

## *The Criminal Tribes of India*

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"THERE are some groups of people in India that are supposed to have criminal propensities and hence are dubbed 'criminal' tribes.<sup>1</sup> Members of these groups are treated both by the Government and the people as born criminals. People try to avoid them; the government always keeps a vigilant watch over their movements. That these people constitute a category distinct from the rest of the population in the eyes of the government is borne out by the fact that in the Census Reports from 1911 onwards they have been shown separately from the Hindus. This intentional segregation must have been inspired by the belief that they formed a group whose special profession was crime and who consequently required a special treatment which the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871, modified in 1897 and 1911, purported to provide. This is borne out by what the Hon'ble Mr. T. V. Stephens, the then Member for Law and Order, observed while introducing the Bill: 'The special feature of India is the caste system. As it is, traders go by caste: a family of carpenters will be carpenters, a century or five centuries hence, if they last so long. Keeping this in mind the meaning of professional criminal is clear. It means a tribe whose ancestors were criminals from times immemorial, who are themselves destined by the usages of caste to commit crime and whose descendants will be offenders against law, until the whole tribe is exterminated or accounted for in the manner of the Thugs. When a man tells you that he is an offender against law, he has been so from the beginning, and will be so to the end, reform is impossible, for it is his trade, his caste, I may almost say his religion to commit crime.'<sup>2</sup>

The Government started on two assumptions. First, all persons born in a particular group, or caste are criminal by birth and second, once a criminal always a criminal. The Act therefore provided for registering all the members or any members of the tribe or tribes declared as Criminal Tribes. It further required such registered members to report themselves to the police authority at fixed intervals, and/or ' to notify his place of residence and any change or intended change of residence, and any absence or intended absence from his residence, ' authorised the authority to restrict any Criminal Tribe or any part or member of such a tribe in its or his movements to any specified area or to ask it or

him to settle in the place of residence specified, enjoined upon the registered member to take out a pass whenever he crossed the limits of the place in which he was settled or confined, or the area to which his movements were restricted even if it be for a few hours, and/or for a laudable or an innocent purpose. He who contravened these rules was liable to imprisonment for one year on a first conviction, for two years on a second conviction and for 3 years or to fine, which may extend to Rs. 500, or to both on any subsequent conviction.

That was one side of the prevention of crime. The other side was Section 23 of the Act which runs: ' Whoever, being a member of any criminal tribe and having been convicted of any of the offences under the Indian Penal Code specified in Schedule I, is convicted of the same or of any other such offence shall, in the absence of special reasons to the contrary which shall be stated in the judgment of the Court, be punished (a) on a second conviction, with imprisonment for a term of not less than 7 years, and (b) on a third or any subsequent conviction, with transportation for life. '

It is clear from the remedy devised by the Government that it looked upon the so-called Criminal Tribes as dangerous elements from which society needed protection. On the one hand, it attempted to guarantee such security by imposing restrictions on the suspected groups, and they were rigorous in the case of some individuals, and on the other, sought to prevent the commission of crime by ruthless punishment. It completely ignored possibility of reclamation of these misfits. Nay, it debased them, and, by its very methods, made them hardened criminals. It is to this failure of the Government that the recent Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee under the chairmanship of Shri. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar gives expression, when it observes: ' If effective measures had been taken for the reformation and welfare of these tribes by the states during the years the Act has been in force, we feel that the problem would have been solved a long time ago. Without providing for adequate reformation and welfare work, if the Act is continued, no material improvement among these tribes can be expected and on the other hand as time passes the members of these tribes will more and more realise the injustice done to them and this position may turn them into permanent enemies of the society as well as Government. '<sup>3</sup>

The approach of the Government was fundamentally wrong. It postulated that (i) the so-called Criminal Tribes represented a group

of born criminals, that (ii) crime was hereditary with their members and that (iii) criminals could be reformed by ruthless punishment and lifelong harassment. Let us examine how far these assumptions are correct and thus help in tackling the problem of these groups.

It is true that the depredations of some of these groups were violent and brutal and that they struck terror in the hearts of the people. In order to secure society against such depredations, punishment and repression in a certain measure might have been necessary in the early stages. But what is surprising is the fact that prevention of crime came to be looked upon as the major task in the solution of the problem and reclamation of the people only a subsidiary aspect. This is testified by the fact that all police officers, who have said anything on these tribes and their problem, have insisted on severe punishment of these people. Edwardes, while accounting for the failure of the Criminal Tribes Act observes: " The number liable to be ' registered' under that Act and to be placed under surveillance is so large that it often becomes impossible to watch them effectually. The constant movement of the gangs from province to province also leads to complications and to an overwhelming burden of correspondence, which hardly leaves the police officer any time for important duties nearer home..... The country is so large, the criminal tribes so numerous, communications often so bad, facilities for escaping surveillance so many, and the police, as a whole, so inadequate numerically for the duties expected of them, that the effective control of these criminal nomads becomes practically impossible. " That he regarded severe punishment as the only effective remedy becomes clear from the following observation: "The Chenchus could not be reformed until they had been taught the primary lesson that crime does not pay. To open schools and offer cooperation to the Chenchus in their present temper was... like offering chicken bones to a tiger. "4

This theory of weaning away these criminally-minded people from their anti-social activities by severe punishment has aggravated the problem in many ways instead of solving it. The government attempt to check their anti-social activities failed because certain groups became adepts at putting forward, on the detection of offences, innocent members as the accused and thus protected the principal offenders, who were left free to carry on their activities. Again, when the offenders from these groups, who were ordinary thieves, came to be transferred to big jails they were automatically brought in contact with hardened criminals of

the other groups. Prison-life thus offered the members of the so-called Criminal Tribes an opportunity for assimilation of all the crimes and vices of the hardened criminals. Besides these direct consequences, certain indirect consequences followed from the government policy. Compulsion to report oneself to the Patels and Police at fixed intervals gave arbitrary powers to the low-paid officials who generally abused them by taking advantage of these restrictions to exact free forced labour from the victims of the Act. This was deposed by Ravishankar Maharaj before the Bombay Government's Committee of 1939 and by several witnesses before the Madras Government's Committee of Inquiry of 1947. The Bombay Government's Committee, better known as the Munshi Committee, seems to be convinced that registration is not only used by the lower officials as a constant threat on members of notified tribes but also has brought in its train fraud and bribery among the officials. "If a man is a regular criminal, he manages to square the patel who keeps the register unwritten for 3-4 days. If the man is arrested somewhere else, he marks him absent. On coming back, if he shares the spoils with the patel, he is marked present. "<sup>5</sup> Fraud and bribery on the part of the officials have not only encouraged members of the Criminal Tribes to indulge in their anti-social activities but also have blunted their moral sentiments.

Besides these positive and direct incentives to crime there are some negative and indirect ones which are likewise the products of this system of registration. A registered member of these groups, who has no knowledge of correct time or who wishes to avoid the inconvenience of keeping awake the whole night as well as the risk involved in passing through the village and being apprehended at dead of night on some suspicion or other, prefers to sleep at the Police Station itself or at the residence of the village patel in the open. He has thus to expose himself to the rigours of the weather, and these privations leave their impress on his mind. Secondly, the power may be used to wreak vengeance for supposed arrogance. Thus "if an innocent Dharala goes about the village with a hukkah in his hand, it is regarded as impertinence and an insult to the patel, who gets him registered under this Act. " The 'patidars' from whom mostly the Patels come in the Kheda district and the Dharalas are not on good accord, and very often the Patel and his friends simply scheme to put a man on the ' hazri' in order to satisfy a private grudge. Third, the threat of the Act is employed in order to put pressure on a Dharala so as to get the better of him in some dispute.

Fourthly, the 'patidars' (local farmers) employ or instigate the Dharalas to commit crime in order to revenge themselves on their rivals.<sup>6</sup> Vexations and humiliations imposed on the members of these groups, and the retributive impulses of the officials have embittered their victims not only against the executive but against the society too, and made them criminal out of sheer disgust.

The executive has positively abated crime in more ways than one. We have observed that the village officials often help these people in their criminal activities by connivance on the promise of a share in the booty. We have also observed that they have been instigated to commit crime by Patels who wish to wreak their private vengeance. Gunther often reports that; officials were helpmates in disposing the property stolen by them, Ravishankar also records a case in which a Police Fojdar received Rs. 30 from a thief as his share and also compelled him to dispose off the stolen goods so as to fetch money for the Fojdar. A crime committed by a person in the good books of the Police officer is sometimes foisted on an innocent member of a criminal tribe.<sup>7</sup>

In short, the petty officials, who have been in fact the administrators of the law, have proved to be not merely tools of oppression but have served as incentives for furthering the criminality of these people. This has been made possible by the fact that, according to the Act, the executive is the final authority, there being no scope for the judicial authority to intervene. The Government method of reclaiming these people with the help of strong police vigilance has thus resulted in keeping the bulk of them steeped in crime, and in turning some into hardened criminals. The Act has brought frustration and embitterment to these people rather than a healthy outlook on life. Its practical effect has been that society has always been on the alert and as such has avoided these people. These people in their turn have felt that they have been wronged and have hence tried to wreak vengeance on the society.

Security rather than reformation has been the basic motto of the Government. But the problem of these people is fundamentally not correction but economic rehabilitation. The economic ruin that has been foisted upon them by the new means of transport and by the new economy has an important part to play in shaping their criminal propensities. The Vanjaras were for generations peripatetic common carriers bringing supplies from the grain merchants to the armies of the Moghul and generally carrying grain for the world in which they lived.

The Chhapparbands were likewise at one time the " makers of huts " for the Moghul armies and have therefore been without their job for the past two centuries. The Ramoshies and the Wagharis who were in the past guards of the hill forts of the Marathas now live by stealing. ' The Lamanis carried on the profession of army contractors and transported grain, salt and merchandise to the Moghul armies of the 16 th and 17 th centuries and to the British army in the last century. The development of railway transport ruined their hereditary profession As an alternative, they took to subsisting on crime—highway robbery, dacoity and cattle lifting. ' The Kanjars who were formerly the bards cannot manage to eke out their subsistence from their traditional occupation as people have no more charm for their geneology. The Minas of Shahjahanpur in the Punjab with all their toil fail to get subsistence from their land with the result that they often resort to plunder and dacoity for their sumptuous living.<sup>8</sup>

The role of occupational displacement in encouraging the anti-social activities of these people becomes evident from the fact that some of them, when they came to be economically rehabilitated, have been weaned from criminal activities and have been found living normally like other citizens. The Ramoshies who have been engaged as night watchmen ensure immunity from theft and develop a sense of duty and responsibility. The Banriahs who have settled down and have been able to earn a sufficient living have become decent members of society and have given up burglarious expeditions. The Pardhis who are able to earn a living by hunting and selling some of the game in the markets of big towns like Poona do not devote all their energies to crime. The Paniyan too who is now taking to rice-cultivation is giving up thievish habits. The Berads, known to be addicted to cattle-lifting and committing highway robberies, dacoities, crop-stealing, burglaries and petty thefts, have been shedding their criminality with the improved conditions of life.<sup>9</sup>

In enacting the Criminal Tribes Act, Government had the economic rehabilitation of these tribes in view along with their correction. Let us examine the steps taken in pursuance of this objective and their achievement. In order that these people may live a settled life Government opened settlements, some run under the direction of the Government and some under the supervision of missionaries. Though the settlements were supposed to train the detenus in the art of honest living and thus

to make them ordinary citizens, the objective has not been fulfilled because in actual working they have been more like jails than hospitals. The novelty of the settlements was that often the whole family or the whole group was interned rather than an individual or individuals and to a certain extent the individuals so interned in the setting of the group lived more cheerfully than those in the prisons. The failure of the settlements as reformatory schools lies in the fact that the members of the so-called criminal tribes, on their return from the settlements, have not been absorbed among the people at large. We have been constrained to say this for two reasons. First, we do not know exactly how many inmates of the settlements were discharged and how they lived thereafter. That they were few is confirmed by the Munshi Committee which observed that though a part of the appreciable increase in crime in the Sholapur settlement could be explained by the absence of employment, yet the figures taken as a whole showed that the settlement had achieved little in weaning the population from a criminal life. It is a tragic commentary on the settlement life and system in Sholapur that, despite the settlement and free colony population of over 3000, for years the number of persons discharged were few. And this situation in the Sholapur settlement was acclaimed a great success by the Indian Jails Commission in 1919. Secondly, the Government itself was very apprehensive of the inmates' improvement as is quite clear from the rules of discharge and of the life these persons had to live on their discharge. A person placed in a settlement for six years or so was discharged if during the last three years of his residence in such a settlement he has had no disciplinary punishment for breach of rules of the settlement, and in the opinion of the Settlement Officer he would be able to maintain himself and his dependants by honest means on discharge from the settlement. The released family had to take up residence either in a 'free' village adjacent to the settlement or in some other village designated by the Settlement Officer. A friendly supervision was maintained there by the settlement officials. They must follow some honest occupation and might not move from their village without official permission. They might be returned to the settlement for any violation of this conditional release. This period of probation did not ordinarily exceed six years; but it could be extended by the Settlement Officer in his discretion.<sup>10</sup> This only means that a discharged member of this group even when he had behaved to the entire satisfaction of the Settlement Officer for three years and was found fit for being discharged on that account, was suspected of relapsing into crime as soon as he was freed

from the supervising eyes of the Settlement Officer and was hence kept under his supervision and subjected to the old restrictions, though toned down in certain respects, for at least six years more. Government's own suspicion about his being reformed tacitly corroborates our contention that the settlements were not expected to effect any cure in their inmates, that reformation was a secondary function and that the settlements were new types of jails rather than reformatory centres. The programme of reformation through the settlements has failed because the government started with the suspicion about the criminal propensity of the individual, and was at no stage free from it, because to the government he is a born criminal and remains so for his life. He has never been trusted nor treated as an ordinary human being capable of being reformed or of being a good citizen.

Under the circumstances, the settlements have only succeeded in keeping the members of these groups engaged in some gainful pursuits and free from criminal life during the period of their internment. But even in this limited objective all the settlements have not succeeded alike and the Indian Jails Commission's Report (1919) throws some light on the causes of the success of some settlements.

In the settlements of the Madras State, where there was a fair living wage there was general contentment and the absence of absconding will. Nay, in the Kulasekharapatnam settlement the inmates asked that their relatives might be admitted and registered. At Kavali, on the other hand, where mainly cooly work in mending roads, repairing tank bunds, clearing channels and the like was provided, the sums earned were not sufficient for living, with the result that about 40% of the adult population of the settlement either absconded or were in jail for absconding. Similarly, in the Sholapur settlement of the Bombay State where the inmates were employed in the Sholapur Cotton Mills in which a fair wage was earned there were not only few absconders but members of the tribes outside the settlement desired permission to join the settlement. These people so thoroughly realised the value of economic self-sufficiency for their settled life that during the strikes, they continued to work though other labour had struck. In the U. P. State the Fazalpur settlement had, in February 1920, 159 absconders in addition to 104 prisoners in jails for absconding as the wage was insufficient for maintenance. So too in the Saidpur settlement, the only settlement in Bengal in 1919, the Nat inmates were believed to be responsible for a

large part of the crime in the neighbourhood as the number of looms for weaving in the settlement was limited and could not be increased in the absence of a market for the out-turn of a large number. The settlements for Doms in Bihar and Orissa also proved failures, 150 Doms having escaped between 1916-1919. The necessity of providing adequate and remunerative work in order to wean these people from criminal courses and convert them to habits of industry is so clearly established by these results of the settlements that the Commission stressed it as a major plank in any programme of their reformation. "Enthusiasm, devotion, and religious teaching are invaluable adjuncts in work among these people but they will accomplish little unless the foundation of economic comfort is first provided. " The experience of the settlements also reveals that only those have succeeded in their limited objective which had fortunately concomitant extraneous sources like a mill, a sugar factory, or a distillery for the employment of labour on fair wages. The Commission, therefore, approvingly noted Mr. Starte's opinion: "It would be better at once to abandon these settlements where the conditions of labour are unfavourable and to start afresh in better chosen localities than to persevere in the uphill, and probably the hopeless task of attempting to settle a criminal tribe under conditions where they cannot secure a comfortable living and where the temptation to revert to crime, with its combination of danger, excitement and occasional large profits, is irresistible. "<sup>11</sup>

Though 'the first essential of success is the provision of a reasonable degree of economic comfort' for these people, mere economic rehabilitation does not solve the problem of criminality. At the Amritsar settlement in the Punjab the Commission found that even when the inmates were employed in the mills on fair wages there was a considerable amount of absconding and there were overwhelming complaints and requests for release. The Commission did not probe into the causes of the discontent but this incidentally leads us to the consideration of an important feature of settlements so necessary for their ultimate success. From Haikerwal's description of the workings of two settlements in the U. P., one at Fazalpur and the other at Gorakhpur, we gather that while Mr. Meredith, the Superintendent at the Fazalpur Settlement, was convinced that four out of five settlers would prove useful and peaceful members of society, even if they were let loose and had no restrictions upon their movements and freedom, Mr. Pinchbeck of the Gorakhpur Settlement believed that four out of five would prove dangerous to society if they were let loose. It is

true that Mr. Pinchbeck had in his charge Doms who, being dull, lazy and easy-going, do not take to settled life easily and are known to abscond. Of the 647 Doms in his charge 145 had absconded and 68 were in jail. But does it explain the difference wholly? We are told that Mr. Meredith was a very amiable man and looked after the inmates with great concern. The settlers were given responsible posts by him if they behaved well. Whenever there was any dispute, instead of adjudicating it himself, he left it to the Panchayat of the settlers. It was his implicit faith in the inmates, the human touch and his personal interest that made the Fazalpur Settlement a great success. The different attitudes of the two Superintendents in the U. P. is not something irrelevant because the failure of the Sholapur Settlement too, which was once a great success, was in a certain measure due to the unconcern on the part of the Superintendent. The Munshi Committee wrote:

"The settlement population is so hopelessly depraved that improvement cannot but be at a snail's pace. But we have no doubt that the management itself cannot escape part of the blame. It appears that the Manager did not maintain with the general body of the settlers any personal touch so vital to the successful administration of a settlement. Again, we came across several cases of ill-treatment or harsh administration of the settlement rules. " It also pointedly referred to the inadequate attention paid to the well-being of the settlement population. "The arrangement for water supply and sanitation were extremely inadequate. No supervision or an attempt to secure improvement appeared to have been made in the building of huts by the settlers and the general layout of the settlement presented a desultory appearance. " The Indian Jails Commission also testified to the personality of the Manager for the success of the Kulasekharapatnam Settlement in Madras State and the Bijaur Settlement in Bombay. <sup>12</sup>

The settlements have thus succeeded in their limited objective owing to extraneous circumstances not inherent in the settlement itself. It is hence asserted that the government's approach to the problem of the criminal tribes is primarily corrective, and only secondarily reformatory. It is not that the present writer fails to appreciate, the little work that has been done by these settlements, but he seeks to evaluate the programme of reformation through the settlements.

Apart from the fact that these settlements have been poor attempts to wean the criminal tribes from their criminal activities, some of

the settlements under missionary management have created a new problem. The mission societies have obviously an interest in propagating their faith. " Several of the Erukala settlers of the Stuartpuram settlement have been converted from Hinduism to Christianity. " Aiyappan writes: " Major L. R. Gale (appointed by the Salvation Army ), perhaps unconsciously, is giving a Christian bias to the whole atmosphere of the settlement and it is obvious that educated Hindu residents are resenting this.....There is a volume of feeling against the management being left in the hands of missionaries/' The Munshi Committee (1939 ) has further exposed the misappropriation of settlement funds to missionary purposes. In the Sholapur settlement a pamphlet for missionary propaganda was published in 1935 at the cost of Rs. 500 and the cost was charged towards settlement account. A regular annual contribution of Us. 300 to the American Mission was paid as ' supervision charges ' by the Sholapur settlement though it could not be settlement expenditure at all. Us. £000 in each of the two years 1934 and 1935 were credited to Mission accounts. Similarly, a part of the Mill Capitation grant, which is a monetary contribution by the Mills for the labour provided to them, was credited to Mission accounts. Part of the evangelical staff of the Sholapur Mission was paid out of the settlement funds when this staff did no settlement work. So late as 1948, Raghviah records that Major L. R. Gale of the Stuartpuram settlement in Madras " put to auction among the settlers several cotton blankets which were rationed articles and which were purchased by him at controlled rates and sold them to the highest bidders. He credited the differences... which amounted to nearly Rs. 2000 to the Salvation Army Fund. " <sup>13</sup> This again explains why the settlements have failed to bring about the desired result.

We have so far confined ourselves only to one aspect of the economic incentives to crime, namely the role of economic displacement of these people, in developing criminal propensities. The other aspects are, however, equally or even more instructive. In the present order of our society the exploitation of the many by a few, especially in respect of the illiterate and the underfed, has reached irritating proportions and has driven the exploited unconsciously to crime. Ravishankar Maharaj records in his experience among the Dharalas of Kheda district that a Baraiya, on seeing a Luhana trader going to dinner at night after his full day's exploitation of these poor people

was set thinking why he should not rob him of his ill-gotten money and he was moved to commit a theft from his shop. <sup>14</sup>

The concept of 'born offender' does not find much support now among criminologists and sociologists as the influence of environment has been found to be more assertive and more amenable to fixation and definition with respect to its role in the etiology of crime. At the most it is conceded that a person may be a potential criminal, i. e., a person may inherit some physical or mental defect or weakness, some characteristic of the nervous system, or emotional susceptibilities which predispose him to lapse easily into anti-social behaviour. But even in such cases delinquent tendencies are not so fixed in any individual as to negate the modifying influence of environment on his inherent proclivities to crime. With this new outlook the problem of the 'criminal tribes' needs re-examination.

Before we actually take up the consideration of environment in which these people live, let us dispose of two features about them. Is it right to lump them together as 'criminal tribes'? How far are they professional criminals, and to what extent is their criminality hereditary?

We have no anthropometric measurements, taken on a large scale, of these groups, to formulate any valid hypothesis regarding their racial homogeneity. Majmudar observes: "There is a progressive broadening of the head from the Eastern to the Western districts of U. P. among the vagrant and criminal sections of the tribal population showing perhaps assimilation of a brachy-cephalic element." But the few measurements that he has given, viz. the Habura 73. 71, the Bhatu 74. 83 and the Dom 73. 79 show that these groups are dolichocephals and closely resemble their counterparts—the Paniyan 74 (Risle<sup>3T</sup>), the Chenchu 73. 89 (I. Census, 1931)—in South India. But they differ so much from each other in their nasal indices. The Nasal Index of the Bhatu is 68. 47, of Habura 71. 21, of Dom 75. 70, of the Chenchu 81. 38 and of the Paniyan 95. 1. The data in respect of the blood groups of the three U. P. castes are as follows:

| Tribe   | O     | A     | B     | AB    |
|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Bhatu   | 27. 4 | 24. 7 | 39. 8 | 7. 8  |
| Karwals | 25. 8 | 22. 6 | 40. 6 | 10. 9 |
| Doms    | 32. 8 | 22. 8 | 39. 4 | 5. 0  |

The higher percentage of B is generally found in India and need not be taken as a distinguishing feature of this group. It may be partly accounted for in the case of these people on the ground of the infusion of alien blood as their women are known to have a greater amount of freedom in sex, yet hybridisation should not be over-emphasised because the Doms who are notorious for laxity show a lower percentage of B than the Karwals.<sup>15</sup> It must be conceded that the three U. P. castes show greater homogeneity both in their physical measurements and blood groups. Any conclusion about the racial homogeneity of the so-called criminal groups must, however, await scientific large-scale data of physical measurements and gene frequency. Culturally also the different groups stand on different planes. While the Baurias of the Punjab, the Kanjars of the U. P. and the Phansepardhis of Bombay are still in the hunting stage, trapping deer and other beasts and gathering honey, the Kanjars, the Manggarudi and Nahal tribes of the C. P. and the Gujars of the U. P. are in the pastoral stage.<sup>16</sup> Territorially they do not form a block, distributed as they are all over India. When the separate groups stand out as units, ethnically and culturally, their grouping into one group is basically wrong. If this grouping was intended to suggest only that they were professional criminals even then it is not correct, for it ignores the fact that they differ from each other in the specialisation of their criminal activities, their *modus operandi*, in their codes of conduct, and in modes of signs, which they use to convey information to their people. In fact, they form various caste-groups which have failed to adjust themselves to new conditions and have fallen into anti-social activities.

The Bhamptas are railway thieves *par excellence*. The Minas of the Punjab are the most skilful burglars and dacoits known. The Sansis in the Punjab and the U. P. are more prone to dacoity. The Kalian considers robbery a duty and a right sanctioned by descent. The Jadna are swindlers who pretend to turn metals into gold. The Gopals engage themselves only in cattle-stealing. The Manggarudis are cattle-poisoners and cattle-lifters. The Kolis commonly steal only bullocks and buffaloes: the Manggarudis goats and sheep. The Chhapparbands are known for pilfering and petty larceny, though at times they take to counterfeiting coins. The Lamanis kidnap women and children. The Baurias engage only in house burglary and cattle-stealing at night. They are expert at wrenching jewellery off the persons of sleeping women.

The Oudiahs engage in house-breaking and theft only during the day. The Soonarias are daytime pickpockets and petty thieves.<sup>17</sup>

The Sansias often disguise themselves as constables and in the course of a mock search rob travellers. The Harnis are adept at masquerading as religious mendicants. The Kaikadis, who take to robbery and dacoity, disguise themselves as Jungums (Lingayat priests), fortune-tellers, medicine-men, or shepherds to pick up information. A Chandrawedi will often disguise himself as a woman and travel in the third class women's carriage and carry on his trade. The Bhamptas are not only masters of disguises but they are masters of tricks too. Their favourite trick is to kick babies and make them scream, causing the mother to take them on the floor to suckle them to sleep. While there, they use a small curved knife to slit up the travellers' bags and bundles. They are trained to carry a tiny knife concealed between the gum and the upper lip. The stolen articles are concealed in the expanded aurifices of the body. Or, again, when a Bhampta sees a well-to-do person in the street he makes a great show of brutally beating a small boy. The boy screams and yells and rushes for protection to the prosperous-looking person. The Bhampta in apparent anger tries to snatch away the boy from his protector and the boy struggles. At last when the sympathiser lets the youngster go, he finds to his great surprise that his purse has disappeared. The Chhapparband generally asks a woman "to give him a rupee in exchange for a rupee's worth of copper promising her a pice or so of commission. The Holy Fakir, as she takes him to be, looks at the rupee which she hands to him, and with simulated surprise says that it is not current in his country, and expresses his inability to accept it. He takes the copper back but in lieu of the woman's good rupee he palms off on her by sleight of hand one of his counterfeits." The Baurias sometimes pose as members of high castes and manage to marry their daughters to well-to-do people whom afterwards they plunder in collusion with them. A Soonaria, well-dressed to present an appearance of respectability, accompanied by a couple of boys, enters a fair. The attendants pretend to be strangers to him and follow at a distance. Having selected a stall which he considers would suit his purpose, the leader enters into conversation with the owner. One of the boys, having casually strolled up, stands either close in front or by him, the others being some distance off. The merchant produces his goods for inspection, the stranger is difficult to please, and all the articles lie about in front of him. He begins to scratch his hand as if perplexed (this is the sign for the boy to be alert),

and by conversation attracts the attention of the merchant. At an opportune moment he either touches the boy with his elbow or makes a sign with it, when the young urchin adroitly purloins unseen by the owner, whatever is nearest, and slips quietly away. He immediately passes the stolen article to the other boy or to the man, who runs off in an opposite direction with it. The Soonaria calmly leaves the stall, expressing his regret that there is nothing in the shop he likes. If, however, the loss is discovered before the Soonaria leaves, he condoles with the shopkeeper on his loss, being himself never suspected.<sup>18</sup>

We see that each of these groups has specialised in a particular variety of crime. We also find that they have developed their own methods for the successful operation of their activities. This specialisation in crime as well as the *modus operandi* is very often so characteristic of the group that the police could say from the nature of the crime and the way it was committed that a particular group was involved in its commission. The tribes thus appear to be professionally criminals. But the crimes committed by these groups are predominantly crimes relating to property or economic crimes. There again, barring a few groups who take to robbery or dacoity, the majority mainly engage in petty thefts of cash or cattle. Their methods and disguises also indicate that their main purpose is to secure some money. They are neither free-booters nor murderers: they are not known to have indulged in sex crimes. Economic crimes are more often undertaken when the existing social system or economic organisation makes it difficult for a section of the society to continue its existence. The main purpose behind such anti-social activities is primarily the satisfaction of the economic needs of the underfed, though in some cases such activities even aim at taking vengeance on the society for keeping them underfed. In both the cases the crime is socially conditioned. That some of these groups were led to crime under such conditioning has been noted above. There is no reason why many others may not have been equally compelled by the same or similar reasons to take to a life of crime.

These people have been studied by the police officials as criminal gangs and we find very little in their accounts about their lives and habits. One can yet see from them that physically they are admirably fitted for strenuous work. They never break down with any amount of hardship in the jail. A Baraiya was asked to do some work in the jail. He refused to do it. He was given punishment after punishment according to the jail manuals leading to solitary confinement for

7 years! Every time he was asked to do work, he would refuse. At last the jail authority had to yield. He was asked to do as he pleased. Curiously enough he went to the jail authority and asked for some work. <sup>19</sup> Years of punishment of varied rigour did not succeed in compelling him to do work against his will. That speaks as much about the physique of these people as about their sense of self-respect. They are known to walk 50 miles at least in one night either to commit a crime or to escape the police hunt after its commission. Even mentally they are not deficient. Not only the males but even their females are known to be resourceful. They have shown themselves to be experts in putting on disguises; they have shown alertness, adroitness and cunning in the commission of crime; they have even shown good memory in their acquaintance with the sections of the Criminal Procedure Code which relate to adjournments, appeals, the right of cross-examination and other points which are of assistance in conducting their defence. <sup>20</sup> They are thus physically hardy and mentally sound. As will be shown later morally they are not un-healthy. Besides, they seem to have some standards which they observe scrupulously. The Bhampta steals neither during the daytime nor from the body of a person asleep. The Tagoos of Karnal, the Soonarias and the Oudiahs, on the other hand, steal in the daytime, never in the night. The Bhamptas and the Soonarias never steal in their own villages. The Baurias usually rob the well-to-do as they detest depriving the poor of their hard-earned income. The Minas of Shahjahanpur in the Punjab give in plenty to all those persons who come to them for alms. " The charity of the Minas of Shahjahanpur is *saddabart*; it is perpetual, and invites all comers to partake of it. "<sup>21</sup> In short these persons exhibit some qualities and capacities, which are admirable. If these talents and abilities are properly harnessed to creative purposes and if their energies are utilised in productive pursuits these people are likely to make better citizens. They have remained professional criminals because their capabilities have not been channelized in a proper manner.

The present writer is incidentally reminded here of an interesting episode in one of the Sanskrit dramas, *Mrcchakatika*. Sarvilaka, a servant of Charudatta, is tempted to steal the ornaments of Vasnatasena deposited with Charudatta. He goes to a teacher to learn the art of stealing. We are told that he makes a breach in the wall and measures it with his sacred thread. How joyous he is when he finds that the

breach is in exact accordance with the standard instructions on the subject! It is very clearly indicated in this episode that crime was studied in those days both as a science and an art. One need be hardly surprised with such traditions preserved in the drama of the 6th. century A. D.

It may also be noted here that much earlier before this drama and even some time later after the drama we have allusions to different modes of weaning such turbulent groups from their anti-social activities and of integrating them in the community. Asoka appointed certain officers called 'paccanta mahamatras' to live among the turbulent groups and to so deal with them by persuasion and allied methods as to gradually absorb them in the community. In *Harsacaritra* (7th. century A. D) a sadhu is said to have encamped himself in the forest among the Bhils and to have sought to wean them from their turbulent ways of life. Both these allusions confirm the evidence of *Mrcchakatika* that anti-social activities were not spasmodic but more or less the professional activities of some tribes. But at the same time they equally indicate that such tribes could be absorbed in the community and attempts were made both by the government and private individuals to this end.

Though it is not possible to define the role of heredity in the anti-social activities of these people, we have a fairly good idea of the role of nature in making them criminals. The part played by nurture may be made definite by inquiring into their home conditions, their early training, their group values, and their social environment.

The women of Bedars in Bombay are often prostitutes and go as mistresses and remain long in order to pave the way for burglary. The women of Harnis, similarly, often go as mistresses to, and even marry, well-to-do Moslems and others and after a while disappear with the wealth of the house, taking their children with them. The wives of Kaikadis become the temporary wives of another in the absence of their husbands who are jailed. The women of Manggarudis " are more criminal than men who are known to subsist on the criminality of their wives. The women cleverly pilfer clothes from the washing line, pick-pocket in the bazar and commit theft and house-breaking by day. To frustrate the police, Manggarudi women have been known to strip off their clothes and stand naked before them or to seize a child by its legs and threaten to dash its brains out on the ground. " The Waghari women are persistent beggars and cleverly steal ornaments worn by

children.<sup>22</sup> Many of these tribes are addicted to heavy drinking before going on their planned robbery "or dacoity and more often on their return after accomplishing the planned attack. The father is more often a drunkard and a prison-bird; the mother is known for her illicit sex relations and at times criminal propensity. The parents therefore, not only fail to provide a sound moral foundation but on the contrary stimulate immoral tendencies. Economically these people are not well off to provide for the proper growth of children. The home thus is the first school for inculcating anti-social tendencies in the young child.

The children of these tribes know no schooling. Being ignorant, they never realise the role of education in man's life. And if perchance schooling was thrust upon them the society is not prepared to respond to such a development favourably. Edwardes records: "Schoolmasters... have resented and actively discouraged the entrance to their schools of the children of criminal tribes. Two boys of this class, who were sent by a local official... to the Government School of Carpentry for training, were so grievously persecuted that they *were* forced to leave. Such hatred and opposition on the part of the higher castes are met with everywhere, and have proved an almost insuperable obstacle to the moral and social improvement of the criminal tribes."<sup>23</sup> While, on the one hand, facilities for proper education are thus denied to the children of these tribes, on the other hand, they are positively trained by their parents to be successful criminals. The children of the Bhamptas "are initiated into the profession of their life by lessons in the pilfering of the shoes, cocoanuts, and any odds and ends that they may come across. If they are slow or stupid they are encouraged to improve by the application of the stick. " The Haburas in the U. P. train their boys first in field robbery, and then take them out on excursions for the purpose of burglary. The Baurias teach their boys from infancy to keep money under their tongues. Among the Bauris a child is taught from his very infancy *how* to thief. "As soon as he is four or five days old he is passed three times through a breach made in the wall, and each time the Behara (headman) repeats the word, 'Enter, baby, enter. May you excel your father'."<sup>24</sup>

It is not merely the home that inculcates criminality but the surroundings too. The men and women among whom they move are either hardened criminals or flirts. Worse still is the fact that the society, of which they are members, have values and traditions which make crimi-

nal life their ideal. "The young Bhil women are great admirers of a bold outlaw, and will desert home and husband under the influence of the glamour and romance of his deeds. " A Bhampta girl would not marry " unless her suitor had been arrested at least fourteen times by the Police, when she considered him a qualified man. " It is a rule among the Manggarudis not to give a girl in marriage till the intended husband has proved himself a proficient thief. <sup>25</sup>

Besides the family and the group to which they belong the society at large also provides a favourable climate for their anti-social activities. The Hindu community, and to a certain extent even the Muslims, regard it highly meritorious to give alms to beggars and to show respect to the Sadhus. This conception of charity and the spiritual belief that have encouraged the swelling of the fraternities of the Sadhus in this land have provided facilities to these people for the operation of their anti-social activities under the guise of a Sadhu or as a poor beggar. The social system of the Hindus, namely the caste, stresses exclusiveness. These people who belong to the lowest rung of the caste-hierarchy have been tolerated as the dregs of society. While, on the one hand, the social system does not permit free social intercourse with them, on the other, they have been kept at a distance out of fear. In the popular mind murders committed by some of these people and tales of their bloody dacoities are vividly fresh and form the staple of the history of contacts between the two. The youngsters who know these people from the accounts narrated to them by their elders shape their subsequent attitudes as adults on these emotional reactions. People's attitude to or sentiment for these criminal tribes is therefore a blend of hostility, contempt and fear. The reaction is one of shunning and segregating.

The significance of free social intercourse in uplifting them can be properly appreciated by looking at the Katkaris. They were known to Kennedy as the worst criminals. Welling observes that the Katkari was allowed to take part in the village festivals, the ' Holi' and the ' Shimaga \* celebrations, and in the licensed mischief and pranks of the day along with the village boys. The religious susceptibilities of the Hindu villagers were in no way injured by the touch of the Katkari boys who joined them in the folk dances on the Gokul-astami day. The high caste Brahmin allowed the Katkaris to enter the house and engaged Katkari maid servants for menial work. As a result of this contact, "everyday he is adapting to Hindu customs and rituals .....His

ideas regarding food, cleanliness and dress are evolving.... He is leaving off gradually his old and crude animistic beliefs and thinks about his religion and God in Hindu fashion. " And now the Hindus have begun to think that the Katkari is not dangerous to society, but can be a useful addition to the village community. " The old distrustful and uncongenial atmosphere round the Katkari has changed and his prospects are eased. "<sup>26</sup> Free social intercourse without ignoble discrimination has enabled the Katkari to be a well-settled agriculturist. The lack of free social intercourse negatively denies these criminally habituated people an opportunity to reclaim themselves and positively, " for generations it has been assumed by their fellowrnen and by themselves also that, as they belong to these special castes, they must be capable only of committing offence and incapable of honest toil. "

The most important factor that helps to perpetuate the criminal propensity of the members of these groups is the social security provided by their Panchayat organisation. When a member happens to fall into the hands of the police and is sent to jail his family is properly looked after during his absence. Among the Sansias. if a person meets with death in the act of robbery or theft and if he is the only earning member of his family his wife and children receive Us. 10 to As. 50 per month till the eldest son is able to take to his father's profession. If the man injures his skull so that he cannot carry on his normal routine he is paid Rs. 200. Similarly, for damage to any of his limbs there is a regular scale of compensation—for an ear Rs. 30, for an eye Rs. 60, for a leg Rs. 100 to Rs. 150, for a nose As. 50, etc. —varying with the importance of the limb in the routine of life and as a means to subsistence. Impotency due to damage to testicles or the paring of the male organ entitles a man to receive As. 250 to As. 300. If all the chest ribs are broken in action he gets As. 450 and if he dies of this injury As. 50 more is paid to his heir. " A pregnant woman, if hurt in action and the child in the womb succumbs to the injury, is compensated according to a schedule, the amount of compensation increasing with the age of the foetus so that it is proportional to the danger to the life of the woman carrying it. The Bat's pay As. 60 to the mother if she loses her child in action at 9 months or later, As. 40 if she loses it in the 5th month, miscarriage in earlier stages entitles her to As. 10 to As, 30. " A child left by a woman who is sent to jail is cared for by the gang. If it dies during its mother's absence the mother on her return is entitled to As. 60. " The Karwals provide heavier compensation for the loss of children, if they happen to

succumb to injury after surviving an attack of small-pox. " Besides the compensation to which a member is entitled he is assured of his share in the booty even when he is not on the spot to receive it. It is passed on to his wife or children.<sup>27</sup> It is this security which provides against incapacity and destitution and the guarantee of the dues that prompt the members of these tribes to risk their life in criminal acts and to place their loyalty to the tribe above that of their families. One phase of this loyalty is illustrated in the life of the Takenkars, a section of the Pardhis. "Should any member of the gang be captured, killed or wounded in an expedition some of his brother-caste-men proceed at once under cover of night to his house and throw a twig of the 'neem' tree either on the roof or in front of the door. This is done in dead silence, and is meant as a sign for the inmates on awakening in the morning that something has happened to their relation and to keep silence. They refuse to recognise the corpse when brought to them to establish that the crime was not committed by their tribe. " <sup>28</sup>

This scheme of social security is made possible by the efficient organisation of the Panchayat which many of these tribes have evolved and maintained. This Panchayat keeps a record of the members of the tribe, organises crime, deposes active members on particular missions to rob, steal or commit dacoity, disposes off the booty and distributes the sale proceeds among the members according to their respective shares. When any member is arrested during the operation of crime the Panchayat arranges and provides for the litigation. The Panchayat organisation is held intact not merely by its strict discipline and punishment to the recalcitrant members but by individual obligations to contribute to the Panchayat fund to meet its expenses for litigation, etc., when its funds are found to be insufficient. The importance of the Panchayat as an incentive to crime lies in the fact that it trains men and women in crime and criminality and regulates and organises criminal activity.

It must be evident from the foregoing account that the home and the group provide training grounds for criminal propensities; group norms and values stimulate them, economic helplessness supplies further incentives, and social security guaranteed by the Panchayat organisation fans them up. The environment thus primarily motivates and directs the members of these groups to criminal acts. It is true that criminal activities bring much reward with little effort and those who have once taken

to *it* may be tempted to resort to it off and on for easy gains. That may induce the members of these groups to stick to their old job but it cannot be the primary incentive to criminality. If that alone can be a sufficient incentive for crime one fails to understand how the world is not inhabited by a majority of criminals, for who would not like to reap a rich harvest with a little labour. But that the majority has not taken to it, nay, the majority has regarded it as reprehensible, clearly shows that it cannot be a real incentive to crime. Human' nature is likely to be easily seduced to stoop to any means to achieve a desired end but that is more a product of training than inherent quality.

Despite the home training and that of the group these criminals could have been saved but for two facts. The first is that their moral sense has been blunted. Secondly, society has not only dubbed them criminals and treated them as lost for ever, but has driven them to crime by refusing to carry out obligations in respect of them.

It is the moral stupor that is mainly responsible for the criminality of these people. Ravishanker Maharaj, who worked among the Dharalas, Baraiyas and Patanwadias of Kheda district, started with the definite aim of reawakening the moral fervour in them once again. It is clear from his experience narrated in the form of a novel that he always insisted that the offender must feel himself that he had committed a wrong, must repent for it, must confess his crime and request to be saved from the drift into crime. In order to awaken such moral fervour among them he always treated them as persons who were inherently good but were led astray either due to their weakness or by circumstances. When a Patanwadia who was taken into police custody told Ravishankar that he would help him to trace his colleague who was addicted to crime and whom Ravishankar wanted to save from being a hardened criminal, Ravishankar trusted him and persuaded the police officer to discharge him for a few hours. Even when let loose, the Patanwadia, was true to his word. He made frantic efforts to find out the man, but when he failed he came to Ravishankar who again brought him to the police to be taken into custody. Another Baraiya was indulging in serious crimes. Ravishankar made the people of his village feel that it was a disgrace to them that one of them should be a terror-striking dacoit. His own cousin caught him at great risk, and thus wiped out the disgrace to his village. There are cases recorded when the Baraiyas came to Ravibhankar to admit their thefts and hand over the stolen property. A Baraiya

was an expert thief who had many thefts to his credit. He had never looked at a woman with an evil intent, and had always satisfied with alms those who came to him. Once, before he had made his escape with stolen ornaments, the mistress of the house woke up and raised a cry. She was shown a knife and the woman became quiet. But he returned the ornaments to her because he believed that he had no right to rob the woman of her wealth as she deserved to own it.<sup>29</sup> In short, it is the main thesis of Ravishankar Maharaj that the so-called criminals too have a sense of honour, a sense of shame and moral standards which they hold as dear to them as any man. It is only an appeal to these qualities in them that can turn them from the life of crime to a normal life. Moral regeneration is, therefore, the most essential thing for the reclamation of these groups.

Ravishankar Maharaj also records how these Dharalas have been drawn into criminal life by society. Once a Patel burnt the hut of a Baraiya by the firearms fired to celebrate his son's marriage. He promised to rebuild it in a year's time. Not only did he not do it for 2 years and the poor Baraiya had to pass his winter, summer and monsoon in the open air but he impudently told him ultimately to wait till the Patel took it into his head to build it. When he approached the Bania, who had pledged his word to build the hut on the Patel's failing to do it, not only did he turn a deaf ear to his repeated requests but took the attitude the Patel had taken. This indifference and insolence of the Patel and his Bania companion made the Baraiya reckless and he murdered the Bania. In another instance the Patel abused a Patanwadia, threatened him for some minor wrong he had committed and then asked him for some vegetables. The Patanwadia gave the vegetables; but soon the abuses showered on him without any cause excited him to such an extent that he madly ran after the Patel and killed him. It is such denial of obligations which are ordinarily fulfilled in the case of any other member of the society, apart from abatement in some cases, that has driven some of these people into recklessness and forced them to commit crime. The Ayyangar Committee unfolds yet another enormity of our social prejudice. " Some of the members of the criminal tribes who are eking out an honest living by working in factories and mills were turned out by the management on a discovery that they were members of the criminal tribes. Thus members of these tribes who were trusted and considered honest, lost all their credit on the discovery that they were members of the criminal tribes. "<sup>30</sup> The contempt of these people,

their avoidance, an air of superiority in dealing with them and varied patterns of behaviour that aim to instil in them inferiority and heap humiliations on them—all these characteristic responses of the society towards these people arising as much out of a fear complex and consequent security measures as out of their helplessness, economic and otherwise, are social incentives which have driven these people to criminality much against their will.

Ravishankar with his wider breadth of humanity as a disciple of Gandhiji has naturally laid his finger on the human aspect of the problem. But he was not the only man or the first man to feel the pulse of humanity in these people. Long before him the All India Jails Commission had pointedly referred to the fact that they are men of emotions and sentiments. They often alluded to the fact that parents in the settlements do not like to be separated from their children. This familial sentiment and tenderness are brought out more pointedly in their observation in respect of the Dhariwal settlement in the Punjab. "The settlers appear to be fairly well-to-do having as much as Rs. 1600 in the savings bank and Rs. 1100 in the war loan; but, in spite of this fact, the people did not altogether seem to be contented owing to the absence in many cases of the female members of the family and in some of the children. " " The contrast between this (Okara) settlement, where the people were comfortably settled with their families, and those at Moghalpura and Dhariwal, where single men were largely in evidence, was *very* marked. " The Committee seems to have been deeply impressed and firmly convinced of the family feelings so conspicuous among these people. It adds: " Commitment to the settlements should be, so far as possible, by gangs and not by individuals, " because " the members of the criminal tribes are, like all Indians, intensely attached to their children. " The separation of children from their parents " would have so perturbing an effect on the adult members as to destroy any hope of influencing them for good. " Again, " The children are often found to exercise a valuable humanising and civilising influence on the parents. "<sup>31</sup> Ravishankar has unfolded their humanity to a greater degree and on a wider plane.

The foregoing analysis of the life of the criminal tribes brings into prominence the importance of the concept of personality in dealing with crime and criminality. Our analysis unveils vividly not only the crux of the problem but even the philosophy to which Sir Maurice Gwyre gave expression in his address to the first Indian Penal Reform Confer-

ence on the 24th February 1940 at Bombay. The philosophy which is the basis of the modern conception of crime and punishment is first and foremost "a philosophy based upon the recognition of human personality, because that is the fundamental conception and covers all the rest. It is the feeling that every man, however wicked, however obstinate, however depraved, is never the less a human being with rights which he can never forfeit entirely, whatever he has done. Next comes the conception of social justice, that is to say the claim of the community to protect itself, but with an obligation always to remember that the person against whom it seeks protection is one of its own members and is not to be treated as an outlaw or an outcast. "<sup>32</sup>

Dr. K. N. Katju, the present Home Minister of the Government of India, once remarked: "It is an insult to God and humanity to treat innocent children of criminal tribes as born criminals. " Pandit Nehru said in 1936: "I am aware of the monstrous provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act which constitute a negation of civil liberty. Wide publicity should be given to its working and attempt made to have the Act removed from the Statute book. No tribe could be classed as criminal as such and the whole principle was out of consonance with all civilised principles of criminal justice and treatment of offenders. " His words sound more poignant and telling with our recent Constitution which guarantees fundamental rights and equality to all the citizens alike and with our searching analysis into the incentives to crime and criminality of these people. With Pandit Nehru as the Prime Minister of Bharata one should naturally expect the problem of these people to be given the first priority. One is constrained to say this because many of the states still favour the continuation of the Criminal Tribes Act for controlling this wayward and unintegrated section of society. <sup>33</sup> Any programme of reclamation of criminals in general and of the members of these groups in particular will fulfil its purpose only when instead of the law and police a few Ravishankars dedicate themselves to the cause of awakening in them the dormant humanity and to rousing society from its present apathy, indifference and hostility to avowed co-operation and sincere fellow-feeling with these most maladjusted and most ill-treated section of our society.

## References

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the latest available population figures of criminal tribes in the various states was estimated at 3.5 millions. U. P. has a population of 16,68,845, Bombay 6,23,809, Madras 5,95,440, Mysore 2,10,321, M. P. 76,722, Punjab 76,564, Orissa 74,762, Hyderabad 69,202, Rajasthan 65,440, Bihar 13,311, Pepsu 3,453, West Bengal 2,598, Saurashtra 2,308. The Bombay and the Madras States have recently repealed the Criminal Tribes Act 1924, and hence the population of the criminal tribes is now 2 1/4 millions. *The Report of the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee* (1949), p. 9.

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3. Report (1949), p. 81.
4. S. M. Edwardes, *Crime in India*, pp. 100, 101, 106.
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10. Report (1939), pp. 59, 67; P. F. Cressey, *The Criminal Tribes of India*, *Soc. & Soc. Research*, 1936, Sept., p. 24.
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12. Report (1919), pp. 314, 317, 324; Report (1939), pp. 67, 68; B. S. Haikerwal, pp. 170-173.
- L3. V. Raghaviah, p. 11; Report (1939), p. 71; A. Aiyappan, *Report on the Socio-Economic Conditions of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Province of Madras* (1948), p. 37.

14. Z. Meghani, pp. 89, 90. cf. also p. 15.
15. D. N. Majmudar, pp. 187, 188. For the swelling of these groups by recruitment from other castes, cf. B. S. Haikerwal, p. 152; G. MacMunn, p. 153; E. J. Gunthrope, p. 49.
16. B. S. Haikerwal, pp. 145, 146; E. J. Gunthrope, p. 19.
17. B. S. Haikerwal, pp. 157, 161, 162, 163; E. C. Cox, *Police Crime in India*, p. 241; G. MacMunn, p. 153; P. F. Cressey, p. 506; E. J. Gunthrope, pp. 7, 89; Kennedy, pp. 95-96; W. J. Hatch, *Land Pirates of India*, p. 326.
18. B. S. Haikerwal, p. 153; G. MacMunn, pp. 153, 158, 161; E. O. Cox, pp. 235, 236, 239, 240, 243; D. N. Majmudar, p. 198; E. J. Gunthrope, p. 26.
20. Z. Meghani, pp. 24, 25; E. C. Cox, p. 246; G. MacMunn p. 153; E. J. Gunthrope, p. 6.
21. B. S. Haikerwal, pp. 149, 152, 156, 157, 163; D. N. Majmudar, p. 198; E. J. Gunthrope, pp. 8, 24, 71, 94, 97; J. C. Curry, p. 242.
22. G. MacMunn, pp. 153, 154, 157; J. C. Curry, p. 248; Report (1939), pp. 21, 25; E. J. Gunthrope, p. 103; Kennedy, pp. 161-165, 124, 83, 257.
23. S. M. Edwardes, pp. 102, 103.
24. E. C. Cox, pp. 235, 247; B. S. Haikerwal, pp. 151, 160.
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27. D. N. Majmudar, pp. 204, 206; E. J. Gunthrope, pp. 19, 58.
28. E. J. Gunthrope, p. 13.
29. Z. Meghani, pp. 60f, 122-124, 82f.
30. Ibid., pp. 16f., 93, 94.
31. Report (1919), pp. 324, 328.
32. V. Raghaviah, pp. 9, 10.
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