

IMPARTING KNOWLEDGE TO THE CHILDREN OF 'CRIMINAL TRIBES': REFORMATORY EDUCATION IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY

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The colonial government established reformatory schools for the children of 'criminal tribes' in India during the year 1880. The colonial government justified the existence of the reformatory schools for the habitual offenders due to the increased rate of grave crime. The reformatory schools were intended for the benefit of Criminal classes in order to improve the mental and material conditions of the children. The children had received special treatment in these schools. The government intended the welfare of the children of the habitual offenders and therefore, entrusted the educational activities of these children to Christian Missionaries like the Salvation Army, The American Baptist Telugu Mission, and Canadian Mission to guide the reformatory institutions with their missionary zeal.¹ Specific attempts have been made in this paper, to highlight the thinking patterns and working perspectives of the reformatory institutions especially those were developed by the colonial administration in Modern Presidency. The paper is highly characterised by the adequate support of concrete examples drawn from the old records of diversified types. The impact of the training has been illustrated here systematically. The former ideas on the harnessing of anthropometry in understanding the criminal features on human bodies have been pointed out here.

The reformatory schools were first started in North India for the Doms. At the same time, the government also established reformatory schools in Chingleput district in Tamil Nadu, in South India for the children of the criminal gangs.² The reformatory school in Chingleput stood as a sister institution of North India. The school was started as a model school. The colonial government affiliated reformatory schools to the jails. These reformatory schools were established very near to the premises of the prisons.³ Thus the reformatory schools worked as sub-jails (junior jails) in India. Mr. H.B Grigg, the then Jails Officer advised the government to establish the reformatory schools for the 'criminal' classes in order to reduce the number of people in the jails. The government also gained much experience with regard to the supervision of the reformatory schools under the supervision of the jails department. The 'criminal tribes' were treated badly by the Superintendents of the Jail departments.⁴ Reformatory schools grew up as open jails as a result of the supervision of the police and jail department officials. They supervised the reformatory schools mechanically and indiscriminately.⁵ Therefore, the Madras government handed over the reformatory schools under the supervision of Educational Department. The government expected better results from these schools under the supervision and guidance of the education department authorities.⁶ The

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Madras government wanted to make the reformatory schools as exemplary institutions of reform in the Madras province. The government also doubted the credibility of the Jails department in running these institutions. The reformation work carried by the education department was also a herculean task as the aims, objectives and success of the reformatory schools was associated with its attitudes, behavior, and minds of the children who were in the prison and their mind was totally occupied with the idea of the Jail.⁷ Thus, the Madras Government started schools for the 'children of 'criminal gangs' or wandering tribes in South India.⁸ The reformatory schools in Madras Presidency was purely for the children of criminal classes and wandering gangs who were going to be released from the jails very shortly. The reformatory schools were very simple in its character and nature.⁹ There were many advantages for the colonial government in establishing the reformatory schools under the supervision of the education department. The advantages were: 1. The government does not want to waste a lot of time in the reformation of 'criminal tribes'. 2. It was easy for the government to find suitable educational officers to train the minds of the criminals. 3. Untrained people were very useful in the reformation activities of the 'criminal tribes' 4. The government found the absence of any rowdiness among the inmates of the reformatory schools. 5. To encourage orderly appearance of the children etc.¹⁰ Mr. Cardew the then Inspector General Of Police once remarked "at a first visit when I drew a comparison between the Chingleput reformatory school and the reformatory school at Ailapore which were under the control of the Jails department the orderly appearance of the children stricken me forcibly at the first visit. Another pleasing result is that the old boys are not ashamed of their connection with the school. They visited the school to recall the old memories, and gave expression to feelings of pleasure. It is not unusual sight to find an ex-pupil in the full uniform of a bands man of a native regiment knock for admission, spend the day in the reformatory, take his old place in the school band, join in the boys sports and before leaving, ask the Deputy superintendent as a special favor, taken his photograph to the amusement and delight of the whole school".¹¹ The Superintendents of the medical Department was also requested to administer the reformatory schools. The medical superintendent was a commissioned medical officer. A Deputy medical officer used to assist him. He was the chief superintendent and executive officer. He was responsible for all the matters affecting the school. They were expected to control the schools on effective lines. In the reformatory schools the medical officers were also expected to look after the health related issues.¹²

Aims and objectives of Reformatory Schools

The main purpose of the reformatory schools were: 1. Providing industrial training for the children of 'criminal' tribes by detaining them for a long time in the school 2. Providing elementary education general in nature 3. Development of physical

and moral training 4. To equip children with life skills 5. To train the children to earn their livelihood by providing physical training etc.¹³ The reformatory schools were also intended to develop good physique among the children. They were trained to cope with any amount of physical exercising. Physical training formed as an important part in the reformatory schools. As soon as the child is admitted in the school, the government asked the school authorities to train them in garden classes for the first six months. Gardening is considered as an open-air course and training for the young children. They were taught elementary agriculture, use of agricultural tools such as spade, shovel, mammoth, basket etc. The whole class was taught how to raise water for irrigation by means of a rope and leather water bag. The schools provided good opportunity for the development of physique of the elderly children. The schools also provided very keen aptitude towards their life. The children were provided staple food. The children very soon accustomed to the food habits. The children were trained in gymnastics, physical drill, football and other games and other sport. Manual training was imparted in these schools for the children.¹⁴

Moral Training in Reformatory Schools

Moral training was based on the broad principles of morality of all the religions. These schools were infused with moral ideas. The children in the schools were expected to obtain a good name and opinion from the higher sections of the society about them. Religious instruction was given to the children based on their religion. Muhammadan children were allowed to go the mosque on every Friday.¹⁵ These children were encouraged to recite daily their prayers in the evening. The Hindu priests were asked to visit the schools. They were asked to instruct various duties to be performed by the children every day. The children from Christian families were encouraged to go to the Church. School reading textbooks were provided to the children with frequent references of rich moral values.¹⁶ The school textbooks impressed the children. During Sundays, the teachers provided children with selected moral stories and the moral principles. Lessons were given on the blackboard. The students were questioned on the following day to see how much of the subject they had carried away every day. The lessons provided on Sundays to the children had a powerful impact on the character of the children. The boys were asked to sing lyrics, high-toned songs in order to relieve them from the monotonous work habits. They were asked to narrate interesting tales to train them up and not to commit petty offences. The children showed additional interest to learn the lessons given in the school.¹⁷

Development of Sense of Loyalty to the British Raj

The reformatory schools provided a sense of loyalty to the British Raj. The sense of loyalty to the colonial government was maintained with the aid of the Union Jack. The government asked the school authorities to hoist the flags on the

anniversary days of the Royal Families of the British Empire and on the occasion of the visits of higher officials to the schools. The school authorities explained the children about the importance of the British Flag. The Flag stands for the symbols of justice, good government and liberty.¹⁸ The boys were asked to wear 'Miniature Union Jacks' on the empire day. At the conclusion of the party they were asked to sing the British National Anthem. The National Anthem was either sung or played by the children.¹⁹

Supervising Officers

The personal influences of the chief supervising officers were enormous on the children in the reformatory schools. The children came into contact with them every day with the instruction in the school. The Supervisors imposed heavy rules and restrictions on the children. The deputy superintendents were permanent and chief executive officer for the reformatory schools. The children looked upon them as a guide, philosopher and friend. The deputy Superintendents were treated as the head of the institution.²⁰ Domestic relationship was encouraged among the Superintending officers, training staff and children. One Deputy Superintending Officer stated that: "the reformatory schools worked on the simple principle of reformation. Too much was exercised in the selection of the Superintendents, their character, and personality. Advice and warning both were laid upon the students. Even in the selection of the lower subordinate staff necessary care and caution was exercised. They possessed plenty of human sympathy, a happy temperament, tact, firmness and patience. They were provided training on life work and a life study. The Government provided them with free quarters. They were never allowed to lead an isolated life."²¹

Character Building

Reformatory schools intended to develop character among the children of the criminal tribes. They were encouraged to play on the ground. The physical instructors were appointed. The European Sergeant judiciously handled the boys and controlled their habits during their recreation time. Boys were encouraged to develop healthy competition in the sports. They were encouraged to develop healthy temperaments and they could not take a defeat with a good grace. Checking of the good qualities of human nature, and removing other undesirable qualities formed an important part of the moral instruction. The children were carefully supervised on the play ground. The use of obscene words or language was a prevailing fault among the Native Children. The teachers summarily checked this and those habituated were trained to speak moral proverbs.²²

Development of Habits of Obedience

The reformatory schools developed the habits of obedience, speaking truth, regularity in work habits, industrious nature, orderly behavior, cleanliness, judicious

system of rewards and punishment. Children with good conduct were awarded with a good conduct badge. No punishment for an officer was recorded against the children. The good conduct badge had a monetary value attached to it. Children were given cash prizes. They were endowed with a good character badge.²³

Physical Development of Children

Physical drill was another tool for the school instructors to mould the character of the children. The reformatory school moulded their character, inculcated the mechanical habits of smartness, orderly behavior, physical development and orderly obedience through physical education. The children after obtaining 18-21 years were sent to the settlements. The reformatories looked after them until then and done everything for them. They were hedged by rules and regulations for several years in the reformatory schools. But suddenly, soon after attaining the 18-19 years of age they were thrown into the world of settlements with no guiding hand or discipline of any kind. Thus, it became very difficult for the released boys with good habits and they suddenly developed negative values. There was no such an organization like the Salvation Army to check the discipline of the children. In the absence of compulsory enlistment, the missionary society, a philanthropic body, the Salvation Army started exercising friendly supervision over them for many years after they were entrusted into the settlements. The Salvation Army trained them as 'Criminal Tribes or Classes'.²⁴

Development of Skills in Theater Arts

Reformatory schools were also intended to develop theoretical performances among children. Magic lanterns were used to illustrate and impress moral truths on children. Concerts, gramophone recitals were also exercised. The dangers of the strains of criminality in their blood were intended to be removed. Children were able to stage dramas with more credibility. The children were trained with colored papers and tinsils. They prepared garments. Thus the ultimate aims of the reformatory schools were to make the boys happy and contented. These schools intended to develop the British Empire's discipline or work in the schools. Games were introduced with a view to improve them physically fit and morally intellectual. Of all the games foot ball was the best sport favored in the reformatory schools. Great enthusiasm was always evinced on the days of the final match. The players never knew when the game was going to be ended. They possessed the feelings for the charm of the match dress. The boys out of their earnings purchased their sports dress. They wore handkerchiefs peep out of their necks. Sashes were arranged around their waists. They evinced keen interest in their play. Immediately after winning the match they used to garland the supervisor and carried them on their shoulders in triumph of their encouragement. On Sunday evenings, the children were taken for a walk into the town along the side of the fields. They were allowed

to swim in the ponds. They were taken to see the circus. Picnics were arranged on experimental lines.²⁵

Treatment of Children in the Reformatory schools: Admission of the Criminal Classes

Children were admitted in the reformatory schools by taking of their residence, caste, parentage, previous occupations, offences of their parents, sentences in the courts, and the period of detention. All the particulars of the parents of the 'criminal' classes were recorded on the note sheets. Parents were not allowed to correspond with their children as often as they liked. However, children were allowed to correspond with their parents to a brief period when their parents visited the schools. The occupation of the children's parents, their interest was taken into consideration. Children were taught according to their interests and avocations of life. Boys were recruited initially for four years. They were made to earn their food in the course of the training.²⁶

Penalties and Rewards in the Reformatory Schools

The rewards and punishments in the schools were explained to the boys along with their parents well in advance. If the children do not commit any offence for the whole year they were given good conduct badge. The badge was made out of copper. These badges possessed money value. Money was sanctioned to the children as an incentive for their good behavior. Children whose conduct was bad were strictly punished even for their smallest mistakes. Punishment was fixed for misconduct. Punishment and expulsion was permanently fixed in the minds of the children for misbehavior and misconduct. No offence was allowed without a punishment. In exceptional cases warnings were given. The discipline maintained was of the military nature. The government felt that such a discipline was very much needed to deal with criminal classes. The government followed the principle of one offence, one punishment on these children. The punishments were administered immediately on the children. Without delay the children were made to feel for their mistakes.

Treatment of Children by the Supervising Officers

The chief supervising officers used to stand like loco parents to the children in the reformatory schools. They used to make private talks and conversation with the children. They tried to mould the character of the children. They used to give occasional treats. They showed their specific acts of kindness. They were sympathetic towards the miserable conditions of their parents. The personal talks of the supervisors were charm full. These talks used to bring tears of contrition from the eyes of the children and their parents. The parents and the children were softened and kneeled down by such talks and advises of the supervisors.

Friendly supervision was exercised over them.²⁷ Every day individual attention was made on children. Proper treatment of the children was meted out to suit their temperament and character. Interviews with their parents were frequently conducted by personally visiting them at their homes. Their visits were particularly to inform their parents about the conduct of the children. The teachers used to encourage the parents to counsel their children. In one occasion a parent cancelled his son in the following tune: "what my children is this! Why I brought you forth into the world? Have you not learnt sense yet? If you behave properly and learn a trade, you are not going to benefit us but yourself. If you keep good, we shall come and see you again, and when you come out we shall get you married".²⁸

Meetings with Parents

The meetings of the poor parents with their children was often heart rendering. Parents frequently used to tell about their miseries and hardships. They used to leave their children with a good advice and promise from their young children to behave better in the school. The visits of the parents used to keep spark in the hearts of their children to work hard. Latter correspondence was encouraged between parents and children. Children with misbehavior were punished in various ways for their offences. Some supervising officers never allowed their parents to see their children. There was a friction between parents, children and the supervising officers. Many of the children used to leave the school and commit petty offences. They absconded from the reformatory schools. The government asked the supervisors to prevent such escaped by maintaining proper supervision of the children in the reformatory schools.²⁹

Children's Stay in the Reformatories

The stay of children in the reformatory schools were made happy as far as possible. Their discipline was strictly supervised. They were not allowed to do anything that degrades their position. Detentions from the schools were made even for small mistakes. They were made to remember their stay in the schools. Children were called by their names rather than attaching a number to them. Children generally were treated as good human beings. Children were encouraged to work with the elders and supervisors. They learnt to correct their mistakes while doing their work. During recreation hours no supervision was allowed on any child. The new comers were under the influence of their seniors.³⁰

General Education

The general education imparted to the children in the reformatory schools was elementary in its nature. They were unable to do sums, accounts, reading, writing in the vernacular language. Some children were taught colloquial English.³¹

Industrial Training

The industrial training was intended to train the children to develop their physical abilities, use of tools and techniques in order to earn their livelihood. Their best abilities were encouraged. They were trained how to use their abilities by making an honest living. Due to India's poor economic conditions they were not oriented towards technical education. There was no proper technical education in the reformatory schools. The factory system was not developed in the rural side.³² The demand for the skilled artisans among the rural people was very less. Children of some of the 'criminal' families were living in big towns. They were employed working in railway workshops. Majority of them were sent out due to their good behavior. However, majority of them returned back into the villages. They were attracted towards labor work. It had formed an excellent preparatory training for them to handle the machines. The youth were able to make things with their own hands. They were trained to use the machinery. These were given sufficient skills to run the machinery. The boys were made to prepare the finished goods and articles for sale. The carpentry work was encouraged among the children. These children were kept under the strict supervision during the training hours. They used to get into the hard work easily. They used to compete and work hard to complete the assigned portion of the work allotted to them.³³ In reformatory schools, children were made to work under three conditions: 1. Scope to succeed in life. 2. Always children were under the control of *mastry* 3. To become a free agent of his/her own work. The government proposed more hours of work in the industrial and reformatory schools and few hours of general education to children.³⁴ Children with less age were given more general education and children who were elderly were provided with more industrial training. Every child was given four hours of industrial training and three hours of general education every day. Majority of the children were provided industrial work rather than literary work. In reading, writing, and arithmetic children showed better skills rather than the children of ordinary primary schools. Children were regular in their attendance and showed good discipline in the reformatories. The visitors of the reformatory schools admired the brightness of school children. The children were more interested in their routine work. Nobody believed that the schools were meant for the children of the 'criminal' classes as the appearance and the discipline of the children showed in the schools was of high order. The children showed keen interest in gymnastics, intricate movements in drill, drawing and handwriting.³⁵ The schools had good reputation with a high position and tried to shape the children as honest citizens. It is worthy to note the comment of an Inspector of schools once: "With little stumps between their fingers, they held the pencils at anything but the proper angle made them write good letters. The children possessed vanity to show their skills at the best of their abilities".³⁶

Library and Museum in Reformatory schools

Reformatory schools possessed excellent library with a good collection of vernacular books. The schools were attached with a library and laboratory. The schools were equipped with a museum. The children have the access for all of them. Most of the children were encouraged to read during their holidays. The curriculum was elastic and flexible. These primary schools provided a series of object lessons. Great facilities were provided for teaching in schools. These institutions suited for consideration of special type of institutions in their intent and objectives. Practical training was very much insisted. In general education the courses were made to assist the practical work done in the fields attached to the school.³⁷

Vocational Education: Weaving as Industrial Training

Of all the vocational training imparted weaving occupied an important position. The government equipped the weaving sheds with all facilities in the industrial schools. The turnout from the children was very good. The government asked the education department to train the school children in weaving industry on modern lines in order to develop the economic conditions in the country. The education department asked the teachers of reformatory schools to give first preference to the boys in the schools. It was hoped that technical and industrial schools should protect the handloom industry. The reformatory schools should help the government by providing well trained employees every year. Soon after completing their training in reformatory schools the boys will be recruited as weaving industry *mastries* in the state weaving schools and handloom factories in Madras Presidency. The schools trained the boys in plain-weaving. The skill of the boys in their weaving was much appreciated. They were paid good amount of money for the better turnout of the work in the schools. Reformatory schools tried to improve the skills of children in weaving. The school children were well trained in the art of weaving. The aim of introducing weaving in the reformatory schools was to provide the children certain amount of dexterity or expertise in weaving and to produce better cloth by the industrial and reformatory schools. The government very much appreciated the efforts of the reformatory school authorities in producing a good amount of towels and gauze-cloth. The children were trained to produce good designs on the cloth. The boys were trained to bring certain changes necessary in the tuning and treading motion. The children were well aware of the different patterns of weaving or honey comb weaving. They were well aware of the defects in the manufacturing of clothes. They were able to provide suitable suggestions to the weaving industry authorities. In short, the children were fully trained to control the overall management of a small weaving shed in the reformatory settlement. They were provided simple cloth; they were able to produce the cloth on the looms. The reformatory schools in the

Madras province provided excellent service in training the children of delinquents in providing skills in weaving industry.

The handlooms provided by the children in the reformatory schools require further improvement. There was a great demand for the power looms in the urban centers. The equipment of power looms, the cost of training of the children. The children showed keen interest to develop their skills for producing cloth from the power looms. The schools showed keen interest to train the children in warping and sizing the cloth. The schools intended to train the students not for commercial purpose or for business activity. The schools spread the idea among the children that if the size of the cloth was better automatically the quality of the cloth will be better. The school authorities were intended that better weaving techniques should be learnt by children. The schools did not demand many things from the children. The reformatory schools did not show keen interest to make more work and manufacturing of clothes by the machines. The reformatory schools asked the government to handover the making clothes on the machines to well establish private agencies in Madras Province to meet the demands of the government time to time.

Training in Carpentry Work

The other type of vocational education that was very much preferred by the government in the reformatory schools was training in the carpentry work for the children of the criminal tribes. The children showed very keen interest in this type of work. Their annual turnout from the carpentry work was very much satisfactory. In the carpentry training there was no manual instructions or syllabus or guidelines for the boys. The children were placed under some instruction. The instructors provided certain broad principles to the boys. Their children used to keenly observe the work of the instructors and followed their oral instruction in answering the questions. Gradually, the children developed the required techniques in chiseling, planning and sawing the wooden materials. Soon after some weeks under the proper guidance of the masteries the children were provided with better tools to do the assigned work. They were provided training in sharpening the tools. They were trained to join the wooden materials. Very soon the children were trained to make small items like cabinets. The senior children were taught in drawing and scaling the wooden items to prepare the furniture demanded by the government. The materials prepared by the children were auctioned for sale. They were very much appreciated for the excellent items they had made. Good supervision and discipline was provided by the instructors. The children were trained under the supervision of the drawing teachers and the carpentry supervisors. The children had organized fine arts exhibitions annually in the schools. Children got a bronze medal for their skillful work. The children were capable of meeting the demands of their schools and hostels.

Training in Reformatory Bands

One of the special features of the reformatory schools was the introduction of the brass bands music in the schools. These children were asked for physical drill and marching. The reformatory bands cultivated refined taste of music among the children. The reformatory schools were provided with bandmasters to instruct the children in music. The children should shown keen interest in Indian music. They did not understand the importance of European music. The instructors explained the boys to appreciate the European and Indian music. The European music has an elevating art. Each piece of the European music depicts a story. The stories were conveyed in the form of melody. The songs were filled with joy or sorrowful stories in English masters. The children in the reformatory schools were instructed that the music was associated with prayer to god to bestow with best lies and protect them from the evil doings. Even the parents' children who were sentenced many times showed their keen interest to sing and dance. It was felt that teaching European music to the children of criminal classes was a difficult task. The 'criminal tribes' were Hindus. They were familiar with the music and performance of their predecessors. They were never habituated or herd of the English music. The high caste Hindus protected the English music in the schools. They ridiculed English music as intruding to the Hindus. Therefore, the European masters preferred low caste panchamas in the madras Province to join in the band music introduced by the European masters in India. The bugle bands were introduced in the schools; the buglers were panchamas, low caste-Hindus, Pariahs, native Christians, Muhammadans and criminal wandering gangs. Occasionally, some reformed high caste-Hindus used to volunteer for the bands organized in the reformatory schools. Their intellect helped them to appreciate and develop some taste in the European music. It was stated that" The Muhammadans were musically inclined. They are not as intelligent as the Hindus. The panchamas were slow. The Native Christians learn quickly and make first rate musicians, but they are as a rule, lazy". The method adopted for recruiting the children in the band was a securing test that those boys who sing a song rhythamatically such either in Telugu, Tamil or Hindustani song. Only such students were selected. If any student showed disinterest after two years they were removed. The students showed keen interest and performed very better talents. They were frequently instructed the meanings of the songs they were singing to the audience. The boys used to sing with Great Spirit. Thus, the children of the criminal tribes were made susceptible with enthusiasm. With little tact and well-designed programmes like training in music the schools instilled proud feelings among the children. Very easily, the children were absorbed into the school system. They mingled with their teachers and instructors and melted and inflamed into the school system programmes. The children were made capable of learning European music with some amount of success though they often find it a little difficult in memorizing the words or lines but shown keen interest in playing and singing in parts and groups.

Monitoring of Reformatory Schools

The success of the reformatory schools was partly due to the effective monitoring system in Madras Province. The education department used to appoint one full time and one part-time assistant monitoring officer in the reformatory schools. The best behaved boys were appointed as monitors of reformatory schools. Separate uniform code was insisted by the education department. The monitors used to wear a blue cap with a red band. The assistant monitor used to wear a white cap with red band and a star. The monitors and assistant monitors were very much appreciated for their work. There was a great competition among the boys for these positions. The monitors hold immense power. They have to maintain proper discipline in the school. They should take part in the teacher-student activities, the administrative works of the school; they should participate in the school parade. They were generally respectable for the good behavior of the students in the reformatory schools.

The Licensing System

The Madras Government had introduced licensing system in order to control the criminal tribes during the year 1910. According to the licensing system the children in the reformatory schools soon after completing their training they were provided a certificate. With the certificate those children can enter into the social environment they liked. With their full experience in the reformatory schools they should find a job on their own and start a new life. However, in certain occasions some of the children who were released from the reformatory schools were reverted to their old habits such as pocket picking, snatching materials from shops. The conduct of the children in the reformatory schools was proved good. Soon after they left the reformatories they had again started their old profession. Many complaints from the public were lodged on the children who were released from the reformatory schools with licenses. Therefore, the employment opportunities of such children were entrusted to the philanthropic bodies like the Salvation Army and the American Baptist Telugu Mission. The licensing system to the criminal tribe's children was borrowed from Bursham Reformatory School in Newzeland. There, the licensing system worked very well. But, the licensing system developed the cheap labor colonies in India. The children were escorted to and for to the place of employment daily. They have to produce the licenses in order to get proper employment.

Provisions for Children in the Reformatory Schools: Food, Clothing and bedding

The criminal tribe's children were provided food, clothing and good accommodation for studying and sleeping, awards for good conduct children, prizes and provisions for teachers stay in the reformatories etc. Children were provided with ragi diet, vegetable and non-vegetarian food. Children were also provided two types of dress

one the suit for a working day and the other dress for Sunday prayers and excursion trips. Children were asked to look smart and clean. Some boys used to wear caps on their heads. In the beginning sleeping accommodation was provided in the cubical system to the boys. Due to their escaping nature the boys were locked in separate rooms. But the system gave birth to prudent ideas. Children used to complain to the higher ups about their miserable conditions in the lockups. Hence, the system was condemned by the higher authorities on moral and humane grounds. In lieu of it, the government had introduced hammock system. But this system also failed due to the reason that elderly boys used to change the minds of younger children. Later, the pial system was introduced. The government also considered the system due to the less expense and more comfort for the children. Majority of the children were Hindus. Therefore, they were accustomed to sleep on the floor on a mattress. The government had spent lot of money for the running and maintenance of reformatory schools. Best teachers with good salaries for teachers were paid. Well paid staff was employed in the schools. The maintenance cost of the tools, buggle troops, weaving masteries, were un remunerative. The cost of the materials, equivalent in the reformatory schools were very high. The workshop materials, tools were purchased from European countries. The cost of the industrial training was very expensive. On the average, the cost of the industrial training for the children per month during the year 1930 was Rs/- 10. The cost of general Education was Rs.6/-. The diet cost per each child was Rs 5/- Under ordinary conditions, the cost of bedding, suits and clothing were extra expenditure for the government. Therefore, the reformatory schools were under severe observation from every quarter.

Atmosphere in the Reformatory Schools

Generally the atmosphere in the reformatory schools was very quiet. Strict discipline was imposed on children. They used to get up at 5 am in the morning. Some elderly boys were asked to keep their surroundings very clean and tidy every day. Children were given a small breakfast with ragi chapatti and pickle. They should march to their respective industrial workshop at 6am. And continue with their work till 1.30 am. One more time at around 10.30 am the children were provided with two bowls of ragi pudding with vegetable and dal curry. The children used to attend to general education classes at around 10.30 am. One hour was allotted for the residential activities after the completion of general classes. Children were again taken to Industrial training from 2.30 PM to 4.30PM. Physical drill and gymnastics were conducted from 4.30 pm onwards. Children were strictly ordered to complete their dinner at 6pm. Dinner was served in the same manner as that of the same menu which was served in the morning. The boys were locked in the hostel rooms at 7pm in the night. Night schools and classes were conducted from 7pm to 8pm. Children were instructed with strict discipline. They were not even allowed to talk with each other during the night school hours. Rice was provided by the hostel

authorities only two times in a week during Sundays and holidays for a change. During Sundays moral lessons were given to children in English. English lessons were translated into Telugu and Tamil sections of students. The blackboards were used to draw and explain the illustrations and moral truths. The boys were also trained in dusting, washing, cleaning their dormitories etc. The whole school appeared very clean and neat. March past was organized every day for three times with sound drums and bugles. The boys and girls were instructed very strictly to pay attention to their physical appearance. They should undergo their haircut every month. Children were to apply oil and comb their heads neatly. Children were advised to conduct *Ayudhapuja* (on a festival day with a view to prevent accidents and to work smoothly, and for a good turnout of work. Tools were worshipped by the boys with beaten rice, coconut, sugar, plantains and flowers. Turmeric and red aniline powder were moistened and smeared over the tools. Incense and camphor were lighted. Sandal wood was handed round. The children used to garland the head of the school. The children were given a long vacation during Christmas. They were not allowed to go out of their hostels. Cleaning and gardening work was actively conducted during this period. Football matches were organized. Shields, trophies were conducted. Children were encouraged to write letters to their parents and friends. They were also encouraged to read books borrowed from library. Children were encouraged to stage dramas, sketches from nature, culture specific games such as marbles, tops, kites, tip cat, *gusti*, *Pallangudi* and *Gudgudu-Chaplam* were typical natural culture specific games that were played by the boys. *Gudugudu Chaplam* was a sedentary game. *Pallanguli* game requires more physical strength. In the *Pallanguli* game, 14 holes were arranged in two rows of seven each. Certain equal number of tamarind or other kind of seeds will be placed in each hole. The seeds from the first whole were taken and dropped into the succeeding holes one by one. The seeds of the whole, next to the one in which the last seed was dropped, were taken and the same progress goes on, till the players chances the drop a last seed just before an empty whole, in which case he talks as his gain the seeds of the succeeding whole and the whole opposite it. In the *Gudugudu-Chaplam* game 16 boys used to take two sides with a line of demarcation is drawn. A boy issues forth from the ranks of one party and advances into the field of the other. He holds his breath and repeats the word '*Gudugudu*'. He is expected to get back into his ground after touching a boy and without being seized himself or taking breath, otherwise he is dead. After a given time, the side with the larger number of living will be declared as winners.

Children of Criminal Classes and other Caste Represented in the Schools

Criminal tribes and children from other communities were juvenile delinquents. They represented the reformatory schools. Basically, the reformatory schools were filled with Hindu, Christian and Muhammadan communities. They were from the

Telugu, Tamil and Kanarese regions admitted in the reformatory schools. Children from Korava tribe, Dasari community, Waddar children, Children of native Christians, children of Chapparbands from Bijapur district, Muhammadan children who escaped from the Nizam dominions, Kapu community children, Children from Balija Community, Children of Jogis, Children of Dommaras, Tribal children of Tamil 'Criminal tribes and castes such as Pariyan, Panisavan, Shanars, Kaikolans, Vaniyans or Pallis, Padayachi Goundans, Kandar, Idians, Vellalas were enrolled in the reformatory schools. There were also some tribal children of the Telugu criminal tribes and castes such as: Madigas, Malas, Odderas, Gollas or Kapus, Yanadis, Yerukulas, Sale, Gamandalas, Idigas, Kamsalis, Ganigas, Kapus or Reddies, Kammas and Velamas and Balijas were also admitted in the reformatory schools due to their poor social status. The criminal tribes of South India were not of Jackal Sheppard type. The so-called criminal tribes were wandering groups of people. They carried their trade with their bullocks to the interior places. With the advent of the railways, they had lost their trade and took to thieving. In order to support their livelihood they used to commit petty offences. In order to provide education to their children the government opened the reformatory schools in the Madras Presidency.

Children of Korava Community

The chief occupation of the Koravas was basket making and selling curry leaves. They were of Tamil origin. They were familiar with their language only. They used to go from one place to another place in order to sell their articles such as beads, combs etc. In the schools the Korava children were very well behaved. Some children of the Korava community were joined hands with other gangs of the same community. Their parents used to come to the schools cunning tricks, stories that they had changed their residence, and used to beg the teachers to discharge their children along with them. The government wisely proposed that the district magistrates should give permission to take the children from these schools. This was naturally not an easy matter for the criminal tribes to take permission from them very quickly. The Korava Children turned as good and honest citizens with good conduct under strict supervision under the control of the government officials. They were amenable under strict discipline. They were well behaved. They were pleasant in their features and appearances. They were predominantly found in the North Arcot and Kurnool districts.

In Tiruchinapoly district, there were many Korava families were residing. The local police blamed them for their grave crime. They were working as agriculturists. Children among these families used to escape from their house due to the quarrels of their parents. They were convicted of theft in various occasions. They were arrested by the local police and brought to the reformatory schools. In the schools, they showed their exemplary behavior. There were no offences recorded against them in the schools. The Korava children used to take a prompt role in all dramatic

performances. In another place, some Korava children were under the influence of their old people. They were also engaged in agricultural work. The Korava boys were of serious going and yet showed their best wit on the stage. Some Korava boys left their village in Edayapatti in Tamil Nadu. They absconded for six months. They were arrested and brought to reformatory schools. Their parents were basket makers. Their old people were swineherds. The parents on their return from their daily work, the children used to take away the household utensils and they used to sell them for little money. They were arrested and kept in the reformatory schools. Some Koravas used to sell curry leaves. Their children were absconded from their homes. They were kept in the reformatory schools. The children of the Padayachis aged 11-12 years were arrested because of some theft cases in the surrounding areas. They were cultivators. Their children were arrested and kept in the reformatory schools. A few Korava children belonging to Kavalkara (a section of watchman class among the Koravas) absconded from the surrounding villages of Edayapatti in Tamil Nadu. Their parents were deceased. They were working as riots. Their daily work was cultivation. They were arrested and brought to the school. Their duty was to protect the village from the robberies. The village officials paid little money to them. The children were arrested due to stealing of sheep. They were sent to reformatory schools. In Panchapandava Malai of Arcot taluk, there were many children belonging to Koravas. They were arrested and kept in the jails for no reason. Their parents were kept in the jails for more than six months in a year. Soon after their release they started searching for their children. They sentenced to jails for the theft cases of shoes near the temples. The headmaster of a school reported that children of the Koravas possessed double heads and semi-demented heads. They used to dance, and their body signs tell us about their tricks of trade. Their skin was peculiar. Their figures were well formed. Their speech could not be understood. Their pronunciation in Tamil was peculiar. They are characteristic jungle boys and occasionally used to eat sand and dirt. They attempted to escape from the reformatory. They are irritable in temper. They cannot stand teasing from other children. They refuse to answer the questions. They carry along with them their monkeys wherever they go. They feed their monkeys and eat them. In a reformatory school the official remarked that "the Korava children accustomed to some feint practices. They create a scene and commit offences. The Korava children beggarly cry showing that there was a snake. When the crowd collects another person tactfully pickpockets in order to eke out their livelihood. The native females had the habit of washing and drying the clothes outside. The Korava children act as if they were the owners and steal the clothes scolding the women. They collect the clothes and run away from the place. Some Korava children became experts in swimming in the streams. Some children cry bigger when a Korava child jumps into the river. When the crowd collects, the Korava boys pickpocket their purses. In order to keep a proper watch and vigilance on these children they were sent to the reformatory schools.

Children of Woddar Community

The Woddars are Telugu speaking people. Their original occupation was digging earth. Generally, they are hardworking. They are handsome looking people. Some Woddars took to crime to earn money for drinking. They did not have a fixed place of residence. They always resorted to festivals to commit offences. The Woddars were also known as Pachipas in some places in Tamil Nadu. Some Pachipas were living in Godavari region also. Children among Pachipas aged about 10 to 13 years were convicted by the police. They were involved in earth work. Some children absconded from home. They were caught hold while taking tobacco. Therefore, the police were arrested them and sent to the reformatory schools. Some Woddars were living in Gollapalem, Tirutani, in North Arcot district. They were sent to reformatory school due to some petty theft cases. They were associated with their elders. They were sent to the reformatory school. Their parents had stolen a necklace worth Rs 100/-. It was alleged by the police that their parents were training them to commit crime. Some Woddars were living in Guntur district, in the Telugu Speaking regions of Madras Province. They were convicted in some theft cases. Their occupation was cattle grazing. They belonged to the wandering gangs of Woddars. Therefore their children were sent to the reformatory schools. Some Woddars in Madura region aged 14 years had some previous convictions of theft and house breaking cases. They were also sent to the reformatory schools. Some Woddar children convicted for stealing tobacco. Some Woddars who were living in the conical shaped huts were considered as thieves by the police and recommended to the government to send their children to the reformatory schools. One police officer stated about the Woddars in the following manner. "The Woddars who live in the oval shaped huts live amidst of their pigs. They were very loose in their morals. They pretend to be good caste. They refuse to eat food touched by others. They inter-dine with Balijas, Gollas, and Kapus. Here and there these people are committing criminal acts. Their intelligence was of primitive nature. Such of them as take to stealing and house breaking were very clever rogues. Therefore, it is ideal to admit their children in the reformatory schools". Another British Officer noted that "the Woddars were all over the country. They were scattered people. A very large number of people spend their lifetime in tank digging and digging of ponds. They were in earth work. They were also involved in pig breeding. Old people who were unable to work engaging themselves in pig breeding. As a class, the Woddars were filthier and extremely improvident. Therefore, it is recommended that their children should be sent to reformatory schools".

Children of Dasaris

The Dasaris were called as Kattera Dasaris and Golla Dasaris. Their avocation was pocket- picking. It was stated that "the youngsters were involved in chain snatching and pocket- pickining. Many of them were convicted and placed in reformatory

schools. Some Dasari children who were stealing clothes from a house at the corner of the village they were arrested. They left their house early in the morning. The father's of the children deserted their mother's. They were begging in the villages. They suffered with heart problems. Heart complaints were a common problem among the criminal tribes. Some Kattera Dasaris (Kattera means scissors in Telugu) in Nellore district were hardened criminals. They were arrested. It was impossible to reform them. Education and schools had very little effect on them. Therefore, they were sent to reformatory schools". Some Dasaris were living in Muttapalli village in Kurnool district. Muttapalli was notorious for various criminal gangs. The Dasaris adopted different names in Muttapalli village. The village had become a den for the roberers of many gangs. From the Muttapalli village, the criminal gangs extended their depredations to distant places. They wandered with different names in different places. They used to say that they belonged to Telaga community Telugu districts. They were employed as laborers. Previously they worked as cowherds. They could cry and speak with filthy voices. One of the supervising officers in the reformatory schools observed that, "in the reformatory school a boy from the Dasari Community was the cause of making me jump out of my bed one night when an unearthly scream from fifty voices awoke me. He imagined he was the ghost who died the previous day, and gave me the alarm".

Children of Batturajus

Batturajus were a dangerous criminal class among the Telugus in Madras Province. They were Telugu speaking race. They earn their livelihood by selling articles in the bazaars and towns. They were also leading their life by doing masonry work. A few of them were settled as accountants and clerks. They appear like Telugu Brahmins wearing sacred thread and outward rings, signs on their forehead and on their bodies. Due to poverty, their parents forced their children aged 10-12 years to go for begging in the streets. They were also committing some petty offences in the shops. They were arrested several times. The main characteristic features of these children were rolling eyes. They were arrested and sent to the reformatory schools.

Jogi Children

The Jogis were closely allied to the Woddars. They were lower in their status to Woddars. They were deprived and a filthy lot. Some people were also called as Tottiyans. Their chief occupation was begging in the streets. Most of the snake charmers in the Madras city were called as Jogis. Occasionally, they add to their income by offering their services in killing of the dogs. In South Arcot and Tanjore district, they were called as Koravas. They were also known as scavengers. The Jogi women go out for begging in the streets. They were pilferers. They were trained criminals. The Jogis were involved in the house breaking activities in South India. Therefore, their children were kept in the reformatory schools.

Children of Yanadis

The Yanadis were primitive sort of people. In every respect, they were leading low levels of human life. Their number was more in Nellore district. They were engaged in all kinds of work. They were doing domestic work and scavenging works. As a class, they were very low in their culture. As a result, a large number of them became pilferers of grain and other petty offences in the surrounding areas. They used to steal things in systematic manner. Therefore, the government recommended to place their children in the reformatory schools.

The Children of Yerukulas

The Yerukulas were adept criminals. Thieving and house breaking was considered as their birth right. It was stated that “all torchlight dacoities, and house breakings on a large scale heard in olden days, are the works of the Yerukulas”. The Yerukulas were very widely spread community. They possessed different names in different localities. In the Telugu districts they used to go by the name of ‘*Yerukulavandlu*’. In Tamil districts they were called as *Koravas* or *Korwas*. They know how to speak Telugu. They also used a peculiar dialect of Tamil and Telugu as their mother tongue. Their women go about for fortune telling. Doing their work in fortune telling they try to learn as much as they could about the property of their families, the construction of the houses such as entrances and exists. They used to live in small huts like that of Woddars, Jogis, and Yanadis. Under these circumstances, the criminal investigation department (CID department) recommended the government to keep their children in the reformatory schools.

Dommaras Children

Another criminal caste identified by the colonial government was the Dommaras. It was stated that the Dommaras were worst than the Yerukulas. Luckily it was identified that their number was very small. There were two sections of the Dommaras: Telugu Dommaras, who speak Telugu language and Are Dommaras who were well versed in Marathi. The traditional occupation of the Dommaras was to perform acrobatic feats, rope dancing and gymnastics. Their women from other castes were freely taken into their caste. There was every possible reason to suspect their criminality. Under these circumstances, the government felt that their children should be admitted in the reformatory schools to bring them up in a wholesome atmosphere.

Children of Christian Roman Catholics

The children of the Roman Catholic native Christians were suspected because of their parentage. They were said to be of Brahman origin by birth. Their parents due to their poverty stricken conditions publicly sold their children. Under the above circumstance, the Roman Catholic Church adopted many such children.

Thus they became Christians. These children at an early stage of 8 to 9 years developed the habits of wandering and stealing as there was no effective control over them. They were deprived of all sense of morality. At times, they were quite curious and pious. They were very artful in their ways of living. They know pretty well how to integrate themselves into the good grace of those with whom they were associated. They were very obliging by their nature. Their tendency to steal was incredible. As children, they possessed very poor physique. They were very intelligent. They used to commit petty offences such as disobeying the elders, stealing pieces of cloth, entering into the gardens and stealing flowers and fruits, entering into the houses and stealing food, disrespect to the Jamedars, quick temperament, and striking others with stones. Therefore, their children were admitted into the reformatory schools.

Children of Chapperbands

Chappar Bands originated from Bijapur district of Karnataka in the then Bombay Presidency. They left their homes in the Bombay presidency due to heavy rains. They dressed themselves as fakirs. They wandered from village to village and committed offences. They were experts in counterfeit of coins. They used to keep false coins in their pockets and waist clothes (langotis). They used to offer a copper coin for a silver piece. They used to change the coins for a counterfeit of silver coins. They exchanged bad coins to good coins and committed crimes. Their stock in trade was consisted of earth for making moulds, stones for polishing coined rupees, filling of pewter or lead, a file for milling, tongs and pincers, gum for joining the halves of the moulds, a melting ladle, and a die for making false rupee. The boys were discovered exchanging bad money in the place of good money. Therefore, they were nabbed and sent to the reformatory schools.

Children of Muhammadan Communities

Some Muhammadan children had escaped from detention. They lived on the border lands of Nizam dominions and Bombay provinces. They were familiar with Canaries language. They extended their depredations up to Mysore state. They were guilty of a series of theft cases. They had stolen watches and timepieces. They entered into the houses for alms. When the house owner enters into the house for fetching some alms they used to steal the material whatever they get. They were very intelligent. In Ceylon, many of their kinsmen were convicted. The government showed mercy on them and sent them back to India. Some children were arrested for stealing tobacco and brinjals. The children used to take part in all dramatic performances as clowns. Some boys were convicted at the age of 11. Therefore, they were admitted into the reformatory schools.

Anthropometry

The colonial administrators showed keen interest in the field of criminal anthropology and Anthropometry. They considered this a great field of research. They studied in greater detail about the formation of the cranium and the ears of Indian population. The study of human parts to consider their character was an essential feature of their studies. They considered pointed heads, flat roofed skulls, and receding foreheads were abnormal among Indian children. With regard to the ears of the children they noted that the ears of Indian children were very sensitive to nervous disturbances, malformations. These studies conformed that these features were very common among the criminal tribes and their children. Their children look very different to the ordinary settled people. In short, the colonizers strongly believed that the criminal tribe's parents possess different features and train their children differently. They were more closely related to the savage races. They possessed corresponding traces of character and appearances of the savages in the world. From the close examination of several subjects they came to the final conclusion that the children of the criminal tribes were offenders by birth and possess the same physical features, and behavior of their parents. The slogan once a criminal is always a criminal was very much justifiable to their children. This was what the colonial administrators did for a large number of children in India in different communities, tribes, declaring the children of the nomadic, wandering tribes and their children as criminal classes and developed the areas of study on the races and communities in India.

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