

Pam/R 16

632
5
3060

2

*Please return to
C. B. Blower*

CRIMINOCUROLOGY

or

THE INDIAN CRIM,

AND WHAT TO DO WITH HIM.

BEING

A REVIEW OF THE WORK OF

THE SALVATION ARMY

AMONG THE

CRIMINAL TRIBES OF INDIA

BY

F. BOOTH TUCKER.

The Royal Army Temperance Association Press, Simla.



CONTENTS.

| | PAGE. |
|--------------------------|--------------|
| Introduction | 1 |
| Part I.—Crimdom. | 3 |
| 1. Crime | 3 |
| 2. The Criminal | 3 |
| (i) The Incurrigible | 4 |
| (ii) The Habitual | 7 |
| (iii) The Hereditary | 8 |
| (iv) The Ordinary | 13 |
| (v) The Youth | 14 |
| (vi) The Child | 15 |
| Part II.—Curedom. | 18 |
| 1. Punishment | 18 |
| 2. Reformation | 24 |
| 3. The Prisoner | 24 |
| a. His Family | |
| b. His release. | |
| 4. The Security System | 29 |
| 5. The Way Out | 31 |
| (i) A definite Policy | 31 |
| (ii) Classification | 31 |
| (iii) Guiding Principles | 32 |
| (iv) Control | 32 |
| (v) Concentration | 34 |
| (vi) Employment | 35 |

Part III.—*Cure in action.*

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|-----|----|
| | ii. | | |
| 1. The Plan of Campaign | ... | ... | 44 |
| 2. A List of Crim Settlements | ... | ... | 46 |
| 3. Settlement Snapshots | ... | ... | 48 |
| (i) Gorakhpur U. P. | .. | ... | 50 |
| (ii) Bettiah & Chauterwa B. & O | ... | ... | 51 |
| (iii) Moradabad, U. P. | ... | ... | 52 |
| (iv) Bareilly, " | ... | ... | 52 |
| (v) Aligarh, " | ... | ... | 54 |
| (vi) Kheri, " | ... | ... | 55 |
| (vii) Lahore, Punjab | ... | ... | 57 |
| (viii) Changa Manga, Punjab | ... | ... | 58 |
| (ix) Chawa, Punjab | ... | ... | 59 |
| (x) Kot Mckhal, Punjab | ... | ... | 61 |
| (xi) Bezwada, Madras | ... | ... | 63 |
| (xii) Kammapuram " | ... | ... | 64 |
| (xiii) Guntur, " | ... | ... | 64 |
| (xiv) Madras City | ... | ... | 64 |
| 4. A Tribute | ... | ... | |



CRIMINOLOGY

OR

THE INDIAN CRIM, AND WHAT TO DO WITH HIM.

BEING

*A Report of the Work of The Salvation Army
among the Criminal Tribes.*

BY

F. BOOTH TUCKER.

INTRODUCTION.

The first edition of Crimiocurology was issued for private circulation amongst experts on criminology with a view to eliciting their opinions, advice and criticisms. The favourable reception with which it has met, and the fact that within a few weeks it has become necessary to issue a second edition, encourages me to now place it before a wider circle of readers with a view to enlisting their sympathy and assistance, and for the purpose of indicating the lines along which the "Crim", whether habitual, hereditary, accidental, or juvenile, can be guided back into the paths of honesty and good citizenship.

We are still learners. We do not profess to have reached finality even in regard to principles and methods. We must often climb over failure to success, over defeat to victory. But the results already accomplished, as judged, not by

ourselves, but by disinterested onlookers, who have watched the work from its commencement, encourage us to believe that a new era of hope has dawned for the hereditary and habitual criminal, and a foundation laid on which a substantial superstructure can be built.

Here as elsewhere there must be a recognition of the basic principle that it is only by a combination of his labour with land and capital that waste Crimdom can become a productive asset of value to society.

It can be done, because it is *being done*. The well directed but hitherto waste labour of some 3500 Crims is producing already a monthly income of several thousand rupees towards their own support, and this in spite of the fact that we have had to deal with raw, unskilled, and often unmanageable labour.

For centuries the waters of the Satlaj have rolled towards the ocean from its mountain home in the Himalayas, but it is only recently that its waste powers have been harnessed and all Simla has flashed forth with electric light. For centuries the waste waters of Crimdom have rolled to the ocean of despair. Now they are being harnessed and already by God's blessing the electric rays of virtue and honesty, of reformation and salvation, have flashed forth in hundreds of Crim homes. Thousands more are waiting to receive that light.

F. B. T.



PART I.—CRIMDOM.

I.—Crime.

Crime in India may be roughly classified as being either—
Accidental, or Systematic.

The chief danger to society is in the latter class of crime. The man who under special temptation, or in a fit or passion, commits a crime, is not to be placed in the same category as the man who engages in a deliberate warfare against the moral and legal codes which govern social life. He may, however, by unwise treatment, or a faulty penal system, easily drift from one class into the other.

Accidental crime is comparatively speaking a negligible quantity, compared with systematic crime, and it is with the latter that we are chiefly concerned.

II.—The Criminal.

Here again classification becomes necessary. Indian Criminals may be classified as follows:—

1. The Incurable.
2. The Habitual.
3. The Hereditary.
4. The Ordinary.
5. The Youth.
6. The Child.

It is obvious that each of these will need different treatment. The non-recognition of this fact, or its only very partial recognition, is the cause of much of the failure in dealing with Crime and Criminals.

1. *The Incurrible.*

The Incurrible is a Habitual, but every Habitual is not necessarily an Incurrible. This distinction is important and necessary. The majority of Habituals are the creatures of circumstances, and are curable. Such is not the case with the Incurrible. He has deliberately chosen crime as a profession. He finds it a profitable and easy way of obtaining a livelihood.

He does not necessarily commit crimes himself. More frequently he employs others to execute his plans, and sees that the punishment falls upon them and not on himself. His own immunity from punishment hardens him in his career of crime. He makes it impossible for the "would-be-goods" amongst his confederates to be good, or to abandon their career of crime. To a large extent they are in his power, as he knows the inmost secrets of their crimes.

The Incurrible is often a man of affluence, and can and does employ lawyers to defend his clients, and when every legal subterfuge is exhausted and justice has made its heavy hand felt, he will often support the family of the imprisoned man. It is good policy for him to do so, and he can well afford it, for is it not a debt of honour, which the prisoner will feel bound to pay off as soon as he is released by continuing his career of crime?

Incurribles may themselves be classified as follows:—

- (a) The successful leaders of gangs—The Robin Hoods, and Dick Turpins who lead on their followers to a career of crime.

One such not long ago turned King's Evidence against his gang. They had become famous for their maraudings and murders. As is common with such, they carried on their operations at a long distance from their homes.

From the evidence given a clue was obtained to a long list of depredations and robberies. The banias, who had mysteri-

ously disappeared and never been heard of, were disinterred. The names of the whole gang and their various crimes, were revealed with such full details that, with the help of an able Police Officer in the adjoining Province, they were all arrested, tried and sentenced. The trial over, the informer was asked what he would do. A Damocles sword would hang over his head, and his life would scarcely be safe. "Give me Rs. 500 and let me go my way. I can take care of myself," he replied. A few days ago, I heard of the whereabouts of this daring "Crim" and an amusing story was told of his revenge upon the Police Officer, who had succeeded in arresting his gang, though for the truth of the story I am naturally unable to vouch.

Two valuable horses belonging to the Officer disappeared and he received a note to the following effect:—

"Sahib. You are a very clever Police Officer. You have suppressed crime with a strong hand. Now tell me, what has become of your two horses, and who has stolen them?"

(Signed). The Thief."

I was told by my informant that when the horses were stolen, camels feet were put upon them, and they were never found.

There is a touch of grim humour in the story. The Police Officer in question has a great name amongst the criminals. When they wish to describe the very perfection of cleverness they say a man is as clever as—Sahib. That is the greatest compliment they can pay. They admire him for his ability and firmness. They say plainly they do not like a "Mitha" or Soft Sahib. None appreciate more fully the value of the "iron hand in the velvet glove."

(b). Another class of Incorrigibles is the apparently respectable and often wealthy employer of criminals, who may own lands and houses, and be beyond the reach of the law. To such the criminal proves often very useful for the purpose of collecting his rents by terrorism, and by paying for immunity and protection by surrendering a generous share of the spoils of his robberies.

I have heard of one such, who drove about in his carriage and pair, defying discovery or arrest. He was known as "The King of the Thieves." But his outward life was irreproachable and he was immune from the terrors of the law. It was commonly said that if you lost your watch and would send him a polite note, informing him that it was a family heirloom, or the gift of your sainted mother, it would mysteriously be returned to you, while an appeal to the police would be of no avail.

(c). The receiver and disposer of stolen goods. A Superintendent of Police recently told me of one such, who paid an advance of Rs. 600, to a criminal gang whom he employed to commit dacoities. They spent the money and failed to go out on their errand of pillage, excusing themselves by saying that the police were too active and wide awake. Their "employer" thereupon hired another gang to attack the first gang and force them to carry out their contract.

The perfection of audacity and bravado amongst this class however is to be found not in India but in America. A young policeman had just arrested a burglar in the act of carrying off valuable furs from a warehouse. "Let me go!" said the burglar. "You can do nothing to me. I am protected." But the policeman, who was new to the force, replied that he could not listen to that sort of nonsense, and dragged him off to the

police station, where his crime was recorded. A few minutes afterwards he rushed his "Protector." "He is my man, let him go." The Incorrigible was a wealthy merchant, a liberal subscriber to police and political funds. It was perfectly true what the man had said. He was protected and had to be released.

Happily matters have not come to this stage of flagrant and open protection in India. But the same class of incorrigible exists, and though he works more underground, he is none the less dangerous.

In describing the Incorrigible, I have perhaps been too long, but in dealing with Criminals and Crime, he is really the key to the situation. No solution of the problem will be satisfactory unless he is controlled and suppressed.

The utmost terrors of the law should surely be reserved for the man who deliberately embraces crime as a career and incites others to its commission, and waxes fat on his unlawful gains. Until he is controlled and held in check, the severest punishments meted out to his miserable myrmidons will be of little avail.

2. The Habitual.

Compared with the Incorrigible, from whom he must be clearly distinguished, the control and ultimate reformation of the Habitual is as child's play. He is to a large extent the creature of circumstances, from which he cannot escape.

However sincere he may be in his desire and efforts to reform, he has ordinarily no chance of doing so. When one or more convictions are against his name, under existing conditions his case is practically hopeless, and he soon abandons himself to despair and revenges upon society the injustice of which he feels himself the subject.

Imagine yourself for a moment in his place. You have committed some crime, and now after you have served your

sentence the prison doors open to release you. Once more you return to your old home and surroundings. The story of your shame has gone before you. Your old friends and associates, if they are respectable, shun you, lest they should become implicated in your misdeed. No one will employ you. At last you are driven into the arms of those who have gone through the same wretched experience. They welcome you and offer you the sympathy for which your heart craves. Their hearts burn like yours with the sense of injustice at the treatment they too, like you, have received. Your companionship adds to the suspicion of those around you, and the first crime that is committed is attributed, rightly or wrongly to you.

Then one of two things happens. Either there is evidence against you, true, or it may be false, on which you are charged. Your previous conviction is brought up against you and you are punished.

Or if there is no evidence, you are arrested as a bad character and required to find security. Failing to find this, you are again sentenced to a term of imprisonment.

And when that is over?—Well, you go through the same weary round again! Are we to wonder that by this time we have succeeded in making you a confirmed and desperate “Habitual,”—but let us hope, not yet an “Incorrigible?”

In brief, the ordinary Habitual, as distinguished from the Incorporrigible, is to a large extent created by a faulty system. Dealt with on suitable lines, he can be reformed without serious difficulty, as will be shown later on, when we are dealing with the remedy.

3. The Hereditary Criminal.

The Criminal Tribes of India represent a phase of crime which is almost unknown to Europe. Perhaps their condition might be more fairly called a state of war than a state of crime.

On the one side are ranged the Police forces of the Indian Empire, backed up by a powerful army. On the other side we find a compact phalanx of trained warriors, including men, women and children, and often martialled and led on by women chieftains. They meet power with cunning, and force with fraud. They utilise the railway for rapid raids, the Post Office for remitting their loot. Locating themselves on the boundaries of different States and Provinces, they pass rapidly from one to another, baffling the vigilance of the police. Inured to hardship, adepts in every artifice, trained from infancy by their expert leaders, they carry on a guerilla warfare which defies the combined efforts of an army of 150,000 Police, and 700,000 village watchmen to repress.

They are Soldiers rather than robbers, though like other armies of a more civilised character, they make the territory which they occupy contribute to their support. Unencumbered by weapons, ammunition, or commissariat, they can move rapidly from point to point. Amidst the 675 States and 250 Districts, into which India is divided, they can always find some easy-going leaders who will turn their blind eye towards them and afford them a sanctuary. To such they will grant immunity and not infrequently a share of their spoils. If a “Mitha (soft) Sahib” occupies the chair of District Magistrate, or Superintendent of Police, it is quickly known and marked, and full advantage taken of the fact. The official in question may be able to boast that his own district is comparatively immune from crime, while the surrounding country may be raided all the time.

It is difficult to estimate the number of these Criminal Tribes. In the Punjab there are 20,000 registered male adults. Including their families, who are invariably their associates in crime, these number at least 100,000. But this does not by any means represent their complete number, as many remain unregistered.

Taking the registered members only (male adults), some of the tribes are numerous, while others are few in number.

The following are some of the leading Criminal Tribes in the Punjab.

| | Registered members. | Estimate families. |
|------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Sansias | ... 8635 | 431 75 |
| Baurias | ... 6513 | 32565 |
| Harnis | ... 1587 | 7935 |
| Pakhiwaras | ... 1413 | 6065 |

In the Bombay Presidency these predatory tribes are very numerous. A letter just to hand from a District Officer tells us that in his district they number 38 per cent of the population and are scattered in 55 different villages, being notorious for their criminality. Here then is a Tribe numbering nearly a quarter of a million, closely associated in crime, not all engaged in its actual commission, but participating in its profits, and protecting and encouraging the ever active and dangerous regiment of criminals which it keeps in the field.

Mr. Kennedy the Inspector General of Police in his interesting book on the Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency, shows that the tribes to which they belong and from which they are recruited, number no less than 2,700,000, besides thousands of what he calls "Foreign Tribes" who visit the Presidency. Prominent amongst these visitors he places the Sansias and Baurias above referred to.

Criminal Classes of the Bombay Presidency.

| | |
|--------------|-------------|
| Vanjaris | ... 100,000 |
| Lambanis | ... 18,000 |
| Birads | ... 177,000 |
| Bhamptas | ... 1,200 |
| Bhils | ... 570,000 |
| Chapparbands | ... 2,500 |
| Kaikadis | ... 26,000 |
| Katkaris | ... 75,000 |

| | |
|----------|--------------|
| Kolis | ... 1270,000 |
| Manghs | ... 250,000 |
| Mianas | ... 10,000 |
| Pardhis | ... 12,000 |
| Ramoshis | ... 60,000 |
| Vaghris | ... 56,000 |
| Waddars | ... 74,000 |
| | 2,701,700 |

The United Provinces and Indian States abound with Criminal Tribes. Indeed the Crime Maps which are kept by the Government of India show that their favourite habitat is in the Sub-Himalayan regions of the North of India. But this does not mean that other parts of India are free from them. They abound also in the Madras Presidency, where an organised campaign for dealing with them has recently been prepared.

When it is remembered that these Tribes are in many cases the direct descendants of the pre-Aryan aboriginal owners of the country, and that many of them have had kingdoms and dynasties of their own, whilst others formed the bulk of the plundering armies which overran India previous to British rule, some sympathy must naturally be felt for their present condition. Expropriated from their ancient possessions, watched and harassed by an ever vigilant police, punished, imprisoned and their freedom curtailed, they are naturally embittered against those whom they regard as their oppressors.

"Spirit of our fathers, help us;" runs the prayer of one such tribe. "Save us from the Government, and shut the mouths of the Police."

One of our women Officers was conducting a meeting amongst a number of Tribesmen. She had been speaking to them about the evils of sin and of the life they had been leading

and of the necessity of resisting the temptations of Satan. "Who is your greatest enemy?" she asked. A chorus of voices responded unanimously "The Police."

"But I mean, your spiritual enemy, the enemy of your souls." They persisted however in repeating the same answer. Wishing to change the subject, the congregation were given a favourite chorus to sing.

"I've a Friend that's ever near, Never fear." "What does that mean?" asked the Officer. "Don't be afraid of the Police. God will look after you," came the prompt reply.

The adroitness of many of these criminal tribesmen in the commission of crime is worthy of a better cause. Sir M. Bamfylde Fuller in his interesting book—"Studies of Indian Life and Sentiment," gives an interesting story of an official who refused to change his watchmen (a member of a Criminal Tribe) when he changed his residence. Having disregarded an anonymous letter advising him to change his "Chaukidar," he woke up one morning to find the pictures from his drawing room swinging from the branches of the tree under which he had been sleeping. Inside, his furniture was turned upside down, and his bureau stood wide open. Money had not been touched, but his book of postage stamps had been neatly disposed round the edge of his lawn, on each stamp a pebble, so that it might not be blown away. He made no more ado about changing his watchman.

And yet the bungalow outside which this "criminal" places his shoes is absolutely immune from robbery and its inmates can sleep with wide open doors and windows in the hot summer nights, in a manner that would be impossible in the best police-protected districts of London.

The cleverness and audacity of these tribesmen is well illustrated by an incident which was related to me by a prominent Police Officer.

A regiment was passing through his station. In addition to the usual sentry, about 100 special watchmen were placed on guard by the Police. During the night, which was lighted by a brilliant moon, all the valuable regimental dogs were stolen. Loud were the complaints of the officers. The Police were sent for. Not a trace of the dogs could be found.

The Indian Police Inspector said it must have been a regimental plot. The Soldiers themselves must have done it. But the Police Superintendent replied "None but criminal Tribesmen could have done so neat a job. Where is their nearest camp?" On finding that it was some twelve miles distant, he mounted his horse and galloped to the spot. There sure enough were all the missing dogs.

Afraid that the dogs might be destroyed, he dismounted at a distance from the camp and sent for their leaders.

"You have blackened my face. You have covered me with shame. The Regiment were my guests and friends, and you have stolen their dogs," he exclaimed.

"Sahib, we did not know they were your guests. We are very sorry. We will return the dogs."

"Yes, but what will the Sarkar (Government) say? They will say, you must be punished." "Do not trouble, Sahib. That will be all right. We know the two naughty lads who did it and we will deliver them up and they can be punished."

4. The Ordinary Criminal.

Compared with the foregoing the Ordinary Criminal is a very humdrum kind of individual, and yet it is sad to think what a large proportion of them are being manufactured into dangerous criminals by a faulty system, when it ought to be made easy for them to return to the ordinary ranks of society and for their crimes, once punished, to be buried in oblivion. The keen mental anguish through which the "accidental" criminal

passes is often an even greater punishment than that which the Court inflicts upon him, and one cannot but admire the Japanese law which makes it a penal offence to injure him in any way after he has completed his term of punishment.

5. *The Juvenile Adult.*

The hardened old offender must naturally be more difficult to reform than the young man who is standing at the threshold of life.

The Punjab Borstal Jail for Juvenile Adults is able already to point to results which justify its existence and the separation of these youths from the crime-soaked adult, whose companionship must naturally exercise a pernicious influence. Some 2,247 youths were received during the year, the number remaining at the end of 1912 being 1102.

The further step which has been taken in regard to this class in sending them to spend the latter portion of their terms at our Danepur Settlement has also proved very successful. Not only have the young men worked well in the settlement, but their conduct has been good, and though working freely about the grounds, they have not attempted to abscond. The Inspector-General of Prisons for the Punjab writes in his report for 1912 as follows:—"I have recently visited the Danepur Settlement, and all I can say is that so far the results have exceeded even the anticipations of a rather optimistic enthusiast."

In his resolution reviewing the report, His Honour the Lieut.-Governor says:—"A large share of the credit for rousing public interest in the work of prison reform belongs to The Salvation Army.....The results of the scheme so far, have been wholly good, and the conduct of the prisoners released on license at Danepur has been excellent."

*Let us
order
Say*

6. *The Child Criminal.*

These belong to two classes:—

- a. The Hereditary Child Criminal, who is trained from his or her infancy, as a matter of course, to a career of crime and becomes a professional.
- b. The waifs and strays of our big cities, who drift on to the streets, and are becoming an increasing menace to the welfare of society.

a. *The Hereditary Child "Crim."*

These form a valuable asset to the adult Criminal Tribesman. The value of boy and girl scouts was well known to the Criminal Tribes of India long before the scheme was launched by its present founder. Not only so, but universal conscription became the rule and every boy and girl became compulsorily enrolled in their force of Scouts.

A large proportion of them are either orphans, or have got parents who are serving long sentences in jail. But they are never abandoned. The loss of a relative makes no difference. They are immediately annexed and utilised by some wily and often decrepit old criminal, who poses as grandfather, or grandmother, and who completes their education in crime.

In many tribes the position of these children is truly pitiable. When the father is sent to prison, the mother secures protection and support by marrying another tribesman who may himself be imprisoned, when the operation is repeated. Which among the men who happen to pose as husband is the actual father of the child, is often a question. Sometimes this will lead to a feud and fight on the release of one or other of the imprisoned husbands. More often the man will annex another wife, whose husband has just gone to jail.

Previous to our advent upon the scene, these women have explained that this was their only means of securing protec-

tion and support, but now that the Salvation Army looks after, shelters, and employs them and cares for their children, they will usually wait for their husband's release.

Our Officers were holding a meeting amongst some imprisoned tribesmen not long ago. The meeting was over, when some of the men expressed a wish to send a message to their wives, who were being cared for in our Settlement. This was their message :—

“Tell our Mem Sahibs to wait for us, and not to marry anybody else, while we are in prison.”

The message was faithfully delivered in the meeting that same night in the Settlement. The wives were called to stand up, and were told that a message had been sent to them by their husbands who were in jail. The whole crowd of some 300 settlers listened with breathless interest when it was delivered. “Bahut achchha,” replied the women.

It marked a new era in the history of their Tribe. For their husbands to call them and treat them as “Mem Sahibs” when before they had looked upon them a little better than their serfs, was in itself a revolution. For the wife to wait and to be able to wait for her husband, and for the husband to know that she was waiting and cared for, meant a step forward in the reformation of the tribe, the significance of which could hardly be exaggerated. To the children of the Tribe the change meant most of all.

6. *The City Waifs and Strays.*

In one of our Children's Industrial Homes is a boy who is known as the Train Wrecker. He was hungry, he explained and he thought that if he could wreck a train, he could at least get as much money, or food, as would satisfy his hunger. And so the attempt was made. Fortunately it was a failure. The culprit was arrested, and sent to our Home where he is doing well.

In the streets of a large Indian city was a gang of boys. They were well known to the Police, and were street Arabs of the worst type, in training for a career of crime. The tender sympathy of a Salvation Army Officer was enlisted on their behalf. Time and again he visited their haunts and engaged in conversation with one and another. From a friendly Policeman he learned that there were 28 boys in the gang, and that they were under the leadership of a boy, whom he found it extremely difficult to reach. “If you can get him,” said the Policemen, “you will get them all.” And so he set himself to watch for that young soul, and his opportunity came. The boy was hungry. He fed him and won his confidence. “What do you want with us,” he asked. “Come and see our Home,” was the reply. He went. The conquest was complete and the gang was won. The leader entered the Home with his associates and is doing well.

There are similar gangs in almost every large city, and alas, not only boys, but girls. The latter are more difficult to approach, as it can only be done by women.

To neglect these young criminals in the making, is to reap a harvest of retribution in the not distant future. It is they who will become the ringleaders in crime, and render life and property insecure. All that is necessary is to leave them to themselves. Time and environment will do the rest.



PART II.—CUREDOM.

I.—Punishment.

There can be no doubt that in dealing with the Criminal of all classes, punishment is necessary. Indeed law without a penalty becomes, as the lawyers remind us, merely good advice, and ceases to be law at all. God punishes sin and every human government that is worthy of the name finds it necessary to do the same.

The Policeman who is too kindhearted to arrest, the Judge who is too merciful to punish, the Governor or King, who is ever ready to pardon the condemned criminal, each and all are unworthy of the position they occupy. Let the Policeman himself be beaten, the Judge robbed and the King surrounded with a howling mob thirsting for his life, and they will quickly change their minds and recognise the necessity for vindicating the majesty of the law with something more forcible than good advice, or honeyed words.

“Why does not the Sarkar give us a Hukam?” said a Criminal Tribesman when told that Government would be pleased if he would go to a Settlement. He was a fine young man, typical of 200 such who lived in the village. “We would like to go to the Settlement,” he said earnestly, “but we cannot go, unless the Sarkar gives the Hukam. If they do, we will go gladly, but without it we cannot.” And he was speaking nothing but the actual truth.

This village, like many others inhabited by criminal tribesmen, is dominated by a ring of “wont be goods,” whose will is law. Some 10 per cent of the male adults are away all the time, raiding, robbing, plundering. If one is arrested by the Police, his successor is chosen and sent out and dare not refuse his dangerous mission. The imprisoned man’s family is cared for in the meanwhile.

The man who hesitates, or hangs back, becomes the butt of ridicule among the women of the Tribe. But apart from that he dare not flinch from carrying out the orders of the secret clique.

The village is a Mohammedan one. It contains three mosques. The worst criminals attend prayers the most regularly, for is it not there that they can the most easily hatch their plots, removed from the vigilant eyes of the Police? One of their Maulvis, stirred by the teachings of the Salvationists, thought to imitate their example by exhorting them to live an honest life. They bade him mind his own business, while they continued to say their prayers and pay their dues, and he was soon compelled to leave the village. Another of their maulvis is supposed to assist the Tribe in the commission of crime.

The Criminal Tribes Act clothes Government with power to remove and locate any tribe, gang or part of such, and the Tribesmen know it. Why then does not the Sarkar avail itself of its powers, they ask, but simply content itself with good advice, which they cannot follow?

Our experience with the Criminal all over the world goes to show that a strong policy is a wise one, and that a weak one is unkind to the Criminal himself. The provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act provide the ruler in India with all the special powers that he requires in dealing with the growing evil of their lawlessness, but while the sword rests in its scabbard, it cannot be a “terror to evil doers.”

The laws of India are admirably suited for dealing with Criminals of all kinds. They are the outcome of the combined experience of good, earnest skillful men, who have been engaged in a long warfare with systematic crime during the last one hundred years. They are codified in such a simple form that all may understand, and not left to the vagaries of conflicting

Court decisions. The Indian Penal Code, and the Criminal Procedure Code are based on the best models, and are well fitted themselves to become the model of Criminal Jurisprudence in any Eastern nation. The Criminal Tribes Act is of more recent origin, but is an admirable piece of legislation, well suited to deal effectively with the Hereditary Criminal. It might well be further strengthened by a provision making it applicable to the Habitual and Incurable classes, who may not be members of Criminal Tribes,

The Criminal Procedure Code also authorises the Magistrate to deal with the Incurable and Habitual, or what is known in India under the general title of "Badmash," or bad character, by requiring him to find security for good behaviour, failing which the man is liable to a term of imprisonment proportionate to the number of his previous convictions. This is a valuable provision, but is not so effective as it might be for two reasons:—

1. The worst and most dangerous criminal can usually find some rich and powerful patron to go security for him. There seems no reason, however, why this patron should not himself be called upon to find security in a much larger sum his protection of the badmash being regarded as proof presumptive that he was sharing in his illicit gains.
2. The Courts are naturally unwilling to commit to prison a man, however bad, against whom there is no definite evidence of a further crime.

In either case, what are known as the Security clauses of the law have been found insufficient for dealing with the evil.

Hence, the framing of the Criminal Tribes Act, which is admirably suited for dealing with the evil effectively, if its provisions are enforced.

In brief, the Act empowers the local Government to register and locate these wandering tribes and to create for them

such Industrial and Agricultural Domiciles as will ensure them the ability to gain an honest livelihood. Once proclaimed as such, the Criminal Tribes can be effectively dealt with.

There has been a good deal of hesitation and delay about enforcing the provisions of this law, and even when it has been set in motion, it has been often worked along permissive and voluntary lines rather than along the mandatory lines which the law itself contemplates and the gravity of the situation requires. This is to be regretted. If one class more than another needs to feel that inside the velvet glove there is an iron hand, it is the hardened or hereditary criminal.

Persuasion has its advantages, but has also its limitations, and in dealing with criminals it cannot be too clearly and emphatically insisted that it is inefficient and insufficient. The very nature of the case makes it such.

Here is a Tribe or Clan of let us suppose 300 men, women, and children. They are dominated by a small but powerful clique who keep in the background, but who exercise the most absolute control over the members of the gang. It goes without saying that they obtain the largest share of the loot. In one Province alone Rs. 30,48,000 worth of property was reported to have been stolen during the year 1912. Of this only Rs. 4,55,000 were recovered, say 15 per cent, leaving 85 p. c. uncovered. To ask these leaders to voluntarily resign what is to them a profitable business, and to settle down to the humdrum and non-exciting toil of an ordinary coolie, who may earn perhaps four annas a day, can scarcely be acceptable to them. It is to expect too much. They will neither be good themselves nor allow their followers to become such, if they can help it. Good advice will be wasted on them. They will only yield to a stronger will and power than their own. They must either be commanded, or removed.

The bulk of the tribe undoubtedly belong to the "would-be-goods," but at present they are "can't-be-goods," and years of habit and partnership in crime have accustomed them to yield unquestioning obedience to their chiefs. The latter also are in possession of the whole history of their crimes, and can at any time furnish the police with the necessary clues.

Again take their mode of life and the very construction and location of their villages, where they live in such. These are planned to facilitate escape, should the police appear upon the scene, or to introduce booty unseen, should be police be already there. A "Crim" Village is like a rabbit warren. When the ferret appears at one end, they can escape at the other. Or they will sleep in the open-air in places from which they can observe all comers. Or they will scatter themselves over a wide area amongst out of the way villages, where police supervision is impossible. There are chains of connecting posts reaching from the Himalayas to Bombay, Calcutta and South India. The roving gangs will leave secret wayside marks to tell their confederates where they have gone, how many there are, and what success they have had.

To ask them to voluntarily forsake their raiding centres and place themselves within reach of police supervision, without subjecting them to a strong measure of compulsion, is surely to expect too much of them.

A District Magistrate invited a village of "Crims" to enter one of our Settlements which was only two or three miles distant. They declined, saying they were quite comfortable where they were. Why should they leave it? They had an excellent raiding centre, well suited for their purposes.

In an adjoining district an active Superintendent of Police had rounded up a Tribe, notorious for their criminality, and told them plainly that now they must choose between prison and the Settlement. He was not going to allow them to rob and plunder the district any longer. They would have to find

security under the usual clauses of the Criminal Procedure Code, and failing to find it their leaders would be sent to prison (The Criminal Tribes Act was not yet in operation in the District). He did not, however, wish to follow so severe a course and had arranged with the Salvation Army Settlement to receive them, if they would agree to go. They could then gain an honest livelihood, and there was no longer any excuse for begging and stealing. Faced with the alternative, the Tribe "voluntarily" entered the Settlement without a murmur. Another Tribe in the same District applied for permission to enter the Settlement, but owing to lack of room there was considerable delay. They sent a characteristic message to the Superintendent of Police saying that for two months they would abstain from raiding, but that if by that time he had not arranged for them to be accommodated, they would no longer hold themselves under any pledge.

Where the alternative of prison or Settlement is firmly presented, the Crims will usually cheerfully and thankfully accept the latter, and being under a certain measure of compulsion, will remain in the Settlement, so that we have a chance of getting at them, and employing and reforming them.

But when they are merely invited to go to a Settlement with no such alternative presented to them, they become most capricious and unmanageable.

It will be seen therefore that a firm attitude on the part of the Local Government and the Police is essential to the success of any scheme for dealing with these Criminal Classes either as Tribes, or as Individuals. They must understand that their career of crime has made it impossible for Government to allow them the same liberty as an ordinary crime-free citizen.

It cannot be too strongly insisted that a weak, vacillating, goody goody policy in dealing with the criminal, especially of the dangerous classes, can only invite failure. He will misinterpret and take advantage of it every time.

The law in India furnishes the authorities with an admirable and well-thought out plan for dealing with these classes, without undue harshness, and yet with all necessary firmness, in the interests, not only of the law-abiding public, but of themselves and of their families. But it must be put into execution, and it ought to be simultaneously applied, so as to avoid their passing out of one jurisdiction, where action is being taken, to another where the law is allowed to remain dormant and a dead letter.

2. Reformation.

It is a mistake to treat the Criminal as a person to be pitied and sympathised with and filled up with good advice. But it is equally a mistake to withhold from him every possible opportunity and inducement to reform.

It is not enough to ask him to reform himself. His condition and circumstances should be made such that he will be compelled to reform by every instinct of self-interest and self-preservation.

If the waters of ravaging torrents can be forced into channels, where they can be converted into canals irrigating vast areas of previously barren land, surely the resources of a wisely paternal Government need not shrink from the task of applying similar methods and principles to the raging torrents of crime which threaten to destroy the bulwarks of law and order.

What is needed is the creation of a well-thought out plan which shall be made applicable in all its details to the various classes above enumerated. Perhaps before suggesting a policy and plan, a word is necessary in regard to the existing Prison System.

3. The Prison System.

The relaxation of Prison discipline and the improvement of its conditions, have probably been carried of late years to the very limit of safety. The Jail is in danger of being made so comfortable that it may cease to become a terror to evil-doers.

In Ceylon it is jestingly referred to by Habituals as their "Loku Amma," or "Grandmama," and it is not uncommon for criminals to commit offences with a view to being sent back to a place where residence has become more desirable than outside. "Keep my dress and blanket for me. I shall soon be back," is not infrequently the remark which a released prisoner will address to his Darogha.

Even "Kala Pani," or transportation across the sea to the Andaman Islands, has lost much of its old terror, and we hear of criminals who will commit some unusually atrocious crime in the hopes of receiving a sentence of Kala Pani.

This is to be regretted, and anything that will increase this tendency is to be avoided as far as possible.

But there are two features of prison administration which can probably be improved without incurring any such risk.

- I refer to—
1. The Prisoner's Family, and
 2. The Released Prisoners.

1. When the prisoner is sent to Jail no consideration is paid to his family and their support. It is true that in the case of Criminal Tribes, and even individuals, the family may have participated in his wrong-doings. But consider the unfortunate position of a woman with young infants, whose husband is sent to prison.

In Europe a criminal is as often as not an unmarried man. In India such is not the case. Every criminal of adult age is married. At least the exceptions are so few that they are not worth considering. Hence the question is a burning one. ||

In one case five men were arrested and sentenced for a gang robbery. The five weeping wives with their little ones came to us for protection and employment. But no provision existed for their support, except the shelter and light employment which our Settlement was able to afford.

Surely this is a bolt and slur on our penal system? Nor does it seem necessary. Already it is not uncommon for a certain portion of the earnings of a prisoner to be allowed to accumulate for him to take with him at his release. In such cases this sum, or at least, a considerable portion of it, could be utilised for the support of his family.

In some advanced Jails in America, the prisoner is allowed to work overtime with a view to earning money for himself. This again would indicate a means by which he could support his family.

Surely it is not wise to relieve him of the moral responsibility of supporting his family, nor does he ordinarily desire it. If he is to be relieved of that responsibility, surely some inquiry should be made as to who will assume it, and if the cost is going to accumulate and be a debt of honour which the criminal must repay after his release by engaging in further crime, it would be a true economy to make some more satisfactory provision for their support. Even if it cost Government something and required a special budget provision, it would at least lessen one great risk of making the ordinary criminal into a habitual.

But I venture to say, that the cost would be infinitesimal in comparison with the greatness of the gain. Our Settlements would form a safe and cheap harbour for such families, where the woman and her children would almost, if not entirely, meet the cost of their support by their labour.

We have in one of our Settlements a boy of 14 who supports his widowed mother and three younger brothers and sisters, while already a considerable number of families, whose husbands and fathers are serving long terms in jail, are supporting themselves by the employment we are able to supply.

But the whole thing needs careful organisation and some kind of a small pension should be arranged, at least for the infirm or infant members, while their breadwinner is under lock

and key. If this amount can be set apart from the earnings of the prisoner himself, this will be the best for all concerned.

2. *The Released Prisoner.* Many Prisoners' Aid Associations have been organised all over the world, and while much good is undoubtedly effected, there is great room for improvement. We have ourselves perhaps had a wider experience in this class of work all over the world than any other single organisation. Nor would I in any way belittle the good which has been accomplished.

But the voluntary element is not sufficient when dealing with a released criminal, and a better bridge is urgently needed over which he can safely pass back from prison to ordinary life. He must not be left to his voluntary impulses or desires for turning over a new leaf. His circumstances are against him and will overpower him unless he is safeguarded and protected by some stronger power than his own good resolutions. This is our experience all over the world, and in places where the Prisoners' Aid Associations are the strongest and best organised.

Here is a model Jail in America with 1200 prisoners. Everything for the reformation and moral improvement of the men is carefully planned. There is an adult Sunday School for Bible instruction and a preaching service, all under the guidance of a sympathetic and aggressive Chaplain, who seizes every opportunity of utilising the assistance of every good and prominent man who visits the town. Each prisoner, when released, is presented with a new suit of clothes and a sum of money.

But yet in nine cases out of ten, before twenty-four hours have passed, that man has been stripped of clothes and money, and succumbed to the all-powerful influences of evil which are waiting to prey upon him the moment he is released. The children of darkness are evidently cleverer and stronger than the children of light.

Surely, there must be something wrong in the system for such a condition to exist year after year? There must be somewhere some missing link? I think it will be found to be this. The released prisoners need to be subjected to some gentle yet firm compulsion. The voluntary system has been weighed and found wanting. He is like a man with a broken leg. The limb has been encased in splints and plaster of Paris and these have suddenly been removed. The operation may have been quite successful, the bones may have joined and inflammation gone down. But he is not yet fit to walk without a crutch, especially seeing that there are so many mischievous people all around waiting to take advantage of his weakness and to push him over.

The difficulty can easily be met by committing him to a Settlement before the expiry of his term to spend the end of his sentence there. Here he will be found employment and surrounded with good moral influences. His prison garb and chains will be discarded and he will gradually be strengthened and accustomed to the use of his broken limbs and when the day of complete liberty arrives, he will return to his friends not straight from prison, but from surroundings which will ensure him a new and happy entrance to a sphere of usefulness. If difficulties occur, he will be able to return to the same sheltering influences, instead of returning to his evil ways.

The cautious experiment made in this direction by the Punjab Government in regard to their Borstal prisoners, has been so successful that there seems no reason why it should not be generally applied to all classes of prisoners. Section 401 of the Criminal Procedure Code supplies the necessary powers to Local Governments, whilst those are amplified in the case of members of the Criminal Tribes.

4. *The Security System.*

The Indian Law contains some admirable provisions for suspicious and dangerous characters. They can be required to find security for good behaviour, and this security must be satisfactory to the District Authorities. I have already referred to this point, but some further consideration of the question seems desirable.

Considerable difficulty arises in the enforcement of these provisions of the Law.

In the first place the Courts are naturally reluctant to order sentences of imprisonment for those who have no definite crime proved against them, solely because they cannot find security. Hence they are frequently left to roam at large, when for their own good and for that of society, they certainly ought to be under some kind of control.

There is another difficulty. Many of the worst of them are able to find security, through the powerful patrons and protectors who are actually the participators in their crimes and who cleverly keep beyond the reach of justice. Those who most need to be restrained are thus those who can usually keep beyond the reach of the law and evade its provisions.

Now, it must not be thought that we would (like some) advocate the abolition of this safeguard. It is a valuable one, so far as it goes, and if made more operative can become still more valuable. Particularly is this the case when the criminal can be persuaded to find his own security in cash.

It must not be supposed that he is always a pauper. Either he, or his relatives, can often provide his security in cash. If he can be prevailed on to do it, we find from experience that it is practically certain that he will commit no crime while his bond lasts, and this is one of the best and safest forms of prevention of crime.

Why then does he not do so, rather than undergo a fresh term of imprisonment? Because he knows that after the term of his bond has expired, he will lose every anna of his money. The harpies who surround him will see that none of it ever returns to him.

We have had some interesting experiences in this respect, and it is becoming increasingly common for a criminal or his relatives to come forward and place in our hands the cash for his security, because they know that it will be safe, and that at the expiry of their bond it will still be theirs for them to do what they like with. In one Settlement Rs. 1,000 have thus been entrusted to us for safe keeping. While it is with us, we know that neither the depositors of the money, nor their families, will engage in crime.

The following incident occurred in one Settlement.

Several suspicious and dangerous characters had been required to find security. The total sum amounted to Rs. 500. They deposited the money with us. When the term of their bond had expired, we returned the money to them. "But how much are you going to keep?" "None." "But it is your haqq (right). Take what you like." "Not an anna." It was a new experience to the clan and produced a deep impression upon them. It did more to make them feel that our services were really disinterested than any number of verbal assurances.

Now, if we can get them to deposit their money with us, assured that no one will try to extort it from them, this in itself will be a great safe-guard against their continuance in a career of crime.

"Once I used to drink water with trouble. Now I can drink milk in peace. Before, if I had owned a goat, though I might have paid cash for it some one would want to take it from me. Now see that goat, I paid for it before our

Method Results

Manager Sahib and nobody tries to take it from me." Thus spoke a Criminal Tribesman to a leading Government official who was visiting our Settlement.

The property owner becomes naturally a property protector, so soon as he can be assured of retaining the ownership of his possessions.

Many "Crim" would like to settle down to a quiet and honest life, but they are in the meshes of a net from which they can see no means of escape, and from which humanly speaking it is impossible for them to extricate themselves. The present system of penology is faulty in that it has not hitherto provided them with a reasonably easy and certain means of escape.

5.—The Way out.

What then is needed for the improvement of our present system of penology?

1. *A definite policy.* To deal successfully with the "Crim" of all classes requires the laying down of a definite policy or line of action. Success is of course a relative term. It does not mean the extinction of crime and the creation of a Crime-free Utopia. Only perfect beings under perfect conditions could ensure such a result. But it does mean the reduction of crime to an absolute minimum. It does mean that we have a great deal more crime in existence than would be necessary, if crime and criminals were dealt with in the best and wisest manner. To ensure this result a well defined and carefully thought out policy should be laid down and carried out.

2. *Classification.* It is not desirable to place all in one category, label them "Criminal" and subject them to the same treatment, any more than it would be wise to place all sick persons in one hospital, label them "diseased" and subject them to the same diet, medicine and surgical treatment.

The proper classification of criminals helps to indicate the kind of treatment which each may require, just as the classification of diseases indicates the best remedy to apply.

Not only should the "Crim" patients be classified and their diseases carefully diagnosed, but the remedies should also be classified, and specialists trained for their application.

3. *Guiding Principles.* The treatment of crime should be based on the following principles. It should be :—

- a. Punitive.
- b. Deterrent.
- c. Preventative.
- d. Curative.

The ordinary system is well adopted to attain the first two objects, which are of great—perhaps greatest—importance, and must on no account be lost sight of. Crime is not to be pitied but condemned.

It is, however, in the last two respects that the present system of penology needs to be strengthened, improved and modified.

For instance, to let loose a criminal to prey afresh upon society after he has served his term, or to allow him to choose his own raiding centre, from which he can the most easily carry on his raids, is obviously an unwise disregard of the principle of prevention being even better than cure. It is to disregard one of the most vital principles of moral sanitation. Segregation is one of the most effective means of combatting epidemics of crime. The Habitual, and especially the Incurable or apparently Incurable, ought certainly to be segregated until there is satisfactory evidence that they are completely cured. Till then, they ought to be quarantined and made to spend their time under the yellow flag. They need not necessarily be imprisoned, but they should (with their families, who are in India usually more or less their partners in crime) be strictly segregated and this step would in itself probably serve to reduce crime by at least 50 to 75 per cent.

The Curative treatment of crime is a comparatively new, but a most fascinating, branch of study in the treatment of crime. All crime may not be curable, but a great deal of it is, and by the discovery and observance of moral hygiene, even the worst cases are often completely cured. The Salvation Army contains in its ranks tens of thousands of living illustrations of this truth. Mr. Harold Begbie's two remarkable books—"Broken Earthenware" dealing with the Social derelict in England, and "The Light of India" dealing with similar work in this country, team with up to date evidences of the curability of Crime. The Gospel remedy has lost none of its ancient power when applied by those who have themselves experienced its revolutionising and soul-reforming influence.

4. *Control.* The firm but kindly control of the Criminal should be an essential feature of a wise policy. A flip-flop shilly-shally wobble-wobble policy will not do. It has been well said that liberty is not license. It is not wise to trust to his voluntary efforts to be good and to pick himself up. His will power for good has become like a broken or disjointed limb, and will need splints and plaster of Paris for some time to come. This the strong hand of authority must supply.

Much unintentional mischief may be done by leaving to the unaided efforts of the criminal the force which society itself should have supplied. It is very difficult even for the cleverest Doctor to bind up his own broken leg or arm, and yet this is just what we expect the Criminal to do.

Here is a Magistrate or a Police Officer, or it may be a Local Government, which says to the Habituals and Criminal Tribesmen, who are within their jurisdiction, "We are not going to force you, but we shall provide you with a Settlement where we should like you to go, and where you will be looked after and found work." They reply "No thank you, we would rather remain where we are. In this skilfully constructed and well

concealed rabbit warren, or in flitting from place to place, we can easily evade the vigilance of the Police." Even supposing the 90 per cent possible "would-be-goods" of the Tribe desired with all their hearts to accept the kindly and well-meant offer, the 10 per cent "won't-be-goods" would not permit them to do so.

But let the Police Officer quietly yet firmly explain to them the Security provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, or the new regulations of the Criminal Tribes Act, and the grim alternative that awaits them, and they will gratefully accept the offer of location in a Settlement.

Voluntaryism is misplaced in dealing with a criminal and is responsible for an appalling waste of time and money. At the gates of the prisons of the world stand a noble band of men and women who plead vainly for the released prisoner to allow them to help him back to the path of virtue. If one in a hundred accept their offer, it is considered a success. The tide of crime flows past them in ever-increasing volume. Why? The released criminal should not be left to his voluntary impulses to be and do good, but should be firmly shepherded and protected from the powers of evil. He should be compelled to spend the latter portion of his sentence under curative and reformatory influences.

5. *Concentration.* The scattering of the Criminal when released is like spreading disease. In Ceylon the Habitual when released is obliged to go back to his village and reside there. What is the result? Crime is rampant in that Island, in spite of its extraordinary prosperity, and does not, as in India, fluctuate with good and bad harvests.

In certain parts of India the Criminal Tribes have been broken up and distributed among the villages, with the idea that the village headmen will better be able to control them. Nothing could be done that would better please them. Raiding becomes easy. Supervision by the Police becomes impossible and crime inevitably increases.

If on the other hand the Habituals and Criminal Tribes are concentrated in the principal centres of population, supervision becomes easy without an additional policeman, employment is plentiful, varied and well paid, and in due time and with proper control and curative treatment they will soon be absorbed in the ordinary population.

6. *Employment.* In the curative treatment of Crime, one of the most difficult problems is that of finding suitable and sufficiently remunerative employment. But by concentrating them as above suggested, the solution of the problem is very much facilitated. In all the great cities of India, there is a constant and increasing demand for labour, and the criminal can under wise and sympathetic guidance be gradually absorbed in the ordinary channels of employment.

Take Bombay, Calcutta, or Madras for instance. They are the favourite haunts of the Criminal. It is no exaggeration to say that they flock in thousands to these centres, not for purposes of labour, but for plunder pure and simple. Under existing conditions they are like rats hidden in the moral sewers of these cities, a constant menace to their moral welfare and safety.

And yet these cities shudder at the idea of having a Settlement for such anywhere near them. They would keep them at arms' length and banish them to their most distant villages. But they are in their midst already. Would it not be wiser to grip

them firmly but kindly, and to provide for them Settlements where they would be suitably housed and supervised, and from which they would go forth to swell the tide of wealth-producing labour?

During the last three years I have had interesting interviews and correspondence with various Local Governments and District and City Authorities on this subject, and everywhere my experience has been the same. "Take them somewhere else Don't bring them here." Vainly have I urged that leading merchants of the city have offered to employ them by thousands and have spoken of their urgent need of labour. It seems to be thought that by banishing them, or by pretending that the crim is not really there, the problem will be solved. But the crim is there all the time. Our cities contain masses of criminals who quickly make their presence and power felt when a riot occurs, and who are a constant menace to the safety of the population.

To minimise the evil, they should be concentrated in Camps or Settlements where they can be supervised, sifted, sorted, dealt with, reformed, and above all suitably employed.

A hungry man is a dangerous man and when he is a married man with a hungry family dependent upon him, he becomes not only dangerous but desperate. To say to him "Thou shalt not steal" is but to add fuel to his fury.

The crime thermometer of India goes up and down with its harvests. The unique Famine organization of the British Government prevents these fluctuations from being so marked as would otherwise be the case. The system is based on a sound principle, that of requiring an equivalent of work from able-bodied persons, and only giving charitable free food to those who are helpless and infirm.

The same principle should be made applicable to the Criminal Classes, and this would do much to reduce crime. The fact is plain that any plan which fails to recognise the necessity for this only courts failure and final disaster.

Take for instance the family of the prisoner. To send the breadwinner to jail, and absolutely to ignore the existence of his wife and children, and possibly of infirm and helpless parents, is false, economy, besides being indefensible from a moral and Christian standpoint. It savours of barbarism, of which it is an unfortunate relic. Certainly it cannot be regarded as worthy of Christian Statesmanship.

As I write the post brings me a letter from an old man of 60 who is infirm and has 6 daughters to support. His son the bread winner of the family is in jail. The family who are in this case, I believe, quite innocent, are reduced to penury.

When a man has broken the laws he ought to go to prison. If his family have participated in his crime, they should share his sentence. Then they would have to be supported by the State. But even then to leave them outside to steal or starve is a short-sighted and inhuman policy. With nearly all "systematic" criminals the women and children thus treated go to swell the army of "scouts" who co-operate with the host of criminals left in the field. Can they be blamed? What else are they to do?

But, it will be argued, the cost of caring for the criminal's family would be prohibitive. This is I think a fallacy, or if it were true in the past, it is no longer true in the present, when we have so clearly demonstrated the possibility of caring for them, or rather of enabling them to care for themselves. It only needs forethought and systematisation to care for the criminal's family in such a way as will do more for his ultimate reformation than tons of good advice. There is much truth in the old adage—

"Sympathy without relief
Is like mustard without beef!"

The machinery of punishment ought to be so constructed that it does not injure the innocent rather than the guilty. Here is a man who has committed robbery accompanied with violence and perhaps murder. He is sheltered, fed, clothed and found regular work. He has the Civil Surgeon to attend him in case of illness, and a paternal Government take care that contractors supply food of the best quality and that it is well cooked. He leaves the Jail, when his time is up, weighing a good many pounds more than when he entered prison.

And yet, he has probably been able to earn, or nearly earn, the cost of his food, and but for the need of costly buildings and supervision, and the restricted kinds of employment which could be given him, he would probably have easily supported himself.

Now the support of the wife and family outside will not prove nearly such a costly matter. In fact by providing for them in a suitable manner, probably the extra cost will be only fractional, and may be covered by a reduction in present expenditures. In his Budget speech the Inspector General of Police of a great Province calculated that if the Criminal Tribes could be suitably settled there would probably be a diminution of crime amounting perhaps to 75 per cent.

Let me illustrate. Soon after one of our settlements was started, the District Magistrate asked us to take over a gang of 46 women and children. Their husbands and fathers had been sent to prison for 10 years for systematic dacoities. The tribe had been rounded up by the Police with some Rs. 1,700 loot in their possession. Since the imprisonment of the men, their families had wandered about the district plundering as they went and driven from pillar to post. When ordered to enter our Settlement they absolutely refused. But the Magistrate and Police persisted

kindly yet firmly. They soon settled down and began to work. When the time came for their men to be released, they met them at the Jail gates and brought them to the Settlement, when they, too, soon learned to support themselves, some by outside work with a contractor, and others inside the Settlement. Think of the saving of time, trouble and money to the Government.

"If you can take my Crims, I can reduce my Police force by 200 men," wrote a District Superintendent of Police to our Headquarters.

Let me give another illustration of how the money to care for them could easily be gained by economies, without costing the taxpayer another rupee.

Here is a Local Government with say 10,000 prisoners in its Jails. Let it be supposed that the system of sending certain classes of prisoners to our Settlement is adopted and applied to 10 per cent of the above. One thousand prisoners are made over to us and cost the State an average of Rs. 1 to 3 instead of Rs. 5 to 6 per month. Here is a saving of say Rs. 4,000 per month or Rs. 48,000 per year, and this would be sufficient to supply Rs. 1 per month to the families of 4,000 married prisoners.

By being paid for working overtime for say one hour per day, a similar amount could easily be raised by every prisoner who has a family dependent upon him, without reducing the income of the Jail.

But the main solution of the problem is by finding suitable employment for the family, and this can easily be done at a very small cost in connexion with our Settlements. In most of our Settlements the men, women and children are earning from 500 to 1000 rupees per month by their labour inside the Settlement, and a considerably larger amount in not a few cases by outside work.

The form of employment which are provided by us are as follows :—

A.—Outside employment, in the ordinary labour channels during the day time, the settlers returning to their Settlements before dark.

B.—Settlement Industries :—

- i.* Silk. (a) Growing silk worms,
(b) Reeling and spinning silk.
(c) Bleaching, dyeing and twisting.
(d) Weaving silk.
- ii* Weaving cotton or wool fabrics.
- iii.* Darri and carpet making.
- iv.* Mat and basket making.
- v.* Treasury bags and box making.
- vi.* Carpentry and handicrafts.

C.—Settlement Agriculture :

- i.* Field Corps.
- ii.* Garden Crops.
- iii.* Poultry.
- iv.* Donkeys, cattle, goats, sheep, etc.

D.—Miscellaneous :

- i.* Quarrying stone.
- ii.* Cutting Forest.
- iii.* City scavenging.

Contracts are now being entered into by us on their behalf with various Government Departments with a view to enabling us to find them employment, and this with excellent results.

In the forest of Changa Manga (Panjab) when we first commenced cutting, the Lieut. Governor proposed to give us the entire contract of the Forest. The Department Officers were

horrified. They were certain we could not do it. There would be a great loss of revenue to Government. Labour was already scarce, and expensive, and we should make it more so. One cannot help but smile, when one compares the tragic picture thus presented to Government with what has actually occurred. Influenced by these representations our allotment was reduced to 75 acres, which we quickly finished and helped another contractor to finish his. Next year our allotment was increased to 150 acres, with the same result. This year we have been allotted 300 acres voluntarily by the Forest Department, but they naively remark that labour is no longer scarce, and other contractors are willing to do it for less, so they have decided to reduce our rate by about 20 per cent. We are punished for our success, and for having improved the labour conditions in the Forest! Why is labour now so much easier to obtain? Because we advance the necessary amount for paying regular wages to our Manager, and this makes it necessary for others to do the same, instead of simply doling out a small pittance till the wood has been stacked and measured and paid for by the Department at the end of the season. This is a grim, but not a "Crim" recompense for having improved labour conditions and supply.

The same difficulty applies to all Government contracts. The contractor who ekes out small instalments of wages while the work in progress and promises to make his final payment after his work has been measured and paid for at the end of the season, can afford to cut his rates more than those who pay as they go long. Many of the workers drop out and never get the balance at all, while the contractor himself often disappears, or gives place to another, who of course has no connection with the first. Thus the contractor can afford to offer an impossible rate, and the supervising Officer is naturally bound to accept the lowest tender, or may incur the disapproval of his superior.

We cannot compete in race, and can only accept contracts where a reasonable and possible minimum is fixed. But the ultimate gain to Government is great, as an abundant and constant supply of willing labour is ensured, and no department desires to see its workers fleeced of their wages. In the long run it is the truest economy to pay a little more and to ensure its reaching the right hands.

When this is done, the question of employment for the criminal will be practically solved, and he will be placed in a position to become his own deliverer.



PART III.—CUREDOM IN ACTION.

During the last five years we have been dealing with this question, and have gained considerable experience. The Government of the United Provinces was the first to invite us to deal with the Criminal Tribes. Soon afterwards we commenced in the Punjab, while our operations have now extended to the Madras Presidency and to Bihar and Orisa, and we have also been asked to submit proposals to the Governments of Bengal, Bombay, Assam and Ceylon.

We have already 22 Settlements and 3 Children's Industrial Homes and our operations include the following Tribes—Doms, Haburahs, Bhatas, Gidias, Aherias, Beriahs, Sansias, Pakhiwaras, Bauriahs, Erikulas, Korachas and Veppur Pariahs. Our total population in these Settlements now numbers over 3600 men, women and children, and we are expecting during the next few months to double these numbers.

The buildings occupied by these Tribes include two jails, 2 fortresses, 1 Police Lines, 2 Opium Godowns, an abandoned Railway Settlement, and several villages and tracts of agricultural land.

To find suitable employment for so large a number of unskilled workers, or rather shirkers, has been most difficult. Some of them laugh at the idea of work when first they come to us.

"We never work. We only dance and sing," said one Tribe.

"What does the Government think?" said another in astonishment. "Do they take us for coolies?"

"Why should we work?" said some others. "Even if we could get a rupee a day, it would be nothing to us, when we can secure Rs. 1,000 in a single night by one of our dacoities."

"Wash our clothes;" said one Tribe, when we suggested that their garments might be a little better for making acquaintance with some water. "Do you take us for Dhobis?" "But could not your wives do it?" "Certainly not! It would spoil the taste of our food." But this very same tribe now comes to our meetings, well dressed, clean and tidy.

Although the question has been taken up more recently in the Madras Presidency than either in the United Provinces or the Punjab, an excellent plan of campaign has been prepared, in accordance with the principles above suggested, and would serve as a good model for general adoption.

I.—The Habitual, as represented by the Security Prisoner, will be sent to serve the rest of his sentence in a special Settlement.

In the Madras Presidency out of an average of about 11,000 prisoners in Jail, about 10 per cent. are "security" cases. Magistrates are usually reluctant to send "Habituals" to prison where no new crime can be proved against them, and hence the Security Clauses of the Criminal Procedure Code, valuable as they are, have been largely ineffective. There will be no such hesitation when they can be committed with their families to Settlements where they will be kindly and yet firmly treated, cared for, separated from their bad associations, and found remunerative work.

II.—The Incurrigibles will be separated from the ordinary Habituals and yet will have a fair chance of turning over a new leaf. They will be permitted to reside, at first without, and afterwards with their families in special Settlements, but will not be allowed the passes or privileges of ordinary Habituals or other criminals, till they have thoroughly proved themselves.

III.—Industrial and Agricultural Settlements will be provided into which the Criminal Tribes and Habituals will be shepherded and where under the provisions of the law they will be obliged to reside, being safeguarded from their old temptations and associates. Thus the principles of Concentration, Control, Employment and Reform, will all be acted upon and enforced.

IV.—Industrial Homes for Boys and Girls will be established. The Provisions of the Criminal Tribes' Act empower Government to send to these Homes children whose parents are dead, or in jail, or whose ostensible guardians are training them to a career of crime.

These and the waifs and strays of our great cities will be gathered together, taught industries and ultimately married and settled down in the larger Industrial and Agricultural Settlements for which they will be carefully trained and prepared.

This is not an imaginary programme based on theories, but is the actual work which is now in progress in our various Settlements, and is the result of practical experience gained during the last five years.

We append herewith a list of our existing Settlements with their approximate population of men, women and children, thus giving a bird's-eye view of what has already been accomplished.



SALVATION ARMY SETTLEMENTS,
FOR
Criminal Tribesmen and Released Prisoners.

| No | Presi- dency or Prov. | Town or Village | Name of Settlement | No. Settl. | Employment. |
|----|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------|--|
| 1 | United Provinces | Gorakhpur ... | Jitpur ... | 100 | Weaving, Treasury Bags. |
| 2 | do. | do. ... | Fatehpur ... | 250 | Silk reeling, Carpentry |
| 3 | do. | do. ... | Indus. Home for Boys & Girls. | 45 | Weaving, Needlework. |
| 4 | do. | Moradabad ... | Fazipur ... | 200 | Agriculture, weaving, reeling silk. |
| 5 | do. | do. ... | New ... | 100 | (More to follow when lines ready.) |
| 6 | do. | Kashipur ... | Jayabad ... | 80 | Agriculture, silk reel- ing (more settlers to come). |
| 7 | do. | Kanth ... | Asapur ... | 160 | Agriculture, silk reel- ing. |
| 8 | do. | Najibabad ... | New ... | ... | Silk reeling, gardening |
| 9 | do. | Bareilly ... | New ... | ... | Silk reeling, weaving, gardening. |
| 10 | do. | Aligarh ... | Hewettpur | 200 | Silk reeling, weaving durries, bags. |
| 11 | do. | Sahibganj ... | | 160 | Agriculture. |
| 12 | do. | Phulpur ... | Lady Hewett Girls Schl. | 20 | Silk reeling, Needle work. |
| 13 | do. | Rura ... | Boys' Indus. School. | 45 | Silk reeling, garden- ing. |
| 14 | Punjab ... | Kot Mokhal... | Karampur | 1,000 | Agriculture, weaving. |
| 15 | do. | Changa Manga | | 50 | Forest cutting, silk worm rearing, silk reeling. |
| 16 | Punjab... | Chawa ... | Ummedpur | 80 | Silk reeling, weaving, gardening. |

| No. | Presi- dency or Prov. | Town or Village. | Name of Settlement. | No. Settl. | Employment. |
|-----|-----------------------------|---------------------|---|----------------|---|
| 17 | Punjab... | Lahore ... | Danapur ... | 80 | Dairy, gardening, weav- ing, reeling, silk- worm rearing. |
| 18 | do. | Adhian ... | New ... | ... | Agriculture. |
| 19 | Madras... | Bezwada ... | Sainyapuram | 500 | Stone quarries agri- culture. |
| 20 | do. | Kammapuram | New ... | 50 | Agriculture. |
| 21 | do. | Guntur ... | New ... | ... | Silk reeling, weaving gardening. |
| 22 | do. | Madras ... | Settlement | ... | Industrial. |
| 23 | do. | Chittoor ... | do. | 300 | Agriculture and silk. |
| 24 | Bihar and Orissa. | Bettiah ... | New ... | ... | Poultry, silk reeling. |
| 25 | do. | Chauterwa ... | New ... | 250 | Agriculture. |
| 26 | Ceylon ... | Colombo ... | Indus. Home | 30 | |
| | | | Total ... | 3,630 | |
| | | | Additional accommodation being pre- pared in above for about | 4,000 7,300 | |

PENDING.

| | | | | | |
|----|------------|----------------|-------------|-----|---------------|
| 27 | Madras... | Madras ... | Girls' Home | ... | |
| 28 | do. | do. ... | Boys' Home | ... | |
| 29 | do. | Chingleput ... | Settlement | ... | Agricultural. |
| 30 | Bombay | Bombay ... | do. ... | ... | |
| 31 | do. | Ahmedabad... | do. ... | ... | |
| 32 | Bengal ... | ... | do. ... | ... | |
| 33 | Assam ... | ... | do. ... | ... | Agricultural. |
| 34 | Ceylon .. | Colombo ... | Vagts. Home | 300 | Industries. |

3. Settlement Snapshots.

GORAKHPUR.—It was here that our Settlements for "Crimis" were first started. We had been lecturing on our work in India at Bareilly, and received a letter after the meeting from the Hon'ble Mr. Tweedy, Commissioner, Rohilkhand District, asking whether the Salvation Army would not undertake work for the reformation of the Criminal Tribes of the country. After considerable correspondence we were invited by Sir John Hewett to make an experiment with the Doms of Gorakhpur. A little later the Bhatas and Haburahs were added to our list in the neighbourhood of Moradabad. Then followed the Beriahs at Aligarh and the Sansias of the Kheri District. We have now 10 Settlements and 3 Juvenile Industrial Colonies for Boys and Girls in the United Provinces.

GORAKHPUR.—We occupy some extensive and substantial Police Lines, including two barracks about 80' by 40' each and four smaller buildings with a large and picturesque compound well shaded with trees.

This is an open Settlement where only the most reliable settlers are allowed to live with their families. The Weavery is also located in one of the buildings and contains about 20 improved Handlooms. A European Officer lives with the settlers in the compound.

Adjoining the Police Lines is an old Jail, which is partly used for settlers and partly for industries. Forty basins have been installed for reeling silk, and the number will soon be increased to a hundred. There is also a carpentry where boxes are made for the Treasury.

Last Christmas the District Magistrate visited the Settlements and held a meeting amongst the Doms, when more than one hundred names were publicly removed from the "badmash" register and placed on a list of "nekmashes," having been crime-free for more than four years.

There are at present about 350 Doms in the two Settlements, and extra lines are being put up for several hundreds more, who are at present in the villages, but are shortly to be brought in.

At a distance of about a mile from the Settlements is a Junior Colony for Dom Boys and Girls, where industries are taught. Arrangements are now being made for separating the boys and having another Home for them.

There are three married and three single European Officers in charge of the various Institutions and Industries, assisted by an Indian Officer, an Accountant, a Weaving Master, a Silk Master and various Teachers.

Settlers are employed in weaving cloth, reeling silk, putting up the new lines, making bags and boxes for the Treasury and as Municipal Scavengers.

There is a monthly turnover of more than Rs. 1,000 from Industries. While the margin of profit is very small, such profit as is made for the benefit of the Settlements and a considerable and increasing number of settlers find work.

Considerable trouble was experienced in this Settlement with a notorious incorrigible, who had boasted that he would break up the Settlement, but who at last came within the meshes of the law and was imprisoned.

Occasional difficulty is also experienced with new comers. Doms are notorious drunkards and gamblers. In fact when they die it has been their habit to place a small coin in the dead man's hand to enable him to start gambling when he reaches the gamblers' Paradise, where no Police will interfere with his enjoyments.

But the old settlers are very helpful with the new comers and the Officers who live in the Settlements have little difficulty in managing their once turbulent people.

Bettiah and Chauterwa Settlements.

Just across the borders of the Gorakhpur District are the Doms of the Champaran District in Bihar and Orissa. Here we have established two Settlements.

Considerable difficulty was experienced in starting the work. We wished to remove the Doms to the Tata Steel works at Sakchi, where work would be plentiful and the management had offered us land. Government consented to the arrangement, but the Doms themselves strongly objected. It was to them a foreign country, and they had no wish to leave the Champaran District.

It was decided therefore to utilise some opium godowns at Bettiah, and also to place Officers at the Dom Village of Chauterwa. Here a strong Police Guard numbering an Inspector and several Constables had been posted, but had been unable to check their depredations. This guard has been entirely withdrawn at our request.

Even with the modified plan the Doms were at first unwilling to receive us. We brought over several Doms from Gorakhpur to explain matters to them, and a little later we brought over several of the leading Doms from Chauterwa to Gorakhpur to see what a wonderful change has taken place in their kinsmen across the border. This completely won them over and no further difficulty has been experienced.

A Staff of five European Officers and several Indian helpers are engaged in organising the work, which is partly agricultural and partly industrial.

There are some three or four thousand Doms in this and the adjoining district of Saran. Work is shortly to be taken up in the latter district. The prospects are very encouraging.

An interesting feature of the work here and in nearly all of our Settlements is that we are able to dispense entirely with the presence of the Police inside the settlements although we are glad to have them in the neighbourhood, to appeal to in case of trouble. We cannot speak too highly of the splendid way in which the Superintendent of Police and District Authorities have co-operated with us in our efforts to reform these Tribes.

Moradabad.

Grouped around the city of Moradabad and its vicinity we have a number of Settlements under the supervision of Brigadier Jivanandham, a Tamil Officer of great ability and experience. He has succeeded in winning the confidence of the Haburahs and Bhatus, who constitute the bulk of his settlers.

Employment includes Agriculture and Industries. In Moradabad itself we have about 200 acres of land. On this we have two settlements and a large and very successful Hospital.

Our Headquarters and Industries are located in a large bungalow known as the Damdama Kothi, rented from the Maharaja of Tehri.

About 20 miles from Moradabad we have a Settlement of Bhatus near the town of Kanth. They cultivate 200 acres of land.

Some 30 miles north of Moradabad in the Naini Tal Tarai, we have a fine tract of 1,000 acres, with an agricultural settlement, not far from the town of Kashipur

About 40 miles from Moradabad on the main line to Saharanpur and Dehra Dun, we are about to take possession of an old Fort at Najibabad, a picturesque ruin with a strong wall enclosing some 40 acres of land. This will become one of our Industrial centres for silk reeling, silk-worm growing, and weaving.

Bareilly.

Close to the Bareilly Station stands a conspicuous three storeyed fine brick building, or rather group of buildings, once known as the Naini Tal Brewery. There are two large three storeyed buildings, each about 120 ft. by 42 ft., admirably suited for industries, besides several other large buildings.

There are about 10 acres of land attached, where lines will be erected for the settlers.

Gardening, silk reeling, silk worm rearing, weaving and carpentry will be introduced.

Aligarh.

Here we have one of our most important and picturesque Settlements. It is situated in a large fortress, to which we have given the name of Hewettpur. It was built by a French General in the days of the Maratha power.

Here we have some 200 Beriahs and are now erecting lines for increasing the number of settlers to 500. Some Aherias have also joined the Settlement and are doing well.

Employment is given in reeling silk, weaving, carpet making and Treasury bags. Silk worms are also raised and mulberry is grown and cuttings are sold.

A good many Settlers are employed by contractors on the erection of buildings for the great Mahomedan Collège, whose students are frequent visitors at the Fort, where some of them have come to study the silk industry. There a Beriah, who could not read or write, might be seen teaching a highly educated young student the mysteries of the art of reeling.

The Beriahs are a difficult tribe, and our work has by no means been plain sailing. Not long ago three Incorrigibles left the Settlement, taking with them some 30 of their immediate relatives. Their return to their original home was soon marked by a fresh outbreak of crime, and it became necessary for the police to arrest the men, who are now serving a fresh sentence in jail, while the women and children are returning to us.

There have been some touching incidents in this work. Some women had stolen some maize from the adjoining fields and with the help of a settler named Girdhar were bringing it into the Fort, when they were caught by the Manager, who informed them that he must report the matter to the Police. Fearful of the consequence Girdhar absconded, his wife with their little baby, Jitli, who had been born in the settlement, following him a few days later in hopes of finding him and bringing him back. After eluding the police for three months, one day a settler brought the news "Girdhar has come back to die in the Settlement." The Manager went and saw him at the verge of death, lying outside the house he had formerly occupied. He had called the settlers round him and had adjured them not to steal or abscond, as they could now see the bitter results to himself.

Three days after his death, his wife returned, still searching for him. "You are just too late," they told her, "Girdhar died three days ago." She burst into a torrent of tears and beat her breast as she cried out, "Oh, and our little Jitli is dead also."

Steady progress is being made, as may be judged by the following entries in our Visitors' Book.

"My wife and I visited the Settlement this morning, and were shown over it, by Ensign and Mrs. Mabe. I warmly endorse all that the Commissioner has written about the Settlement and its work. The air of content and industry about the people is wonderful when one remembers their history and antecedents. The enthusiasm of the Superintendent and his wife, and their kindness to the poor waifs in their charge are beyond all praise, and I wish them all continued prosperity and success."

(Sd.) JAS. J. MESTON,
Lieut.-Governor, U. P.

"Mr. Marris the Collector and I visited the Settlement this evening. Ensign and Mrs. Mabe kindly showed us round. The work is most interesting and promising. The people are evidently happy and are grateful for the kindly and sympathetic treatment they receive. They are fully occupied in varied and skilful industries. There is every prospect of continued success."

(Sd.) A. L. SAUNDERS,
Commissioner of Agra.

"Ensign and Mrs. Mabe showed me the settlement and the people for whom they are doing so much. The work deserves and bids fair to achieve every possible success. The sympathy and enthusiasm of the Superintendent and his wife produce confidence and content and demonstrate how much depends on personality. I wish them all prosperity in the work, the munificence of which it is impossible to over estimate.

(Sd.) EDWIN P. MONTAGUE,
Under Secretary of State for India.

Sahibganj, Kheri District.

This village is about ten miles from the Railway Station of Gola and is a Settlement for Sansias, numbering nearly 200 men, women and children, and cultivating about 300 acres of land.

In spite of a strong guard of Police the village maintained an evil reputation for crime ever since it was founded some fourteen years ago.

About two years ago, at the request of Government, we took charge of the Settlement. The Police guard was withdrawn and a married European Officer was appointed.

The District and Police Authorities now report that crime has ceased, and the village has settled down to a steady and peaceful life.

One serious difficulty was encountered, which gives a side light into one of the causes for crime. A number of young men, who were growing up to manhood, could not obtain wives, the dowery demanded being exorbitant. It is in this way that the leaders of criminal gangs draw young men into their meshes, as it is only by the commission of crime that the money can be raised.

We undertook to find wives for these youths, urging them still to desist from crime. One of our women Officers was appointed to find the wives and negotiate the marriages, with the result that nine couples were recently happily united.

As the number of boys and girls in our Industrial Junior Colonies increase, we shall find less difficulty in suitably mating the young people.

Danepur, Lahore.

This Settlement is located in Lahore, opposite the Central, District and Borstal Jails. Here we have a 25 acre tract of land with numerous buildings and enclosures.

In one of these latter are lodged the lads from the Borstal Jail, who are sent to spend the last few months of their term with us. This is a new departure in penology of an extremely interesting character.

For some time the Inspector General of Prisons, Lieut.-Colonel Braide, had been urging the public to establish a Prisoners' Aid Association to help prisoners when released. There being no organisation of the kind, the tendency of the released prisoner was to become a habitual.

We came forward and offered to supply the need, but pointed out that something more practical was required than a mere "good advice" association for the prisoners when released. We had had much experience with these and found that the good accomplished was not in proportion to the expenditure of time, effort and money. We proposed therefore that it should not be run on the ordinary voluntary lines, but that prisoners should be committed to us for the latter portion of their term, we undertaking to find them employment.

This proposal was accepted by the Punjab Government and it was decided to experiment first with the Borstal Juvenile Adults, of whom there were generally from 800 to 1000 in the Borstal Jail.

Special rules were drawn up for the purpose, and monthly batches of prisoners were consigned to us. They have worked well and given no trouble, and the authorities have pronounced the experiment to be a decided success.

In a different part of the same settlement we have also a number of Criminal Tribesmen who are doing well.

Employment is found in cultivating the land, in working a dairy, in weaving, silk-reeling and poultry raising.

Amongst the brightest and most useful of our settlers is a deaf and dumb prisoner who was sent to us from Multan. He had been the despair of Police and Magistrates, always in and out of prison, and looked upon as a hopeless Incurable.

Hearing of our Settlement the Magistrate resolved to give him one more chance. We agreed to take him on condition that he was committed to us for not less than two years. He has been with us now for about 1 year, and has settled down happily and made himself most useful.

Another of our best workers is a tall athletic Sansiah who had been a champion wrestler, and who has now been crime free for more than three years, and is most useful to us.

A photograph was lately taken of a group of our Borstal boys. Amongst them were three who had been implicated in murder cases. Seated in the middle of the group was the little fair-haired baby child of our Manager. "A little child shall lead them."

Changa Manga Forest, near Lahore.

One of the most interesting features of our work amongst the Criminal Tribes is its constant variety. Here is a Government forest consisting mainly of mulberry trees. The happy thought occurred to the Lieut.-Governor that the money spent by Government in cutting the forest might as well be utilized in reforming the Criminal Tribesmen and finding them employment. At the same time the leaves of the mulberry tree could be utilized for growing silkworms. Thus the criminal might be found work with little or no expense to Government.

The settlement is now in its third year, and while its growth has been slow, yet steady progress has been maintained.

We soon found out that it was not every tribe of "Crim" which would take to the severe work involved in felling, cutting, and stacking timber. We wanted to make their task easier by the introduction of an oil engine and machinery. But the Forest Department objected on the ground that there might be a danger of fire.

However we found two Criminal Tribes were residing already on the borders of the Forest who take kindly to this class of work and excel in it. And we also found that, while the Sansias, on whom we had originally built our hopes, did not take to wood-cutting, they were excellent for silk worm rearing and silk reeling.

We also had the satisfaction of knowing that we were able to improve the position of the ordinary forest wood cutter, and to improve and cheapen the supply of labour in the forest.

Chawa.

An old Mohammedan fortress built in the day of the Emperor Aurangzeb is the Home of our Chawa or Umedpur Settlement for Sansias. The building is square, about 550 feet each way, with massive walls and about 130 rooms inside the walls. It is admirably suited for our purpose, saving for the fact that there is no outside employment, owing to its lonely situation. Thus we are ourselves compelled to find employment for every settler,—no light task.

However, we have had a weavery going for some time and have now trained some fast and excellent weavers, one of whom has been sent to our Ludhiana Weaving School to be trained as weaving master.

More recently we have established a filature for reeling silk. Nine Crim students, if we may so call them, were sent over to our Sir Louis Dane Weaving School in Ludhiana to learn the art of reeling silk. They took to it readily, and were able to return in a month's time, not only to make a start themselves, but to teach it to others.

Not long after the Settlement had been organised, I had a meeting with the settlers, and after giving them some good advice, asked them whether they had anything to say. One of them rose and said he had a complaint to make. The Manager had threatened to expel him from the Settlement. This, he thought, was very unkind. A father might punish his child, but he must not turn it out of its home, however badly it might behave.

I pointed to a buffalo and goat which were tethered close by, and asked to whom they belonged. "To me," said the man with pardonable pride, for they were well fed and nice looking creatures. "Now supposing a tiger were to come in here," I asked "and wished to be treated as one of the family and to have permission to eat your buffalo and goat. Would

you say it was not to be turned out? Would you not ask some Sahib to bring his gun, or would you not at least try to turn it out? Now we have here some beautiful buffaloes and goats," I said, pointing to our Tribes—people sitting around. (But unfortunately, we have one or two tigers in this settlement.) Are we to allow our goats and buffaloes to be devoured by them while we look on? Are we to treat the tiger as a member of our family? No, we shall turn him out for the sake of the others."

The man sat down in silence, while a murmur of approval passed round the crowd. The next time I enquired about this man the Manager told me that the hint had taken effect, and that the quondam tiger had become a lamb.

Kot Mokhal.

Thirty miles from Sialkot and 18 from Gujranwala is the Village of Kot Mokhal. It is inhabited by a thousand Pakhiwaras, a tribe notorious for their criminality. Their plan of campaign is extremely simple. Some ten per cent of the male adults are constantly absent from the village on marauding expeditions. When one of them is caught by the Police, his substitute is promptly chosen and sent forth. He dare not refuse his dangerous errand.

The village has no wall around it, and is built on the rabbit-warren principle, so that on a dark night it is easy to bring in the loot unobserved in spite of the presence of an Inspector and strong guard of constables.

About half the villagers hold land on condition of good behaviour, but are liable to lose it, if any members of the family becomes implicated in the commission of crime.

The others have no visible means of subsistence, but boast that they are better off than those who have land, and this appears to be the case.

It must not be supposed that the people are starving. They are not. They appear to be well off, but it is well known that their principal and most profitable industry is crime.

The women are active participators in the crimes of their husbands and fathers and in bringing home the loot. They mock at any of the lads who evince a desire to break loose from crime.

When we were asked by Sir Louis Dane to attempt the reclamation of this robber tribe, I demurred, saying that there did not appear to be any of the elements necessary for success. However, when pressed, we agreed to make an experiment, and appointed Officers and opened a school and weavery. Our Officers had scarcely arrived when they were robbed of Rs. 96. This is a very rare experience with us, and in this case after a few days when they had got to know us a little better, the people relented and offered to try and find the money for us. They were sure it was buried in the ground close by and they would dig and find it. Some two hundred of them turned out, and they had not dug long before the money was found and returned to us. It was the only experience of the kind that we had with them during the 3 years we have been there.

There was one weighty excuse they were able to make for their marauding propensities. How else were they to live? They had no intention of starving. If, however, Government would give them sufficient land for their surplus population, they would quit robbery.

This has now been arranged, and Government has placed at our disposal a tract of over 2,000 acres of land, where these and other tribesmen can be settled. This has produced an excellent effect, and we hope that, slow as has been our progress in the past, the time has now come when the Tribe will abandon crime and settle down to a steady and honest life.

At the same time we believe that more could have been done had a somewhat stronger policy been pursued. We were anxious to remove at least 50 of the lads to the Danapur Settlement. They could not come voluntarily. The chains that bound them were too strong, for it must be remembered that in Tribes of this desperate and lawless character, to disobey the orders of the handful of Incurables that control the Tribe may involve even the death penalty.

But Government could not see its way clear to applying compulsion, or to enforce the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act, and in the absence of such action persuasion was of no use.

We hope that some action of this kind may yet be possible, as it is hardly to be expected that even the provision of land will result in a complete and immediate abandonment of crime by some of these who have worked behind the scenes, and found it so profitable and easy a way of earning a living.

The Settlement here has undoubtedly been our most difficult and discouraging one, and the one in which we have seen the least visible result and yet now with the improved conditions, we believe that an abandonment of Crime is not only possible, but probable, especially if the Incurables are firmly dealt with.

Bezwada, Madras Presidency.

Near the mouth of the Kistna River, and close to the mammoth bridge which spans its waters, is the abandoned Railway Settlement of Sitanagaram. We have changed its name to Sainyapuram (Armytown). Across the river is the busy Junction of Bezwada, where five railways and five canals meet. It is on the direct line between Calcutta and Madras. With the latter town it connects both by canal and railway.

The buildings which had originally cost about Rs. 80,000 were about to be dismantled by the railway, but were offered to us for a very reasonable sum. Ultimately they were acquired by Government and with some 80 acres of land, formed our first Settlement in the Madras Presidency.

In some of our Settlements, where persuasive methods have been too much relied upon, it has some times been our experience to wait for weeks before our settlers have come. Not so in this case. The place had scarcely been taken over when our first settlers arrived. They were a great contrast to the tall powerfully built Pakhiwaras of the Punjab. But they were very jungly, and as we looked at them our hearts sank within us and we were tempted to say "Can any good thing come out of the Erikulas?"

Those who imagine that work amongst the Criminal Tribes is easy or agreeable, should visit one of our Settlements, not after we have had them in hand for several years, but when we take over the raw material. It is literally Pandemonium let loose. The fighting, quarrelling, shouting, drinking, and gambling are indescribable. The squalor, the rags, the wretchedness are beyond words. Even European Slumdum is outslummed.

They would not work, they would not stay, they would not do anything we wanted them to do. Their very donkeys lay down and refused to carry stones, because, as their masters explained, they had been accustomed to carry salt all their lives, and nothing but salt would they condescend to carry.

We had built them comfortable quarters, but would they enter them? No. It was unlucky. They would surely die. They preferred to sleep in the open. To that we did not so much object being great believers in fresh air.

This is not ancient history, for we have not yet celebrated our first anniversary, but already there is a marked improvement. It has begun amongst the children. They are bright, clever and intelligent. Having had so long to live by their wits, they seem abnormally precocious. What a new life is the settlement to them!

"How can I be saved from wickedness and made good?" asked a boy one day earnestly from our officers, and the next Sunday this little apostle brought with him six others who knelt in prayer and asked God to make them all good. Surely if angels weep for joy, they must have wept as they gazed upon that scene, the first dawn of a new hope and life for that crime-steeped tribe of criminals.

There are now about 500 men, women and children in the Settlement, and two quarries in the neighbourhood provide employment, while contracts for stone have been offered us by the Public Works Department, the Railway and the District.

This happy combination of firmness on the part of the authorities and the hearty co-operation in the provision of work make it probable that this will soon become one of our most important and successful settlements.

Kammapuram, Cuddalore.

This is an agricultural Settlement for the benefit of the Veppur Parriahs of the Cuddalore District. About 1000 acres of land have been set apart, and the Veppurs are to find employment in repairing a tank, erecting their lues, and getting the land under cultivation.

The Veppurs number about 1000 souls and have been very troublesome for years past.

The Settlement has just been opened, so that it has not yet any history of its own, but the prospects seem encouraging and the Officers in charge write very hopefully and have the hearty and vigorous support of the Collector and District Authorities.

Guntur.

This is part of the scheme elsewhere referred to, for the reception of Security Prisoners with a view to employing them and passing them on to our Industrial Settlement at Bezwada and an Agricultural Settlement about to be opened near Bapatla. At the two latter places they will be joined by their families, and in fact their families will in many cases precede them, so that when the man arrives he will find his home ready for him and a welcome awaiting him from his wife and children.

Madras City.

At the time of writing, a property has just been secured in a good situation for the first of what we hope will soon be a group of Settlements in our great Presidency Cities. It is noteworthy that while others have hesitated as to the wisdom of so bold a policy, Madras has stepped in and led the way. An Agricultural Settlement of about 1,000 acres is also under consideration in the vicinity of Madras, and two Industrial Colonies for Crim Boys and Girls will soon be added.

4.—A Tribute to Government.

This Report regarding the work that has been organised in so short a time for the benefit and reformation of the Criminal Tribes, Habituals and Released Prisoners of India, would be incomplete without a brief acknowledgement of the fact that it would have been impossible, but for the advice, guidance and assistance which we have received from the various Local Governments, the District Authorities and the Police.

Our most prominent Indian Statesmen have given the benefit of their long and intimate acquaintance with the country and its people, and have not merely left the problems to their subordinates, whose hearty co-operation we would also

desire to acknowledge, but have themselves devoted many hours in their busy lives to conferences, correspondence, the drawing up of regulations and the visitation of the various Settlements

Sir John Hewett was the first of our great administrators to take up the question and place it upon a practical and substantial footing, a policy which his successor in office, Sir James Meston, after very careful consideration and after personally visiting each of our most important posts, has confirmed and carried out on a still larger scale.

In the Punjab, Sir Louis Dane manifested the keenest interest in the question, inaugurating several most important new departures, which have been referred to in these pages. Here again his policy has received the confirmation of his successor in Office, Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

Similarly in Madras, we are indebted greatly to Sir Harold Stuart, who has taken the question up with such vigour and introduced such practical improvements, that already the work has assumed great magnitude and importance, the policy receiving the approval and support of His Excellency the Governor.

Our debt of gratitude is also great to the Commissioners of Divisions and District Magistrates, to whom the execution of Government's orders regarding these Tribes has been committed. It is true that the problem has been for many years a thorny one, which has constantly forced itself upon the attention of District Officers; nevertheless in concentrating these Tribes and bringing them into contact with the ordinary labour markets of India, considerable local opposition has had to be encountered and overcome. No town was willing to receive the unwelcome intruders, although as a matter of fact they were there in large numbers already, their hidden and unbidden guests.

Similar opposition has had to be overcome from villages in regard to agricultural settlements, and in this case with more reason, as supervision was more difficult.

We owe much to the vigorous co-operation of the Police also. The Inspector Generals of the United Provinces, Punjab, Madras, Bengal, Bombay and Bihar and Orissa, have given us the benefit of their advice and co-operation, and to the District Superintendents we have owed much for the cheerful help they have afforded us in our difficult task.

It has been recognised by one and all that we could not expect to reach perfection at one bound, that unlimited patience would be required, and that breakdowns, failures, and disappointments would be inevitable and numerous. The difficulty of the task which confronted us of raising and training an experienced Staff, and of organizing Industries, Agriculture and Employment, and of adapting ourselves to the varied conditions of the localities and Tribes, was fully appreciated.

The tributes of appreciation from those who have watched the work from its inception and during its growth, have been no small encouragement to our workers to go forward, and we believe that the blessing of God has accompanied our efforts and has made possible these results, where human power would by itself have failed.

"To what do you ascribe your success," said one of our visitors to the Officer in charge. "Religion" replied the Officer. "Superstition" responded the visitor. "Well, Sir, you may call it superstition if you like" replied the officer," but we call it

THE POWER OF GOD.

