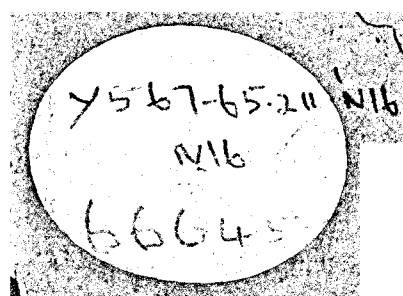


NOTE SHOWING THE PROGRESS MADE
IN THE SETTLEMENT OF CRIMINAL
TRIBES IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY
UP TO SEP—1916



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NOTE SHOWING THE PROGRESS MADE IN THE SETTLEMENT OF
CRIMINAL TRIBES IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY UP TO
SEPTEMBER 1916.

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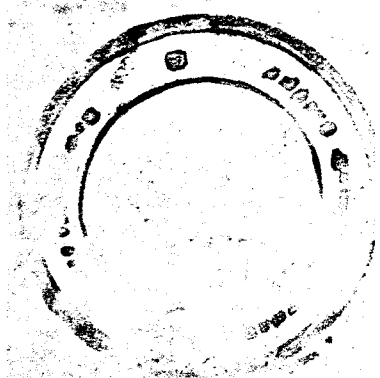


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NOTE SHOWING THE PROGRESS MADE IN THE SETTLEMENT
OF CRIMINAL TRIBES IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY
UP TO SEPTEMBER 1916

to which are appended Memoranda setting forth the criminality of the
notified tribes of the Presidency.

Origin of the
Criminal
Tribes Act,
1911.

The Criminal Tribes Act, 1911, had its origin in the report of the Indian Police Commission, 1902-1903. The Commission laid down the principle that it should be the aim of every police system to obtain knowledge of and to secure supervision over all persons addicted to crime. Starting from this principle, the Commission declared that the police should have more powers of control over criminal tribes, and with that object recommended certain amendments to the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871 then in force. In due course this recommendation was taken up by the Government of India who found it necessary to repeal the Act and to substitute in its place the Act of 1911.

Difference between
the Act of 1871
and that of
1911.

The new Act is more comprehensive than the old one. In the first place the Act of 1871 only applied to certain provinces in Northern India, namely, Bengal, the United Provinces, the North West Frontier Province and the Punjab. It was not extended to Madras, whereas the present Act applies throughout British India. Moreover the application of the old Act involved certain practical difficulties which the new Act was designed to remove. One of the objects of the new Act was to enlarge the power of control by enabling Local Governments to proclaim criminal tribes on their own authority, and provide for the registration of their members without reference to the question of settlement or the provision of the means of livelihood.

Provisions of the
new Act.

Section 3.

Sections 4-9.

Section 10.

Sections 11 to 15.

Section 16.

Section 17.

The new Act enables the Local Government (1) to declare any tribe, gang or class to be a criminal tribe, if it is satisfied that that tribe, gang or class is addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences; (2) to order the registration of the members of any criminal tribe and the taking of their finger impressions, and (3) to direct that every registered member shall report himself at fixed intervals or notify his place of residence and changes thereof. The Local Government can also declare, with the sanction of the Government of India, that a criminal tribe shall be restricted in its movements to any specified area or shall be settled in any specified place of residence. But before such action is taken, the Government of India must be satisfied that it is expedient to restrict the movements of such tribe or settle it in a place of residence and that the means by which it is proposed that such tribe shall earn its living are adequate. A settlement may be industrial, agricultural or reformatory. Another important feature of the Act is that the Local Government is authorized to establish industrial, agricultural or reformatory schools and to separate the children from their parents. This provision is a most useful portion of the Act as it enables the Local Government to secure the children, to educate them and to bring them up in a more wholesome atmosphere than that in which they would have been left if the tribe had not been settled. It was hoped that by these means the children would grow up as honest citizens and the criminal habits of the tribe would in the course of a generation or two be entirely eradicated.

First activities of
the Madras
Government.

The question of the establishment of settlements for the reclamation of criminals had been engaging the attention of this Government since 1910, and the passing of the Criminal Tribes Act, 1911, added an impetus to their activity. The first thing done when the Act was passed was the framing of rules for the registration and supervision of criminal tribes. These rules were finally issued in May 1913 and were followed by notifications of tribes under sections 3 and 10 (b) of the Act.

Criminal tribes
notified.

The following twenty-five tribes, the combined operations of which extended to no less than twenty districts of this Presidency, were declared

by the Government to be criminal tribes by the end of the year 1915. The provisions of section 10 (b) of the Act were put into operation in most cases:—

(1) Gangs of Donga Yerakalas in Gōdāvari, Nellore, Guntūr, Kistna, Bellary and Kurnool districts,

(2) Vayalpad or Nawabpeta Korachas of Chittoor, Anantapur and Salem districts,

(3) Donga Dasaris of Nellore, Kurnool, Guntūr, Kistna and Gōdāvari districts,

(4) Veppur Parayas in South Arcot district,

(5) Donga Waddars of Kurnool, Anantapur, Cuddapah, Nellore, Kistna and Guntūr districts,

(6) Togamalai Koravas sometimes called Kepmaris of Trichinopoly, South Arcot, Chingleput, North Arcot, Salem and Cuddapah districts,

(7) Rudrapad Korachas of Bellary district,

(8) Dommaras of Nellore district,

(9) Korachas, Koravas or Yerakalas in Salem, Coimbatore, Trichinopoly and North Arcot districts, known as the Salem-Melurnad Koravas,

(10) Korachas, Koravas or Yerakalas in Salem, South Arcot and Trichinopoly districts, known as the Attur-Kilnad Koravas,

(11) Nakkalas of Gōdāvari district,

(12) Gandarvakottai Koravas of Tanjore district,

(13) Vanganur Parayas of North Arcot, Chittoor, Chingleput and Nellore districts,

(14) Jogis of Nellore, North Arcot, Chingleput, Chittoor and South Arcot districts,

(15) A gang of hired assassins consisting of 28 persons frequenting the districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapur,

(16) Kilagudi Kallas of Madura district,

(17) Kondadoras of Vizagapatam district,

(18) Vellayankuppam Padayachis of South Arcot district,

(19) Kuttapal Kallas of Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts,

(20) Chettinad Valayas of Rāmnād district,

(21) Rellis of Vizagapatam district,

(22) Sorikkampatti,

(23) Mela-Urappanur, } Kallas of Madura district,

(24) Pusalapuram,

(25) Uppu Koravas of Tinnevely district.

The following tables contain information as to the number of adult males or families comprised in each of the above tribes and as to where they have been settled or where it is proposed to settle them:—

List of criminal tribes which have been registered and placed in settlements.

Name of tribe.	Districts where found.	Number of adult males in the tribe.	Where settled.	Remarks.
1. Donga Yerakalas	Gōdāvari, Nellore, Guntūr, Kurnool, Kistna, Bellary.	1,000	Sitanagaram, Guntūr district. Stuartpuram (Bethapudi), Guntūr district. Kavali, Nellore district.	
2. Vayalpad or Nawabpeta Korachas.	Chittoor, Anantapur, Salem.	Not known.	Bhumannagadda, Chittoor district.	NOTE.—Korachas are the same caste or tribe as Yerakalas.
3. Donga Dasaris	Nellore, Kurnool, Guntūr, Kistna, Gōdāvari.	261	Kalichedu, Nellore district.	
4. Veppur Parayas	South Arcot	386	Aziznagar, South Arcot district. Stuartpet, South Arcot district.	
5. Dommaras	Nellore	145	Kalichedu, Nellore district.	
6. Gandarvakottai Koravas.	Tanjore	65	Pillayarappatti, Tanjore district.	The settlement has just been opened.
7. Uppu Koravas	Tinnevely	25	Kulasekharapatnam, Tinnevely district.	

List of criminal tribes registered and not yet settled but proposed to be settled.

Name of tribe.	Districts where found.	Number of adult males composing the gang.	Where proposed to be settled.	Remarks.
1. Donga Waddars	Kurnool, Anantapur, Nellore, Cuddapah, Guntūr, Gōdāvari and Kistna.	280	Siddapuram tank project, Kurnool district.	Detailed proposals regarding land are awaited.
2. Attur-Kilnad Koravas.	Salem, South Arcot and Trichinopoly.	141	Under consideration.	
3. Kilagudi	Kallas of Madura	329	Madura district	The District Magistrate is considering the formation of a voluntary settlement.
4. Mela-Urappanur		351		
5. Sorikkampatti		90		
6. Pusalapuram		220		
7. Vellayankuppam Padayachis.	South Arcot	220	Reserve forest at Edayalam, South Arcot district.	
8. Rudrapad Korachas	Bellary	120	Under consideration.	Under consideration.
9. Togamalai Koravas or Kepmaris.	Trichinopoly, South Arcot, Chingleput, North Arcot, Cuddapah and Salem.	94 (persons).	Near the Grand Anicut, Trichinopoly district.	
10. Vanganur Parayas	North Arcot, Chittoor, Nellore and Chingleput.	155	Sholinghur, North Arcot district.	The District Magistrate of Chittoor is framing proposals.

List of criminal tribes which have been registered but not settled and for whom proposals for settlement are not under consideration.

Name of tribe.	Districts where found.	Number of adult males composing the gang.	Remarks.
1. Salem-Melurnad Koravas	Salem, Coimbatore, Trichinopoly and North Arcot.	602 males.	NOTE.—Korava is the Tamil equivalent of the tribe known in the Telugu districts as Korachas or Yerakalas.
2. Nakkalas	Gōdāvari	240	
3. Jogis	North Arcot, South Arcot, Chittoor, Nellore and Chingleput.	782 persons.	
4. Hired assassins	Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapur.	28 males.	
5. Kondadoras	Vizagapatam	370	
6. Kuttapal Kallas	Tanjore and Trichinopoly	480	
7. Chettinad Valayas	Rāmnād	600 persons.	
8. Rellis	Vizagapatam	108 males.	

Number of persons registered.

The total number of persons registered under section 4 of the Act up to the end of 1915 was 19,846, of whom 5,244 had also been placed in settlements by that time. [The members of the Korava tribe found in the Madras City could not be notified and registered under the Act, as there is no provision of law authorizing the registration of criminals residing in the Presidency towns. The Government, however, considered that there was no objection to the registration in the districts of the members of a criminal tribe living outside the Presidency town, in spite of the fact that other members of the same tribe might be domiciled in the City and thereby escape registration, provided that care was taken that the mufassal members did not leave the districts for the City in order to escape registration. The registration of these Koravas in the Chingleput district amongst others has therefore also been effected.]

Of the 5,244 persons settled, 1,601 were women and 2,021 children. The tribes dealt with were —

Donga Dasaris and Dommaras	1,279
Donga Yerakalas	2,846
Korachas	448
Veppur Parayas	671

Total 5,244

Supervision.

Whereas in other Provinces the control of criminal tribes and criminal settlements has been entrusted to officers on special duty, in this Presidency the work has been carried out by the district officers. The advantage of this system which has so far worked fairly satisfactorily is th

it places responsibility on the district officer for the criminals belonging to or settled in his district. The work is, however, increasing and the Government have recently directed that the services of the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Railways and C.I.D., should be utilized by the Inspector-General of Police in the general supervision of all settlements, with such powers as may be delegated to him by the latter.

Advantages of non-official over official management.

The primary object of a criminal settlement being reformation, and not merely segregation or confinement, its management is allowed to fall as little as possible into the hands of the police. Not only have the latter (and Government officers generally) no particular call or training for the reclamation of criminals, but their employment is apt to inspire distrust in criminal classes, which may constitute a positive hindrance to reclamation, while the Government obtain, by non-official agency, a body of self-sacrificing men who are prepared to devote their lives to the work. It is of course sometimes possible to find a Government officer who is keenly interested in the work, but such officers, in the interests of the public service, are always liable to be transferred and it is then often difficult to find a suitable substitute to carry the work on. The selection of suitable non-official agency for management assures to the work a measure of continuity and permanence which is essential to success. Another by no means minor consideration which tells in favour of this policy is its economy. The Government cannot obtain equally skilled and devoted service for the remuneration which is generally paid to non-official agencies. It is also an advantage that the manager of a settlement has more freedom of action and willingness to undertake responsibility than can be found in the average official; the non-official manager enjoys more independence and hence prestige and he has not the habit of referring comparatively unimportant matters to higher authorities for decision, while he is more likely to establish ascendancy sufficient to enable him to dispense with the help of the police in order to maintain discipline. Moreover, the work of reclamation is more likely to be done effectively by men who make it their main object in life than by public servants to whom the work can come only as an incident in their official career. The Government of India have associated themselves with these views and have remarked that "the experience gained in other provinces seems to indicate that, when organizations like the Salvation Army can be found to take up this work and carry it through on proper lines, it is an economical arrangement to subsidize their undertakings, not only because less money is spent but also because better value is obtained for it." The Government of Madras have, therefore, decided to entrust the management of their settlements as far as possible, to non-official agency, missionary or otherwise, and they have repeatedly declared their readiness to welcome the entry of Hindu and Muhammadan agencies in this field of social reform; but so far, only the Salvation Army, the American Baptist Mission and the London Mission have responded to the call, and the Government have established under their management ten settlements, including two homes for the reception of conditionally released prisoners, one voluntary settlement and one industrial school for the children of criminal tribes.

Policy in forming criminal settlements.

The Government of Madras consider that a combination of agricultural and industrial settlement is the best, the agricultural settlement being held up as the reward for good behaviour in the industrial settlement. It is proved by experience in all countries and with all classes, that so long as the cooly system is in force the labourer does as little work as possible, but as soon as a man is given a small plot of land he turns out at dawn and works till late; and even if he has other tasks to perform he will manage to find time to devote a certain amount of labour with his own plot. The Government have therefore held that in all settlements agriculture should constitute the main industry and that the land should be parcelled out amongst the settlers for cultivation. It is the policy of the Government to assign land at the outset to the managing agencies on certain conditions and not to individual settlers direct. With regard to the question of parcelling out the land the Government have recently laid down as one of the conditions of the grant that the alienee shall make over the land when required to do so to such settlers and in such proportion and shares as the Government may decide. Though the details of the practice followed in the several settlements vary, they conform to the general principles that lands should be so distributed among the settlers that each family may have as far as possible a block of dry land and a piece of wet land, and be responsible

Apportionment of land amongst settlers.

for the cultivation of both, that the settlers should thus be made capable of maintaining themselves out of the fruits of their own labour and that if any one is found to neglect his land he should be put on hard labour such as breaking stones, digging earth, etc., the land being taken away from him and given to another. The Government have held that it is undesirable that land should be made over to individual settlers absolutely lest they alienate it. The settlers should, therefore, be the tenants of the managing body to whom they will pay a moderate rent which can be used for the expenses of the settlement. The Government consider that in course of time a patta for his land may be given to the settler who proves by continuous industry and good conduct his fitness to own it. When that desirable end is attained the task of reclamation will be very nearly complete since the settler will have an honest means of livelihood. The Government also consider that as far as possible the following conditions should be kept in view in the formation of criminal settlements:—

(1) there should be some professed religious or philanthropic agency attached to each settlement if not actually in charge of it.

(2) the settlement should not involve the removal of people beyond their own language area or to such a distance as may be rightly regarded as a foreign country.

Out of seven criminal settlements established under the Act in this Presidency up to the end of 1915, five are managed by the Salvation Army, one by the American Baptist Mission, Kavali, and the other is under official management. A brief history of the various settlements including the first steps taken in their formation is given below.

Sitanagaram settlement, Guntūr district.

Origin.

In the year 1910 the Salvation Army took up the question of the formation of settlements for the reclamation of criminal tribes in this Presidency, and later on a nucleus was formed at Sitanagaram by placing there some women belonging to the tribe of Donga Yerakalas whose male relatives were in jail. In December 1912 the Government sanctioned the payment to the Salvation Army of a special non-recurring grant of Rs. 5,000 and a monthly grant of Rupees 200 for three years to assist the undertaking. An extent of 84.06 acres of land at Sitanagaram (relinquished by the Madras and Southern Maharashtra Railway Company) was also made over to the Army free of charge for the occupancy right and free of assessment. In making these grants the Government recommended that persuasive methods should be first adopted to get the Yerakalas to settle, but expressed their readiness, if persuasion failed, to apply the provisions of the Act. The settlement, the first of its kind in this Presidency, was actually opened in January 1913 with a few men who were released from jail before their time. As persuasive methods did fail, proposals were submitted to the Government to declare the Donga Yerakalas a criminal tribe under the Act and to restrict their movements under section 12. This recommendation was carried out and the Yerakalas of the Gōdāvari and Guntūr districts were restricted in their movements to the area comprised within the settlement, after being registered under the Act. After this, the rate of progress was so rapid as to necessitate the formation of an overflow settlement at Bethapudi, since called Stuartpuram, which will be described separately. In October 1915 the Sitanagaram settlement itself was divided into two, namely Sainyapuram and Kondapet settlements, each under the management of a European Salvation Army Officer, as it was found that one officer could not effectually control the whole tribe. This subdivision has been a distinct improvement. Agriculture was meant to be the chief means of livelihood for the Donga Yerakalas, but there was at first very little scope for it in the settlement. The only other means of employment is stone quarrying to which the Yerakala, who had never been known to do a day's honest work, at first did not take kindly. The Government however considered that this was a salutary form of employment, likely to break in the Yerakala to discipline and industry, and this hope was justified by the results. This is the chief occupation provided for the inmates at the settlement and the work is being developed further by the Salvation Army with the assistance of a tram-line to the quarries for which the Government sanctioned a loan of Rs. 10,000 in December 1914. Weaving, silk-reeling, carpentry and sewing are the other and subsidiary industries provided; the settlers are also privately

*Overflow settlement at Bethapudi.
Division of Sitanagaram into two settlements.
Occupation of the settlers.*

engaged in mat and basket making. Owing to the lack of agricultural lands at the settlement, only 40 acres were brought under cultivation in 1914, but since then a large tract of fertile land has been handed over to Major Mackenzie, the Salvation Army Officer superintending the settlements in the Guntūr district, for the purpose of being parcelled out to the settlers for cultivation.

Escapes and crime.

At first there was a large number of escapes from among the crims. Now however the prospects are brighter, as more land has been acquired for agriculture, the supervision is stricter, and the black sheep among the subordinates of the managing staff have been weeded out. Sericulture is about to be started on a fairly large scale and this is to afford employment for the women and children—the latter when not at school. The District Superintendent of Police in his latest report says that he is more favourably impressed now than at any previous time. A school was started in April 1913 and is well attended. The strength of the school at the end of 1915 was 92. A night school has also been opened. A dispensary was also established and the District Board, Guntūr, is contributing Rs. 25 per mensem to its maintenance. The Government have also sanctioned to the Salvation Army a grant of Rs. 500 for the equipment of a hospital. The population of the settlement at the end of 1915 consisted of 301 males, 271 females and 337 children or a total of 909 individuals.

School and dispensary.

Ninety-five settlers were prosecuted during the year 1915. Of these 85 were proceeded against for breach of the rules, and the most common offence was leaving the settlement without a pass or over-staying the leave covered by the pass. A suggestion has been made by the District Magistrate, Guntūr, that it would be better to take action under section 25 of the Act in these cases, leaving the offender to be disciplined in the settlement; this suggestion appears to deserve a trial. Under the new rules the District Magistrate will be able to control prosecutions, while the disciplinary powers of managers within the settlement have been defined and made more effective.

So far as the maintenance of the settlers goes the settlement appears to be practically self-supporting; there is "work for all", and fair wages are obtainable. The alacrity with which the lands recently provided are taken up is encouraging. The older members of the settlement are reported to be the least troublesome and the most contented.

The Salvation Army are devoting their attention during the current year to agricultural development, sanitary improvement, better housing of the settlers and special work for the children.

Recalcitrant inmates of other settlements sent to Sitanagaram.

Sitanagaram is looked upon more or less as a penal settlement. Refractory inmates of other settlements are sometimes transferred to Sitanagaram where they are given a course of hard work in the quarries.

The settlement is steadily improving. Effective co-operation between the Manager and the Superintendents of Police of the Kistna, Guntūr and Godāvari districts should put an end to the opportunities for settlers to go out and commit crime.

Stuartpuram (Bethapudi) settlement, Guntūr district.

This is an essentially agricultural settlement started by the Salvation Army to be worked as an auxiliary to and in conjunction with the Sitanagaram settlement. Employment had been a troublesome problem at Sitanagaram and the Salvation Army founded the new settlement with the intention of placing in it the well-behaved members of the Sitanagaram settlement as a reward for good conduct.

Origin.

The Donga Yerakalas of the Guntūr district used to camp near the village of Bethapudi, Bapatla taluk, from December to August every year to carry grain for the ryots of the Ongole, Bapatla and Tenali taluks. From August to December they grazed their cattle at Venukonda. During these sojourns the Yerakalas were in the habit of committing crime, but in 1913, with the police becoming more active and attentive to this form of occupation, the Yerakalas took shelter under the wing of the Salvation Army of their own accord. As a result of this and following the opening of the Sitanagaram settlement, the Government in 1914 gave 1,860 acres of land and money grants, initial and recurring. In the early part of 1915 the Yerakalas of other gangs were also added. To this settlement members of the criminal settlement at Sitanagaram that show

Land.

an inclination to reform are sent and put on the land. There is a great deal of good, unallotted land in the neighbourhood of Bapatla, a portion of which has been assigned to the Salvation Army and is being reclaimed and rendered fit for cultivation by that body. The number of settlers considerably increased by the beginning of 1915, and it is a regrettable fact that some of them were suspected, not wholly without cause, of committing crime in the neighbourhood. The Government had reason to believe that crime had on the whole increased in the vicinity of Bapatla and that some at least of the increase was due to the proximity of the Bethapudi settlement of the Salvation Army and the Bapatla (Yenadi) settlement, a small concern under the management of the Bapatla Church Panchayat. In the meantime certain inhabitants of Bapatla and the neighbouring villages set up an agitation protesting against the increase of crime in the locality and the grant of land for the purposes of the settlements. On careful enquiry the Government were convinced that the settlements referred to were not responsible for more than a small proportion of the increase of crime in the neighbourhood and that the agitation was set up by certain persons with unworthy and selfish motives. With the object of giving adequate protection to the inhabitants of Bapatla, however, the Government sanctioned a substantial addition to the local police force which would among other things ensure that the roads were properly patrolled. Till recently this settlement had not been declared to be one established under the Criminal Tribes Act; consequently the settlers were under no control and could come and go as they pleased without incurring liability to criminal prosecution; to obviate this difficulty, in October 1915, Bethapudi was declared to be a criminal settlement under section 16 of the Act.

Agitation in 1915.

Addition to the police staff. Notification of settlement under the Criminal Tribes Act.

Occupation of settlers.

Agriculture is the chief occupation followed in this settlement. The extent of land brought under cultivation is considerable, but progress in the past has not been as fast as was expected and proposals for the improvement of the system of irrigation at the settlement with a view to increasing the extent of cultivation are now under the consideration of the Government. Coconut and mulberry trees have been planted. The other sources of income to the settlers are the sale of mats and ropes, trading in cattle and cooly labour. A few of the well-conducted inmates are appointed as watchmen, who not only watch and give information to the Manager but are links between the Manager and the settlers. The position of watchman is looked upon as a very honourable one by the settlers and this forms a valuable feature in the disciplinary machinery of the settlement.

School.

The school is promising, the intelligence shown by the children being remarkable. Seventy children, out of a total of 250 of school-going age, are receiving instruction in the school. Orders have issued for the construction of a pucca school building at the settlement and it is hoped that at an early date all or nearly all the children of school-going age will be receiving instruction.

Manager.

The Manager, Captain Robilliard, a Guernsey man and an expert agriculturist trained in intensive gardening in his youth and with experience in rubber planting in the East, has done excellent work and is developing the settlement on admirable lines. The Government congratulated the Salvation Army on the useful work done in this settlement during the years 1914 and 1915.

Strength.

The strength of the settlement at the end of 1915 was 302 men, 323 women, 243 boys and 238 girls, or a total of 1,105; and though it was at first reported that there was plenty of room and work for three or four times that number, the Government considered that the number of inmates should be increased only gradually for fear that the discipline of the settlement might suffer by too rapid an influx of turbulent elements. In December 1915 the Government ordered the transfer to Stuartpuram of two hundred Yerakalas from the Kavali settlement in the Nellore district. Proposals for adding 500 more settlers at the settlement have been received from the Salvation Army and are at present under consideration. It is now reported that with this number the maximum (which the settlement can provide work for under present conditions) will be reached.

Self-supporting stage.

The settlement on its agricultural side has always been flourishing and consequently the discontented members are few. The settlement has not yet become self-supporting, but is expected to reach that stage sooner than any other settlement established in this Presidency. The Salvation

Army is as yet not in a position to dispense with the recurring grant paid by the Government nor to admit additional settlers into the settlement without the help of further grants.

The settlements for criminal tribes are the outstanding features of the criminal administration of the Guntur district. The main defect of that administration was that sufficient discrimination was not exercised in the initial registrations made. Persons that could be proved to be related to or to be in other respects associates of the criminals against whom a case was first made out were registered properly; but along with them were also registered other Yerakalas who were in no way connected with the original gang except by being Yerakalas themselves and simply because they were reported to be bad characters. This led to the settlements being crowded beyond the powers of the Salvation Army staff to supervise, as well as to the mixing up of professional robbers and dacoits with petty thieves. The mistakes have been since corrected as they were detected after investigation, but more shroffing is still necessary and is being done with advantage.

Kalichedu settlement, Nellore district.

Origin.

This settlement was first started in 1911 by Mr. Ludwig, the local Manager of Messrs. H. Brandt and Company's mica mines in and near Kalichedu, with about 200 people belonging to the tribe of Kathiras or Donga Dasaris of Nellore who were all provided with employment in the mines. The settlement of the gang became in course of time a success. There were great difficulties to overcome in the beginning but the Government felt confident that the lines and methods used by Mr. Ludwig in dealing with this gang were correct. The Government therefore in March 1913 issued orders recognizing the settlement and sanctioning a police guard, hospital, school, etc. They also remarked that in the management of the settlement there should be as little official interference as possible and that they were not in favour of placing a Government officer in charge of it, more especially in view of the fact that Mr. Ludwig was himself keenly interested in the project and prepared to devote his attention to it. The scheme on a voluntary basis did not however turn out to be a success, as the Kathiras never honestly took to the work provided for them; so, to obtain control over them, they were declared to be a criminal tribe along with the Donga Dasaris of the Kurnool and Guntur districts and the Pachappas in the Gōdāvari and Kistna districts and their movements were restricted, with the sanction of the Government of India, to the area comprised within a radius of three miles from the village-site of Kalichedu. This was followed by similar action taken under sections 3 and 12 of the Act against the tribe of Dommaras of the Nellore district. These measures brought together about 1,500 settlers (including some of the most desperate criminals in the Presidency) at Kalichedu by the end of the year 1913, and they were all given work in the mica mines of Messrs. Brandt and Company. The arrangement continued satisfactory till the outbreak of the present European war in August 1914 when the firm suspended work on the mines and the settlers were thrown out of employment. Owing to want of sufficient work for the settlers the District Magistrate sent a certain number of Dommaras to their own villages and certain Yerakalas who had been sent to Kalichedu were retransferred to the Kavali settlement. As regards employing the adult members of the remaining population, arrangements were made to engage them on unskilled labour on buildings and roads; and in the case of works already given on contract, orders were issued by the authorities concerned to the contractors to employ the settlers. Some road works were also specially sanctioned by the Government to afford temporary relief and the District Magistrate further entered into negotiations with the owners of certain private mines in the neighbourhood of Kalichedu for taking some of them on lease and working them by means of the settlers. It was however found impossible to obtain any final solution of the problem how to provide the settlers with work of a permanent character without involving the State in unduly heavy expense. Some of the settlers were put on mica mining work on a few Government plots for a time. The measure was never anything but a pis-aller as the demand for mica at the time was much below the normal and the industry proved unremunerative. Proposals for employing the people on the Mopad irrigation works were also examined and found not feasible. In the meantime the mica industry in the neighbourhood began

Notification of Kathiras and Donga Dasaris.

Dommaras.

Satisfactory until the outbreak of war.

Action taken when the war broke out. Transfers to villages and to Kavali settlement.

Government road works. Proposals for taking up private mines.

to look up and private mine-owners wanted labour on their workings. The settlers, who are specially suited for mining work and had acquired considerable skill at it, were therefore again sent out to work in the various private mines, which arrangement relieved the Government of risk of loss and provided the inmates with a living wage. Industries such as agriculture, mat-making, etc., were also provided at the settlement and all these things reduced to a large extent the financial burden on the State which would otherwise have been considerable. In the meantime, the District Magistrate suggested the desirability of permitting the voluntary emigration of members of criminal tribes to Assam for employment in the tea gardens. The Government however felt that, while there could be no objection *per se* to voluntary emigration to Assam, it would be preferable to employ the criminal tribes of this Province within the Presidency itself, so that the process of reclamation would be under their own observation; and consequently, in consultation with the planting community, they issued in May 1915 orders permitting the officers of the Labour Department of the United Planters' Association of Southern India to recruit coolies from among the Kalichedu settlers, for work on the estates on the Anamalais, the recruitment being on an absolutely voluntary basis. A police officer of the grade of Assistant Superintendent of Police was placed on special duty in connection with the employment of criminal tribes in the estates on the Anamalais. Two telegraph offices were sanctioned, one at the Anamalais township and the other at Attikatti, and a police out-post was also established. There were schools attached to some of the estates and influential planters promised to start a sufficient number of schools in convenient centres so that education might be given to all the children of the settlers taken there. The Government directed early in 1916 that the cost of transferring to the Anamalais the members of criminal tribes willing to work on the estates should be met wholly from Provincial funds, instead of being treated as an advance paid by the Labour department to each individual. The first batch of recruits for the estates was transferred in October 1915 and the total number taken up from Kalichedu was 790. Settlers to the number of 124 from Kavali appear also to have been taken. The settlers at first gave some trouble in the estates and some struck work on one or two occasions; but things got set right and the settlers appeared to be working contentedly. Some settlers complained about short rations, and on the advice of the visiting agent it was decided to give them batta at an increased rate permanently to obviate further cause for complaint. They were put on coffee-picking, tea-plucking, weeding, road-work, etc. Things went well for a time and the settlers appeared to be working satisfactorily. In September 1916, however, a gang of Pachappas, numbering 39 working on one of the estates, complained of ill-treatment on the part of their manager and without giving notice left the hills, others to the number of 533, who had no complaint but were affected by the inclemency of the climate, following their lead, and thus breaking one of the conditions on which they were allowed to emigrate. The Pachappas and the Nizam's Dasaris were returned to Kalichedu and it was decided to establish at Pollachi a voluntary sanitarium for the rest as a temporary measure. The Inspector-General of Police has also been asked to send up proposals for the establishment of an industrial settlement at Pallavaram as a temporary expedient for relieving congestion at Kalichedu.

Employment in tea gardens.

Orders permitting recruitment to the Anamalais.

Telegraph offices and police out-posts.

Cost of removal.

Work of the settlers in estates.

Agriculture at Kalichedu.

Kalichedu school.

Notwithstanding the measures outlined above the difficulty of providing employment to the settlers still at Kalichedu has not yet been completely overcome. Agriculture was taken up but only about 40 acres of dry land were brought under cultivation. Though a fair harvest is expected, the extent cultivated is not commensurate with the number of the settlers. This is however accounted for by the fact that most of the adult members are engaged in District Board, Public Works Department, and other works which are paid out of non-settlement funds; only five persons are at present engaged in agriculture.

A school has been opened and is under the supervision of competent teachers. There were 322 children in the school in November 1915. Owing to the transfer of many of the settlers to the Anamalais and to other causes, the strength of the school in March 1916 fell to 155. The textile industry which is supported by the sale of date mats made by the children has been started for their benefit. Some of the children have been sent to the Salvation Army's school at Nellore, the Government paying a grant of Rs. 3 per mensem for each child attending.

that school. There are at present 39 children under the care of the Salvation Army at Nellore in addition to those receiving instruction in the settlement school.

Future of the settlement.

The chronic difficulty of finding work for the settlers has conduced to an increase in the number of absconders, while it has also deterred the District Magistrate from locating at Kalichedu a number of registered crims whose continuance at large is detrimental to the security of the district. The number of escapes from Kalichedu during 1915 was rather large; this, together with the employment of settlers in distant places leading to inefficient police watch and weak discipline, accounts for the large number of crimes committed in the neighbourhood. It is now under consideration to close down the Kalichedu settlement and to open another for these crims elsewhere. The settlement has, owing to unforeseen causes, not been a complete success, mainly on account of the absence of permanent and remunerative sources of employment; but it has been an interesting experiment affording valuable lessons in the management and employment of these tribes; while the Nellore district officers testify to its existence being a potent deterrent from crime. The total number of settlers at present in the Kalichedu settlement, excluding those who are in jail, out of view, etc., and those who have gone to the Anamalais, is 205 men, 218 women and 258 children.

Kavali settlement—Nellore district.

Origin.

This is a settlement for the Donga Yerakalas of the Nellore district and was started in October 1912, on a purely voluntary basis, by the Reverend Mr. Bullard of the American Baptist Mission. Mr. Bullard who was stationed at Kavali had brought out in 1912 a well-boring plant said to be capable of excavating to a depth of 600 feet and thus by far the most powerful machinery for the purpose in this Presidency. In view of the revolution in agriculture, possible, if Mr. Bullard, who was an expert in scientific agriculture, was successful, the District Magistrate granted him about 100 acres of waste land on condition of his irrigating them with deep well water. In the meantime, the members of two notorious gangs of Yerakalas agreed to go to Kalichedu to escape enforcement of the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. *En route* they changed their mind, and wishing to escape going to Kalichedu, went to Mr. Bullard and pretended to desire conversion to Christianity. Mr. Bullard agreed to look after these men and the District Magistrate allowed them to settle there under Mr. Bullard's supervision. The strength of the settlement increased to 55 families by the end of February 1913. It was recognized from the outset that the Yerakala was unable to earn even half the usual wages of labour and that employment of any kind was difficult to obtain at Kavali. To create forms of employment such as weaving, fibre cleaning and bundling and market gardening, for all of which the Mission had made arrangements, the Government sanctioned in April 1913 a non-recurring lump grant of Rs. 5,000 and a recurring grant of Rs. 200 per mensem for a year to supplement the means of livelihood of the settlers. The settlement was subsequently notified as one established under section 16 of the Act in January 1914. Industries such as weaving, fibre work, market gardening, stone quarrying, aluminium, mat and basket making, and tile manufacture, were introduced but progress was slow; and it was difficult to find remunerative and profitable work on account of the nature of the soil and the unfitness of the Yerakalas for skilled work. In September 1914 the Government provided 950 acres of land comprised in the Kavali and Budamagunta reserved forests, to be cleared for agriculture, tools for the work and funds for drilling wells, but all efforts failed to make the settlements self-supporting. The Government then had to consider the question of the future of the settlement, and although there seemed to be no near prospect of converting the settlement into an agricultural colony or of making it self-supporting, they decided not to abandon it, as they were much impressed by the earnestness and capacity of the manager, the Reverend S. D. Bawden, who had succeeded the Reverend Mr. Bullard. In July 1915 the Government issued orders permitting the Labour Department of the United Planters' Association of Southern India to recruit for employment on the estates in the Anamalais such of the

Remunerative and profitable work difficult to find at Kavali. Land for agriculture. Abandonment of Kavali.

* This excludes children who number about 50.

Undertaking to bear net cost of settlement.

Proposals for transfer of settlement to Allur.

Cultivation at Kavali. Health.

Reformatory work among the children.

Strength.

settlers as were willing to go. Seventy two * settlers have up to date been recruited for the estates, and about 200 people have also been transferred to the Stuartpuram settlement. It was represented to the Government early in 1915 that the grant of Rs. 1,400 per mensem for one year sanctioned in respect of the Kavali settlement from the 1st April 1915, which was based on a population of 600 settlers, was inadequate to meet the requirements of the settlement, the strength of which had been steadily increasing. The Government therefore agreed, as a very special case, to bear for the official year 1915-16 (since extended for a further period of one year) the net cost of working the settlement, no account being taken of the charges on account of the manager, as his services are provided free by the American Baptist Mission. The total excess expenditure incurred by the Mission in 1915-16, in addition to the monthly grant of Rs. 1,400, amounted to Rs. 11,673-0-11. Feeling that there was no prospect of making the settlement self-supporting, the Government ordered the Inspector-General of Police to consult the District Magistrate and the Manager and to examine the question of removing the settlement to a more favourable situation. The Inspector-General has submitted proposals for the removal of the settlement to Allur, a few miles south of Kavali, and this question is now under consideration.

About 85 acres of land in the reserved forest have been cleared and 27 acres sown with gram and cholam.

The settlers on the whole keep good health. The birth rate during 1915 was 36 per mille. Early in 1915 the settlers complained of the excessive mortality at the settlement. On examination it was found that the annual death rate was only 29 per mille and that the complaints were grossly exaggerated. The Government have directed the sub-assistant surgeon at Kavali to pay periodical visits to the settlement and have agreed to give him an extra allowance of Rs. 10 per mensem. The death rate during the year 1915 was 47 per mille. Special measures are being taken to eliminate the "black scourge" *ankylostomiasis* which was found to be somewhat prevalent amongst the settlers.

Real reformatory work is being done with regard to the children. In 1914 attendance at school was made compulsory for all children between 6 and 12, and in the following year residence at the boarding school was also rendered compulsory, and thus a complete separation of the boys from their parents, except for a short time during each day, was effected in the interests of the health and character of the former.

There are at present 85 boys and 67 girls in the schools. There is also a night school started for youths above 12.

The settlers are required to attend religious services conducted in accordance with the views of the society to which the manager belongs. These consist in a daily morning prayer and a service on Sundays. The settlers are in the interests of discipline required to be present and to lend respectful attention but not to give any adherence to the views or doctrines expressed. The Reverend Mr. Bawden, who lays great stress on the value of religious observance as a moral and disciplinary aid, has no objection to the establishment of a temple in the premises for Hindu members of the tribe, provided that services are conducted with regularity and propriety by a qualified priest.

The experiment of appointing special constables from among the settlers has been successful. There have been very few escapes from this settlement, and this is especially remarkable, since there is no fence or wall around the settlement and the system of night roll calls has been completely stopped. The post of a special constable is looked upon as a very honourable one in the settlement and is much coveted.

The strength of the settlement at the end of 1915 was 257 men, 244 women and 330 children, or a total of 831 persons, of whom 740 were present in the settlement. The Government, while recognizing with regret its failure to support itself, consider the discipline of this settlement and the progress of reclamation to be so marked that its

closure would be most regrettable. They hope that its transfer to a more suitable locality will enable it to retain these admirable features without being a heavy charge upon the State.

Bhumannagadda settlement—Chittoor district.

Origin.

This settlement had its origin in getting together about 97 adult males belonging to the criminal tribe of Nawabpeta or Vayalpad Korachas, some of whom had been out of view for several years. In the early part of 1913 the Government declared this gang a criminal tribe under the Act and also sanctioned, pending permanent arrangements for their reclamation, a sum of Rs. 1,000 for the maintenance of the above settlement for a portion of this tribe which had already been formed (under the control of the police) at Divitivandlapalli, a village some three miles from the present settlement. Commissioner Booth Tucker was at the same time asked whether the Salvation Army was prepared to take charge of this tribe. It is also worth mention in this connection that a few other families belonging to the same gang were given lands on patta and settled so long ago as 1907 under the direct supervision of the Revenue authorities. In communication with Commissioner Booth Tucker the Government sanctioned in October 1913 the formation of a settlement for the reclamation of the Korachas and application was made to the Government of India for sanction to settle the tribe at Bhumannagadda in a tract of land measuring 853.81 acres, which was afterwards acquired by the Government for Rs. 8,851 and handed over to the Salvation Army on the usual conditions. The settlers were finally taken charge of on the 7th January 1914, by Adjutant Allen of the Salvation Army, who had arrived at the spot three months before. The gang then numbered 550, including men, women and children.

The early history of this settlement was somewhat chequered. During the time that the gang was under the control of the police, a strict check was maintained over it, and it was not allowed to make nocturnal depredations on the neighbouring villages. The sudden change of control from the police to the Salvation Army led to early disasters. Commissioner Booth Tucker (on the motion of the manager) complained that the police were interfering in the management of the settlement—even after it had been handed over to the Salvation Army—and the Inspector-General of Police was instructed to move the police to a point a mile from the settlement and to ensure that the police did not visit the settlement unless sent for. The result was that feuds between the settlers themselves occurred very often. The Manager, Adjutant Allen, did not understand Telugu and his assistants did not interpret properly. He was also totally ignorant of the nature, manners and customs of the people with whom he had to deal. No restriction was placed on the grant of leave, and a number of the worst criminals absconded, raiding the neighbourhood not infrequently with the connivance of the subordinate staff of the settlement, so much so that the Korachas became a terror to the neighbourhood and the villagers round about begged for protection. Thereupon the entire police staff (originally detailed for duty) was reposted near the settlement and the very unsatisfactory state of affairs brought to the notice of the Salvation Army authorities at Simla. This resulted in the relief of Mr. Allen by Captain Swami Das (since relieved by Captain Green) in July 1914 and the subsequent removal of the writer Lieutenant Premanandam, from the settlement. The management of the settlement has since run smoothly.

Women at the settlement.

Women formed an important factor in the settlement. They generally came and went as they liked and acted as spies and informants to their leaders. They went out on the pretext of selling *karipak* leaves but really to spy out the land and to keep themselves in touch with absconding members. The women have now been formally placed in the settlement and 112 of them have been registered. It is hoped that this step will further tend to put down crime.

Employment provided.

The chief employment provided is agriculture. Out of 853.81 acres of land comprised within the settlement, 700 are fit for cultivation, but the area of land brought under cultivation during the two years of its existence has been very small. A portion of the land has lately been apportioned out to the settlers for cultivation. The delay in bringing

School.

the land under cultivation has been brought to the notice of the management and it is hoped that a decided improvement will ensue. Dams have been constructed at the settlement and certain proposals for improvement of the agricultural facilities have been made to Commissioner Booth Tucker. Besides agriculture the settlers are provided with employment in weaving and silk production. Some of the Korachas make ropes and baskets on a small scale privately, and a few others live on their flocks of sheep and goats, though this cannot be made a general means of support owing to the very large area of pasturage that would be required. Much it has not been possible to make the settlement self-supporting to any but the slightest degree and the Salvation Army are now getting a special recurring grant of Rs. 500 per mensem in addition to the usual grant of Rs. 200 per mensem for supervision. The chances of stopping the special grant which has been sanctioned with effect from the 7th January 1914 are remote.

There is a school at the settlement and the instruction given is of an elementary kind. Fifty seven children were receiving education in the school in November 1915. Weaving and sericulture are the chief industries taught. The former is not regularly carried on but the latter is in a flourishing condition. Sewing, drawn thread and open work, etc., are also taught.

Success of the settlement.

The settlement withal on the whole shows promise. The progress in 1914 was disappointingly slow, but this could not be helped so long as the settlement remained under Adjutant Allen, a man totally unsuited to the work, whose assistants were Tamil Panchamas disliked and despised by the Korachas themselves. His replacement by Captain Swami Das, who knew their language and treated them with greater tact and sympathy, was immediately attended by a fall in the number of absconders. Captain Swami Das has since been replaced by Captain Green who has done much to improve the situation in all respects.

Discipline and removal of two rebellious headmen.

In October 1915 the District Magistrate reported that Puli Bangaru Bojjigadu and Koneti Venkatigadu, two headmen of the tribe of Korachas and the heads of two "forts" into which the settlement had split, were at the bottom of most of the laziness and obstruction which had so much hampered the development of the settlement and were preventing the people from working properly on the tank work. These men had been made watchmen of the lines and crops but they encouraged the out-of-view members and sometimes worked with them. Bojjigadu in particular was a powerful influence for evil and the ring-leader in the attitude of obstruction taken up by nearly all the assignees of the lands. These two headmen were useless as such and others were afraid to take up the headmanship while they remained. It was desirable that the Manager should have under him a headman to arrange petty disputes, and it was clear that these two individuals, who merely fomented brawls and rebellion, would not do. They were therefore removed to Sitanagaram in the Guntur district and their departure had a very salutary effect on the settlement.

The conditions of the settlement have now much improved. The strength of the settlement at the end of 1915 was 161 males, 152 females, and 135 children, or a total of 448 people.

Aziznagar (Kammapuram) settlement, South Arcot district.

Origin.

This settlement was opened on the 22nd September 1913 to deal with the criminal tribe of Veppur Parayas, a notorious gang of criminals in the South Arcot district, and it owes its name to M. Aziz-ud-din Sahib Bahadur, Khan Bahadur, i.s.o., the District Collector. It is under the control of the Salvation Army and was managed by Adjutant Heden of that body till the end of 1915, when he was transferred to a school established under the Act for the reception of crim children in Madras, and Captain Johnstone was appointed in his place. An extent of 1,377 acres of land comprised within the Kammapuram reserved forest was disafforested and placed at the disposal of the Salvation Army. The huts were at first constructed on a portion of the land attached to the settlement itself, but the mud walls were seriously damaged by the abnormal floods which occurred in November 1913, and what remained of the huts accidentally caught fire and was burnt to ashes, four months afterwards. Opportunity was taken to locate the buildings on a better site, and at the request of the Manager 37½ acres

of land were acquired at a cost of Rs. 2,965 and houses for the settlers as well as for the Manager constructed thereon for which the Government provided a lump sum of Rs. 5,000.

Leave to settlers and crime committed by them.

Misconduct of assistants.

Cultivation of land.

Additional families. Apportionment of lands.

Women.

School.

Strength.

The settlement worked smoothly for some time but the police subsequently found that leave was being granted too freely by the Manager, with the result that the settlers committed crime while on leave and then took shelter in the settlement. The District Magistrate had to intervene. He found that the unsatisfactory state of affairs at the settlement was largely due to the mismanagement of the Manager and the misconduct of his assistants whose removal was eventually effected in November 1915. During this period, which was an unfortunate one for the settlement, a large number of settlers absconded. The work of opening up the lands was not pushed through and no regular work on the land was insisted on, the result being that at the end of two years only 125½ acres were brought under cultivation and this area has proved insufficient for the maintenance of the settlers. Subsequently the District Magistrate (in his capacity as President of the District Board) had to help the settlers now and again by opening up local fund works. Finally the District Magistrate, with the District Superintendent of Police and other officers, mapped out a regular programme which, it adhered to, is likely to make the settlement self-supporting by the end of 1917. The Government, in order to enable the lands available for cultivation to be brought under the plough as soon as possible, recently ordered the placing of 100 additional families of Veppur Parayas at the settlement and sanctioned the entertainment of a temporary revenue inspector for the measurement and allotment of the lands amongst the settlers. There is a large number of the criminals still living in their own villages, awaiting such time as the Salvation Army are ready to receive them. The result of this has been very unsatisfactory, and until the original villages are cleared out and all the Veppur Parayas are placed in settlement, it is impossible to effect any permanent improvement. It is the policy of Government in all settlements to arrange for the disposal of the settlers' lands, if any, in their original villages to the best advantage at once and to refuse leave which is frequently applied for on the pretence that it is needed to enable them to collect their rents or reap their crops.

The women and grown-up girls at the settlement, whom the proceeds of crime have hitherto enabled to live a lazy if not an affluent life and who are very averse to manual labour, are being taught how to make mats. The Salvation Army have also been asked to see about introducing the lace industry.

Out of a total population of 261 children present at the settlement at the end of 1915, it is regrettable to note that only 31 were being educated at the settlement school. The District Magistrate prefers persuasion to compulsion until the settlers are reconciled to their present life. The Government, however, who see in the education of the children the best chance of eradicating the evil of criminality, have issued orders that every child of school-going age should attend school, and if persuasion fails compulsion should be resorted to, and it is hoped that very much better results will be apparent in the near future. M.R.Ry. Diwan Bahadur S. R. M. Ramaswami Chettiyar Avargal, the non-official Taluk Board President of Chidambaram, has generously undertaken to award annually five silver medals to the best boys in the school. It is hoped that this is a symptom of the existence of a wider interest in the welfare and reclamation of these unfortunate people on the part of the well-to-do classes of the country.

The conduct of the settlers recently has generally been satisfactory and there have been no feuds or noticeable quarrels within the settlement. Three of the old offenders were recently convicted of certain offences and the severe punishments meted out to them have been productive of good effect in the settlement. In September 1915 a fracas occurred between some of the Veppur Parayas and the Police who were attempting to arrest certain absconders in the jungle. One of the Parayas was accidentally shot dead on the occasion.

The settlement began with 76 males in 1913. The number of settlers on the rolls during June 1916 was 248 men, 146 women and 154 children, making a total of 558. The total number of persons present in June 1916 was 405.

Health.

Reasons for slow progress.

The death rate at the settlement during the year 1915 was 30 per mille; it is not unduly high. It is hoped that the health of the settlers will improve on account of the establishment of a dispensary, the revision of regular work and the curtailment of opportunities for drinking.

The progress of the settlement has not been rapid; this is attributed to the following causes:—

(a) The lack of business-capacity and intractability of the late Manager.

(b) The present Manager and his staff have not much experience in the management of settlements and official interference in settlements managed by non-official bodies has to be limited to advice. [Advice is constantly given as regards cultivation and other matters but is not always followed, and it is doubtful even now whether the settlers are aware that the settlement is a permanent concern. This prevents them resigning themselves to the inevitable and settling down.]

(c) The Manager does not know Tamil and is therefore not in touch with the settlers. [This defect is a serious one as personal influence is everything with gangs like the Veppur Parayas.]

(d) Only a portion of the gang has been settled while the rest are at large. [This obstacle is being gradually got over.]

(e) The settlers are not provided with sufficient labour which results in many leading a life of idleness. There is ample land in the settlement and labour to work it, yet the greater part of it is being neglected. The idleness which now exists is said to be the cause of the large amount of absconding and general discontent, which is not altogether the fault of the settlers. The comparative failure of this settlement and remedial measures for setting it right are engaging the attention of the Government. It is recognised that a good deal of spade work has been done and it is hoped to put the working of the settlement on a satisfactory basis shortly. The personal interest taken by the District Magistrate and Commissioner Booth Tucker in this interesting experiment has been much appreciated by the Government.

Stuartpet settlement, South Arcot district.

Origin.

This settlement was opened on the 20th December 1915 and is intended as an additional settlement for the reception of those Veppur Parayas for whose maintenance cultivable land is not available at Aziznagar. About the middle of 1915 it was reported to Government that the number of families at Aziznagar had swelled to 220 and that the lands available were just sufficient for that number. Proposals were also made at the same time for the formation, in the reserve forest lands at Kappiam-puliyur, of an additional settlement under the management of the Salvation Army for 200 families of Veppur Parayas then reported to be all that remained unsettled of this tribe. In August 1915 the Government sanctioned the establishment of the settlement. They agreed to give Rs. 1,000 for payment as wages to the settlers employed on the clearance of the lands at the settlement and Rs. 3,000 for the construction of quarters for the Manager. The settlement was opened by the Hon'ble Mr. H. F. W. Gillman on the 20th December 1915 with a strength of 43 families consisting of 112 settlers. The present strength of the settlement is 145 men, 144 women and 100 children, making a total of 389 persons.

Escapes.

Thirteen are on leave, three are absconding and one is in jail. The small number of absconders is a satisfactory feature. The settlers are at present engaged in reclaiming the land and up to the present the settlement has been doing well. The Manager, Captain Askew, is reported to maintain good discipline. Out of 55 children of school-going age present in the settlement, 29 boys and 1 girl are attending the school started by Captain Askew of his own accord.

Irrigation.

Proposals for the improvement of the irrigation of the settlement are under consideration and it is hoped that the Salvation Army will assist by increasing the hutting accommodation as rapidly as possible and by reclaiming the lands expeditiously in order that more members of the tribe may be admitted into the settlement as it is only by this means that permanent improvement can be looked for and the settlement can be made a financial success.

Pillayarpatthi settlement, Tanjore district.

Besides the abovementioned settlements the Government sanctioned in September 1915 the establishment of a settlement at Pillayarpatthi in the Tanjore district for the reception of the Gandarvakottai Koravas. The settlement was opened on the 21st June 1916 with 40 men, women and children; 32 more members of the tribe have since been moved into the settlement. As the settlement is close to the district headquarters, it is under the direct supervision of the District Magistrate, and the District Superintendent of Police has been appointed an official visitor. The former has selected a good schoolmaster for the settlement, who has been appointed Manager in virtue of his office. The male members of the tribe earn their living in the local fund quarries (which provide sufficient work throughout the year) and in cultivating an extent of about 40 acres of land which has been acquired for the purpose. The females contribute to the maintenance of the families by making baskets. The Government are looking forward to the possibility of passing the Koravas through this settlement to an agricultural colony which they contemplate forming, but this proposal is unlikely to take shape until the Koravas have had time to earn and save money.

Kulasekharapatnam, Tinnevely district.

A different kind of settlement to those enumerated above is that of a gang of Uppu Koravas in the Tinnevely district.

In March 1916 the Government sanctioned certain proposals of the District Magistrate, Tinnevely, for the restriction of the movements of the Uppu Koravas of Koilpattu and Anavaradanallur in the Tinnevely district to the Kulasekharapatnam village in the same district where employment in the sugar factory belonging to the East India Distilleries and Sugar Factories, Limited, will afford them adequate means of subsistence as well as free quarters and current wages. The question of educating the children of the tribe and that of providing the members of the tribe with lands to settle on will be taken up in due course. In this case the noticeable feature is that there is no settlement and no Manager, but as it is necessary to authorize some official to grant passes to members of the tribe, the Station-house Officer, Kulasekharapatnam, has been so authorised and special rules for the grant of passes have been framed and published.

Voluntary settlements.

The above narrative deals with those settlements which have been established under the Act or with members of those criminal tribes notified under the Act. One purely voluntary settlement has also been started and is now working under the supervision of a non-official body for the reclamation of certain classes of people of criminal propensities. As these criminals have not been brought under the provisions of section 3 of the Act, the settlement cannot be established under the Act and is therefore voluntary as well as informal.

Bapatla (Yanadi) voluntary settlement.

The Reverend G. N. Thomssen, the American Baptist Missionary at Bapatla, started in 1905 a settlement for the reformation of criminal Yanadis and he carried on this useful and praiseworthy undertaking by himself until the Government in December 1914 recognized and subsidised it. In doing so the Government ordered the reservation of 1,500 acres of land for the settlement, of which however it was subsequently decided to hand over 150 acres of good land in selected blocks, and a grant was sanctioned of Rs. 50 per mensem for a period of five years on condition that at least 50 families of Yanadis of proved criminality were placed in the settlement. A local agitation which was set up at the beginning of 1915 by the same people who complained of the existence of the neighbouring settlement at Bethapudi, and which was nominally directed against the increase of crime attributed to the Yanadis, but really against the grant of valuable land to the Church Panchayat, did not deter the Government from helping the settlement. The Yanadi settlers are provided with employment on road works, harvesting for the neighbouring farmers, and rope and basket making. A school has been started and is doing well. The starting of a night school for those who work during the day is being considered by the Reverend A. H. Curtis, the present Manager.

Venkatasamudram settlement.

Another voluntary settlement was sanctioned in January 1916 but has since been held up. It was intended for the reception of the tribe of Attur Melnad Koravas of the Salem district to which it was decided that the provisions of the Act need not be applied. The settlement was to have been under the management of the London Mission, Tiruppattur, and located at Venkatasamudram in the Salem district. The Government sanctioned a grant of Rs. 2,100 to the London Mission to assist that body in the undertaking. The London Mission however reported that a voluntary settlement among the Venkatasamudram gang at the present time would not be a success and have suggested that the scheme be held in abeyance for the present. The question is under consideration.

Settlements to be formed hereafter.

In addition to the above settlements the Government have at present under consideration proposals for the formation of a settlement for the Kallas of the Madura district, for the Donga Waddars at the Siddapur tank project in the Kurnool district, for the Vellayankuppam Padayachis in the Jekkampet and Edayalam reserves of the South Arcot district, and for the Telaga Pamulas in the reserve forest near Chatrapur in the Ganjam district. The Salvation Army have made certain proposals for the formation of a Criminal Tribes Reserve at Merkanam in the South Arcot district. A settlement might possibly be established near the Grand Anicut in the Trichinopoly district where the Togamalai Koravas or Kepmaris, a dangerous gang of criminals whose headquarters are in the same district, may be placed. The District Magistrate, Coimbatore, has also been recently asked to report on the feasibility of forming an agricultural settlement in the Coimbatore district. It is the intention of the Government, if the last mentioned scheme comes to fruition, to make it a central settlement wherefrom those crims who are willing to work on the Anamalais may be given passes, those who are not willing to go being put to work on the land.

Effect of settlements on crime.

The results of the establishment of criminal settlements may be summarized as under:—(a) an increase of petty crime in the vicinity of the settlements, and (b) a noticeable tendency to a decrease in professional and grave crime in the majority of the districts. The Sessions Judge, Guntur, has remarked that the noticeable improvement in the state of grave crime relating to property in the district was the direct result of the measures detailed above.

A statement showing the incidence of grave crime during the last four years in the districts in which settlements have been established and in those in which the criminals were previously operating is printed in appendix I. Criminal settlements existed in the Guntur, Chittoor, Nellore and South Arcot districts at the end of 1915. In the Guntur district there has been a gradual fall in the total number of grave crimes reported. The figures for the Nellore district in 1915 show an increase over those of the two previous years, though the total in 1915 was less than that in 1912. The recent rise is attributed to the unfavourable conditions (arising out of the war) under which the Kalichedu settlement has recently been run, which has necessitated the dispersion of the settlers on employment remote from the settlement, and the postponement of the inclusion in it of a large number of registered criminals who had to be left for the time to pursue their lawless practices outside. There has been a fall in the Chittoor district. In South Arcot crime increased in 1915, but the total was less than in 1913.

Gōdāvari, Kistna, Kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur and Cuddapah were the other districts in which the members of criminal tribes now confined in settlements had previously carried on their operations. In 1915 there was an increase of crime under dacoities, robberies and house-breakings in the Gōdāvari and Kistna districts, which is attributed to members of criminal tribes, viz., Pamulas, Kondadoras, Donga Waddars, &c., who have not been settled and also to persons who had escaped from settlements. The increase of crime in Kurnool is attributed to the Chenchus who have not yet been declared a criminal tribe and to the Donga Yerakalas who have not been settled yet. The employment of Donga Waddars at Siddapur has prevented crime on their part. There was only a slight increase of dacoities (+2) in the Bellary district for which the Donga Yerakalas and the out-of-view members of the Rudrapad Korachas are said to be responsible.

The increase of dacoities (+26) in the Anantapur district is attributable to escaped members from the Bhumannagadda settlement, while the marked decrease of crime in the Cuddapah district is due to the settlement of the Korachas in the Chittoor and Nellore districts.

The results have so far been of a chequered nature and it is probably too early to generalise. Yet the tendency is sufficiently clear even now to warrant the expectation that, when the existing settlements are put on a satisfactory footing and discipline perfected in them, and when the remaining criminal tribes still at large are also settled, the Presidency will see a very marked and gratifying reduction in organized and grave crime. Another important result of the concentration of professional criminals under close supervision is likely to be a large reduction in the number of bad livelihood cases, and the police will have more leisure and opportunity to investigate and detect ordinary non-professional crime.

A few years' more work on existing lines may be expected to prove the truth of these anticipations.

Conclusion.

In conclusion the Government have great hopes of these settlements as a means of reducing crime and the jail population and as an instrument of reclamation. The chief thing to be aimed at is to give the children a proper education, to bring them up without criminal associations, and to teach them to earn an honest living. The reformation of the adults is necessarily more difficult, but this is not to be despaired of where means can be found of showing them a way of earning an honest livelihood. The reformatory work done in many of the existing settlements is of a high order. It may be too early to speak of the reformatory effects of the establishment of these settlements, but the reports so far received have been very encouraging, and the Government hope that in course of time many more persons and societies of a philanthropic disposition will come forward to assist the Government in this valuable work.

It is recognized that the power of heredity and environment is not easily subverted and the Government do not feel justified in expecting any striking moral change to take place suddenly in the tribes settled. They anticipate however that, by dint of unremitting patience and devotion on the part of the managing staff, a very great improvement will be effected in the course of a few years in the conduct of the members of the tribes; but they consider that no decided divorce of the tribes as a whole from the criminal habits and ideas with which they have been so long familiar can be confidently hoped for until the present generation of adults has passed away and their children have all been properly educated in a non-criminal atmosphere. The fruition of the work can therefore not be expected to be apparent in its fulness for another thirty years; and that time is too far away for many who are now engaged in it to see; it is none the less a consummation earnestly to be hoped for, and worked for, and an ideal which the Government intend to keep in view.

APPENDIX I.

District.	Dacoity.				Robbery.				House-breaking.				Total of dacoity, robbery and house-breaking.				Total grave crime (murder, dacoity, robbery, house-breaking, thefts, and cattle-thefts)			
	1912	1913	1914	1915	1912	1913	1914	1915	1912	1913	1914	1915	1912	1913	1914	1915	1912	1913	1914	1915
Godavari ..	19	18	19	20	56	47	36	56	504	492	341	399	579	557	396	475	1,959	1,916	1,478	1,633
Kistna ..	21	7	14	20	26	36	24	36	670	767	569	684	717	800	607	740	1,941	2,282	1,926	2,070
Guntur ..	33	22	22	14	74	58	61	86	529	457	464	510	636	537	547	560	1,524	1,374	1,354	1,348
Nellore ..	45	27	29	37	94	52	64	71	435	431	464	512	574	510	557	620	1,381	1,282	1,303	1,369
Kurnool ..	34	45	31	39	42	52	45	77	417	467	481	497	493	564	560	613	1,121	1,140	1,194	1,225
Chittoor ..	21	11	13	11	49	41	35	39	641	535	655	532	711	587	707	582	1,439	1,343	1,404	1,218
Cuddapah ..	12	14	14	9	28	29	25	16	436	397	374	329	476	440	413	354	800	799	741	659
South Arcot.	36	18	24	27	48	40	23	45	561	672	602	540	645	730	649	612	2,067	2,335	2,125	2,295
Bellary ..	49	57	51	53	29	42	55	55	345	307	459	363	423	406	565	471	815	817	967	824
Anantapur.	29	17	29	55	34	44	62	35	328	386	418	371	396	446	609	461	840	933	1,089	991

APPENDIX II.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE CRIMINALITY OF THE TRIBES NOTIFIED UNDER SECTION 3 OF THE CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT.

(1)

Memorandum on the Donga Yerakalas prepared by Mr. P. B. Thomas, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Railways and Criminal Investigation Department.

The Yerakalas are the Telugu division of the great tribe of Koravas. For details of this tribe vide Paupa Rao Nayudu's "History of the Koravas" and Thurston's "Castes and Tribes of Southern India, volume III." The tribe is now split up into infinite divisions some criminal and some non-criminal, speaking different languages and having different customs. The division of the tribe with which this report deals is distinct enough to be recognised as a separate tribe or gang, and its members are known in the Telugu districts of the East Coast of Madras as "Donga Yerakalas" or "Thieving Yerakalas."

2. The different divisions of the Korava tribe are growing more and more distinct as time goes on. Many divisions have permanent settlements, villages, etc. Others are carriers of grain, etc. The "Donga Yerakalas" have always been nomadic and were originally all grain-carriers who used to travel about with pack bullocks as some of them do even now. The spread of railway, the increase in population and other causes took away the means of livelihood of these people and of similar other gipsy tribes. It is now becoming nearly as difficult for a gipsy to make an honest living in a nomadic state in India as it became in Europe, and in time to come such nomads will be compelled to disappear from existence. Even now it may be said, broadly speaking, that all the wandering gangs or tribes in the Madras Presidency, with the exception of some religious mendicants, are criminal, because they cannot make a living honestly.

The Yerakalas have settled down in places and the settled members of the tribe are not necessarily criminal. The Donga Yerakalas proper have never settled and the term may be taken to include nearly all the nomadic Yerakalas who are known in the districts of Nellore, Guntur, Kurnool, Kistna, Godavari and Vizagapatam. They form a sufficiently distinct division of the Korava tribe to be separately dealt with. If there is any objection to their being known as a distinct "tribe" they may be described as a distinct "gang."

3. Of the "Donga Yerakalas", 411 adult males are known to the police as either convicts or suspected criminals and full details supported by finger-prints and proofs of convictions, etc., have been obtained about them. They wander over the districts of Nellore, Kurnool, Guntur, Kistna, Godavari and Hyderabad, and are divided into seven main divisions known as Criminal Investigation Department Gangs Nos. IV, V, VI, VIII,

IX, X and XIII. The total number of adult males comprising the whole tribe or gang of Donga Yerakalas in that part of the country would probably amount roughly to 800 or 1,000 if they were all found and identified. The majority of these would be of criminal habits and also would be potential criminals without sufficient honest means of livelihood. Of the 411 males who have been finger-printed by the police, 172 have been convicted of non-bailable offences. They have none of them any nominal or actual place of residence and numbers of them are constantly in hiding. At present 18 are out of view and 96 in different jails. The gangs wander about in small parties professing to live by basket making, selling "Kariapauk" leaves (collected in the jungles and used in cooking), begging and carrying salt and grain. None of these professions are anything more than a pretence and the gang all really subsist on the proceeds of crime.

4. There is no question about the homogeneity of the Donga Yerakalas. They are admittedly true Yerakalas belonging to the four Yerakala clans or gotras known as Satupati, Menapati, Kaveti and Mendragutti (vide page 2 of Paupa Rao's History of the

Koravas and Thurston's Castes and Tribes of Southern India, volume III, page 451). Apart from their ethnography, the Donga Yerakalas can be proved to be an homogeneous tribe or gang by means of criminal convictions showing association in crime of members of the different parties known as the Criminal Investigation Department Gang mentioned above, by blood relationship and by the fact that the different parties all commit crime over much the same tract of country.

A statement * "A" is attached showing the joint convictions of the members of the different Criminal Investigation Department Gangs.

The relationship between members of the different gangs have not been thoroughly worked out, but the different relationships are freely admitted by the members themselves and it may be taken as proved that there is blood or marriage relationship between the members of Gangs Nos. IV, VI, VIII and IX. The members of Gangs Nos. V, X and XIII are also known to be related to each other and members of each of these two main groups have been proved by convictions to have been jointly associated in crime. They are also in all probability connected by blood or marriage.

The different divisions of the tribe (Criminal Investigation Department Gangs Nos. IV, V, VI, VIII, IX, X and XIII) are at the present moment wandering about in the following districts:—

Nos. V and X in Nellore and Bellary.

No. IV in Godavari.

Nos. VI, VIII and IX in Guntur.

No. XIII in Kurnool.

To take a few instances of joint association:—

(a) No. 27 of Gang No. VI, No. 39 of Gang No. VIII and No. 44 of Gang No. IX were jointly convicted of housebreaking in Nellore in 1896. No. 27 is now in Guntur and No. 44 is under remand in Guntur. The same three men were jointly convicted in Nellore in 1898.

(b) Nos. 4 and 7 of Gang No. IV were jointly convicted with Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 30, 31, 33, 38 and 39 of Gang No. VI under sections 400 and 402 in Guntur Sessions in 1909.

(c) Nos. 1, 6, 9 and 18 of Gang No. IV were jointly bound over under the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code with Nos. 5, 9, 13, 37, 41, 43 and 44 of Gang No. VI in Kistna in 1912.

5. For purposes of the notification of the tribe as criminal under section 3 of the

Criminal Tribes Act, it is only necessary to prove that it is addicted to the systematic

commission of non-bailable offences. The proof offered of this is a statement "B" showing the number of individuals criminally convicted or bound over under the security sections. All these convictions are subsequent to 1892 and the majority are subsequent to 1897. Convictions before the year 1895 are difficult to trace, as the finger-print system was not introduced till that year. Only those convictions are shown in the statement which are fully supported by satisfactory proof and the identity of each individual has been satisfactorily established by means of finger-prints.

It will be seen from the statement that out of the 411 male members known to the police, 172 have been criminally convicted of non-bailable offences, but of the remaining 239, 115 have been bound over under the security sections, leaving only 124 males who have not been in jail. None of the members bound over have ever been able to find security for good behaviour.

Many of the individuals who have been criminally convicted have also been bound over under the security sections and the total number of men bound over is 210 or more than half the tribe.

* Not printed.

6. The women and children are not active criminals. They wander about with a few cattle and portable huts accompanied by such of the men as are not marauding. They procure information for the men and conceal stolen property when obliged to, but they are not systematic criminals and do not teach their children to steal. This fact tends to show that the people of this race have been driven into crime by stress of circumstances and the changed conditions of life in comparatively recent years, and there is still a fair chance of their reformation. The conditions of life are, however, rapidly growing harder and the character of the women is deteriorating. This is shown by the fact that in 1910, thirty-seven women of Gang No. IX were bound over under the security sections in Guntur by the Head Assistant Magistrate, and if some special effort is not made to reclaim the tribe, the women must soon develop into active criminals like the women of the Kepmaris, the Donga Dasaris and similar tribes who have been criminal for a longer period than the Yerakalas.

So far none of the women or children have any criminal convictions at all and no children have been sent to reformatories.

7. For the purpose of the restriction of the tribe in its movements to a specific area Criminality of tribe justifying restriction of movements under the Criminal Tribes Act under section 11 (1) (a) it is necessary to prove—

(1) The nature and circumstances of the offences in which the members of the tribe are believed to have been concerned and the reasons for such belief.

(2) Whether the tribe follows any lawful occupation and whether such occupation is their real occupation or a pretence for facilitating the commission of crime.

With reference to (1) a statement "C" * is appended showing the number of convictions of members of the tribe in serious cases since 1897. This statement shows that in comparison with other criminal tribes such as the Donga Dasaris, this tribe is guilty of comparatively little ordinary theft. The men are not pick-pockets and do not frequent fairs and festivals, towns or railway stations like most of the regular criminal gangs. They are more addicted to crimes accompanied by open violence such as dacoity and robbery which require little skill or training, though some members of this tribe are expert burglars. They have a very bad reputation for highway robbery and dacoity and the high roads are notoriously unsafe in the vicinity of their encampments wherever they may be wandering. In Nellore the high roads are at the present moment so unsafe in parts of the districts that the District Magistrate is issuing special licenses for arms to travellers for their protection. The crimes committed by this tribe are usually accompanied by an unnecessary show, or use, of violence and are of so serious a nature that special repressive measures are obviously needed.

A strong justification of the restriction of their movements is to be proved in the fact that no fewer than 17 of them have been found guilty under sections 400 and 402 "being a gang of dacoits" and 21 are now under trial under the same sections in Guntur.

The following facts further show the desperate nature of the tribe. They are unfortunately not supported by legal proof, but there is little doubt about them. In 1909, a village talaiyari in Chillamakur in Guntur who regularly gave the police information about the criminal members of the tribe was murdered. In 1909-10 another police informer named Veeramanigadu of Kondaprole of Guntur district was brutally murdered. He had given regular information concerning the Yerakalas. In both these cases, the suspicions that the Yerakalas had committed the murders were recorded in the case diaries of the investigating officer.

In 1910 Bandala Seetharamayya of Nandigadda in Guntur district gave evidence in court against Bande Guruvadu (the nominal and actual head of Gang No. IX) in a security case. His house was set on fire very shortly afterwards and case registered as one of arson.

On December 21, 1912, one Bramhayya, village magistrate of Yendroy of Guntur district gave evidence against Bande Guruvadu and 21 members of Gang No. IX now under trial under sections 400-401, Indian Penal Code. A week or ten days later he was murdered and it is supposed that the gang committed the murder. The members of Gangs Nos. VI and IX are further known to commit rape on females in the course of their dacoity. This practice is common among a few of the very worst criminal gangs only, and is used to prevent persons from giving information of the dacoity.

For this and other reasons, a very large number of dacoities are never reported to the police. In many parts of the East Coast and Ceded districts, probably not one in ten or fifteen is reported. This is partly due to fear and partly to the fact that in some places dacoity is looked upon as an ordinary and familiar risk of travel and the injured persons either do not see the advantage of laying a complaint or do not desire the delay and inconvenience to themselves caused by laying one. The same remarks apply to highway robbery.

* Not printed.

8. With reference to (2) the tribe in general has practically no honest means of subsistence. To take the division or Criminal Investigation Department gangs in detail—

(1) *Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. IV* had when the census was taken two years ago 51 donkeys and 6 monkeys. The donkeys were used for the purpose of carrying portable huts of the gang and the monkeys as performing animals to assist in begging. The members of this gang describe themselves as being of the divisions of the tribe known as "Bidari" Yerakalas or "Carriers". They were probably at one time or other in possession of pack bullocks. The gang numbers 53 males.

(2) *Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. VI* had 17 donkeys. They are "Bidari" Yerakalas related to Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. IV. The gang numbers 48 males.

(3) *Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. VIII* had 633 cattle and 192 donkeys divided amongst 51 members. They are "Bidari" Yerakalas related to Gangs Nos. IV and VI. Of these 51 persons, 23 have been bound over under the security sections (three of them twice over) and went to jail being unable to find security. This is clear proof that the cattle they owned were not sufficient for their support or honestly used. The gang are expert cattle-lifters and the cattle are kept as a cloak for this practice. They were probably most of them obtained by theft and are not used for "Bidari" purposes. Of the above 51 persons, seven have criminal convictions. Of the convicts, three have been also bound over. The gang numbers 86 males.

(4) *Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. IX* possessed four donkeys and ten pigs. They are "Bidari" Yerakalas related to Gangs Nos. IV, VI and VIII. The gang numbers 68 males.

(5) *Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. X* when the census was taken owned 14 acres of wet land in Vemulapad in Nellore district and 6 acres of dry land, 64 cattle, 160 goats, 12 buffaloes, 2 pigs and 77 donkeys. They are "Bidari" Yerakalas but do not do any "Bidari" work. The gang numbers 61 males. With the exception of the donkeys the whole of the lands and cattle are owned by 20 men, of whom 11 have been criminally convicted. The convictions comprise three of dacoity (one man twice convicted of this offence), three of robbery and five of theft. Of the same 20, seven have been bound over under the security sections and failed to find security. The land has been acquired out of the proceeds of the stolen property sold to local receivers and is held on joint pattas by different men. It is held solely for the purpose of apparent respectability and the land and cattle together would not support ten persons. There are only two temporary huts on the land and the gang lives a nomadic life like the rest of the tribe.

A statement "D" * is attached showing the land on which certain members of the gang nominally subsist and this statement explains itself. This gang is related to Gangs Nos. V and XIII.

(6) *Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. V* owned 8½ acres of wet land in Kovvur taluk in Nellore about 20 miles from Vemulapad (Gang No. X), 4 cows, 116 goats and 84 donkeys. The gang numbers 48 males, of whom nineteen have been criminally convicted of dacoity, robbery, housebreaking and theft and fourteen bound over under the security sections. There is only one temporary hut on the land and the whole of the land and cattle except the donkeys are owned by seven persons. These seven are the leaders of the gang and do not wander; three of them have been criminally convicted, two of robbery and one of housebreaking. The remainder of the gang is nomadic and has no means of subsistence. The same remarks apply to the purpose of the ownership of the land as those made in the case of Gang No. X and a statement "E" * is appended showing the details of ownership. The gang is related to Criminal Investigation Department Gangs Nos. X and XIII.

(7) *Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. XIII* owned 47 cattle, 68 goats and 6 acres of dry land in Kurnool. The gang numbers 47 males, of whom 16 have criminal convictions and 26 have been bound over under the security sections. The cattle and goats are owned by 8 persons, of whom 3 have been criminally convicted and one bound over under the security sections. The gang is entirely nomadic and is related to Gangs Nos. V and X.

9. Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. IV has never had any nominal home. It wanders through Gōdāvari, Kistna and Ganjām districts.

Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. V has a nominal home in Nellore (Kovvur) with a little land.

Criminal Investigation Department No. VI usually lives in Guntūr district (Ongole), but has no land.

Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. VIII usually lives in Guntūr district (Bapatla), but has no land.

* Not printed.

Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. IX usually lives in Guntūr district (Vinukonda), but has no land.

Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. X has a nominal home with a little land in Nellore (Vemulapad).

Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. XIII usually lives in Kurnool (Kurnool taluk), but has no land.

The Salvation Army is establishing a settlement at Sitanagaram near Bezwada. Some 25 Yerakalas including some of Bande Guruvadu's relatives have already been induced to settle there, and as the settlement is an agricultural one it would be a suitable place for the settlement of Gangs Nos. IV, VI, VIII and IX, all of which usually move about in its immediate neighbourhood. In dealing with the Yerakalas, a tribe that has only developed bad criminal habits comparatively recently, it is advisable to avoid every drastic removals and advantage should be taken, as far as possible, of any small existing settlement where the tribe owns land. Gangs Nos. V and X both own land not far from Kavali in Nellore where an American Mission has already made efforts to settle some Yerakalas, with some prospects of success and a settlement might be formed there with advantage. A portion of Gang No. V is already at the mica mines at Kalichedu where there is a really promising settlement of Donga Dasaris on the mica mines owned by a German firm, the Manager of which takes a strong personal interest in their reclamation. This gentleman is not averse to the Yerakalas being removed to another settlement and they might be removed to Kavali.

The above proposals would give the Salvation Army settlement at Sitanagaram 255 known registered Yerakala males with a probability of about 500 additional males in the future and would give the Kavali settlement 109 known registered males with a probability of about 200 in the future.

Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. XIII lives at a long distance from either of the places and there is a small branch of the tribe in Bellary where there is already a small Government settlement of Yerakalas (at Rudrapad). It is proposed to hand this settlement over to the Salvation Army if they will work it and extend it. It would be a suitable place to which to restrict the movements of this gang.

(2) ✓

Note on the Korachas by Mr. H. R. G. Hasted, District Superintendent of Police, Chittoor district.

Name of tribe.—The Korachas are a portion of the great Korava tribe and are the connecting link between the Tamil Koravas of the south and the Yerakala of the northern districts. "Koracha" is the name given to them by the people of North Arcot, Chittoor, Cuddapah, Anantapur and Bellary districts and is recognized as their name in Thurston's Castes and Tribes of Southern India (volume III, page 442). There are considerable numbers of Korachas in the districts mentioned of various habits and degree of criminality. The portion of the tribe dealt with in the report are commonly known as the "Nabobpet Korachas." This does not mean that their only or even chief habitat is the village of Nabobpet but that the name having once been given to them years ago has remained up till now. The gang lives in the villages of Nabobpet, Thupalli, Mudiamvadipalli, Chinayanapalli, Mandemvaripalli, Thupalli (near Kalakada) and Chadavivandlapalli of Vayalpad taluk, Chittoor district. These Korachas are only a very small portion of the entire tribe and have numerous relations and connections in the above-mentioned districts. The gang has never confined itself to specified villages or even taluks but has from time to time shifted its places of residence.

2. *Description of tribe.*—The Nabobpet gang is a portion of this great robber confederacy. The attention of the Madras Government was drawn to it so long ago as 1859 by the then General Superintendent of Thuggy and Dacoity Department (C. Harvey) in his letter No. 406, dated 26th September 1859. He wrote that "Dacoity" or "Gang robbery" as it was then generally known which was very extensively prevalent, was perpetrated very largely by this class of criminals whom he described in these words: "These robbers have existed as such for several generations, their ostensible means of livelihood, basket and mat-making, their secret and sole means of subsistence, gang robbery perpetrated by several united Kotas when bent on possessing themselves of a booty already marked down and not otherwise readily to be obtained; or burglary in separate robber Kotas each under its own distinct and peculiar leader,—the former crime the more enterprising and dangerous as subjecting the criminals to a more active pursuit if pursued at all, but the latter, because requiring greater skill and address in its accomplishment, not the less daring and certainly, as attended with greater secrecy and with less serious results in the eye of the law, the more difficult of detection, the danger of its gaining head being in the words of the Government of Bombay, in proportion to the difficulty of detection, thus presenting the common perpetrators of both, as essentially dacoits of a very formidable organization." In trying to account for their remarkable success and the almost complete immunity they enjoyed, the following explanation was offered: "The village

"or any local police are not able to cope with professional robbers when secretly coming from a distant place determined on committing crime. They do not oppose the offenders while in the act. They begin to look about for them only when they have fled. The jungles and the waste lands are kept to by the robbers in their flight, while the police, if they venture at all during that night, will only do so as far as the neighbouring village. By morning the depredators are far beyond reach. An encampment of men notorious as robbers may be located near a village unmolested by the police because they seem to follow some legal pursuit and the villagers will not betray them for fear of nocturnal retaliation. It was admitted that this state of things called for some remedy not to be found in the ordinary courts of justice." These remarks after the lapse of half a century have gained rather than lost in the force.

The Korachas are a semi-wandering tribe having no lands and one village suited them for a residence as well as any other. In the old days the chief employment of this gang was carrying salt from the coast in the south of Nellore district as far west as Anantapur and Mysore, and as far south as Chingleput. They also carried grains of all sorts. The means of transport were bulls and donkeys. Even at that time there was no doubt that they were not free from criminal propensities. Their trade afforded them facilities for crime as it made them familiar with the country and the people. It was during this period that they had some ostensible and honest trade or calling, but the great famine of 1876 was the turning point of the gang. Many of their cattle died and the severity of the famine forced them into crime with which in their wandering they had become familiar. The advent of railways and roads soon after this ruined their carrying trade completely and from that time the gang has become entirely criminal and subsisting by crime alone. They have ostensible means of livelihood such as basket and mat making or the collection and sale of Karapaku leaves, but these are only adopted to avoid getting into trouble for begging and also form a convenient cloak for visiting villages and collecting information useful in the commission of crime. The males seldom visit the villages but remain hidden in the neighbourhood and are absent for days or weeks at a time on criminal excursions. Thus the gang in course of time became one of a series of inter-related gangs—inter-related in marital connections and criminal affairs with each other and with no others—now extending from the coast through Chittoor and Anantapur districts into the Mysore State near Kolar.

In this district Chittoor they are scattered in many villages, but the bulk of them are in the Vayalpad and Madanapalle taluks. For the present 77 adult males of the Vayalpad lot have been traced and finger-printed. Their antecedents and other particulars have been ascertained as a basis for this report. There are about 100 more belonging to this district and steps are being taken to trace them also.

3. *Range of operation.*—Judging from their record of convictions and other ascertained particulars, the operations of this gang extend to Nellore, Chittoor, North Arcot, Cuddapah and Anantapur districts and Mysore Province. This gang is addicted to the commission of every class of crime against property, from dacoity down to petty thefts. Their criminality is much more formidable than is indicated by the judicial convictions traced to them, for in only a fraction of cases committed by them is their guilt established. This is evident from the judgment in the gang case referred to below.

The record of convictions, however, is by no means insignificant. Of the 77 members so far traced 38 were criminally convicted. The total number of criminal convictions standing to their credit is 76, which includes 16 dacoities. Twenty-three of the members were convicted under the security sections (109 and 110, Criminal Procedure Code) and the total number of these convictions is 35. Eight members out of the 23 have convictions under the security sections only. Many of them were convicted several times over:—

Four members have criminal convictions	..	..	..	..	..	4 times.
Seven do.	do.	..	..	..	..	3 "
Eight do.	do.	..	..	..	..	Twice.

If security convictions are also taken into account, the number is as follows:—

One member has 7 convictions.	Four members have 4 convictions.
One " 6 "	Seven " 3 "
Four members have 5 convictions.	Nine " 2 "

These figures may appear to be small at first, but it must be remembered that the men are practically never in their houses but wander for the commission of crimes all over the above-mentioned districts. Many crimes committed in small outlying villages are never reported and the criminals cannot be identified by the witnesses in most cases. Even if the victims could identify, it is impossible to procure the gang members as they are always in hiding and are only caught by raids and strategem.

4. *Women and children.*—The women do not actually commit crime. They are usually to be found in the villages but absent themselves for short periods ostensibly to collect Karapaku leaves for sale in the neighbouring villages. They collect information from the men to assist them in committing crimes and are usually "go-between" of the males of the gang and the receivers. They act as sentinels and warn the males of the approach of the

police, and the railway stations near the halting places of the gang are regularly watched by them. Only one woman of the gang has been convicted under section 411, Indian Penal Code. No children have been convicted, but they are taken out by the males and shown how to commit crimes at the age of 14. None of the women can read or write and the children are never taught. Some of the women are sent into villages as prostitutes for the purpose of obtaining the information about committing a certain crime, but that is only in specific cases and they cannot be called regular prostitutes.

5. *Criminality justifying restraint.*—The gang first came to notice in 1859 when Captain Harvey, General Superintendent, Thuggy and Dacoity Department, reported that the members of this gang and their relations had been committing offences for several generations past and the usual laws were not sufficient to cope with them and special measures should be adopted. The first real attempt after that was the case under sections 400 and 401, Indian Penal Code, instituted against 39 members of the gang in 1907 although in the interval cases had been traced to the gang, and the various members convicted. The case was thrown out by the Sessions Court on technical grounds and an appeal made by Government to the High Court when the Sessions judgment was upheld. The trial was a celebrated one and Government ordered a special Magistrate to hold the preliminary enquiry. It will be seen that the case was originally put up under sections 400 and 401 and the Sessions Judge refused to try them together and it devolved into a trial under section 400, Indian Penal Code, which is shortly "being associated for the purpose of committing dacoity habitually." It was on account of this that evidence regarding the commission of other offences was not taken into consideration. The judgment of the Sessions Court is, however, very clear upon the criminality of the gang as may be seen from the following extract quoted from page 28:—

"There is abundance of evidence to establish that the Korachas are a class of habitual criminals, but there is no proof of a combination having for its object the commission of dacoities. There are no special reasons to discredit the approvers' story that most of the dacoities had been committed by the Korachas with or without other criminal classes.

"The gangs engaged in several expeditions referred to in paragraph 20 may perhaps be successfully prosecuted separately under section 400, Indian Penal Code, but the evidence is not sufficient to prove either continuity in the operations or any necessary connection between one series of dacoities and another so as to justify the inference of a common gang composed of all the accused, such as contemplated by section 401, Indian Penal Code."

Paragraphs 45 to 49 of the judgment show that the judge was pointing out to the jury that there were two gangs and not one but the criminality of both the gangs was not denied.

The High Court judgment supports the Sessions judgment in regard to the general criminality of the gang—vide the last paragraph of the judgment of Justice Pinhay.

"It proves only that Korachas as a class are addicted to crimes against property and that periodically, more especially in seasons of scarcity, gangs that would probably be punishable under section 400, Indian Penal Code, were formed which settled on expeditions of longer or shorter duration and then dispersed. As pointed out by the Sessions Judge, each such gang must separately be dealt with if it is intended to apply section 400, Indian Penal Code."

In addition to the convictions urged against the members in this case, I attach tabulated * lists A to E showing the dacoities, housebreakings and thefts committed by the entire gang (the members so far traced) during the past fifteen years. They were all proved in Court in course of the trial by the evidence of approvers and also victims and the Sessions Judge saw no reason to doubt them (vide extract already quoted).

These Korachas are dangerous and desperate criminals as may be seen from the following instances, most of which were proved in the above case:—

(1) When committing a dacoity in Mysore in 1900 a portion of the gang first went to a police station close by and seized the guns which they used to commit a dacoity immediately afterwards.

(2) There were several instances in which they used guns in committing dacoity.

(3) A village magistrate and karnam arrested a warrantee member of the gang and other members of the gang including women rescued their companion and assaulted the village officers (several members were convicted for this.)

(4) When on their way to commit dacoity they were met by a head constable and constable on patrol who stopped and questioned them and they assaulted the police officers and drove them away.

(5) The evidence on record in the gang case contains many instances in which the gang has resorted to violence. On other occasions persons have been tortured in order to make them disclose the whereabouts of their valuables.

(6) In August last year a party of about 20 members of the gang who had made a depredatory excursion into Badvel taluk of Cuddapah district were surprised and pursued in the forest by the police of Sidhout assisted by a number of villagers. They turned on them and attacked them and two of the gang were shot in the scuffle that ensued (both of them were accused in the gang case).

(7) In January of this year a party of 16 members of the gang made an excursion through Rayachoti and Cuddapah committing no less than 12 distinct offences, in one of which property worth Rs. 1,000 was lost. Special parties of police were sent out who met the gang and tried to arrest them. They resisted, stoned, and beat the police and escaped with the exception of two.

Since the acquittal of the gang case and their release in the beginning of 1909 the majority of the gang members have been consistently out of view and during this period have systematically gone out for committing crime in this and the neighbouring districts. In Rajampet division (Cuddapah district), for instance, there were 15 cases between June and November 1912 of which two were traced of the gang and convictions obtained, and the remaining cases were undetected though there were good reasons to suspect the gang. Simultaneously, Sidhout, the neighbouring circle, was visited and 12 offences committed and the identity of the criminals was established by the above-mentioned affray in which two of the gang were shot (illustration 6 above) and again their latest excursion into Rayachoti and Cuddapah in which 12 offences were committed has also been noticed (illustration 7 above). In 1911 the camp establishment of the Chittoor Deputy Collector was dacoited by the gang in broad daylight on the Palmaner road, and a carbine from the reserve escort was also taken away. Some of the gang were caught later on and convicted. From this it is clear that the gang members are very desperate criminals. They do not hesitate to attack the police even though the latter are armed and the fear of the villagers regarding these men can be well imagined.

6.-*Application of the Criminal Tribes Act.*—Up to quite recently the entire number of active male members of the Nawabpet gang have never been visible in their villages. They have always kept out of sight in hills and jungles near the villages when not away at a distance actually committing crime. They were only seen and identified when actually caught in the commission of some crime or when the police had successfully "raided" some hiding place in the jungles, in which they had been concealed. After strenuous efforts by the Assistant Superintendent (Mr. Saunders) and a Criminal Investigation Department officer the entire gang were induced to appear and remain publicly in their villages. This was done by promises that police raiding would be stopped and that they would not be proceeded against under the security sections or otherwise harassed, provided they always remain quietly in their villages. It is very unlikely that this state of affairs will continue and it is absolutely necessary that the police should be given some legal means of preventing their again escaping all supervision by going into hiding as they did before. I therefore request that sections 3 to 10 of the Criminal Tribes Act should be brought into operation at once and that they should be compelled to report themselves at fixed intervals (daily) whether in or out of their village. If this is not done almost immediately, the gang will again undoubtedly disappear and it would then be practically impossible to collect them again.

Some of them have some means of subsistence in the village and some have none, but they *never leave their village* for the purposes of obtaining employment. I do not recommend the restrictions of their movements under sections 11 and 12 of the Act at present because it would be impossible to obtain the sanction of the Government of India in time to do any good, and we are not prepared with any definite scheme of settlement. Some settlement of the gang will undoubtedly be attempted as soon as possible, but the pressing need of the moment is some means of keeping them in view.

The Criminal Tribes Act has been in force since 1871 and the difficulties and cost have made it practically a dead letter. In 1911 a fresh Bill was passed also called the Criminal Tribes Act and in Part III of the *Fort St. George Gazette*, dated 2nd August 1910, under the heading "Statement of the Objects and Reasons" clearly stated what was the object of the new Bill. It says "the application of the Act is thus greatly restricted and the majority of these tribes are left free to wander and commit crimes without any adequate check on their movements and depredations. Useful control can be exercised without restricting unduly the movements of the members of these tribes and without, therefore, the need for providing means of livelihood, which is properly made a condition of settlement. The object of this Bill is to enlarge the power of control by enabling Local Governments to proclaim criminal tribes and provide for the registration of their members without reference to the possibility of settlement or of the means of living."

There are ample materials for the application of the first part, sections 3 to 10 of the Criminal Tribes Act for the reasons given below. The present system of dealing with such a criminal community is inadequate. Adequate supervision by the police is impossible in the case of these men who are never in their villages but always in hiding. When officers of

the rank of Deputy Superintendent and over visit the gangs they find no one in them except the women. Since the male members were always absent and villagers were complaining of numerous crimes being committed by them the police tried raiding the gang in its hiding places. In 1910 and 1911 the police of Vayalpad made four big raids and several minor ones, but all were failures as the members heard of them beforehand. There were also numerous raids between October 1911 and July 1912 and all failed. In these raids only three Korachas were captured. These frequent raids could not be productive of good results as if continued it would mean that the gang would leave the place where they were known and scatter in the neighbouring districts where they were not well known, and it would take years to trace them again. Raiding could never be successful on account of the locality. All the villages inhabited by the gang are surrounded by stony hills and scrub jungle which usually extend for many miles. Also to get to their villages the police have to come from long distances and must pass through the villages where the receivers and patrons and harbourers of the gang would at once send word to the members. As regards raids the Inspector-General of Police, United Provinces, wrote the following in his administration report for the year 1909: "Experience shows that the very worst course is to attempt arrests without a sure prospect of success for if the attempt fails the men are sure to abscond and break out in dacoity."

The chief reason for the raiding was to put the security sections into force, but this was not very successful. Three Korachas caught in the above raids were put up under these sections, but were acquitted. Formerly it was fairly easy to obtain convictions against known criminal gangs under the security sections and the members got long terms of imprisonment, but now it is frequently very difficult to get a conviction under these heads. In 1911 the above three Korachas were all let off. In 1912, thirteen of them were put up and 3 let off entirely and 3 released on security and 7 sent to jail. Ten members were charged with specific crimes, but all were acquitted. The difficulty of getting satisfactory evidence against them is enormous on account of the fear of retaliation by the other members of the gang. The members can always produce sureties up to Rs. 200 or even more as their patrons will come forward and the only stipulation in practice with regard to sureties is solvency. At present jail is the only place for the most hardened of the gang and when released they will at once go out of view again and the difficulty of arresting them and also obtaining a conviction is again experienced. Although the authorities know that the men are out of view and that they are probably responsible for a number of undetected offences yet nothing can be done against them when re-arrested merely from the fact of their having been out of view. The security sections, although admirable for other classes of criminals, are not sufficient to control such desperate men as the members of this gang.

There is little doubt that if the first part of the Criminal Tribes Act (sections 3 to 10) were brought into force at once there will be a limited restriction on their movements and the younger members will be weaned from a life of crime. As they gradually get used to earning their living in an honest manner in their own or their neighbouring villages, the desire for a wandering life of crime will lessen. This is nearly bound to be so as the women do not like the constant danger of their men and are even anxious to get education for their children. Now under section 10 of the Act the members will be brought under compulsory surveillance more effectively than under section 565, Criminal Procedure Code, owing to the more stringent restriction imposed and the comparative severity of the punishment for failure. The next important point is that members found under suspicious circumstances would be prosecuted under section 24 of the Act and could be given a deterrent punishment of three years' jail without the option of security unlike 109, Criminal Procedure Code. A few prosecutions of this sort and the Act clearly explained to the gang by sympathetic officers would show them clearly that their best mode of living would be to live openly and honestly. It should be a recognised principle with these men that those who can work and won't work but live by crime will not be tolerated any longer by the authorities. For such members section 23 of the Act will provide the suitable punishment which was the object of section 75, Indian Penal Code, but which is rarely secured under that section owing to the progressive scale of punishment. When the gang members find that as long as they are present and earn their living honestly nothing happens to them, there is no doubt that all of them will gradually come in and settle down. The women will see to this on account of the benefits to themselves and to their children.

There is no reason to suppose that the application of these rules will entail any hardship upon the gang members. Their movements will not be restricted to any particular area but provided they report themselves they are free to go to any place they like for work. Once the villagers find that the gang is not always worried by the police and absconding they will give them work freely. There is plenty of cooly work of all sorts in the district and the gang will have no difficulty in that respect. Once the gang has been brought under control there is every reason to hope that private enterprise such as the Salvation Army or missionaries will undertake systematic reformation of the gang.

Unless the hands of the authorities are strengthened in such a manner as to keep all the gang members present it is very doubtful that when settlements are started if there will be any inducement for the gang to join such settlements or remain there when once they have joined. The incorrigible criminals will be gradually weeded out by the Act and the other members reformed.

From the above it will be seen that the ordinary course of law has not been successful in restraining the gang although it has been known since 1850 or even before. The gang case given above has failed and a further attempt is impossible as may be seen from the extract from a letter written by Mr. S. P. Rice suggesting an appeal in which he states "the case is of great importance; there were 39 accused and 173 witnesses. It was worked up with the utmost care and no piece of evidence relevant to the issues was omitted. If, in spite of all this, the judge and jury are right, it is practically certain that the section might as well be expunged from the statute for short of a superhuman knowledge of the movements, habits, customs, intentions and doings of the accused it is almost impossible to conceive a stronger case." The High Court having upheld this judgment further action under this section is impossible. Raids and the security sections have failed and there appears good ground for believing that the application of the first part of the Criminal Tribes Act will restrict their movements sufficiently to cause them to live permanently in their villages. Once they are got together and kept together the matter of settlement may be considered, but it is of the most vital and immediate importance to keep the gang which has been induced to come in by the strenuous personal exertions of the Assistant Superintendent Mr. Saunders and Criminal Investigation Department Inspector Gopalaswami Ayyangar from again going into hiding and preying upon the villagers in this and other neighbouring districts. I would finally again invite attention to the Statement of Objects and Reasons for the new Act published in *Fort St. George Gazette*, Part III, dated 2nd August 1910, which clearly shows that the Government of India are strongly in favour of the course now advocated by me.

(3)

Memorandum on the Donga Dasari tribe by Mr. P. B. Thomas, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Railways and Criminal Investigation Department.

Name of the tribe.—The people whose proclamation as a criminal tribe is asked for in this instance are commonly known as "Donga Dasaris". The word "Donga" is the Telugu word for "thief". The word "Dasari" roughly speaking indicates a "religious mendicant".

The Dasaris proper or religious mendicants are people of many classes and are to be found all over the Presidency. They are not, as a rule, criminal. The "Donga Dasaris" now under notice are commonly known to the people of Kurnool, Guntūr, Nellore, Kistna and Gōdāvari districts and the adjoining parts of Hyderabad as a distinct family or tribe not to be confounded with other Dasaris.

In Thurston's *Ethnographic notes in Southern India* (page 402) it is stated that outsiders are regularly initiated as "Donga Dasaris"; but the tribe, or the portion of it, which forms the subject of this report, are practically all of one caste (Waddars) and are not of mixed race. In Thurston's "Castes and Tribes of Southern India (volume 2)" there is a brief description of Donga Dasaris apparently compiled from a very cursory study of a small outlying branch of a tribe similar to the one under notice. In Mullaly's "Notes on the criminal classes of the Madras Presidency," pages 8 *et seq.*, there is a better description of this tribe, but their methods have considerably changed since it was written. Their ethnography is at any rate of much less importance than their association, for the purpose of committing crime, which can be proved beyond all doubt.

They are known to the people within the tract of country mentioned under many different local names, viz.:—

- "Kathiras" or "Scissor Thieves" in Nellore.
- "Donga Dasaris" in Kurnool and Guntūr.
- "Pachappas" or "Tattooers" in Gōdāvari and Kistna.
- "Pusalavaru" or "Bead-sellers" in Hyderabad.

They call themselves usually—

- "Peddeti Gollas" or "Shepherds" in Nellore.
- "Dasaris" in Kurnool.
- "Pachappas" in Gōdāvari and Kistna.
- "Pusalavaru" in Hyderabad.

The whole tribe may appropriately be described as "Donga Dasaris." Their most central habitation in the tract in which they are known is Motupalli, a village on the borders of Kurnool and Nellore, where there is a small settlement of them with which it can be proved that almost every known member of the tribe has a direct or indirect connection either by blood relationship, marriage or association for the commission of crime.

2. *Development of tribe.*—The community developed into a criminal tribe by degrees. Some of the Dasaris have themselves stated that the famine of 1877 first turned them into regular Dasaris and drove them to begging, and that before that they had lands and cattle enough for their support. The truth of this is doubtful and they were probably all originally "Golla Dasaris", but not criminal. From begging they went on to petty theft and pocket-picking until their reputation became very bad; and for the past 20 or 25 years they have been addicted to dacoity, robbery and house-breaking. They adopt disguises of all kinds and are now expert and dangerous criminals.

Their gradual development as criminals from 1877 to 1895 cannot be satisfactorily traced by means of criminal convictions, a large number of which are not now capable of proof, but since the introduction of the finger-print system all convictions can be properly proved and their criminal development since 1895 can be accurately followed. The figures furnished below show a steadily increasing tale of serious crime.

3. *Number and distribution of the tribe.*—It is impossible to say what the tribe originally numbered. The total number of adult males at present known to the Police as regularly frequenting the Madras Presidency is 261, of whom all but 21 have been criminally convicted.

These 261 men have all been finger-printed by the Criminal Investigation Department and there is no doubt as to their exact identity. Many more are known to the Madras Police by repute and many others (a number of whom are in different jails in Hyderabad) are known to the Hyderabad Police. The total number of adult males including those in Hyderabad who are connected with the gangs in Madras and those not yet traced in Madras is probably between four and five hundred.

The tribe has shown a tendency to split up into three main divisions:—

(1) The first division, known locally as "Kathiras" or "Scissor Thieves", has for several years been wandering about the Nellore district in gangs.

This division is at present at the Kalichedu mica mines and numbers 92 adult males, 80 women and 105 children. Thirteen of the males of this division are in jail and one is out of view.

(2) The second division has a regular head-quarters at Motupalli, where they are locally known as "Donga Dasaris." They have recently practically abandoned the village and 22 of the males with six females are at present with the "Kathiras" at Kalichedu. Twenty-eight of the males are out of view, 27 are in jail and two are living with the third division.

(3) The third division, locally known as "Pachappas", has no nominal or actual head-quarters and is usually split up into small gangs which wander about, principally in the Gōdāvari and Kistna districts. They are at present divided into about a dozen parties and 37 males are in the Gōdāvari and Kistna districts. Eleven are out of view and 28 are in jail.

In the record of the tribe compiled by, and maintained in, the Criminal Investigation Department these three divisions are known as C.I.D. Gang No. I (Nellore Kathiras), C.I.D., Gang No. II (Donga Dasaris) and C.I.D. Gang No. III (Pachappas) and their classification is followed below in respect of the serial numbers of the individuals.

4. *Homogeneity of the tribe.*—The period at which the tribe split up into these divisions is uncertain and the divisions are not rigidly separate, but vary continually in numbers as members move from one division to another. There is no doubt whatever as to their homogeneity of which the following proofs are offered:—

(1) The crime charts of these gangs show clearly that all three gangs operate over practically same country.

(2) A statement "A" * (appended) showing the cases in which the members of each of the three gangs have been jointly convicted.

(3) A statement "B" * (appended) showing some of the relationships between members of the three gangs.

Attention is invited to the following special instances:—

(1) No. 6 of Gang No. I was convicted jointly with Nos. 21, 35, 59, 69 and 91 of Gang No. II and No. 72 of Gang No. III at Darsi in 1902. Darsi is not far from Motupalli.

No. 6 of Gang No. I is at the present moment at Kalichedu, No. 72 is in Kistna, Nos. 21 and 35 are in Kalichedu, No. 59 is in the Andamans for participation in the murder of a Police Inspector at Bezvada with others of Gang No. II, No. 62 is out of view and No. 91 was recently convicted in the Kurnool Sessions and escaped from custody. This is a fair specimen of the habits of these gangs.

(2) No. 43 of Gang No. I was jointly convicted with No. 18 of Gang No. II and No. 68 of Gang No. III at Atmakur in Nellore in 1904. No. 43 is at the present moment at Kalichedu and No. 18 is in Gōdāvari.

There are not very many instances like this of joint convictions of members of all the three gangs, though many could probably be adduced if correct old records were available. There are, however, quantities of cases in which members of Gangs Nos. I and

II and members of Gangs Nos. II and III have been jointly convicted. These instances sufficiently prove the connection between Gangs Nos. I and III, through the central settlement of Donga Dasaris at Motupalli (Gang No. II).

(3) No. 8 of Gang No. I and Nos. 3, 45, 91, 101 of Gang No. II were jointly convicted in Gudur in 1905. Gudur is in the south of the Nellore district and over 100 miles from Motupalli. These people do not use the railways at all.

At the present moment No. 8 is under remand, No. 3 is in jail, Nos. 45 and 91 are out of view and No. 101 is at Kalichedu in Nellore.

(4) Nos. 10, 59, 60 and 94 of Gang No. II were jointly convicted with No. 40 of Gang No. III in Ellore in 1907. Ellore is over 100 miles from Motupalli. Nos. 10, 94 and 40 are at present out of view and Nos. 59 and 60 are in the Andamans.

(5) No. 59 of Gang No. II and Nos. 70 and 75 of Gang No. III were jointly convicted in 1898 at Tekkali in Ganjam, hundreds of miles from Motupalli. No. 59 is now in the Andamans for murder, No. 70 is in Godavari and No. 75 is in jail.

(6) Nos. 49 and 54 of Gang No. II and No. 7 of Gang No. III were jointly convicted in 1897 at Tirupati in North Arcot, 200 or 300 miles away from Motupalli. Nos. 49 and 54 are at present out of view and No. 7 is in Godavari.

(7) No. 101 of Gang No. II has three brothers in Gang No. I, Nos. 3, 16 and 92.

(8) No. 5 of Gang No. II, a Motupalli Dasari now living at Kalichedu with Gang No. I (Nellore Kathiras), is the paternal uncle of Nos. 12, 32, 36, and 38, Godavari Pachappas, of whom Nos. 12 and 32 are at present in Godavari, No. 36 in Kistna and No. 38 out of view. This is a very good instance of homogeneity.

5. *Criminality of the tribe justifying application of section 3 of the Criminal Tribes Act.*—For the purposes of the notification of this tribe as criminal under section 3 of the Act, it is only necessary to prove that it is “addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences,” and this fact can be established beyond all doubt. Two statements “C” * and “D” * are appended which show the number of convictions of members of the tribe under the separate heads of dacoity, robbery and theft for the years 1895 to 1912 inclusive, and the number of convictions of each separate individual.

These figures deal only with the 261 adult male members of the tribe, of whom the Criminal Investigation Department has an accurate knowledge supported by proof of identity in the form of finger-prints and with their properly-proved convictions since 1895 only.

The figures speak for themselves and it will be observed that, of the 261 members, only 21 have escaped conviction. These are mostly boys under 20. The remaining 240 convicts are responsible for 553 criminal convictions in 18 years, and it must be remembered that a wandering tribe of this nature commits an enormous amount of crime which is either not reported to the Police or not detected.

Statement “D” * gives, in addition to criminal convictions, the number of cases in which members of the tribe have been bound over under the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. One hundred and ninety-eight of the 261 males have been bound over several of them many times, and they have been called on to furnish security in 402 cases.

The fact that different local magistrates in different districts and at different times have found it necessary to make use of the security sections in connection with these particular people to such an unusual extent, affords a very strong justification of the application to them of the Criminal Tribes Act.

The individuals have never furnished security and disappear from view whenever possible. A criminal who has no local habitation and whose whereabouts are unknown is potentially far more dangerous than a known criminal with a fixed residence, and the Criminal Tribes Act provides the only effective and humane machinery for compelling such criminals to adopt a permanent residence or notify their movements.

6. *Women and children of the tribe.*—The women are as criminal as the men. The usual method the tribe follows in committing crime is for the women and children, accompanied by a few old men or youths, to travel about the country, in gangs, ostensibly begging and selling beads. The able-bodied men commit crime within a certain radius of the gang and only visit it to dispose of stolen property or to gather information concerning facilities for local crime which the women obtain for them. There are at present 268 women known to be attached to the 261 males and 27 of them have been criminally convicted. They are adepts in the art of spying and of concealing and disposing of stolen property.

The children are brought up as criminals. They are taught to pickpocket and commit petty crimes at fairs and festivals and are clever at poultry thefts, etc. They are hardened by frequent beatings administered by their parents and are proof against any attempt to induce them by threats to give any information.

The women of the tribe, though very immoral in their connections with members of the tribe, do not have any dealings with outsiders and have a superstition that any child born to them of a father who is not a member of the tribe will fail to develop the hereditary criminal cleverness.

* Not printed.

Many of the boys have been criminally convicted and confined in reformatories. Full details are not available, as the reformatory authorities will not permit the inmates to be finger-printed, but there have been many such cases, and there is no known instance in which boys released from the reformatory and provided with employment have not rejoined the tribe and reverted to criminal habits. There are many known instances in which they have so reverted to crime and some are given below:—

(1) No. 25 of Gang No. III was released from a reformatory in 1910. He rejoined the gang, being then 19 years old. He was convicted of theft in Masulipatam in 1911 (six months' rigorous imprisonment) and again in Rajahmundry in 1912 (one year's rigorous imprisonment).

(2) No. 17 of Gang No. II was sent to a reformatory in 1899. The date of his release is not known. He rejoined the gang and in 1909 he was bound over under the security sections in Nellore along with Nos. 16 and 18 of Gang No. II.

He was again convicted under section 411 by the Sessions Court, Guntur, in 1909. In 1911 he was again bound over for one year in Guntur along with No. 19 of Gang No. II.

(3) No. 53 of Gang No. III was sent to a reformatory in 1899. He was released in 1906. He rejoined the gang and is now under arrest for theft in Godavari.

(4) No. 52 of Gang No. III was released from a reformatory in 1905. He rejoined the gang and was bound over in Guntur under the security sections in 1906. He is now with the gang.

(5) No. 45 of Gang No. III was released from a reformatory on 2nd November 1910. He was bound over under the security sections in Rajahmundry in 1911 after rejoining the gang. He is now again with the gang.

It is submitted that a clear case has been made out for the declaration of the tribe as criminal under section 3 of the Act, the fact that it is “addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences” being proved beyond all doubt.

7. *Criminality of the tribe justifying restriction of movements under section 11 (1) (a) of the Criminal Tribes Act.*—For the purposes of the restriction of the tribe in its movements to a specific area under section 11 (1) (a), it is necessary to prove—

(1) the nature and circumstances of the offences in which the members of the tribe are believed to have been concerned and the reasons for such belief;

(2) whether the tribe follows any lawful occupation and whether such occupation is their real occupation or a pretence for facilitating the commission of crime.

The nature and circumstances of the offences in which the members of the tribe have been concerned have been sufficiently described in the details of the proved convictions against them given above, and it is unnecessary to add much to them. The offences are of the most serious nature and extend over a large tract of country. Members of the tribe have been convicted in the District and Sessions Courts of the Kurnool, Guntur, Nellore, Kistna and Godavari districts and in between 50 and 100 other courts in those districts and the districts of Cuddapah, Vizagapatam and North Arcot, not to mention the courts in Hyderabad. It is notorious that the high roads are unsafe and that housebreakings and thefts of all kinds are rife within a certain radius of any encampment of the tribe. In addition to the lists of convictions in statements “C” * and “D” * the tribe has several convictions for escape from lawful custody and two for assaulting public servants. Four members including two women have been convicted under section 401, Indian Penal Code, and three for the murder of Police Inspector Jugga Rao of Bezvada. He was murdered in broad daylight by a considerable party of the gang who had just been suspected of housebreaking and whom he was pursuing with several villagers.

8. *Want of occupation of the tribe justifying restriction of movements.*—With reference to (2), it may fairly be said that the whole tribe is without occupation of any recognized kind except begging and bead-selling and that none of them follow any occupation sufficient to maintain themselves honestly. Since the three divisions of Criminal Investigation Department Gangs I, II and III profess to follow different occupations, they are dealt with separately.

(1) *Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. I—Nellore Kathiras.*—When the Criminal Investigation Department took a census of them two years ago, they were in possession of the following property:—

Eight goats, nine cows, 86 pigs and 253 donkeys. The donkeys were used for the conveyance of the huts and baggage of the gangs and the remaining cattle (mostly, if not all, acquired by theft) were obviously insufficient for the support of some 300 souls. The gang had no other ostensible or actual means of subsistence except begging.

The gang has now no property of its own except a small amount of personal property, and nearly the whole gang is earning a livelihood at the Kalichedu mines. This has been given to them out of charity and they are beggars subsisting entirely on this charity, the wages, etc., given them being far in excess of which they would earn by honest work even if willing to work hard.

* Not printed.

(2) *Gang No. II—Donga Dasaris.*—Two years ago this gang by their own statement owned land and cattle together worth only Rs. 733. Only seven members owned land and two owned cattle. The valuation of the property, being their own, is very much exaggerated, the huts in particular being worth practically nothing.

This property was owned in and near Motupalli and was occupied by only seven or eight persons. The produce of the land and cattle amounting at most to about Rs. 12 per mensem was used to support these persons and the families of members in jail. The land was acquired for the purpose of being used as evidence of sufficient and lawful means of subsistence in the case of members proceeded against under the security sections. The following proved instances will show that the possession and cultivation of this land is merely a sham:—

(a) No. 50, the largest owner of land and cattle and one of the headmen of the gang, was bound over in 1908 under sections 109 and 110, Criminal Procedure Code, by the Divisional Magistrate, Markapur (in whose jurisdiction Motupalli lies), and was sent to jail for three years on failing to find security. His nominal possession of land and cattle was not accepted by the court. In 1912, after release, this individual was convicted of dacoity and is now serving a sentence of five years' rigorous imprisonment.

(b) No. 31, a headman and one of the largest owners of land, has been three times convicted of theft in two different districts and once for housebreaking. He is now in jail.

(c) No. 3 has been twice bound over under the security sections in Nellore and was sent to jail both times.

(d) No. 30 has two convictions for theft and three for housebreaking in three different districts (Kistna, Guntur, Cuddapah) and is obviously not an honest ryot.

(e) No. 33 has two convictions for housebreaking in Cuddapah district and was bound over and sent to jail in Kistna district.

(f) No. 100 has two convictions for theft, two convictions for housebreaking and has once been bound over and sent to jail under the security sections.

With the exception of this property the gang has no means of subsistence, either nominal or actual, except begging. The females make a pretence of bead-selling, but it is only a pretence and they sell none to speak of.

(3) *Gang No. III.—Kistna and Godāvari Pachappas.*—When a census was taken of them two years ago, they owned 21 ponies and no other property. They live ostensibly by begging, selling beads and tatooing and none of these pursuits can support them. There have been 137 convictions against the 76 male members of this gang under the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code and in no case have they found security or been able to produce evidence of an honest livelihood.

Since the census taken of the three gangs two years ago, the amount of property owned by them has much diminished. No. I gang owns none, Motupalli is deserted by No. II gang and No. III gang is in much the same condition as before. It is submitted, therefore, that it is clearly proved that the tribe does not follow any lawful occupation sufficient for support with the exception of the members living on charity at Kalichedu.

9. *Proposed area to which movements of tribe could be restricted.*—Under section 11 (2), (iii) and (iv), of the Criminal Tribes Act, it is necessary, when recommending the restriction of movements of a tribe, to propose some area to which their movements are to be restricted and to show in what manner they will be able to earn their living within such area.

In the case of the Donga Dasari tribe, the mica mines at Kalichedu furnish at once a suitable area and a means of livelihood and the restriction of the movements of the tribe to the Kalichedu mine or to the boundary within a certain radius of it is strongly recommended.

Kalichedu is in the Nellore district which suffers perhaps more than other districts in its neighbourhood from the depredations of wandering criminal tribes, especially Donga Dasaris. The District Superintendent of Police obtained the assistance of Mr. Ludwig, the Manager of some mica mine belonging to Messrs. Brandt, and induced some of Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. I to settle down at Kalichedu. Some two years ago, Mr. Ludwig, who takes a strong personal interest in the reformation of these men gave them a place to live in and work on the mines, giving them out of charity, wages out of all proportion to the value of their work. It was some months before any of them formed a sufficiently strong habit of work and became sufficiently expert with their hands to earn their wages, but they did so by degrees. The Superintendent of Police was obliged to keep a strong police guard at hand and this is still maintained, but a large gang of dangerous criminals of this nature would have had the same strict attention paid to them by the police, whether in any other temporary or permanent settlement or in wandering parties. By degrees, the members of the gang realised that they were better off at Kalichedu than they had been previously. The women of the tribe are strongly convinced of this. They formerly led a very hard life and had none of the excitement, freedom, and bouts of debauchery which the men enjoyed at intervals. They were constantly watched and were often very badly off for the necessities of life, and the best hope of eventually reforming the tribe lies in this willingness of the women to settle down. Members of Gang

* Not printed.

No. II and others of the tribe were gradually induced to come to the settlement, and there are now 116 males and some 107 women there. The more recent arrivals are still restless and not able to earn wages, but they all have a fair chance of livelihood and are gradually settling down.

There is, therefore, at Kalichedu the nucleus of a successful settlement, and it should be possible to induce, or compel, the remainder of the tribe to settle there. It would be practically impossible to either induce or compel the majority of the remaining portion of the tribe to settle anywhere else, or to confine them in any manner except within the walls of a jail. They are too lawless and too wild. There is, however, a very good chance of getting them to settle where a large number of their tribe are already settled and to this end combined persuasion and force should be used. The force required can be sufficiently provided by the Criminal Tribes Act and by the conditional release of prisoners and the conditional withholding of convictions under the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code.

The necessary persuasion can be supplied by getting members of this tribe already settled to induce their relations to join them. The personal popularity and influence of Mr. Ludwig has also done, and will do, a great deal in this direction. This gentleman takes a genuine interest in the tribe and though he treats them with firmness, they recognize his kindness and are grateful for it. His firm has done much for them in the way of charity, and maintains a school at which all the children are given daily instructions.

He is willing to receive the whole tribe and their reformation would not possibly be entrusted to a better agency. There is no prospect of the work on the mines ceasing for very many years to come and the Company has invested a large amount of money.

(4)

Note on the Veppur Parayas by Mr. P. B. Thomas, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Railways and Criminal Investigation Department, dated 20th May 1913.

The enumeration of the "Veppur Parayas" has now been completed by the Criminal Investigation Department and they have been formally registered as Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. XVII.

2. This note contains most of the essential particulars necessary to prove a case against the gang under the Criminal Tribes Act. I believe that the District Superintendent of Police South Arcot (Mr. Stevenson) has compiled a history of the gang and he could give any further information required.

3. The following history of the gang is extracted from Mullaly's "Criminal Classes."

The Veppur Parayas belong to the Sanku or Pannai Paraiyan tribe. Their origin is said to be as follows:—

The western portion of Vriddhachalam taluk, known as "Kolipattu" formerly contained 72 villages under the control of Poligars, having under them bands of Parayas as retainers and employed as kavilgars or watchmen. These increased, and in course of time were disbanded and took to depredations, and are now recognized as the thieves and robbers of that part of the country.

These Parayas who, from their criminal habits, have earned the appellation of "Thiruttu" or thieving Parayas still owe their allegiance to the descendants of the Poligars of Perianesalore, Kuttennaiyilore and Mangalore of the Vriddhachalam taluk. They have largely corrupted other classes of Parayas living in neighbouring paracheries, and a large criminal population has sprung into existence.

They are, as a rule, settled, but occasionally make predatory excursions into neighbouring villages and into the Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Salem and North Arcot districts; they however, chiefly confine themselves to their own particular localities. Cultivation is their ostensible means of livelihood, and they usually own a few acres of dry land; but these lands are incapable of providing an adequate living for the members of their families; they are averse to labour for cooly unless as a means of getting information likely to be of use to them in a criminal undertaking. Burglary, theft and occasionally dacoity are their real means of livelihood. Burglary especially is adopted as a profession, and in this mode of crime they are adepts. Dark and rainy nights are chosen, and a party starts off in various directions, usually confining its operations to within a radius of about thirty miles from their settlements. Their habits are so well known to the inhabitants of surrounding villages that they invariably apply to these Parayas for the restoration of their property on the understanding that they pay an adequate proportion, usually about 25 per cent of the value. This is termed "Mulladikuli" (முல்லடிகுலி). In some cases the overtures are made by village headmen, and generally by some respectable villager. The law's delays, vexation in attendance at Magistrates' courts, the difficulties of detection, and above all the uncertainty of the issue of the case combine to offer strong inducements to the ignorant rustic who has been relieved of his property to accept cheerfully this practice of "blackmail."

These "thieving" Parayas have their receivers and patrons in many large centres of the South Arcot, Trichinopoly and Salem districts among the Reddy and Malamar castes, and are frequently employed by them for the purpose of wreaking vengeance on their enemies.

They assume disguises when on their predatory excursions, dressing like caste Hindus, and occasionally as Brahmans: they gain admission to caste chuttrams, eating-houses and the like, and pass themselves off as traders in cattle. As sheep and cattle stealers, they are notorious.

Burglary is usually committed in the following ways:—

- (a) By widening the space between the wall and the eaves in the roof (உவாய்).
- (b) By making a hole near the bolt of the door sufficiently large to admit of a man's arm being introduced (The "buglee" operation).
- (c) By making a hole under the door frame and passing in a youth of diminutive size. This is their favourite method.

The implement used by them is called the "arasukuchi"; it is somewhat similar to a plough-share, about 18 inches long. Usually about six men engage in these undertakings: as soon as entrance is effected, a free means of exit is made, and two of the men enter, their comrades remaining concealed outside to receive the spoil—brass pots, cloths, boxes suspected of containing property and the like; these are speedily passed out to the confederates, and occasionally jewels worn by sleeping women and children are removed; this is, however, only attempted when the thief is considered proficient.

Should one of these Parayas get into trouble, the "Malamars" engage counsel for their defence and pay the necessary fees. The "Malamar" women take a prominent part in transactions regarding stolen property: they supply the Parayas with the necessities of life in advance and receive stolen property in return. It is said that close intimacy exists between the "Malamar" females and the Parayas.

As among other criminal classes the "Veppur" Parayas observe omens and postpone their expeditions for a season should the omens be unfavourable.

Each family of Parayas has its own special deity; the majority, however, are devoted followers of "Manjappa Swami."

Their priests are the Thatha Parayas a class Valluvas, who levy taxes, etc., on their followers and have the power of excommunication from caste.

The "Kavilgar" system prevails among them: the headman of a family, whose experience entitles him to respect, is employed as kavilgar or watchman of the village and receives as remuneration 12 annas per mensem from each household, together with some grain. These kavilgars, or properly speaking "Kudi Kavilgars", are responsible that thefts are not committed in the village, or if such occur, for their detection; it is on the principle of "setting a thief to catch a thief". These elders are usually recognised as headmen and preside at panchayats, caste ceremonies and the like.

4. The following statement (A) shows the villages inhabited by the members of the tribe now registered as Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. XVII and the number registered in each village:—

Statement A.

[Not printed.]

5. There is no difficulty in determining the classification or identity of this gang. It is a distinct homogeneous tribe and its members do not intermarry with other allied castes or tribes. The tribe is commonly known as "Thiruttu" or "thieving" Parayas, and is confined to the villages given in the above statement. This is a matter of general repute and is recognized in the South Arcot District Manual, pages 104-105, where it is stated:—

"Paraiyans.—After the Pallis, the next most numerous community are the Paraiyans (Parayas) who number 556,000 or well over one-fifth of the total population. In some districts, it is reported, there are many sub-divisions among the Paraiyans who decline to intermarry with one another; but (as far as my enquiries went) this is not the case in South Arcot. There, the only sections which do not marry with the rest of the caste are the occupational sub-divisions of the barbers, the washermen, the smaller sections who are employed as play-actors, priests to the gods and scavengers, the thieving Paraiyans of Veppur (to be immediately referred to) and the Valluvas or domestic priests, who are to all intents and purposes now a separate caste, and will be treated as such. These occupational sub-divisions form but a minute fraction of the whole community and outside them any Paraiyan man may marry any Paraiyan girl.

"The Veppur Paraiyans are the most notoriously criminal community in the district. They are commonest in the west of Vriddhachalam and get their name from the village of Veppur, where a police station has been located in order to keep them in check. The

completeness of their organization for the commission of crime is referred to in Chapter XIII (page 253) below. They affect to be socially superior to the ordinary Paraiyans, with whom they will not intermarry, are cleaner and better dressed and housed than the majority of these latter and differ from them in refusing to eat the flesh of animals which have died a natural death."

A remark on page 253 of the same Manual, that the tribe "probably" numbers several thousands, is incorrect.

The Criminal Investigation Department has registered 386 male members of the tribe and has obtained finger-prints of all these persons. It is believed that there are not more than an additional 50 males or so in existence, but this is doubtful, though every endeavour has been made to ascertain the existence of all members of the tribe by visits to different jails and the examination of different convictions registered.

6. *Criminality.*—The criminality of the tribe is extraordinary. The following statement (B) shows the number of separate convictions obtained against individuals of the tribe for the past ten years. The fact that the figures for the last four years are larger than those of previous years is probably due to the fact that more of the convictions have been traced.

Statement B.

[Not printed.]

The total number of adult males is as noted above 386. Of these, no fewer than 191 have been criminally convicted of cognizable and non-bailable offences and 118 of these persons have been convicted more than once (the convictions range from 2 to 10) and 78 of them have been actually convicted under section 75, Indian Penal Code.

In addition to the convictions for cognizable and non-bailable offences 104 of the members of the gang have been bound over under the security sections and sent to jail. If this is taken into account, 223 out of the 386 have actually undergone rigorous imprisonment.

The attached statement (C) shows the details of the individual convictions.

Statement C.

[Not printed.]

The following statement (D) shows a number of cases in which members of the tribe residing in separate villages have been jointly convicted of crime and affords ample evidence of the association of the different members of the tribe for the purposes of crime.

[Statement not printed.]

7. *Women and Children.*—The women are not criminal and none of them have been convicted. The children grow up criminal and are encouraged in this by their parents. The total number of women and children attached to the 386 males registered are 343 and 461. The women are lax in their morals but are not prostitutes.

8. *Means of subsistence.*—The tribe lives by crime and the small amount of land owned by them is not sufficient for their support, neither do they follow any regular occupation. An accurate list of the property really owned by them is not available, but could be compiled by the Revenue authorities. By their own account 330 of the 386 registered males own 916 acres of dry land and 2 acres of wet land. The average number of acres which these men profess to own is about 4, but this is probably very much exaggerated. As a matter of fact about one-third of the whole tribe own small portions of dry land.

9. *Restriction of movements.*—It is very doubtful in which form the application of the Criminal Tribes Act to this tribe would be effective. The crime committed by them is at present very local, but there is always a risk of driving bad local criminals of this kind further afield by restrictions of the wrong kind. For this reason any movement or deportation of the tribe would seem to be inadvisable, and the best chance of reclamation would appear to lie in local measures.

The following statement (E) gives a list of all the criminal courts in which any of the members are known to have been convicted and is strong proof of the fact that the crime committed by this tribe is very local. As a matter of fact only about a dozen convictions have been obtained against them outside the districts of South Arcot and Trichinopoly. There may of course be many other cases in which they have committed crime for afield and not been caught—but any conviction anywhere would at once have been brought home by the Finger-Print Bureau to any member of the Veppur tribe who had previously been convicted since the year 1897.

Statement E.

[Not printed.]

10. It is reported, as a somewhat noteworthy fact, that there have been no cases in which any of the members of this tribe have been caught infringing the regulations under section 565, Criminal Procedure Code. A large number of them have been ordered to notify residence under

this section and have invariably complied with the regulations for the prescribed period. They have then almost as invariably lapsed into crime. They avoid dacoity being very much afraid of heavy sentences.

These points all tend to show that the proclamation of the tribe under the first part of the Criminal Tribes Act would probably be the most effective way to deal with them.

(5)

Memorandum on the Donga Woddars by L. Wilkinshaw Esq., Acting District Superintendent of Police, Kurnool.

1. *Name of the tribe.*—The people whose proclamation as a criminal tribe under Part I of the Criminal Tribes Act is sought in this instance are commonly known as Donga Woddars and are registered as Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. XIV. The word "Donga" is a Telugu word for thief. The word "Wodde" is said to be a corruption of the Sanskrit "Odhra," the name of the country now called Orissa whence the Woddars are ordinarily supposed to have emigrated. Besides Telugu, they speak a peculiar dialect among themselves. The Woddars proper are summed up in the Manual of North Arcot District as being "navvies of the country, quarrying stone, sinking wells, constructing tank bunds" and executing other kinds of earthwork more rapidly than any other classes"—vide page 422, Volume V, Thurston's Castes and Tribes of Southern India. These people have two sub-divisions according to their occupation—one the Kallu or Rathi Woddars (stone-workers), and the other the Mannu Woddars (earth workers)—and these are to be found in several parts of the Presidency. They are not, as a rule, criminal. The Donga Woddars now under notice are commonly known to the people of Kurnool, Cuddapah, Chittoor, Anantapur and Nellore districts of this Presidency and of Banganapalle State as a distinct family or tribe not to be confounded with other Woddars.

2. *Description of the tribe.*—The Donga Woddars proper have never settled and are always nomads. Mr. F. S. Mullaly, in his notes on criminal classes of the Madras Presidency, writes: "In the Ceded Districts some of the Woddars are known as Donga Woddars or thieving Woddars" from the fact of their having taken to crime as a profession and the appellation well suits them: "they are desperate and at times very cruel when any opposition is offered and have been known to inflict severe personal injuries on their victims. They are skilful burglars and inveterate robbers."

It appears that about 25 or 30 years ago a Kapu of Cumbum, by name Machi Reddi, who was himself a criminal, organised a gang of Woddars for crime. He took the lead of one portion of the gang thus formed and Vemulauagadu, No. 13 (recently deceased) of Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. XIV, was the head of the other. Both portions of the gang were formerly registered as Gang Nos. 83 and 84 of the Criminal Investigation Department. After the death of the above Machi Reddi, who was the head of old Gang No. 84, No. 1 in Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. XIV, who had been till then his Lieutenant, took his place. The total number of adult males at present known to the police according to the records compiled by and maintained in the district and in the Criminal Investigation Department is 33 including the one member deceased. When the two leaders (Nos. 1 and 13 of Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. XIV) became old and infirm, the two portions of the gang lived together for a time and then split up into small parties having a nominal head in each. These people have no ostensible means of livelihood except what they are pleased to call begging. This is, in reality, nothing but extortion.

3. *Range of operations.*—Judging from their record of convictions and other ascertained particulars, the operations of this gang or tribe extend to Nellore, Kurnool, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Chittoor districts of this Presidency and also to Banganapalle State. The tribe is addicted to the commission of every class of crime against property from dacoity down to petty thefts.

4. *Women and children.*—The women are as criminal as the men though they do not actually take part in the commission of heinous crime. They are, however, clever at poultry and other petty thefts. They are very daring and immoral and are adepts in the art of spying and of concealing and disposing of stolen property and also in collecting information useful to the males in the commission of crime. Should any of the males be accused of crime, the women are most troublesome and there are some instances in which they have even rescued the males from lawful custody. The children are equally clever at petty theft though none of them have been convicted.

5. *Criminality justifying restraint.*—This gang, as already stated, is addicted to the commission of every class of crime against property. The majority of the crimes committed by these people are never reported to the police by the public. This is chiefly due to fear of the desperate and vindictive character of the offenders. In spite of this the record of convictions is very significant. Of the 32 living members, 21 have been convicted for cognizable and non-bailable offences. The total number of criminal convictions standing to their credit is 54, which includes nine dacoities, nine robberies, sixteen house-breakings, ten thefts, six escapes from lawful custody, two riotings and assault of public servants and one voluntarily causing hurt to deter a public

servant from discharging his duty. Seventeen members of the gang were bound over under the security sections for good behaviour and seven of them more than once. For the purposes of the notification of this tribe as criminal under section 3 of the Criminal Tribes Act, it is only necessary to show that it is addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences and this fact can be established beyond doubt. The proof offered in Statement A* which shows the number of individuals criminally convicted or bound over under the security sections and Statement B* which gives the particulars of individual convictions with the districts in which they were obtained.

That these Donga Woddars are dangerous and desperate criminals may be further seen from the following instances:—

(a) In 1900, the police of Gadivemula, Kurnool district, wishing to arrest certain warrantees living with the gang, raided it with the help of 100 villagers. The members, however, armed with axes assaulted the police and the villagers, and carried away a carbine and a pouch with cartridges from the former. Nos. 3, 6, 13, 20, 23, 29, 30 and 31 of the present gang took an active part in this affair.

(b) In 1902, the police of Velgode station raided the gang with a view to arrest a warrantee, when the members brutally assaulted the police with the result that one of the constables died on the spot and several others were seriously wounded. No. 9 of the present gang was one of those that took part in the crime. He was subsequently charged and convicted under sections 148 and 332, Indian Penal Code.

(c) In the same year the gang armed with daggers dacoited the house of one Pullareddi in Kalva village, which was the head-quarters of a Police Inspector and a Magistrate, and carried away his wife and property.

(d) In 1903 the gang was suspected to have committed a robbery with murder in the same village. The deceased's wife and a neighbour identified Nos. 24 and 28 of the present gang as being concerned in the offence, but for want of sufficient evidence the case was not charged.

(e) In 1912 five members of the gang (6, 8, 19, 26 and 32), while being escorted to the Koilkuntla Deputy Magistrate's camp for enquiry into a charge against them under the security sections, assaulted the escort and escaped from custody.

It may be pointed out that Statement B* appended clearly indicates the continuous activity of the members in this and neighbouring districts.

It may thus be clearly seen that the members of this gang are very desperate criminals who do not hesitate to attack the police even though the latter are armed. The fear, therefore, in which they are held by the villagers may be easily imagined.

6. *Application of the Criminal Tribes Act.*—As already pointed out the gang has no fixed place of residence. They frequently escape from surveillance and commit crime. A criminal who has no settled abode and whose movements are unknown is far more dangerous than a known criminal with a fixed residence and the Criminal Tribes Act provides the only effective means for compelling such a criminal to adopt a permanent residence or to notify his movements. At present adequate supervision by the police over members of a gang, which is never in the villages but is constantly in hiding, is quite impossible. The gang operates in a hilly and sparsely populated country covered in many parts with scrub jungle. To take any action against it in such a locality is out of the question. A raid on the gang is almost invariably productive of no useful result, but merely drives the members into further crime. Even if some members be arrested, it is difficult to get evidence against them for security proceedings owing to the fear in which they are held by the people. Compared with other criminal communities, the Donga Woddars are guilty of little ordinary theft, but are chiefly addicted to crimes accompanied by violence. They have a very bad reputation for dacoity and highway robbery and main roads in the vicinity of their encampment are notoriously unsafe while many burglaries will be committed in the neighbouring villages. The fact that different Magistrates in different districts and at different times have found it necessary to make use of the security sections in regard to members of this tribe, in itself affords a very strong justification for the application to them of the Criminal Tribes Act.

Arrangements have been made to settle the members of the tribe at the Siddhapuram Tank Project where the Executive Engineer, Kurnool, has promised to provide them with work and quarters. Some of the members have already gone thither and the others will no doubt do so shortly. With care and a reasonable amount of sympathy it should be possible to settle the whole gang in Siddhapur, where the work will probably last for some years. The gang members are anxious to go there, particularly the women whose lot at present is a very hard one. When the work at Siddhapur is completed, there should not be much difficulty in finding other suitable employment for them.

For this arrangement to be successful and in view of the fact that all other methods of dealing with the gang have failed, it is absolutely necessary that Part I of the Criminal Tribes Act should be applied to it.

* Not printed.

Note on the Kepmaris (Togamalai) by P. B. Thomas, Esq., Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Railways and Criminal Investigation Department.

Name and description of tribe.—These people form a fraternity rather than a caste in that it is possible for a person not born a Kepmari to belong to it; and it is a regular practice for them to kidnap and even to buy female children, who are married to Kepmari boys. Such children are always of the better castes and never Parayas. Male children are seldom or never kidnapped or admitted to the tribe. They are generally known as Kepmaris, Alagiris, Koravas, or Ena Koravas. They call themselves Uliyakarans, Servagarans or Palayakarans but pass themselves off under many names. They are a branch of the great Korava tribe and are mentioned as such in Thurston's "Castes and Tribes of Southern India", volume III, page 439; but they deny this and resent being called Koravas. A detailed account of them was published in the Supplement to the *Madras Police Gazette* No. 5 of February 1910.

The whole tribe are real criminals, and none of them work for a living. The men are housebreakers, pickpockets and expert thieves. The women are, without exception, thieves and the children are expert thieves at the early age of seven years. The women are not prostitutes and the tribe is a small well-defined fraternity, of which we possess a fairly accurate record. There is no community in the presidency which is a better instance of a genuine "criminal tribe" and to which the application of Criminal Tribes Act is more justifiable.

The tribe is distributed into several gangs, the members of which intermarry. These gangs differ from the ordinary nomadic criminal gangs in that they all belong to some permanent settlement where members of the gang have houses, and to which they return at regular intervals. It is very rarely that any member of the tribe commits crime anywhere in the vicinity of these settlements, where they pose as respectable people. They are educated and expert thieves, using the railways and the post offices freely and committing crime on the railways, in towns and at festivals and other gatherings all over the presidency whenever opportunity offers.

The principal settlement of the tribe is at Edayapatti in the limits of Togamalai police station, Trichinopoly district. The village of Edayapatti consists of about twenty-five houses of which thirteen belong to Kepmaris. The houses are indistinguishable from those of the other villagers. The Kepmaris own four acres of wet land and 182 acres of dry land. They pay a kist of Rs. 108, the approximate value of all their lands being Rupees 8,500. They also own cattle worth about Rs. 1,600. Several families live in each house, and own a share of it. This practice is due to the fact that, on an average, half the community are absent on marauding expeditions or in jail. A house is never left empty, one or more of the part-owners and his family always being in occupation.

Edayapatti is in a rough piece of country and was probably selected as a settlement by the gang for this reason. No attempt has ever been made to establish a Government settlement anywhere, or to reclaim the tribe, and I do not think that any such settlement could be a success. The members of this tribe are not wretched outcasts of extreme poverty or people who have been driven into crime by force of circumstances. They are educated, dress and live extremely well and are acquainted with several languages (Telugu, Canarese, Tamil and Hindustani and occasionally English. It is indeed only in very rare instances that a Kepmari does not know at least three of these languages.) The Criminal Tribes Act can only be useful in their case in the direction of repression. Reclamation is probably hopeless.

I append a copy of a Confidential Supplement to the *Police Gazette*, dated 5th February 1910, which gives other details of the tribe.

2. Criminality of tribe.—I append two statements * (A and B) showing (1) certain joint convictions which prove the association of different members of the tribe living at Togamalai on crime and (2) the convictions standing against each member. The numbers in the first column of the statement are the serial numbers of the members of the Togamalai men who have been finger-printed by the Criminal Investigation Department. The convictions shown against these men have all been carefully verified and can be proved in court.

It will be observed from these statements that 94 persons have been finger-printed (number of males 34; number of females 40; number of children 20), and that 44 of these persons have been criminally convicted, many of them have several convictions, each ranging from 2 to 9. In addition to this 21 persons have been bound over under the security sections by different courts in different places. The total number of criminal convictions standing against the members of the tribe in Togamalai is 135 and the number of security cases 40.

Statement A * shows that members of the gang from Togamalai have been jointly convicted in Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, South Arcot, Chittoor, Ramnad and Bombay

* Not printed.

This record of criminality is conclusive evidence of the character of the Togamalai gang and it would be impossible for the gang itself or any one else to deny it. It cannot be said that these people are destitute vagrants and that they have been driven into crime. They have lands, houses and property and are educated and well-to-do. They are a well-defined separate community, and have the public reputation of a community of thieves.

3. Restriction of tribe.—It is not contemplated at present to restrict the Togamalai gang to any particular area (Memorandum of the Inspector-General of Police, R.C. No. 238-3/Statl., dated the 27th March 1913) and it is, therefore, not necessary to show that they have sufficient means of subsistence within that area. Sufficient details have, however, been given to show that the gang is comparatively wealthy and has a permanent habitation. This fact very much aggravates their criminality and should therefore be taken into account. It affords an additional justification for applying the first part of the Criminal Tribes Act to them. They have no ostensible reason for wandering as they now do all over the country and they have no real occasion ever to leave their village at all except on special occasions. Under these circumstances, it could cause no real hardship to them to compel them to notify their movements.

ENCLOSURE.

Madras Police Gazette Confidential Supplement, dated the 5th February 1910.

NOTES ON CRIMINAL GANGS. ✓ R

Note on the Togamalai Koravas.

150. CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT.—"Togamalai Koravas" is the name applied to the members of the notorious criminal community, which has its head-quarters at Edayapatti, a village two miles east of the Togamalai police station, Kulittalai division, Trichinopoly district. The members of the gang call themselves "Servaigars" and resent the appellation "Korava". Indeed, neither name is strictly correct, for, although the original founders of the community were Koravas, various castes are represented now on account of the kidnapping indulged in by the members. The Agambadian, Salia, Shedan and Vellanchetti castes are among those represented. No. (95), Kulli, says she is a Vellanchetti and was kidnapped eighteen years ago by her mother-in-law, when she was seven or eight years old. No. (35), Venkatamal, says she is a Sheda woman of Rasipur, Salem district, and No. (30), Kandan alias Ganapathi, is a Salia of Aruppukottai, Madura district.

Origin.—Nothing definite is known of the origin of the community, but it is believed to be as follows: A Korava, Ratnam by name, was the first resident of Edayapatti and owned a thatched house, a well and a few acres of dry land. His father Kandan had a sister who was married to a member of the gang at Malur in the Mysore Province. Ganapathi, the son of these two, whose names are unknown, went to Palghat, Malabar district, where he married one Alamelu. About seventy years ago, he went and settled in Edayapatti with his uncle Ratnam. Their descendants intermarried and outsiders were brought into the gang, so that the present strength is males 71, females 72, boys 34, girls 31, or a total of 208. When the community was registered as a gang, Ganapathi was, by reason of his prominence, influence in the locality and skill in crime, taken as the head of the gang. Their present residence is, from their point of view, an ideal one as it is surrounded on all sides by dry open country which prevents their being taken by surprise.

Religion and worship.—They are Sivites and worship Subrahmanya, Maduraviran, Kattiyayee and Kalliamman. The tradition attached to their worship of Subrahmanya is that this God, hearing of the great beauty of Valliammal, daughter of Bagavan and Anthi, proceeded to the jungle where she was tending crops and tried to seduce her. The hill tribes (Koravas) who had reared her, heard of this and attacked, but were defeated by the God who then married Valliammal. A reconciliation was effected and Subrahmanya and his bride went round the hill near Edayapatti on a peacock and thus gave the hill its present name, Togamalai. Subsequently, Subrahmanya made a tour with his two wives Valliammal and Tevanai. Some of the Koravas accompanied him and settled down at different halting places in the Chingleput, Bellary, North Arcot, Madura, Tinnevely and South Canara districts and in Ceylon where gangs of Koravas are still to be found.

Vows.—Vows are generally made to Kalliamman, Karuppen and Maduraviran whom they consider their patron deities. The day before they start out for thieving, a vow is made to Kalliamman and the success of the trip can always be gauged by the lavishness with which the vow is fulfilled on their return. Arrack and toddy are offered and sheep and fowl are sacrificed.

Ceremonies and festivals.—Ceremonies are performed on a grand scale. Anniversaries of the death of members of the community are regularly celebrated. The *Tai Pusam* festival which falls in January is kept with much display, and some fast on *Kartigai* days.

Omen.—They are strict observers of omen and if, when leaving on an expedition for plunder, any evil omen is observed before they reach a fixed distance from the village, the trip is abandoned.

The omens to which they pay attention are the flight of crows and other black birds and snake. A crow flying across their path from right to left, any other black bird flying from left to right, and a snake of any kind on the path are bad omens.

Marriage.—Marriage ceremonies are celebrated with great pomp, and instances have occurred in which the expenses have amounted to nearly Rs. 500. Members of the community intermarry freely. Although morality among themselves does not exist, no woman will yield to the temptations of an outsider. A widow may remarry, the usual practice being that she should marry her deceased husband's younger brother.

Language.—Their language is a corrupt Tamil, but some of them speak Telugu, Malayalam, Canarese and Hindustani and a few who have been to Pondicherry know French. Recently they attempted to learn English and employed two dismissed Eurasian railway servants on Rs. 100 a month and free food. These two did not stay long and the scheme was given up. Nearly all the men and a few of the women can read and write.

The slang.—The following are a few examples of slang terms used by the members of the gang:—

Slang.	Pronunciation.	Literal meaning.	Signification.
நாய் ..	Nai ..	Dog ..	Constable.
பழுப்பு ..	Pazhuppu ..	Brown ..	Gold.
வெயில் ..	Veyyil ..	Sunlight ..	There is help for us, we may begin to plunder.
நிலவு ..	Nilavu ..	Moonlight ..	There is no help for us and we must be careful in committing plunder.
உலும்பிப்போ ..	Ulbimppo ..		Run.
ஊனமூஞ்சி ..	Unmoonji ..		European.
கரண்டி ..	Karandi ..	Big spoon ..	Arrival of the police.
சிப்பலத்தடு ..	Sippal Thattu ..	Plate ..	Hide the stolen property.
டி ரே ..	Diré ..		Go away.
மரடு ..	Madu ..	Cow ..	Steal.
துணி ..	Thuni ..	Bravo (?) ..	We have our friends here.

Dress and manners.—When at home, the men look like Vellalas or Madras Mudalis and wear plain white clothes. Most of them have their hair cropped, possibly as a result of acquaintance with the inside of a jail. They are usually well built and vary in height from 5 feet to 5 feet 7 inches. They are, however, adepts in adopting disguises and instances of this will be found below. The women are strong and fair and look respectable. They dress well and, if necessary, adapt their method of speech to their surroundings and are, therefore, able to mingle with other women in large crowds and commit depredations without causing the slightest suspicion.

Means of livelihood.—Cultivation is put forward as their ostensible means of livelihood and to support this fiction some members of the community have purchased land round the village and pay kist in their own names. There their connection with cultivation ceases, and any crops that may be raised are raised by their receivers. With them a stay in Edayapatti is nothing but a holiday from the true business of life, and is spent in feasting, gambling and other amusements.

Government.—The community is divided into five groups, each ruled by a headman, who is elected by the members of his group. The present headmen are: (1) Manickam (No. 21); (2) Vairaperumal (No. 19); (3) Appachi alias Krishnan (No. 6); (4) Sadayan (No. 2); (5) Posian (No. 5).

These five headmen, with eleven others, who have a good deal of influence in their respective parties, form a panchayat, which adjudicates on all disputes among the members, and decides questions relating to marriages and partition of property. Each headman is empowered to punish members of his party for minor offences, for deviations from their traditional habits or from the code of rules laid down. For instance, Sangilikaruppan (No. 132), who was arrested at the Velanganni festival near Negapatnam, gave information which led to the arrest of some other members and to the recovery of stolen property. (No. 21) Manickam sentenced him to starvation for three days, to severe beating and to carry a big basketful of mud round the habitation.

The headmen also report, or recommend for reward, specially skilful performance by members of their parties. Rewards sometimes take the form of grant of a title and Chinna Madan (No. 40) has the title "Rai Bahadur" and the right to a larger share of booty, for his success in escaping from the clutches of the law and in bringing plunder.

Common fund.—The panchayat has the custody of a fund accumulated by setting aside a certain proportion of any booty that may be brought in. This fund is utilised solely to meet the expenditure of defending or rescuing a member, who may be in trouble, and all disbursements have to be sanctioned by a majority of the panchayat. No. (21) Manickam is believed to be the treasurer of this fund.

Sphere of operations.—Their field of operations extends from Cape Comorin to the Northern Circars and convictions have been traced against them all over the presidency. They freely use the railways on their expeditions, which are made under the pretext of visiting their relations, who are to be found in the gangs at Malur of Mysore territory, Palghat in Malabar district, Vembakampet in Chingleput district, Mariankuppam in South Arcot, Kunsampet and Pudukuppam in Pondicherry, Kodakurai and Pandanur in Cochin State, and Bogaletipalli in Cuddapah. It is said that some of the gang, with some from Vembakampet and Bogaletipalli, went as far as Poona and Bombay.

Manapparai, Ayalur, Pungudi and Samudram on the Madras-Tuticorin line, and Perugamani and Puliyur on the Trichinopoly-Erode branch of the South Indian Railway are the stations from which they usually start, partly because there are unfrequented paths leading from Edayapatti to these stations and partly because these stations are rarely visited by the police.

They very rarely commit crime in the Trichinopoly district and never in the Kulittalai division. There is not a single instance on record of any member of the community having been concerned, or even suspected in any case of Togamalai station. On one occasion, within the last ten years, a woman was caught in a case of theft at Sivayam, ten miles from Togamalai. For this reason, the inhabitants of the surrounding villages will not give any information against them and many leading villagers of the locality act as their receivers.

Criminal propensities.—Former generations of the community went in for dacoity and highway robbery. The present generation has adopted the milder crimes of burglary, theft and pick-pocketing. More than hundred of the present adult members of the gang have been convicted of some of these offences or have been bound over for good behaviour, and nearly all of them have been convicted more than once.

Modus operandi.—Generally, two men go out with a woman and one or two children, and visit places of pilgrimage or where crowds have gathered for a festival. One of the men dresses as a well-to-do respectable individual and looks out for likely victims. When one is found and a suitable opportunity offers, he gives a sign to the second man, who commits the theft and at once passes the property on to the woman. The would-be respectable individual stays with the victim, consoles with him when he discovers his loss and tries to put him on the wrong scent. When children with jewels are found, the gang children are sent to play with them, remove the jewels as soon as possible and at once hand them over to their friends, who wait close by. If a woman is to be the victim, the theft is generally committed by the woman of the gang, who passes the booty to one of the men.

They are particularly fond of this class of crime as they are more likely to escape detection in large crowds, and the victims being probable visitors from some distant place are loath to complain to the police. Petty thefts are frequently committed by the women and children, the males directing operations from a distance by signs. The advantage of making the children steal is that not only are they trained for their future career, but also, if they are caught, they are almost certain to be let off with a smacking.

Baggage.—Sometimes a large batch goes out on a trip, and when this is the case they arrange beforehand where to meet, leave Edayapatti in small parties, and take the train at different stations. They take a bag made of thick cloth, to carry rice and other necessities of daily life and generally camp in a *tope* or other secluded place about one or two miles from a town. Here they separate into small parties and go into different quarters of the town to commit crime, re-assembling at some fixed camping ground.

Disguises.—They adopt numerous disguises and no Togamalai Korava will ever give his correct name and address. The following are a few of the many instances of their method of concealing their identity: Some of them visited the Rameswaram bathing ghat, disguised as Komaties on pilgrimage, and committed thefts without being suspected. Another batch, in which one was dressed like a big mirasidar and the rest as his servants, was seen during the *Ekadasi* festival at Srirangam. In the year 1905, No. (40) Chinna Madan was arrested at Kumbakonam by head constable No. 330 of the Togamalai station with a pen, pencil and a bundle of papers, while posing as a vakil's gumastah and was bound over for good behaviour for one year. In the same year, one of the gang members, accompanied by a few of his associates, pretended to be an agent deputed for the collection of rents for the holdings of petty bazaars in the Tanjore market. He had with him a bundle of palm leaves, said to contain accounts *re* the collection of rents. While this man was diverting the attention of his victim, one of his associates—No. (86) Jagannadhan—walked away with a bag containing Rs. 700 in cash, but was fortunately caught by the complainant and was convicted and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment under section 379, I.P.C. The rest ran away. In 1907, a batch of these Koravas—males and females—visited a cloth merchant's shop at Madura and posed as honest purchasers of cloths for females and asked the shopkeeper to bring the cloths wanted. While he was inside the shop, one of them went away with a small box containing cash and some identifiable property worth Rs. 400. This remained untraced for a few days. A week

after, two of the Togamalai Koravas were arrested at Sholavandan railway station with some of the stolen property and were convicted and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment each under sections 380 and 75, I.P.C.

The same year, two of the members, with five of their relations from other gangs, were arrested at the Gudiyattam weekly market, disguised as sellers of sundry goods, and one of them was convicted of theft and the rest were bound over for good behaviour. In 1906, Velayudam appeared as a bidder at the sales of toddy shops, conducted by the Sub-Collector of Kumbakonam, and walked away with Rs. 660 from one of the contractors who were there, but was arrested outside the court premises while running away with the amount, and was convicted and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment under section 379, I.P.C.

It is however, only in a very small proportion of the cases committed by them that they are caught, for, as a rule, they are exceedingly clever in getting rid of the booty and clearing off.

When arrested, they are generally put up under the security sections and ordered to give some small security, which they can usually arrange with ease. They have been known frequently to deposit money with their receivers who send their men to stand surety, if necessary.

Receivers.—As already noted, many of the leading men in the villages around Edayapatti are receivers for this gang, and not infrequently these receivers accompany them on trips to take over the stolen property, which in such instances is buried at the foot of a tree or near some landmark arranged beforehand whence it can easily be removed. They do not, however, confine themselves to these receivers, for they have others in Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinnevely and other towns in the southern districts, and when travelling in small parties, they usually obtain shelter from these receivers.

A few members of the community, who were caught young and sent to the Reformatory school, are now in Government employ, and in only one instance is the school training known to have failed. The delinquent was convicted for stealing a railway bag containing Rs. 75 and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment.

(7)

Note on the Rudrapad Korachas prepared by the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Railways and Criminal Investigation Department.

1. *Name of tribe.*—The people known as the "Rudrapad Korachas" are a portion of the great Korava tribe. The name "Koracha" is common to these people in the districts of North Arcot, Chittoor, Cuddapah, Anantapur and Bellary and is recognised in Thurston's "Castes and Tribes of Southern India", vol. III, page 442. In the above-mentioned districts the term "Koracha" has the same meaning as the term "Donga Yerakala" in the Northern districts and both tribes are of the same nature and origin. On the Hyderabad side they are commonly known as "Kaikadis." They are notoriously habitual criminals.

The "Rudrapad Korachas" are a distinct gang of the Koracha class inhabiting five villages close together in the Sirigiri police station limits in Bellary. They all possess huts in these villages and can all make a living by honest means if so inclined. They are not nomadic by nature or habit, and the women and children do not travel about, but remain permanently in their villages. The whole gang really lives by crime. The men go out in gangs whenever they have information of a chance of committing a successful crime—usually dacoity—and infest the Bellary district and portions of Sholapur, Dharwar and Hyderabad. They commit the bulk of their crime outside British territory with the object of retaining their settlements round Rudrapad as safe refuges. The people have absolutely no justification for leaving their homes, and there can be no possible doubt that their frequent absences in gangs are purely for criminal purposes, and that it is therefore both justifiable and necessary to place them under some restraint. A very strong justification of this is contained in the following extract from a judgment of the District Magistrate in Sholapur in 1903. A gang of twelve of these people was arrested in Sholapur taluk and the District Magistrate committed them all to jail under section 123, Criminal Procedure Code, with the following remarks: "I have committed all these Kaikadis to prison for a year under section 123, Criminal Procedure Code. Six of them are identified as habitual criminals from the Bellary district. They are all members of a gang of about 50 robbers who have been lurking in the neighbourhood of Hidalgi village in Sholapur taluk for the last six or seven months. Hidalgi is entirely surrounded by Hyderabad territory. The gang skipped backwards and forwards over the frontier as suited their convenience to avoid arrest."

In the village there were fifty-two women of the Kaikadi caste and only five men, but half the women have babies in arms and several are pregnant which shows that they join their predatory errant menfolk at nights. They are perfect curses to rural society in this and the neighbouring districts and stringent measures are necessary to suppress them."

In Calendar Case No. C.C. 31, dated 14th February 1911, of the Hyderabad High Court, eight of the Rudrapad Korachas were convicted of dacoity under section 395, Indian Penal Code, two of them sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment each, five to three years' rigorous imprisonment each and one to four years' rigorous imprisonment.

On 26th December 1912, ten different members of the Rudrapad gang were convicted by the First-class Magistrate, Lingsugur, Hyderabad, of dacoity, under section 395, Indian Penal Code, three of them sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment each, and seven to four years' rigorous imprisonment each.

These recent convictions afford very clear proof of the predatory habits of the gang outside the British territory.

2. *Criminality of tribe.*—I attach a statement "A" showing the association in crime of certain members of the tribe as proved by the joint convictions. I also attach a statement "B" showing the number of convictions standing against each individual of the tribe for cognizable and non-bailable offences and which also show separately their convictions under the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code.

It will be observed from this statement that out of the 66 registered members of the tribe, no fewer than 42 have been convicted of cognizable and non-bailable offences. Of the remaining 24, five have been convicted and sent to the jail under the security sections so that all but 19 have been at some time or other in jail.

Twenty-three of the tribe have been convicted under the security cases, many of them twice over.

This is a very bad record and is of itself sufficient to show that it is justifiable to apply some special form of restraint to the tribe.

They are not homeless wanderers. They have a fixed habitation and an ostensible means of subsistence, which fact effectually disposes of any argument that might be advanced that they are obliged to wander to earn their livelihood and that they have been bound over under the security sections simply because they were vagrants. They have been bound over in many different places by different courts both in British territory and in Hyderabad. In 1911, the members of the tribe were concerned in, and convicted of, eight dacoities and in 1912, eleven dacoities. This again affords very strong proof of the fact that the members of the tribe are not casual vagrant criminals but addicted to organised grave crime.

3. *Criminality justifying restriction.*—For the purposes of the application of the first part of the Criminal Tribes Act which is all that is at present contemplated (Memorandum of the Inspector-General of Police, No. R.C. 238-3/Statl., dated the 27th March 1913) it is only necessary to prove that the tribe is addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences. The restriction of their movements not being at present contemplated, it is not necessary to show that they are provided with a sufficient means of subsistence within any particular area. But the fact that this tribe has a sufficient means of subsistence at a regular fixed habitation must be taken into consideration. This fact, as remarked above, aggravates the criminality of their habits. It also affords a strong justification for the application of repressive measures to them such as the first part of the Act, as showing that no undue hardship would thereby be caused to them. Not only have they habitations of their own, but Government have also settled some of their own lands with free grant of cattle and fodder, and an extension of this policy would probably very much enhance the good effects of the application of the first part of the Criminal Tribes Act.

(8)

Note on the Nellore Dommaras prepared by the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Railways and Criminal Investigation Department.

1. *Name of gang.*—The Dommaras are a large tribe scattered over many of the Madras districts and elsewhere. They are Vaishnavites, and owe allegiance to a headman known as the "Matli Guru" at Chitvel in the Pullampet taluk of the Cuddapah district. The Dommaras of the Nellore district are a separate and distinct division of the tribe. They have remained for very many years in the district and have been registered by the police as a district gang for many years. The gang is now known as Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. VII. The gang is of mixed blood since the members are permitted to marry women of other classes, and from this and other causes it has become an entirely distinct local gang, living and committing crime in the Nellore district alone.

2. *Description of gang.*—The Nellore Dammaras own no land, but have a certain quantity of cattle, principally pigs and donkeys. They travel about the country in parties of varying size, halting for short or long periods in different spots where they pitch portable huts made of bent lamboos and blankets. They profess to earn their living by performing acrobatic feats and begging, and they do to a certain extent support themselves thereby, their acrobatic performances being clever. Some of the women are clever acrobats and some of them are taught

singing and are professional prostitutes. These women, however, and the men who are acrobats are not many and the bulk of the gang have no legitimate means of subsistence. They manufacture mats and wooden combs to a certain extent, but do not carry on any lawful trade in cattle. Their possession of a certain amount of cattle is used as a cloak for cattle-lifting and is always put forward by them as a guarantee of respectability when they are in trouble.

The children are taught to steal and commit petty thefts of poultry, sheep, etc.

The Nellore Dommaras differ very much from other wandering criminal tribes of the same nature. The males do not absent themselves from the encampments in parties, as is usual with other criminal gangs. They also do not change their names on arrest or conviction, but will always answer to their own. They also keep entirely to themselves in committing crime and do not seek for outside information or help except in the disposing of stolen property after a successful crime. For these reasons it is easier to watch and keep them in view than most other nomadic criminals, but more difficult to detect them in committing crime. They are a powerfully built muscular people of a semi-foreign appearance and speak a language of their own (a kind of Mahrati). The country people are, as a rule, physically afraid of them, and for this reason many of their depredations are not reported.

They do not use the railway or post offices.

3 *Criminality*.—Information of likely places and subjects for crime is chiefly collected by the women, who go round hawking mats and combs, begging and prostituting themselves. The men commit any kind of crime. They are believed to be responsible for a great deal of dacoity but have seldom been convicted of it. The reason for this is probably their habit of committing crime entirely by themselves and without the connivance or knowledge of any outsiders. They are expert burglars, using a peculiar instrument of their own for house-breaking. Their chief crime is cattle-lifting at which they are experts. They eat all kinds of flesh and steal largely for this purpose alone. They do no ostensible trade in cattle, as regular dealers.

Their criminal record is very bad. Full details of 145 of the males (all that are known in Nellore) are registered in connection with Criminal Investigation Department Gang No. VII and a statement "A" is given below showing the men convicted and the particulars of their convictions:—

Statement "A".

[Not printed.]

From the above list it will be seen that 70 out of the total 145 males have been in jail. Fifty-six of them have been convicted of cognizable and non-bailable offences, many of them several times over, 26 having been actually convicted under section 75, Indian Penal Code.

The remaining fourteen have all been bound over under the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code.

The large majority of those convicted of cognizable and non-bailable offences have also been bound over under the security sections—many of them more than once.

4. The following statement "B" shows the Courts in which the members of the gang have been convicted:—

Statement "B".

[Not printed.]

It will be observed from this statement that the gang has committed crime over nearly the whole of the Nellore district—only one Cuddapah conviction being recorded, and this just outside the Nellore border.

5. *Criminality of the tribe justifying restriction of movements*.—The following statement "C" shows the number of criminal convictions and cases under the security sections against the gang for the past ten years:—

Statement "C".

Year.								Total criminal convictions.	Under Criminal Procedure Code, sections 109 and 110.
1903	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	3
1904	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
1905	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	11
1906	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	9
1907	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	7
1908	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	8
1909	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	8
1910	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	14
1911	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	..
1912	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	3
								58	64

It will be seen from this statement that the criminality of the gang is not decreasing in spite of the fact that leniency and persuasion have been thoroughly tried. The principle of binding them over under the security sections has been relaxed and the gang was persuaded to go to the Kalichedu mines settlement where honest work was provided for them. This has proved of no avail and the gang is as criminal as ever. It is universally feared by the villagers and special measures are needed for its repression. The members are constantly leaving the Kalichedu settlement and will not give up their criminal habits.

It would be of very little use to rely on Part I of the Criminal Tribes Act to keep this tribe in order. The necessity of notifying change of residence would in no wise interfere with their ordinary method of life and of committing crime. As stated above, they do not commit crime in the same manner as most wandering criminal tribes. Their crimes are all committed within easy reach of their temporary encampments and the enforced notification of intended change of camp would not prevent them terrorizing villagers, stealing cattle and committing house-breaking and theft in the vicinity of their camps as they do now. Neither would it tend to change their habits in any way or lead them to a more settled life which is the only chance of their ultimate reclamation.

The only effective method of dealing with them is to restrict their movements and compel them to adopt an honest means of livelihood in some settlement where the children can be properly educated and honestly brought up. Part II of the Act should, therefore, be applied and the gang restricted to the Kalichedu settlement where the bulk of it still is.

P. B. THOMAS,
Dy. Inspector-General of Police, Mys. & C.I.D.

(9)

Salem Melurnad Koravas.

Letter—from F. A. HAMILTON, Esq., District Superintendent of Police, Salem.
To—the District Magistrate of Salem.
Dated—the 23rd July 1913.
No.—R.C. 1275-Genl.

I have the honour to submit herewith statements * regarding certain Koravas resident in this district with a recommendation that they be proclaimed as a criminal tribe under section 3 of Act III of 1911.

* Not printed.

There are three sects of Koravas in the district, namely (1) Kavalgar Koravas, (2) Uppu Koravas and (3) Dubai Koravas. The Kavalgar Koravas are sub divided into two sects, namely, the Atturnad and Salemnad Koravas. The statements submitted deal with the Salemnad Koravas, usually known as the Salem Melurnad Koravas, under which title they should be proclaimed.

2. The Salem Melurnad Koravas reside principally in the Salem, Tiruchengodu, Omalur and Dharmapuri taluks of this district, the Bhavani and Erode taluks of Coimbatore district and the Karur and Namakkal taluks of Trichinopoly district. Statement I * gives particulars regarding most of those who reside in the Salem, Tiruchengodu and Omalur taluks of this district. It will be seen from it that these men have relations in the Attur and Dharmapuri taluks of this district, in Dharmapuram and Pollachi taluks of Coimbatore district and in the Musiri taluk of Trichinopoly as well as in the taluks of this district mentioned above. Particulars regarding the Koravas of this sect resident in this district in taluks other than those mentioned in statement I * are being accumulated and it is hoped shortly to have a list containing the particulars given in this statement regarding every adult male Korava of this sect resident in the district. Information regarding the relations of these men resident in other districts is being communicated to the Superintendents concerned in order that they may be able to supervise their movements in the event of this tribe being proclaimed as a criminal one.

3. Statement I * gives particulars of 602 adult male Koravas. The convictions of all save six of these have been traced. Of the remaining 596 Koravas, 257 have been convicted for various offences under the Penal Code and, in addition to these, 25 have been successfully prosecuted under the security sections of the Procedure Code, making a total of 282 or 46 per cent who have been proved to be of criminal propensities. The total number of offences under the Penal Code for which these 257 Koravas have been convicted is 568 and there have in addition been 105 successful prosecutions under sections 109 and 110, Criminal Procedure Code.

Analysing the offences of which these men have been found guilty and classifying the Koravas according to the most serious offence they have been convicted, it is found that statement I * includes 76 dacoits, 25 robbers, 85 house-breakers and 62 thieves. Four

* Not printed.

Koravas have been convicted seven times, 5 six times, 7 five times, 30 four times, 34 thrice and 76 twice for offences under the Penal Code, while one has been bound over four times, 2 thrice and 10 twice under the preventive sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. No. 518 is a woman. She has four convictions.

The criminal history of some of these Koravas is illuminating; it reveals at once their tendency towards crime, their vitality, the necessity for more effective methods of prevention, and more drastic treatment if the members of this tribe are to be redeemed from the criminal career to which they are at present destined and trained from childhood. No. 1 on the list in statement I * has seven convictions against him. He was first convicted in 1882 and was convicted for the seventh time in 1910 and was also acquitted in Sessions in 1898. No. 11 has also been convicted seven times, the first being in 1884 and the last in 1913. No. 32 began his criminal career in 1867 and was convicted for the seventh time in 1905—38 years later. No. 180 was first convicted in 1879 and after being convicted four times subsequently was bound over under the security sections in 1911. No. 339 was first convicted in 1879 and was convicted for the seventh time for dacoity in 1909, besides being acquitted twice for dacoity in 1895. No. 317 was convicted for offences under the Penal Code in 1883 (twice) and 1895, was bound over in 1900, was convicted for theft in 1902 and has since been bound over thrice.

4. Statement II * is a list of cases in which two or more Koravas have been jointly convicted. It has not been possible to make this list at all complete owing to the defective manner in which conviction and K.Ds. books have been maintained rendering it impossible in many cases to trace the associates of a particular convict. But, as it is, statement II * contains 116 cases; shows cases convicted by Magistrates of this district as well as those of Coimbatore and Trichinopoly districts; and proves association of Koravas of this district with those of these two districts.

5. Of the Koravas in statement I * who have not been convicted or bound over, almost all are closely related to Koravas who have convictions against them. In the cases of a few such relationship has not been shown to exist; but I think this is due rather to defective tracing than to an absence of such connection. There also exist relationships which are cherished by Hindus and which bind them together for which there are no terms in English. These have not, consequently, been shown in the statement. The Koravas in the list are really all one family; they intermarry and interdine with each other and combine to commit crime. For instance, Nos. 1 and 468 were conjointly convicted in Salem Taluk Crime No. 102/10; yet no relationship is shown to exist between them; it is the same with Nos. 183 and 208 who were jointly convicted in Elachipolliam Crime No. 29/01; and can be shown of many others. Moreover, every Korava is potentially a criminal, and where few of them earn honestly sufficient to live upon, as will be shown subsequently, it must be presumed that they really live upon crime, though they may have hitherto escaped conviction.

6. An inquiry has been made regarding the means of livelihood of each of the Koravas in statement I *. In many instances the means of livelihood is stated frankly to be thieving. In a large number of cases the chief means of livelihood is given as village watching which cannot be termed lawful. Kaval fees are extorted from villagers who have no other means of protection against the depredations of the Korava. The Korava in return for the fees paid is supposed in theory to protect the villagers against crime and make good the losses they may incur. In practice he does neither, and the villagers dare not dismiss him or withhold his fees as they know either course would entail the loss of their property at the hands of the Kavalgar. The only people who in any way benefit by the existence of the Kavalgar are the richer landlords who employ the Koravas as servants or in their capacity as criminals. To these men the Koravas are obsequious and submissive; thereby gaining a license to prey upon the less fortunately-situated and unprotected villagers. The kaval fees are in truth mere blackmail and they enable the Korava to lead life of indolence at the expense of the hard-working and law-abiding husbandmen. If the Korava did exercise any guard over the property of the ryots, there might be some justification for his existence as a Kavalgar; but it is precisely those station areas wherein the Koravas reside that show the largest return of crimes. The villager would discard his self-constituted protector tomorrow did he feel he could do so with impunity.

The fact that a Korava is a Kavalgar is useful to him as a means of evading the watch of the police and of facilitating his participation in crime. His absence from his house at nights is always accounted for by the statement that he is about his kaval duties, even when it is impossible to find him anywhere in the neighbourhood of his village.

To kaval fees, which usually amount to Rs. 4 a month for a village, and which are in any case insufficient to maintain the Korava and his family, are added, in many cases, fees earned by the womenfolk by repairing baskets. Even thus the total amounts earned are in few cases sufficient as a means of livelihood; and even in such cases as it suffices the Korava does not cease to exercise his talents as a criminal. No. 2 in statement I * with his wife and daughter earns on an average Rs. 10 a month as kavalgar and basket-makers. He has been convicted five times. No. 3 with his three sons earns about Rs. 17 a month as

* Not printed.

kavalgar and cultivators. He has been bound over under the security sections and has been acquitted in a dacoity case. No. 7 and his wife earn Rs. 10 a month as kavalgar and basket-makers. He has been convicted twice. No. 362 earns Rs. 6 a month from an oil mill and his wife and mother Rs. 3 together as basket-makers. He was convicted for burglary in 1908 and bound over in 1909.

Some of the members of the tribe obtain pittance as agriculturists and coolies. The earnings by these means amount to from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 a month and are insufficient to support a man alone, or a man with his family. In very few instances is any land owned by these Koravas and in such cases the land is usually leased out to others. Its possession is simply a cloak to conceal the true means of livelihood of the Korava and to be used as a plea for the defence in the event of a prosecution under the security sections. Some own a few sheep chiefly for the purposes of basing on such possession the plea that a sheep they have stolen was their own.

One Korava alone—No. 145 in the list—is a man of any means; he owns 40 acres of land and pays a kist of Rs. 50. He has been able to become the owner of this property owing to his success as a criminal. He has, in fact, one conviction for house-breaking and has been suspected in four other cases. He is looked up to and regarded as the leader of the tribe, conceals stolen property for its members and endeavours to protect them when implicated in crime by suborning the evidence of the witnesses against them. It cannot be said, even in the case of this man, that the possession of property by a Korava renders him free from the failings of his castemen. Whatever a Korava's worldly possessions may be he does not cease to be a thief. Comparative affluence does not turn him from thieving habits, nor cure his repugnance to honest labour. The Korava is by tradition and training a criminal. According to his traditions his god Subrahmanya being asked what trade the tribe should follow handed over a house-breaking implement! The children of the tribe are brought up from childhood to commit theft. Action under the Penal Code and Procedure Code has failed to eradicate the habits thus engrained in these criminals and other means are necessary to attain this end. The Criminal Tribes Act affords an opportunity of attempting to reclaim these people by settling them and making them earn an honest livelihood, and it is requisite that this method should be adopted with the Salem Melurnad Koravas.

7. With this end in view I have consulted Mr. Connell, the local manager of the Magnesite Syndicate, Limited, which has works near Suramangalam. At present some 1,200 men, women and children are employed on these mines and there is likely to be employment for many more in the near future. The miners work in gangs under maistries and are paid by piecework. For every 1,000 cubic feet of soil excavated Rs. 15 to Rs. 17 is paid and for every 1,000 cubic feet of magnesite extracted Rs. 30 is paid. By this means an adult male can earn by moderate labour Rs. 4 per diem, a woman Rs. 2 and a child one anna. This constitutes a living wage, provided a man is willing to do an honest day's work. There is practically nothing to learn about the work. It is surface mining and simply pick and shovel work. The separation of the magnesite from the soil consists merely in distinguishing white from brown.

The magnesite mines are situated about five miles from Salem. The Koravas can be kept separate from the other miners by being given new ground to break on the south-western side of the South Indian Railway, the mines at present in working being on the north-eastern side of the line. The remnants of some old huts exist on the spot and these can be rebuilt and thatched to afford shelter to the Koravas who can draw their supplies from Suramangalam. Carts and bullocks, if owned by the Koravas, could be used in carting the mineral. The provision of tools, picks, etc., would be necessary. The only point about these magnesite mines is that it is not yet settled that work is to be continued in them. The work is still in the experimental stage and it has not yet been determined that the concern is a paying one. This will probably be known in about three months.

Besides the magnesite mines there are some mica mines in the Tiruchengodu taluk. These, however, are scarcely suitable for the purpose of a Korava settlement. There are three mica mines—two being in the limits of Edapadi station, and the third in Chinnappampatti station limits. These mines employ 138, 164 and 21 miners, respectively, including men, women and children. Even if the Koravas were to oust all other labour from one of these mines, a settlement sufficiently large to absorb only the most dangerous amongst the Koravas could not be formed and to work two mines would necessitate a double settlement and a double police guard, which is open to serious objection financially. I therefore suggest the opening of a settlement on the magnesite mines.

8. It is not proposed to place the whole Korava population of the district in this settlement. It would suffice if only the most active and dangerous criminals were settled there at the outset at any rate; and others added when their conduct rendered it necessary. I should say that a start could be made with about 200 adult males and their females and relations, if they wished to accompany them. I would suggest at the outset that the active criminals in the Salem taluk, where the most dangerous of the Kavalgar Koravas in the district reside, be placed in the settlement. There are 173 adult males in Salem taluk

according to statement I *, but it would not be necessary to place all these under restraint. The balance of the 200 suggested for the settlement will be drawn from other taluks, the worst criminals being selected. The removal of all the active criminals of the tribe from one taluk will afford an opportunity of testing the amount of crime that is due to them.

9. A police guard for the settlement will be required. If the settlement is to consist of 200 adult males or thereabouts, I think a strength of one sub-inspector, one head constable and ten or twelve constables will suffice. The sub-inspector and head constable can be drawn from the existing district strength as a saving in these ranks has been effected in the revised reallocation proposals now being submitted. The force of constables will need to be in addition to the sanctioned district strength.

10. As shown above, the Korava is a criminal by tradition and training. The whole of his domestic polity is based on the understanding that his aim and object in life is to be successful in the commission of offences. So much so is this the case that, when a Korava marries his wife has to take an oath that she will not reveal her husband's complicity in crime, nor admit that his absence from home is due to his participation in a criminal raid. The children of the tribe are brought up on the same basis. From the age of ten years they are taught to drink toddy—a vice to which the members of the tribe are much addicted. The children further undergo an apprenticeship in crime. The mother conceals some article with the child's knowledge and warns him not to tell his father. The latter endeavours to get the child to reveal the hiding place, using promises, threats and force in turn. As soon as the child is sufficiently hardened by these means, he is set on to commit petty thefts and on reaching the age of fifteen years participates in the crimes of the adults. If therefore, it is the intention of Government to reform this criminal tribe, it is necessary to remove the children from the influence of the parents—a step which is permissible under the Criminal Tribes Act. From the inquiries I have made, I find that very little indeed is being done to get the children of the tribe educated, and that in such cases as children are sent to pial schools, they are removed by their parents before the rudiments of education have been acquired by them. I have sought in vain for a solitary instance of any Korava having reached any recognized educational standard.

11. On this subject I have consulted the Rev. C. E. Marshall, the Manager of the London Missionary Society in Salem, and the Rev. R. Robertson who is in charge of the Korava settlements in Elizabethpet and Muttampatti. They seem inclined to undertake the management of a school for Korava children of the Kavalgar sect, but the Society is hard-pressed for funds and would not be able to open such an institution without adequate financial support. An initial allotment of funds with a grant of so much a head would be required by the Society as well as the provision of implements in the event of an industrial school being opened.

I think the best means of settling this question would be to come to terms with the London Mission Society, as the removal of the children from the parents appears to be the only means of effecting any permanent change in the habits and customs of the tribe. The London Mission Society would include moral instruction in the curriculum, but would not attempt to baptise any children.

12. The Kavalgar Koravas, it will be seen, are a class at whose hands the village communities in the district suffer greatly. The exact amount of crime they commit can scarcely be judged from the number of sentences various Koravas have undergone. Only a small percentage of Korava thefts come before the courts. If the experiment I suggest is carried into effect of removing all active criminals of the tribe from a particular taluk, it may be possible to gauge with some degree of accuracy the criminal activity of the sect. I have little doubt that the results will be surprising.

Such Koravas as are not placed in the settlement will be supervised by the police under the Criminal Tribes Act. I believe it will be possible to train some of them to become kavalgars in fact and not only by pretence. Should this be the case, it may be possible, when the tribe are properly under control and when if it proves to be the case crime has diminished, to disband a portion of the regular police and in their place to maintain a body of auxiliary police drawn from the ranks of this criminal caste.

(10)

✓ *Attur-Kilnad Koravas.*

Letter—from F. A. HAMILTON, Esq., District Superintendent of Police, Salem.
To—the Inspector-General of Police, Madras (through the District Magistrate, Salem).

Dated—the 11th August 1913.

No.—R.C. 1275-Genl.

I have the honour to submit, herewith, list * of Attur-Kilnad Koravas resident in the Attur taluk of this district with a recommendation that they may be notified as a criminal tribe under section 3 of Act III of 1911, that their registration under section 4 of that Act may be directed, and that section 10 of the Act be put in force against them.

* Not printed.

* Not printed.

2. In my letter No. 1275-Gen., dated 23rd July 1913, I mentioned that the Kavalgar Koravas in the district were divided into two sects, namely, the Atturnad and Salemnad Koravas. The Atturnad Koravas are likewise sub-divided into two sects, namely, the Kilnad and Melnad. Members of these two sects neither interline nor intermarry, nor do they combine to commit crime. I am, therefore, dealing with them as separate tribes for the purposes of this Act.

3. The Attur-Kilnad Koravas are confined to the eastern portion of the Attur taluk, so far as this district is concerned. They have relations in the Kallakurichi and Vriddhachalam taluks of South Arcot district, and the Perambalur taluk of Trichinopoly district, and appear originally to have migrated into this district from those districts.

4. This tribe is one of exceedingly active criminal habits. Statement I * appended to this letter gives a list of the 141 adult male members of the tribe resident in the Attur taluk. Of these 141 members, 79 have been convicted for offences under the Indian Penal Code and in addition, eight have been successfully prosecuted under the preventive sections of the Criminal Procedure Code, giving a percentage of 62 convicted persons. The total number of convictions under the Indian Penal Code recorded against them is 145, and there have been also 51 cases of binding over under the Criminal Procedure Code.

These criminals are notorious as expert burglars, and this is exemplified in the figures of their convictions. While there have been 10 convictions for dacoity, 10 for robbery, and 45 for theft, there have been 79 for burglary. If the members are classified according to the most serious crime they have committed, we find there are 10 dacoits, 10 robbers, 43 burglars, and 17 thieves amongst them.

5. One member of the tribe has been convicted six times for offences under the Indian Penal Code, two five times, three four times, nine thrice, and 26 twice. One has been bound over under the Criminal Procedure Code thrice, and 11 twice.

No. 138 in the statement has a career of crime extending over 31 years with six convictions; No. 113 has secured 5 convictions, all for burglary—in 15 years; No. 129 took 25 years to gain similar notoriety and has also been bound over twice; No. 9 was convicted 4 times in 8 years and has been bound over subsequently; while No. 42 has been convicted 4 times in 11 and No. 110, 4 times in 13 years.

6. Statement II * gives a list of 27 cases in which members of the tribe have been conjointly convicted. These cases have occurred in the Salem, South Arcot and Trichinopoly districts, and show combination for purposes of crime of the Koravas of this sect resident in those three districts.

7. Statement III * is a list of Koravas of the sect known to be resident in the South Arcot and Trichinopoly districts. They were formerly residents of this district but have moved across the border, chiefly, apparently, for the purpose of facilitating the commission of crime. Particulars regarding 20 adult males are given. Nine have been convicted for offences under the Indian Penal Code and 4 in addition have been bound over under the Criminal Procedure Code. These figures give 65 per cent convicted members.

8. Of the 141 Attur-Kilnad Koravas resident in this district, all the members who have not been convicted are related closely to members who have been convicted save Nos. 54 and 55. The son-in-law of No. 54, however, has a brother who has been convicted and the brother-in-law of 55 has a brother with a conviction against him.

9. There are two peculiar cases in the lists appended. No. 83 in Statement I * was a member of the Attur-Melnad tribe.

He entered into an irregular alliance with a woman of the Kilnad sect and was consequently outcasted by the members of his own sect, and though not looked on altogether with favour by the members of the Kilnad sect is in a manner recognised as one of them. He is consequently taken as a member of the Kilnad sect. This is said to be the solitary example of anything in the way of a matrimonial alliance between the members of the two sects.

Number 156 in Statement III * was a man of the Padayachi caste. He became a Korava, has married a Korava woman, and his children are recognised as Koravas. I have found a similar instance in which a man of the barber caste became a Korava, joining the Salem-Melnad sect and marrying a Korava woman.

10. These facts are, I believe, sufficient to prove that the Attur-Kilnad Koravas are addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences, and to warrant their notification as a criminal tribe for the purposes of Act III of 1911. Lists of the members of the tribe resident in the South Arcot and Trichinopoly districts are being forwarded to the Superintendents of Police in those districts so that all the members of the tribe may be registered, should the notification sought for be issued.

* Not printed.

*Report on the Nakkalas of the Gōdāvari district by Mr. E. H. Sullivan,
Acting Superintendent of Police, Gōdāvari.*

The Nakkalas of Gōdāvari district are a dark skinned platyrrhine tribe of poor physique. The appellation Nakkala is derived, apparently, from the word nakka, a jackal, as the tribe is popularly supposed to be particularly partial to the flesh of this animal. The nickname is resented by the Nakkalas who call themselves Yanadies or more rarely Turpu (eastern) Yanadies. The true Yanadies, however, look upon them with contempt and refuse to recognize them as members of the same race. Thurston does not mention them in his "Castes and Tribes of Southern India" and Mullaly in his "Notes on Criminal classes" only devotes a brief paragraph to them. Mullaly states that the head-quarters of the Nakkalavandlu is the Palkonda taluk of the Vizagapatam district and also states that the manners and customs of the Nakkalas are identical with those of the Adavi Yanadies. Both these statements are not quite correct in so far as they concern the Nakkalas of this district. The gangs at Pittapur, Polavaram, Jaggampet and Prattipad are immigrants from Vizagapatam. But the other Nakkala gangs have been in this district for generations. As the Nakkalas are ethnologically similar to the Yanadies, it is probable that they originally immigrated from Nellore, that some settled in this district and some in Vizagapatam and that since the original immigration certain gangs have emigrated from this district into Vizagapatam and *vice versa*. The immigrants from Vizagapatam have definitely settled in this district and their head-quarters is now in this district.

2. The Nakkalas of Gōdāvari resemble the Chatla Yanadies in that they live in the outskirts of villages and are usually settled. They do not wander for long periods in the jungles, as a general rule, unless they are absconding after or before committing an offence. In manners and customs they are more closely allied to the Chatla Yanadies than to the Adavi or Forest Yanadies who are houseless wanderers and do not build huts as Nakkalas do.

3. The Nakkalas' huts are identical in construction with those built by Chatla Yanadies, i.e., they are rude conical huts thatched with palmyra leaves over a bamboo framework. The entrance is only about two feet high.

4. Like other Tolugu classes, Nakkalas have exogamous septs or *intiperu* (ఇంటిపేరు) of which the following are examples:—

Marri	= Banyan tree.	Golusu	= Chain.
Cherukuri	= Village of sugar cane.	Meda	= Upstairs.
Akula	= Leaves.		

5. Nakkalas are a homogeneous tribe and never intermarry with other castes and tribes.

6. The Nakkalas stand low in the social scale but are not considered to carry ceremonial pollution. They go in for deity worship, their favourite deities being called Maremma, Maremma, and Nookalamma (to which deity a temple is consecrated in Anakapalli of Vizagapatam district). They also worship the ordinary Hindu deities.

7. The Nakkalas' ostensible means of livelihood are the catching of tortoises, hares, jackals, rats, lizards and other small animals and the gathering of honey. Some of the Nakkalas occasionally do a little light cooly-work in the villages, but a Nakkala never works if he can help it and never does field work or hard manual labour. It is obvious that these slender means of subsistence are quite insufficient and every Nakkala goes in for petty pilfering. They originally confined themselves to petty theft, usually of grain, but have of late years grown more and more criminal and several have now been convicted of dacoity, robbery and house-breaking. House-breaking and theft or theft alone is still, however, the favourite offence. Nakkalas do not join with other castes in committing offences.

8. Nakkalas usually commit a house-breaking in either of the two following ways:—

(1) By digging a hole under the door frame.

(2) By making a hole near the bolt of the door sufficiently large to admit of a man's hand being introduced (the "buglee" operation). They usually use either the iron instrument with which they dig up roots or stolen iron plough shares in committing house-breakings. They sometimes use crowbars as well. They are usually accompanied by women and youths when they go to commit burglaries and other offences. The women do not often take an active part but help in carrying away the stolen property. One woman has, however been convicted three times of house-breaking and once of theft and five women were convicted last year of a burglary in Chelluru village. The chief part women play is in disposing of the stolen goods to the receivers who are usually ryots and renters of toddy-shops. The Nakkalas never melt or in any way disfigure the stolen jewels but dispose of them intact to the receivers. When caught, Nakkalas confess readily and usually give out the name of the receiver, but never disclose the names of the persons who have given them information leading up to the commission of a burglary. In almost every village Nakkalas have informants who advise them as to which house is worth breaking into.

9. After committing an offence Nakkalas either abscond into the scrub jungles of Paddapur and Rajahmundry taluks or rejoin the gang after disposing of the stolen property to the nearest receiver. As they are swift runners they often manage to dispose of the property and rejoin the gang before the police are on their track. Sometimes a gang of about 8 or 10 pass out of view and live a wandering life in the jungles, occasionally making swift raids into the neighbouring villages and returning to the jungles. Most of the crimes are committed in those parts of the Rajahmundry, Peddapur and Ramachandrapur taluks which are contiguous to the jungles. A Nakkala would not commit a dacoity or robbery unless he were within 10 or 15 miles of the scrub jungle and could escape thither. When once in the jungle Nakkalas are very rarely caught as they are expert junglemen and the jungles are extensive. Both men and women are also very agile and hardy and have no difficulty in showing their heels to any policeman.

10. Nakkalas are found in the following taluks of the Gōdāvari district—Polavaram (agency), Rajahmundry, Peddapur, Pittapur, Ramachandrapur and Nagaram. The Ramachandrapur and Peddapur taluks and the eastern portion of Rajahmundry are, however, the chosen abodes of the worst gangs as the taluks above named either contain or are adjacent to the extensive scrub jungles referred to *supra*.

11. The Nakkalas of this district have committed crime in the three districts of Gōdāvari, Vizagapatam and Kistna and very occasionally in Guntūr and Ganjām but of late years have confined themselves chiefly to this district. They have been convicted in the courts at the following places:—

Parlakimedi	..	Ganjām	Tenali	..	..	Guntūr
Ganjām Sessions Court	..	district.	Bāpatla	..	..	district.
Srungavarapukōta	..	..	Polavaram	..	..	..
Narsipatam	..	Vizagapatam	Kottapalli	..	..	..
Yellamanchili	..	district.	Rajahmundry	..	..	..
Anakapalli	..	..	Prattipadu	..	..	..
Kovūr	..	..	Kottapeta	..	..	Gōdāvari
Narsapur	..	..	Ramachandrapur	..	..	district.
Bandar	..	Kistna	Pittapur	..	..	..
Yernagudem	..	district.	Cocanada	..	..	..
Sivakōdu	..	..	Peddapur	..	..	..
			Alamur	..	..	..

12. There are 240 male Nakkalas known to the Police and they reside in the following villages and are formed into the following 19 unregistered gangs:—

Serial number of gang.	Name of leader.	Taluk.	Village.	Number in gang.	Number convicted.	Remarks.
1	Marri Chinna Paidigadu	Polavaram	Koyyalagudem	2	2	These two gangs are connected.
2	Cherukuri Appadu	Do.	Polavaram	20	..	
3	Chernkuri Chinnigadu	Do.	Do.	7	7	
4	Guddati Somadu	Rajahmundry	Korukonda	13	3	No crime in last five years.
5	Komaragiri Kondada	Do.	Gokavaram	12	2	
6	Marri Maridigadu	Do.	Rahitapur	13	5	
7	Marri Narsigadu	Do.	Sitanaagaram	5	..	No crime in last eight years.
8	Golusu Maridigadu	Do.	Near Gokavaram	3	..	
9	Akula Venhatigadu	Do.	China Kondepudi	3	..	
10	Marri Dara Appadu	Peddapur	Prattipad	24	10	No crime in last eight years.
11	Meda Maridigadu	Do.	Jaggampet	..	7	
12	Golusu Paramesu	Do.	Peddapur	33	9	
13	Marri Chinna Venkudu	Rajahmundry	Rajanagaram	3	3	66645
14	Komaragiri Aggiramu	Ramachandrapur	Ramachandrapuram	4	16	
15	Rachuri Paidigadu	Do.	Biccavole	2	2	
16	Gunupati Sahibgadu	Do.	Alamur	7	7	No crime in last eight years.
17	Akula Viraswami	Nagaram	Mamidikuduru	1	1	
18	Meda Tammigadu	Pittapur	Pittapur	23	7	
19	Marri Veeralasa	Peddapur	Samalkot	15	9	No crime in last eight years.
				240	98	

From the above statement which includes convictions under the security sections it will be seen that as a tribe the Nakkalas are distinctly criminal as 40 per cent have been convicted. I do not, however, consider it necessary at present to have the whole tribe registered under the Criminal Tribes Act. Some of the gangs, notably No. 2, live chiefly by cooly-work and two

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members of gang No. 2 actually own between them land producing Rs. 70 per annum. They are the only Nakkalas who own land. The gangs that, in my opinion, do not require registration at present are the following:—

- Gang No. 1—No convictions during the last ten years.
 " 2—The members live chiefly by cooly-work.
 " 3—Only one recent conviction.
 " 4—None of the members are dangerous criminals.
 " 5—None of the members are at present active criminals.
 " 6—Do. do.

Gangs Nos. 7, 8 & 9—None have been convicted.
 " 10, 11, 13, 15, 18 & 19—There are very few recent convictions.

Excluding gangs Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 18 and 19 there are 75 Nakkalas whom I propose to have registered. Of these 75, 39 or 52 per cent have been convicted.

Statement B* amply proves that the Nakkalas associate together for the purposes of committing crime. The figures in brackets denote the approximate distances between the gangs by the nearest routes.

I think it has been clearly shown in the above report that the Nakkalas are by nature so criminal that it is absolutely necessary to have those persons mentioned in statement A* notified under sections 3 and 10 of Act III of 1911. I am also of opinion that the movements of the gangs whose registration I have recommended, should be restricted under Part II of the Act. I have already given a full description of the nature of the offences committed by the Nakkalas. It only remains for me to prove that the tribe's ostensible means of livelihood is only a pretence for the purpose of facilitating the commission of crimes. The very nature of the so-called occupation followed by the tribe, viz., the snaring of wild animals and the gathering of honey supplies the required proof. The animals caught are not saleable and provide only food. Therefore only savages who wore no clothing and owned no huts, nor cooking vessels could possibly live by it. Yet all the tribe now own huts, wear clothing and possess cooking vessels. Since it is absurd to suppose that the proceeds of the sale of honey could provide them with these luxuries, it is clear that the occupation the Nakkalas profess to follow is only a pretence. That it facilitates crime is equally obvious as the Nakkalas are enabled thereby to absent themselves from their homes and wander for long periods in the jungle on the pretence of looking for food and honey. Once arrived in the jungles they are free to commit crimes in the rich villages on the outskirts.

At a meeting held at Waltair on the 9th August the Manager of the Kodur mines, Vizagapatam district, said he was willing to take the Nakkalas to work on his mines provided, he obtained formal sanction from his Directors. I suggest therefore that the Nakkalas be settled at Kodur and that their movements be restricted to that area owned by the company or to such portion thereof as can be determined later.

Gandarakōttai Koravas.

(12-A)

Letter—from S. F. CHETHAM, Esq., Superintendent of Police, Tanjore.

To—the District Magistrate of Tanjore.

Dated—the 10th August 1913.

As requested by you personally the other day when we discussed in detail the proposal to bring under the Criminal Tribes Act and settle near Tanjore the gang of criminals known as the "Gandarakōttai Koravas", I have the honour to give a few facts showing the extraordinary criminality of the gang and a brief outline of the proposals.

2. The gang belongs to that class of Koravas known as the Dubhai or Kudakatti (basket weaving) Koravas. They would appear to be an off-shoot of the Togamalai Koravas, and it has been stated that about a century ago, one or two families of these famous burglars were brought to Kattunaval by notorious Kalla budmashes of these parts, who though skilled in all manner of villainy, e.g., dacoity, cattletheft, blackmailing, etc., were no experts in the gentler and more scientific art of cracking cribs.

3. Kattunaval, being as it is on the borders of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Pudukkottai State in every difficult country and enjoying a position of great strategic importance from a criminal point of view, forms the head-quarters of these criminals, and it is most conveniently situated for criminal raids in the rich and attractive country on either side, both in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts, as also in the Pudukkottai State. Being but a mile or two from the Pudukkottai border, there is every facility for these criminals to step over into a Native State and evade any activities of the police and wear out their patience, should they exhibit any tendency to be too attentive. The number of the Koravas gradually swelled, until to day there are about 56 male adults in the gang with their women and children.

* Not printed.

4. When the old gang registers were maintained and the old system of surveillance over the gang was in vogue, the gang would appear to have split up, so as to give the police as much trouble as possible, and at the present time they live in no less than 16 villages, all of which are, however, close to one another and within 3½ miles from Gandarakōttai. The names of the villages are given in list 'A'.

5. The adult male members appear to do no work whatever, and when not in jail are usually absent in batches, chiefly during dark nights, on house-breaking expeditions. They are extraordinary experts in the gentle art, and every Ramaswami, Krishnaswami and Pakkiri in the district has heard of their fame, if he has not had occasion to experience it.

6. The field of their operations is a very wide one, and their *modus operandi* practically always the same, effecting entry into a house by digging a hole under the door frame, or by the side of the bolt.

7. The main sphere of their operation is in Tanjore district, and with exception of a few convictions in Pudukkottai State and in the Trichinopoly district, all their convictions have been in this district. Hardly a corner of the district has been left untouched by them, and it would appear that they prefer to commit their crime a long way from home. After committing one or two cases in a locality, they usually make themselves scarce, and try a fresh field. In 1911, I instituted a prosecution against them under section 401, Indian Penal Code, and their history and habits were investigated in great detail by a special Sub-Inspector. The crime registers and case diaries in all the cases in which these Koravas were concerned were scrutinized and a number of interesting statements, crime maps, etc., were prepared. A book of crime maps illustrating the particular crime they commit was then prepared for four years' crime. It is a very significant fact that when a large number of these Koravas were in jail, this form of crime at once decreased, and when most of them were out, the reverse was the case. The absence of a number of the gang on dark nights also meant an increase of crime, and in 1911 when we charged 33 of them and arrested 8, and the others made themselves scarce and fled into Pudukkottai, there was a big drop in crime. The absconders have recently however been returning and resuming their activity, and the recent increase of crime of this type may in some measure be put down to them. It is significant that two or three lots of them have been caught in Mayavaram and Kumbakonam, where all the crime had been occurring. The statements attached illustrate the extraordinary criminality of the gang. The 56 male adults have no less than 76 convictions under the Indian Penal Code to their credit which when one considers the extraordinary skill in their profession and the enormous number of cases of the particular form of house-breaking they affect which remain undetected, year after year, in this district, one begins to wonder how many cases they are really responsible for. Besides these convictions they have been sent to jail in 74 cases under sections 109 and 110, Criminal Procedure Code, and sent up for trial in many cases in which for want of sufficient evidence they have been acquitted or discharged.

8. The women are very industrious in making baskets and do not go in for committing crime; in fact none of the women are known to have been convicted. They are however said to be good spies and informants and they assist their husbands in selecting the houses to be attacked.

9. It is obvious that for such a gang the Criminal Tribes Act is just the thing, but I consider that both parts of the Act should be applied to them, and that they should be settled in some spot where they can get the maximum supervision and opportunities for permanent employment. I do not think they have any particular love for the locality, where they now reside, or for the Kallas who live side by side with them, who are at the same time their receivers, money-lenders and oppressors. Such lands as they appear to possess appear to have been mostly seized by or mortgaged to the Kallars and I should think they would be only too ready to settle in fresh surroundings, if they are given some inducements in the shape of lands, houses, schools for their children, wells, etc.

10. The District Board Engineer, whom I spoke to on the subject of finding employment for the men, has kindly interested himself in the scheme, and has found a Local Fund contractor, M.R.Ry. N. P. Doraisami Mudaliyar, who is both willing and ready to give the gang regular and permanent work in the quarries between Vallam and Tanjore; and as the work is light and the situation of the quarries is excellent from the point of view of supervision I do not think we can do better than locate the settlement in some of the waste lands near the quarries. It will be necessary to help them to build their houses, erect a school, give them some lands and last, but not least, give them a toddy shop (sale of toddy to be specially regulated) in the settlement. Toddy they must have and it will be better to give them a regulated supply on the spot, rather than let them roam about the country, visiting outside shops, where they cannot be looked after.

11. I have seen Mr. N. P. Doraiswami Mudaliyar, and he is prepared to do everything to make the scheme a success and to take a close and fatherly interest in the Koravas. He says he can give them as much work as they want, and appoint agents to live in the village and look after them. It will be necessary at first to locate a head constable and a few

* Not printed.

constables in the village. Head constable 603 would be the right man to put in charge of the police party. They should, I think, get a special allowance as the duty will be irksome, and they will be put to some extra expenses living in the settlement. Rupees 2 a month for the constables and Rs. 4 for the head constable would be enough.

(12-B)

Letter—from F. A. HAMILTON, Esq., Superintendent of Police, Tanjore.
To—the District Magistrate, Tanjore.
Dated—the 23rd October 1913.
No.—C. 3343/Genl.

I have the honour to submit herewith revised lists regarding the Gandarvakottai Koravas with a request that Government may be addressed to notify the tribe as a criminal one under section 3 of Act III of 1911, to order their registration under section 4, to put in force section 10 against them and to form a settlement of the members under section 11 of the Act.

2. List 'A' * gives the names of the adult male members of the tribe, shows the offences of which they have been convicted, their relationship to each other and the females and children dependent upon them. The total number of adult males is 55, No. 13 having died since the compilation of the list. Of these, 45 have been convicted or bound over for offences under the Indian Penal Code or Criminal Procedure Code giving 82 per cent convicted. The number of convictions for offences under the Indian Penal Code is 77 and the number of cases in which these people have been successfully prosecuted under the security sections is 70.

Of the 77 convictions under the Indian Penal Code, five have been for dacoity, one for robbery, 57 for house-breaking by night, two for house-breaking by day, seven for theft and five for minor offences. This shows that these people are chiefly remarkable as burglars of which offence 24 members have been convicted. Fifteen members of the tribe have been convicted once, seven twice, four thrice, seven four times, and one eight times for offences under the Indian Penal Code, while 16 have been bound over once, 11 twice, six thrice, one four times, and two five times.

No. 26 was first convicted in 1890, and was convicted for the eighth time in 1908, thus securing eight convictions in 18 years.

No. 2 was first convicted in 1894 and was convicted for the fourth time in 1903 since when he has been bound over thrice.

No. 4 secured four convictions in six years and has been bound over twice. No. 52 was convicted for theft in 1875, again in 1877 and been bound over thrice since then, giving a career of crime extending over 38 years. Only 10 of the adult males have not been convicted but each of these is closely related to some one or more members who have been.

3. List 'B' * shows the crimes in which the members of the tribe have been jointly convicted. It gives a list of 23 cases, and the names of the stations show that the depredations of the tribe extend over the Tanjore, Trichinopoly and South Arcot districts as well as into Pudukkottai territory.

4. These facts are, I believe, sufficient to show this tribe constitutes a dangerous criminal community. The members live in a group of villages situated on the borders of Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts, and also of Pudukkottai territory and are, consequently conveniently placed to escape the surveillance of the police and to ply their nefarious trade with facility and to a great degree with impunity. The methods hitherto employed to put a limit to their predatory excursions and to redeem them from their criminal habits have signally failed. New methods of treatment are imperatively called for if a reformation is to be effected in the habits of the community.

5. (a) The formation of a settlement would best meet the case. The community is a comparatively small one numbering in all 131 souls. It might be possible to limit their movements to the villages in which they now live. All these villages are within $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Gandarvakottai Police station, and by increasing the staff of the station, it would be possible to a certain extent to keep the members under surveillance. The members of the tribe could be set to ply their hereditary trade of basket making, and the sale of their manufactures could be arranged for in Tanjore. There are, however objections to this course being adopted. Surveillance would be difficult, and the tribe would remain in the neighbourhood of and the influence of the Kallas who now urge them to the commission of crime and batten on the proceeds of their depredations. It would, therefore, be preferable if the tribe could be removed and settled in another place.

(b) A convenient site for settling the tribe exists at Vallam. The quarries from which the District Board draws its supplies of road metal are available to afford the members of the tribe good and sure means of gaining their livelihood. There are several sites on which a settlement can be made and while the adult males are employed in the quarries the females could make a living by making baskets. At Vallam they would be only seven

* Not printed.

miles from their market, as compared with the 18 miles from Tanjore to Gandarvakottai. The Lutheran Mission of Tanjore will undertake the supervision of the settlement in the event of no other body coming forward to do so.

6. An enquiry has been made into the means of livelihood of the tribe. Most of the women work as basket makers and some of them bore ears, earning from As. 2 to As. 6 daily while engaged in these pursuits. Of the adult males only five have been found who do any work and these are occupied with basket making and agriculture. The fact that these men are so engaged does not affect their criminal habits. No. 29 is engaged in these two pursuits, but he has been convicted thrice for offences under the Indian Penal Code and has been bound over thrice. No. 32 is engaged on cultivation. He has been convicted twice under the Indian Penal Code and has been bound over twice. No. 33 is similarly engaged. He has been bound over twice. No. 29 and his wife earn As. 8 a day but this, as is shown, is not sufficient to keep him from frequent indulgence in crime. It is the failing for drink that makes the living expensive for these people.

7. List 'C' * shows the landed and house property owned by the various members of the tribe. The total value of the houses is Rs. 1,389 and of the land Rs. 4,105, land to the value of Rs. 150 being leased by one member and not owned by him. The encumbrance on the whole property amounts to Rs. 822. Arrangements as to the disposal of the property will have to be made, should the tribe be removed to a settlement.

8. That the possession of immovable property by no means argues detachment from criminal habits can be shown by the history of the members owning it. Nos. 1 to 5 live as a joint family and together possess a house worth Rs. 200 and land valued at Rs. 1,010. The whole property has a mortgage for Rs. 420 on it and 11 persons are dependent on it as their ostensible means of livelihood. No. 3 alone of the five owners has not been convicted. No. 1 has been convicted twice and bound over four times; No. 2 has four convictions under the Indian Penal Code and has been bound over thrice; No. 4 has been convicted four times and bound over twice; and No. 5 has one conviction and has been bound over thrice.

No. 10 with his brother No. 11 and his cousin No. 14 own a house valued at Rs. 300 and land valued at Rs. 870. No. 10 has been convicted four times under the Indian Penal Code and bound over twice; No. 11 has been convicted once and bound over twice. No. 14 alone has so far been immune from conviction. Nos. 34, 35 and 36 who are brothers, own a house valued at Rs. 150 and land valued at Rs. 1,750. The whole land save a very small portion is mortgaged, and No. 34 has been convicted under the Indian Penal Code twice. It would appear therefore, that being engaged on some occupation, or possessed of some property, forms with these people a cloak under which to conceal their real means of livelihood.

9. Should a settlement be formed as suggested, a guard of one head constable and six constables would be required therefor. Arms for this guard can be drawn from the present allotment sanctioned for the district.

(13)

Note on the Vanganur Parayas prepared by H. R. G. Hasted, Esq., District Superintendent of Police, Chittoor.

Name of the tribe.—The Vanganur Parayas are a portion of the great Mala community. They are part of the Tamil-speaking Parayas and they know practically no Telugu. They do not all reside in Vanganur proper but live in the three paracheries or malavedas of Vanganur, Chengalrayadi Kandigai and Krishnakuppam. All these malavedas are within $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile of each other and the term Vanganur Parayas is applied to all the Malas of these villages as Vanganur is the parent village. The gang lives entirely at its home and does not shift its residence.

2. Description of the tribe.—The Vanganur Parayas in many cases ceased from all work and have developed into a collection of very dangerous and desperate criminals. The famine of 1876 is the first occasion upon which crimes were actually traced to the gang and in that year four of them were convicted of dacoity. Dacoits are not made at once and it may be presumed that previous to that they had been committing other offences. The gang lives entirely in the malaveda and possesses huts and in a few cases small amounts of land. The land is not sufficient to support them and in many cases is not even cultivated. There are in all 155 Malas in the above three malavedas and of these some 35 are desperate criminals and the others are related to them and must be cognisant of the crimes that are committed. Of those known to be criminals none have enough land to support them and do no work of any sort and have not done any work for years. Yet in spite of this they were able to employ a vakil during the four months of their trial at a rate, as I understand, of Rs. 25 per diem. This could only have been met by the sale of the property they had stolen.

The males leave their houses on criminal excursion for ten days or a fortnight and leave the women and children at home. They often dress as Reddis and higher castes and live in chattrams or houses in the villages they visit and obtain information regarding the

* Not printed.

houses worth looting. The chief offence they commit is house-breaking at which they are very expert and they usually remove an entire window in order to obtain ingress. Returning with their booty they freely use the railway and also often employ juktas. They have no means of support beyond crime and refuse to do work although there is plenty of honest labour to be obtained in the neighbourhood of their home. In several cases the Malas have been said to have committed rape in the course of their crime but no reports were made on account of shame.

3. *Women and children.*—The women and children do not commit crimes against property but assist in resisting the police when the latter go to the malaveda for purposes of arresting the Malas or searching their houses. In 1909, five of the women were convicted for assaulting the police. The women are not prostitutes, but in several cases they have been suspected of granting their favour to persons who have helped them in crime. When males are arrested it is usually the females and not the other males who arrange for the defence of the accused person or persons. The women and children are usually illiterate and the latter do not start serious crime before the age of 16 but of course are not above pilfering and petty theft.

4. *Range of operations.*—The range of operations of the gang may be said to be Chingleput, North Arcot, Chittoor and part of Nellore and Kolar district (Mysore). They commit every sort of offence against property from dacoity to petty theft and are also addicted to blackmailing and cheating. The number of convictions against the gang is no criterion at all of their criminality. In the security cases when 27 of them were convicted and bound over this year the number of crimes proved against them was very great as is shown in schedule A. This by no means exhausts the list as more witnesses were ready to come forward and speak to the crimes they had committed but it would have been mere waste of time for the court. It can be safely said that the whole neighbourhood of Ramakrishnarajupet, Sholinghur and Arkonam rang with the depredations of these men. They were known to be criminals and to be very desperate characters who would stop at nothing and fear of reprisals kept the majority of victims from even reporting the offences. They are all men of good physique and tall and much more than a match for the people they looted. The difficulty of tracing offences to them is great as they are so well off that the property stolen is not disposed of for months and often for a year or two. It is secreted in hiding places in the hills which surround Vanganur. Sholinghur, Arkonam and Gudiyattam have been harassed by these men. Twenty Malas have been criminally convicted and the total number of such convictions is 33 in which are 2 dacoities, 3 robberies and 22 house-breakings. Twenty-seven members have been convicted under the security sections and of these 19 have convictions under the security sections alone.

The total number of Malas having more than one criminal conviction is as follows:—

Two have criminal convictions	...	...	...	...	4 times
Two do.	...	...	...	...	3 "
Three do.	...	...	...	...	2 "

These figures appear small but when taking in conjunction with schedule A * and when the fear of the people in respect to reporting crime is taken into account it is sufficient to show the character of the tribe.

5. *Criminality justifying restraint.*—The first recorded convictions against the gang are in 1876 when four were convicted for dacoity and since then crime has been committed steadily by the tribe. The first real step taken against the tribe was in December 1912 when the Superintendent of Police, North Arcot, raided the gang and arrested 29, of whom 27 were put up under section 110 (a) and (f), Criminal Procedure Code. During the course of the trial the number of offences proved against the gang is given in schedule A * which is a terrible record of ill-doing. It must be remembered that all these cases were clearly proved. From 1880 to 1890 there were two convictions for dacoity, one for robbery, ten for housebreaking and eight for theft and receiving stolen property. In 1890 to 1900 there were two convictions for dacoity, three for robbery and fifteen for house-breaking. Crime it is seen is going up. From 1900 to 1906 cases increased and the tribe was a terror in the neighbourhood. In 1907 the people of twelve villages round Vanganur grew desperate and petitioned the District Magistrate who went to the village and personally spoke to the tribe. This had no effect at all and crime continued to increase but was also not reported by the people on account of fear. In 1912 the tribe was daring beyond belief and committed innumerable offences and the people again appealed to the District Magistrate and other officers. From June to November 1912 they committed house-breaking in Wallajah, Ranipet, Sholinghur and Gudiyattam circles and devastated the south-eastern corner of Chittoor district. Very few of the cases in Chittoor district were reported for fear of reprisals, and when the gang was raided in December it was ascertained that 60 house-breakings had occurred that year in Vanganur alone but had not been reported. Mr. Venkatesa Sastrigal, B.A., B.L., President of the Bench Court at Sholinghur, found that the town was so unsafe on account of the depredations of the gang that he submitted

* Not printed.

a special report to the District Magistrate, Vellore. A Criminal Investigation Department officer was put on to try and trace the criminals. He was able to say that the offences were probably committed by Tamil-speaking Parayas. The Parayas had been seen by several witnesses who were subsequently able to identify them as the Vanganur Parayas. Acting on this and mahazars from villagers, the Police of North Arcot raided the Malaveda and arrested 29, of whom 27 were put up under section 110 (a) and (f), Criminal Procedure Code, and all bound over for one year.

(i) In 1902 head constable No. 578 and some men arrested some of the tribe for a dacoity and the head constable was severely assaulted. One Mala was convicted.

(ii) In April 1906 the Assistant Collector and Assistant Superintendent of Police with the Ranipet police raided the gang and head constable No. 1027 was assaulted.

(iii) In 1907 the constables arrested a warrantee Mala of the gang and the others with their females assaulted the police and rescued the warrantee and brought a false charge of arson against the police.

(iv) In 1909 the police of Wallajah raided the gang and they were assaulted by seven Malas with their females. The Malas set fire to their houses and brought a false charge of arson against the police.

(v) In October 1909 the Inspector of Police, Wallajah, narrowly escaped assault at the hands of the gang.

(vi) In 1908, the Deputy Superintendent of Police and a large body of police went to the Malaveda to arrest some of the Malas and they resisted.

(vii) In 1911 the constables arrested two members of the gang for robbery and they attempted to stab the constables.

From the above it is seen that the tribe does not hesitate to attack the police and the fear of the unarmed villagers may be imagined.

Before 1st January 1911 the Malas of Chengalrayadi Kandigai were being looked after by the Church of Scotland Mission at Sholinghur, but they found the task hopeless and gave it up and notified the same to the station-house officer of Ramakrishnarajupet station. Mission work was subsequently taken up there by the Australian Presbyterian Mission who have not met with more success as several of the Malas refused to do anything except live by crime. They were ex-communicated. This shows how impossible it is to deal with the tribe.

Since the security cases above mentioned crime has dropped in a remarkable manner in Wallajah circle and in the part of Chittoor district where the tribe used to operate. A perusal of the judgment shows the attitude of the people towards the gang and the universal joy there is at getting rid of them. Houses were broken into, property stolen and crops reaped by the tribe with impunity. Very few people dare to report offences and the small body of police at Ramakrishnarajupet dared not interfere with the desperate criminals.

From the above it may be seen that the tribe is one that should be brought under the Criminal Tribes Act. The fact that missions have failed to reclaim them shows their character and there must be some means of keeping them in check. They are Tamil-speaking Parayas and could easily be taken to the Vepur Paraya settlement, but first the tribe should be proclaimed and registered. It will be necessary to register some 40 Malas at first and these are already finger-printed and their description taken. The application of the rules in the first part of the Act will not entail any hardship to the members as there is ample work for them near their home if they will only do it. If they once give up crime the Mission at Sholinghur will certainly see to the education of the children.

(14)

Jogis.

Letter—from F. SAYERS, Esq., Acting Superintendent of Police, North Arcot District.

To—the Inspector-General of Police (through the District Magistrate, North Arcot district, and the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Central range).

Dated—Vellore, the 3rd January 1914.

No.—C. 33/Genl.

I have the honour to submit herewith proposals for notifying the Jogis of North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput and Chittoor districts as a criminal tribe together with statements * showing the evidence on which the proposals are based.

1. Jogis belong to a caste of Telugu mendicants and are divided into two classes namely those who sell beads and those who keep pigs. Those who sell beads are called Pichugunta Jogis and are found in numbers in Chittoor, Cuddapah and in some portions of North Arcot district, especially in the circles of Gudiyattam and Wallajah. In this report the class of Jogis referred to are those who keep pigs and live in the districts of North Arcot, Chingleput, Chittoor and South Arcot.

* Not printed.

2. Jogis are summed up by Hon'ble Mr. H. A. Stuart (now Sir Harold Stuart) as being "Like the Dasaris, itinerant jugglers and beggars. They are divided into those who sell beads and those who keep pigs. They are dexterous snake charmers and pretend to a profound knowledge of charms and medicines. They are very filthy in their habits. They have no restrictions regarding their food, may eat in the house of Sudra, and allow widows to live in concubinage only exacting a small money penalty and prohibiting them from washing themselves in turmeric water."

3. By far the largest number of them are found in North Arcot district. Their ostensible means of living is begging and pig-breeding and their main means of livelihood is the commission of robberies, dacoities and other offences against property. In dacoities and robberies they always use force and mercilessly attack their victims. They have no lands worth the name and are either too lazy to do any cooly work or find crime a more easy method for making a livelihood.

4. Their sphere of operations extends over the districts of Chingleput, North Arcot, Chittoor and South Arcot and even to the Nilgiris, No. 345 having been convicted in the last-mentioned district. Even in spite of careful watch, many of the Jogis have evaded the clutches of the criminal law, because, they have been assisted by receivers of Pondicherry and other places. Jogis first came to notice even before the famine of 1877, so early as 1872 when many of the males and females were convicted for robberies and dacoities. At that time Sriperumbudūr, Conjeeveram and Utharamallur of Chingleput district contained a great number of Jogis who afterwards emigrated to different places and formed the beginnings of a great many gangs of criminal propensities.

5. Recorded convictions prove without doubt the criminality of the tribe. Seven hundred and eighty-two Jogis who are over eighteen years of age are dealt with in this report which include 426 persons of North Arcot, 32 of Chittoor and 168 of Chingleput and 156 of South Arcot districts. Statement No. IV * shows their distribution in the circles of those districts.

6. Out of these 782 persons, 387 have been criminally convicted for cognizable and non-bailable offences; and 43 persons under security sections alone. Four hundred and thirty have to their credit 748 criminal convictions which include 178 convictions for dacoity, 177 for robbery, 185 for house-breaking and theft, and 208 for theft or receiving stolen property. Besides, they have 138 convictions under security sections. Since 1900, the convictions for 430 Jogis are 116 for dacoity, 114 for robbery, 85 for house-breaking and theft and 155 for theft and receiving stolen property and 138 under security sections.

7. Out of 782 Jogis mentioned in statement No. I * 653 are present, 50 are out of view, 61 are now undergoing imprisonment in jails and 18 are living in Pondicherry limits. These 18 persons are shown in statement No. III *. Most of the out-of-view members are believed to be living in Pondicherry or to have gone to Penang or Natal. About 500 of them have been finger-printed.

8. Statements IV * and V * show the numbers of persons convicted once, twice, etc., up to seven times, which is the greatest number recorded against individual.

9. Besides these, 13 females in North Arcot district have been convicted. These are shown separately in statement No. VI *. Four of these live in Wandiwash, one in Arni and eight in Wallajah circles. They have to their credit 13 criminal convictions and 1 under the security sections.

10. The Jogis mentioned in statement I * are connected by relationship and by association in crime. Their relationship with those of different circles is given in detail in statement No. I *.

11. That the Jogis are a tribe of dangerous criminals will be seen from the following:—

(1) In 1900, Nos. 336, 342, 348, 349, 350, 410, 411 with Koravas and others were in the lock-up at Arcot in Kalavai dacoity case No. 40/1900. One night they broke open the iron bars of the cell and escaped from custody after assaulting the police.

(2) Head constable No. 110 Subba Rao was attacked by No. 5 and another since dead. His carbine was stolen and No. 5 was convicted in that case under section 392, Indian Penal Code.

(3) In 1903, constable No. 401 with others attempted to search the houses of Nos. 50 and 463. He was attacked by them. They were convicted and sentenced to different periods of imprisonment under sections 332 and 379 in C.C. No. 40/1903 of Arni Deputy Magistrate.

(4) In 1905, constable No. 168 of Dusi station was attacked by the Jogis of Conjeeveram circle in the Pālār river midway between Dusi and Conjeeveram.

(5) Nedungal forest of Wandiwash circle afforded a safe refuge to the many Jogis of Conjeeveram, Wandiwash and Madurantakam circles since 1900. Many persons escaped from the gangs of the above mentioned circles during this period. From Nedungal forest they operated in three districts, i.e., Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot. Mr. Stevenson, then Assistant Superintendent of Police of Vellore, observed during his inspection of Wandiwash station in 1903: "There is a nucleus of a gang at Anapathur, several

* Not printed.

"Jogis are shown to be continuously coming there to the number of 20 or 30 and numerous complaints are continuously coming in about Anapathur Jogis. I think, however, that something should be done about these Jogis and it will be a good thing to have a permanent record of these and this I will strongly recommend to District Superintendent of Police."

12. From the police records it is found that Nos. 2, 6, 8, 9, 13, 20, 53, 350, 461, 462, 465, 481, 482, 484, 485, 486, 503, 504 and 529 with Viranna alias Viraraghavadu, now at Nayambet of Pondicherry, Gungadu alias Appadu, Samigan alias Guruvan and Kannigan, now at Katterikuppam of Pondicherry, had a safe refuge in Nedungal forest of Wandiwash circle. During that period, that is, between 1900 and 1907, a period of about seven years, crimes (i.e., dacoities and robberies) were very heavy in the police divisions of Arcot and Wandiwash of North Arcot district, Gingee, Tindivanam and Tiruvannamalai of South Arcot district, Uttaramallur and Conjeeveram of Chingleput district. And this observation is corroborated also by the statement of Jogi Chengan alias Venkatan, No. 461, given before Mr. J. Moore, then Assistant Superintendent of Police of Vellore (vide statement No. VII *), on 21st February 1908. In this statement all except 2, 6, 8, 9, 13 and 380 are referred to as being his associates in the commission of several robberies and dacoities. The statement is very interesting and affords a splendid insight into the criminal habits of these Jogis. No. 503 was the leader and he was called Sergeant Kuppen because "He put on police uniform and impersonated a head constable in some former case." He had a clear head in arranging campaigns for the commission of robberies and dacoities. He had many persons as his trusted friends and receivers. He has been included in the Criminal Investigation department list of notorious criminals as No. 75. He is now living in Seevadi village of Madurantakam circle, Chingleput district.

13. These Jogis were assisted by Pallies of Nedungal and Anapathur. They were strongly supported by the toddy shopkeepers of Velianallur and Tiruvathur of Wandiwash circle with money and information of the movements of the police. A toddy shopkeeper, who was a beggar some 20 years ago, is now a master of nearly twenty-thousand rupees. In proceedings No. 414, dated 18th March 1907 of the District Magistrate of North Arcot, the abovesaid toddy shopkeeper was debarred from bidding in arrack sales. The receivers and friends of the Jogis were booked under section 411, Indian Penal Code. These compelled the Jogis to disperse into different places, as they found Nedungal forest too hot for their criminal operations. Several of them have gone to Tiruvannamalai, Tirukkoyilūr and Cuddalore circles and have committed many dacoities and robberies. During their depredations they were joined by No. 53 who was released from jail about the beginning of 1907, after five years' imprisonment under section 395, Indian Penal Code. They were helped and backed up by local Jogis in the various circles where they operated. Nos. 2, 8, 53, 380, 461, 769, 772, 773, 774 and 777 were arrested in Tirukkoyilūr (24/07, sections 395 and 75, Indian Penal Code) by the villagers of Tirukkoyilūr of South Arcot district in March 1907, and convicted and sentenced to different periods of imprisonment. No. 350 is still in jail. Nos. 6, 481, 482, 485 and 767 were arrested at Pudukalaiyam (41/07, section 395, Indian Penal Code) of Cuddalore circle and also convicted. Nos. 9 and 462 were convicted in Kalavai (in 67/06, section 394, Indian Penal Code) of Wallajah circle.

14. The Jogis, above said, were even so bold towards the end of 1906 as to arrange plans to attack two Inspectors of North Arcot district who were on special duty against them. The Inspectors had to change their camp from Moranam to Kalavai on urgent business during the day. Head constable 748 of North Arcot was ordered to come behind during the night with the Inspectors' records, etc. The head constable was attacked in Moranam forest of Wallajah circle and his uniform and all the police records were burnt to ashes. In the above case No. 9 was convicted under section 394, Indian Penal Code, in 1907. No. 13 was arrested by Vettavalam Police of South Arcot district in 1908 and he was also convicted in the above case. During that period, the wife of No. 13 was bound over in Vettavalam case 14/08. Nos. 463 and 483 were just then arrested in Kavanthandalam, 19-22/08 under sections 109 and 110, Criminal Procedure Code, and bound over. From the above, it will be seen that all the members of the gang referred to in paragraph 12 that took refuge in Nedungal forest of Wandiwash circle, have been convicted and sentenced to different periods of imprisonment about the middle of 1908. This resulted in the decrease of grave crimes like dacoities and robberies in the circles of Wallajah, Wandiwash, Tiruvannamalai of North Arcot district, Conjeeveram and Madurantakam circles of Chingleput district, Tindivanam, Tirukkoyilūr and Cuddalore circles of South Arcot district. All of them have been released from jail except No. 350 who was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in 1907.

15. The samans of Mr. B. Swire, then Assistant Superintendent of Police, Vellore, were dacoited between Pennagar and Dusi by the Jogis of Conjeeveram and Wandiwash about the beginning of 1907. A reference to this has been made by Jogi Chengan alias Venkatan in his statement to Mr. J. Moore. In this instance the orderly was robbed of his carbine and cartridges.

* Not printed.

16. The Jogis of Arni station are also notorious dacoits and robbers. They had an able leader in the person of Kanni Kalappi Vijiaragava Ayyar (chor No. 162). He organized many dacoities. He supplied the intellect and the Jogis supplied the physical power. He was charged in Tiruvattur station 32-33/02, sections 457 and 395, Indian Penal Code, with Nos. 42, 44, 45, 46 and 53. He conducted his case very boldly and ably and shattered the witnesses by his able cross-examination and got off in that case. He was put up again in first information report 53/02 of Pernamallur. He was convicted and sentenced to ten years' rigorous imprisonment in S.C. No. 41, dated 10th November 1903 of Sessions Judge of North Arcot district. After release, this Brahman dacoit leader settled himself at Sattanapalle in Guntur district as a manager of a coffee hotel. After he went to jail, from 1903-05 there was a sudden decrease in grave crime in Arni, the western portion of Wandiwash circle and the southern portion of Wallajah circle. About July 1905 Nos. 37, 43, 45, 46, 51, 59, 368, 369, 390 and 399 committed a torchlight dacoity in Kadali village of Wallajah circle. They were convicted and sentenced to different periods of imprisonment in S.C. No. 46/05 of North Arcot district. In this case, Nos. 46 and 51 were sentenced to transportation for life.

17. Prior to 1908, robberies were committed frequently on the cause-way between Arcot and Ranipet by the Jogis of Vanivedu and other places of Wallajah circle. In 1908 Nos. 281, 284 and 294 committed robbery in the Palar cause-way. Patrol constables Nos. 1169 and 837 went to the place and shot at the robbers. One of them No. 284 received a gun shot wound on one of his arms. Nos. 284 and 294 were convicted in first information report 82/08 of Arcot station.

18. The Jogis of Ammundi of Gudiyattam circle, committed road robberies and dacoities between Arcot and Vellore. In 1908 one of the Jogis was shot by a patrol constable of Vellore taluk station and he died subsequently.

In 1908, Nos. 5 and 50 with other Jogis of Tiruvannāmalai circle, committed three dacoities in Tiruvannāmalai station limits. They were caught red handed and convicted.

Nos. 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 79, 80, 81 and 409 were convicted for road dacoities between Arni and Vellore in Kannanmangalam crime No. 54/1909. That even now the criminal law has no terror for the Jogis may be seen from the following. In 1910, 31 persons, were convicted, nine for two dacoities, one for one robbery, six for six house-breakings and thefts four for three thefts or receiving stolen properties and 11 under security sections.

In 1911, two were convicted for one dacoity, two for two house-breakings and thefts three for a theft and one under security sections, Criminal Procedure Code.

In 1912, three were convicted for one dacoity, six for three robberies, one for one house-breaking and theft and nine for six thefts and ten under security sections, Criminal Procedure Code.

In 1913, till July two were convicted for one robbery, three for two house-breakings and thefts, two for theft and nine under security sections, Criminal Procedure Code.

19. Besides this, many Jogis have been suspected in cases of robbery and dacoity since 1912. In four dacoities of Tiruvannāmalai circle the Jogis of Pondicherry were suspected with the Jogis of Brahmadesam of Tindivanam circle and Vanoor station of Villupuram circle. On account of their proximity to Pondicherry they have been evading punishment. Some instances have come to notice in which station-house officers in French territory, Pondicherry, have given certificates of good character to French Jogis proceeding temporarily to British limits so that they might not be arrested by the British police.

About September 1912, a robbery occurred in Kaveripak station limits of Wallajah circle, wherein, the Jogis of Kaveripak were suspected. Nos. 345 and 401 were put up in Kalavai 22/1912 under section 395, Indian Penal Code; but they were discharged as there was only evidence of identification by two individuals. Nos. 85, 108, 109 and 117 were suspected in Polur station 85/1912, section 395, Indian Penal Code and No. 166 in Vana-varam 2-4/1912, section 392, Indian Penal Code.

20. In 1913 is noticed a stronger attempt on the part of the Jogis to live by committing crimes. No. 17 is charged under sections 109 and 110 in Crime No. 84/1913 of Pernamallur station. No. 1 whose whereabouts were not known for about 10 years was arrested at Muttathur station of Villupuram circle and bound over for one year. About the middle of February a torchlight dacoity was committed in Ayramangalam village of Wallajah circle. The Jogis of Kattari of Arni circle were suspected and six of them were identified by the complainant. The case was not pressed as there was only evidence, of identification of the complainant alone. These Kattari Jogis are those who were before led by the Brahman mentioned in paragraph 16 supra and the house which was dacoited was that of one of the principal witnesses against the Brahman and his gang in 1902. In Kaveripak 32/1913, section 394, Indian Penal Code, Nos. 352 and 363 were charged on the bare evidence of identification. They were discharged because there was a delay of two days in making the complaint. The Deputy Magistrate, Ranipet division, observed that

they might be put up under the preventive sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. Nos. 348, 349, 360, 361 and 362 are under arrest from 8th November 1913 in Kaveripak 61/1913, section 379, Indian Penal Code, and they are under remand. Nos. 277, 282, 283 and 284 were arrested in First Information Report 49/1913, Ranipet station, on the identification of the complainant. As sufficient evidence was not forthcoming to secure a conviction under the Penal Code, they were put under security sections and bound over for one year. Nos. 92, 95, 102 and 103 are suspected in First Information Reports 60 and 61 of 1913 of Arni, section 392, Indian Penal Code; No. 226 in First Information Report 102/1913 of Vellore taluk station, section 395, Indian Penal Code; No. 188 in 69/1913 of Katpadi station, sections 457 and 380, Indian Penal Code; Nos. 708, 738, 781 and 782 were charged in Veraiyur 20/1913, section 392, Indian Penal Code; Nos. 708, 738 were discharged. Nos. 664 and 665 are charged in 78/1913, section 392, Indian Penal Code, of Brahmadesam station and the case against them is pending trial.

21. Many Jogis of North Arcot and Chingleput districts have now taken shelter in Pondicherry. They very often make raids into British territory and commit dacoities. Nos. 532 and 734 originally belonged to Attur village of Madurantakam circle. They took shelter in Pondicherry and with others committed dacoity in Villupuram station limits towards the end of 1910. They were convicted with 733 of Pondicherry.

22. It is quite obvious from the foregoing reports that these Jogis are addicted to the systematic commission of cognizable and non-bailable offences of all kinds against property. A glance at Statement No. IV * will show that they have been convicted in a great many cases. Taking for granted that one crime in every three which they have actually committed has been detected and this would be a very small percentage to take and in reality the figures should be about one in ten as is clear from the criminal statistics of any district, some small idea of their criminality may be guessed at.

23. That they are a tribe and come within the scope of the Criminal Tribes Act can be seen from statements Nos. I * and II * which prove that they are closely connected by relationship and by association in crime.

24. It is therefore requested that the persons noted in statement No. I * may be declared to be a criminal tribe under part I of Act III of 1911 and notified and registered as such according to Police circles as is shown in statement No. IV.*

25. There is no doubt whatever that these Jogis are not able to make a sufficient livelihood for themselves by breeding pigs and they have been living mainly by the commission of offences against property, and that therefore if Part I of the Act is applied to them Part II will also have to be applied to them and that they will have to be restricted. I would suggest therefore that as the majority of them have been long-term convicts and as such have learnt either weaving or carpentry while in jail, they be confined in a suitable place in an industrial settlement. It may not be necessary to restrict all of them, but a start might be made with, say, 150 of the worst criminals in the tribe. If, however, Part I of the Act is applied to the tribe and they are registered, I shall submit definite proposals under Part II of the Act for their restriction.

(15)

Note on the Kilagudi Kallas by Mr. H. G. Clinch, District Superintendent of Police, Madura, dated 14th March 1914.

NAME OF THE GANG OR TRIBE.

The people whose proclamation as a criminal tribe is now asked for are the Kilagudi Kallas, i.e., the Kallas with head-quarters at Kilagudi, a village situated at 6 miles to the west of Madura town at the entrance to Kallar-nad or home of the Piramalai Kallas, of whom they form a part. The Piramalai Kallas, i.e., those residing beyond the Nagamalai hills, are themselves a portion of the Melnad portion of the Kalla tribe.

The following extract is taken from Mullaly's "Criminal Classes" showing the history of the tribe:—

"Though not a wandering tribe, the Kallas, like the Maravas, are the principal criminals of the southern districts of the Presidency—Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevely. In the Madura and Trichinopoly districts they form the most remarkable class.

"They are a dark race of small stature with many distinctive peculiarities pointing them out as having sprung from an aboriginal tribe.

"The word 'kallan' means thief or robber in many of the languages of Southern India and is supposed to have been applied to them as indicative of the peculiar mode of earning a livelihood—their violent and lawless habits. Their profession is that of stealing with or without violence as opportunities offer. Before the British entered the country they were in constant warfare with their neighbours.

* Not printed.

"The tribe is divided into two main divisions—the Mel Nadu or western country and the Kil Nadu or eastern country. Members of these divisions do not intermarry.
 "The Kil Nadu comprises the nadus of Melur, a village situated about 16 miles from Madura, and its inhabitants whose agnomen is 'Ambalakaran' are descendants of a clan which immigrated into the country.

"The origin of the Kalla caste, as also that of the Maravas and Ahambadayas, is mythologically traced to 'Indra' and 'Ahalya,' the wife of Rishi Gautama. The legend is that Indra and Rishi Gautama were, among others, rival suitors for the hand of Ahalya. Rishi Gautama was the successful one; this so incensed Indra that he determined to win Ahalya at all hazards and, by means of a cleverly devised ruse, succeeded and Ahalya bore him three sons who, respectively, took the names 'Kalla,' 'Marava' and 'Ahambadaya.' The three castes have the agnomen of 'Theva' or 'god and claim to be the descendants of 'Thevan' (Indra). In spite of the alleged common ancestry of these three classes, they have now formed themselves into distinct castes and intermarriage between Kallas and the other two classes is not allowed.

"Following a similar course of action to that adopted by the Kil Nadu Kallas, the Mel Nadu Kallas gained extensive possessions stretching to the extremity of the great Dindigul valley, and though in the early period of British rule in India the Kallas gave infinite trouble to the authorities, they have of more recent years, since 1801, when the province of Madura was annexed to the Company's territories, changed their habits and submitted to order. They are, however, still a bold and high-spirited people, with whom crime is looked upon as a natural excitement."

PROFESSED MODE OF LIVELIHOOD.

With the exception of some half a dozen houses the entire population of Kilagudi is Kallar. According to a census taken recently they number 321 adult males having dependent upon them 549 women and 272 children. They profess to earn their livelihood by agriculture and all but 5 of the 321 adult males actually own land either in their own right or in conjunction with others. The total amount of land possessed by them is 452 acres (wet land 268 acres and dry land 184 acres), which is quite insufficient for their maintenance. The wet land is dependent upon the water-supply from a tank adjoining the village, which rarely receives enough water to even partially fill it; on their own admission, they have not had sufficient crops for ten years. They own in addition cattle sufficient for agricultural purposes; the exact value of which it is difficult to estimate. The land itself is mortgaged to the extent of Rs. 12,000.

In addition, 39 individuals are known to collect kaval fees from certain streets in Madura town and from villages on the outskirts of the town. This kavalship is only a form of blackmail; it involves no responsibility as regards residence or patrolling in the localities; it is supposed to guarantee immunity from crime committed by other Kallas of their tribe and compensation for property lost and not recovered, but in many cases, if losses by theft are incurred, they are not made good by the kavalgar.

Although ample employment is to be had in the Madura Mills within easy reach of their village, they do not avail themselves of it. A few, it is true, are occasionally employed there, but their attendance is most irregular.

CHARACTER OF CRIME, CRIMINAL METHODS, ETC.

The following extract is taken from Mullaly's "Criminal Classes" as regards the character of crime committed, criminal methods, etc., of the Kalla tribe:—

"The crimes that Kallas are addicted to are dacoity (in houses or on highways), robbery, house-breaking and cattle-stealing. In all of these they are adepts. They are usually armed with 'Vellari thadis' or clubs and occasionally with knives similar to those worn by the inhabitants of the western coast. Their method of housebreaking is to make the breach in the wall under the door, a lad of diminutive size then creeps in and opens the door for his elders, who help themselves to anything they can get. Jewels worn by sleepers are seldom touched. The stolen property is hidden in convenient places, in drains, wells, straw stacks and is sometimes returned to the owner on receipt of black-mail from him called tuppukuli or 'clue hire.' Their chief receivers are among the Manga-potto and Nattukottai Chettis. Vendors of arrack and toddy are instrumental in the disposal of petty things, cloths and the like, but in grave crimes months elapse before the booty is in any way distributed or disposed of.

"The women seldom join in crimes, but assist the men in their dealings with the Chetties.

"They observe omens before starting on depredations and consult their household gods. An omen peculiar to them is this; two flowers—one red and the other white—are placed before the idol, a symbol of their god 'Kulla Alagar'; the white flower is the emblem of success; a child of tender years is then told to pluck a petal of one of the two flowers and the undertaking rests upon the choice made by the child.

"Though not essentially a wandering tribe, Kallas use the railways and visit adjacent districts where as a class they are unknown and commit their depredations; if noticed and questioned by an inquisitive policeman or villager, the reply they give is that they are traders in cattle, visiting the various cattle markets. Disguises are not adopted by them. Signals are exchanged by whistling or scribbling on the ground; and while committing crime names are never mentioned; they address each other as the big one, the 'little one' using ambiguous terms.

"Even to this day children of the Kallar tribe are brought up in the olden fashion as though intended to gain their livelihood by preying on their neighbours' property. The boyhood of every Kallar—says Mr. Nelson—is supposed to be passed in acquiring the rudiments of the only profession for which he can be naturally adapted, namely, that of a thief and a robber. At fifteen he is usually entitled to be considered a proficient, and from that time forth he is allowed to grow his hair as long as he pleases—a privilege denied to younger boys. At the same time he is often rewarded for his expertness as a thief by the hand of one of his female relations."

This account is true also of the Kilagudi Kallas except that they confine themselves mainly to house-breakings and thefts in Madura town and its outskirts and on the railway line in the vicinity; there are instances, however, on record of their going much further afield. Kilagudi is also the trysting point of the worst criminals of the Kallarnad, with whom they combine, as occasion demands, for the purposes of crime. In 1908, eight Kallas went into the Tanjore district for the purpose of committing dacoities, but they were prevented in time from carrying on their depredations and put up for good behaviour before the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Negapatam, who bound them over in his Mis. Case No. 32/08. Amongst these was No. 175 in the list (* statement A). They do not carry on their operations under recognized leaders, but they form themselves for the purposes of crime into parties of varying numbers, either from among themselves or in conjunction with Kallas from other villages in the Tirumangalam taluk where they have numerous relations and connections.

CRIMINALITY OF THE GANG JUSTIFYING APPLICATION OF SECTION 3 OF CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT.

For the purpose of the notification of this tribe as criminal under section 3 of the Act, it is only necessary to prove that it is "addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences."

* Statement "A" appended shows the number of convictions of Kilagudi Kallas in cognizable and non-bailable offences and security cases individually for the years 1898 to 1913 inclusive. All these are known convictions traced from the current police registers.

The total number of adult males is 321, of these 48 have been convicted of non-bailable offences and seven under section 75, Indian Penal Code. In addition to the convictions for cognizable and non-bailable offences, 24 have been bound over under the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code.

In addition to these figures Nos. 174, 175, 68 and 181 are now under remand having been caught red-handed recently in a house-breaking case in the Madura Mills. No. 290 is under remand concerned in a house-breaking case committed in the Railway colony, Madura, and Nos. 198, 199 are under remand in connection with a house-breaking case of Madura town.

Of these Nos. 175, 68, 290, 198 and 199 have not been previously convicted.

These figures by no means represent the actual total criminality of the tribe, which almost entirely lives by crime. Their methods are such that it is extremely difficult to obtain evidence leading to their conviction; the Police records of Madura town and taluk disclose a large number of cases in which these Kilagudi Kallas have been suspected and so much are they feared that witnesses are extremely diffident of deposing openly against them for fear of reprisals, and further owing to the prevalence of the Kudikaval system, a large number of offences especially cattle thefts are never reported to the authorities, but the property stolen is recovered on payment of tuppukooly or clue hire. In this way a large number who actually live by crime have escaped conviction.

It has already been shewn their ostensible means of livelihood, viz., agriculture, is insufficient for their maintenance and they derive no other recognized sources of income except from the Kudikaval system which is nothing more or less than a form of blackmail.

At the beginning of last year a mahazar petition was addressed by the Kallas of Kilagudi to the District Superintendent of Police stating that, owing to the scarcity of water in the tank, which irrigated their lands there has been no proper cultivation for the past ten years; they were therefore unable to pay the Government kist and in consequence have to earn their livelihood by thieving and praying that steps might be taken

to improve the irrigation of their lands. This mahazar was referred to the Revenue and Public Works Department authorities, who found it impracticable to divert any water-supply into their channels without interfering with the supply to other lands in the neighbourhood.

The original mahazar with a translation attached is appended hereto. It is signed by 43 of the individuals found in the list (* statement A) of whom 35 in number (namely Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 12, 13, 14, 24, 26, 29, 33, 39, 45, 60, 65, 73, 104, 106, 119, 141, 147, 157, 174, 182, 198, 235, 238, 243, 282, 287, 294, 297, 304, 306) have never been convicted. Thus in addition to the 48 individuals who have actually undergone conviction for non-bailable offences, these 35 on their own admission have to resort to thieving as a means of livelihood.

Of the total amount of land, namely, 267 acres 55 cents wet and 184 acres 21 cents dry possessed by the whole tribe, 151 acres and 75 cents of wet land and 99 acres and 50 cents of dry land are possessed by 64 families consisting of 93 adults with 257 dependents. It is calculated that this is sufficient means of livelihood *if the season is good*, but even among these 93 individuals are to be found a number who have undergone conviction; for example (1) No. 69 who owns in conjunction with 170 his son 2 acres of wet land and one acre of dry land and cattle altogether worth Rs. 2,500 was bound over under 110, Criminal Procedure Code, in 1906, (2) Nos. 249 and 250 (father and son) who own along with 251, 2 acres of wet land, 4 acres of dry land and cattle worth in all Rs. 2,000 were bound over in 1908 and in the same year No. 250 was convicted of theft and his bonds were forfeited in consequence (3) No. 36 who owns 2 acres of wet land and one acre of dry land and cattle worth in all Rs. 2,000 was convicted under sections 461 and 379, Indian Penal Code, in 1913.

The remaining 150 families comprising 225 adults with 573 dependents have only 151 acres and 30 cents of wet land and 84 acres and 71 cents of dry land for their maintenance.

All except five individuals have land either in their own right or in conjunction with others.

* Statement "B" shows joint convictions. From this and from * statement "A" shewing the relationships, the homogeneity of the tribe for the purposes of crime is clearly shewn. Practically every member of the tribe is inter-related with the other members either by blood or marriage. Marriages are arranged between families within the village as well as with families from outside villages.

Prior to the introduction of the re-allocation scheme there was a Police station at Kilagudi attached to the Madura town division. This was abolished on re-allocation in 1910, but in the same year owing to outbreaks of crime in Madura town, which was suspected to be the work of these Kallas, an out-post had to be established to keep them in check; this precaution has only been of partial utility as under the ordinary police system, it is impossible to exercise a proper surveillance over such a large criminal community. It is only possible to exercise surveillance over a certain number at one time, e.g., those that are registered as K.Ds. and suspects; even if these are thereby prevented from going out for crime, there are always plenty of others who carry on their depredations unchecked. It is therefore essential that special measures in the shape of the Criminal Tribes Act be introduced to enable the authorities to keep this criminal community in check.

Enough has been said to prove the criminality of the Kilagudi Kallas as a whole, but it may be said that it would be unfair to apply the Act to such individuals among them who may be earning an honest livelihood and are not proved criminals in spite of their family associations. It is open, however, to the District Magistrate, when issuing the notice after notification to exempt such individuals from registration under the proviso to section 5 of the Act. Owing to the fact that they do not acknowledge any leaders, etc., it is impossible to treat any separate portion of them as a gang for the purposes of the Criminal Tribes Act.

CRIMINALITY OF THE TRIBE JUSTIFYING ITS RESTRICTION OF MOVEMENTS AND SETTLEMENT IN A PLACE OF RESIDENCE UNDER SECTION 11 (1) (b) OF THE CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT.

For the purpose of the settlement of the tribe in a place of residence under section 11 (1) (b) it is necessary to prove 1) the nature and circumstances of the offences in which the members of the tribe are believed to have been concerned and the reasons for such belief, (2) whether the tribe follows any lawful occupation and whether such occupation is their real occupation or a pretence for facilitating the commission of crime.

The nature and circumstances of the offences in which the members of the tribe have been concerned have been sufficiently described in the details of the proved convictions against them given above and it is not necessary to add much to them. The offences are of a sufficiently serious nature and the security of person and property in Madura and its vicinity is notoriously unsafe owing to the depredations of this tribe.

* Not printed.

With reference to (2) it may fairly be said that the tribe as a whole is without occupation of any recognized kind and few if any of them have any occupation sufficient to maintain themselves honestly.

It has already been shown that they are in possession of 452 acres of land which on their own showing does not produce sufficient for their maintenance. They are in possession of a considerable number of cattle and other property, the exact value of which it is difficult to estimate but it is an undoubted fact that the possession of this is only a cloak to facilitate the commission of crimes, as is evidenced from the fact that some of the biggest landholders, as already shewn above have been bound over under the security section of the Criminal Procedure Code. Under present conditions they find the profession of thieving and levying of blackmail a far easier and more profitable form of livelihood and means of enriching themselves. Most of the property now possessed by them if its exact origin could be traced would be found to be the proceeds of crime.

Under section 11 (1) (b) of the Criminal Tribes Act, it is necessary when recommending the restriction of movements of a tribe, to propose some area to which their movements are to be restricted or the place of residence in which it is proposed to settle it and show in what manner they will be able to earn their living within such area or settlement.

In the case of the Kilagudi Kallas Messrs. Harvey's Cotton Mills at Madura furnish at once a suitable place where a settlement may be formed and a means of livelihood ready at hand. The Manager of the Mills has offered to employ as many of these Kallas with their women and children as we are likely to be able to send him in the near future. He is also prepared to house them; in fact at the present time he has 171 huts ready for occupation.

Mr. Bexhill of the Lutheran Mission who has had considerable experience among the Kallas has also offered to do all he can to see to the moral welfare of these Kallas and in the event of a school being provided would be willing to supervise it.

The Lutheran Mission compound is close to the workers lines where these Kallas would be housed. We have therefore the means close at hand for the establishment of a successful settlement and the offer of regular employment should be taken advantage of.

It may be said that it would be unfair to take the landholders away from their land but it has been held that when a tribe has been proclaimed under Part II, it is not necessary that every member should have his movements restricted and Kilagudi being only six miles from Madura it would be possible even for those whom it is found necessary to place in the settlement to attend to their lands when necessary during the day time.

(16)

Note on the Kondadoras prepared by Mr. A. J. Happell, District Superintendent of Police, Vizagapatam.

1 and 2. Name and development of the tribe.—The community, the proclamation of which, under the Criminal Tribes Act is under reference belongs to the tribe called Kondadoras (lords of the hills) whose home is in the eastern slope of the Vizagapatam hills. Ethnologically and linguistically the tribe is akin to the Khonds and other hill tribes in the Jeypore Agency. The main branch which resides in the northern part adjoining the Uriya country and owning and cultivating land goes by the name of "Pedda Kondalu" and is regarded as purer and superior to the "China Kondalu" in the south.

During the disturbances, which took place in the hill tracts in this district, about the time of the permanent settlement, many Kondadoras came with the hill zamindars some as fighting men and some as retainers and after order had been restored a number of them settled permanently in the adjoining plains. Originally their Telugu neighbours treated these Kondadoras without sympathy. But some of them succeeded in obtaining lands from the Telugus and settled down as cultivators. While others, who failed to get any help from the local people, resorted to crime as a means of subsistence. Thus the Kondadoras, who settled as land-owners have come to be called "Many-a-doras", while their brothers, who have adopted crime as their profession, are known by their original name "Kondadoras." The word "Kondodora" in this district has now become practically synonymous with "thief."

It is with this section of the tribe of Kondadoras that we are concerned in this report. Their principal settlements are in Chinna and Pedda Bantupalli, Kanapaka, Kondakodur villages of Chipurupalli circle, Boddam and Neelamrajupeta of Bobbili and Vizianagaram circles, respectively.

The community as a rule are settled, but frequently make predatory excursions to neighbouring taluks and to the Gōdāvari district. Their operations are, however, mainly confined to the localities in which they reside. Some of those residing in Kondakodur and Neelamrajupeta villages, latterly came to possess some land. These lands were originally given to them as service inams by zamindars for attending their courts on festive occasions.

and following them while out hunting. Gradually these lands were divided into small holdings, the major portion of which are mortgaged with possession. As the land statement attached will show these lands even if they were not mortgaged are in most cases an altogether inadequate means of livelihood.

Another ostensible occupation which many members of the community pretend to follow is village watching. This so-called village-watching as shown further on in this report is merely a form of levying "blackmail" and a pretence for facilitating the commission of crime.

They often assume disguises when on their predatory excursions, posing as Bhatrajus, rich ryots or cattle dealers. In the beginning of their career, they confined themselves to burglaries and thefts but the impunity with which they were able to commit this kind of crime, has emboldened them to resort to the graver offences of robbery and dacoity. Since 1896 these men have been systematically committing all kinds of crime and have become a danger to society.

3. *Number and distribution of the tribe.*—Of this tribe 327 adult males and 10 females who were convicted have been numbered. Their principal settlements are as already mentioned Chinna and Pedda Bantupalli, Kanapaka, Kondakodur, Neelamrajupeta and Boddam—all in the jurisdiction of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Vizianagaram, though there are several stray members in some outlying villages. Some of the members engaged as village-watchers do not remain in a village for any length of time and as soon as a crime is committed in their area they leave it and move on to another village on the pretext of village-watching. The members are distributed over as many as 35 villages besides their principal settlements. Out of 337 registered members, 41 are at present in jail and 62 are out of view. The families of the latter, however, remain in the villages and are in touch with the absentees.

4. *Homogeneity of the tribe.*—There can be no doubt, whatever, as to the homogeneity of the tribe. The members, though scattered in a number of villages, are closely related to one another and associate together for the commission of crime. The relationship among the members has been thoroughly checked and is freely admitted by the Kondadoras themselves. Two statements * A and B are attached to prove the relationship. In statement A the relationship among members residing in each village is shown and in statement B,* the details of relationship among members of different villages. These statements clearly prove that all the members belong to one homogeneous tribe.

To take only a few instances: (1) No. 25, the leader of the settlement at Pedabantupalli, has relatives in as many as 15 villages, (2) No. 200, a notorious criminal of Kuntinavalasa village, is related to members residing in 13 villages, (3) No. 264 of Garbham has relatives in nine villages.

Statement "C" * gives details of cases in which several members of the tribe have been jointly tried and convicted but it is by no means a complete list. In several cases the offenders absconded and were arrested at different times and put into court in batches.

For this reason the accused appear under different calendar numbers though they were all concerned in the same cases. Two such instances are given below:—

In crime No. 15 of 1907 of Budarayavalasa station, a case of assaulting the police, Nos. 1, 4, 5, 10, 13, 16, 17, 18 and 21 of Chinabantupalli, No. 239 of Venkupatruni—Rega, Nos. 264, 265 and 266 of Garbham, No. 269 of Bhyripuram and No. 297 of Korlam jointly committed the offence but were convicted in different calendar numbers as they could not all be produced at the same time before the court. Again in crime No. 59 of 10 of Gajapatinagaram station Nos. 219 and 220 of Kottavalasa, No. 304 of Datti, Nos. 226, 227 and 229 of Vindhavasi jointly planned and committed a house dacoity. They were arrested at different intervals and convicted in separate calendar numbers. As stated above, statement C * is by no means a complete list but it is sufficient to show that members of the tribe residing in different villages frequently associate together for the purpose of committing crime.

5. *Criminality of the tribe.*—For the purposes of the notification of the tribe as criminal under section 3 of the Act, it has to be proved that the tribe is "addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences." Two statements * D and E are appended which show the number of convictions of each individual and also the number of convictions of the members of the tribe under the separate heads of dacoity, robbery, burglary and theft from the year 1895 to 1912. The figures speak for themselves and exceed those of Veppur Parayas of South Arcot district who have recently been prescribed. It will be seen from statement D * that out of 337 members, 231 have been convicted for non-bailable offences and more than half of these (151) under section 75, Indian Penal Code (the number of convictions ranging from 2 to 11). Of the remaining members 14 have been bound over under the security sections and only 92 members have no judicial convictions but they are

closely related to the convicted persons and are suspected by the police to be addicted to crime. The total number of convictions of the 337 members of the tribe in non-bailable offences is 675 and 94 in security cases.

There is also no doubt that a large number of crimes committed by this tribe are not reported to the police, partly owing to the fear of reprisals and the uncertainty of detection and partly on account of the delusive promises of the village watchers that they would return the value of the property stolen according to the terms of their agreement.

It is submitted that there is ample evidence to prove that the members of the tribe are a source of danger to society and that the ordinary criminal law is quite inadequate to bring them under effective control.

6. *Women and children of the tribe.*—The children are not greatly criminals but the women actively assist the male members in the concealment and disposal of stolen property. Ten women were convicted under section 411, Indian Penal Code, and one woman was bound over under the security sections in 1911. They also assist the males in obtaining information for the purpose of committing crimes, and after the commission of an offence when the males are compelled to go out of view they carry supplies to their hiding places and give them warning of the approach of the police.

Though the women are immoral in their dealings with the members of their own tribe, they have no relations with outsiders unless the latter associate with the male members of the tribe in committing crime. For instance No. 312 who was originally a Reddiki by caste kept a woman related to the leader of the settlement at Pedabantupalli. He has now become a Kondadora and has eight convictions for burglary. Two hundred and ninety-two women and 469 children are attached to the tribe.

7. *Criminality of the tribe justifying restriction of movements under section 11 (1) (a) of the Criminal Tribes Act.*—For restricting the tribe in its movements to any specific area under the Criminal Tribes Act it is necessary to prove (1) the nature and circumstances of the offences in which the members of the tribe are believed to have been concerned and the reasons for such belief.

(2) Whether the tribe follows any lawful occupation and whether such occupation is a real occupation or a pretence for facilitating the commission of crime.

With reference to (1) the figures in statements * D and E will prove that the tribe is responsible for an enormous amount of crime, burglaries forming the major portion of the crime, committed. They are adepts in planning and successfully executing heavy burglaries. In crime No. 89 of 11 of Salur station, Nos. 200, 203, 204 and 205 of Kuntinavalasa and Nos. 218, 219 and 220 of Kottavalasa and several others of the tribe broke into the house of a rich money-lender and carried away property to the value of Rs. 30,000. Only one of them No. 205 was convicted and the rest escaped conviction as the stolen property could not be traced to them, though it was recovered from their women who were convicted under section 411, Indian Penal Code. The tribe also has a very bad reputation for robbery. In committing thefts of ear-rings and nose-rings they did not hesitate to use unnecessary violence and nearly always tear or cut the ears and noses of their victims. The tribe has no less than 45 convictions for resisting and assaulting police officers and four convictions for escaping from police custody.

The strongest reason, however, for restricting the tribe's movement to a defined area is the fact that most of the members are scattered in a large number of villages on the pretext of village watching. The application of section 3 of the Criminal Tribes Act will not effectively control their criminal activities and will be little more effective than the provisions of section 565, Criminal Procedure Code, as the police have to rely on inefficient and often dishonest village officers who are in many instances their supporters and receivers of stolen property, for reports of their movements. The result will be that the Kondadoras of many villages will be reported present by their village munsifs when they are really absent from their villages on a predatory expedition. Even if they are ordered to report themselves to the police at fixed intervals, this restriction will be useless unless they report themselves every day. This again will be impracticable as many of the villages are a considerable distance from the nearest police station and if a Kondadora is absent from his village for only one or two nights, he is quite capable of committing a serious house-breaking in a distant village and returning to his village in time to report himself. Here again we have to depend on the village officers who as stated before, are notoriously untrustworthy.

8. *Want of occupation of the tribe justifying restriction of movements.*—With reference to (2) it may fairly be said that the tribe has no honest means of livelihood. The only occupation that most of the members follow is village watching. The system on which this so-called village watching is carried on is briefly as follows:—

The villagers are so afraid of the Kondadoras that almost every village engages a Kondadora to watch the village. The village watcher is paid mamools by the villagers on the understanding that he will prevent crime being committed in their village. In

some cases the watchers live in the villages they are supposed to protect but generally they do not even reside anywhere near the villages and only visit them to collect their mamools (for instance the head of the Kondadora settlement at Peda Bantupalli is engaged to watch twenty different villages). The Kondadora watchers who actually live in the village give information to their relation and associates and neither they nor the other so-called watchers really protect the villages they are paid to watch. They always pretend to do so and often prevent a case being reported by promising to get back the stolen property. The system is a most iniquitous one but the villagers are powerless as they fear that if they do not pay these rascals their "mamools," the consequences to themselves will be even more disastrous.

Some members of Neelamrajupeeta and Kondakodur own lands, a considerable portion of which is mortgaged with possession and enjoyment of the produce. The remaining portion is quite inadequate to maintain the owners. Statement * F gives details of land and serial numbers of members jointly owning such land.

The owners themselves have no idea of the exact extent of the land owned by them and the village officers could only give the amount of kist which each owner pays to the zamindari.

It is significant that the largest owner of land in the two villages, viz., No. 143 was bound over and has six convictions for non-bailable offences.

The Court did not accept his plea of ownership of land and found that he has no honest means of livelihood.

Again No. 125 of Neelamrajupeeta, the largest land-owner in that village has four convictions for burglaries and was twice bound over. In all, twelve persons among those owning lands have been bound over under the security sections and half of them more than once; 32 members out of 61, several of whom own the same piece of land jointly, have convictions for non-bailable offences. These facts speak for themselves and are ample evidence to show that the ownership of land is merely nominal.

9. *Proposed area to which movements could be restricted.*—It has been proposed that the tribe should be settled on the manganese mines owned by the Vizianagaram mining company at Kodur and Garbham. Kodur and Garbham are close to the principal settlements of the Kondadoras. Kodur which is only seven miles from Cheepurupalli would be an excellent place for a settlement. The mines would provide work for the tribe and there would be no difficulty in acquiring suitable land in the vicinity. The manager of the mines is quite willing to employ the Kondadoras provided the necessary police arrangements are made to watch and keep them in order. He however now reports that his London Directors seem adverse to the proposal on the ground that the Kondadoras will probably be bad workers and will contaminate the regular labour.

(17)

Note on the Vellayankuppam Padayachis of the South Arcot district prepared by Mr. E. T. H. Stevenson, District Superintendent of Police, South Arcot.

Name and origin.—South Arcot district has always reported a large number of dacoities and burglaries. Investigation in two recent cases once again brought to light the fact that the majority of the torch-light dacoities and heavy burglaries in this district had been committed by a class of men known as the Vellayankuppam Padayachis. Steps were then taken to trace the full history of this class with the result that we are now in possession of facts which make it possible to show that the criminal Padayachis of Vellayankuppam can be considered as one gang and a highly criminal one too. The numbers are so scattered about that it is not possible for the Police to cope with them under the ordinary methods and provisions of law and hence this report is submitted with a view to orders being passed under section 3, Act III of 1911.

History.—The following is the history of the class in question. As their name shows they belong to the Padayachi community who form one-third the population of the district. The object of this report is to show by the facts given below that the Vellayankuppam Padayachis form a distinct class in themselves, that they are of a common stock and are closely related and hence can be treated as a class to whom the Act can be applied.

About a century ago there were some Padayachis living at Savalamedu, a village near Conjeevaram in Chingleput district. As elsewhere the Vellalas were the chief landlords of the place and the Padayachis of Savalamedu were their servants. On account of the ill-treatment meted out to them by their masters, they murdered some of the Vellalas and after the murders they found Savalamedu too hot for them. Five of the Padayachi families responsible for the murders moved southward in quest of new homes and settled in a small village called Vellayankuppam in Vriddhachalam taluk under the leadership of Ananda Padayandavan. A few years after some of them moved still southward and settled at

Yellari in Chidambaram taluk, in Shiyali and Kumbakonam taluks of the Tanjore district and also in some parts of Trichinopoly district. So runs the story of the origin of the Vellayankuppam Padayachis.

Recently an enumeration was made of the criminal Padayachis of this district and their number was found to be 220. Though they are popularly known as the Vellayankuppam Padayachis, a name derived from their first settlement, Vellayankuppam is not their only abode. They are at present formed in seventy-four villages scattered in the three taluks of Vriddhachalam, Cuddalore and Chidambaram. Almost all the members are related to one another and very often associate together for committing crimes as will be evidenced from the number of joint convictions noted in station diaries. On account of the notoriously criminal life they lead, they are for all practical purposes socially ostracised by the ordinary Padayachis. Further they drink heavily and are very fond of pig flesh. There is therefore little or no difficulty in separating this class from the rest of the Padayachis.

Criminality.—The criminal history of this gang dates from the year 1862 so far the judicial records go. In the sixties one Paramanda Padayachi related to the notorious dacoits Karuppan, Periasawmi and Tirukodikaval Rathnam of Tanjore district and Poojari Kailasam of Trichinopoly district committed several dacoities in the South Arcot district. In the year 1870 about fifteen dacoities were committed by the criminal Padayachis of which five ended in conviction. Since then they have been responsible for a large number of dacoities year after year. The bulk of grave crimes against property now committed in this district is beyond doubt attributable to them. About two-thirds of the crime in the district is committed by the Veppur Parayas and the Vellayankuppam Padayachis. The former have recently been brought under the Criminal Tribes Act and this report deals with the necessity of bringing the latter also under the provisions of the same Act.

Modus operandi.—The criminal Padayachis usually commit organised dacoities. They are adepts in committing house dacoities. They have informants all over the district and on their information two or three Padayachis start out on some ostensible business, usually trade, followed by their informants. These seeming traders under the guise of their calling enter the house of the rich man selected and obtain a thorough knowledge of it. They then return to their villages and arrange for a small feast under some pretext or other. The feast is attended by those that are actually to take part in the dacoity. The party is then informed of the whole plan and then it disperses to meet again in twos and threes somewhere near the scene of offence on the appointed date where they are supplied with the necessary implements by the informants. They rarely observe omens. An hour or two before leaving the place of concealment they drink arrack and after dark, they suddenly surround the house they have arranged to plunder. By incessant stone throwing and by the free use of clubs they keep the villagers at bay. They light (only in the house) torches prepared for the occasion, break open the house, assault the inmates and carry away all the jewels and valuable clothes. They even go to the extent of molesting women, snatching away their talies. They do not usually carry off ordinary cloths and brass vessels. Sometimes they resort to unnecessary violence, as in Sessions case No. 30 of 1897 when the owner of the house dacoited was brutally murdered. Soon after a dacoity, comes the division of the stolen property. The booty is divided according to the nature of the services rendered in the actual commission of the offence. The younger and the more inexperienced of the dacoits are generally paid in cash while the jewels are kept by the organisers. The informant also gets his usual share. As soon as the division is over, the jewels are buried in fields or forests and finally they are sold to the Solia Chetties who are their receivers. These Padayachis always select places where the plunder will be large and are seldom known to have risked their personal liberty for paltry and uncertain property by committing crimes other than organised house dacoities. They sometimes commit burglaries and thefts like other criminals but cannot be said to be as clever as them as the Veppur Parayas. Cattle-lifting is unknown among them as also the Thuppu-kooli and Kavalgar systems.

Statistics.—Statement A * will show that these criminal Padayachis are scattered in seventy-four different villages in the three taluks of Vriddhachalam, Cuddalore and Chidambaram.

Statement B * will show the number of separate convictions obtained against individuals of the gang for the past ten years.

Statement C * will show the total number of convictions against each individual and convictions under the security sections.

It will be seen from this list that 118 members of the criminal Padayachis or more than one-half have been criminally convicted in 177 cases against property. It will also be significant from this list that very few of the Padayachis have been successfully run

in under the security sections. The reason is not far to seek. One Pattani Manikkam, a notorious Padayachi dacoit, was concerned in as many as twenty dacoities and in none of them could the guilt be brought home to him as the Padayachis are so desperate and dangerous that witnesses will not come forward to give any evidence for fear of reprisals.

Statement D * will show the details of Joint convictions of the members living in different villages which will prove that they associate together for purposes of crimes.

Statement G * will show that the criminal Padayachis are responsible for a large number of dacoities from the year 1870. It only deals with cases which went up to the Sessions.

Women and children.—The women are not criminal nor do they in any way help the men in the disposal of the stolen property. They are reputed to be of strict morals. The children do not grow up criminal. Only after the age of fifteen or sixteen, boys are taken out to commit crimes.

Means of subsistence.—The criminal Padayachis like the ordinary ones profess to be agriculturists, but this is only an ostensible means of subsistence as can be seen from the fact that about 180 families of the criminal Padayachis have in all 520 acres of dry land. Each family has on an average $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres which, when coupled with the fact that most of the lands are only barren tracts with scarcity of water, is far from being sufficient for its subsistence. Further they are averse to labour and hence they naturally take to crime.

Sphere of action.—The sphere of action of these criminal Padayachis is not confined to this district alone, but extended also to the bordering villages of Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts where they have got their relations.

Statement E * will show the courts by which they were convicted.

Conclusion.—That the criminal Padayachis have been persistently committing crimes, mostly torch-light house dacoities, from the year 1870, if not earlier, is evident from statement G.*

That more than half the number of living members have been convicted of cognizable non-bailable offences against properties is clear from statements C and F*; and that they will associate together for purposes of grave crimes can be seen from statement D.*

In the year 1912 there were two important cases of torch-light dacoities, commonly known in this district as the sister dacoities of Thirtanagari and Alankuppam. Special measures were taken to work up the two cases in which some thousands of rupees were lost. After strenuous efforts for nearly six months the real culprits, who were no other than the Vellayankuppam Padayachis, were traced and conviction in the Thirtanagari case was obtained. The Alankuppam dacoity case unfortunately ended in acquittal. In spite of the active measures taken against the criminal Padayachis last year they had the boldness to commit two dacoities this year also. Some of the accused concerned in last year's cases are also concerned in those of this year. In a recent case reported from Oomangalam station (crime No. 63/13, section 396, Indian Penal Code) the Padayachis even went to the extent of ravishing a woman. The above cases are mentioned to show the persistency with which they commit crimes even now in spite of the several prosecutions for dacoity. This sort of persistence coupled with the difficulty to successfully run them in under the security sections as will be seen from statement C* only indicates the dangerous character of these criminals. These points go to show the urgent necessity of the Vellayankuppam Padayachis being brought under the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act. It will not be sufficient to simply proclaim them under the first part of the Criminal Tribes Act. There can be no effective check on them so long as they are allowed to live in seventy-four villages scattered in three different taluks. The necessity for bringing them under Part II also is therefore apparent. For purposes of Part II, accurate information as to the lands possessed by the criminal Padayachis, their nature and yield is being gathered. In the meanwhile Government may be moved to proclaim the criminal Padayachis under Part I of the Act.

The urgency of proclaiming at once may be gauged from the fact that the peaceful inhabitants of Vellayankuppam and its surrounding villages have represented to the District authorities both personally and by means of petitions the necessity for establishing a Police station at Vellayankuppam to put a stop to the depredations of these notorious criminals thereby contributing to the peacefulness of their lives and to the safety of their person and property. In the above I have not dealt with the measures necessary to deal with them at once. The main thing is to get them declared under the Criminal Tribes Act. Part I will greatly strengthen our hands, but of course special measures will be necessary to enforce it. I may briefly state that for this purpose no extra police will be required and all that will be necessary will be the temporary re-opening of the police stations that are to be located at Vellayankuppam itself as an outpost. This will suffice pending the sanction under part II when they of course will be located in a settlement, probably Kammapuram.

* Not printed.

(18)

Note prepared by Mr. T. W. Blackstone, District Superintendent of Police, Trichinopoly, on the Kuttapal Kalla dacoity gang headed by Ayyasami Seturan of Arasangudi and Narayanasami Chetti of Palanganangudi.

Name and description of tribe or gang.—The Kallas of Trichinopoly district are in the main settled in the villages forming the eastern portion of the district. There are more than 60 villages inhabited by them. Their hereditary occupation is well portrayed in the generic name for their caste or tribe. The word "Kallan" in Tamil means a thief. They live mainly upon the property of others and are of indolent habits, so that it is well nigh impossible to make a Kallan earn his living by honest means. It is true there are certain Kallas who have settled down to husbandry after their predatory life having secured enough to keep them above want but the majority of them are still in an unsettled state. It is not looked upon as an insult in their caste to be called a thief and the community views with approbation those who have been successful in their nefarious trade. Until quite recently they have been extorting "Menkaval" fees from poor villagers on the pretext of giving them immunity from the raids of the Kallas on their agricultural cattle and property. They now resort to house-breaking and cattle-theft and the more ambitious of them live by their prowess in committing dacoities also. Cattle thefts by the Kallas are generally committed for the sake of the system of "Tuppukuli" or clue-hire. The bulls of a villager are stolen at a time when their services are indispensably necessary to him. They are removed to some distance and an associate of the thief goes to the owner and offers his services in tracing the animals and restoring them, the fee to be paid being half the value of the bulls stolen. The money is paid and the bulls are either let loose at an arranged spot or are impounded in a pound and information is given to the owner to take charge of them there. Buffaloes are not often stolen as it is not an easy matter to drive them long distances at short notice. One essential condition of this system is the stipulation that the police should not be informed of the theft or the recovery. If the owner violates this condition or does not agree to pay the fee demanded as "Tuppukuli" he will not get his bulls again as they are sent to distant markets for sale or shipped to Ceylon or other places. Till 1911 the members of this association (if it may be so called) did not go out for purposes of dacoity but in that year they started the series of big dacoities which have occurred in the Tanjore, Trichinopoly and South Arcot districts. It is only from 1911 that this gang has history of its own apart from the general history of the whole tribe. This history is the history of the dacoities they have been able to commit during this short period of a little less than three years. The chief leaders and instigators are Ayyasami (No. 24) and Narayanasami Chetti (No. 28) as will be clear from a perusal of the history of the cases attached. These two individuals either instigated or led nine dacoities, and in five cases these individuals were also concerned and in four cases men whom the previous cases show to be adherents and followers of these two took part; so it may be safely said that the whole gang is under the leadership of these two men. The existence of such a gang was not even dreamt of for over a year owing to the fact that the members covered up their traces so well and operated in such selected places so far away from their homes as not to give even a shadow of suspicion against their villagers. Added to this they posed as peaceful and *bona fide* villagers engaged in husbandry. The dacoity in the village headman's house at Venganur (60 miles away from the village of the dacoits) was the first case which opened the eyes of the police regarding the existence of this gang. The close investigation which was made in that case showed that this new gang was responsible for it. Close on this investigation came up the investigations in the big house dacoity case in Chidambaram taluk and the Kongarayanallur case of the Tanjore district. The true extent of the operations of this gang came to knowledge in these investigations. From the cases which have ended in conviction or come up before courts and those in which approvers have already given statements it is quite clear that this gang is responsible for no less than ten recorded dacoities in the three districts of Trichinopoly, South Arcot and Tanjore and the Native State of Pudukkottai. The annexed history of those cases and the tabular statement* attached to it give the names and particulars regarding the men who were concerned in it. Forty-eight men have been concerned in these cases of whom three belong to the Tanjore district, three more to Pudukkottai State and the rest are all residents of the Trichinopoly district. Of these 48, 7 are now in jail having been convicted in cases and 5 are in remand undergoing trial. When all the cases under active investigation are closed successfully it will be possible to lock up no less than 28 men safely for some years.

2. *Modus operandi of the gang.*—The members of the gang meet together, settle the scene of operation and then send one or two of those who are to form the dacoity party later on to study the scene and fix the rendezvous, etc. After this is done they start out in batches and meet at the appointed spot early in the night. The railway is freely used and the scene of operations is invariably far away from the villages of the dacoits. The dacoities are committed in the early part of the night presumably to help the dacoits in putting as large a distance as possible between them and the scene of dacoity before morning breaks. The dacoits travel together a short distance from the scene and call a halt there. The persons of all the members are examined and all property forming part of that loot is collected together. An inventory is then made and the property is entrusted to one or two of the most trustworthy members. This done the dacoits disperse and return to their homes in batches

* Not printed.

taking whatever route pleases them. The men with the property however only travel by road and try as far as possible to avoid all suspicion. The property is taken to the receiver who checks it with the inventory, appraises its value, and gives cash to the members. The receiver generally manages to keep the lion's share of the property and it is in this way the two leaders of this gang have grown rich. Frequently the dacoits do not get enough recompense for their trouble and risks undertaken owing to the perfidy of the receivers. The members of the gang are settled in the villages noted in the margin and the statement A* herewith attached will clearly show that the majority of the men have not enough property to live on by husbandry or any other honest means.

1. Kuttapal.
2. Arasangudi.
3. Palanganangudi.
4. Vengur.
5. Tatanur.
6. Elandapatti.
7. Mudokkupatti.
8. Sattirapatti.
9. Tiruvalachipatti.
10. Elandupatti.
11. Malungipatti (Pudukkottai State).
12. Kadambangudi (Tanjore district).
13. Vilambukudi (Do.).

The women do not accompany the members on their thieving expeditions but they are receivers and secreters of the stolen property. In the village of Kuttapal and surrounding parts it is reported that the women act as receivers on their own account and that they are immoral for the sake of getting property from the dacoits who are inclined to be licentious. The women have had no convictions and it is very difficult to bring a charge home to them.

3. *Criminality*.—It is not possible to furnish statement B regarding this gang as its existence was only very recently discovered and most of the cases in which the members have been concerned are now under investigation. The history of the cases committed by the gang which was prepared from the statements of the various approvers sufficiently shows to what extent the gang is responsible for these cases. There is however no reason to doubt the statements of the approvers and they might be taken as true in the main.

The statement A* shows that 12 out of the 42 men of this district (excluding the 6 who belong to Tanjore district and Pudukkottai State) have previous convictions to their credit. The remainder even though unconvicted are either closely related to those who have been convicted or have been closely associated with them for purposes of committing crime as the statements made by the approvers show. There are only 11 persons possessing property sufficient for their maintenance and they are Nos. 2, 5, 7, 11, 14, 22, 24, 28, 33, 34 and 48. The rest have no property to speak of and have to maintain themselves. Of those who have property Nos. 24 and 28 are the leaders and the receivers of stolen property and they are the persons responsible for the formation of this gang. No. 2 has taken part in nine of the ten dacoities traced to this gang and he himself confesses to all of them. Nos. 5, 7, 11 and 14 have taken part in one case each. No. 22 has taken part in seven dacoities and 33 in eight cases. No. 34 has taken part in six cases and No. 48 alone has not been mentioned in these cases, but he is reported to have received properties in some cases and his nephew has taken part in the last dacoity in Musiri circle.

There is enough to show that these can be treated as a criminal community.

4. For such a community it is obvious that the Criminal Tribes Act is just the thing required to restrict the movements of the tribe and to settle it in a suitable locality.

5. The Inspector-General of Police, Madras, informs me in his F.O.C. No. 1011-Statl., dated 4th November 1913, that steps are being taken to notify Kalla gang in other districts and to establish an industrial settlement for the members of these gangs in Madura town. The agent of Messrs. Harvey & Co. at Madura will be the manager of the settlement and it is proposed that the Kallas who are sent to the settlement should earn their livelihood by working in Messrs. Harvey's Spinning Mill.

I therefore suggest under instructions of the Inspector-General of Police that this Kuttapal gang, which consists of about 50 Kallas, may be sent to this settlement.

ANNEXURE.

History of the cases.

This is a highway dacoity committed on the Trichinopoly-Pudukkottai road. The headman was Marungipatti Periyannan, the most dangerous dacoit of Pudukkottai State. The men who took part in it were mostly Valiars of Pudukkottai State. Nos. 37-38 and 44 of this gang went in for this dacoity. The whole property was entrusted to Ayyaswami Seturan (No. 24). Some of the dacoits were committed to the Sessions and the accused were defended at the instance of the receiver. Owing to the perverse verdict of the jury the accused escaped. The value of the property lost was Rs. 550.

* Not printed.

This dacoity was committed in January 1912 in a village called Turaiyur near Kodavasal, Tanjore district. The offence was planned by Ayyaswami Seturan, No. 24 in the list. Nos. 1, 2, 21, 22, 23, 33, 34, 37, 38, 40 and 44 took part in the offence. The total amount of property lost was Rs. 1,500. The members were given Rs. 60 each and the remaining property was taken charge of by Ayyaswami Seturan. The special features common to all the dacoities committed by this gang are the dacoits providing themselves with candles, the use of pick axes and knives and the committing of the offences before midnight. The last is a very particular feature of the dacoities of this gang. These dacoities are committed in the early part of the night itself in order to give them time to go as far away from the scene of offence as possible before daybreak. The railway is freely used by these men. After coming a short distance from the scene of offence every man is examined and all the properties obtained in the loot are collected together and inventory of the properties is taken and they are entrusted to the custody of one or two of their selected men. These men who keep the properties return to their village by road avoiding all suspicious circumstances. The rest of the gang divide themselves into batches of four or five and return to their houses by train or otherwise whichever may be convenient. On return the properties are handed over to the receiver whoever he may be (and mostly to Ayyaswami) who checks the list and distributes the share of each by an equivalent in cash. Generally Ayyaswami cheats them in the valuation of properties and manages to keep for himself the lion's share of the booty.

No. 44 Marungipatti Periyannan who is the famous dacoit of Pudukkottai State concerned also in the big railway dacoity at Tiruverambur some years ago and who organised this gang in 1911 for purposes of dacoity quarrelled with the receiver Ayyaswami Seturan about the division of property in this case and separated from the gang. He did not take part in the subsequent house dacoities. He organised his own gang and committed dacoities in Pudukkottai State. But in the last dacoity at Tulayanattam he figures again owing to the absence of Ayyaswami Seturan due to a split in the gang.

This dacoity was committed by this gang in February 1912. Approver Natesa Tondaman has given a detailed statement before the Assistant Magistrate, Tanjore, that the offence was committed by members 1, 2, 3, 4, 21, 22, 23, 33, 34, 35, 39, 40, 41 and 42. The value of the property lost was Rs. 4,000. Unfortunately owing to a mistaken identification some local people have been wrongly convicted. The matter is under investigation. The whole of the property was entrusted to Ayyaswami Seturan who paid them Rs. 120 each in cash retaining the property with him.

No. 3 who was a forest watcher in Tanjore district was the informant in this case.

This dacoity was also committed in the Tanjore district. The informant in this case was No. 28 Narayana Chetti, a soap and dealer in Tanjore district and a native of Palanganangudi village of this district. He took with him two Kallas of his own village (Nos. 29 and 30) and joined the gang of Ayyaswami. The property was divided between Ayyaswami and Narayanaswami Chetti (Nos. 24 and 28).

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34 and 41 formed the gang in this case.

This dacoity was committed in an interior village of Trichinopoly district in June 1912 over 60 miles from Trichinopoly. The informant in this case was No. 25 who was forest watcher in Perambalur taluk. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 33, 34, 35, 36, 40 and one Ramaswami Ayyar formed the gang. This is the only case in which receiver Ayyaswami Seturan No. 24 took an active part. The value of the property lost was about Rs. 35,000. Accused Nos. 6, 35, 40 and Ramaswami Ayyar were committed to the Sessions. Except No. 6 the others were convicted by the Sessions Judge, Trichinopoly.

After the commission of No. V dacoity at Venganur, on the information furnished by Mari Natan of Arasangudi, the complicity of Ayyaswami No. 24, became known to the police. The house of Ayyaswami was searched and also the houses of some of his relations were searched in consequence. No. 6 Arunachalam was arrested with the help of Kuttapal village headman and some other Kallas of that village. Ayyaswami, the famous receiver, wanted to wreak vengeance on the Kallas who helped the police and so organised this dacoity in the village of Pudukkottai State close to Trichinopoly district. No. 20, a Palla, was the informant. No. 17 Palla Molayan and No. 2 Natesa Tondaman have given statements that Nos. 1, 2, 3, 8, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 33 and 34 only committed the offence. The value of the property lost was about Rs. 400 and it was received by No. 24. With regard to the complicity of Mari Natan, Kandan Tondaman and Muttiyalu Seturan who

were charge-sheeted, Palla Molayan and approver Natesan state that they did not come with them and these three persons were the persons that helped the Perambalur police. It is not clear that these took part in the offence.

This dacoity was committed in a village close to Kodavasal, Tanjore district. The informant was No. 28 Narayanaswami Chetti, soap-sand dealer. The value of the property lost was Rs. 5,000. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 8, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 41 and 47 formed the gang. In this case No. 1 had dropped a letter near the scene of offence to make it appear that the offence was committed by one Muttuvelu Malavarayan and some Koravans of Gandarvakottai so that the investigating officers might be misled. This Muttuvelu Malavarayan is an enemy of Kandan, a Kallan of Sengalur, Pudukkottai State. This Kandan keeps the aunt of No. 1. The properties in this case fell into the hands of Nos. 24 and 28 and the dacoits were paid Rs. 50 each.

This dacoity was committed in a village close to Nannilam. The informant was No. 28 Narayanaswami Chetti, the soap-sand dealer. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 16, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 and 33 formed the gang. Nos. 34 and 47 also followed the gang as far as the scene of crime but returned without committing the offence as the commission was postponed to the next day. The value of property lost in the case is about Rs. 6,000 and the properties were received by Nos. 24 and 28, Ayyaswami and Narayanaswami Chetti. Each member of the gang was given Rs. 50 only. It was only now the gang began to realise that No. 24 was habitually cheating them and so they made up their mind not to confide in No. 24. The result of this was that in the 9th dacoity which was committed in Suravalandur, Chidambaram taluk, South Arcot district, neither No. 24 nor his particular followers Nos. 21 to 27 took any part.

This dacoity was organised by No. 28 Narayanaswami Chetti who had dealings in Chidambaram. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 19, 20, 28, 29, 30, 32, and 33 formed the gang. About Rs. 10,000 worth of property was lost and the whole property fell into the hands of Narayanaswami Chetti. Nos. 10, 20, 29 and 32 were convicted by the Sessions Judge, South Arcot, to seven years' transportation.

After the commission of 9th dacoity, the South Arcot District Police traced the gang to Trichinopoly district and while they were investigating the case in the Kalla parts, Marungipatti Periyannan, the famous dacoit of Pudukkottai State, who had come to the Srirangam car festival with some of his men formed a gang consisting of the Kallas of Kuttapal headed by No. 1 and some Valayans of Elandai-patti and committed this dacoity. No. 6 was the informant. Nos. 1, 2, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 43, 44, 45 and 46 formed the gang. The whole property was handed over to one Duraiswami Tondaman of Kuttapal, uncle of No. 11. This Duraiswami Tondaman harboured No. 1 Kosa Muttuviran in the Suravalandur dacoity. No. 6 was arrested and is undergoing trial in this case. The value of the property lost was about Rs. 400.

(19)

Note on the Valayas prepared by the District Superintendent of Police, Rāmūd.

I. A Valaya is a man belonging to a caste which worships Gods, Kali, Mari, and Satan, and which is quite distinct from any other caste. They rank in social precedence above the Pallas, Barbers and Dhobies, but below the Maravars. They are of the same standing as Kallas and in this part of the district take the place of the Kallas both as far as work and crime are concerned. They call themselves Saivites. The caste is found in all Tamil-speaking districts of this Presidency. But the Valayas whom we now propose to bring under the operations of the Criminal Tribes Act are a sub-division of the main caste. They are distinct from the rest of the caste as the whole caste is from any other caste. They live only in the Nattukottainadu of this district and do not marry outside the Nattukottai country. Their marriage ceremonies usually take three days and a tali is used to signify the married state. A mamool sum called "Theervai", if paid, cancels the marriage. Either man or wife may pay this theervai, the marriage bond thus being not very binding. Both men and women may remarry. A man may have more than one wife, provided the first wife has no male issue. They, however, do not recognize concubinage. They both bury and cremate their dead, the former when a person dies of cholera or small-pox, the latter in all other cases. They claim to have been the particular friends of Siva at one time, but Siva seems to have broken off this friendship when he discovered that they ate frogs, rats and mice. They further claim a direct descent from a holy man called "Kannanappa Nainar"; the man himself having been a Valaya. The word "Valaya" is derived from the Tamil வலை or net (denoting their method of earning their livelihood, i.e., snaring with nets). As with the Koravas this may once have been their livelihood but it is now only in few cases, the ostensible means.

II. They live in the villages of Sannavanam, Nedungulam, Kodungulam, Kovilpatti, Mattani, Kandanoor, Kottaikuppanpatti, Sirusakkaivayal, Sakkottai, Talianellupatti, Talaivayal, Manakkampatti, Kallangudi, Devakottai, Ariyakudi, Maniyakaranpatti, Sevvuur, Odupogi, Urivayal, Veppankulam, Kavanagudi, Velangulam, Puduvalayal, Usilankulam, Sanganthidal, Thummapatti, Amarapatti Pudur, Kottadi, Kattunedungulam, Uluganpatti, Keelapuduvatti, O'Siruvayal, Vadivayal, Karaikudi, Thonithupatti, Kuttalur, Naduveeri, Karunaivasal, Kovilur, Alathupatti, Ariyur, Senji, Mankombu, Valayavayal and Odapanpatti.

A sketch-map showing the village in which convicted Valayas are living is attached for ready reference. A glance at this map will show that the villages are situated in and spread over the eastern half of Tiruppattūr Police circle.

III. Their ostensible means of subsistence is cooly work whereas their real support is thieving and house-breaking. As will be seen from statements on crime they chiefly go in for house-breaking. Their methods are simple, but usually effective. They make a hole in the wall and remove what they can take. They are, however, not so well informed about the location of property as the Koravas and have, therefore, to search for the property often breaking through two, three, or four walls before attaining their object.

IV. Three men are suspected to be their receivers, one a Chetti living in Kallangudi, another a Servai living in Keelasevalpatti and another a Karumta living in Acharappanpatti. These men are being watched but it is very difficult to catch the receivers and they have not yet been convicted.

V. The Chetti of this part of the country although he is very often the victim, nevertheless, greatly encourages the Valayas by refusing to report to the Police and by regaining his property after paying Tuppu-cooly. It is only in the last extremes, where the Tuppu-cooly system has failed that a Chetti reports the case to the Police. Although a good number of Valayas have been convicted yet there must be a large number who have escaped conviction but who are really bad criminals.

VI. We now propose to bring all Valayas living in the limits of Tiruppattūr circle under the Act.

VII. In 1910, a serious postal dacoity was committed by six members of the Valaya caste, viz., Nos. 58 to 61, 63 and 64, and owing to this dacoity the mails are now being sent under Police escort, and an outpost had been specially sanctioned at Kottaiyur.

VIII. I have disregarded all those members who were convicted prior to 1900 and who have not since been convicted but even then statement A-1 * shows that 125 members have been convicted. Statement A-2 * shows that 52 members are related to others who have been convicted. Statement B shows that in 32 cases members have been jointly convicted. Here too I have disregarded all joint convictions prior to 1900.

IX. The total number of Valayas is roughly estimated as 500, but I am not able to give accurate figure. The Valayas have been known to be in these parts for the last 200 years.

X. Statement C shows further deductions from statement A-1.* But there can be no doubt that Valayas are the real criminals of this part of the country when out of a total number of 399 ex-convicts now living in the station limits of Devakottai, Tiruppattūr and Madagupatti, no less than 135 or 34 per cent are Valayas. This figure 135 includes a few convictions prior to 1900. These figures become the more significant when it is taken into consideration that although the whole of Devakottai station limits are infested with Valayas, they live only in one-third of each of the Tiruppattūr and Madagupatti limits.

XI. I append 43 statements * from respectable people of all castes living in the Chettinad which go to show that they are of opinion that these Valayas are the people who commit crimes in these parts. These statements have been recorded by me in person and are of considerable value as I did not press any of the witnesses to speak especially against the Valayas. I merely asked them who committed the crime in their villages. I also made enquiries regarding the kaval system and it will be seen in most cases the Valayas were kavalgars. Witnesses Nos. 11, 13, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23 go further and state that the kaval fees were paid not only to get the Valayas to watch the town but also to induce the Valayas to abstain from committing crimes in the village. As is the case in all criminal castes, some of the members are really respectable people. It is therefore proposed that all Valayas living in Tiruppattūr circle on the date of the notification and hereafter should be included in the Act, and that the District Magistrate should use his discretion as to those who are to be excluded.

XII. I must here point out that this case is essentially one where the tribe should be settled. They commit the crimes during nights and very often in close proximity to their own villages. Mere registration would therefore be useless, as unless a very large staff of police were in every village and unless each member were checked three or four times every night, the members would continue to commit crime.

* Not printed.

ENCLOSURE

Statement C—Statistical.

I. As per statement A-1, total convicted 125—

Men convicted for house-breakings, thefts and bound over	..	..	10
Do. house-breakings and thefts	..	..	51
Do. house-breakings only	..	..	2
Do. theft and bound over	..	..	3
Do. theft only	..	..	29
Do. dacoity	..	..	12
Do. robbery (392, 393, 394)	..	..	3
Do. receiving stolen property	..	..	10
Men bound over, but not convicted	..	..	5
Total	..	..	125

II. Total convictions shown in statement A-1, 192—

Under 395 dacoity	..	..	12
House-breaking and theft	..	..	87
Theft	..	..	55
Receiving stolen property	..	..	10
House-breaking	..	..	2
Robbery	..	..	4
Poisoning with intent to commit theft	..	..	1
Number of successful security cases put up	..	..	20
Escape	..	..	1
Total	..	..	192

III. 87 men have one conviction.

21	..	two convictions.
10	..	three
4	..	four
2	..	five
1	man has	seven

(20)

Note on the Rellis prepared by Mr. G. W. Deane, District Superintendent of Police, Vizagapatam.

Name and Description of the Tribe.—The community which it is proposed to proclaim as a criminal tribe in Vizagapatam district, belongs to a class known as Rellis. They are found chiefly in the Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts, and are a low class Uriyas, corresponding to the Telugu Malas and Tamil Parayas. They are closely akin in language and customs to the Haddies and Ghasis of the Ganjam district, and Pakies of the Kistna and Godavari districts. They are also known as Sachadies in the Vizagapatam district and sometimes call themselves Sapiris. They talk a corrupt form of Uriya among themselves. Like the Telugus, they have exogamous septs or "Intiperlu" (యంత్ర పేరు) and recognise the rule of "menarikam" (మేనరికం) i.e., marrying the maternal uncle's daughter. They are Hindus and worship village goddesses whom they call Takuranies.

2. The tribe takes its name from the Telugu word "Rellu" (రెల్లు) meaning a kind of grass. The name, like Ghasi, indicates the principal occupation which this class originally followed, which was gardening and trading in garden products. Formerly they lived at the foot of hills and carried on extensive trade in hill products. Gradually they were ousted from the monopoly of hill trade by the other classes by stress of competition. Now they generally live by watching gardens and selling fruit and vegetables, and also by labour.

3. The great famine of 1875-76 reduced a large number of Rellis to the verge of starvation, and several of them took to scavenging as a means of earning a living and emigrated to the Kistna and Godavari districts, while a small number, sturdy and adventurous, resorted to crime. It is with this small section of the tribe that this report deals. Finding that thieving was an easier and more profitable method of making money than honest labour, and probably also influenced by the example of Kondadoras among whom they live, they continued to live a life of crime even after the effects of famine had disappeared. It is a significant circumstance that, like the Kondadoras, the Rellis also took to crime in a tract of country in which they are alien to the local community. Their language shows that they must have originally immigrated

from the Uriya districts. The famine of 1895, which affected the Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts with special severity, gave further impetus to their career of crime. The tribe has its principal settlements in Pulliti, Thalada and Sundarada of Bobbili circle, and Adapaka and Panasanandivada of Chepurupalli and Parvatipur circles respectively. The tribe began with petty thefts of grain and gradually rose to serious thefts and burglaries. They occasionally committed grave offences such as robbery and dacoity. At first the operations of this tribe were confined to the Vizagapatam district, but, after the opening of the North-East Line of Railway, they extend their sphere of operations to the Godavari district, and even further afield to the Kistna district. The Pakies who emigrated from the Vizagapatam district for scavenging work in those districts (of whom a few are related to the Rellis), furnish valuable information to the criminal Rellis regarding houses which could be profitably exploited. Occasionally they act in concert with the local criminals of those districts. For instance No. 22 of Thalada village, No. 87 of Guravam committed a series of thefts and burglaries in conjunction with the Reddiga criminals of Cocanada. They were arrested by the Police at Cocanada with a lot of stolen property and cash on 23rd June 1914. Again in June 1913, No. 86 of Guravam No. 98 of Locherla villages were answerable for a number of burglaries committed in the Ellore town and its neighbourhood and they were then assisted by a suspect of Ellore town.

The members have no recognized leaders like other criminal gangs but form themselves into small parties of four or more for purposes of crimes. In the dark fortnights they start on their thieving raid in latches and go about in various disguises, some posing as rich cattle dealers, and high caste Hindus, others as petty hawkers dealing in brass bangles, etc. They use the railway freely, but carefully avoid beginning or ending their journeys at stations where they are known. While travelling in trains they are not suspected, as they dress respectably and profess to be Kapus. That they are adepts in the art of disguise is clear from the fact that up to the present they have been caught only once, while travelling in the train in 1911, and it was by the information furnished by a constable, who knew them previously. The members visit fairs and festivals but do not pick people's pockets, as the Kepmaris and Pachappas do. They mix with the pilgrims and look out for likely victims; when the latter retire for rest during nights in choultries or open places they quietly steal their valuables and get off scot-free, as the victims, who are mostly visitors from distant places, are loath to make any complaint to the Police. The Rellis are adepts in committing burglaries. They gain entrance into the house either (1) by making a hole under the threshold or (2) by raising the doors off their hinges, or (3) by making a hole near the bolt of the door large enough to admit a man's arm or (4) lastly by boring a hole in the outer wall of the room containing valuables. They use small house-breaking implements which they take good care not to carry with them while moving from place to place, but they obtain them from their informants or associates in the localities of their intended crime. They are experts in removing jewels from the people without disturbing their sleep. None of the Rellis with whom we are concerned, own lands or cultivate lands of others. Their ostensible occupation is selling vegetables, fruit, kunkumam (red powder) and "Chavvaku" (rolled coloured palmyra leaf which poor women wear in their ear-lobes as an ornament). The income which they derive by this petty trade is little or nothing but they adopt this as a convenient method for visiting houses to gather information. They often absent themselves from their houses on pretext of this trade even for long periods when they make predatory excursions to other districts. To avert suspicion, some of them also seek employment as watchers of gardens, although the wages they receive are not adequate to maintain themselves. In this way also they are also able to obtain information to serve their ends.

Numbers and distribution of the tribe.—One hundred and eight members have been registered. They reside in twenty-four villages which include the principal settlements mentioned above. Several of them moved from their original settlements to other villages where they are employed as gardeners. Twelve members are out of view at present and are very probably committing crime in other districts.

Homogeneity of the tribe.—Apart from their ethnography, the homogeneity of the members can be satisfactorily established by the fact of relationship and association in crime. To prove the former, two statements "A" and "B" are appended, the first showing the relationship of the members residing in the same village and the second giving details of relationship of those living in different villages. Practically every member of the tribe is interrelated with other members either by blood or marriage. Again statement "C" of joint convictions of members, proves, more than anything else, that they combine together for purposes of crime and form a homogeneous community.

Criminality of the tribe.—Statement "D" of convictions is appended to show that the tribe is addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences. It gives the number of convictions of each individual under different heads of crime, namely, dacoity, robbery, house-breaking, theft and also under the preventive sections of the Criminal Procedure Code.

The majority of the convictions appearing in this statement are subsequent to the year 1895 when the finger print system was introduced; for want of record, their convictions previous to 1895 could not be traced in many cases. The record of crime for which this tribe is

responsible exceeds that of the Togamali Koravas or Kepmaris, who were proscribed last year under the Criminal Tribes Act in G.O. No. 1193, Judicial, dated 18th June 1913. The latter, consisting of 94 registered members, have 135 convictions for non-bailable offences and 40 security cases. On the other hand the Rellis numbering 108 individuals have 178 convictions for non-bailable offences and were bound down in 75 security cases. Thirty-six members have more than one conviction their number ranging from 2 to 12. Forty-six members were remanded to jail under security sections and 20 of them more than once. Only 27 individuals have no judicial convictions but they are intimately related to the convicted members and are believed to be addicted to crime. The statistics of convictions are not, by any means, a sufficient indication of the total criminality of the tribe. As previously mentioned, most of the members make constant predatory excursions to the Kistna and Gōdāvari districts during dark nights, and in many cases they escaped detection after committing a series of offences. It is only on those rare occasions when they are caught redhanded with the stolen property that the Police come to know that they were Rellis from Vizagapatam district. It may be safely presumed that many of the undetected crimes of those districts are the work of this tribe. In several instances their victims, who were rich agriculturists and busy men did not complain to the Police to avoid inconvenience and loss of time in attending courts.

In these districts the tribe has 53 convictions for non-bailable offences and were bound over in seven security cases.

The ordinary criminal law is inadequate to bring the members of the tribe under effective control. The record of convictions conclusively proves that the tribe is addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences. It is therefore submitted that a clear case has been made out for notifying the tribe as criminal under section 3 of the Criminal Tribes Act.

Women and children of the tribe.—The women and children of the tribe do not accompany the male members in their expeditions to other districts in quest of loot, lest their presence should arouse the suspicion of the Police and impede their rapid marches. The women visit villages adjoining theirs in this district, on the pretext of selling vegetables and obtain useful information. They also assist the males in the concealment and disposal of stolen property. The women do not commit crime nor do they train their children to steal like other criminal tribes. This fact tends to show that the tribe took to crime only in the last generation and that there is a fair chance of their reclamation. There are 130 women and 170 children attached to the tribe.

Criminality of the tribe justifying restriction of its movements to a specific area under section 11 (1) (a) of the Criminal Tribes Act.—The tabular statement* of convictions indicates sufficiently the nature of offences committed by the tribe. It reveals a considerable record of ill-doing, burglaries and thefts from the major portion. The members are expert in planning and successfully carrying through a number of offences on a single night. Taking only a few examples, Nos. 57 and 59 of Panasanandivada and Nos. 36, 40 and 41 of Sundarada committed thefts in six houses on two consecutive nights in September 1911 in four villages of Prattipad station in Gōdāvari district. Again last year, No. 20 of Pulliti, No. 36 of Sundarada, No. 102 of Thammayavalasa broke into eight houses on the same night in two villages near Tanuku of Kistna district. They were arrested with stolen property and a house-breaking implement and a knife in the house of a Paki named Madugole Nagadu who probably acted as their informant. This year on the night of 30th July, the members successfully organised three house dacoities in Jagannadharajapuram station limits of Vizagapatam district. Fifteen members residing in Pulliti have been committed to the Sessions and are pending trial.

The operations of this tribe extend over a wide area and members select large towns like Rajahmundry, Cocanada, Ellore and Masulipatam for their work, and it is usually difficult to trace the offences to them, as the local police do not know these criminals and seldom suspect them. The inhabitants of the villages in which the tribe resides are afraid to give any information against them on account of their desperate character and for fear of molestation. Recently in May this year they were strongly suspected to have set fire to the house of the village munsif of Cheedivalasa for reporting their movements to the Police. They are a source of danger to the public and unless their movements are restricted to a definite area under Part I of the Criminal Tribes Act, it will not be possible to effectively control them and prevent crime. The restriction of the movements of this tribe will have a good effect on crime in this district as well as in the Kistna and the Gōdāvari districts. Sufficient benefit will not accrue to the public by merely proclaiming them under section 3, as they are not concentrated in a particular locality, but live over scattered areas, the village officers are not likely to carry out efficiently the provisions of the Act in this respect.

Want of occupation of the tribe justifying restriction of movements.—The only occupation worth the name which the tribe ostensibly follows is gardening and selling garden produce and this as already stated is quite inadequate to support them and is only a pretence for facilitating the commission of crime. The other pretty trade in "Kunkumam," "Chavvaku," etc., which

* Not printed.

some of them as shown above, are engaged in, is purely nominal and intended for gathering information for purposes of crime. It may be fairly said that the tribe has practically no real honest means of livelihood.

List of Villages.

1. Pulliti.	9. Kothurupeta.	17. Mamidipalli.
2. Thalada.	10. Lolugu.	18. Korlavalasa.
3. Sundarada.	11. Gangannapeta.	19. Pedapenki.
4. Adapaka.	12. Kantlam.	20. Locherla.
5. Panasanandivada.	13. Cheedivalasa.	21. Thammayavalasa.
6. Pedalankam.	14. Suravaram.	22. Thettangi.
7. Pathakunkam.	15. Garikapadu.	23. Narayanapuram.
8. Kothakota.	16. Guravam.	24. Karada.

(21)

Note on the Sorikkampatti Kallas prepared by Mr. H. G. Clinch, District Superintendent of Police, Madura, dated 10th October 1914.

Name of the Gang or Tribe.—The people whose proclamation as a criminal tribe is now asked for are the Sorikkampatti Kallas, i.e., the Kallas with head-quarters at Sorikkampatti, a village situated six miles north-west of Tirumangalam in Kallan-nad, or home of the Piramalai Kallas, of whom they form a part. The Piramalai Kallas, i.e., those residing beyond the Nagamalai hills, are themselves a portion of the Melnad section of the Kallan tribe.

The following extract is taken from Mullaly's "Criminal Classes" showing the history of the tribe:—

"Though not a wandering tribe, the Kallas, like the Maravas, are the principal criminals of the southern districts of the Presidency—Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevely. In the Madura and Trichinopoly districts they form the most remarkable class.

"They are a dark race of small stature with many distinctive peculiarities pointing them out as having sprung from an aboriginal tribe.

"The word 'Kallan' means thief or robber in many of the languages of Southern India and is supposed to have been applied to them as indicative of the peculiar mode of earning a livelihood—their violent and lawless habits. Their profession is that of stealing with or without violence as opportunities offer. Before the British entered the country they were in constant warfare with their neighbours.

"The tribe is divided into two main classes—the Mel nadu or western country and the Kil nadu or eastern country. Members of these divisions do not intermarry."

"The Kilnadu comprises the nadus of Melur, a village situated about sixteen miles from Madura, and its inhabitants whose agnomen is 'Ambalakaran' are descendants of a clan which immigrated into the country.

"The origin of the Kalla caste, as also that of the Maravas and Ahambadayas, is mythologically traced to 'Indra' and 'Ahalia' the wife of Rishi Gautama. The legend is that Indra and Rishi Gautama were, among others, rival suitors for the hand of Ahalia. Rishi Gautama was the successful one; this so incensed Indra that he determined to win Ahalia at all hazards and, by means of a cleverly devised ruse, succeeded and Ahalia bore him three sons, who, respectively, took the names 'Kalla,' 'Marava' and 'Ahambadaya.' The three castes have the agnomen of 'Teva' or god and claim to be the descendants of 'Tevan' (Indra). In spite of the alleged common ancestry of these three classes, they have now formed themselves into distinct castes and inter-marriage between Kallas and the other two classes is not allowed.

"Following a similar course of action to that adopted by the Kilnadu Kallans, the Mel-nadu Kallans gained extensive possessions stretching to the extremity of the great Dindigul valley, and though in the early period of British rule in India the Kallans gave infinite trouble to the authorities, they have of more recent years, since 1801 when the province of Madura was annexed to the Company's territories, changed their habits and submitted to order. They are, however, still a bold and high-spirited people, with whom crime is looked upon as a natural excitement."

The Sorikkampatti Kallas trace their origin from five individuals, who first settled in the village and now give their names to the five groups into which they are divided and known among themselves as—

1. Mothaviruman group,
2. Kaluvathi group,
3. Nattamangalam Mayandi group,
4. Karutha Mayan group, and
5. Kilur Sunthan group.

Each group is connected with the others by inter-marriage.

Professed Mode of Livelihood.—With the exception of the Karnam and four Paraya houses, the entire population of Sorikkampatti is Kallas. According to a census taken recently they number 90 adult males having dependent upon them 88 females and 134 children.

They profess to earn their livelihood by agriculture and all except six of the adult males actually own lands either in their own right or in conjunction with others. The total amount of land possessed by them is 47 acres 15 cents of wet land and 315 acres 49 cents of dry land, which is quite insufficient for their maintenance. One acre 76 cents of wet and 90 acres 35 cents of dry land are situated in ayan Ponnangalam village, while the remaining 45 acres 39 cents of wet and 225 acres 14 cents of dry land are attached to the Madura devastanam. These lands are not yielding good produce for lack of adequate water-supply. The wet land is dependent upon a rain-fed tank adjoining the village. For the past ten years there has not been a good harvest. The devastanam officials experience great difficulty in collecting the kist and they have had to approach the Revenue authorities for the attachment of the lands.

Beyond agriculture they have no other recognized means of livelihood.

Character of crime, Criminal Methods, etc.—The following extract is taken from Mullaly's "Criminal Classes" as regards the character of crime committed, criminal methods, etc., of the Kalla tribe:—

"The crimes that Kallas are addicted to are dacoity (in houses or on highways), robbery, house-breaking and cattle-stealing. In all of these they are adepts. They are usually armed with 'Vellari thadis' or clubs and occasionally with knives similar to those worn by the inhabitants of the western coast. Their method of house-breaking is to make a breach in the wall under the door, a lad of diminutive size then creeps in and opens the door for his elders, who help themselves to anything they can get. Jewels worn by sleepers are seldom touched. The stolen property is hidden in convenient places, in drains, wells, straw-stacks and is sometimes returned to the owner on receipt of black-mail from him called tuppoo cooly or 'clue hire.' Their chief receivers are among the Mangapotto and Nattukottai Chetties. Vendors of arrack and toddy are instrumental in the disposal of petty things, cloths and the like, but in grave crimes months elapse before the booty is in any way distributed or disposed of.

"The women seldom join in crimes, but assist the men in their dealings with the Chetties.

"They observe omens before starting on depredations and consult their household gods. An omen peculiar to them is this: two flowers—one red and the other white—are placed before the idol, a symbol of their god 'Kulla Alagar'; the white flower is the emblem of success; a child of tender years is then told to pluck a petal of one of the two flowers and the undertaking rests upon the choice made by the child.

"Though not essentially a wandering tribe, Kallas use the railways and visit adjacent districts where as a class they are unknown and commit their depredations; if noticed and questioned by an inquisitive policeman or villager, the reply they give is that they are traders in cattle, visiting the various cattle-markets. Disguises are not adopted by them. Signals are exchanged by whistling or scribbling on the ground; and while committing crime names are never mentioned; they address each other as the big one, the 'little one' using ambiguous terms.

"Even to this day children of the Kalla tribe are brought up in the olden fashion as though intended to gain their livelihood by preying on their neighbours' property. The boyhood of every Kalla—says Mr. Nelson—is supposed to be passed in acquiring the rudiments of the only profession for which he can be naturally adapted, namely, that of a thief and a robber. At fifteen he is usually entitled to be considered a proficient, and from that time forth he is allowed to grow his hair as long as he pleases—a privilege denied to younger boys. At the same time he is often rewarded for his expertness as a thief by the hand of one of his female relations."

This account is true also of the Sorikkampatti Kallas, who confine themselves chiefly to house-breakings and thefts. As their convictions show, their operations extend to the Rāmnād, Tinnevely, Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts.

They do not carry on their operations under recognized leaders, but they form themselves for the purposes of crime into parties of varying numbers, either from among themselves or in conjunction with Kallas from other villages in the Tirumangalam taluk, where they have numerous relations and connections. There are also instances on record of their going out for dacoity. In 1909, Nos. 59, 64, 78 (statement A) * and others of Mela-Urappanur village attempted a dacoity on the Sivaganga road, when one of the party was shot dead and the rest escaped. No. 26 (statement A) * is now under remand along with five others of neighbouring villages on a charge of torchlight dacoity committed in the Tiruvālūr taluk of the Tanjore district.

Criminality of the tribe justifying application of section 3 of the Criminal Tribes Act.—For the purpose of the notification of the tribe as criminal under section 3 of the Act, it is only necessary to prove that it is "addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences."

* Not printed.

Statement "A" * appended shows the number of convictions of Sorikkampatti Kallas in cognizable and non-bailable offences and security cases individually for the years 1898 to 1913 inclusive. All these are known convictions traced from the current police registers.

The total number of adult males is 90; of these 26 have been convicted of non-bailable offences and 13 under section 75, Indian Penal Code. In addition to the convictions for cognizable and non-bailable offences, 12 have been bound over under the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. The total number of actual convictions is 47 and of security cases 14. These are distributed as follows:—

Districts.	Convictions.	Bound over.
Madura	17	6
Rāmnād	13	1
Tinnevely	8	5
Tanjore	5	2
Trichinopoly	3	..
Travancore State	1	..
Total	47	14

These figures by no means represent the actual total criminality of the tribe, which almost entirely lives by crime. Their methods are such and their sphere of operations so large that it is extremely difficult to obtain evidence leading to their conviction and the convictions obtained are chiefly in cases in which they were arrested red-handed.

A large number of cases in which they are concerned are never reported and even in cases reported their complicity is not exposed owing to the prevalence of the tuppoo cooly system by which the aggrieved parties effect recovery of their stolen property on payment of tuppoo cooly or clue hire. In this way a number who actually live by crime have escaped convictions.

Statement "B" * shows joint convictions. From this and from statement "A" * showing the relationships together with the origin of the tribe shown in paragraph I, the homogeneity of the tribe for the purposes of crime is clearly shown. Practically every member of the tribe is inter-related with the other members by blood or marriage. Marriages are arranged between families from outside villages as well.

Enough has been said to prove the criminality of the Sorikkampatti Kallas as a whole. Under the ordinary police system, it is not possible to exercise an effective surveillance over such a large criminal community. It is therefore essential that special measures in the shape of the Criminal Tribes Act be introduced to enable the authorities to keep this criminal community in check.

(22)

Note on the Mela-Urappanur Kallas prepared by Mr. H. G. Clinch, District Superintendent of Police, Madura.

Name of the gang or tribe.—The people whose proclamation as a criminal tribe is now asked for are the Mela-Urappanur Kallas, i.e., the Kallas with head-quarters at Mela-Urappanur, a village situated three miles north-west of Tirumangalam (12 miles from Madura) in Kallanad, or home of the Piramalai Kallas, of whom they form a part. The Piramalai Kallas, i.e., those residing beyond the Nagamalai hills, are themselves a portion of the mel-nad section of the Kalla tribe.

The following extract is taken from Mullaly's "Criminal Classes" showing the history of the tribe:—

"Though not a wandering tribe, the Kallas, like the Maravas, are the principal criminals of the southern districts of the Presidency—Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevely. In the Madura and Trichinopoly districts they form the most remarkable class.

"They are a dark race of small stature with many distinctive peculiarities pointing them out as having sprung from an aboriginal tribe.

"The word 'Kalla' means thief or robber in many of the languages of Southern India and is supposed to have been applied to them as indicative of the peculiar mode of earning a livelihood—their violent and lawless habits. Their profession is that of stealing with or without violence as opportunities offer. Before the British entered the country they were in constant warfare with their neighbours.

"The tribe is divided into two main divisions, the mel-nadu or western country and the kil-nadu or eastern country. Members of these divisions do not intermarry.

* Not printed.

"The kil-nadu comprises the nadus of Melur, a village situated about 16 miles from Madura, and its inhabitants whose agnomen is 'Ambalakaran' are descendants of a clan which immigrated into the country.

"The origin of the Kalla caste, as also that of the Maravas and Ahambadayas, is mythologically traced to Indra and Ahalia the wife of Rishi Gautama. The legend is that Indra and Rishi Gautama were, among others, rival suitors for the hand of Ahalia. Rishi Gautama was the successful one; this so incensed Indra that he determined to win Ahalia at all hazards and, by means of a cleverly devised ruse, succeeded and Ahalia bore him three sons who, respectively, took the names 'Kalla', 'Marava' and 'Ahambadaya'. The three castes have the agnomen of 'Theva' or god and claim to be the descendants of 'Thevan' (Indra). In spite of the alleged common ancestry of these three classes, they have now formed themselves into distinct castes and intermarriage between Kallas and the other two classes is not allowed.

"Following a similar course of action to that adopted by the kil-nadu Kallas, the mel-nadu Kallas gained extensive possessions stretching to the extremity of the great Dindigul valley, and though in the early period of British rule in India the Kallas gave infinite trouble to the authorities, they have of more recent years, since 1801, when the province of Madura was annexed to the Company's territories, changed their habits and submitted to order. They are, however, still a bold and high-spirited people, with whom crime is looked upon as a natural excitement."

The Mela-Urappanur Kallas trace their origin to three persons, namely (1) Vellaya Tevan, (2) Suntha Tevan and (3) Karaikaran Tevan. The sons of No. 2 married the daughters of Nos. 1 and 3, while the sons of Nos. 1 and 3 married the daughters of No. 2. At present there are 21 main families which have sprung from this origin. They are as follows --

Vellaya Tevan's.	Suntha Tevan's.	Karaikaran Tevan's.
1. Nattamai Koonan.	12. Onthan Periviruman.	20. Vellai Ayana Mayandi.
2. Sivan Kalai.	13. Sorikampattian.	21. Karaikaran.
3. Serappuli.	14. Pillaneri Viruman.	
4. Kaliyan.	15. Poonjan.	
5. Monthakuruni.	16. Poochampatti Nagappan.	
6. Senkalathan.	17. Viramudayan.	
7. Mayan Tevan.	18. Vellaikaluvan.	
8. Pattayan.	19. Valuvangi.	
9. Katta Muthan.		
10. Sungu Vellai.		
11. Thiruvalthan.		

Nos. 12, 13, 18 and 19 have intermarriages with Nos. 1 to 11, Nos. 15, 16 and 17 with Nos. 1 to 11 and 20 and 21 while No. 14 has got intermarriages with Nos. 20 and 21.

Professed mode of livelihood.—With the exception of some 60 houses the entire population of Mela-Urappanur is Kalla. According to a census taken recently they number 351 adult males having dependent upon them 355 women and 584 children. They profess to earn their livelihood by agriculture and cooly work; all but one of the 351 adult males own land either in their own right or in conjunction with others. The total amount of land possessed by them is about 340 acres of wet and 760 acres of dry. This land is not sufficient for the maintenance of all as there are many who own very little and further there are many who own no wet lands. The wet land is dependent mainly upon the water-supply from a rain-fed tank adjoining the village which rarely receives sufficient water to even partially fill it. For the past ten years, they have not had good crops and they do not take the trouble to cultivate their lands properly.

The Revenue authorities have in the past granted them loans under the Agricultural Improvements Act for digging wells, but they have not availed themselves of these loans to any great extent. There are in fact 22 wells in use to augment the water-supply received from the tank. Roughly speaking of the 340 acres of wet lands, 40 acres are under well cultivation and the remaining 300 acres are dependent upon the tank water.

In addition to a professed mode of livelihood derived from agriculture, 14 of the families comprising 251 adult males collect Kaval fees from certain villages in the Madura and Tirumangalam taluks of the Madura district and in the Aruppukottai taluk of the Ramanad district, each family having its well defined area from which the Kaval fees are collected. This Kavalship is only a form of blackmail; it involves no responsibility as regards residence or patrolling in the localities; it is supposed to guarantee immunity from crime committed by other Kallas of their tribe or compensation for property stolen and not recovered, but in many cases, if losses by theft are incurred, they are not made good by the Kavalgar. If the villagers do not pay the Kaval fees levied, their cattle are stolen and seldom returned and payment is only made through fear of reprisals. At Tirumangalam, 3 miles from Mela-Urappanur, ample employment is available for six months in the year (February to July) in Messrs. Kalli Brothers cotton ginning factory; a few of these Kallas work there occasionally, but it is a notorious fact that the worst characters, who are on the police registers, do not avail themselves of this

means of employment close at hand. In the harvest season many of them go out to the Madura and Melur taluks on the pretext of working on the lands cultivated under the Periyar Irrigation system, but really to steal paddy and they return with bandies loaded with paddy thus stolen.

Character of crime, criminal methods, etc.—The following extract is taken from Mullaly's "Criminal Classes" as regards the character of crime committed, criminal methods, etc., of the Kalla tribe:—

"The crimes that Kallas are addicted to are dacoity (in houses or on highways), robbery, house-breaking and cattle-stealing. In all of these they are adepts. They are usually armed with 'Vellari thadis' or clubs and occasionally with knives similar to those worn by the inhabitants of the western coast. Their method of house-breaking is to make the breach in the wall under the door, a lad of diminutive size then creeps in and opens the door for his elders, who help themselves to anything they can get. Jewels worn by sleepers are seldom touched. The stolen property is hidden in convenient places, in drains, wells, straw-stacks and is sometimes returned to the owner on receipt of blackmail from him called tuppu kuli or 'clue hire'. Their chief receivers are among the Mangapotto and Nattukottai Chetties. Vendors of arrack and toddy are instrumental in the disposal of petty things, cloths and the like, but in grave crimes months elapse before the booty is in any way distributed or disposed of. The women seldom join in crimes, but assist the men in their dealings with the Chetties."

"They observe omens before starting on depredations and consult their household gods. An omen peculiar to them is this; two flowers—one red and the other white—are placed before the idol, a symbol of their god 'Kulla Alagar'; the white flower is the emblem of success; a child of tender years is then told to pluck a petal of one of the two flowers and the undertaking rests upon the choice made by the child.

"Though not essentially a wandering tribe, Kallas use the railways and visit adjacent districts where as a class they are unknown and commit their depredations; if noticed and questioned by an inquisitive policeman or villager the reply they give is that they are traders in cattle, visiting the various cattle markets. Disguises are not adopted by them. Signals are exchanged by whistling or scribbling on the ground; and while committing crime, names are never mentioned; they address each other as the big one, the 'little one' using ambiguous terms.

"Even to this day children of the Kalla tribe are brought up in the olden fashion as though intended to gain their livelihood by preying on their neighbours' property. The boyhood of every Kalla—says Mr. Nelson—is supposed to be passed in acquiring the rudiments of the only profession for which he can be naturally adopted, namely, that of a thief and a robber. At fifteen he is usually entitled to be considered a proficient, and from that time forth he is allowed to grow his hair as long as he pleases—a privilege denied to younger boys. At the same time he is often rewarded for his expertness as a thief by the hand of one of his female relations."

This account is true also of the Mela-Urappanur Kallas, who commit chiefly dacoity in the Tinnevely and Ramanad districts, as is apparent from their criminal convictions. They commit also house-breakings and cattle-thefts. They are also adepts at grain-thefts, especially from bandies travelling on the roads at night, most of which are never reported to the authorities, which is true also of a large number of cattle-thefts.

They are however chiefly notorious as dacoits. They do not carry on their operations under recognized leaders, but they form themselves for purposes of crime into parties of varying numbers either from among themselves or in conjunction with Kallas in the Tirumangalam and other taluks, where they have numerous relations and connections.

Criminality of the tribe justifying the application of section 3 of the Criminal Tribes Act.—For the purpose of the notification of this tribe as criminal under section 3 of the Act, it is only necessary to prove that it is "addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences."

Statement "A" appended shows the number of convictions of Mela-Urappanur Kallas in cognizable and non-bailable offences and security cases individually for the years 1898 to 1913 inclusive. All these are known convictions traced from the current Police registers.

In addition to the convictions for cognizable and non bailable offences, 15 have been bound over under the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. The total number of convictions against members of the tribe amounts to 57 for non-bailable offences and 20 under the security sections.

In addition to these figures No. 180 is now under remand and stands committed to the sessions for an offence under section 395, Indian Penal Code. This man was not previously convicted. He was employed as a cook in the Pasumalai Training School on Rs. 5 per mensem with meals. While in this position he with other Kallas committed dacoity on the road near where he was employed and was arrested red-handed. This shows that Mela-Urappanur Kallas, though in good employment, take to thieving, which they consider to be a good profession in their leisure hours. (Since convicted.)

These figures by no means represent the actual total criminality of the tribe, which almost entirely lives by crime. Their methods are such that it is extremely difficult to obtain evidence leading to their convictions; the police records of Periyakulam and Tirumangalam taluks of the Madura district and the Virudupatti, Sivaganga and Aruppukottai taluks of the Rāmnād district and the Koilpatti taluk of the Tinnevely district disclose a large number of cases in which these Mela-Urappanur Kallas have been rightly suspected and so much are they feared that witnesses are extremely diffident of deposing openly against them for fear of reprisals, and further owing to the prevalence of the Kudi-kaval system a large number of offences, especially cattle-thefts and thefts from travelling bandies, are never reported to the authorities, but the property stolen is recovered on payment of tuppū cooly or clue hire. In this way a large number who actually live by crime have escaped conviction.

As a very large proportion of the population of Mela-Urappanur is Kalla, it is very difficult to obtain information about the movements and anyone who gives information to the authorities is excommunicated and runs the risk of having his property stolen or his house and produce set fire to.

The few cases in which convictions have been obtained are those in which the accused were caught red-handed or in which timely information was obtained by the local authorities of their departure for the purposes of crime or of their return after committing the same.

There are, however, on record a number of instances in which the village munsif of Mela-Urappanur has reported that batches of men have left the village for the purpose of committing offences, and in some cases the timely information thus given has been the means of forestalling their designs.

In April 1908 a gang of men consisting of Nos. 75, 38, 286, Kulli alias Karuppannan (son of 15 and brother of Nos. 16 and 17) and others committed a dacoity near Virudupatti in the course of which they met with resistance and Kulli alias Karuppannan was mortally wounded.

On 11th June 1909, No. 186 (who is now in jail for an offence under section 395, Indian Penal Code) and one Mayandy (brother of Nos. 169 and 170) with others of Sorikkampatti village attempted a dacoity on the Sivaganga road, when Mayandy was shot dead and the others escaped. On 13th June 1909 the village munsif got information about this and reported. The escaped dacoits, i.e., No. 186 and others of Sorikkampatti were arrested and put up under the security sections as there was not sufficient evidence to warrant a charge under section 395, Indian Penal Code.

In 1912 Nos. 59, 285 and 286 were concerned in a cattle-theft case of Narikudy station. No. 286 alone was convicted while the other two escaped for lack of evidence.

On 11th September 1912 Nos. 59, 86, 222 and 158 and others went to steal in the Virudupatti Mill but No. 158 was caught by the Kavalgars and the theft was thus prevented.

On 14th November 1912 Nos. 16, 165, 130, 186, 41, 59, 274, 38, 337, 294 were concerned in a dacoity case on the Usilampatti-Theni Road, Periyakulam taluk. Nos. 130, 186 and 41 were convicted on identification evidence, while the others-escaped conviction for lack of evidence.

In the beginning of this year Nos. 239, 91, 275, 86, 266 and 290 were concerned in a cattle-theft case of Madura taluk station, but squared up matters with the complainant and so escaped conviction.

These are a few of the many cases on record illustrating the connection of the members of this tribe with crime.

Of the members quoted above Nos. 86, 274, 38, 294, 239, 91, 275, 266 and 290 have never been convicted, Nos. 16 and 59 have been bound over only and No. 337 has not been actually convicted since 1897.

It has already been shewn that their ostensible means of livelihood, viz., agriculture, is insufficient for their maintenance, at any rate as practised by them; they derive no other recognized sources of income except from the Kudi-kaval system, which is nothing more or less than a form of blackmail.

Of the total amount of land namely 340 acres of wet land and 760 acres of dry possessed by the whole tribe, 272 acres of wet and 558 acres of dry land are possessed by 56 families consisting of 198 adults with 478 dependents. It is calculated that this is sufficient means of livelihood, if the season is good, but even among these 198 males are to be found a number who have undergone conviction; for example:

(1) No. 41 who owns in conjunction with 42 to 44 his brother and brother's sons $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres of wet and 24 acres of dry land is now in jail for an offence under section 395, Indian Penal Code, and No. 43 was bound over under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code, in 1912.

(2) No. 65 who owns two acres of wet and five acres of dry land in conjunction with 66 his son, was bound over under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code, 1909.

(3) No. 237 who owns $9\frac{1}{2}$ acres of wet and $11\frac{1}{2}$ acres of dry land in conjunction with his brother 235 was convicted under section 395, Indian Penal Code, in Tinnevely district in 1899.

(4) No. 83 who owns $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres of wet and $26\frac{1}{2}$ acres of dry land in conjunction with his sons Nos. 84 to 89 was convicted under section 395, Indian Penal Code, in 1900.

(5) No. 90 who owns $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres of wet and 20 acres of dry land in conjunction with his son No. 91 was convicted under section 395, Indian Penal Code, in 1899.

(6) No. 100 who owns four acres of wet and nine acres of dry land was convicted under section 395, Indian Penal Code, in Tinnevely district in 1899.

(7) No. 143 who owns $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres of wet and $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres of dry land in conjunction with his father 142 and his brother No. 144 was bound over under section 110, Criminal Procedure Code, in 1909.

(8) No. 165 who owns 2 acres of wet and 5 acres of dry land in conjunction with his sons Nos. 166 and 167 was convicted under section 395, Indian Penal Code, in 1896 and bound over under section 110, Criminal Procedure Code, in 1908 and his son No. 166 was convicted under section 379, Indian Penal Code, in Tinnevely district in 1912.

(9) No. 222 who owns 4 acres of wet and 9 acres of dry land in conjunction with his brother and son Nos. 221 and 223, respectively, was convicted under section 395, Indian Penal Code, in 1900.

The remaining 73 families consisting of 153 adult males with 461 dependents have only 68 acres of wet and 202 acres of dry land for their maintenance.

Statement "B" attached shows joint convictions. From this and from Statement "A" showing the relationship together with the particulars in paragraph I showing the common origin of the tribe, the homogeneity of the tribe for the purposes of crime is clearly shown. Practically every member of the tribe is inter-related with the other members either by blood or marriage.

Under the ordinary police system, it is impossible to exercise a proper surveillance over such a large criminal community. It is only possible to exercise surveillance over a certain number at one time, e.g., those that are registered as K.D's and suspects; even if these are thereby prevented from going out for crime, there are always plenty of others who carry on their depredations unchecked. It is therefore essential that special measures in the shape of the Criminal Tribes Act be introduced to enable the authorities to keep this criminal community in check.

Enough has been said to prove the criminality of the Mela-Urappanur Kallas as a whole, but it may be said, that it would be unfair to apply the Act to such individuals among them, who may be earning an honest livelihood and are not proved criminals in spite of their family associations. It is open, however, to the District Magistrate, when issuing the notice after notification to exempt such individuals from registration under the proviso to section 5 of the Act. Owing to the fact that they do not acknowledge any leaders, etc., it is impossible to treat any separate portion of them as a gang for the purposes of the Criminal Tribes Act.

(23)

Note on the Pūsalapuram Kallas prepared by Mr. H. G. Clinch, District Superintendent of Police, Madura.

Name of the gang or tribe.—The people whose proclamation as a criminal tribe is now asked for are the Pūsalapuram kallas, i.e., the Kallas with head-quarters at Pūsalapuram, a village situated about 12 miles to the west of Tirumangalam and about 6 miles south-west of Siudupatti in the Tirumangalam taluk of the Madura district and Kallarnad or home of the Piramalai Kallas, of whom they form a part. The Piramalai Kallas, i.e., those residing beyond the Nagamalai hills, are themselves a portion of the melnad portion of the Kalla tribe.

The following extract is taken from Mullaly's "Criminal Cases" showing the history of the tribe:—

"Though not a wandering tribe, the Kallas, like the Maravas, are the principal 'criminals of the southern districts of the Presidency—Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevely. In the Madura and Trichinopoly districts they form the most remarkable class.

"They are a dark race of small stature with many distinctive peculiarities pointing them out as having sprung from an aboriginal tribe.

"The word 'kalla' means thief or robber in many of the languages of Southern India and is supposed to have been applied to them as indicative of the peculiar mode of earning a livelihood—their violent and lawless habits. Their profession is that of stealing with or without violence as opportunities offer. Before the British entered the country they were in constant warfare with their neighbours.

"The tribe is divided into two main divisions—the melnadu or western country and the kilnadu or eastern country. Members of these divisions do not intermarry.

"The kilnadu comprises the nadus of Melur, a village situated about 16 miles from Madura, and its inhabitants whose agnomen is "Ambalakaran" are descendants of a clan which immigrated into the country.

* * * * *

* Not printed.

"The origin of the Kalla caste, as also that of the Maravas and Ahambadaya, is mythologically traced to 'Indra' and 'Ahalya,' the wife of Rishi Gautama. The legend is that Indra and Rishi Gautama were, among others, rival suitors for the hand of Ahalya; Rishi Gautama was the successful one; this so incensed Indra that he determined to win Ahalya at all hazards and, by means of a cleverly devised ruse, succeeded and Ahalya bore him three sons, who respectively took the names of 'Kalla,' 'Marava' and 'Ahambadaya.' The three castes have the agnomen of 'theva' or god and claim to be the descendants of 'thevan' (Indra). In spite of the alleged common ancestry of these three classes, they have now formed themselves into distinct castes and intermarriage between kallas and the other two classes is not allowed.

"Following a similar course of action to that adopted by the Kilnadu Kallas, the Mel-nadu Kallas gained extensive possessions stretching to the extremity of the great Dindigul valley, and though in the early period of British rule in India the Kallas gave infinite trouble to the authorities, they have of more recent years, since 1801, when the province of Madura was annexed to the Company's territories, changed their habits and submitted to order. They are, however, still a bold and high-spirited people, with whom crime is looked upon as a natural excitement."

All these Kallas with the exception of eight individuals are related to each other by blood. One hundred and ninety-nine members are descendants of one Katta Ulaga Tevan and the remaining thirteen members are the descendants of Katta Ulaga Tevan's sister's son. Katta Ulaga Tevan was the first man to come from Kammathur (a kalla village in the same taluk) and settle down in Pusalapuram. He had three sons Ocha Tevan, Sinna Tevan and Palany Tevan and subsequently he got his sister's son Kombukara Tevan from Manoothu and the present day Kallas of Pusalapuram are their descendants. In the whole group, Palany's family consists of 166 members. Ochan's family consists of 23 members. Sinna's family consists of ten members and Kombukaran's family consists of thirteen members.

Professed mode of livelihood.—With the exception of two houses, i.e., a carpenter and a schoolmaster, the entire population of Pusalapuram is Kalla. According to a census taken recently, they number 220 adult males having dependent upon them 204 women and 325 children. They profess to earn their livelihood by agriculture and all of them own some lands either in their own right or in conjunction with others. The total amount of land possessed by them is 935 acres 16 cents of dry land which is quite insufficient for their maintenance. All these lands are dependent upon rain water except those cultivated under wells, which latter forms a very small percentage.

In addition, 85 individuals are known to collect kaval fees from the villagers of—

Anaikottam, Sattur taluk, Rāmnād district.
Tulukkappatti, Sattur taluk, Rāmnād district.
Rengappanaickenpatti, Kottur and other villages, Srivilliputtūr taluk, Rāmnād district.
Valayapatti,
Sinnakampatti,
Keelappanaickenur, } Tirumangalam taluk, Madura district.
Kadaneri,
Ammapatti,
Sithanatham and Mettupatti, Nilakottah taluk, Madura district.

This kavalship is only a form of blackmail. It involves no responsibility as regards residence or patrolling in the localities; it is supposed to guarantee immunity from crime committed by other Kallas of their tribe and compensation for property lost and not recovered, but in many cases if losses by theft are incurred, they are not made good by the kavalgar.

Some of them work for cooly in the neighbouring villages. Although all of them have got lands, some of them have allowed their relations to cultivate them. With the exception of about 100 acres the lands are ordinary punjah lands which do not yield good crops. In these lands cotton, cholam, beans, etc., are cultivated.

Character of crime, criminal methods, etc.—The following extract is taken from Mullaly's "Criminal Classes" as regards the character of crime committed, criminal methods, etc., of the Kalla tribe:—

"The crimes that Kallas are addicted to are dacoity (in houses or on highways), robbery, 'house-breaking and cattle-stealing. In all of these they are adepts. They are usually armed with 'Vellari thadis' or clubs and occasionally with knives similar to those worn by the inhabitants of the Western Coast. Their method of house-breaking is to make the breach in the wall under the door, a lad of diminutive size then creeps in and opens the door for his elders, who help themselves to anything they can get. Jewels worn by sleepers are seldom touched. The stolen property is hidden in convenient places, in drains, wells, straw stacks and is sometimes returned to the owner on receipt of blackmail from him called tuppukuli or 'clue-hire.' Their chief receivers are among the Mangapotto and Nattukottai Chetties. Vendors of arrack and toddy are instrumental in the disposal of petty things, cloths and the like, but in grave crimes months elapsed before the booty is in any way distributed or disposed of."

"The women seldom join in crimes, but assist the men in their dealings with the chetties."

"They observe omens before starting on depredations and consult their household gods. An omen peculiar to them is this: two flowers—one red and the other white—are placed before the idol, a symbol of their god 'Kulla Alagar': the white flower is the emblem of success; a child of tender years is then told to pluck a petal of one of the two flowers and the undertaking rests upon the choice made by the child."

"Though not essentially a wandering tribe, Kallas use the railways and visit adjacent districts where as a class they are unknown and commit their depredations; if noticed and questioned by an inquisitive policeman or villager, the reply they give is that they are traders in cattle visiting the various cattle markets. Disguises are not adopted by them. Signals are exchanged by whistling or scribbling on the ground; and while committing crime names are never mentioned; they address each other as the big one, the 'little one', using ambiguous terms."

"Even to this day children of the Kallan tribe are brought up in the olden fashion as though intended to gain their livelihood by preying on their neighbours' property. The boyhood of every Kallan—says Mr. Nelson—is supposed to be passed in acquiring the rudiments of the only profession for which he can naturally be adapted, namely, that of a thief and a robber. At fifteen he is usually entitled to be considered a proficient, and from that time forth he is allowed to grow his hair as long as he pleases—a privilege denied to younger boys. At the same time he is often rewarded for his expertness as a thief by the hand of one of his female relations."

This account is true also of the Pusalapuram Kallas except that they confine themselves mainly to house-breakings and thefts in the Srivilliputtūr and Sattur taluks of the Rāmnād district and Tirumangalam taluk of the Madura district. Pusalapuram has earned a notoriety for containing the worst housebreakers in Tirumangalam taluk. They have got their relations in the said taluks and they join them for committing crime in and outside this district. They are suspected to go further than Rāmnād district as may be seen from statement A* in which three persons Nos. 78, 79 and 188 were convicted in a case of Kayathar, Ottapidaram taluk of the Tinnevely district. They do not carry on their operations under recognised leaders but they form themselves for the purpose of crime into parties of varying numbers either from among themselves or in conjunction with Kallas from other villages in Tirumangalam and Srivilliputtūr taluks where they have numerous relations and connections.

Criminality of the gang justifying application of section 3 of Criminal Tribes Act.—For the purpose of the notification of this tribe as criminal under section 3 of the Act, it is only necessary to prove that it is "addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences."

Statement "A" appended shows the number of convictions of Pusalapuram Kallas in cognizable and non-bailable offences and security cases individually from the year 1898. All these are known convictions traced from the current police registers.

The total number of adult males is 220. Of these, 47 have been convicted of non-bailable offences and 10 under section 75, Indian Penal Code. In addition to the convictions for non-bailable and cognizable offences, 13 have been bound over under the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. Out of 220 adult males 54 have been either convicted or bound over. Among the persons who have not been convicted or bound over, there are 62 adult males who are suspected to collect kaval fees from villagers. To facilitate the collection of kaval fees, etc., these men have got their relations in all parts so that they may raise the plea of having gone to their relations' houses whenever they go out for crime. For instance, No. 22 has got a brother named Narayan alias Perumal Tevan at Maragayankottai in Uthamapalaiyam taluk, Madura district. No. 12 has got his nephew now at Rattakapatti, Reddiapatti near Srivilliputtūr, Rāmnād district. No. 53 has got his brother named Periasami Tevan at Karikkaramputur in Palni taluk, Madura district. No. 73 has got his brother at Gudalur in Uthamapalaiyam taluk, No. 123 has got his brother Asami Vellayan alias Perumal at Mettupatti in Dindigul taluk, Madura district. Nos. 162, etc., have got their brother Sinnavira Tevan at Srivilliputtūr in Rāmnād district. No. 218 has got his brothers in Tirumangalam and taluk circles, Madura district.

Total number of men convicted or bound over are 54 and they belong to the families as noted below:—

Palni's family with 166 males contains 38 men convicted or bound over.				
Ochan's family with 23	do.	6	do.	do.
Sinna's do. 10	do.	3	do.	do.
Kombukaran's 13	do.	3	do.	do.
Other families 8	do.	4	do.	do.

This shows that the whole gang is criminal.

Total number of convictions in cognizable and non-bailable offences is 73 which is distributed as follows:—In Madura district 35 convictions, in Rāmnād 31 convictions, in Tinnevely 5 convictions and in Coimbatore 2 convictions.

* Not printed.

2. Of the 13 bound over, 6 were bound over in Rāmnād district, while 7 were bound over in Madura district.

3. These figures by no means represent the actual total criminality of the tribe, which almost entirely lives by crime. Their methods are such that it is extremely difficult to obtain evidence leading to their conviction. For example Nos. 58 and 211 were arrested in February 1914 by the Village Munsif of Perayur with two sheep (killed) which they admitted having stolen but the owner was not willing to come forward owing to fear and so these two men could not be charged for theft. They were however put up under 109, Criminal Procedure Code, and were bound over.

4. The Police records of Sindupatti, Usilampatti, Sattur (Madura district), Virudupatti, Nathampatti, Sivakasi and Watrap Stations (Rāmnād district) disclose a large number of cases in which these Pusalapuram Kallas have been suspected and so much are they feared that witnesses are extremely diffident of deposing openly against them for fear of reprisals and further owing to the prevalence of the kudikaval system, a large number of offences especially cattle thefts are never reported to the authorities but the properties stolen are recovered on payment of Tuppu-cooly or clue hire. In this way a large number who actually live by crime have escaped conviction. It has already been shown that their ostensible means of livelihood, viz., agriculture is insufficient for their maintenance and they derive no other source of recognized income except from the kudikaval system which is nothing more or less than a form of blackmail.

5. Of the total amount of land, viz., 935 acres, 16 cents of dry land possessed by the whole tribe consisting of 220 males, 204 women and 325 children, 634 acres 99 cents of dry land are possessed by 79 individuals with 82 women and 119 children. Thus 141 males with 122 women and 206 children have got only 300 acres 17 cents of dry land which is quite insufficient for their maintenance.

6. It is calculated that 634 acres of land for 79 individuals with their women and children is sufficient means of livelihood if the season is good, but even among these 79 individuals are to be found a number who have undergone conviction; for example—

(1) No. 20 who owns in conjunction with 5 others (Nos. 18, 19, 21 to 23) 64 acres 15 cents of dry land was bound over by the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Sattur, in 1912.

(2) No. 27 who owns in conjunction with Nos. 28 and 29, 22 acres 34 cents of dry land was convicted twice and was also bound over (vide statement "A") and No. 28 also has 3 convictions.

(3) No. 40 who owns 34 acres 72 cents of dry land in conjunction with Nos. 39 and 41 was convicted of house-breaking in 1913.

(4) No. 69 who owns 11 acres 96 cents of dry land with his brother No. 68 was convicted of theft in 1906.

(5) No. 84 who owns 22 acres 58 cents of dry land was convicted of house-breaking in 1902.

(6) No. 86 who owns 11 acres 33 cents of dry land with Nos. 85 and 87 was convicted of theft in 1904 and No. 87 also in 1908.

(7) No. 96 who owns 8 acres 5 cents of dry land with his brother No. 95 was convicted of theft in 1912.

(8) No. 99 who owns 13 acres 14 cents of dry land with Nos. 97 and 98 was convicted in 2 cases of house-breaking and theft in 1903.

(9) No. 158 who owns 45 acres 5 cents of dry land with 9 others was convicted of house-breaking in 1902 and Nos. 160 and 163 who belong to the same family were convicted of house-breaking and theft in 1911 and 1900 respectively.

(10) No. 192 who owns 9 acres 3 cents of dry land with No. 193 was convicted of house-breaking twice in 1901 and 1906.

(11) No. 207 who owns 14 acres 81 cents of dry land was convicted of house-breaking in 1907.

7. Statement B** shows joint convictions. From this and from statement A* showing their relationship together with their common origin already referred to, the homogeneity of the tribe for the purposes of crime is clearly shown. Practically every member of the tribe is related with the other members by blood. Marriages are arranged with families from outside villages as almost all of them are pangalis.

8. Under the ordinary police system it is impossible to exercise a proper surveillance over such a large criminal community. It is only possible to exercise surveillance over a certain number at one time, e.g., those that are registered as K.Ds. and suspects; even if these are prevented from going out for crime there are always plenty of others who carry on their depredations unchecked. It is therefore essential that special measures in the shape of Criminal Tribes Act be introduced to enable the authorities to keep this criminal community in check.

* Not printed.

(24)

Note on the Uppu Koravas of Koilpattu and Anavaradanallur prepared by Mr. F. Sayers, District Superintendent of Police, Tinnevely.

In the two villages of Koilpattu and Anavaradanallur in Srivaikuntam taluk of this district there reside 28 adult Koravas. They belong to the great division of Koravas known as "Uppu Koravas". Their ostensible means of subsistence is taking salt from the coast inland and bringing back karipak leaves, as elsewhere in the Presidency, besides doing the work of boring the ears of females for holding jewels. They are seldom to be found engaged in these peaceful operations.

2. There are really only twenty-five adult males in this group, but I have included three females; because they have convictions for burglary by night.

3. Statement III* enclosed shows that these twenty-eight persons have between them a total of 51 convictions, of which 37 have been earned since the year 1900.

Of the convictions prior to 1900, I may say that one man (No. 24 in statement I*) who was convicted in 1884 and 1886 was subsequently convicted in 1897. Another man convicted in 1889 was again convicted in 1912, one convicted in 1898 was again convicted in 1911 and one of 1899 in 1910.

These facts will go to show that the rather old convictions should not be neglected in dealing with these people.

The same statement shows that they have been convicted of robbery, house-breaking, theft, receiving stolen property and cheating.

The robberies usually committed by these people are cases in which the ear jewels worn by women of this district are snatched away while the women sleep on their pials at night. This is the easiest form of crime to commit and obviously the hardest to detect. The robber has usually vanished before his victim is properly awake and hence cannot be identified, and the jewels worn are in nearly all cases of a similar nature and peculiar to the southern districts of this Presidency, and hence hard to identify even if recovered. These facts account for the comparatively few convictions for robbery recorded against these criminals. In house-breaking they are adepts. They nearly always bore a hole in a door with an augre, insert a finger and push back the bolt. Of this class of house-breaking there is a long record of undetected cases in this district. I find that there is a current idea now that the Maravas also commit this class of crime, but in spite of vigorous enquiry, I cannot trace a single case in which a Marava has been convicted in this class of case, nor can I find any police officer who can state positively that he has even heard of such a conviction. If such cases committed by Maravas had been frequent, I am certain that some of them would have been detected and hence would be known. In the absence of such recorded convictions, I take it that even if committed the cases were few, and hence I argue that the undetected cases of this nature may for the most part be laid to the door of these Koravas who are well known to commit such crimes and have frequently been convicted in them. I put this into this report to show that these Koravas are far worse criminals than appears from their mere recorded convictions which are in themselves very bad. The statement shows that they have most convictions for house-breaking by night with theft. Their cheating generally takes the form of passing brass beads and ingots as gold. They have not many convictions under this head, but again this may be accounted for by the fact that a person who has been made a fool of is very reluctant to come forward and prove himself a fool in public. That this form of cheating is much more common than the convictions would appear to show, I can personally vouch for from stories told me by villagers long after the cases occurred, and also by the fact that in some cases of this sort the evidence has been used in "security" cases instead of in a direct charge under the Indian Penal Code. I would add here that only about a fortnight ago two of these Koravas have been convicted, in addition to the convictions recorded in my statements, for cheating by the use of the "hidden treasure trick." These facts go to show that besides being criminals, they are decidedly ingenious which renders their crimes being brought home to them more difficult. The ordinary Korava of this type can quite easily impose upon his more stay-at-home countrymen.

4. To return to hard facts about these persons statement No. I* enclosed shows twenty-eight persons residing in two villages, their individual convictions with dates, and their relationship with each other. The statement clearly shows that they are all very closely associated by ties of blood.

Statement No. II* shows their association in the commission of crime. In fact, these two statements show clearly enough that these persons form part of a tribe or gang which systematically commits non-bailable offences.

Statement No. III* shows that 22 of the 28 individuals have been convicted in courts of law, and their convictions amount to 51.

* Not printed.

26/11/79/11
Statement No. IV * shows the distribution of these convictions amongst the individual members of the gang. It also shows that 18 of the 22 convicted persons have been convicted under the Indian Penal Code and have a total of 38 such convictions between them, and further that 10 of the 22 have convictions under Criminal Procedure Code totalling 13 convictions amongst them, and that 4 persons of 22 convicted have been convicted under the Criminal Procedure Code only and not under the Indian Penal Code.

5. These Koravas have amongst themselves ranks which they have copied from the Police. One is called "inspector", another "sub-inspector" and so on. This also shows what class of persons they are. They have also been alluded to, in several judgments in cases under Criminal Procedure Code sections, as "most dangerous Koravas" or "consorting with dangerous Koravas."

I enclose nine statements * in original recorded by a first-class Magistrate with the permission of the District Magistrate, Tinnevely, showing what the opinion is of respectable inhabitants of the neighbourhood in which these Koravas reside. These nine persons are all highly respectable and pay an average of Rs. 427 each in beriz to Government.

6. Taking all the above facts into consideration, I request that the local Government may be moved to declare these Koravas residing in the villages of Koilpattu and Anavaradanallur in the Srivaikuntam taluk of this district to be a criminal tribe under section 3 of Act III of 1911. I also request that they may be ordered under section 10 (b) of the said Act to notify their place of residence and any change or intended change of residence and any absence or intended absence from their residence.

7. I request that the Act may be recommended to be applied to these persons as soon as possible, and further I recommend strongly that the local Government be moved to ask the Government of India to settle them in Kulasekarapatnam village in the Tiruchendur taluk of this district under section 12 of the Act. In this connection, I would submit that these people have no real means of subsistence and live mostly by crime and if they are settled at Kulasekarapatnam as suggested, Messrs. Parry & Co. have undertaken to give them permanent employment in the sugar mills there. This firm has also offered very kindly to provide them with free quarters, and have also promised them current rates of wages which are very good indeed especially when the whole families will be employed in most cases.

8. I enclose a copy of a letter * received by me from Messrs. Parry & Co. regarding this employment and also of letters * regarding pay, quarters, etc.

9. I have not the slightest hesitation in stating that if the Act is applied to these persons, and they are settled at Kulasekarapatnam, it will be the means of saving these unfortunates from themselves and also of ridding the general public of some of their most notorious depredators.

