CHAPTER 2

POLICE ADMINISTRATION 1890-1918

The police administration of Madras Presidency was vested in the Inspector-General of Police whose duties and powers were detailed in the Madras Police Act XXIV of 1859 and orders of Madras Police. In 1871, the whole presidency was divided into three ranges, each being under the charge of a Deputy Inspector-General of Police. The presence of the Deputy Inspectors-General of Police considerably lessened the administrative burden of the Inspector-General of Police; however, their duties and functions were not clearly defined in Police Orders.

There was a move to abolish the post of Deputy Inspector-General of Police. G. Stokes, Council Member, recorded a side comment on that issue that he would not hold a view in favour of abolishing the post but rather he would define the responsibilities of the Deputy Inspector-General of Police. Thomas, Council Member, stoutly opposed any change in the existing number of Deputy Inspectors-General of Police who were to be made 'actual authorities and not post offices'. The Council Members were unanimous in defining the exact sphere of their activities.

1. Enclosure No. 1, Madras Code, i, 131, K.W. Govt. Order (Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 13; Chapters I, II and III, Madras Police Standing Orders.

2. In 1871, four ranges of the Presidency was reduced to three by effecting the merger of Western range with that of Southern.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>No. of Districts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>42,579 sq mile</td>
<td>5 (Jeypore added)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>51,875</td>
<td>7 (Annapore &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>42,265</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


4. 'I would not abolish the office but I would define his responsibilities ie I would give more finality to his orders in regard punishments and would impose on him the supervision of criminal and wandering gangs. He is now fifth wheel of the coach' - G. Stokes made a side comment in the margin, 14-10-1902, Ibid.

5. H. Winterbotham, 24-11-1902, Ibid.
matters of inspection, the utility of this office was practically nothing as the visit of these officers to the districts was only once in two or three years; furthermore, the belated reports of their findings became obsolete. In such circumstances, he was not held directly responsible for the state of crime. His position was to be strengthened by arming him with adequate powers; the size of his range was to be reduced with a view to enabling effective supervision; his orders were not to be unnecessarily disputed by means of appeal. They had been appointed by means of selection from among those who had rendered meritorious service as District Superintendents of Police.

District Superintendents of Police came next in the hierarchy of police administration. In the larger districts of the presidency, Superintendents of Police found it difficult to exercise effective supervision over the entire district; the insufficient number of officers undoubtedly proved detrimental to police work. Their excessive jurisdiction and their defective knowledge of the local language of the villagers compelled them to confine their inspection to the villages where there were police stations; their occasional visits to other villages did not prove useful in conducting proper investigation of the grave crimes which were quite often perpetrated. Their frequent visits to the villages and their free intercourse with the people would instill fear in the hearts of subordinate officers who would hesitate to indulge in malpractices such as hushing up of crime. The nature of their work demanded a larger

6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., 107.
9. PAR, 1900, 2.
10. K.W.Govt.Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 94.
number of Assistant Superintendents to the extent of six or eight, one each being sent to the three heavy districts Bellary, North Arcot and Madurai. In the North-Western Provinces, he was a mere Assistant to the Superintendent, being divested of independent charge. There were divergent views as the powers of punishment and the rights of appeal to be allowed against their orders. In matters of appointment, Madras Government usually preferred Europeans; however, witnesses before the Indian Police Commission of 1902 insisted on the appointment of Indians proportionately. Citing the example of Bengal Presidency where Indians were appointed Superintendents of Police, Samchari raised the question why Indians were not to be appointed to such posts in Madras Presidency.

The number of 'superior' appointments was definitely ascertainable as it formed the foundation of the strength of the force. There was no analogy between the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service; for the Indian Civil Service, there was no sanctioned strength as in police and any deficiency could be supplied much more easily and effectively in the case of the former than in the latter service.

The Inspector-General of Police (Stuart) was in favour of creating a new class of Superintendents to be designated 'Deputy Superintendent.

11. Ibid., 96; Finance & Commerce Dept to SY of State for India, 2 March 1905, 84, Govt.Order(Jud), 3 June 1905, 910, 6.
12. 'The former (Assistant) is better for the officer (Superintendent) and better for the work' - J. Thomson, G. Stokes, 20-10-1902, Ibid.
13. Ibid., 102.
15. 'If we could afford tow Assistant Superintendents for some of the larger districts, one might be a native' - G.S. Forbes, 21-10-1902; 'I would not object to seeing more natives in the post of Assistant Superintendents when proper men are found' - J. Thomson, 28-10-1902, K.W. Govt.Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 107.
16. CS to SY GI (Home), 5 April 1902, 602, Govt.Order(Jud), 5 April 1902, 602.
ents' to be mainly recruited from Indians with a view to perpetuating the gulf between white and black skin. The status and position of the Deputy Superintendent in the department was equivalent to that of an Assistant Superintendent. The post was created in the presidency in 1905. One half of the vacancies of Deputy Superintendents' posts was to be filled by qualified Inspectors; European Inspectors were also eligible candidates for such appointments. The word 'Natives' of India meant to include any person born and domiciled within the dimensions of the government, of parents habitually resident in India.

The Circle Inspector was entrusted with the task of supervising the police work of his respective circle besides maintenance of discipline, arms etc., and keeping his immediate superior officers informed of the state of affairs. His periodical inspection tours conducted throughout the circle resulted in improving the efficiency of subordinate staff within his circle. At the time of inspection tours, they were required to report to District and Divisional Magistrates. The nature of their work involved a lot of physical strain whereas their pay and status were not like those of Revenue and Judicial branches. Their pay prospects were very poor when compared to their counterparts in other parts of India. They were not directly held responsible

17. H.A. Stuart, 30 December 1902, 53, Ibid.
19. IG(Home) to IG, 10 October 1905, 1640, Govt. Order(Jud), 19 April 1906, 636-637.
20. AGCS to Sy GI(Home), 4 February 1902, 46, Govt. Order(Jud), 2 March 1909, 301-2.
21. Ibid.
23. Order 242, Ibid., 112.
24. CS to Sy GI(Home), 27 November 1901, Govt. Order(Jud), 30 July 1901, 1128-1129, 3.
for investigation of crime. As such, Madras Government favoured reduction in the number of Inspectors but with pay improved.\textsuperscript{25} They were to be paid a daily allowance of one rupee at the time of inspection of a rural division.\textsuperscript{26} The Police Commission of 1902 recommended a strength of 295 for Madras Presidency; whereas Madras Government stood for 273.\textsuperscript{27} An idea was mooted for interchanging Inspectors with Sub-Magistrates with a view to promoting harmony, efficiency and cooperation between the two departments.\textsuperscript{28} This would enable them to understand the difficulties and requirements of both the departments. The Sub-Magistrates whose prospects were bright would aspire to the office of Collector; they did not come to the police department where there were no promotion opportunities.\textsuperscript{29} The superior police officers felt it was too difficult for Inspectors to exercise effective supervision over their subordinates as their jurisdiction contained nine stations in place of five.\textsuperscript{30} This defect could be rectified by appointing a better class of men as Station-house officers who would relieve the Inspectors of much of their scriptory work.\textsuperscript{31}

The post of Station-house officer, pivot of the police administration was not an attractive one as it entailed more hard work while

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Pay fixation</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Pay proposed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs.200/-</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Rs.250/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>150/-</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>200/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>100/-</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>175/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>70/-</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>150/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[=\text{Govt.Order(Jud), 1 June 1909, 712, 5.}]

\textsuperscript{25} Govt.Order(Jud), 27 November 1901, 1887, 5.

\textsuperscript{27} Desp.GI(Finance) to Sy of State for India, 31 December 1908, 37; Govt.Order(Jud), 31 March 1908, 512.

\textsuperscript{28} K.W.Govt.Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 290.

\textsuperscript{29} 'This would be less objectionable' - G.Stokes, \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{30} \textit{Ibid.}, 129.

\textsuperscript{31} 'It hinges on the improvement of the status etc of the Station-house officer, a reform which it is perhaps safe to assume will be carried out' - G.3. Forbes, \textit{Ibid.}, 129.
the pay was very low. However, it remained the summit of ambition of an ordinary constable.\textsuperscript{32} They were indeed below the rank of inspector but distinct from the executive class of investigators.\textsuperscript{33}

The portals were thrown open to young men of education and honesty, who would rise to the higher grade of gazetted ranks through Inspector's grade. New pay scales for various grades of Station-house officers who were designated 'Sub-Inspectors', as suggested by the Inspector-General of Police, received acknowledgement from Madras Government. The probationers were brought under the category of fifth grade with a pay of rupees fifteen.\textsuperscript{34}

A Sub-Inspector, in charge of a police station, was to act as a leader in allocating duties to his men and to see to it that they perform them correctly, besides taking steps for preservation of peace and prevention and detection of crime within the limits of his jurisdiction.\textsuperscript{35} Police Order 209 insisted on his acquiring a thorough knowledge of the locality with the help of village Magistrates.\textsuperscript{36} They received special training that would equip them with specialised techniques in the conduct of investigation, envisaged as a part of police reform.\textsuperscript{37}

There was considerable difference of opinion over the question of appointing them as readers to Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents.\textsuperscript{38} The Police Commission of 1902 recommended that the readers of Superintendents were to be of the rank of

33. Govt.Order(Jud), 27 November 1901, 1387, 5.
34. \begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
Existing pay & Proposed pay & Numbers \\
\hline
I & Rs. 25/- & Rs. 40/- & 250 \\
II & 20/- & 35/- & 350 \\
III & 16/- & 30/- & 450 \\
IV & 14/- & 25/- & 551 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
36. Ibid.
37. Govt.Order(Jud), 1 June 1909, 712, 5.
38. Desp. GI to Sy of State for India, 31 December 1908, 370, Govt.Order(Jud), 1 June 1909, 712, 4.
Sub-Inspector, and it found universal acceptance in the provinces. Prior to 1838, the Station-house Officers were head constables who were paid a salary between rupees fourteen and twenty; whereas the investigating officers in Bengal and North-western Provinces were Sub-Inspectors who drew more salary along with allowances ranging between rupees fifty and eighty.

The Inspector-General commented on the role of the head constable that 'he is, in small, a king in his village with unlimited powers of petty imprisonment, badly taught and underpaid. Can it be expected that in frequent instances he is not dishonest? The wonder is that he is not worse than he is'. The need was felt by Hammick to reform this cadre by bringing outsiders in ratio 1:3. They could not command the respect of their subordinates even after their elevation to Station-house Officer since their subordinates had been their equals but a short time ago by virtue of their low pay, social position and education. 'We obtain for our Station-house Officers men of wrong class and then train them in the worst school and the wonder is that they are not worse than they are' - commented a former Inspector-General. There was a general opinion in favour of not putting a head constable in charge of a Station House; however, provision was made for those of exceptional character and ability to rise to the rank of Station House Officer or Sub-Inspector.

39. Ibid.
40. Scale of pay of Investigating Officers (inclusive of allowances)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Grade of Officer</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>Sub-Inspector</td>
<td>80/-</td>
<td>70/-</td>
<td>60/-</td>
<td>50/-</td>
<td>30/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>Chief Constable 100/-</td>
<td>18/- (exclusive of allowances)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>Head constables 20/-</td>
<td>16/-</td>
<td>14/-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


41. Ibid., 75.
42. Ibid., 73.
43. Ibid., 113.
44. Hammick's Note, 25, 26, 36, 74 and 76, Ibid., 114.
45. 'Yes. But the door of promotion should not be absolutely shut to the head constable' - G. Stckes, 14-10-1902, Ibid., 117.
Divergent opinions were expressed on the mode of selection of Station House Officer. An attempt was made to reduce their meagre salary from rupees twenty-five to twenty but it was dropped as it was viewed as a harsh one. An experiment was conducted in Coimbatore district by introducing a new class styled 'Nayak', an intermediate between head constable and constable. They were entrusted with criminal investigation and other work of similar nature demanding intelligence, integrity and individual talent.

The head constables and constables were required to live near their police station as they should be available for an emergency and immediate duty. The constables were the mainstay of the police force of the Presidency; they received the very low pay of rupees seven per mensem, equivalent to half the wage of an ordinary artisan. One rupee more was paid to the next higher grade. Their position was not to be compared with the financial and promotional opportunities of an army sepoy; most of the constables received only rupees seven even after ten years of service. The vast area in the presidency contained numerous police stations, scattered in every part of the province; such a vast area demanded constant police supervision by means of beats. The nature of the work demanded from the constable some basic intelligence to understand the

46. G.Stokes preferred the Deputy Inspector-General to be the nominating authority whereas other Council Members like Winterbotham stood for a Committee by recording that 'if so, I doubt if it will work but do not dissent'. -Ibid., 119.
47. IG to CS, 2 July 1909, Rc 626, Govt.Order(Jud), 18 August 1909, 1082, 6.
48. PAR, 1918-1919, 74.
49. K.W. Govt.Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 135.
50. CS to Sy(Home)GI, 27 November 1901, 1887, Govt.Order(Jud), 30 July 1901, 1128, 9.
51. Pay scale of army sepoys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Good Conduct pay</th>
<th>Period of service</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rs.1/-</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>Besides his usual pay plus Rice Money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rs.2/-</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rs.3/-</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-Ibid., 8.
rudiments of criminal law and capacity to act in an emergency besides the ability to take a good amount of physical strain.

Table 2:1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>No of stations</th>
<th>Outposts</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhagalpur</td>
<td>8.9sq mile</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>41306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>4228</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2032696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thanjavur</td>
<td>3709</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2341770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agra</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1003796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poona</td>
<td>4.23&quot;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1067800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>5369</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>842</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The constables received little assistance from the village police in Bombay as was the case in Madras. All the villages in the presidency were well connected with some police stations which were connected in turn with their neighbouring stations by a regular system of beat which was hardly in force elsewhere. Owing to the shortage of men in certain districts, Madras Government sanctioned the enlistment of fifty constables as a step towards the introduction of reallocation of police in the presidency. Even the trained constables proved to be a poor substitute for an experienced constable. Additional temporary constables had been recruited from time to time with a view to combating epidemics like plague. Madras Government accorded

52. Govt.Order(Jud), 16 July 1898, 1114, 23.
53. Govt.Order(Jud), 21 May 1909, 669.
54. IG to CS, 4 May 1909, C 491/Govt, Govt.Order(Jud), 21 May 1909, 669.
55. AgIG to CS, 22 December 1903, 5097, Govt.Order(Jud), 9 January 1904, 61.
permission to raise the tone and efficiency of the force by selecting men from the lot from which the sepoys were drawn, with slightly enhanced pay. 56

Table 2:2. 57

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Police on General duty Area sq mile</th>
<th>PROPORTION OF POLICE Population Rural Towns</th>
<th>No. Of police stations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>21027</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>1667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>21195</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>1669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>21495</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>1669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>21423</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>21686</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>1695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>22044</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>1706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>19355</td>
<td>8.02</td>
<td>2173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>19559</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>2146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>20163</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>2183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>20661</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>2155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>21300</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>2036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>20534</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>1608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>20241</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>1586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>21565</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>20991</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>26525</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>26628</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>1187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>27274</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>27292</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>27590</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>27383</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>27383</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>27386</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>27191</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1262</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

56. Constable's pay -Rs. 6/- (At the time of recruitment) Rs. 9/- (After the successful completion of training of six months) Rs. 10/- (pay after ten years of good conduct).

'The sepo fewer is thus not only better paid than the constable but has much better chance of promotion to the non-commissioned ranks. It is not surprising therefore if the army gets its best men wherever the two recruiting agencies compete' - CS to Sy(Home)GI, 27 November 1901, 1887, Govt. Order(Jud), 30 July 1901, 1128-29, 9.

57. The data have been collected from PAR, 1894-1918.
The number of desertions in Bellary district was on the increase in 1899 owing to the large number of temporary men leaving the force on being posted to plague camps where they did not want to serve. 58 The outbreak of plague in epidemic form in the Ceded Districts and Hosur taluq in Salem district caused a heavy strain on the police force and affected considerably the normal duties of prevention and detection of crime. 59 The plague-force had been raised to 1567 in 1916. 60 The rate of resignations and desertions was further pushed up by the outbreak of famine and circulation of rumours that police would be sent to the frontier to serve as sepoys. The matter worsened because of the prevalence of mortality rate in the force. 61 Inconsiderate treatment greatly diminished the attraction of pay and forced the constables to undergo punishment in the name of discipline. However, Madras Government warned the superior officers to check such idiosyncrasies. 62

The increase in the force to the extent of 7000 men in 1909 was a part of police reorganisation. 63 Madras Government sanctioned the immediate enlistment of fifty constables in each district. 64

In 1900, the police constable was in charge of 8.02 square miles with a population of 2174; over the years, his jurisdiction was limited to 4.3 square miles with a population of 1262. On the whole, his work was strenuous as it involved 3077 people in villages and 577 in town under his charge. To the size of

58. 'This is a serious difficulty. The temporary constable is a useless individual for such work.' -District Magistrate, PAR, 1899, Appendix C.
59. PAR, 1898, 5.
60. AAR, 1916-1917, 121.
61. PAR, 1897, 19; The increase in the rate of resignations(1016) in 1904 was mainly due to plague duty -PAR, 1904, 5.
63. IG to CS, 4 May 1909, C 491/Govt, Govt.Order(Jud), 21 May 1909, 669, 3.
64. Govt.Order, 21 May 1909, 669, Ibid.
population and area, the number of police stations was not adequate as their number was reduced over the years from 1655 in 1900 to 985 in 1918. In 1912, there was a police station to every 35135 people and the jurisdiction of the police station covered an area of 89.8 square miles. It clearly showed an unwieldy jurisdiction of the police who had to undergo a lot of physical strain as they were required to be on duty without any break.

Table 2:3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Police on GD</th>
<th>Percentage of detection in grave cases</th>
<th>Murder</th>
<th>Dacoity</th>
<th>Robbery</th>
<th>Burglary</th>
<th>Theft</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>19559</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>20163</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>20661</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>21300</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>20534</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>20241</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>20991</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>21555</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>26525</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>26628</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The efficiency of the police stood high in solving theft cases as their percentage of detection was higher in comparing to the detection of other grave crimes. Next came robbery and house-breaking(burglary) for which the percentage of detection by police was 31.5 and 28.8 respectively during the period of ten years.

65. PAR, 1918.
67. The data have been collected from PAR, 1901 - 1910.
years. Very poor performance of the police was to be found in the detection of dacoity cases as the percentage of detection remained low (18.8%).

Besides their detective duties, they had to take steps to prevent the occurrence of heinous crimes. The nature of such work demanded their fullest attention, requiring them to maintain surveillance over the movements and activities of known depredators, suspicious persons and wandering gangs. The efficient watch over the movements and location of bad characters immediately after their release would help them in prevention of such grave crimes. 68

Table 2:4  69

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Grave crimes</th>
<th>Known Depredators</th>
<th>Receivers of stolen property</th>
<th>Wandering gangs</th>
<th>Suspects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>23254</td>
<td>16808</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>20357</td>
<td>1371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>24640</td>
<td>17964</td>
<td>926</td>
<td>7464</td>
<td>1394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>26476</td>
<td>15331</td>
<td>831</td>
<td>7160</td>
<td>1292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>24612</td>
<td>15309</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>8696</td>
<td>1242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>21389</td>
<td>15217</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>7005</td>
<td>1205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>20893</td>
<td>13013</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>9023</td>
<td>974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>21078</td>
<td>12704</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>10580</td>
<td>946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>26777</td>
<td>13121</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>12099</td>
<td>918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>25708</td>
<td>13488</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>11515</td>
<td>1005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>22784</td>
<td>14028</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>8859</td>
<td>1020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>28896</td>
<td>14532</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>2466</td>
<td>976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>26344</td>
<td>14493</td>
<td>1001</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>22956</td>
<td>14205</td>
<td>904</td>
<td>2067</td>
<td>1589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>21794</td>
<td>15587</td>
<td>1381</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>22661</td>
<td>15921</td>
<td>1558</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>29694</td>
<td>15406</td>
<td>1639</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5901</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The act of surveillance was extended even to the receivers of stolen property, who were mostly well-to-do and influential men.

68. There was a decrease in convictions under Section 75, IPC from 1934 in 1902 as against 2531 in 1901 - PAR, 1902, 2.

69. The data have been collected from PAR, 1890-1905.
and were capable of securing immunity from severe punishment, while the perpetrators of crime who were often poor were victimised.\textsuperscript{70} Sometimes, it led to harassment of the innocent who were subject to the frequent visits of police. This made the task of ex-convicts wanting to settle down in life much more difficult.\textsuperscript{71} However, steps were taken to eliminate the names of those convicts who had refrained from commission of such crimes.\textsuperscript{72} A new method was introduced in certain districts of the Presidency in 1908 with a view to weaning the criminals from further commission of crimes by conducting periodical interviews with the criminals in jails by police officials, not below the rank of Deputy Superintendent.\textsuperscript{73}

A steady decline in the number of known depredators was to be found from 1891 to 1899, after which the number was in ascending order and reached its height in 1904. The same trend had been reflected in the case of suspects, and receivers of stolen property. The steady decline in their number exhibited the improvement in the efficiency of the police and it was mainly due to greater activities on the part of the police by means of beats and patrols.\textsuperscript{74}

\textsuperscript{70} 'The Puducottai territory is overrun and infested by gangs of Koravars; as a rule, these Koravars are sheltered and protected by more influential Kallan residents of many of the villages in that territory, getting no small gain thereby; it is their main object to shield these Koravars from all consequences of their criminal acts' - Major Roland, PAR, 1880-1881, Appendix C XXVI.

\textsuperscript{71} P. Jegatheesan, \textit{op. cit.}, 124.

\textsuperscript{72} PAR, 1906, 32.

\textsuperscript{73} Superintendent of Police, North Malabar who interviewed some notorious criminals in the Central Jail, Cannanore, came to the conclusion that the criminals generally tried to work off old scores against their enemies and those instrumental in their incarceration'. - PAR, 1908, 32.

\textsuperscript{74} 'When I first joined here I made Inspectors to go round their village beats taking note books with them and getting in these books the signature of different village magistrates or headmen and when afterwards by comparing the signatures in the beat books with the signatures of the village magistrates or others as written in Inspector's note books many forgeries were discovered, the constables were duly punished. This I have found a most useful check' - Superintendent of Police, Chengleput, PAR, 1899, Appendix C.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Hindus</th>
<th>Brahmans</th>
<th>Rajputs</th>
<th>Nayars</th>
<th>Shanars</th>
<th>Uriyas</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Christians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>12234</td>
<td>1022</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>879</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>5265</td>
<td>84.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>12605</td>
<td>1041</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>922</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>5360</td>
<td>83.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>12749</td>
<td>1065</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>5290</td>
<td>84.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>12946</td>
<td>1079</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>938</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>54</td>
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<td>1113</td>
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<td>974</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>85.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>12982</td>
<td>1068</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>1056</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>5270</td>
<td>83.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indians formed the majority in the force; among them Vellalas and Balaigas had been recruited in substantial numbers in 1900 compared to other Hindu castes. The majority of officers' posts were enjoyed by Brahmans among Hindu castes. Next came Balaigas or Kavarais and Vellalas in 1900. The so-called lower castes, namely Pariahs, were quite negligible in the force as they could not command respect in the eyes of caste-ridden society. Muslims joined the force in larger numbers compared to Christians; more of the former held officers' posts than the latter.

75. The data have been collected from PAR, 1894-1900.
76. PAR, 1900.
77. Statement of Religion and Caste of Police Officers 1894-1900.
78. Ibid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Strength</th>
<th>Can read and write</th>
<th>% of the force</th>
<th>Dt HQ School No</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>St house officers' test</th>
<th>Inspect test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>21902</td>
<td>18477</td>
<td>83.8</td>
<td>3271</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>14197</td>
<td>405</td>
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<tr>
<td>1895</td>
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<td>18854</td>
<td>84.8</td>
<td>2735</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>14436</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>22403</td>
<td>19289</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>2491</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>14588</td>
<td>386</td>
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<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>22335</td>
<td>19385</td>
<td>86.4</td>
<td>2443</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>15611</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>22564</td>
<td>19642</td>
<td>86.6</td>
<td>2537</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>15942</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>22858</td>
<td>19934</td>
<td>86.7</td>
<td>2167</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>15810</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>22533</td>
<td>19994</td>
<td>88.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>22692</td>
<td>20548</td>
<td>90.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>23345</td>
<td>20715</td>
<td>88.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>23819</td>
<td>20733</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>24521</td>
<td>20900</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rate of literacy among the force of the Presidency was high; nearly 86 percent of the force were able to read and write. Besides, 2607 members on an average were studying in District Headquarters School between 1894 and 1900. On an average 15097 men, or nearly 67 percent of the total force, had come out successfully in Station-house Officers' tests between 1894 and 1900. A decade ago, the rate of literacy was around 67 percent; but the literacy rate had considerably increased over the years. Only 417 or 1.8 percent of the force qualified themselves by passing Inspectors' test to stand a chance for Inspector's cadre. The number was not an encouraging one.

79. The data have been collected from PAR, 1894-1904.
### Table 2.7

**STATEMENT SHOWING THE EXECUTION OF PROCESSES BY THE POLICE 1891-99**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Execution of Warrants</th>
<th>Summons</th>
<th>Total Processes served in Grave cases (1)</th>
<th>petty cases (2)</th>
<th>Proportion to population 1 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>69353</td>
<td>739052</td>
<td>808405</td>
<td>321780</td>
<td>486625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>79182</td>
<td>805492</td>
<td>884674</td>
<td>357864</td>
<td>526876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>79240</td>
<td>829767</td>
<td>909007</td>
<td>362131</td>
<td>546876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>75504</td>
<td>804228</td>
<td>879732</td>
<td>352387</td>
<td>527345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>68815</td>
<td>841644</td>
<td>910459</td>
<td>369018</td>
<td>541441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>66949</td>
<td>840568</td>
<td>907517</td>
<td>359699</td>
<td>547818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>72233</td>
<td>864730</td>
<td>936963</td>
<td>391145</td>
<td>545818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>69067</td>
<td>838217</td>
<td>907284</td>
<td>373444</td>
<td>533840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>66568</td>
<td>823639</td>
<td>890207</td>
<td>370632</td>
<td>519575</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The police were quite often burdened with duties which did not to properly belong to them. They had to serve processes issued by the courts. They were often troubled by the issue of processes issued by the courts. They were often troubled by the issue of processes under summons rather than under warrants.82

G.S. Forbes, Council Member, viewed the issue of process-serving in criminal cases as the duty of the police; however, he agreed this would involve a very large increase in police establishment under another name.83 Inspectors quite often complained about the difficulty in issuing the process. There was some truth in it as can be seen from the above said table. Total number of summons was on the ascendent over the years from 1891; whereas the strength was not correspondingly increased. A suggestion was placed before the Police Commission of 1902 to entrust the task of issuing summons to village magistrates; it

81. PAR, 1891-1899.
82. P. Jegatheesan, op.cit., 150.
83. 'Quite true' - G. Stokes, 22-10-1902, K.W. Govt. Order, 18 December 1902, 1927, 324.
aroused keen opposition from revenue officers. The village 
tapal system was also suggested for serving summons in petty 
cases by village magistrates, which would relieve half the 
burden of the police.\textsuperscript{84} Council Members unanimously opined 
that this issue could be tackled by magistrates in reducing 
the issue of summons as far as practicable.\textsuperscript{85} 

The preamble of the Madras Police Act of 1859, which had been 
amended by nine subsequent acts between 1862 and 1890, states 
that "whereas it is expedient to make the police force throughout 
the Madras Presidency a more efficient instrument at the disposal 
of the magistrate for the prevention and detection of crime 
and to reorganise the police force, it is enacted..."\textsuperscript{86} The 
Police Act of 1859 did not vest in the magistrates any power 
or authority to supervise the police. On the other hand, it 
was the duty of the magistrates to comply with the demand of 
police officer not below the rank of Inspector to appoint some 
persons to act as special police officers in times of tumult or 
riot.\textsuperscript{87} It does not mean that the magistrates were empowered 
to suspend or dismiss or fine any police officer. In short, 
they were expected to use the police force for the prevention 
and detection of crime.\textsuperscript{88} The disciplinary powers of the 
force rested with the Inspector-General of Police; whereas in 
Bombay, the constables were appointed under the seal of the 
District Magistrate.\textsuperscript{89} Even in departmental matters, 
Superintendents of Police were subject to the orders of the 
Inspector-General as a ward of District Magistrate.\textsuperscript{90} G.Stokes 

\textsuperscript{84} Ibid., 328. 
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid., 329. 
\textsuperscript{86} Indian Police Journal, 1861-1961, 61. 
\textsuperscript{87} K.W. Govt. Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 236. 
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid. 
\textsuperscript{89} Bombay Police Act, Section 11, Ibid., 237. 
\textsuperscript{90} G.S. Forbes commented that 'these are executive matters 
generally which here(Madras) are outside the District 
Magistrate's sphere' - Ibid.
and other Council Members felt "it is expedient that Magistrate should interfere more with the details of the police working than he does now".\textsuperscript{91} In other words, they should not control the police but they should have the power to use them. On the other hand, Section 13 of the Bombay Police Act clearly states that 'the District Superintendents and police force of a district shall be under the command and control of Magistrates of the District'. In Bengal too, the police were generally placed under the control and supervision of the magistracy.\textsuperscript{92} Section 44 of the Bengal Police Act authorises the District Magistrates to call for and inspect the 'general diary' corresponding to the crime register of Madras Police.\textsuperscript{93} Indeed, the control of magistracy seemed to be foreign to the police system in Madras Presidency; the control of police was vested in superior police officers alone.\textsuperscript{94} The supervisory powers of Magistrates over the police found place in the Criminal Procedure Code besides the Madras Police Act of 1859. But this 'species of control', G.S. Forbes, Council Member said, 'mainly limited to internal organisation and discipline'.\textsuperscript{95} This was based on the principles enunciated by J. Robinson who actually chalked out the scheme of the Madras Police on the model of the Irish police.

\textsuperscript{91} G. Stokes, 21-10-1902, \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{92} Bengal Police Act states that the police administration is vested in the superior police officers 'under the general control' of District Magistrate - Bengal Police Act V of 1861, Section IV, \textit{Ibid.}, 238.

\textsuperscript{93} \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{94} 'The superintendence of the police shall vest in and be exercised by the Governor in Council and except as authorised by him under the provisions of the Act, no person, officer or Court shall be empowered to appoint, supervise or control any police functionary, any regulation, act or usage to the contrary not withstanding' - Madras Police Act XXIV of 1859, Section IV, \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{95} \textit{Ibid.}, 239.

\textsuperscript{96} J. Robinson, Memorandum on the General Principles to be observed in the Reorganisation of the Police, \textit{Ibid.}
Under the head 'District Magistracy' he wrote, 'the operation of the police in every part of this district will be brought judicially under his (District Magistrate) observation'. Further, he added that 'the general maintenance of peace in the district and prevention of crime will be under the general administrative and judicial supervision of the magistrate in a great measure devolve on the Superintendent of Police'. The general supervision of the force was also insisted upon in the Madras Police Order; by virtue of Order 594, the District Magistrates were empowered to pass comments freely on the cases reported and diaries submitted by Assistant Superintendents and demand explanations pertaining to alteration of strength, size of station and internal economy. It was the duty of Superintendents to keep the District Magistrates confidentially informed of matters concerning the peace of the district. It was made clear that officers of the force, although in matters of internal discipline and ordinary duties they were controlled by the Inspector-General under the orders of Government, they were nevertheless absolutely subordinate to the Magistrate and were bound to carry out his orders. G. Stokes described the relation between District Magistrate and Superintendents of Police as follows: 'It is doubt a question of personality of District Magistrate. If he be a strong he will and can control (in its proper sense) the police. If not then, the Superintendent will go on his way'.

97. 'These words are all important. The supervision should be general' - G. Stokes, 21-10-1902, Ibid., 240.

98. G. S. Forbes, Ibid., 241.

99. Govt. Order (Jud), 5 August 1901, 1185, Ibid.

100. 'Very properly put' - G. Stokes, 21-10-1902, Ibid.

Commission of 1902 that the supervision exercised by Magistracy over the police was inadequate except in matter of arrest without warrant. 102 The same view was attested by many Superintendents before the Commission stating that many Sub-Magistrates did not feel the responsibility of their position in the matter of putting down crime. 103 The inferior position enjoyed by subordinate magistrates in comparison to Inspectors who drew far better salaries made them not to exercise their powers of supervision effectively. 104 With a view to ensuring better supervision of subordinate magistrates over the police, a proposal was mooted out by allowing the subordinate magistrates to go through the charge sheets of the police which would be declared false under Section 173, Criminal Procedure Code. To which, stout opposition came from both quarters on the ground that it would involve too much or scripory work and too much of delay. 105 Magistrates were in favour of scrutinising Inspector's diaries; whereas Inspectors felt it was of no use. 106 Some non-official witnesses suggested certain remedies before the Commission in order to strengthen the position of Sub-Magistrates. 107 District and Divisional Magistrates inspected

102. 'The magistracy cannot put down oppression by the subordinate police, for cases of the kind come to their notice at a very late stage. Taluq Magistrates should, I think, be made to check the work of the police in their tours. At present, they generally avoid it. The general supervision of magistrates is not at present sufficient' -Sessions Judge, Ibid., 243.

103. Ibid., 244.

104. 'I am against this on the ground that Tahsildars have already more revenue work in their hands than they can cope with. I recorded my objections when the proposal was made during the anti-Shanar disturbances' -H.M. Winterbotham, 24-11-1902, Ibid., 246.

105. Ibid.

106. Ibid., 248.

107. Certain suggestions were offered by non-official witnesses as follows: The confidential diaries (in which remarks about Sub-magistrates are made) submitted by Inspectors to the Superintendents should be disallowed; Sub-Magistrates should receive better treatment and more support from District Magistrates; they should be recruited frequently from the Police Inspectors; a better class of men should be entertained on a higher pay; the Magistrate's authority should be defined clearly by law; they should be authorised to examine the records of the police station; they should be subordinate to High Court or Sessions Judges and not to District Magistrates. - Ibid., 247.
police stations and recorded their comments when on tour. They were empowered to look into charges of torture brought against the police but not of corruption and extortion.

One experienced Magistrate put it that 'the Magistrates only interfere as a rule when complaints are made to them, and I do not see how they can be expected to interfere otherwise to prevent oppression'. The Police Commission of 1902 held that 'no unnecessary interference with the Superintendents should be allowed'. In other words, the relationship between District Magistrate and Superintendent was analogous to the relationship between Sessions Judge and District Magistrate.

In short, the District Magistrate brought about the coordination between prosecution and police. In day-to-day working of various departments connected with criminal administration of the district, the presence resolved conflicts of interest, reduced friction, effected coordination and fixed responsibility.

Madras Government recommended a pay of Rs.2500/- to the Inspector-General of Police whose post had to be filled by selecting the best fitted person either from the department or outside.

The same view had been expressed by some officers before the Police Commission of 1902 in fixing the scale of Rs.2500-100-3000 with a view to making it worthwhile for a member of the Indian Civil Service to hold the appointment for a sufficient number of years, whereby he would gain a knowledge of the character and abilities of his subordinate officers.

108. Govt.Order(Jud), 20 March 1911, 532.
110. It was found in the original copy but was omitted in the final copy - K.W.Govt.Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 18.
114. AGCS to GI, Govt.Order(Jud), 8 June 1904, 909-910, 3.
scale of Rs.2500-100-3000 as the pay of Inspector-General recommended by the Police Commission was conceded by Government but the period of six years to draw the maximum pay of Rs.3000/- was not to be advocated as a substantial inducement, as it would result in loss of pay to the tune of Rs.500/- at the time of reversion to Collectorship which would neither have the appearance of reduction in rank nor be attended by a loss of substantial pay.\textsuperscript{116} The District Magistrate who had been selected by the Governor-in-Council was paid Rs.250/- over and above his pay in new graded service with a maximum pay of Rs.3000/-.\textsuperscript{117}

The number of Deputy Inspectors-General was reduced in 1887 to two, who found their jurisdiction unwieldy and unmanagable. Col. Porteous, Acting Inspector-General, recommended the bifurcation of the existing Southern range into Central and Southern ranges, and the increase of the number of Deputy Inspectors-General to three on the scale of Rs.1200, 1300, and 1400 depending upon their seniority, in lieu of Rs.1200 in order to avoid stagnation.\textsuperscript{118} Madras officers received low pay for their extensive jurisdiction and pressing duties, compared to their counterparts in other parts of British India.\textsuperscript{119} Madras Government readily appreciated the proposal and recommended to the Government of India to adopt it.\textsuperscript{120} Subsequently another proposal was brought before the Madras Government to fix them

\textsuperscript{116} Ag\textsuperscript{O}3 to Sy to GI(Home), 2 July 1914, Govt.Order(Jud), 2 July 1914, 1472-1473, 2.

\textsuperscript{117} K.J.Govt.Order(Jud), 25 July 1904, 1112, 12.

\textsuperscript{118} AgIG to CS, 14 October 1890, 5839, Govt.Order(Jud), 9 March 1891, 460, 6.

\textsuperscript{119} Bengal had two DIGs on Rs.1500/- per mensm; whereas NWP and the Panjab had two and three DIGs respectively on Rs.1200/- \textsuperscript{2} Ibid., 25.

\textsuperscript{120} CS to GI(Home)Jud, 9 March 1891, 461, 2.
on the scale of Rs.2000/-, 1750/- and 1500/-; whereas the
Government rejected it on the ground that the Deputy Inspector-
General's cadre was equivalent to the cadre of Conservators
of Forests and Superintendent Engineers of the PWD whose salary
did not exceed Rs.1600/-, 1400/-, and 1200/- depending upon
their seniority. However, the Governor-in-Council conceded
the demand of allowing an additional pension of Rs.1000/- a
year to a Deputy Inspector-General. The Secretary of State
for India conferred with Madras Government in creating one
additional Deputy Inspector-General for Railway and Criminal
Intelligence Department, and grading the Commissioner of Police
with the Deputy Inspector-General but placed subordinate to
the Inspector-General of Police.

The post of Assistant Inspector-General was created with the
introduction of New Police on a pay of Rs.88/- per mensem against
the pay of Rs.850/- recommended by W. Robinson. The incumbent,
M.N. Carr, was paid a personal allowance of rupees one hundred
in 1866 considering the nature of his duties and cost of living
in Madras City. In 1871, Major Hearn, Inspector-General,
who recommended increasing it to Rs.1000/- met with no response
from the Government and his successor's move in this direction
also proved futile. Colonel Guthrie, Inspector-General,
recommended the gradation of Assistant Inspector-General on
par with the Superintendents, in particular First grade
Superintendent on a pay of Rs.1000/-, based upon his personal

121. Govt.Order(Jud), 25 July 1904, 1112, 8.
122. Ibid., 11.
123. Desp.Sy of State for India to GG-in-Council, 11 May 1906,
23, K.W.Govt.Order(Jud), 19 June 1906, 1036, 4.
124. MJP, 10 September 1862, 1471; AgIG to CS, 14 October 1890,
5889, MJP, 9 March 1891, 460, 18.
125. MJP, 27 August 1866, 1338, Ibid., 13.
126. MJP, 24 March 1871, 378, Ibid.
experience and knowledge as Assistant Inspector-General.  

In addition, he added that their counterparts in other provinces who were in charge of railway police alone received a maximum of Rs.1000/- and those who had a vast jurisdiction not only over general police but also the railway police were denied a pay of Rs.1000/-. Colonel C.A. Forteaus, Acting Inspector-General, used blunt language in stating that 'the cost of our controlling staff is less than any other province and our system has worked well since the organisation of the department; but if the Assistant Inspector-General is not well paid, as he certainly should be, but regarded merely as a personal Assistant to the Inspector-General, it will then be necessary to entrust to our Deputy Inspector-General as in other provinces, much of the work now done by Assistant Inspector-General. I would deprecate such a change, because it would not financially of any gain rather than reverse'.

The Government of India yielded to his demand in according its sanction to the raise of Assistant Inspector-General's pay to Rs.1000/-. There was a move to elevate his cadre to the level of First grade Superintendent by raising his pay to Rs.1200/--; however, the Government of India concurred with the view expressed by the Police Commission of 1902, stating that there would be no limit in future regarding the pay of Assistant Inspector-General and Deputy Commissioner.

127. Col Guthrie, Inspector-General, stated that 'this officer (Assistant Inspector-General) has very heavy and very responsible duties, with the abolition of one DIG which will throw more work upon the Inspector-General, his work will be raised. Every Inspector-General from late Sir William Robinson to myself has held that the appointment is insufficiently paid as it is and efforts have been made from time to time to obtain an increase of Rs.100/- a month to bring the salary of the incumbent to Rs.400/- under proposed circumstances, his work and responsibility being increased much more should be his salary being increased 'Ibid.'

128. Ibid., 16.

129. GI, 3 February 1892, 25, Govt. Order (Jud), 16 May 1902, 912, 3.

130. IG to GS, 13 August 1906, 2496/General, Govt. Order (Jud), 13 October 1906, 1719, 3.
The District Superintendents of Police were the worst-paid officers in the Madras Presidency, but carried enormous responsibilities and extensive jurisdiction which demanded their constant attention. Their pay was low compared to that of their counterparts in other parts of British India; the increase of pay was denied over the years and their number was too small for such vast extensive tracts of Madras Presidency.  

No wonder, Colonel Porteous expressed his bewilderment at the state of affairs in raising questions about the interest and zeal of such officers under such unfavourable circumstances. Further, he stated, 'they are but human. Is it a wonder that some get hopeless and despondent while others become hard and callous?' Most of them were recruited from the army and their promotion prospects were not bright. Even after a service of a quarter century at the maximum, few would rise to the cadre of Deputy Inspector-General. Had they remained in the army, every one of them would now be entitled to the command of a Regiment carrying a pay of Rs.1427/- per mensem. Colonel Porteous placed before the Government a graded list of Superintendents along with the pay scales in order to avoid stagnation; it was readily accepted and it was agreed upon to forward it for adoption in entirety to the Government of India.

131. Provinces  
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132. Col. Porteous remarked in 1837 that 'the general despondency was most marked and distressing. With most disadvantageous pension and leave rules, their present pay decked their future most gloomy'.  
133. Ibid., 21.  
134. Grades  
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<th>Remarks</th>
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<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Rs.1000/-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>The Panjab</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>NWP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>700/- (Minus HRA, &quot;</td>
<td>Purchase &amp; upkeep of tents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>&amp; horses, pay &amp; bhatte of</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>servants)</td>
</tr>
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Col. Porteous, AsstIG to GS, 14 October 1890, 5889, MJP, 9.
March 1891, 450, 48 and 49.

Col. Porteous' proposal, Ibid., 25.
Most of the official and non-official members stood for Rs.700/- as the pay of the lowest grade of Superintendents as suggested by Colonel Porteous. A.R.Knap suggested a difference of Rs.100/- between each grade of Superintendents. The Police Commission of 1902 added one more grade of Superintendents, and fixed them on scales ranging between Rs.700 and 1200/-. The Commission's recommendation was approved, but the Superintendent's number was increased from 27 to 34 instead of 39 recommended by the Commission.

The employment of Indians to the cadre of Superintendent recommended by the Police Commission was accepted, and it paved the way for the creation of a new class of Indian police officers to be styled 'deputy Superintendents in the provincial police service on the pay scale of Rs.500/-'. On the whole, from the beginning of the New Police, the police in Madras Presidency was most economically organised; the average district of the Presidency was double that of any other Province; while the Superintendent staff in Bengal cost Rs.455,000/- that of Madras cost but Rs.278,000/-. The Assistant Superintendents who were incharge of sub-divisions of Districts, in many cases as large as the whole districts in other provinces fared no better like their superiors as their pay of Rs.350/- per mensem was too low. Colonel Porteous recommended a slight increase that would put more zeal and energy into them and attract better officers to the department. Some police officials went a step further in placing a proposal before the Commission of 1902 to fix Rs.350/- as the pay of

137. C(Fin) to Sy of State for India, 1 March 1906, 53, Govt. Order(Jud), 13 October 1906, 179; Desp from Sy of State for India to GG-in-Council, 11 May 1906, 23, Govt.Order(Jud), 19 June 1906, 1036, 2 & 5.
138. The creation of Provincial Service of Deputy Superintendents recruited chiefly from among young Indians of high education and moral standard - The Desabhimani, 2 December 1911, NNR, 1911-16, Govt.Order(Jud), 24 March 1916, 788, 6.
139. LG to CS, 14 October 1890, 5889, NJP, 9 March 1891, 460, 5.
140. Ibid., 23.
the lowest grade of Assistant Superintendent. Madras Government sent a proposal to the Government of India to appoint 35 of them on a pay ranging from Rs.300/- to 500/-. With the approval of the Government of India, Madras Government fixed the pay at a maximum Rs.600/- and the lowest Rs.300/-. Colonel Porteous recommended in 1890 that the status and prospects of subordinate officers were to be improved. If there was any force in the well known saying that 'men were what their officers made them' and this policy could not be the proper policy, to ensure success in a department which had such formidable difficulties as the police had to contend with.

The pay of Inspector was low compared with that of Inspectors of the Salt, Abkari and Customs departments. G.S. Forbes, Council Member, supported the increase of horse allowance from Rs.15/- to Rs.20/- . On the other hand, the Inspector-General stood for daily allowance of one rupee per diem in lieu of horse allowance of Rs.15/- while on circuit with a view to exercising effective supervision and control. Their circle was clearly defined within the limits of jurisdiction of the Sub-Magistrate instead of taluq or revenue sub-division. The Inspector-General proposed to raise the pay of the lowest classes of Inspectors from Rs.70 and Rs.100 to Rs.100 and 125 respectively. The increase of pay was to be given not only in respect of the larger charge.

141. K.V. Govt.Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1928, 82.
142. Madras Government's proposal of pay as follows: Rs.500(6Nos), 450(6), 400(5), 350(6) and 250 to 300(12)-Assistant Supts - Govt.Order(Jud), 8 June 1904, 910, 1.
144. AIG to CS, 14 October 1890, 5889, MJP, 9 March 1891, 460, 4.
145. Salt.Dept, 26 September 1902, 4017, K.V. Govt.Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 84.
146. Existing pay scale of Inspectors - I grade(Rs.200), II (150), III (100) and IV (Rs.70) - IG, 1 August 1901, Enclosure 20, Ibid., 88; K.V. Govt.Order(Jud), 29 January 1902, 1927, 57.
147. CGI Resolution, 4 May 1906, 488-500, IG to CS, 23 November 1906, 0 3976 Gen, Govt.Order(Jud), 29 January 1907, 205, 2.
but also on account of the actual insufficiency of the pay of these officers. But the proposal was turned down by Madras Government. The Police Commission proposed a pay of Rs. 150/-, 175/-, 200/- and 250/-; whereas considering the wide gap between the pay of First Grade Sub-Inspectors and lower grade Inspectors, it would be Rs.110/-, 150/-, 200/- and 250/-. The Sub-Inspectors were put in charge of the heaviest stations in the Presidency or wherever the Inspector-General considered that they were most wanted. Besides manning police stations, they carried on investigation work; for this special training received at Vellore Training School, they were to be paid at the rates of Rs.50, 60, 70 and 80 besides horse allowance of Rs.15. Those who obtained a pay ranging between Rs.50 and 70 were originally Sergeants; the Indian Sub-Inspectors formed a distinct class on a consolidated pay of Rs.45.

There was considerable difference of opinion even among the police officials as to the adequacy of the pay allowed to the European head-constables. But the majority of them considered it insufficient. The Acting Inspector-General recommended their pay to be raised from Rs.40 to the pay similar to that given in other provinces. The Council Members were unanimous in endorsing his view.

149. 3y to G(Home) to CS, 14 April 1904, 250, Govt.Order(Jud), 25 July 1904, 112, 6.
150. IG to CS, 3 February 1906, 460, Govt.Order(Jud), 3 March 1906, 412, 3.
151. K.W.Govt.Order(Jud), 25 July 1904, 1112, 16.
152. Legislative Questions, Hon.Buruswami Aiyar, Govt.Order(Jud), 25 November 1906, 1951; MJP, 23 September 1890, 1564; Com of Police to CS, 7 November 1906, Govt.Order(Jud), 23 November 1906, 1951, 5.
153. Pay of head-constable:- I grade(Rs.40(M)-60(OP), II (45 - 70), III (50 - 80), and IV (60 - 100)-Madras Province -M, Other Provinces -OP - Madras Enclosure, 23, K.W.Govt.Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 85.
154. 'I think this should be carried out. One cannot get even an approximately decent Tommy for rupees forty' - J.Stokes, 14 October 1902, Ibid.
their pay ranging between Rs.25 and 14. Those who were in charge of Station-Houses were allowed to draw charge allowance of Rupees seven and four depending upon the class of Station-House. The majority of the witnesses before the Commission viewed that the Station-House charge allowance should be raised to rupees seven and ten with a view to keeping a horse or pony as a part of the improved Station-House officers' scheme. The Police Commission recommended rupees fifteen, twenty and twenty-five without charge allowance, as the Sub-Inspector was put in charge of a station. The Government of India recommended in 1916 that the pay of head-constables be fixed at rupees seventeen, twenty-one and twenty-five.

The pay of the constable, the lowest rung in the police administration, was low; Lord Minto, Governor-General, felt it and suggested that an increase of pay of the constable was the surest way to put an end to corruption in the lower ranks. Public safety largely depended on an efficient constabulary-educated, god-fearing 'but not for a pay of rupees eight to ten'. Kerala Patrika, the Native Newspaper lamented that though the expenditure increased in four lacs, the constable's pay did not raise substantially, 'that too not uniformly in all districts'. Andhra Chandrika grumbled that pay and high salaries were meant

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155. In 1902 there were 304 First class Station-House Officers and 1295 Second class Station-House Officers - Ibid., 57.
156. Ibid., 39.
157. Head-constable's pay

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Existing pay</th>
<th>Proposed pay in seven districts</th>
<th>Rest of the presidency</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs.20</td>
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<td>Rs.25</td>
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<td>II</td>
<td>17½</td>
<td>20½</td>
<td>22½</td>
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<td>III</td>
<td>15</td>
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only for higher officials and not 'even a living wage to those occupying the lower ranks of the ladder'. The pay of the constable was to be raised between rupees twenty and thirty-five with a view to recruiting men of character, education and good physique and Sadhvi, a Native newspaper commented that then one would see 'whether the Indian was not as good as, if not superior, to Englishman'.

Indeed allowance was granted to those who had to discharge special duties in hill tracts like prevention of coffee stealing. Stevenson, Acting Inspector-General, himself admitted the deplorable condition of the constables who received very low pay. He submitted a proposal to the Government to raise their pay from rupees seven to eight, nine and ten. Even the meagre increase of one or two rupees would at least make it possible to live them honestly. The Police Commission favoured enhanced pay for the constables, depending upon their period of service and the rates suggested were rupees eight (one to three years), rupees nine (four to eight years), rupees ten (nine to fifteen years of service) and rupees eleven (sixteen years and more). On the other hand, the Governor-General-in-Council felt it necessary to raise the pay of the lowest grade of constables from rupees seven to eight considering the existing state of labour in most of the districts.

162. Sadhvi, 15 October 1912, NNR, 1912, 1528.
163. Govt. Order (Jud), 21 January 1901, 77.
164. '...for they have all entered the department as constable on rupees seven a month, and for the sum which is about the wages of a syce and much less than the income of the syce and his wife combined...' - Note by AgIG, 27 September 1901, Govt. Order (Jud), 23 November 1901, 1865-67, 2.
165. The rates of pay of the constables increased marginally over the years. In 1851, it was rupees five and four annas, in 1881, rupees six and eight annas and in 1901, rupees seven. - K.W. Govt. Order (Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 86.
166. K.W. Govt. Order (Jud), 25 July 1904, 1112, 56.
167. Sy to GI (Home) to CS, Ibid., 3.
it was agreed upon to raise it in 1906. Rent recovery from 
the pay of the constable was abolished in the same year. To meet incidental charges on his official duties away from 
his station, two annas being bhatta was recommended. The pay 
which was thought sufficient at the time of Indian Police 
Commission was not adequate to secure right stamp of men. The constable's pay was less than the earnings of a labourer's 
government, which ranging between rupees ten and twelve. In 1916, 
Madras Government proposed an increase of rupees one and half 
in the cheaper districts and rupees two in the rest of the 
presidency over the existing rates, besides increments after 
five, ten and seventeen years of service that would be comparable 
with those in other provinces. The Secretary of State for 
India accorded to the plea of Madras Government that constables 
who put in three to five years of service would be losers by the 
withdrawal of grain compensation allowance despite the enhanced 
rates of pay to be paid.

168. Govt.Order(Jud), 19 September 1905, 1513; K.W.Govt.Order(Jud), 
22 December 1905, 2053, 4; IG to CS, 27 February 1906, 811, 
Govt.Order(Jud), 3 March 1906, 411.

169. Govt.Order(Jud), 18 September 1905, 1502, 3; Govt.Order(Jud), 
1 February 1906, 178-179.

170. Govt.Order(Jud), 18 January 1907, 261.

171. Governor-General-in-Council could not agree with the 
Inspector-General that 'the pay of the constabulary has 
not for some time been an adequate living wage' -Govt. 
Order(Jud), 23 October 1915, 2551, PAR, 1914, 3.

172. AG District Magistrate, Chittoor, 12 February 1915, PAR, 
1914, 76.

173. Desp.GII(Fin) to Sy of State for India, 22 January 1916, 19, 
Govt.Order(Jud), 23 June 1916, 1620, 4.

174. | Constable's pay |
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<tr>
<td>Period of service</td>
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<tr>
<td>First 3 years</td>
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<td>After 3 years</td>
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<td>After 10 &quot;</td>
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- The seven districts were North and South Malabar, South 
Canara, Ganjam, Jeyapore and Vishakapatnam - Govt.Order(Jud), 
23 June 1916, 1620, 6.
The saying that 'prevention is better cure' was not strictly followed, though Section 23 of Police Act V of 1861 gave all prominence to this aspect, and said: 'It shall be the duty of every police officer...to prevent the commission of offences and public nuisance, to detect and bring offenders to justice'.

The Village Magistrate was held responsible for reporting crimes and supplying information about the movements of suspicious elements and bad characters. The constable was sent on beat to villages to ascertain the reports sent by village Magistrates concerning the movements of dangerous criminals or gangs and picking up information by mingling freely among the travellers. Vetrikodiyon, a native newspaper, suggested that the constable had to go in disguise or ordinary dress instead of wearing uniform on beat or to detect robbers. The police officers had to travel on horseback on their inspection tours that would enable them to cover thirty or forty miles circuit easily. Keralasamchari, went to the extent of pleading the cause of Inspectors who were overburdened with more scriptory work to be allowed to concentrate their attention fully on detecting crimes.

The increase of crime in the central districts was mainly attributed to the neglect of the police in exercising surveillance over the numerous criminal gangs. Certain districts bordering the native states were fertile ground for crime, as they posed

175. T.Ramanujam, Prevention and Detection of Crimes, Criminology an Introduction, 111.
177. Order 391, 393 and 394, Ibid., 197-199.
178. Vetrikodiyon, 6 August 1892, NNR, 1892, 191, 8.
181. PAR, 1900, 8.
problems in surveillance of those gangs and in delaying the execution of warrants. 182 By effecting modification in the existing Extradition Act, the police armed with sufficient powers to follow up and arrest the offenders in foreign soil. 183 G.S. Forbes and J. Thomson felt the need to increase the number of border police stations, and to have frequent exchange of information and speedy communication among them concerning the movements of criminal gangs and criminals. 184 The criminal Tribes Act XXVII of 1871 was enacted as a preventive measure with a view to confining their activities in certain settlements. The Act was not in force in any part of the presidency and, in 1895, the Government of India thought over the necessity of special legislation to deal effectively with expeditions of Kallans, Maravans and Agambadiyans and to exercise surveillance over habitual offenders. 185 Madras Government sought the opinion of District Magistrates who generally outvoted the move to introduce such legislation but offered suggestions for the control of the certain individuals among the so-called criminal tribes. 186

Most of the witnesses before the Commission of 1902 stood for the application of the Criminal Tribes Act to individual and not to the tribes as a whole. In that case, A.R. Knapp, Council

182. Bellary district had three different administrations on its borders—that of His Highness the Nizam, Bombay and Mysore Governments. A witness, a landlord, whose estate in Krishna district adjoining the Nizam's territory complained of the insufficiency of police stations on the frontier and of the provisions of the Extradition Act which did not give sufficient protection to the people on either side of the border against depredations from the other side — K.W. Govt. Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 295 & 299.

183. 'A truly learned Judge! Our police would have no protection for such an act in the Native State unless the State made such intrusion lawful' — G.S. Forbes, 21-10-1902, Ibid., 300.

184. Police Order 25 outlined that Superintendents of adjoining districts were to meet as frequently as possible, not less than once a year and Inspectors were also to meet at least twice a year to sort out border crimes — Madras Police Standing Orders, Appendix, 289.


Member, argued that supervision over individual was already provided under Section 565 of the Criminal Procedure Code and there was no need to enforce the Criminal Tribes Act; whereas Section 565 of the Criminal Procedure Code afforded but an imperfect control over the criminal tribes. 187 Inspectors of Police, with the exception of a few, welcomed the introduction of such an act with a view to applying it to certain tribes in many districts. Non-official opinion stood in favour of it it resulted in the revival of the act in the amended Act II of 1897. 188 The frequent use of Sections 109 and 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code would do much in the way of prevention of crime. 189

The beat system was to be traced to the efficient services of W. Robinson as early as 1861; a section was to be formed into beats usually 2/3 of police party, which normally included a patrol duty of eight or ten miles' march. The village hamlets, choultries etc, were brought within the limits of the beat along with patrolling of public roads and throughfares; the duty of patrolling was performed once in 24 hours and it was frequently done in populous criminal and dangerous neighbourhood. 190 The beat system was described in the police order book. 191 In practice, the beat duty entailed travelling an average of ten to fifteen miles, and the constables found it difficult to perform the daily beat besides their normal duties. So great was the distance to be travelled, so short the time allowed

187. Ibid., 307.
188. Ibid., 304, 309 and 310.
189. 'This is surely admitted; and Government have always encouraged the application of preventive sections' - G.S. Forbes and G. Stokes, 21-10-1902, Ibid., 313.
190. MJC, 4 January 1859, 3, K.W. Govt. Order (Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 71, Enclosure 18 A.
(ordinarily 6 AM to Noon) and so many were the duties to be attended to at the villages visited. No doubt, Inspectors and Superintendents were of opinion that, though the beat system was of use in towns, it was of little use in villages while many considered that it was of indirect use in preventing and in lessening the number of crimes. However, most of them stood for its improvement rather than its abolition in villages. The dearth of men in stations was also responsible for the neglect of beat duty. The use of bicycles for patrol duty was advocated but the system tried in Tirunelvelly district proved a failure as the machines rapidly became useless. W.A. Geyer stated that, 'In India delays in reporting crime (distance of places) prevent immediate inquiry; without that there is little hope of finding much on which to base correct deduction. On what then can swift action be taken?' The Station-House Officer was the investigating and detecting officer, who succumbed to all kinds of temptations that sealed the fate of crimes. No wonder, witnesses of either class, official or non-official, stood for effecting a change in the existing detecting and investigating functions of Station-House Officers.

192. Witnesses before the Commission of 1902 said that 'for the most part the beat constable goes to a village, stops in it for about five minutes and then goes away without making any inquiry after getting signature of the village magistrate or other respectable inhabitants in his beat book. There is much reason also to believe that the beats are frequently not performed even to this perfunctory extent, and that fictitious signatures are obtained to the beat book to make it appear that the constable visited the village'. - K.J. Govt. Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 72.

193. Ibid., 73.

194. 'I would not abolish beats but would adopt' - G. Stokes, 14-10-1902, Ibid., 72; 'I would not abolish the beat system. The question is the removal of its defects and its improvement. It should be a most valuable aid in prevention and detection. - G. J. Forbes, Ibid., 73.

195. Ibid., 74.

196. Vetrikodiyon, 6 August 1892, NNR, 1892, 191.


198. 'Yes. With the present class of Station-House Officers' - G. Stokes, 14-10-1902, K.J. Govt. Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 120.
But opinions widely differed as to the nature of the changes. The Station-House Officer was to be relieved of his detecting functions and made to look after all ordinary duties; whereas the detection of crime was to be entrusted to a separate staff headed by a detective officer attached with each police station under the command of Station-House Officer. The majority of Council Members stoutly opposed such move. Both official and non-official witnesses unanimously agreed that investigations, were generally conducted without intelligence and honesty. To them, the Station-House Officers were not properly qualified by education, character, training or position for the duties of investigation. Since they were quite often away from their police stations, by virtue of the nature of their work, the constable, who was mostly ignorant, carried on the investigation or commenced it. This was indeed a sad thing.

The idea of creating a separate staff under the Station-House Officer, exclusively devoted for detective duties would produce evil consequences which would more than counterbalance the good that might result. Likewise, the proposal of investigating centres was not favoured on the grounds of economy and efficiency. A complete separation of the investigating and detective staff from ordinary staff had been mooted out considering the inferior detective ability of the police as a whole and the necessity for

199. 'This is a counsel of perfection' - G. Stokes, Ibid., 121.

200. "Ample recorded that 'the Government may hold that a separate detective staff for each station is not necessary'; 'I agree with our system. With the limited amount of money at command, a differentiation in the district establishments seems unnecessary. And it is very difficult to separate the functions' - G. S. Forbes, J. Thomson and H. M. Winterbotham, 20-10-1902, Ibid.

201. Ibid., 217.

202. 'My goodness gracious! Then the agency for making local enquiry will be worse than ever' - H. M. Winterbotham, Ibid., 195.

203. 'This is most fatal objection. The case would be hopelessly rigged before the investigating officer would get on the scene' - G. Stokes, 14-10-1902, Ibid., 125.
training. Specially for detective work, men who were gifted with powers of observation and who showed signs of detective capacity. Then the question arose as to the presence of such separate staff either at station level or at district headquarters level. The suggestion of creating an Imperial Department seemed to be impracticable owing to the vastness of the country, the diversity of races, languages and customs. 204

The Acting Inspector-General and District Magistrates stood for a provincial department for detective purposes under the immediate control of the Inspector-General in exceptional cases. Such a department would not represent all parts of the presidency; J. Thomson stated that 'local representation is not a necessity. Knowledge and ability are'. Superintendents and Inspectors generally preferred it, and non-official witnesses' opinion strengthened it. 205 The Governor's Council Members unanimously endorsed such an agreement under the direct orders of the Inspector-General. 206 Madras Government was in favour of employing central staff in special cases which could not for special reasons be dealt with adequately by a local staff however efficient. 207 A separate organisation was generally favoured exclusively for detection, in exceptional cases. G. Stokes made a side comment on the insistence of a Criminal Intelligence Department that it was an important reform in the reorganisation of the police department rather than a mere addition. 208 Madras Government which favoured a Provincial Criminal Investigation Department

204. 'An Imperial Department is rubbish' - G. Stokes, J. Thomson and G. S. Forbes, Ibid., 220.

205. Ibid., 221.

206. 'It should be under Inspector-General, I think' - G. S. Forbes, 21-10-1902.

207. Ibid., 222.

208. 'It is an important reform or rather addition' - G. Stokes, 19-10-1902.
in place of an Imperial Detective Department proposed the creation of provincial CID to Government of India.\textsuperscript{209} The Acting Inspector-General outlined the advantages of such surveillance of criminal gangs without bias and supervision of district officials to be obtained by the creation of a separate organisation with higher salaries to be paid to the detective staff as they would not succumb to temptations.\textsuperscript{210} Integrity of action and conduct was the essential qualification; unflinching devotion to duty coupled with intelligent, tactful and skilful performance was expected of everyone of the staff. Men of the CID were in no sense of the word 'freelance' and were prohibited from interfering without orders when they were expected to assist the district police, the service was to be whole-hearted, cordial and faithful. Under such circumstances, they were to be under the direct orders of the District Superintendent but would be responsible for their work to their own Deputy Inspector-General.\textsuperscript{212} Separate scales of pay had been advocated for them since the formation of the CID was a small instalment of the general reorganisation when it got sanctioned.\textsuperscript{213} Government of India accorded sanction to the appointment of Inspectors to this department, who were to be added to the general cadre of that rank in the police force of the Presidency.\textsuperscript{214} Thus, the Criminal Intelligence Department came into being in the Presidency on 18 August 1906.\textsuperscript{215}

\textsuperscript{209} IG to CS, 9 July 1901, 2651, Govt.Order(Jud), 30 July 1901, 1128-29, 1, \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{210} MJP, 22 November 1901, 1861, Govt.Order(Jud), 21 February 1902, 305, \textit{Ibid.}, 4.

\textsuperscript{211} IG to CS, 5 October 1906, 3339, Govt.Order(Jud), 15 October 1906, 1724.

\textsuperscript{212} \textit{Ibid.}, 3; IG to CS, 12 December 1906 Rs-4153/Gen, Govt.Order (Jud), 12 February 1907, 296.

\textsuperscript{213} AGBS to Sy GI(Home), 28 January 1907, Govt.Order(Jud), 28 January 1907, 197, 2; Inspectors-Rs.50(Additional pay), Sub-Inspectors-Rs.30, Headconstable-Rs.7, and Constable-Rs.3 - \textit{History of Madras Police}, 439.

\textsuperscript{214} Under Sy GI(Home)Police to CS, 11 March 1907, Govt.Order(Jud), 19 March 1907, 513.

\textsuperscript{215} \textit{History of Madras Police}, 439.
Their duties were to keep a watch over widespread and dangerous movements; collect and disseminate information regarding organised crime and gangs; to assist investigation of crimes which were of a special character such that the local officers found it difficult to deal with them effectively without help. To achieve this end, they had to work harmoniously with district Magistrates and district Superintendents of Police.\textsuperscript{216} The information furnished by them consisted of cases, rumours and facts accompanied by evidence to support them; they received full and accurate reports of all seditious speeches from district Superintendents of Police for further investigation.\textsuperscript{217}

The staff of this organisation were successful in solving certain forgery, counterfeit note cases, frauds in Provident and other Funds, along with smuggling of opium and fire arms and hunting down certain criminal gangs.\textsuperscript{218} Mention had to be made of T. Venkata Rao, Deputy Superintendent, who conducted investigation concerning the riot in Kottappakonda in Guntur district in 1909; Guruvappa Naidu succeeded in solving the 'Tenali Bomb Case' in spite of the apathy of the people in giving evidence.\textsuperscript{219} Theft of a valuable necklace belonging to a Nepali prince in 1909 while at Allahabad was detected.\textsuperscript{220} The introduction of crime charts in the districts as well as the Central Chart limited to four districts by this staff proved beneficial and it had been praised by many Superintendents of Police.\textsuperscript{221}

\textsuperscript{216} Govt.Order(Jud), 2 July 1908, 973, 3.
\textsuperscript{217} Ibid., 4; PAR, 1916-17, 132.
\textsuperscript{218} PAR, 1907, 33; PAR, 1908, 33; Inter-change of criminal intelligence relating to wandering gangs between the presidency and Nizam Dominions and Mysore State was properly established –PAR, 1910, 31.
\textsuperscript{219} PAR, 1909, 30.
\textsuperscript{220} PAR, 1915, 32.
\textsuperscript{221} PAR, 1912, 32.
However, the Government did not hesitate to pass adverse comments when it failed to apprise the Government in advance of the outbreak of the Anti- Shanar riot. The government noted in the order that the displeasure of the government which had been expressed in a confidential note was not to be published. The multifarious functions of the organisation evoked serious criticism from the quarters of vernacular newspapers, in particular, its function related to political movements that struck terror in the hearts of the innocent in the name of enquiry. The Indian Patriot, a native newspaper went to the extent of calling the department a hypocrite, and a useless department and saying that their conduct exasperated embittered the people. The attack became wholesale when it indulged in hunting down patriots agitating against the government. Annie Besant nicknamed the CID as the PDD (Patriotic Destruction Department). They shadowed leaders who strove for the good of the country instead of tracing out the perpetrators of grave crimes. Deshahbhimani was highly critical of the department's role in the following words: 'When there is no organised political crime, the Criminal Intelligence Department who have no occupation will be tempted to try their zeal against innocent persons who are working for the good of the country.'

222. PAR, 1915, 32.

223. 'The Government of this country seems to be slipping out of the hands of responsible officials, openly appointed and known to the public with the hands of that truly bureaucratic institution, the politicalised Criminal Intelligence Department. A detective department for the discovery of crime is, unfortunately, necessary, but our transformed CID deals little with crime and devoted its energy to shadowing, annoying and when possible arresting people...’ - New India, 6 February 1918, NNR, 1918, 201.

224. Indian Patriot, 31 March 1911; Govt. Order (Jud), 30 August 1911, 1366.


The Inspector-General favoured such a department to be manned by a Deputy Inspector-General who was also to be in charge of Railway Police, and he was to be assisted by a staff consisting of two Superintendents, six Inspectors and six Sub Inspectors.\(^{228}\) The staff had been increased by three Deputy Superintendents, four Inspectors, five Sub Inspectors, sixteen head constables and eleven constables in 1910.\(^{229}\) In the same year two European Inspectors and one Sergeant were also added.\(^{230}\) The strength of Sub Inspectors was increased to fifteen in 1915.\(^{231}\) An additional Assistant Commissioner of Police with a view to coordinating the investigation of crime in Madras City was sanctioned in 1918. N.H. Jagdisa Iyer was appointed to the post.\(^{232}\) P.B. Thomas, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, established sound traditions and amply justified the changeover from the supremacy of the Indian Civil Service to the Indian Police Service during his tenure of office.\(^{233}\)

The Provincial Criminal Intelligence Department had to work smoothly by extending cooperation to the Imperial Criminal Intelligence Department on all Indian matters specially applicable to the state.\(^{234}\) The detection of crime was considered to a certain extent a standard yardstick to measure the efficiency of the police.\(^{235}\) The detection of cases largely depended upon the careful selection of Sub Inspectors with whom rested the duty of investigation.\(^{236}\)

\(^{228}\) Az IG to GS, 8 August 1901, 3128, Govt.Order(Jud), 22 November 1901, 5.
\(^{229}\) PAR, 1909, 33; PAR, 1910, 35.
\(^{230}\) Ibid.
\(^{231}\) PAR, 1915, 26.
\(^{232}\) The History of Madras Police, 346.
\(^{233}\) Ibid., 348.
\(^{234}\) Ibid., 439.
\(^{235}\) The Inspector-General remarked that 'though I deprecate police work being judged merely by detective results, yet poor detection points to something wrong elsewhere, for a police which cannot detect crime cannot be considered efficient' - PAR, 1900, 20.
\(^{236}\) Govt.Order(Jud), 7 September 1909, 1176, 4, PAR, 1908, 40.
## DETECTION OF GRAVE CRIMES 1890-1909

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Police on GD</th>
<th>Murder</th>
<th>Dacoity</th>
<th>Robbery</th>
<th>Burglary</th>
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The fall in the percentage of detection of grave crimes in spite of the increase in the strength of the police was mainly due to the discontent prevailing among head constables whose importance was superseded by the overconfidence and inexperience of raw Sub Inspectors who were appointed as a part of general reorganisation.

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237. The data for the table have been collected from PAR, 1890-1909.
The difficulty in improvement of the percentage of detection became more acute owing to the paucity of capable Inspectors.\textsuperscript{239} The frequent transfers of Inspectors and Sub Inspectors deprived them of the opportunity of acquainting themselves with the local language, which would be an important requisite qualification for being a successful investigating officer. The interposition of Inspectors caused unnecessary delay in the progress of investigation and the handicap was obviated with the abolition of the post of Circle Inspectors which had been introduced as an experimental measure in the district of Tiruchirappalli.\textsuperscript{240} Swadesabhimani exhorted that the detection of crime was not alone the principal duty of the police but they had to function in such a way as to reduce crime and promote loyalty among the people.\textsuperscript{241}

The Finger-print Bureau was reorganised in 1898, and it functioned under the supervision of the Inspector-General of Police but the Police Commission of 1902 placed it under the Deputy Inspector-General, the head of the Criminal Intelligence Department.\textsuperscript{242} The staff was placed outside the purview of the reorganisation effected in 1905, which resulted in stagnation of their prospects.\textsuperscript{243} The Government realised the insufficient strength of the department to cope with the growing amount of work, and accorded permission to appoint four more clerks, bringing the total to ten.\textsuperscript{244} Their quantum of work increased over the years, especially due to the extended operation of the Criminal Tribes Act.\textsuperscript{245}

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\textsuperscript{239.} PAR, 1911-1912, 424.
\textsuperscript{240.} 'The Circle Inspector, the experiment which is under trial in Tiruchirappalli, has shown that in the absence of this intermediary officer, the work of Sub Inspector can be controlled better than formerly by Sub-divisional officers'-IG, PAR, 1916, 130; Govt.Order(Home)Police, 28 August 1916, 2135, PAR, 1915, 9.
\textsuperscript{241.} Swadesabhimani, 25 October 1912, JNR, 1912, 1602.
\textsuperscript{242.} G. Stokes, 18-1-1906.
\textsuperscript{243.} IG to OS, 20 October 1905, 4144, Govt.Order(Jud),13 September 1905, 1467; Govt.Order(Jud), 5 February 1906, 208.
\textsuperscript{244.} AGOS to SJGI(Home), 5 February 1906, Govt.Order(Jud), 5 February 1906, 208.
\textsuperscript{245.} AAR, 1917-1918, 81.
Further, they were required to maintain the finger impression of all those placed under arrest in connection with political agitation and copies of the same were to be sent to the Central Finger-Print Bureau for record purposes.  

At the time of the introduction of the New Police in the Presidency, W. Robinson, the first Inspector-General of Police was of the firm opinion that a civil constabulary free from military character on the lines of the Irish Constabulary should be created. The Indians formed around ninety percent of the total strength of the police force; among them, Naidus, Mudaliars and other caste Hindus formed the majority. The Pallis, the low caste Hindus who were in numbers in the early years of the New Police were reduced in strength because they were unreasonably considered to be inefficient. Malabar district supplied recruits to the police force for the districts like Madurai, Tirunelveli and South Canara. Mostly the able-bodied Nayars were available in numbers for enlistment; whereas the literate Mappilas and Tiyans were scarce. The difficulty in recruiting suitable men was experienced in the Canarese speaking taluqs of Bellary district.

To attract recruits to the police force, the prescribed standard qualification had been lowered. Even moderation in disciplinary

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246. IG to GS, 19 May 1910, O528/Govt, Govt.Order(Jud), 21 June1910, 956.
247. Prior to the introduction of the New Police, there were semi-military bodies such as the Bhambadi Corps of Northern Circars, the Kurnool Irreglar Horse, the Malabar Police Corps and the armed peons of all kinds in Madras Presidency. J. Jeyatheesan, Law and Order in Madras Presidency 1850-90.
248. Ibid.
249. Salem District Gazetteer, 1918, 97.
250. C.A. Innes, Malabar and Anjengo Gazetteer, 1, 1908, 371.
252. The standard height was lowered to 5' 4"; the standard of education insisted upon was low. Ibid., 7.
punishments and in prosecution under the Police Act had been advocated. After the Police Commission of 1902, the best police officer was he who sent the largest number of constables to jails or out of service. To facilitate the recruitment of men to the police force, Madras Government approved the establishment of four Central Recruit Schools for constables. The prevalence of high prices and the army competition inevitably exercised a deterrent influence on recruitment for the police force.

Despite the enhancement of the constable's pay by the recommendation of the Police Commission of 1902, the quantity and quality of the recruits were defective. The enhanced pay of the constable was indeed a small increase which was in no way comparable to private service or agricultural labour which was well paid. An appreciable increase in pay was to be recommended with a view to making the service attractive. The inadequacy of pay and the outbreak of I World War with its concomitant demand for recruits for the army had contributed to the unpopularity and to the difficulty of recruitment. In order to stimulate recruitment, the Government granted certain charges such as barber's fees, dhoby charges along with the announcement of rent free quarters and money prizes for good conduct and for obtaining high marks. It was also considered desirable to

253. Cowie, T0, made his comment on the recruitment in 1912: 'The duties of a large majority of our rank and file are such that education is not required'; 'But when chapter on punishments comes up, he forgets all and points the finger of scorn at the illiterates, whom he hugged to his breast to solve the recruitment difficulty' - Madras Standard, 1 January 1913, NNR, 1913, 20; Govt.Order(Jud), 22 September 1905, 1587, PAR, 1905, 83.

254. 'It is only when a large number of Indians are set high in the ladder that it will be possible for the Government to realise what otherwise must be idle dream and castles in the air' - Madras Standard, 1 January 1913, NNR, 1913, 20.

255. Govt.Order(Jud), 31 August 1903, 1195, PAR, 1908, 2.


257. Govt.Order(Home)Jud, 16 November 1917, 2407, 5; PAR, 1904, 1.

258. PAR, 1913, 2.

259. Ibid., 1914, 2; The Governor-in-Council could not agree with that 'the pay of the constabulary has not for some time been an adequate living wage' - AR, 1914, 3.
recruit a portion of constables from outside the district, especially in the case of reserve and punitive police so that they would be employed in quelling riots when local feelings ran high. The Inspector-General of Police, who realised the necessity of enforcing the prescribed physical and educational standard for the force, complained about the dearth of suitable recruits to the force. However, orders had been passed to attract men of respectable families to the force in their respective localities where they had to be employed. In certain emergencies, buglers who had passed through a Borstal or certified school were permitted to join the force on the plea that they had been cured of their criminal tendencies. Hindunesan, a vernacular newspaper, deplored the insistence on height and chest measurements as the standard qualification for appointment in the police department with a conspicuous absence of courageous men who had been once selected for the force. The result was that the police were no match to the dacoits who armed themselves with a variety of weapons which the police did not possess and were not aware of the existence of such weapons.

The Police Commission of 1902 did not recommend direct recruitment for the rank of head constables; instead, it favoured promotees from the ranks of constables to fill the posts of head constables. The Government of India observed that 'these officers(head constables) will almost invariably be promoted constables'. P.L. Moore, Inspector-General of Police, remarked that the pay recommended by the Police Commission failed to attract the proper stamp of men as constables and expressed his anguish that promotees

260. K.J. Govt. Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 134.
262. Govt. Order(Jud), 9 June 1913, 1132, Ibid.
264. Cowie, IG to CS, 26 January 1911, CS4, Govt. Order(Jud), 7 March 1911, 436, 2.
from such force should fill the posts of head constables; he argued in favour of direct recruitment of head constables to a limit of 33 percent of that cadre. The head constable who had been described as 'the pivot of the structure' and as the 'backbone of the police system' failed to command respect from his subordinates whose equal he had been but a short time before, as he had risen from the school of corruption. He was responsible only to his superior and not to the public. This was the root evil of the police administration, as he was the lord of the village without any restraints from the local government.

Shanmugham Pillai, Member of the Legislative Council, stated that greater attention should be paid to character in recruiting men for the post of Sub-Inspector with a view to securing a sound police administration. Even the rules framed for the recruitment of Sub Inspectors required 'satisfactory character and social status'. Annamalai Chetty, Member of the Legislative Council, recommended that young men of good social status should be recruited to this cadre, and be treated with all reasonable considerateness during their training period. They were treated very badly by higher officials.

Fifteen percent of the vacancies in this cadre was filled by promotees among head constables. The majority of the witnesses

266. IG to Sy Home(Jud), 23 October 1917, C&R.C, 1747, Govt. Order Home(Jud), 16 November 1917, 2407, 5.
269. Legislative Council Questions, Govt. Order(Jud), 30 August 1911, 1366, 2.
270. Legislative Council Questions, Govt. Order(Jud), 6 August 1908, 1085, 3 and 4.
271. Annamalai Chetty, Member of the Legislative Council, remarked that 'a Sub Inspector is a policeman, an errand boy a commission agent and bottle washer, all rolled into one. In a word, police administration has more aspects from which it should be critically examined than the government would seem to be aware of'. West Coast Spectator(Calicut), 29 May 1917, NNR, 1917, 1541.
before the Commission opined that the existing Station House Officers, mostly promotees from among head constables, were not held in esteem because of their social position, integrity, educational qualifications or general capabilities. Both judicial and police officers held that men of superior social position with educational attainments should be recruited from outside and be able to look for promotion to the rank of Inspector in the usual course as in the revenue side; they were to be designated 'Sub Inspector' officer-in-charge of a police station. In the event of a superior class of Station-House Officers being entertained, opinion before the Commission was considerably divided as to whether the selection was to be vested in the Deputy Inspector-General or a Committee under the chairmanship of the Deputy Inspector-General. G. Stokes, Member of the Governor’s Council, conceded the idea of selection but only from among the nominated candidates by examination at the Vellore Training School. His view was also endorsed by another Council Member, J. Thompson. The Sub Inspector in every district had been selected by a Committee consisting of the District Superintendent of Police, one or more Indian gentlemen of local influence and position selected by the District Magistrate and the Deputy Inspector-General of Police under the chairmanship of the District Magistrate. The selection of this cadre by a Committee was a farce; hence the West-Coast Spectator advocated that the Committee should consist of Europeans or a majority of Europeans in place of Indians.

272. Cowie, IG to GS, 26 January 1911, C 84, Govt.Order(Jud), 7 March 1911, 436, 7; Hammick, former IG, gave his opinion before the Commission that ‘We obtain for Station House Officers men of the wrong class and then treat them in the worst school and that the wonder is that they are not worse than they are’ - K.W.Govt.Crder(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 114, Enclosure 13.

273. A great majority of non-officials and Inspectors were in favour of selection by a Committee, while many other officials favoured a Committee under the presidency of District Magistrate - Ibid., 34.

274. K.J.Govt.Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 34.

275. Govt.Order(Jud), 8 March 1915, 635.

The post of Sub Inspector offered no prospects for individuality and scope for honesty. Graduates did not come forward to join in spite of prospects far superior to those in several other jobs. The West-Coast Spectator cited a case of sacking of a graduate Sub Inspector who had the courage to stand by his rights and to expose the rogueries of superior officers. H.A. Stuart, Inspector-General, also lamented the deplorable condition of the office to which respectable young gentlemen dare not enter. The Police Commission of 1902 recommended that the age of recruits to Sub Inspector's cadre was to be fixed between 21 and 25, with the minimum educational qualification being matriculation; and they were required to pass Third test in a vernacular before their confirmation. Those who had been selected by their native district officers had been posted in most of the cases in their districts.

The Public Service Commission recommended recruitment to fill the posts of Inspectors by means of promotions from among the lower cadres, and did not favour direct recruitment, as early as 1887. Hammick, Inspector-General, favoured annual competitive examinations on the lines of the competitive examinations for the Salt and Abkari department. Those who appeared at the competitive examinations had to possess certain qualifications, such as passing of the lower Criminal Test, and riding examination, besides adequate knowledge in vernaculars like Tamil and Telugu.


278. "If these abuses are not removed, they will get only sons and relatives of club butlers and hotel flunkeys to serve as Sub Inspector. No self-respecting young men will accept." West-Coast Spectator, 27 January 1916, MNR, 1916, 161; Indian Patriot, 21 January 1916, MNR, 1916, 123.

279. H.A. Stuart recorded before the Commission as follows: 'The pivot of the structure is the Station House Officer, and the class of men we get for that post is so inferior that it is impossible for the machine to work properly...It is obvious that such an office should be held only by trustworthy men, but the pay is small and the work, if honestly performed, is hard, and though the illegitimate earnings are considerable, the odium attaching to the office is so great that few respectable young men will enter the department' - M.M.L. Hooja, Police During the British Rule, Indian Police Journal(Centenary 1861-1961), 65.

280. Legislative Council Questions, Govt. Order(Jud), 15 April 1910, 5.

His recommendation was accepted, according to which a portion of vacancies of Inspectors were to be filled by means of competitive examinations. Further, adhering to the suggestions of Hammick, the Government passed orders for the establishment of a school at Vellore for the preliminary training of probationary Inspectors.\(^{282}\)

The District Superintendent of Police, in his annual report of 1893, remarked that the drafting of a better class of Inspectors could alone alter the crime rate in the district of Cuddapah.\(^{283}\)

The District Magistrate of Cuddapah reiterated the need for careful selection of individuals as Inspectors, who would discharge arduous and strenuous duty in a hot place like Cuddapah where temperature remains around 103° for the most part of the year amidst different forms of villainy from his own subordinates.\(^{284}\)

The Police Commission of 1902 proposed that the posts of Inspectors were to be filled mainly by promotees from among the Sub Inspectors' cadre and the Government might reserve the power to make direct appointments to not exceeding twenty percent of the vacancies.

The Government of India felt that the efficiency of the force would be impaired if most Inspectors were directly recruited with no previous experience of police work.\(^{285}\) The Government of India finally decided to adopt direct recruitment to fill ten percent of the vacancies, and to leave the remaining ninety percent to promotion. In 1919, direct recruitment to fill the posts of Inspectors was more or less dropped.\(^{286}\)

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282. Hammick, IG to CS, 24 April 1896, 1316, MJP, 27 April 1896, 773, 8-10.
283. The Superintendent of Cuddapah remarked that 'until a better class of Inspectors is drafted to this, in many ways, troublesome and lawless district (Cuddapah), no distinct improvement can be expected ' - PAI, 1893, Appendix CI, 141.
284. Ibid.
286. Ibid.
No Inspector could be confirmed unless he had passed a test in police departmental orders and practice; whereas it was not insisted upon for those who had passed through the Provincial Training School at Vellore. 287

At the initial stage, the police officers were largely drawn from the commissioned ranks of the Indian army but, later on, they had to be nominated. 288 In 1893, the Public Service Commission objected to it; and recruitment was started through competitive examinations held in England and also by promotion of officers already in service. 289 The Inspector-General had to submit the number of Assistant Superintendents of Police to be recruited in England to the Provincial Government would in turn intimate it to the Central Government for communication to the Secretary of State for India. 290 Besides, the posts of Assistant Superintendents of Police were filled locally by a competitive examination held in Madras. The Governor-in-Council nominated not less than three candidates to compete for each such vacancy. 291 In exceptional cases, direct recruitment by the Inspector-General was also favoured. 292

Those who had been selected in England were required to pass the vernacular Lower-Standard Examination during their first two years of their service in India; they had to pass a higher standard Vernacular examination for being promoted to the next

287. Govt.Order(Jud), 10 May 1907, 834.
289. Ibid.
290. Govt.Order(Jud), 4 August 1903, 1070, Madras Police Standing Orders, 2.
291. The first set of probationers from England arrived India in November 1893. Competitive examinations were held in Madras in 1893, 1901 and 1903 and one appointed each time - Govt.Order(Jud), 8 June 1904, 909 and 910, 17; V.T. Titus, Op. Cit., 96.
292. Govt.Order(Jud), 8 June 1904, 909 and 910, 23.
higher grade, namely, District Superintendent of Police. Incentives were offered to those who had passed vernacular examinations irrespective of their place of recruitment, in the form of Munshi allowance of Rs.240/- per month.

The Commission mooted the question of creating in the provincial police service a cadre of Deputy Superintendent of Police to be filled by Indians whose functions and departmental status were similar to those of Assistant Superintendents of Police. The Inspector-General preferred men of good physique, unexceptionable character and either distinguished personal accomplishments or exceptionally good family connections with a university education, preferably a minor degree, to be selected for the post of Deputy Superintendents of Police. The Government of India expressed a pious hope that it would be possible to secure officers with requisite qualifications to eventually man and lead the police force in India. Madras Government found it difficult to carry out the Commission's recommendation of direct recruitment to fill the vacancies of Deputy Superintendents of Police immediately, as the number to be appointed was quite large; it would cause a block in their service. Instead, Madras Government resorted to filling such vacancies by recruiting meritorious men from other departments, as this method was authorised by the Police Commission. The candidates were generally nominated by a committee consisting of the Inspector-General and a gentleman appointed from time to time, under the chairmanship of the Chief Secretary to Government.

293. Acting IG to CS, 8 December 1903, 488-a, Govt.Order(Jud), 15 March 1904, 480; Acting IG to CS, 22 October 1901, 16, Govt.Order(Jud), 6 November 1901, 1749.

294. Govt.Order(Jud), 8 June 1904, 909 and 910, 27.


296. IG to CS, 29 January 1906, 325, Govt.Order(Jud), 7 May 1906, 768-769, 2.

297. Government of India expressed that it would be possible to secure materials for the new class of officers, on whose judicious selection will greatly depend the enlistment of sympathies of educated Indians on the side of the police, and who will furnish the source from which Indian Deputy Superintendents may be drawn.
Madras Police Officers presented a memorandum to the Islington Commission demanding the abolition of the Committee for the selection of Deputy Superintendents, and that the power be vested with the Inspector-General; nomination by Government had to be replaced by competitive examinations as in the case of Assistant Superintendents.  

In the Imperial Service, appointments were open to Europeans who had been appointed in England on the results of competitive examination and by means of direct recruitment in India by the Governor-General in Council on the recommendation of the Provincial government. The Police Commission discouraged the policy of filling the posts of District Superintendent from promotoes of Indian Inspectors as inexpedient and objectionable, and decried the local recruitment of Europeans to such posts as it did not always result in the supply of the best men. 

Madras Government recruited locally to the provincial service those who had been educated in England under the plea that the Europeans born in India were statutory Indians and, as such, they were suitable candidates to be promoted as District Superintendents. A.H.L. Fraser, President of the Police Commission, spoke to the effect that 'District Superintendents should mostly be drafted from among Europeans and that they should be paid more than the natives'. The Maharaja of Darbhanga, one of the Members of the Commission, expressed his apprehensions regarding the invidious distinction between European

301. Madras Police Standing Orders, 2.
303. Ibid., 97; cited from evidence Volume of Royal Commission on Public Services, 1913.
officers and Indians. The Mysore Star, a native newspaper, commented that the institution of competitive examinations for higher posts in the police department would do away with racial predilections and animosities in such matters. The Indian Police Service was thrown open to Indians on the recommendation of the Commission on public services in 1913. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya brought out a resolution for the removal of restrictions which barred the entry of Indians to such competitive examinations instituted for any Europeans; thereby the Government would entrust responsibilities on a large scale in the hands of Indians in view of their having home rule eventually. The Commission on Public Services modified in 1913 the existing rules with a view to entertaining a large number of Indians in the Imperial Service of police department. Candidates who had their education in England since the age of 14 and were in the age group of 19 to 21 were to appear at an examination held in England. The publication of the Islington Commission Report was delayed till 26 January 1917 due to the First World War; however, on 20 August 1917, the Secretary of State announced in the House of Commons that "the policy of His Majesty's Government was that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to progressive realisation.

305. The Maharaja of Darbhanga wrote in his dissenting note:—


307. Swadesamitran, 14 March 1918, MNR, 1918, 498.

308. The History of Madras Police, 340, cited in the Imperial Police Service Association Memorandum, 1912.
of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. These ideals outlined by the Secretary of State were conspicuously absent in the Islington Commission's Report.

As early as 1901, Sir Harold Stuart, Inspector-General of Madras, advocated the policy of recruiting men of higher education and position to serve in the tropics by means of raising their minimum age limit from 19 and 21 to 21 and 23; thereby university men might be attracted to the service and the competitive examination might be combined with for Home, India and Colonial Services. Other provinces did not appreciate this idea; instead, the Police Commission recommended the age limit to be lowered from 19 and 21 to 18 and 20 with a view to securing boys fresh from school and training them earlier. Such proposals did not get the approval of the Government of India. Again the age problem cropped up in connection with the large number of deaths among police officers in India. However, the age limit for direct recruitment to the post of higher officers in the police department was fixed between 21 and 24.

The political unrest gained momentum as it could not be eliminated by the policy outlined by the Government of India Act of 1919, based on the Montague-Chelmsford Report; the relation between the political groups and the services, instead of improving,

309. The Islington Commission consisted of Sir Theodore Morrison, Sir Murray Hambrook, former IG of Police, Madras; Sir Valentine Chirot, M.B., Chaubal, Abdul Rahim, G.K. Gohals, M.Fisher and Ramsay Macdonald and Earl of Ronaldstey. Since the Commission was presided over by Lord Islington, it is generally known as the Islington Commission to examine the public services in India in 1913 - Ibid., 337.


311. In Madras, half a dozen officers died in the first five years of their service between 1907 and 1912 - Ibid.

312. Madras Police Standing Orders, 2 and 3.
markedly worsened; the European elements were apprehensive of their future and consequently the recruitment from England received a setback; in Indian circles, the rate of Indianisation was regarded as illiberal.\(^{313}\)

The recruits to the police department were sent to the schools in District Headquarters for training which would mould and shape them into fine specimens of initiative, drive and courage.\(^{314}\) Police Order 237 laid down that new recruits had to undergo a course of training for a period of six months at the District Headquarters Schools.\(^{315}\) The training included regular drill and emphasised the importance of sound discipline; whereas the Police Commission of 1860 did not chalk out a programme effectively for training the recruits.\(^{316}\) The nature of the training was of a most rudimentary type, and the chief defects noticed in it were the want of practical training and the absence of competent instructors.\(^{317}\) The Station-House Officer, who was generally a head constable or a constable who had passed the Station-House Officers' test, became mentor to the recruits who more often found nothing to enthuse them and fell easy victims to temptations of all kinds.\(^{318}\) The Acting Inspector-General of Police, who had a poor opinion about its performance, remarked in 1901 that 'every police officer would agree with me that'

\(^{313}\) The History of the Madras Police, 340.

\(^{314}\) P.Jegatheesan, Law and Order in Madras Presidency 1850-80, 6.

\(^{315}\) K.W.Govt.Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927-28, 35.

\(^{316}\) The Indian Police Commission of 1860 recommended that the force should be so trained and constituted that it may be thoroughly relied upon for the performance of all duties of a preventive detective police, and for the protection of property, and maintenance of local peace and order with reference to the locality in which it is to be employed' - The Indian Police Journal, 1961, 165.

\(^{317}\) '...Very few of the men who undergo the training have passed any examination at all, for they have all entered the department as constables on Rs. 7 a month and for that sum which is about the wages of a syce and much less than the income of a syce and his wife combined...This is the material from which we have to evolve a trained Station-House Officer.' Stevenson, By IG; note by Ag IG, 27 September 1901, Govt. Order(Jud), 23 November 1901, 1356-57, 4.

\(^{318}\) The History of Madras Police, 478.
the training given in them (District Headquarters Schools) was hopelessly bad. The new recruits learnt bad ways and tricks from their mentor who was imbued too much with District Mamool. Steevenson, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, preferred the recruits to be trained in the Central School at Vellore or any other Central place for two or three months. The paramount object of the army as well as the police was to give efficient instruction and training to all ranks. Madras Government realised that such object was missing in the District Schools where the instruction and training by Station-House Officers was inefficient, and recommended that it had to be substituted by a Central School. There was some opposition among a section of police officers to such a recommendation on the ground that the recruits would find it difficult to go to distant districts where the Central School was located, and the solution of Central School would not be an improvement. The Acting Inspector-General favoured Central Schools at Tiruchirapalli, Bellary and Waltair; whereas Members of the Governor's Council preferred four, adding one more for the East-Coast.

319. IG to CS, 8 August 1901, 3126, Govt.Order(Jud), 23 November 1901, 1856-67, 3.
320. Steevenson wrote: 'Our Headquarters Schools are a failure, I think. Two or three months training at Vellore or at any other central place would teach them more drill and general duties than six months on the present system.' — Ibid., 9.
322. K.J.Govt.Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 62.
323. Ibid.
324. H.A.L. Stuart, IG, wrote:— 'The instructor is a headconstable whose qualification is, as a rule, that he is too stupid or too corrupt to be trusted with the charge of a station. The men are taught without intelligence and they learn their lessons like parrots without understanding them. No attempt is made to train the faculty of observation, so important in a policeman, and discipline is disgracefully lax. A constable who has not been taught to use his eyes and ears, observes nothing and brings in no useful information. He has never been shown how to obtain it and his predecessors having received the same kind of instruction as himself, he learns little from them, when he is posted to duty at a station. He has not been drilled to yield prompt obedience and he seldom acquires the habit afterwards, with the result that 50 percent of the men are punished every year, some of them more than once. With a force so trained or rather untrained, it is not a matter for surprise that we have an inefficient police distrusted by the public and
G. Forbes, Member of the Governor's Council, felt it imperative that the recruits should undergo a course of instruction in gymnastics and other physical exercises; J. Thomson, another Council Member, added that their practical daily work or perfections of rudiments of their work had to take place in the police station. The recruit constables' sojourn in the Training School at Vellore was treated as on duty and that period was taken into account for calculating pay scales.

Recruits continued to be trained at District Headquarters School till April 1903, when a Training School for the recruit constables was started in Vellore. The training lasted for six months but in exceptional cases it was extended for a further period. The period of training formed a formative period as it made them acquire a thorough knowledge of their duties along with the powers of observation. They were made physically fit by a regular course of drill. On the completion of their training, they were examined by the principals of the Provincial Training School and the Central Recruit School. In the particular year (1908), three more Central Recruit Schools were started in Vizianagaram, Coimbatore and Gooty. The instruction and training given to the recruit constables was much superior.

325. Ibid., refer side-comments.
326. Hammick, As CS to Sy, GI(Home) Mis, 9 February 1904, 243, Govt. Order(Jud), 9 October 1904, 1518.
327. PAR, 1906, 5; Nine districts such as Two Arcot's, Tirunelvelly Chengleput, Salem, Tiruchirapalli, Thanjavur, Madurai and Madras(Railway Police) sent their recruit constables for training in 1908 – PAR, 1908, 5.
328. The first four months of the training devoted to teaching law and the rest of general subjects and reservation with a view to improving their intelligence and outlook. The text book intended for them was Constable's Catechism – PAR, 1908, 5.
329. Ibid.,; Cowie, IG, who inspected the Central Recruit School, Coimbatore, remarked that 'the physique of the men was considerably superior to that of recruits in Vellore and the great majority of them were well set up – PAR, 1912, 5.
to that imparted in the old District Headquarters Schools. Hammick was the first Inspector-General of Police to moot the idea of a School for training Station-House Officers. It was first started in October 1899. The instruction and training of Station-House Officers was not efficient and, hence, the Government favoured the proposal of Hammick to substitute it by a Central School. The official and non-official witnesses were emphatic in agreeing on the Vellore School for training Station-House Officers as an improvement of the District Headquarters School and the practical training given to them was to be more rigorous. The European and Eurasian headconstables were kept on probation for a period of six months and they were required to pass an educational test by virtue of Police Orders 239 and 225 respectively. Besides they had to undergo training in law, procedure and riding; in short, their training was in no way different from that of an Indian constable. Station-House Officers for the Agency tracts and recruits enlisted for the hill tracts in Northern Circars were trained in Uriya School, Parvathipuram; to encourage the study of the Uriya language, a system of reward examinations had been introduced. Successful candidates were granted money rewards at the rate of Rs.75/- in the case of Sub-Inspector and Rs.20/- in the case of headconstable and constable.

330. The Inspector-General of Police remarked: 'I visited the School three times last session, and I can assure the Government that the instruction given in every department vastly superior to that imparted in the old District Headquarters Schools...' - K.W.Govt.Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927-1928, 45.

331. Govt.Order(Jud), 3 December 1896, 1897; Govt.Order(Jud), 9 March 1899, 424; Govt.Order(Jud), 11 July 1899, 1902; Ag IG to GS, 8 August 1901, 31, Govt.Order(Jud), 23 November 1901, 1866-67, 2.

332. Note by Ag IG, 27 September 1901, Govt.Order(Jud), 23 November 1901, 1866-67, 9.


334. Ibid.

335. FAR, 1903, 5.
The instruction to the trainees was to be in vernaculars and the instruction comprised elementary portion of criminal law, Evidence Act, Special and Local Laws and Police Orders and Practice.

The trainees were placed under the control of the Reserve Inspector who was invariably a pensioned British soldier with but little education and absolutely no knowledge of how to teach. The consensus of the opinion was that the Reservemen taught 'the recruits bad ways and tricks' and the Reserve Inspector, being on escort duty most of the time, had "little time to look after the recruits". They were too often left to the tender mercies of an old Reserve head constable who was imbued too much with the district Hamool about things.

The police training School at Vellore was made a permanent institution from 1 October 1905. Under the reorganised system, classes for Inspectors and Station-House Officers being abolished, a new class was started for the training of probationary Sub-Inspectors - 'future Investigating Officers'. The duration of their training was extended from six months to one year. Surveying and plan drawing were added to the subjects to be taught at the school along with Jiu-Jitsu and equestrian skills. Short-hand examination was made compulsory. A course of instruction in 'First aid' was added to the curriculum.

336. Govt. Order(Jud), 3 December 1896, 1897, 3.
337. Indian Police Journal,(1861-1861), 169.
338. Note by As IG, 27 September 1901, Govt. Order(Jud), 23 November 1901, 1866-57, 9.
339. 'The people have undoubtedly more confidence in this new class of investigating officers than in the old and generally think that the former can be relied on for an honest attempt to detect cases' - IG, PAR, 1912, 6.
340. PAR, 1905, 5; PAR, 1912, 5.
341. PAR, 1908, 5.
342. PAR, 1917, 75.
They were given practical training by taking them out to the Courts and police stations, besides class room instruction. The Governor, who was much impressed by the performance of the School in training the Sub-Inspectors, remarked 'I find the administration of the police School to be excellent. The cleanliness and order are very evident. The bearing and physique of the Sub-Inspectors is very good. The administration reflects great credit on the commanding officer'. Under the able guidance of Superintendent E.T.H. Steevenson, the discipline, tone and management of the Provincial Training School at Vellore improved greatly.

The young Sub-Inspectors were decidedly encouraging but men with higher educational attainments did not turn up in numbers. The unworthy trainees were dropped out before the end of the training period. They were taught the habits of courtesy and consideration in their behaviour towards village officials and the public. They had also been trained to fit themselves as investigating officers by relying on their intelligence, promptitude and resourcefulness in prosecuting an inquiry. The knowledge of English of the trainees was not up to the expectation; the Principal of the Provincial Training School at Vellore insisted that it was the duty of the superior officers to instil into them more practical knowledge during the period of probation after leaving the School.

343. PAR, 1906, 5.
344. C.J. Stevenson-Moore I.C.S., Assistant Director of Criminal Intelligence, who visited the School in 1907 wrote 'that he was much interested in the excellent administration which was noticeable in all directions', and that 'the School struck him as being run on thorough sound lines and in a high state of efficiency for which Mr. Steevenson deserved to be congratulated' - PAR, 1907, 5.
345. David, IG, regretted that 'endeavours are being made to secure really well educated men but the results have been so disappointing that the conclusion is inevitable that the service in the police continues to be held in disfavour by the better educated section of the community' - PAR, 1908, 5.
346. Govt. Order (Jud), 18 August 1913, 1675, 2, PAR, 1912, 8; PAR, 1913, 6.
347. Govt. Order (Jud), 19 August 1914, 1311, 6, PAR, 1913, 3.
whose final selection rested with Inspector-General were made to attend English classes in the Central Recruit School, Vizianagaram. 1299 Sub-Inspectors had been trained at Vellore between 1 October 1905 and 1 October 1910.

The Inspector cadre had been filled by promotoes from among Station-House Officers and by recruiting men from outside the police department, and the men selected were 'probationary Inspectors' until confirmed. They had to undergo training in accordance with instructions laid down in the police orders. They were sent to Headquarters for three months with a view to teaching them the routine of work besides drill and in the use of revolver under the direction of a local Reserve. The success of this mode of training largely depended on the personal interest of the Superintendents. Madras Government accepted the Inspector-


351. The Inspector-General stated: 'I venture to submit proposals for improving the preliminary training of probationary Inspectors. At present, an Inspector on first appointment is held to be on probation for two years. He is required before appointment to have passed the Criminal Lower and precis-writing Test, and he is required before his two years of probation have elapsed to pass the Inspector's Departmental Test. This test is a test in police orders including the Police Act and Special Local Laws affecting the police. This examination is held in December and the papers are generally set by one of the Deputy Inspector's General' - IG, 24 March 1895, 1913, K.W.Govt.Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927-28, 38.

352. The Inspector-General stated that 'the above method of instruction looks well enough on paper, and it no doubt works well enough in small districts. But the success depends very much on the very varying factor of the first instance provided the Superintendent is capable and takes a personal interest in his man, he gets on well enough, but with a careless Superintendent or one too heavily worked to have much time to devote to the matter, the probationary Inspector is neglected, and as long as he does not come to flagrant grief, he manages to pass his ordeal and goes out to his division, knowing really very little of his work. I may say without exaggeration that I find it the exception to come across a properly trained Inspector.' - Ibid.
General's proposal to open a training school at Vellore for Inspectors for a period of three months on a condition that the facility of training be extended even to Assistant Superintendent who came from England. Outside were also admitted into the School on payment of Rs.60/- and they would be appointed as Inspectors depending on the vacancies. The Training School at Vellore was started in 1897 for the purpose of training a small number of candidates for the post of Inspectors, and, in 1899 it was converted into an institution for the instruction of Station-House Officers also. Gudiyatam division was attached with the Vellore Training School whose principal would act as an Assistant Superintendent for the police administration of the division, as an experimental measure with a view to according means of practical instruction to probationers. The experiment had proved to be a success and it continued to do so.

Six Inspectors were appointed as Lecturers with Mr. Jaring as principal of the School. No direct appointment as Inspector was given in Tamil districts and Malabar or South Canara to anyone who was not a graduate. The Inspectors who came out of Vellore Training School were distinctly keener than the majority of old fashioned Inspectors who were not aware of their duties or, if they did know, did not use the intelligence they had sufficiently to carry them out. The training became futile as many were compelled to break off their training in the middle and get into the maelstrom of police work due to the dearth of personnel to man police station and circles.

354. Govt.Order, 17 November 1895, 1823, Ibid.
355. G3 to AY GI, 23 November 1901, Govt.Order(Jud), 23 November 1901, 1866, 2.
356. Memorandum by AY IG, 13 January 1903, 45, Govt. Order(Jud), 2 March 1903, 290, 2.
357. PAR, 1903, 5.
358. PAR, 1899, 20.
359. N.W.Govt.Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 38.
360. A.R.Jayavant, '1 Century of Police Training', Indian Police
Police orders laid down that the probationers to the post of Assistant Superintendents, on their arrival from England, had to undergo a course of practical training at the Vellore Training School for a period of one year. On the contrary, the witnesses before the Police Commission of 1902 expressed the view that Assistant Superintendents recruited in England had to undergo training in England for a period of one year in riding, drill and criminal law. They were required to have adequate knowledge of the vernacular in the colloquial form; which would enable them to converse freely with all the people and obviate many of the evils of the prevailing oppression of people, whereas the President of the Board of Examiners preferred a written examination as it was the surest way to test a man's real grip of language as a living language.

G. Stokes, Member of the Governor's Council, wished that the departmental Examinations should be held quarterly instead of every six months. Training received by them in the Vellore Training School was to be supplemented by a further period of practical course after the probation before they were put in charge of their division. G. S. Forbes and G. Stokes agreed on emphasising 18 months if not 24 months of the total training for the probationers in the School and in practical work in the districts before taking responsible charge. In short, the probationers were required to work in various capacities from being in charge of a police station down to acting as Assistant to the Superintendent for certain months until they proved their worth for taking charge of a sub-division.

361. Govt. Order(Jud), 13 December 1902, 1927, 51; Govt. Order(Jud) 16 September 1904, 1404.
363. G. Stokes, 14-10-1902, Ibid., 2.
364. G. Stokes, 20-10-1902, Ibid.
365. Govt. Order(Jud), 4 August 1908, 1070, Madras Police Standing Orders, 6.
The police administration of Madras city was vested in the hands of the Commissioner of Police subject to the control of the Inspector-General of Police. Two deputy Commissioners were put in charge of the city's two ranges, namely, Northern and Southern. Diwan Bhadur Parankusa Naidu was the first Indian to be appointed Commissioner of Police in the Madras city. The Assistant Commissioner assisted the Commissioner in attending to day to day affairs. Ranges were divided into divisions; each was under an Inspector; and it was further divided into station-ranges which were placed under the charge of a European or Indian Sub-Inspector assisted by a staff of headconstables and constables.

Section 10 of Act III of 1888 empowered the Commissioner to pass orders and regulations for the general control of the force. The appointment, promotion and dismissal of staff below the rank of Sub-Inspector were to be made by him subject to the discretion of the Inspector-General of Police. He was authorised to sanction a reward up to rupees five hundred for information leading to the discovery of perpetrators of crime, for services rendered in aid of public justice and for assisting in detection of illicit possession of modern arms. By virtue of his position, he was to act as Presidency Magistrate.

366. AAR, 1907 - 1908, 119; Memorandum, 14 March 1907, 491, Govt.Order(Jud), 14 March 1907, 491.
367. Order 1, Orders of Madras City Police, 1913, 1.
368. History of Madras Police, 345.
369. Order 2, Orders of Madras City Police, 1.
370. Govt.Order(Jud), 21 April 1908, 578; Act III of 1907.
371. Order, 33 and 38, Orders of Madras City Police, 2 and 7.
372. Govt.Order(Jud), 12 August 1910, 1215; Govt.Order(Jud), 3 March 1911, 597; Govt.Order(Jud), 27 February 1912, 304.
373. Orders of Madras City Police, 47 and 48.
The selection of Deputy Commissioner was made by means of competitive examinations held in London.\textsuperscript{374} Chapter III of Orders of Madras City Police enumerates the duties of subordinate officers. The supervision and maintenance of discipline among the subordinates within the division were the primary concern of the Divisional Inspector who had a thorough knowledge of the happenings in the division.\textsuperscript{375} Swadeshitran, a native newspaper, pleaded for the replacement of incompetent mostly European or Eurasian Inspectors by competent Indians.\textsuperscript{376} Those who had had training for a period of one year in the Provincial Training School at Vellore were appointed Sub-Inspectors on condition that they passed the Sub-Inspector's test prescribed for the mofussil police.\textsuperscript{377} Sergeants were to assist in the arrangements for large gatherings and entertainments, besides their normal duties such as regulation of traffic and checking beats and patrols.\textsuperscript{378} The headconstables, whose constant attention was to be given to the supervision of constables' work, were to live in close proximity to the police station.\textsuperscript{379} The constables recruited to the city force were to receive instruction for a period of six months in drill, constable's catechism and the City Police Act.\textsuperscript{380}

An intelligence wing was constituted in the city in 1887 with a staff of two Sub-Inspectors and four first-grade headconstables under the supervision of an Inspector. Besides investigating

\textsuperscript{374} As IG to CS, 17 February 1902, 783, Govt.Order,(Jud), 6 March 1902, 395.

\textsuperscript{375} Orders 13 to 20, Orders of Madras City Police, 3.

\textsuperscript{376} 'For some special reasons, the Government is appointing only Europeans and Eurasians of a very ordinary ability as Inspectors. Very few are clever but majority are incompetent and bringing discredit to the police department. Competent Indians were to be appointed as police Inspectors in Madras City to detect crimes quickly; vagabonds will disappear, honest men will walk through the streets freely' - Swadeshitran 8 February 1901, MHR, 1901, 55 and 56.

\textsuperscript{377} Order 29, Orders of Madras City Police, 3.

\textsuperscript{379} Order 25, Ibid.

\textsuperscript{379} Ibid., 6.

\textsuperscript{380} Ibid.
cases of crime and exercising surveillance over suspected and notorious people, they had to make confidential enquiries about the character and antecedents of persons. They drew local allowances which varied depending on their position in the department; the grade headconstable's pay varied from rupees twentyfive to one hundred. The constable's pay fixed in 1906 was no longer a living wage consequent on the rise of prices. The customary exactions which, in olden days, used to augment his pay were severely suppressed with the appointment of a Sub-Inspector as Station House Officer. The discontinuance of grain compensation allowance in 1916 was not appreciated.

Table 2:9.

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<th>Cities</th>
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<td>2.8</td>
<td>159870</td>
<td>637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>1388</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>773196</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>411648</td>
<td>532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>729</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>405808</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>202253</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Madras city had an area of twentyseven square miles, which was more or less the size of Calcutta(27.9), and a population of 405808; the police employed in the former was 729 against 1497 in Calcutta.

381. Commissioner of Police to GS, 11 July 1901, 590, Govt.Order(Jud), 30 July 1901, 1128-1129.
382. Inspector- Rs.35, Sub-Inspector- Rs.15, headconstable- Rs.10, and Constable- Rs.5(inclusive of local allowance) -Ibid.
383. Sy MG(Jud) to Sy GI(Home), 21 May 1915, 1124, Govt.Order(Jud), 21 May 1916, 38.
384. Desp(Fin)Sy of State for India, 1 October 1915, 299, Govt. Order(Jud), 6 January 1916, 38.
The annual cost of Madras City Police was Rs. 20,235/- while it was Rs. 46,741/- in Calcutta city. Bombay had a police strength of 1388 on the ratio of 1.8 policemen per thousand people as it was akin to Madras city where the ratio to the population was 1.8. But the average expenditure was 532 in Bombay and 1154 in Calcutta as against 498 in Madras (cost per thousand).

Considering the area, Madras city was having a wider jurisdiction than Bombay, whose area was twenty-two square miles, and its population was more or less near that of Calcutta city but it maintained a police strength of 729 against 1497 in Calcutta and 1388 in Bombay. Regarding the annual expenditure, incurred in connection with the maintenance of police, Madras city was lagging behind the other two cities.

Table 2:10. 386

EFFICIENCY OF THE CITY POLICE, 1908 - 1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Police strength</th>
<th>Grave crimes and percentage of detection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Dacoity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>No 7</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1762</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The detecting ability of Madras City police in grave crimes like robbery, house-breaking and murder amounted to forty-two percent of the cases. The dacoity cases remained unsolved; whereas the cases of theft and cattle theft were busted to the extent of more than sixty percent.

There was no need for the existence of a river police in the presidency. 387 Prior to 1884, the Madras Marine Police had a

385. The data are extracted from FAR, 1908-1910.
387. Govt. Order (Jud), 30 June 1904, 996.
complete strength of 125 constables and 16 headconstables besides a sergeant, a Sub-Inspector and an Inspector under the guidance and supervision of a Superintendent, and their principal duty was policing and guarding the cargo. Their strength was reduced, consequent on the introduction of harbour tolls. The Harbour Trust Board came forward to meet the cost of additional police staff, and requested the Government to seek for a large proportion of European officers for night patrolling and supervision of shore duties. The Madras Government did not place trust in Indian police who would manage the show alone. Such a prejudiced view about Indians was to be discouraged.

Armed reserve or Reserve police was another branch stationed in the headquarters of some districts of the presidency with a view to hunting down elephants and preventing smuggling of tobacco and coffee. They were employed distinctly for purposes other than police duties such as meeting any emergent or extraordinary situations. Punitive forces were entertained under Section 15 Act V of 1861 as amended by Act VIII of 1895 in Tirunelvelly and Madurai districts. Malapuram Special Force which was created in 1884 was made permanent in 1897. The Special armed police with semi-military training but not under military control was needed to deal promptly and efficiently with tumults and local disturbance without the aid of the military arm.

388. Govt.Order(Jud), 6 March 1902, 516.
389. Madras Marine Pro, 9 January 1884, 12, Ibid.
390. Commissioner of Police to GS, 21 February 1902, 416.
391. "No substantial benefit can be derived from European police Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors and Sergeants who know only to parade in the streets on horse back" -Andhraprakasika, 27 June 1905, S&R, 1905, 208.
392. The History of Madras Police, 325.
393. P.J. Sathesean, Law and Order in Madras Presidency, 1850-80, 168.
394. The History of Madras Police, 325.
395. Ibid., 360; K.J. Govt.Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927-28, 30.
397. By GI(Home) to GS, 14 April 1904, 364, Govt.Order(Jud), 25 July 1904, 113, 2.
Commission of 1902 advocated that every constable with two years of more service was to work periodically as a reserve in headquarters for a short period, and should do escort and guard duties at treasuries and jails so as to refresh his knowledge of drill and musketry.\textsuperscript{398} Out of 21676 constables, 2492 would form special reserves in headquarters. A European or Eurasian Inspector and a European headconstable were attached to reserves in every district; the Inspector was usually a pensioned soldier of good character.\textsuperscript{399} Sivakasi Special Force, Ramnad Punitive Force and Tutticorin Special Force had been created to tackle Shanar-Marvan troubles and seditious riots in connection with the freedom movement.\textsuperscript{400}

The European serjeants whose pay was fixed at rupees eighty (higher than IV class Inspector who received a pay of rupees seventy) were made to serve in stations under the command of a Reserve Inspector who was a higher officer.\textsuperscript{401} The number of serjeants was increased to 100 in 1906.\textsuperscript{402} In 1909, steps were taken by Madras Government to increase the strength of the reserve force by adding 22 headconstables, 57 serjeants and 714 constables.\textsuperscript{403} Besides fifteen percent of the District police force was set apart and kept ready with a view to replacing casualties and to assume charge at a moment's notice.\textsuperscript{404} However, an inquiry was conducted in 1914 to look into the condition and working of armed reserves. Efforts were made to start ambulance section and signalling parties in 1916.

\textsuperscript{398} A reserve force was stationed at Balliguda (Ganjam Agency), Malapuram (Malabar), Cudem (Vishakapatnam) under a Reserve Inspector who was in charge of recruits under training - K.J. Govt.Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 20; 3y of State for India, 19 November 1905, 28, Govt.Order(Jud), 25 July 1904, 112, 4.

\textsuperscript{399} Ibid., 5.

\textsuperscript{400} History of Madras Police, 360.

\textsuperscript{401} K.J. Govt.Order(Jud), 3 March 1906, 412, 4.

\textsuperscript{402} Govt.Order(Jud), 2 June 1906, 237.

\textsuperscript{403} 13 to 33, 16 June 1906, 2469, K.J. Govt.Order(Jud), 23 June 1906, 1056.

\textsuperscript{404} 13 to 33, 2 July 1903, R6.626, Govt.Order(Jud), 18 August 1909.
The recruitment for the most part to the force was from the most virile and robust but quite frequently less intelligent members of the community from the districts.405

After conducting an interview with police and district magistrates about the role of reserve force, Stokes came to the conclusion that the amount of valuable work done by the armed reserve was not brought to the knowledge of those who denounced them as worthless in the Legislative Council and elsewhere.406

The introduction of railways in the presidency in the middle of the Nineteenth Century ushered in an era of economic prosperity; the responsibility of watch and ward added a burden to the police, guardians of law and order. A special branch of railway police was organised in 1866, but the maintenance cost led to differences of opinion between the railway and the government.407 In 1872, the Government of India appointed a Committee to sort out the differences.403 However, the need for a separate organisation was felt in 1880 with a view to exercising watch and ward duties effectively.403 Consequently, the Government of India appointed another Committee in 1882 with the avowed purpose of evolving a uniform railway police throughout the country.410 Subsequently, Madras Government's plea for a separate railway force for the

405. AAR, 1914, V.T.Titus, Police Administration in Madras Presidency, 120; AAR, 1917.

406. The History of Madras Police, 361.

407. Ibid., 395.

408. Gt Resolution(Home), 13 June 1872, 334, Ibid., 397.

409. PAR, 1881, Handbool of Tanjore, 347.

presidency was turned down by Government of India on financial grounds.\textsuperscript{411}

The control of railway police was placed under a Deputy Inspector-General instead of Superintendents.\textsuperscript{412} Indeed, it marked an improvement in the administration of railway police.\textsuperscript{417} Alas! it was a temporary measure.\textsuperscript{414}

The Inspector-General of Police laid more emphasis in introducing more number of cadres in Inspector's class with a view to providing ample opportunities for promotion, which was a strong inducement to good work; further, he stressed that the amount of travelling allowance paid to them, who were to be away most of the days, would not cause pecuniary loss.\textsuperscript{415}

The Inspector-General further wished to treat the whole of the railway police force as a single police district by amalgamating all of them into one.\textsuperscript{416} The keep of a good watch over 727 miles of railway tracts in the presidency, two Inspectors' divisions were created.\textsuperscript{417} With the introduction of railway lines in various parts of the Presidency, the responsibility grew apace but the Government of India refused to increase the staff in the name of finance.\textsuperscript{418} The police constables who were drawn

\textbf{411.} The Inspector-General of Police remarked that 'it is very much to be regretted that financial pressure still prohibits the reform in our Railway Police system which has been recommended and sanctioned' - PAR, 1897, 45.

\textbf{412.} 

\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Railways & DIG & Inspector & Headconstable & constab \tabularnewline
\hline
Northern & East Coast & 1 & 1 & 27 \tabularnewline Southern & Maharatta & & & 271 \tabularnewline
Central & Madras & 1 & 1 & 9 \tabularnewline Southern & South India & 1 & 1 & 8 \tabularnewline
\hline
\end{tabular}

- PAR, 1896, 4.

\textbf{413.} PAR, 1897, 45.

\textbf{414.} Govt.Order(Jud), 20 August 1900, 1155, PAR, 1899, 12.

\textbf{415.} Inspector's scale of pay

| Grade I (Rs.200), Grade II (Rs.175), III (Rs.150), IV (Rs.125), |
|-----------------|---|---|
| V (Rs.100) & VI (Rs.70) | Govt.Order(Jud), 16 July 1896, 1114, |
| Ag IG to CS, 1 August 1901, 3053, Govt.Order(Jud), 27 November 1901, 1896-7, 9, 12. |

\textbf{416.} Ag IG to CS, 6 June 1901, 2142, Govt.Order(Jud), 15 July 1901, 1945; History of Madras Police, 598.

\textbf{417.} Govt.Order(Jud), 16 November 1901, 1818.

\textbf{418.} Note by Ag IG, Govt.Order(Jud), 22 November 1901, 1860-61; Govt.Order(Jud), 16 November 1901, 1818.
frequently from Madras city were duly compensated by a payment of local allowance varying from one rupee to two depending upon their cadre. The government had to bear 3/4 th of the additional cost incurred in connection with the revision of railway police grades and the remainder by the railway administration other than the railway company.\textsuperscript{419}

The Police Commission of 1902 did not favour the idea of making railway police an Imperial establishment as it would involve the police force in one local government working under another.\textsuperscript{420}

It recommended the constitution of a railway police force for each province and a separate police district for each railway administration.\textsuperscript{421} G.S. Forbes, Council Member, strongly objected to it on the ground that the railway would work the police too much for the good of the railway company; other Members subscribed to his view of maintaining an independent police administration for railways.\textsuperscript{422} \textit{Vetrikodiyan}, a native newspaper, insisted on a separate police force called Railway Police Department in the pay of the railway authorities, which would enable them to be more conversant with the latest railway rules and regulations.\textsuperscript{423}

The offices of Criminal Intelligence Department and Railway Police were to be headed by a Deputy Inspector-General who worked at the direction of Inspector-General; the substitution of another Superintendent for the existing Assistant Superintendent came into effect on 18 August 1906.\textsuperscript{424} This arrangement would raise the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{419} Accountant General to CS, 27 June 1901, TGL 199/3185, Govt. Order(Jud), 15 July 1901, 1045, 3.
\item \textsuperscript{420} Police Commission Report of 1902, 106; History of Madras Police, 399.
\item \textsuperscript{421} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{422} G. Stokes, J. Thomson, 22-10-1902, K.I.Govt. Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 282.
\item \textsuperscript{423} \textit{Vetrikodiyan}, 30 May 1892, NNR, 1892, 147.
\item \textsuperscript{424} Govt. Order(Jud), 22 November 1901, 1851, Enclosure 39; K.I.Govt. Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 287.
\end{itemize}
tone and efficiency over a distance of 2,644 miles (1,763 and 381 miles including Tiruchirapalli division). The exchanging or interchanging of railway police in frontier territories of Madras Presidency in particular Bombay, Mysore and Hyderabad with a view to effecting mutual cooperation in exercising surveillance and nabbing criminals, was started as an experimental measure in 1907 but it was discontinued in the subsequent year. However, the Police Commission of 1902 advocated cooperation between railway and district police to be strengthened for better prevention and detection of crime. The exchange of information between the railway and district police greatly helped them to get a thorough knowledge of the local bad characters.

Their principal duties were to guard railway property, to exercise strict watch over suspicious elements, to assist the district police in tracing the movements of criminals, criminal tribes and gangs and foreigners, and to assist the injured persons in times of collision or accident, besides putting an end to the menace of derailings. Special Magistrates for railways were to be appointed for the receipt of complaints and the speedy trial of railway cases.

In 1891, 39 lacs of rupees had been allocated for police expenditure; the average cost of policeman was Rs. 183 4/5 or 1-91/7 per head

425. TAR, 1908, 5.
426. TAR, 1907, 9; TAR, 1908, 9.
428. TAR, 1909, 10.
429. Orders, 486, 490-494, Madras Police Standing Orders, 240-244.
of the population against Rs. 180 1/2 or 1-11/27 in the previous year. The cost of the police force was not increased substantially over the years; the recommendation of the police Commission of 1902 regarding the improvement of pay of the force took effect in the Presidency as late as 1914. No doubt, an additional amount had been sanctioned by Madras Government, not for the improvement of the emoluments of police personnel but mainly to meet the increase in temporary establishment in view of the plague epidemic in certain districts of the presidency, grant of grain compensation and on the maintenance of criminal settlements. Even Royal bonus was granted to the force on the occasion of the coronation. In 1911, the cost of the police was Rs. 3.2 per head of the population representing an increase of 100% over a period of two decades.

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431. AAR, 1391-1392, 12.
432. Govt. Order(Jjud), 23 October 1915, 2531, PAR, 1914.
433. Govt. Order(Jjud), 7 September 1909, 1175, PAR, 1908-6; PAR, 1913, 2.
435. STATEMENT OF COST OF POLICE 1900-1914

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Strength of Police</th>
<th>Cost Rs</th>
<th>+ Increase</th>
<th>- Decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>22533</td>
<td>4183330</td>
<td>+28570</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>22692</td>
<td>4193313</td>
<td>9527</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>23345</td>
<td>4482137</td>
<td>+53774</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>23819</td>
<td>4693078</td>
<td>+210941</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>24521</td>
<td>4777336</td>
<td>+84258</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>23759</td>
<td>4603380</td>
<td>-177056</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>24083</td>
<td>5353053</td>
<td>+75277</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>25886</td>
<td>6149621</td>
<td>+73658</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>25481</td>
<td>6996681</td>
<td>+847360</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>22030</td>
<td>7410371</td>
<td>+41590</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>22207</td>
<td>8008771</td>
<td>+754754</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>32764</td>
<td>8092737</td>
<td>-764754</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>32015</td>
<td>9160692</td>
<td>+1087895</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>32037</td>
<td>9503975</td>
<td>+343330</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- PAR, 1900-1914.
### Table 2:11. **Comparative Statement of Cost of Police in Various Provinces, 1912**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provinces</th>
<th>Police strength</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Total cost</th>
<th>Total crimes investigated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madras(1912)</td>
<td>32764 (1 to 1265 people)</td>
<td>41389232</td>
<td>8857551 (0-5-5 per police)</td>
<td>179497 5.5(per police)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>24194 (1 to 774)</td>
<td>13722468</td>
<td>6413558 (0-5-6)</td>
<td>34171 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Panjab</td>
<td>21040 (1 to 967)</td>
<td>20340372</td>
<td>5560725 (0-4-4)</td>
<td>61723 2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Provinces</td>
<td>35803 (1 to 1317)</td>
<td>47182044</td>
<td>8669073 (0-3-0)</td>
<td>84837 2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces</td>
<td>11979 (1 to 1161)</td>
<td>13916308</td>
<td>3078477 (0-3-6)</td>
<td>16609 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>23085 (1 to 2242)</td>
<td>51772202</td>
<td>7213000 (0-2-3)</td>
<td>90506 3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Bengal &amp; Assam</td>
<td>11516 (1 to 2940)</td>
<td>33664697</td>
<td>4398020 (0-3-0)</td>
<td>43720 3.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The cost of Madras police was low compared to the average cost in the other six provinces, being 21.6 paise; whereas in Bombay, with less than half of the population of Madras Presidency and 3/4 strength of Madras police, it rose to 33 paise. The percentage of cognizable crimes investigated was highest in Madras Presidency compared to other provinces.  

Vernacular newspapers were highly critical of police involvement in tracking down nationalists for participating in swadeshi meetings; they did not spare the police department at the slightest move on their part. 'There is an increase in expenditure from Rs.378404/- to Rs.458635/-, but detection fell and crimes rose...Our spending money on Hindu police is like feeding a serpent with milk (joins the Whites and teases us)' -India, a native newspaper, showed ill-feeling which was

436. The data for the table have been extracted from Govt.Order (Jud), 13 December 1913, 2598.

437. Ibid.
reiterated by *Hindujana Samskarini* in 1890.  

Prapancha Mitran pointed out the partiality shown to police department in budget allotment compared to other departments like education, medicine etc.  

The public was the foundation on which the entire police work was based. In discharging the preventive and detective work, the police had to receive the fullest measure of public support. There was a universal complaint that the people did not cooperate with the police; whereas Indian vernacular papers retorted 'why does not the lamb cooperate with the lion? Police officials were suspicious of the people to whom they extended protection.  

*Cochin Argues* (British Cochin), a native newspaper, attacked the people for tolerating police atrocities and exhorted the police 'not to resort to illegitimate means to detect their cases that would aim at reforming the police administration'.  

Swadesmitran paid a rich tribute to the virtues of the London police, and expressed its anguish to find them missing in the Indian police.  

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438. '...though Rs.3823000/- are spent in the Madras Presidency no adequate benefit is derived by the public from it' - *Hindujana Samskarini*, January 1890, NNR, 1890, 4; *India*, 5 December 1908, NNR, 1908, 890, 23.  

439. 'Budget increase in police a.m.c.e five years is 8 crores 59 lacs; whereas Education, Medicine and Sanitation put together get 7 crores 78 lacs' - *Prapancha Mitran*, 20 April 1917, NNR, 1917, 1174, 42.  


441. 'Government considered that the police were lambs. Statesmen also blamed the police for being dreaded by the people' - *Veera Kesari*, 18 September 1909, 738, 10.  

442. 'In England police exists for the protection of the people; whereas in India for the officials who are foreigners and are not free from the suspicions that the people are hostile to them and may rise against them at any time' - *Dravida Deepam*, 22 January 1908, 48, 3; *India*, 8 February 1908, NNR, 1908, 848.  


444. Swadesmitran praises London police for their polite and courteous conduct towards the people and contrasts them with the Indian police who deem it their privilege to annoy the people, and not to evoke their confidence and cooperation' - *Swadesmitran*, 8 August 1911, NNR, 1911, 1191, 10.
police, the so-called 'guardians of peace', sometimes behaved in a most erratic manner, fired by selfish motives and, instead of allowing peace to spread, they stood obstructing it in every way. In certain districts, the police quite often refused to register reported offences. The Jeypore Agent remarked that 'the people themselves say so and add that unless they can lay hands on the thieves or the stolen property, it is not worth the trouble of going to the police station to complain'.

Towards the end of the century, the police were suspected of being spies of the British Government. No wonder, the entire department, from constable to Superintendent, exposed itself to the dislike and hatred of peace-loving people. It was reflected in a native newspaper: 'It is never becoming the dignity of man; Of many duties of policeman, the spy's part is most ignoble, it is true; but if public peace and public order require them to play the spy, no ignominy will be attached to it'.

The detection of crime was not alone to be the duty of the police; they would at the same time so act as to reduce crime and promote loyalty among the people. The people would come forward to assist the police when they understood that the police were not to punish but to protect them like friends. The Madras Standard allayed the suspicion that Indians were unwilling to aid the police and remarked that 'confidence breeds confidence and if police take the people into confidence, we

NNR,

445. Lawryver May 1911, 1267, 11.
446. PAR, 1899, Appendix C.
447. Indian Patriot, 4 May 1909, NNR, 1909, 295, 1.
have no doubt that it will be reciprocated'. The Indian Patriot echoed it in stating that 'the very earnest feeling of the people that they should avoid the police is all due to want of assurance that the police are not set up to harass but to help the people'. There was apparent lack of cohesion between different grades of police force which frequently remained at loggerheads.

Table 2:12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year (Average for 10 years ending)</th>
<th>Skilled labourer</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>0-7-6 (45p)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>0-8-1 (48½)</td>
<td>(41½)0-6-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>0-8-4 (50)</td>
<td>(43) 0-7-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>0-8-3 (49½)</td>
<td>(41½)0-6-11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The daily wages earned by skilled labourers in towns amounted to rupees fifteen per month whereas their counterparts in rural tracts earned rupees thirteen. The monthly wages of unskilled labourers in turn came to about rupees nine and of those in rural tracts to about rupees seven and a quarter. Alas! the pay of the constable who had to possess certain virtues besides the standard physical qualification along with specialised training, was in no way comparable to the earnings of skilled labourers either in town or rural areas. Their pay was little better than the unskilled labourer's

450. Madras Standard, 4 September 1913, NNR, 1913.
452. 'Constables are a slack and somewhat undisciplined crowd; Sub-Inspectors are apathetic and the Inspectors with some exceptions are lazy while the superiors have not shown quite as firm a control over their subordinates' - District Magistrate, Chittoor, 9 February 1917, FAR, 1916, 70.
453. The data for the table has been extracted from Imperial Gazetteer of India(K-M), Table VI, 353.
wages; but if we take the total earnings of an unskilled labourer's family, the constable's pay was too low. This deplorable condition was pointed out by Police Commission of 1902 which recommended an increase of pay depending upon the length of service. Even such enhanced remuneration did not come near the earnings of a skilled labourer.

Their promotion avenues and prospects of advancement and monetary benefits were less compared to those in other departments. A constable had quite often to retire as a constable; only a few were given the chance of rising to the cadre of head constable. Indeed the sub Inspector's or Stationhouse Officer's posts had been filled by promotees among the headconstable but that too was limited to twenty-five percent of the vacancies. The promotion prospects of head constable were on the whole bleak. The cadre above the rank of Inspector remained above the aspiration of policemen, as it was the exclusive domain of foreigners. Quite often, tenth-rate foreigners had been appointed to fill superintendent's posts. In short, those who joined the police service had to retire in the same cadre with a minimal satisfaction of rising to the next higher grade in the same cadre, as is exhibited.

The poor pay of the constables had been pointed out by the Police Commission of 1902 which underscored the imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constable's pay recommended by the Police Commission of 1902</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 - 3 Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 rupees</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- K.W. Govt. Order (Jud), 25 July 1904, 1112, 56.


456. Sarvajana Mitran remarked that 'while creating many small pay appointments to natives (Indians), Lord Curzon made few high pay appointments to Europeans. Like the dog was given only some bones, while the master was eating the entire flesh' - Sarvajana Mitran, 1 April 1905, ANN, 1905, 128, 3.

need for raising their pay, as their living conditions and family liabilities breed corruption. The belated increase in the salaries of lower cadres did not alter their material condition substantially as the scale became outdated with the spiralling rise of prices. Under such financial constraints, an honest man found himself to be a misfit in the department.

The duties of policemen were varied and exacting; they were increasing day by day and would probably increase in variety and complexity; to meet such peculiar circumstances, they had to possess more than average intelligence and power of observation. Above all 'they were expected to be humane and courteous with a combination of moral, mental and physical qualities not ordinarily required in other employment'.

On the other hand, the bulk of the policemen had been recruited from the lower rungs of the society and they had retained by and large the same habit of using abusive language. Their earlier upbringing had a profound influence on the exercise of their duties too; hence, they found nothing wrong in using third degree methods in order to extract confessions from the so-called suspects.


459. 'All high offices are heaped on Europeans...salaries of highly paid are increased; those who really do effective work in the detection of crime are not paid according to their duties and placed above temptation' - Vrittantachintamani 10 June 1908, NNR, 1908, 229.

460. 'Most of the head constables and police seek more to make money than stop crime and we want a much better stamp of men. As an Inspector who I hope is honest himself, remarked "the police is a troublesome department for an honest man"' - District Magistrate of Chittoor, Par, 1900, Appendix C.


462. Ibid.

463. *New India*, 3 April 1918, NNR, 551, 2.

that it sometimes even led to death.\textsuperscript{465} Under the protective band of investigation, they unleashed a reign of terror in the minds of innocents. In connection with a dacoity which occurred in Nilgiris district, police conducted investigation at Manjeri in Malabar district which was 'something akin to day-light robbery'. The harrowing episode was portrayed by Kerala Patrika, a Malayalam newspaper in the following words: 'Already terrified by the recent Moppila outbreak, the investigation of police has become a greater terror to the people and (it) pleaded the government to send an able inspector.'\textsuperscript{466} The prevalence of oppression by the police was confirmed by many witnesses before the Police Commission, and suggestions were made to minimise or prevent it by means of surprise inspections to police lock-ups.\textsuperscript{467} Council Members, on the other hand, summarily dismissed them as exaggerated accounts.\textsuperscript{468}

The escort duties of police involved long journeys in many districts of the Presidency. Many police officials complained that the burden of escort duties, namely, escorting prisoners from jails to courts or vice versa, and escorting government treasure was unduly heavy both on the reserve reserve and district police, and felt that it should be reduced.\textsuperscript{469} Similarly Station-house officers were burdened with more and more scriptory work as they had to send occurrence reports to superior officers and various grades of magistrates. This

\textsuperscript{465} Vettrikodiyan, 16 July 1892, NNR, 1892, 165, 6.
\textsuperscript{466} Kerala Patrika, 11 July 1896, NNR, 1896, 1019, 4.
\textsuperscript{467} K.W. Government Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 251.
\textsuperscript{468} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{469} 'The constabulary is on the whole the cheaper agency for escort duty as they can combine that duty very frequently with other duty' - G.S. Forbes, 22-10-1902, Ibid., 117.
complaint was placed before the commission; G. Stokes stood for it as it was found a useful check.\textsuperscript{470} Besides their normal duties, they were taxed heavily by magistrates in the name of referring cognizable and non-cognizable cases under Sections 156 and 202 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Many higher police officials did not consider it as abuse of power; whereas the Acting Inspector-General felt that it should be curtailed as the practice was on the increase.\textsuperscript{471} The efforts of police were made meaningless when their cases were quite dismissed by judges as concocted.\textsuperscript{472}

The existing method of gauging the performance of police with mere statistical returns led to the hushing up of crime, reporting false cases but could not be detected, and the charging of innocent persons.\textsuperscript{473} The constables were in constant dread of black marks which were recorded by their superiors for everything from negligence of duty to indiscipline; it usually meant reduction in emoluments, and the award of six blackmarks meant dismissal.\textsuperscript{474} More emphasis was to be laid on honest and careful investigation than its results.\textsuperscript{475}

\textsuperscript{470} 'The sending of the reports is a valuable check' - G. Stokes, 17-10-1902, \textit{Ibid.}, 206.

\textsuperscript{471} 'I found it scarcely necessary to make such references on complaints presented to me unless some crime of very gravest character...' - G. Forbes; 'The time spent by police in enquiry means generally a saving in the magistrate's time' - A. R. Knapp, \textit{Ibid.}, 207.

\textsuperscript{472} Sukhadoya, 12 May 1892, NNR, 1892, 165, 6.

\textsuperscript{473} 'The present statistical returns are used by superior officers of police as a gauge of work and by the inferior officers as an incentive for concoction' - K. J. Govt. Order(Jud), 18 December 1902, 1927, 229.

\textsuperscript{474} Govt. Order(Jud), 9 November 1911, 1721, Order No. 253.

\textsuperscript{475} Madras Police Standing Orders, 28; AAR, 1892-93; Govt. Order(Jud), 27 October 1911, 1647; PAR, 1910, 2.
Law and order is an important limb of any government; steps were to be taken for proper supervision of the functions of the police besides giving due encouragement for meritorious services in the form of reward either in cash or medals or bangles or promotion.\textsuperscript{476} Cash reward to a constable for doing his legitimate duties was not encouraged; whereas it was permitted under extraordinary circumstances such as when they sometimes came into contact with large sums of money in the possession of the accused which would give them opportunities for sharing the spoil with the thief.\textsuperscript{477}

Village police, an ancient institution, formed the basis of the police system of the Madras Presidency; it had been continued by the British even after the conquest of the Presidency.\textsuperscript{478} The village police consisted of kavalkars who once enjoyed a coveted position during the Hindu period by their meritorious services were reduced to the position of talars and stripped of their allowances and contributions paid to them by the villagers, and talars were headed by village headman; The kavalkar and talars were headed the work of security of the roads and ghats; their services were rewarded partly in payment and partly in the form of manium lands by their respective villages. They held their offices by inheritance.\textsuperscript{479} Since the days of Col. Munro, due encouragement was not given to the village police system by the administrators; most of them realised its value but none of them came forward to relieve their distress. Their salary, which varied from place to place, was not paid regularly; their manium lands were quite often found unfit for cultivation. Their deplorable condition, added to by their wholesale dismissal, drove them to eke out a livelihood often by robbery and theft.\textsuperscript{480} The Court of Directors felt

\textsuperscript{476} Indian Patriot, 20 May 1909, NNR, 1909, 352, 2.
\textsuperscript{477} PAR, 1839, Appendix C.
\textsuperscript{478} Col. Munro Report, 10 April 1806. MJS, 15.
\textsuperscript{479} Ibid., 5 and 16; Minute 520, MRS, 21 May 1850, 61.
\textsuperscript{480} ibid., 1861-62; J.T. Titus, Police administration in the Madras Presidency.
that the neglect of village police was mainly responsible for the increase in crime in the middle of the Nineteenth Century, and its restoration seemed to be the first step towards insuring increased efficiency.\textsuperscript{481} At the time of introducing the new measure in the existing police department of the Presidency, namely, bifurcating the police department from that of revenue, the Governor and his Council Members unanimously opined that the village police was to be the basis of the new police but strengthened, improved and adequately remunerated.\textsuperscript{482} W. Robinson, Chief Commissioner, strongly advocated the cause of village police; at his initiative, village police were given prominence in the New Madras Police Act XXIV of 1859.\textsuperscript{483} The imperative necessity of reforming the village police was insisted upon in the recommendations of the Indian Police Commission of 1860.

The village watchman was an indispensable link in the chain of administrative control over the people and, in many respects, the foundation of the police superstructure and an integral part of village unity.\textsuperscript{484} W. Robinson, who firmly regarded the village watchmen as policemen, insisted on their inclusion in the new police system of the Presidency,

\textsuperscript{481} Minute by H.C. Montgomery, 2 June 1855, 15, PRPM, 17.

\textsuperscript{482} Minute by Elliot, 4 June 1858, 4, PRPM, 63 and 64; Minute by Morehead, 4 June 1959, 1 PRPM, 65; CC to CS, 3 December 1858, 60, 7, PRPM, 65.

\textsuperscript{483} The preamble of the Madras Police Act XXIV of 1859 stated that 'no police system can be really effective in India which is not closely connected with the village system'-V.T. Titus, \textit{op.cit.}, 183.

\textsuperscript{484} Robinson observed that (in 1858) 'the institution of the village police should continue, as now, thoroughly local and the duty of its members be confined to their respective villages and charges...the village watchers must be members of village watchers class of their respective villages'-Government Order, 8 July 1897, 978, K.W. 18 May 1895, 1066-67; PRPM, 1861, Selections from the Records of Govt, Calcutta, 1861, 313.
subordinate to the Chief Commissioner rather than to village headmen and they would confine their duties to police work.\(^{485}\) Parker, Member of the Board of Revenue, submitted his proposals for the separation of the police from the revenue establishment, to which the Government readily granted its approval.\(^{486}\) They were placed under the control of the Collector and Magistrate, and were expected to discharge their revenue work at the direction of village headmen \(^{487}\) without prejudice to their police duties. Besides them, there was another class of \textit{taliara} known as \textit{Ghat taliars} who had been appointed by Government on the exigencies of the time. The \textit{Ghat taliars} were not subject to village headmen.\(^{488}\)

The employment of village police under the control of the police department in each village or group of villages, was a \textit{sine quanon} for the proper performance of police duties such as furnishing information to the regular police, watching known depredators and bad characters and keeping an eye on the movements of gangs or suspicious persons from village to village \(^{489}\) apart from the execution of criminal processes.\(^{489}\) The placement of the village police establishment under the control of the police Superintendents was not favoured by Government, as it would add a further burden to the overburdened Superintendents with their supervision of regular police.\(^{490}\) The existing village police system under the orders of the Collector and Magistrate

485. MJC, 4 January 1859, 9 Govt.Order, 8 July 1897, 978, K.W. 18 May 1895, 1066-67, 1 and 2.
489. IG to CS, 12 December 1894, 7329, Govt.Order, 8 July 1897, 978, 2; \textit{Ibid.}, 12.
seemed to be more fitting for the efficient exercise of their police duties and were bound to perform such duties in accordance with the rules found in part III of Village Officers Manual.491 The Government ordered Col. Porteous to submit a detailed scheme for the reorganisation of the village police establishment and, at the same time, it expressed its inability to implement it immediately.492 The scheme mooted by Col. Porteous was similar in nature to that propounded by W. Robinson.493 Propounded Col. Porteous was of the firm opinion that it should be improved by making it part and parcel of the general police force. Hammick did not concur with his view; J.G. Rose, Member of the Council, agreed with Hammick as to the ways in which the village police could be improved.494

At the time of reorganisation of village establishments as early as 1859, Parker observed that the taliars and kavalkars were indeed police servants and were to be paid from a separate fund.495 The taliar, however, continued to do revenue work and had remained under revenue authorities. Their fees had been paid from the Village Service Fund ever since the enactment of the Madras Act IV of 1864.496 In Zamindari tracts, the taliars had been paid from the proprietary Estate's Village Service Fund; whereas the Ghats taliars were paid partly from Village

491. Ibid., 14.
492. Govt. Order, 29 April 1892, 4; Govt. Order, 6 July 1892, 1241, K.W. MJP, 18 May 1895, 1066; K.W. MJP, 8 July 1897, 978, 5.
493. Ibid., 5.
494. 'I am dead against putting the village police under the control of the regular police. I agree entirely with Mr. Hammick' - G. Stokes, 14 October 1902 W., MJP, 18 December 1902, 1927-28, 153.
495. MJP, 28 June 1860, 867, K.W. 18 May 1885, 1066-67, K.W.
496. Ibid., 3.
Service Fund and partly from police funds. In the subsequent year, the Government persuaded Col. Porteous, in spite of its previous warning, to expedite the submission of his plan. Col. Porteous proposed that one taliar per thousand of the population was to be employed on police duties; his appointment and punishment were to be left with the police authorities; all taliers, whether employed for police purposes solely or not, were subordinate to village headmen unless village police Inspectors were appointed. In his proposal, the Inspector-General of Police recommended a uniform pay of rupees five as salary of taliar per mensem.

His scheme dealt with the village police generally, and special significance was not given to ghat taliers. H.W. Bliss, Member of Council, felt that the Inspector-General's scheme was not a new one, as it was analogous to that suggested by W. Robinson nearly forty years ago, down to the suggestion pertaining to the appointment of village Inspectors. Col. Porteous did not press the appointment of village Inspectors, and he merely threw out a suggestion on the subject; whereas W. Robinson was strongly in favour of such appointment. It seemed that such proposal had not been approved of, as it would create

497. The ghat taliers, one of recent creation, were numbering 1187 under the complete control of the Police and were paid as follows:- 1,013 ghat taliers from village Service Fund; 174 ghat taliers from Police Funds—Ibid., 4.

498. MRP, 20 August 1894, 3265; MRP, 31 August 1894, 2126, Ibid.

499. Ibid., 5.

discord in the village; perhaps, W. Robinson subsequently modified his views.\(^5\) Even the Council Members were of the opinion that such appointment was not palatable to Government.\(^6\)

H.W. Bliss and J.G. Rose favoured the appointment of taliars to be rested with Revenue authorities who would be more competent than police officers to settle questions of succession that might arise; furthermore, the appointments in rytwari tracts were made under Act II of 1894 by the Proprietor, subject to the approval of the Revenue authorities. Thus, the proposal of Col. Porteous regarding the appointment of taliars by the police authorities was negated.\(^7\) J.G. Rose was in favour of one taliar to 1500 inhabitants of village against 1000 inhabitants proposed by the Inspector General, and the pay of taliar was to be rupees Four instead of rupees Five.\(^8\) He further added that the word 'taliar' was a misnomer as they were real policemen to be regarded as 3rd grade constable.\(^9\) The village watchmen need not attend the police stations regularly; they had to go to the station when required to do so by the Headmen of the villages and to meet the police Inspector whenever summoned by the latter.\(^10\)

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501. Butterworth, District Magistrate of South Canara, remarked that on the introduction of the reorganised police in this district, a class of men called "Village Inspectors" (or by the people "police Potails") were appointed and were subordinate to the Station House Officers. They were not a success owing, I believe, to their not being under the Heads of Villages... and their services were soon dispensed with... From this it would appear that the Village Inspector scheme was tried and failed" - PAR, 1874, Ibid., 5.


503. Ibid.

504. Ibid., 7.

505. Ibid., 15.

506. CC to Sy to GI(Home), Govt.Order(Jud), 14 July 1904, 1077, 6.
The removal of revenue powers from 'taliare' would weaken their power as Constables. Col. Munro's opinion testified to it, and it was endorsed by Hammick and Council Members like G.S. Forbes and J. Thompson. On the other hand, G. Stokes opposed it vehemently as they would be used as instruments of extortion by Station House Officers. They were more useful in detecting any crime and at the same time, they were cabale of suppressing information from police and Magistracy. Their usefulness to the regular police was limited, as most of them were drawn from the Pariah caste who were unable to move freely among the higher classes in their villages. Though the enfranchisement of desakaval inams and sthalakaval inams which had been credited to the village Service Fund, the Government did not come forward to spare additional sums for reorganising the village police. H.W. Bliss confirmed the reluctance of Government by recording, "Yes. This is clear" in the margin of the notes; K.W. Government Order 8 July 1897, 978.

The issue of brass badges and latties along with the best books to the village police proved beneficial as greater attention was given to police duties by village watchmen than before.

The Ghat taliare, distinct from the taliare proper, had been appointed in certain districts of the Presidency considering their peculiar conditions. In the (1896) there were 1087 Ghat taliare in the districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary, North Arcot, South Arcot, and Madurai; they were under the

508. Ibid., 160, G. Stokes, 14 October 1902.
509. Ibid., 163, H.M. Witherbotham.
510. Notes connected with MJP, 8 July 1897, 978, 4.
511. PAR, 1897, 7; PAR, 1900, 8.
512. MJP, 8 July 1897, 978, 3, K.W. 16 May 1895, 1066-67.
control of police authorities and were paid mostly from the Village Service Fund.\textsuperscript{513} They were not coming under the purview of 'Taliar' of Act IV of 1893, and they did not form members of the village establishment. Col. Porteous's plan of reorganisation of village police touched Ghat taliars, and he recommended the enactment of their pay to be raised from four to five rupees.\textsuperscript{514} Under the 'Village Cess Act IV of 1893', the cess which was levied at the rate of nine pies in a rupee of assessment formed the bulk of the Village Service Fund which met half the cost of village service establishments including police, while the other half was met by Government. The necessity of Ghat taliars became obsolete due to the opening of railways in the districts.\textsuperscript{515} Further, the Government was not in favour of allowing pensionary privileges to them as they were scarcely full-time officers; it recommended the system of payment from the Village Service Fund to be stopped.\textsuperscript{516}

The Governor-in-Council opined that the village police was to work under the village headmen who were in turn responsible to the officers who were held responsible to the magistracy. A marked prevalence or increase in crime in any village was usually considered to be \textit{prime-facie} proof that the headmen were neglecting their portion of police duties.\textsuperscript{517} Police Superintendent made a general complaint about the frequency and ignominy of the delay in most of the villages by village Magistrates, in sending the reports of cognizable offences; the cases quite often became fictitious as the reports of village

\textsuperscript{513} Ibid., 4.
\textsuperscript{514} Ibid., 9.
\textsuperscript{515} Ibid., 9.
\textsuperscript{516} Govt. Order, 8 July 1897, 978, 15.
\textsuperscript{517} Ibid., 14;
Magistrates were not found accurate; the reports were most often left with no essential fact either by the village Magistrate's carelessness or 'by his rascality in wilfully giving a wrong direction to the investigation'. The Inspector-General of Police issued circulars to all District Magistrates and his subordinate police officers to inculcate a spirit of responsibility in the hearts of village Magistrates by means of liberal rewards. Those who failed to cooperate in discharging their duties in accordance with part III of the Village Officer's Manual were awarded punishments which were simply nominal.

Many village Magistrates in districts like Madurai and Tirunelvelly were Kallans and Maravans, members of criminal classes who sympathised with and shielded offenders and had been known in some cases to be related to well known dacoits. They were an undisciplined lot in the district of Ramnad and were expected to recognise their responsibilities more fully.

On the contrary, village officers on the west coast were, as a whole, a very good type and many of them were rich landlords with much local influence.

Instructions had been issued to police officers of all ranks to treat the village officers with special consideration and do their utmost to maintain the dignity of the village officer's position. With a view to increasing their efficiency,

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518. PAR, 1903, 4; PAR, 1904, 5; Police Superintendent of Madurai remarked that 'the Village Magistrates still remain a great obstacle in our way towards improving the state of detection'. PAR, 1899, Appendix C, 145.

519. PAR, 1904, 5.

520. Govt. Order, 8 July 1897, 15; PAR, 1904, 5; District Magistrate of Tirunelvelly observed there is no doubt, difficulty in getting help from village Magistrates. If they are punished by suspension or dismissal, it is generally the case that men put to succeed them are no better'. PAR, 1900, Appendix C; Madras Police Standing Orders, 263.

521. PAR, 1900, Appendix C; PAR, 1904, 5.

522. Remark made by District Magistrate of Ramnad, 2 March 1915, PAR, 1914, 86.

523. Remark made by Ag District Magistrate of Malabar, 10 March 1915, PAR, 1914, 86.

cultivable lands near tannahdare were granted to taliars. 525
The taliars were to be better paid as their duties demanded their full-time attention and further-more, irksome, as they had to be quite often away from their villages; they were not adequately compensated for such arduous work; instead they had to depend upon their pay alone. 526 Their duties and responsibilities increased but these were no corresponding increase in their emoluments; their prestige was on the decline. 527

The village Magistrates were held responsible for the state of villages in respect of crime; quite often, they took sides in any faction, which was a common phenomenon in the villages, and were helpless in assisting the police. In the district of Tirunelvelly, they were afraid of the Maravans and often remained a tool in the hands of Maravans. 528 Many of them were illiterate and often resided far away from their jurisdiction. 529

Strict supervision was to be exercised by the Tahsildars at the orders of District Magistrates over the nefarious activities of village Magistrates. 530 Suggestions were offered to improve the office of Village Magistrates by appointing educated persons instead of hereditary appointments; and by enhancing their powers to adjudicate civil suits up to Rs. twenty along with the privilege

525. PAR, 1909, 9.
528. PAR, 1899, Appendix C, 147.
529. "No one who is illiterate is now appointed as Potail, but a Potail cannot be removed because he is illiterate" - District Magistrate of Canara, PAR, 1900, Appendix C.
530. Govt.Order(Jud), 22 August 1903, 1200; Govt.Order(Jud) 26 August 1904, 1287.
of having cognizance of civil and criminal cases. Village Magistrates were to be encouraged to be helpful to the police by means of liberal rewards in recognition of their good work. The cooperation of Village Magistrates who discharge their duties honestly and promptly with the police would improve the state of detection of crime. J. Thompson, who concurred with the majority of witnesses, who were mostly non-officials; and the inspectors considered that the submission of weekly reports to the police by village Magistrates would be a greater help in detecting the crime. The pay of a village Magistrate had to be increased from Rs. 15 to 20 in paise of Rs. 5 to 12 with a view to attracting a better class of men; whereas many experience officers pointed out that "what a village Magistrate values most, was power and prestige rather than money." The slackness on the part of the village Magistrate in discharging his duties was mainly due to want of respect, as he was at the beck and call of officers of various departments; the very nature of his position barred the entry of respectable and influential persons. To instill respect in them, certain privileges such as exemption under the Arms Act were to be accorded. Thus, the post of honorary village Magistrate would tend to promote integrity and fidelity in discharging

531. Andhara Prakasika, 28 February 1891, 50; Swadesmitran 31 March 1891, 85.
532. PAR, 1906, 5.
533. PAR, 1899, Appendix C, 147.
535. Ibid., 174, Forbes.
536. Ibid., 167, G.S. Forbes commented that 'there would be no harm in exempting them under the Arms Act'.
537. Ibid., 166.
their duties efficiently without the fear of loss of salary. To them, personal dignity and self-respect were more dear than salary.\textsuperscript{538} Other than police officials, most of the witnesses were for the retention of hereditary system of village Magistrates and taluqas as it would add prestige to their office.\textsuperscript{539} On the contrary, J. Thompson was of the opinion that it was necessary to put an end to the hereditary system with a view to recruiting the best men.\textsuperscript{540} The controversial aspect of it had already been thrashed out and legislated upon in 1895, vide Section X, Act III of 1895, by which the incapable were excluded from office. This the chief evil of it had been remedied.\textsuperscript{541} The first report of commission of crime by village Magistrates was of more value in the law courts; quite often, the first reports were dictated by the Station House Officers as they tried to make it as favourable as possible to the prosecution.\textsuperscript{562} The peculiar nature of certain districts like Tirunelvelly and Madurai did not permit village Magistrates to report

\textsuperscript{538} Ibid., 167.

\textsuperscript{539} Ibid., 168, G.S. Forbes commented as follows; 'Yes. We could not get the men we do, on the pay assigned, unless they were hereditary. It ensures, on the whole a respectable and respected class who are proud of their office and anxious to hand it down to their children'.

\textsuperscript{540} Ibid., J. Thompson reiterated that many witnesses, mostly non-officials were of the opinion that with the change the hereditary prestige attached to the office was fast dying out and that it would be wise to abolish it altogether to make it a rule to appoint the best men available.

\textsuperscript{541} Ibid., H.M., Witner Botham, 24 November 1902.

\textsuperscript{542} Ibid., 160.
the crime of cattle-theft where Tuppukuli was at its height. There was a general complaint about the village police of the inefficiency in their functioning from the side of police officials; whereas the majority of witnesses before the Commission of 1902 admitted the village police to be a real aid, though it might be more so to the regular police; on the contrary, the dependence of the regular police on it for information was to a greater extent than was generally supposed or admitted. The idea of appointing panchayats to act as a check to village Magistrates in their conduct of police duties met with no response from non-official witnesses and Session Judges. The powers of arresting suspicious persons outlined by Section 45 of the Criminal Procedure Code were not adequate; a number of witnesses before the Commission stressed the enlargement of their powers of arresting suspicious characters, which would add prestige to their office and make it useful in bringing more harmony with the regular police.

543. Ibid., 157, Under Tuppukuli, private individuals, generally Kavalars, undertook the task of restoring the stolen property on condition of receiving rewards which usually amounted to half the value of the stolen property. In certain villages, the Kaval fees paid to them amounted to Rs. 1500/- per annum besides special fees for the protection of their property.

544. Ibid., 163, G. Stokes, 14 October 1902.

545. Ibid., 171.

546. Ibid., 172.