reformation work of these settlers from 1974. Gora took interest in the problem of 'criminal tribes' since 1928. Gora demanded for the repeal of the criminals tribes Act.<sup>100</sup>

Lavanam and Hemalatha Lavanam's contribution relates mostly to the socio-physiological rehabilitation. They dug out the history of the criminals tribes and convinced them that their plight has been a part of the varna and caste-oriented professions. They were extorted to come out of the old traits of the culture of crime and to develop new traits of the culture of sociability. Lavanam and Hemalatha Lavanam spent many days with the ex-criminal settlers of Stuartpuram. They listened to their stories, agonies and problems. They encouraged them to go to government officials, legislators, ministers and others to explain their difficulties and problems and got redressed.

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<sup>99</sup>

See *Adivasi*, (Telugu Monthly), Issue 10, No.11, Guntur, dt 15.2.1963, P.1.

<sup>100</sup>

Interview with Lavanam - Social worker, Atheist center, Vijayawada, dt. 20.11, 1995. Also see "A bird's eye-view of a decade's work", Criminal reformation conference, Atheist center, Vijayawada, 17th June, 1984, P.1.



***Samskar* Rehabilitation Centre for Settlers:  
Stuartpuram**

During the year 1983, the students who secured highest marks in public examinations in VII and X standards in the school at Stuartpuram were awarded prizes by Lavanam and Hemalatha Lavanam. These prizes were given at Atheist center, Vijayawada. Lavanam and Hemalatha Lavanam demanded the abolition of the management of the settlement and to declare the settlements as free colonies. Due to their efforts, the state government took a step in abolishing the managements and declaring them as free colonies in 1976. They visited the prisoners of Stuartpuram and kept constant contact through letters. The families of settlers visited Atheist center for advice. This contact changed some hardened criminals. They motivated the criminals to change from crime culture. A society, *Samskar*, was registered with Lavanam as Chairman and Hemalatha Lavanam as its secretary in 1983. The main aim of the *Samskar* is to help the rehabilitation of the socially abandoned and ex-criminals of the settlement.<sup>101</sup> The government appointed a Stuartpuram welfare committee in 1974. The same year, irrigation facilities were provided and the first crop of paddy was harvested. Implements like *palugu*, *para*, *kodavali*, *kadava* and *tatta*, manures and seeds were distributed free of cost to all the families.

Women were given training in beedi making in 1975. A private company started a beedi manufacturing unit. But, after the training, they backed out because of the fear that Stuartpuram

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<sup>101</sup> Sarma Maria, *Samskar* a profile, Gandhi Peace Society (Heidelberg) Germany, 1992, P. 6.

was a criminal settlement. The state Bank of India distributed loans to ex-criminal families of Stuartpuram during the year 1975. A documentary film, on criminal reformation, rehabilitation activities, was prepared at Stuartpuram in 1975 by a social worker Mukkamala Nagabhushanam under the banner of Pragati Chitra on the criminal life of the settlement and their transformation through reformation. This film was made in the early stages of the reformation. One of the socially committed directors, Mr. Tilak, directed the film. The major portion was shot in Stuartpuram. During the year 1976, Stuartpuram settlement was electrified. Street lamps were provided.

During the years 1983 - 85, the Andhra Pradesh government implemented a scheme to improve these settlers economically. T. Gopala Rao, I.A.S., who worked as collector of Guntur district, helped the settlers in the form of loans, distribution of land and construction of houses. During the tenure of Chandrayya, as district collector, 136 acres of dry land and 146 acres of wet land were allotted to the ex-criminals of this settlement. Each family got 80 cents of land.

The welfare measures initiated for Yerukulas, Yanadis and Sugalis bear a resemblance to the efforts at squeezing oil from sand. The development of scheduled tribes is a real challenge to the present government. The utterances of the government on the welfare measures are making much noise emanating from empty vessels. Policy formulation and its execution, most often, fall

apart. Tribal children are required to pay special fee at the time of admission, though he is exempted from other fees. Poor tribal students are not in a position even to pay this. Added to this, tribal welfare scholarships are generally delayed and released at the end of the year. As a result students are bound to face many problems. There is a lot of injustice being done to tribal people in the distribution of surplus lands. Their repeated memoranda to revenue officials are of no avail.<sup>102</sup>

In the sphere of employment too, tribal people are facing serious problems. Though the public advertisements earmark a number of vacancies to these people, they appear so with a clause saying that the posts would be convertible to other castes in the absence of the eligible tribal candidates- In such a situation the very policy of reservation loses its meaning and validity. It is suggested that the government takes appropriate measures to overcome these problems. The elected representatives from the tribal region should educate the government about these fundamental hardships of tribal people.<sup>103</sup>

In view of the above analysis, few suggestions can be made to improve rehabilitation programme for the welfare of denotified tribes of Andhra Pradesh.

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103 See *Adivasi*, Issue 10, No.6, Guntur, dt. 15.9.1962, P.2.

See *Adivasi*, (Telugu Monthly), Issue 10, No.6, Guntur, dt 15.9.1962, P.1.



1. **The government** has to conduct **sample** surveys to know about **their** present position pertaining to know their present livelihood, state of literacy, housing and **their activities.**<sup>104</sup>
2. **Large share** of expenditure should be spent on **their economic development.** Some kind of lawful employment **should be provided** for them as an alterative means of livelihood.
3. **'D'** form Pattas (**un-loanable** pattas) are issued to them. They should be converted into loanable pattas wherever **they are now** given. All these **members** of denotified tribes in various ex-settlements who have real interest and **aptitude for cultivation** should also be provided land **and other related** facilities.
4. Labour contact societies should be organized in **consultation with** members of these communities without least **favouritism and** nepotism.
5. **Brick** making, mat weaving, dress making centers **which require** minimum technical skill and guidance **should be established for** them.

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Guntur district has already done this type of **survey and sent an action** plan to the government. Surveys **should be conducted in other** districts also.

6. **Self employment** schemes are very useful in their economic development. These are to be organized on the co-operative basis for which the government should provide financial assistance.
7. **They** should be provided with jobs which give them immediate remuneration and relief. Some of them who are minimum educated, may be recruited into the departments of police as constables, water boys and sweepers. Some of them are already appointed as watchman with good reputation.<sup>105</sup>
8. Arrangements should be made with banks to sanction loans to the settlers who are interested in setting up in small business such as tea bunks, soda shops etc.
9. Steps should be taken that members of de-notified tribes are not concentrated in one place. Another observation was to separate hardened criminals and habitual offenders from the settlements.
10. The police took law into their hands and killed some of the ex-criminals in the settlements. Their children and family members are taken away and subjected to ill-treatment. This should be curtailed. Reformation of a criminal is more on non-violent methods rather than violent process.

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<sup>105</sup> From Stuartpuram Settlement there are some I.A.S and I.P.S. officers and State government service officers. They have earned good name in different fields of work.

As **Lavanam** said:

"It is easy to punish a criminal,  
**it** is a bit difficult to **reform him**".<sup>106</sup>

11. Small scale industries, such as **basket-making, weaving, mat-making, brick making** and the like should **be encouraged**.
12. Dairy farming, piggery, poultry are useful schemes **in their** economic development. The **government** would do well **to provide** financial assistance on **loan-cum-subsidy** basis.
13. Stolen property dealers, corrupt police officials, **investors** in crime and greedy advocates should be strictly **dealt with**.
14. Educational facilities as they exist today are **not adequate**. **A** few more schools may be established and all these schools should be provided with the necessary infrastructural facilities.

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<sup>106</sup> *Interview with Lavanam, Vijayawada, dt. 20.11.95.*

## **Chapter 5**

# **CONCLUSION**

The Yerukulas of Andhra Pradesh are the largest tribe, designated as one of the criminal tribes till the revocation of the criminal tribes Act of 1952. Crime is essentially a part of human behaviour and has consequently engaged the attention of intellectuals from times immemorial. Its manifestations are many and it takes many forms and shapes. We have to give a scientific explanation of the variegated forms of crime in the context of sociological, economic and historical developments. The criminal in India is no different from his counter parts in other countries. He is motivated by the same fears, inhibitions and jealousies which warp the human mind.

Nobody is a born criminal. Criminality is not hereditary, and the criminal propensities of Yerukulas or their offshoots, Katheras, are more due to the disintegration of their social moorings under economic and territorial displacements from time to time. The most important reason of their criminality is the loss of their traditional means of livelihood. Formerly, they depended upon forest as well as petty trade, selling margosa leaves and salt. They had to migrate from place to place for their bare existence. This has led to mal-adjustment in their life.

In spite of the efforts put in by the missionaries, government and social workers and, even after the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act in 1952, the position of criminal tribes has not changed much. As it is observed by Clarence H. Patrick, the treatment of these tribes was more severe than that of the

outcastes. This attitude made **them** develop infinite contempt and scorn towards the society in general. The stigma **of their being a** criminal tribe has been legally removed but the psychological barrier still exists among them. Moreover, they have **none among** them who can articulate their difficulties and acquaint **the** world at large with their misery. Nobody to guide them, their difficulties still remain insurmountable. Even those **among** them, who have come up in life, they are not bestowing their attention on these people.

To reform criminals and to make them eke out an alternative means of livelihood, the British government established some settlements. The criminals were forced to remain in the settlements until the authorities were fairly certain that they were trustworthy and law abiding citizens.

We have taken up two ex-criminal settlements for our **study**. The settlers in **Stuartpuram** settlement are Yerukulas. They are treated as the real cause of threat to the neighbouring places. They are stigmatized as dacoits, burglars, pilferers and railway wagon breakers. The general environment in Stuartpuram settlement has been punctuated with crime. In spite of their illegal means of livelihood, they are still leading a life below the poverty line. The second settlement for our study is **Siddhapuram** in Kurnool district. It consists of Donga Waddars who are known as Katheras. Katheras were the **off-shoots** of Yerukulas. This settlement was started in 1913. Culturally and socially, these Donga Waddars of Siddhapuram are isolated and segregated **from**

other people. They do not feel any emotional attachment with others as long as they are not free from a feeling of criminal stigma, and this cannot be wiped out as long as they remain in their rut and narrow living conditions and do not prove their integrity in the society. These Katheras are loyal to one another and they are branded as the worst type of criminals in south India. But, generally, Yerukulas and Donga Waddars have inter-dining and inter-marriages between them. However, in the government records, Yerukulas are considered as scheduled tribe and Katheras as backward community. Because of this differential treatment, the Katheras are suffering. Their children are not given the same facilities enjoyed by the scheduled tribes children. Same thing applies even with regard to the employment. Moreover, the location of the two settlements also make a considerable difference.

In Madras, Salvation Army was asked to take up the criminal tribes' rehabilitation in 1912. The Salvation Army started the Stuartpuram settlement in 1914. Unfortunately, the Manager, L.R. Gale, gave a Christian bias to the settlement. The Salvation Army introduced agriculture to transform the life style of the ex-criminals. Changing the people for good was the sole motto of the Salvation Army. In addition to the agricultural activity and labour work, the settlers were provided work in an industry by Indian Leaf Tobacco Department at a near by village, Ram Nagar, and there by created employment. In addition, they were also provided with small works like road construction, digging of pits

etc. These people have close relationship with **the inmates** of other settlements.

The Salvation Army thought that education was **compulsory** for the children of **Yerukulas**. There was an increase in the number of children attending the school every year. The **Salvation Army** segregated the children from the parents in order to **change** the **atmosphere**.

**Siddhapuram settlement** is considered to be a voluntary settlement. The **government** itself has taken up the management of the ex-criminals. Though the government has started **a school**, dispensary and other facilities for the settlers, because of **the** atmosphere prevailing in Siddhapuram and the **in-accessibility** of its location, the government was not in a position to bestow **its** full attention on these people.

In a dynamic society, change is a continuous process in which, shaping and reshaping of the material, social and cultural life, with frequent adjustments and readjustments, are **a** natural phenomena. Amidst poverty, unsympathetic attitude **of** the neighbours and stoic apathy of the then ruling government, criminality cut a deep gore in which the people had **to roll down** helplessly.

The predominant form of social structure of **Yerukulas** and **Katheras**, in both the settlements, is patriarchal. The **nature** of construction of their houses is directly related to their **economic**



condition. The traces of the joint **family** system **can be seen in their present** family size which is quite large. **Especially, this is found more in Siddhapuram** settlement.

These criminal tribes observe omens and portents **and have** certain superstitious beliefs. The *Kulapanchayat* or **the council** of **the** elders is acting as a judicial tribunal deciding **the** disputes between family relations, loans, property, land **and** so on. In spite of their conversion to Christianity, the impact **of Hindu** religion, its customs and traditions, are continued. **This** is found mostly in marriages, social gatherings and funeral ceremonies. The practice of '**oli**' is still prevalent among them. Of late, because of the impact of the Hindu traditional **culture**, the system of dowry has entered their society. A large number of settlers, in both the **settlements**, are aware of **family planning** methods. However, in **Siddhapuram** settlement, the settlers **are not** induced into this programme to the maximum extent. **This** can be explained as they are dwelling in the midst of forest area and their pitiful economic condition is responsible for this. If children are more in number, they can get more forest produce **and** thus add to their family income.

The data collected establishes the fact that, in spite of their grand fathers being nomads, the later generations **had** happily settled down in these settlements. Still the stigma of **criminality** is sticking on to them. The **welfare measures** introduced, both by the missionaries and by the **government**, are inadequate to come out of the cobweb of crime **and** their living

want to lead a decent life, like others. They **are also aware of the fact that** the 'white collar' criminals **are neither** hated by the society nor treated with contempt. **It is a heart burning situation** for them when they visualize their position in the society. Hardly a day passes for them without being **illtreated** by the **public** or harassed by the police.

If **the** economic condition of the settlers **is taken as a** barometer of their progress, it is very **low**. **It requires** improvement. The vital question is how to wean them **away from** crime and make them an integral part of the society. **In the past** they were criminals. Definitely there is a change in **the outlook** of these ex-criminals. If alternative jobs are provided **the** percentage of those who practice crime will go down further. Our observation is that lack of proper rehabilitative **measures may be** considered as one of the major causes of crime. The officers **who** deal with these people have neither time nor interest **to bestow** the required attention on them. With the result, **the practice of** crime is perpetuated among these people. **Because of this** negligence, those who had once shown their eagerness to reform themselves have now, slowly stepped back into the profession of crime. Hence the continuation of the statusquo. **It is evident** that in the quagmire of poverty, they prefer immediate gains to long term benefits that accrue to their **children after a continuous** schooling of ten to fifteen years. **They are under the** false impression that the schooling eats **away their economic fruits**. Therefore, need-based or job-oriented education is **an effective** alternative to the existing monotonous **and unproductive**



Education, an Instrument of Social Change,  
Examinations in Progress in the Open-air,  
Stuartpuram Settlement

education. In the interviews, we found from the settlers that their children could not reach higher echelons of society because of the psychological barrier they suffer from. For this, revamping the present school setup, on asharam or gurukula type, would make a considerable difference. Trained teachers and well-equipped schools would be a significant factor in moulding the personalities of children in these settlements. That is what we have observed in Siddhapuram settlement. There is no proper schooling for the children. Hence no advancement is found in that settlement.

There is a considerable difference between the punishment meted out in the earlier days and at present. Retributive and deterrent theories are discarded. Now, all the criminologists advocate only reformatory theory of punishment. Clinical approach should be given to the criminals. The ultimate aim is to socialize the offender and to readjust him to the society. The criminal should be freed from the stigma of born criminality. The use of the words 'denotified' 'displaced' or 'ex-criminal' be better dropped. An alternative word should be coined. Otherwise, the continuous use of these words isolate them psychologically from the other segments of society.

The Planning Commission stressed the need to combine rehabilitation and reformatory efforts. It further stated that the 2/3 of the funds on tribal welfare should be allotted to ex-criminals. They should be spent on schemes like agriculture, petty business, small scale industries and organization of some

labour contract societies. The Commission also suggested to start labour incentive economic activities. Such activities would bring out, hopefully, the much desired behavioural change from the present easy way of life. If such a change is effected, other issues like education, attitude of the public and bureaucratic apathy towards them can perhaps be handled easily.

Once these initial requirements are fulfilled, the attention may then be diverted to the other important aspects of general and technical education. There should be a major drive to eradicate illiteracy among these people. It goes without saying that any positive change in their attitude towards earning their livelihood, necessarily drives them towards a positive realization of other important aspects like education.

The programme of rehabilitation should then be adequately supplemented by instruction in social behaviour. This may be imparted either by dedicated voluntary workers with a strong commitment or by ideal educational institutions. Efforts should be made to provide required financial resources to enable them to carry out this task. The aim of social education can best be achieved only when feelings of deprivation, discrimination and aloofness are erased from their minds. A dynamic group of young volunteers and social workers will have to shoulder the responsibility of disseminating enlightened ideas among these people.

A vice is not born. **It** is rather created, **cultivated** or **inculcated**. So also a criminal is not born. **A criminal** is either **made** or **a person** consciously adopts **criminal** behaviour. For the **both**, society is to be held largely responsible. **The unequal economic** system, unfair social attitude towards **these people**, **unlawful** police acts and unreasonable articles of **the Indian Penal Code**, **such** as 401 and **402**, should be **amended with an eye on the well-being of** the ex-criminals.

Finally, a more reasonable and human approach **from the** public **and** police department will go a long **way in stimulating** a new outlook among them. Only then, their faith **in** humanity will be restored. This will create a congenial atmosphere for **the** Yerukulas and **Waddars** to establish a fruitful **and** meaningful intercourse with society.

# **APPENDICES**

## **Appendix No.1**

The Salvation Army provided the following forms of employment to the settlers.

### **A. Outside Employment :**

During the day time they were employed in the ordinary labour work. The settlers return to their settlements before dark.

### **B. Settlement Industries :**

- i. Silk
  1. Growing silk worms
  2. Reeling and spinning silk
  3. Bleaching, dyeing and twisting
  4. Weaving silk
- ii. Weaving Cotton or Wool Fabrics
- iii. Darri and Carpet making
- iv. Mat and basket making
- v. Treasury bags and box making
- vi. Carpentry and handicrafts

### **C. Settlement Agriculture :**

- i. Field Crops
- ii. Garden Crops
- iii. Poultry
- iv. Donkeys, Cattle, goats, sheeps, etc.

### **D. Miscellaneous :**

- i. Quarrying Stone
- ii. Cutting Forest
- iii. City Scavenging

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**Source :** Booth Tucker, **F., Criminology or the Indian Crim and What to do with him, A Report of the work of Salvation Army among the Criminal Tribes, Habitual and Released Prisoners of India. n.p.**



## Appendix No.2

The management of the settlement supervised the settlers for four days. This was to control them from absconding, to control crime and to know the day today living conditions of the settlers. The remaining three days, the settlers attended to their work without check. The general supervision was done on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday.

### Monday :

On Monday enquiries were made in the settlement. "T" passes were issued to the settlers for the purpose of getting date leaves, Palmyra and aloe fibre. It was mostly given to women and children. The women and children prepared mats, ropes and other things with them. On Monday, about 170 day passes were given. The names of the passholders were entered in the register. The hour of the return of the registered persons were also marked. "G" passes were issued to cartmen, traders and business men. All these passes were given for the purpose of bringing provisions.

### Wednesday :

It was set aside for enquiries into minor offences.

### Tuesday and Friday :

"L" passes were issued to the settlers. Enquiries were made of each person who applied for a pass. The particulars were sent to the Inspector of Police of that district to verify the statement of the settler. If the statement was correct, a pass was given noting the route to be taken by the settler. It was signed by the Village Magistrate each night. The management believed that it was utterly impossible for the settlers to commit any crime if the Village Magistrates do their duty properly, stating the time of arrival and departure of the settler during nights.

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Source : *Home Judicial Department*, G.O. No.2074, 18th August 1916. TNA., Madras.

### Appendix No.3

The Land department maintained the following books and forms in connection with agricultural side of the settlement work.

- i. **Register of Loans** : This was a ledger where personal accounts were maintained.
- ii. **Land Register** : All details of the extent of the land granted to each settler, the rent and the kind of crop grown, were noted in that register.
- iii. Register of Land Rent
- iv. Cattle Register
- v. Stone Register
- vi. Coolies Register (Muster)
- vii. **Weekly** Report Form : This states what work had been done during the week and the position of the water level in the Romperu.

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Source : Home Judicial Department, G.O.No.2074, 18th August, 1916, TNA., Madras.

#### Appendix No.4

The Managers of Criminal Settlements maintained the following forms in the settlements.

1. **Form"A"** : Extracts from register of **members of criminal**  
tribes
2. **Form"B"** : Land Pattas
3. **Form"C"** : The roll of the members of criminal **settlement**
4. **Form"D"** : Land loanable pattas
5. **Form"E"** : Passes equal to "0" **passes**, given for leave
6. **Form"F"** : Data not available
7. **Form"G"** : Register of leave and pass holders
8. **Form"H"** : Register of births
9. **Form"I"** : Register of deaths
10. **Form"J"** : Register of members of "criminal" **tribes absent**  
without leave
11. **Form"K"** : Register of transfers from the settlement
12. **Form"L"** : Register of punishments
13. **Form"M"** : List of visitors to the settlement
14. **Form"N"** : Good conduct register
15. **Form"O"** : Children's register

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**Source** : *Home Judicial Department, G.O.No.2671, 14th November, 1916, TNA., Madras.*

### Appendix No.5

The 'Criminal' tribes in various districts of Madras presidency were categorised under different gangs by the **Criminal Investigation** Department. The following are the 'criminal' gangs notified by the Criminal Investigation Department in Madras Presidency.

S.No.	Name of the Tribe	District	Criminal Investigation Department Gang No.
1.	Donga Dasaris	Nellore	<b>I, II, III</b>
2.	Donga <b>Yerukulas</b>	Nellore, Cuddapah	<b>V</b>
3.	<b>Donga</b> Yerukulas	Guntur, <b>Godavari</b> , Krishna	<b>IV, VI</b>
4.	Dommaras	Nellore	<b>VII</b>
5.	Donga Yerukulas	Guntur, Nellore	<b>VIII</b>
6.	Donga Yerukulas	Guntur	<b>IX</b>
7.	Donga Yerukulas	Nellore	<b>X</b>
8.	Donga <b>Waddars</b>	Krishna, Guntur	<b>XI</b>
9.	Thotti Naiks	North Arcot, Tanjore, Madras, Ramnad, Tinnevelly, Coimbatore South Arcot, Trichinopoly	<b>XII</b>
10.	Donga Yerukulas	Karnool, Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah	<b>XIII</b>
11.	Donga Waddars	Kurnool, Anantapur, Krishna	<b>XIV</b>
12.	Vayalpad or Nawabpeta <b>Korchas</b>	Nellore, Anantapur, Cuddapah, Chittoor	<b>XV</b>
13.	Rudrapad Korchas	Bellary	<b>XVI</b>
14.	Donga Dasaris	Bellary, Anantapur	<b>XVIII</b>
15.	Veppur Parayas	Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Salem, North Arcot	<b>XVII</b>

*Contd.*

S.No.	Name of the Tribe	District	Criminal Investigation Department Gang No.
16.	<b>Donga</b> Dasarlis	Cuddapah	<b>XIX</b>
17.	Donga Dasarlis	Chittoor	<b>XX</b>
18.	<b>Gudu</b> Dasarlis	Coimbatore, South Arcot	<b>XXI</b>
19.	<b>Thogamali Koravas</b> or <b>Kemparis</b>	Cuddapah, Chengelpet North and South <b>Arcot</b> , <b>Tanjore</b>	<b>XXII</b>
20.	Donga <b>Waddars</b>	Anantapur	<b>XXIII</b>
21.	Telaga <b>Pamulas</b>	Krishna, <b>Guntur</b> , Nellore	<b>XXIV</b>
22.	Donga Waddars	Nellore	<b>XXV</b>

**Source** : Note showing the progress made in the Settlement of Criminal Tribes in the Madras Presidency upto September 1916, TNA., Madras, 1917.

# Appendix No.6

## Particulars of Strength of **Inmates** of Stuartpuran Settlement

Year	Men	Women	Children	Total
1914	203	198	232	0,693
1915	302	323	243	0,863
1916	199	238	370	0,807
1917	353	333	426	1,112
1918	393	378	431	1,202
1919	515	493	516	1,524
1920	556	505	528	1,589
1921	546	500	561	1,607
1922	556	541	682	1,779
1923	539	526	718	1,783
1924	649	638	829	2,116
1925	666	657	881	2,204
1926	664	651	907	2,222
1927	699	640	890	2,229
1928	678	615	743	2,036
1929	679	601	775	2,055
1930	692	611	830	2,143
1931	662	626	970	2,258
1932	714	660	891	2,265
1933	720	665	920	2,306
1934	693	640	985	2,318
1935	646	642	1022	2,322
1936	267	101	--	0,368
1937	267	103	--	0,370
1938	266	103	482	0,851
1939	192	66	--	0,258
1940		Data not available		
1941		-do-		
1942		-do-		
1943		-do-		

*Contd.*

**Particulars of Strength of Inmates of Stuartpuram Settlement**

*Contd.*

<b>Year</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>Children</b>	<b>Total</b>
1944		Data not available		
<b>1945</b>		<b>-do-</b>		
1946	462	600	822	2,162
1947		Data not available		
1948	649	646	945	<b>2,240</b>
1949	646	642	1,022	<b>2,310</b>
1950	643	636	<b>1,086</b>	2,365
1951	640	633	<b>1,147</b>	2,420
1952	621	627	<b>1,224</b>	2,472
1953	624	627	1,850	2,501
1954		Data not available		
1955		<b>-do-</b>		
1956		<b>-do-</b>		
1957		<b>-do-</b>		
1958	592	604	1,282	2,428
1959	586	590	1,266	2,442
1960	579	588	1,346	2,513
1961	574	584	1,416	2,584
1962	559	572	1,601	2,732
1963	581	721	1,628	2,930
1964		Data not available		
1965		<b>-do-</b>		
1966		<b>-do-</b>		
1967		<b>-do-</b>		
1968		<b>-do-</b>		
1969		<b>-do-</b>		
1970		<b>-do-</b>		

**Sources :** 1. *Lav General Department Proceedings, from 1915 to 1925, APSA., Hyderabad.* 2. *Home Judicial Department Proceedings, from 1926 to 1935, TNA., Madras.* 3. *Home Department Proceedings, from 1936 to 1950, NMML., New Delhi.* A. *Madras Administration Reports, from 1920 to 1965, TNA., Madras.*

### Appendix No.7

Apart from various Missionary organisations such as The Salvation Army, The American Baptist (Telugu) Mission, The Canadian Mission and other philanthropic agencies, the Andhra Rashtra Adim Jati Sevak Sangh did its part in reformation work for Sugalis, Yerukulas, Chenchus, Koyas and Yanadis. The Andhra Rashtra Adim Jati Sevak Sangh opened hostels for the children of Chenchus, Koyas, Yerukulas, Yanadis and Lambadas. The following are some of the hostels opened for Yerukulas in different places in Andhra.

Name of the Hostel	Name of the Organiser	Place	Year of Opening
Yerukula Boys Hostel	Vp.Veeraiah	Vijayawada	1947
Yerukula Boys Hostel	D.Hanumantha Rao	Guntur	1948
Yerukula Girls Hostel	-do-	Guntur	1948
Yerukula Boys Hostel	M.Devadattu	Bapatla	1949
Yerukula Girls Hostel	R.Nagaiah	Chirala	1949
Yerukula Boys Hostel	K.Venkata Subbaiah	Chirala	1949
Yerukula Boys Hostel	S.Kashinath	Vijayawada	1949
Yerukula Girls Hostel	M.Devadattu	Bapatla	1950
Yerukula Boys Hostel	Pola.Nagarangayya	Giddalur	1950
Yerukula Boys Hostel	K.Nagappa	Kalyandurgam	1950
Koya Boys Hostel	D.Rutamma	Jangareddy Gudem	1950

Source : Ragavaiah V., *Muriyalu (Muria Tribe, Telugu)*, Nellore, 1951.



## Appendix No. 8

The syllabus prescribed for these children was elaborate and interesting. Their intention was to make them thorough in 3 R's' by the time they complete the fifth standard. The elaborate syllabus taught in the school is given below.

### I. Space and Number Work

#### Infants:

1. Counting upto 20 by two's and three's and the four simple rules. 2. Recognising a cube, cuboid, cylinder, a cone and naming the number of surfaces. 3. Recognising Indian coins.

#### First Standard :

1. Counting upto 100 by tens. 2. The four simple rules applied upto 100. 3. Addition and subtraction on slates. 4. Construction and application of multiplication tables upto 10. 5. Comparing the different surfaces in a cube and a cuboid and recognition of a square and rectangle. 6. Straight line and a curved line. 7. Drawing straight line of given length and measuring the straight line given. 8. Measure of capacity and multiplication table.

#### Second Standard:

1. The four simple rules upto 1,000. 2. Multiplication tables upto  $16 \times 12$ . 3. Problems involving the operations of two rules. 4. Conversion of Indian money. 5. Angles (right, acute and obtuse). Properties of a square and a rectangle, scale drawing, to scale a black board, a room etc.

#### Third Standard:

1. Four simple and compound rules upto one lakh. 2. Problems involving two compound rules. 3. Tables of weights and lengths. 4. Plan of the school house. 5. A triangle, some of its properties, a circle etc.

## II. Language

### Infant Standard:

1. **Infant Primer** (by D. Ramamurti Messrs. Macmillan & Co.)
2. **Three Stories.**

### 1st Standard:

1. **First** reader (by E. Marsden).
2. **Eight Stories** (Oral, narrative)
3. Picture reading.
4. Conversation about **common** subjects.
5. Third reader (by E. Marsden).
6. **Composition** substance of the lessons taught or an easy lesson **readout three time or** a story narrated.

### 2nd Standard

1. Reading of **manuscript.**
2. Letter writing.

## III. Recitation

Infant Standard: Story, Songs:

1st Standard: 20 lines of verse

2nd Standard: 30 lines of verse with meaning.

3rd Standard: 40 Lines of verse with meaning.

## IV. Drawing

### Infant:

A circle, an oval, a sgeral and some forms that can be evovled out of these, a seive, an egg, the yamy of a bird, a snail, a creeper.

### 1st Standard:

1. **Some** domestic articles.
2. Some leaf forms.
3. **Some animals in easy form** and their pats.

### II and III standards:

1. **Action** drawing.

## V. Rural Science

### Infants:

**Naming and** recognising the plants and leaves **of the garden and animals of the** neighbourhood.

### 1st Standard:

1. The three parts of a plant and their chief uses.
2. A **cat and a** dog compared.

### 2nd Standard:

1. Different kinds of leaves.
2. Flowers **and their parts.**
3. **Habits** of the animals of the locality.
4. Seeds **and its parts.**

### 3rd Standard:

1. **Work** of leaf
2. Flower and root
3. A few points relating to agriculture
4. **Value of manures**
5. Change of crop
6. Animals, their habit **and food**
7. **Life of a** silk worm
8. Life of frog

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**Source :** *Home (Judicial) Department, G.O.No. 1225, 20th May 1918, TNA., Madras.*

Appendix No. 9.

Settlement	Location	Manangement	Year of estab.	Type	Community	No. when established
1. Kalichedu	Nellore Dt.	Mr. Ludwig	1912	Industrial	Dasaris, Dommaras Yerukulas, Jogulas	930
2. Kavali	Nellore Dt.	American Baptist Mission	1912	Agricultural	Yerukulas	152
3. Sitanagaram	Guntur Dt.	Salvation Army	1913	Agricultural	Yerukulas	557
4. Siddhapuram	Kurnool Dt.	Voluntary Settlement	1913	Industrial	Waddars, Chenchus	112
5. Yanadi	Bapatla	Voluntary Settlement	1913	Reformative	Yanadis	-
6. Bhumanna- gadda	Chittoor Dt.	Salvation Army	1914	Agricultural	Korchas	393
7. Stuartpuram	Guntur Dt.	Salvation Army	1914	Agricultural	Yerukulas	693
8. Chintaldevi	Nellore Dt.	American Baptist Mission.	1914	Agricultural	Kanjar Bhats	100

# **GLOSSARY**

<b>Berumannusom</b>	<b>Brahmins</b> - upper caste people
<b>Bottu</b>	religious identification marks worn on the fore head by women
<b>Chori</b>	robbery
<b>Cumblies</b>	Blankets
<b>'D'-Form Pattas</b>	the owners of these cannot sell the land or mortgage it
<b>Gang</b>	batch of criminals
<b>Ganji</b>	boiled rice water
<b>Karivepaku</b>	<b>Margosa</b> leaves
<b>Kula Dharma</b>	caste duty
<b>Kula Panchayat</b>	village council of elders for purpose of arbitration
<b>Kurru</b>	caste people
<b>Maistri</b>	supervisor
<b>Mamulu</b>	bribe
<b>Namam</b>	religious identification marks worn on the fore head by men with Vaishnavaitic faith
<b>Nullah</b>	canal
<b>Odhra</b>	Corrupt form of Woddera
<b>Talairies</b>	village officials
<b>Voli</b>	'bride price', money paid by the bride-groom to the parents of the bride
<b>Yerukulas</b>	fortune tellers.

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