Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION
Ex-criminal Tribes of India

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."¹

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

¹ See P.K. Bhowmick, The Lodhas of West Bengal, Calcutta, 1976,
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 Dommara 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.²

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

² See Chirravuri Nagabushanacharyulu, Adimavasulu, Tenali, 1949 P.60.
example of Khonds, Chenchus and Koyas, they are not criminals. 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.

3 Ibid., P.61.
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. It is an obnoxious thing to call a child a 'criminal'.

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4 The Introduction of a railway and road network, 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.

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. It is true as well that they have no "permanent crystalline structures belonging to one stage of historical or social development". 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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selfish ends. This resulted in loss of land and loss of economic independence. 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. 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.

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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9 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.

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.\textsuperscript{11}

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.\textsuperscript{12} 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.\textsuperscript{13}

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\item \textsuperscript{12} See David Hardiman, \textit{Op.Cit.}, P.11.
\item \textsuperscript{13} See V. Lalitha, \textit{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.
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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. 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. 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


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.¹⁶

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 cooli they get for drink, instead of saving it to the acquiring of food, clothes, shelter and education for their children.\textsuperscript{17} 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 traders.\textsuperscript{18} 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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\textsuperscript{17} R.C. Varma, \textit{Indian Tribes through the ages}, New Delhi, 1990, P.117. \\
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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. 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. 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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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.21

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.

21 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."

Before the mid nineteenth century, there was no rival 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."

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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25 Ibid. P.165.
The cumulative impact of commercial forestry and the more frequent contacts with outsiders virtually crippled the 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. They frequented and laid up the pilgrims of Srisailam temple. By the year 1914, the Chenchus had made themselves a nuisance to the forest department and to the neighbouring ryots.

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

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27 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 today 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.

28 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 family members. Their way of living was hand to mouth existence.

Like Chenchus, many other groups were also badly affected by these forest policies. The Lambadis exchanged salt, sometimes 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 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'.

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.


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. 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.

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32 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 Added
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 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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34 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. 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. 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. 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

35 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.

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

exactions from the helpless and hapless tribal farmers.\textsuperscript{38}

Thus in the British period, certain castes, particularly nomads, semi-nomads and farmers who fought against the British either in direct \textit{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 \textit{theft}, cattle lifting, robbery etc.\textsuperscript{39}

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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\textsuperscript{38} V. Raghavaiah, \textit{Op.Cit.}, P.32.
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above mentioned communities were very much affected.  

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 at once. But all will be Christians in five years or ten".

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.

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

41 Waskom Pickett, J., Christian Mass Movements in India, Chicago, 1933, P.297.  
42 Ibid., P.298.  
43 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. 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".\(^ {45}\)

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".\(^ {46}\) 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

means of livelihood. 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".

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. 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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47 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.


49 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 Aboriginals 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. 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.

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

50 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.


52 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. 53 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. 54

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

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.


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.\(^5^5\)

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 a *pot* suspended from the neck which they used as a spittoon".\(^5^7\)

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".\(^5^8\) He said, the Avatar hero of Ramayana did not scruple to mix with Guha, a Nishada, a panchama by caste. The sage Kanka, according to Bhavishyattara Purana, admitted into the sacred fold of Hindu *Dwijas* a large number of Mlechchhas. 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*,

\(^5^5\) See *Home Department*, G.O.No. 1675, 2nd December 1919, P.2.

\(^5^6\) See *Home Department*, G.O.No. 1675, 2nd December 1919, P.4.

\(^5^7\) Ibid. P.5.

\(^5^8\) He said, the Avatar hero of Ramayana did not scruple to mix with Guha, a Nishada, a panchama by caste. The sage Kanka, according to Bhavishyattara Purana, admitted into the sacred fold of Hindu *Dwijas* a large number of Mlechchhas. 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*,

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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".\textsuperscript{59}

Surendranath Banerjee said:

\textit{"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 inarch 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."}\textsuperscript{60}

Madhusudan Das stated:

\textit{"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".}\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., p.7.
\textsuperscript{61} 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. 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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62 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.\(^{63}\)

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.\(^{64}\) 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.\(^{65}\) If education is given to them they will become assets to the nation instead of liabilities.

\(^{63}\) Ibid., PP.13-14.
\(^{64}\) Ibid., P.15.
\(^{65}\) Ibid., P.31.
When we speak of professional criminals we shall realize what the term really does mean. It means a tribe whose ancestors 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".

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.


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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 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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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".  

William Booth Tucker, the founder of Salvation Army, was known for his selfless service.  

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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70 See, Home Department, G.O.No. 1675, 2nd December 1919, P.14. APSA.

71 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.\textsuperscript{72} In addition to them, the British government and the Nizam government managed criminal tribe settlements in Andhra Pradesh.\textsuperscript{73}

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


\textsuperscript{73} 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 \textbf{G.O.No.} 1537, \textit{Home-Judicial Department dt.} 27th July 1917, \textbf{F.14.} APSA.
land usurpers. These were named by Thomas More as "The conspiracy of the rich". 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 Arthasastra 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.

Criminality is strongly influenced by the economic situation. The crime thermometer of India goes up and down with its harvest. 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.

76 Ibid., P.5.
77 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". 78

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". 79

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.

78 Sharma, B.S., "Tribal Welfare", Man In India, 1958, P.577.
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 lifestyle 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".

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. These

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See, O.H.B. Starti, Reformation of Offenders in India, A Handbook for the use of workers amongst delinquents in India,
settlements were either placed under the control of Salvation Army 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. 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. Bhumman Gadda settlement was an agricultural settlement intended for the Nawabpetta korchas by the Salvation Army in the same year. Reformatory settlement in 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.

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.

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 Bhat's who belong to Bombay presidency in 1914. 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. 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.

84 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.
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."

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..."

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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‘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. 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.

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,

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. ⁹⁰

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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⁹⁰ 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 Balijas 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. 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 women 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.

\textsuperscript{91} \textit{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. Medows Taylor's, The Confessions of a Thug⁹² and The Story of My Life, Sleeman's Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official⁹³, Phillip Mason's, Call the Next Witness⁹⁴ 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

⁹³ W.H. Sleeman, Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official, New Delhi, 1915.
sociological in nature. General Harvey, many years ago, chronicled carefully some of the crimes committed by Koravas. But this work was designed to record the nomadic life of the people. In the various district Gazetteers in South India, 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. 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. 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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97 F.S. Mullaly, Notes on Criminal Classes of the Madras Presidency, Madras, 1892.
98 David Macritchie, Account of the Gypsies of India, New Delhi, 1976.
Madras Police wrote a booklet on The History of Koravas. 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 Sanchalooos, Tirmulleees (also called as Donga Sanchaloo), their slang words, their way of living, origin, cultural habits, mode of committing crime etc. Harold Begbie's works 'Other Sheep' and the Thrice Born Men give valuable information regarding these criminal classes. In his book Other Sheep Harold Begbie wrote on the Bhils, the Doms, the Bhatas, 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 assisted by K.

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99 M. Paupa Rao Naidu, History of Railvay Thieves, Madras, 1904; Also by the same author Criminal Tribes of India, The History of Koravas, Yerukulas, or Kaikaries, Madras, 1905.
100 G.W. Gayer, Lectures on some criminal tribes of India and Religious Mendicants, 2nd Ed. Principal Police Training School, Central Province, 1910.
102 Edgar Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. 3 &
Ranganachari of the Madras Museum,\textsuperscript{103} published in seven volumes by the government of Madras in 1909. Muhammad Abdul Ghani\textsuperscript{104} 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.\textsuperscript{105} 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\textsuperscript{106} 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\textsuperscript{107} wrote a book entitled The Land Pirates of India about the Koravas of Tamilnadu which was their homeland. Eleswarapu Ramachandra

\textsuperscript{5, Madras, 1909.}
\textsuperscript{104} Muhammad Abdul Ghani, Notes on the Criminal Tribes of Madras Presidency, Vellore, 1915.
\textsuperscript{105} The Chenchus and the Madras Police, from the Publicity Bureau Parts I & II, Madras, 1921.
\textsuperscript{106} S.M. Edward, Crime in India, New York, 1924.
\textsuperscript{107} W.J. Hatch, The Land Pirates of India, New Delhi, 1976.
Sastri 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 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. B.S. Haikerwal wrote on economic and social aspects of crime in India which is a pioneering work on Indian criminology. A.T. Fishman's works provide valuable accounts on the situation of crime and criminal tribes in India. Apart from


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), United Provinces (1948), Madras (1924), 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. This work is an enlightened

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

Gillin John Lewis, J.H. Hutton, Verrier Elwin 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


Gillin, John Lewis, Taming the Criminal, New York, 1931.


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

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* in 1952. It deals with various rehabilitative measures undertaken by the government.

Albert Cohen's work on *Delinquent Boys* and *Hobsbawm* 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 tries in particular. D.N. Majumdar wrote a book titled *Races and Cultures of India*. Published in the year 1965. This work gives information on various criminal tribes in India. S. Venugopal Rao wrote on crime in India. 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. P.C. Biswas wrote *The Ex-Criminal Tribes of Delhi State* in 1963. 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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131 P.C. Biswas, *The Ex-criminal Tribes of Delhi State*, Delhi, 1960;
brief review of the rehabilitative measures introduced by the government. 132

In his book, The Sans is of Punjab, Sher Singh Sher made an attempt to focus his attention on the criminal tribes, particularly Sansis, of Punjab.133 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.134 Gustav Oppert published his work on the criminal inhabitants of India in which he covered all the tribes including the Kurus, Yerukulas and Kaus.135

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

133 Sher Singh Sher, The Sansis of Punjab, New Delhi, 1965.
134 George Bruce, The Stranglers the Cult of Thuggee and its overthrow in British India, New York, 1968.
135 Gustav Oppert, The Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsha or India, New York, 1978, PP.196-209.
'habitual offenders'. The Salvation Army officer Frederick Booth Tucker 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*. 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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Yerukulas. Ponna Koteswara Rao published a journal called Dalit Marg. It published interesting accounts on the ex-criminal tribes of Andhra Pradesh. Palaparti Veeraiah wrote an article titled ‘What we did’, published by Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh. 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. 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 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

138 See, Ponna Koteswara Rao, Dalit Marg, Telugu, Vijayawada, 1940.
140 Soleving Smith, By Love Compelled, The story of 100 years of the Salvation Army in India and adjacent countries, St Alboans, England, 1981.
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*. 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 *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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Stephen Fuchs's work *The Aboriginal Tribes of India* gives information on the aboriginal tribes of South India and forest policies of colonial rulers. R.v. Russel and Rai Bahadur Hiralal wrote on tribes and castes of the central provinces of India. 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. 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

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.\footnote{Chandrasekhar Bhat, \textit{Ethnicity and Mobility, Emerging Ethnic Identity and Social Mobility among the Waddars of South India}, New Delhi, 1984.} 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 \textit{The criminal Classes in India}.\footnote{M. Kennedy, \textit{The Criminal Classes in India}, New Delhi, 1985.} This book gives information of the criminal classes of Bombay presidency including Donga Waddars. K.S. Singh wrote a book on \textit{Tribal Situation in India}.\footnote{K.S. Singh, \textit{Tribal Situation in India}, New Delhi, 1985.} 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, \textit{The Coming of the Devi}, is a valuable source of information about the ‘adivasis’.\footnote{David Hardiman, \textit{The Coming of the Devi, Adivasi Assertion in Western India}, Madras, 1987.} 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.\footnote{Jakka Parthasarathy, \textit{The Yerukulas}, an ethnographic study, Calcutta, 1988.} 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
Dommaras, Yerukulas, Waddars etc. D. Rabinandna Pratap wrote a book on the tribes of Andhra Pradesh. 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. 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 even though 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.

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 Tribes

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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 Yerukulas 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, Kapp巴拉拉tipa, and other settlements. 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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156 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*. 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. It also focuses on the criminal tribes acts and settlement patterns. Another article, "Beechcraft Settlement Workers" written by Ranganayakulu was published in *Sarada*.

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159 Ranganayakulu, Beech craft Settlement Workers (Telugu), *Sarada*,
atmosphere in the settlements and how the criminals are being reformed. P.K. Bhowmick's articles,\textsuperscript{160} 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.\textsuperscript{161} 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.\textsuperscript{162} 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.\textsuperscript{163} The examples of the
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. Other examples of such articles are Arensberg Conrod's article on the community study methods. A.N. Sharma wrote an article on Man and crime. This article deals with the causes and types of crime, trends and its Control. M.K. Teng wrote an article on crime, Law and the community. 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

and Social Research, July-September, 1936.

tribes who are not primitive.\textsuperscript{169} Jeffery's Criminal Behaviour and Learning Theory \textsuperscript{170} was published in Journal of criminal Law, criminology and political science in September 1965 and Haekenberg's Parameters of an Ethnic Group,\textsuperscript{171} are useful to our study. In 1968, Patrick Clarence H., wrote "The Criminal Tribes of India"\textsuperscript{172} 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".\textsuperscript{173} 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.\textsuperscript{174} The article is an attempt to explain the origins of banditry during the colonial period.

\textsuperscript{169} In his opinion the primitive tribes are those who depended on nature with a simple technology and do not produce their own food.


\textsuperscript{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.\(^{175}\) It discusses various movements led by different tribes 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.\(^{176}\) 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.\(^{177}\) 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"\(^{178}\) throws light on the causes of dacoity and crime in south India. Far from being confined to 'criminal tribes',

\(^{175}\) Joseph, Troisi, "Social Movements Among the Santals". n.d.
\(^{176}\) R.N. Pati and B.Jena, "Ex-criminal tribes; Are they neglected", Tribal Development in India, New Delhi, 1989.
recourse to crime was frequent and widespread 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 Radhakrishana’s article from Tribal community to working class consciousness: Case of Yerukula women discusses the militant struggles of women tobacco workers in Guntur in 1938.

Meena Radhakrishana’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 stereotype - the criminal tribes and castes of North India are educative and useful to our study. Mahesh Rangarajan wrote an article, Imperial agendas and India’s forests, the early history

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of Indian forestry 1800-1878\textsuperscript{181} and Ramachandra Guha and Madhav Gadgil's article state forestry and conflict in British India\textsuperscript{182} 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\textsuperscript{183} on ex-criminal tribes in Andhra Pradesh. Vennelacunti Raghavaiah wrote a number of articles on tribal problems. His notes on criminal Tribe's throw much light on the subject. V. Lalitha wrote extensively on the subject which are highly illuminating.\textsuperscript{184} They deal with the life of the criminal tribes

\textsuperscript{181} 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.

\textsuperscript{182} Ramachandra Guha and Madhav Gadgil, State Forestry and Conflict in British India, Past and Present, No.122-123, February 1989.


Jacques Pouchepdass wrote an article on the criminal tribes of British India. The paper deals with the Maghiya Dooms 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. 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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Glimpses of tribal culture. 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. 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 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.

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.