CHAPTER 4

The New Police, 1859 - 80

The process of reform and reorganisation of the police force in the Madras Presidency, which had commenced several years before the great upheaval, culminated in the Madras Police Act XXIV of 1859. It drew the attention of various governments in India and prompted them to consider the reform of the police as an immediate necessity. The Government of India appointed a Police Commission on 17 August 1860 with a view to increasing the efficiency of the police systems in India. ¹ An attempt is made in the following pages to portray the relation which existed between the new police and the magistrates by focussing special attention on the problems connected with the organisation of the police force, besides weighing the actual performance of their work during the period between 1859 and 1880.

The Magistrates were to be all-powerful in their districts, the police force being placed at their disposal to enable them to exercise full authority in all matters connected with general welfare and peace of the district. ² This kind of system had already been carried out successfully

1. The History of the Madras Police, 237.

2. Minute by W.A. Morehead, 5 May 1859, Papers related to Act XXIV of 1859, 100, Progs of the Legislative Council, N.A.
in London. While introducing the new constabulary in the Presidency, no single case of jarring with the Magistracy had occurred. During the transition state, which was full of anxiety, great forbearance on both sides enabled the introduction of such measures to be carried out peacefully. The early success of the new police organisation chiefly depended on the active cooperation and the effective countenance accorded by the European Magistracy whose example was emulated by the Taluq and Village Magistracy. Confidence thus gained, the right people presented themselves for police officers' posts. The change introduced in the administration of Criminal Justice by the great codes brought the police closer to the European Magistracy and instilled confidence and improved relations between the two. The Magistrates were competent to punish European British police officers who had violated the provisions of Sections 44 and 45 of Madras Police Act. The Magistrates understood their powers and the subordinate magistracy had been cut off from that hand-in-glove relations with the police which were formerly so prolific of corruption, extortion and


4. Papers related to Police Reform, Progs of the Legislative Council, 29 September 1860, 21, N.A.

5. AAR, 1860-61, 49.

6. Circular, 14-Progs of the Sadr Court, 20 June 1861; CM, 12 July 1861, 186-OMP, 385; AAR, 1861-62, 44.

7. Acting Govt. Solicitor to ACS, 16 August 1861, 633, MJP, 23 August 1861, 159.
oppression. The preamble of the Madras Police Act of 1859 said that 'the police force shall be a more efficient instrument at the disposal of the Magistrate for the prevention and detection of crime.' The celebrated Lucknow libel case brought against the Oudh Gazette, a Lucknow newspaper, by Ram Dayal, an Extra Assistant Commissioner, brought to light the episode as a contest between the police and civil authorities which, indeed, had its impact upon the Police Commission of 1860. Consequently, Section 4 of the Act V of 1861 incorporated the words 'under the general control and direction of such Magistrate' which were not found in the Madras Police Act of 1859. The Magistrates, except in the matters of internal economy, were all-powerful in assigning duties to the police and calling for police aid as and when they felt expedient.

8. Bruce to Sy to GI, 14 October 1862, 38, GI Home(Police) Progs, 14 May 1863, 4 to 10, NA.

9. Captain Chamberlain, the District Superintendent of Police of Lucknow, was reprimanded by authorities for letting out official information to the Oudh Gazette, on a report of P. Carnegy, Deputy Commissioner. The highly-strung Chamberlain decided to discredit the district administration by extending the fullest co-operation to the newspaper in its campaign against the hated income tax. The newspaper published a highly libellous article about the oppression and corruption of Ram Dayal, an Extra Assistant Commissioner, responsible for its collection in the city with a view to discrediting the taxation measures. Ram Dayal, not minding his superiors, filed a libel suit, the famous Lucknow Libel Case, against the newspaper. The whole episode embarrassed the administration of Oudh and Government of India by exposing the discord and disharmony that existed between the two departments—D. B. Trivedi, Law and Order in Oudh, 1856-77, (unpublished doctoral thesis) University of London, 1973, 171.
In certain districts, the Magistrates, actuated by overenthusiasm, entertained charges against police officers of all ranks, without reference and sometimes without even notice to the superior officers; however, the majority of the charges proved to be groundless. The result was confusion and the work was unduly interrupted. The earnest and honest officers were disheartened.¹⁰ This was mainly due to the majority of Sub-Magistrates who belonged to the old school and were indifferently acquainted with the procedure of the new laws which they had to administer. Being conscious of their own weakness, they were only too ready to be guided where they ought to have been able to act independently. Those who remained in service were compelled to make themselves conversant with the laws governing their relations with the police and their judicial functions. This state of things was not to be continued; most of the old class of Sub-Magistrates might give place to men of higher educational attainments and modern training.¹¹ But, on the whole, the Sub-Magistrates

¹⁰ The Magistracy support the police, but there is rather a tendency to view them in the light of a "brutal constabulary," trampling on and oppressing the people, and complaints, often frivolous, against members of the force met with a ready hearing, charges against members of the force being taken up by the Magistracy without reference to departmental officers; a bad effect is proved on discipline and the confidence of the force in their own officers is shaken.' - Lieutenant Balmer in Nellore District Administrative Report for 1863-64 - Magistrate of Vishakhapatnam to CS, 15 March 1867, 55, MJP, 21 August 1867, 253, 2.

¹¹ Magistrate of North Arcot to CS, 2 March 1867, 14, Ibid.
and the police were in harmony.\textsuperscript{12} The Sub-Magistrates did generally entertain correct notions regarding their position vis-à-vis the police; and the latter were in no way permitted by their own Superintendents to overstep the bounds of their legitimate functions in this respect.\textsuperscript{13} Thus, both were conscious on either side, and the police were not permitted in any way to override the other in the exercise of their functions.\textsuperscript{14}

Certain police officers boldly discussed the merits and demerits of a Sub-Magistrate in a derogatory language by referring to \textit{them} as 'ignorant,' a mere puppet,' 'pusillanimous' and 'inefficient'; such words found place in official documents like the Coimbatore District Police Administration Report for 1865-66.\textsuperscript{15} The criticism on the proceedings and the conduct of the magistracy by the police officers was, under Government orders, strictly to be excluded from the published reports. Such criticism

\textsuperscript{12} 'Police Inspectors exercise considerable influence over Sub-Magistrates from their superior training, but does not mean their influence is abused.'—Magistrate of Krishna District to CS, 9 April 1867, 92, MJP, 21 August 1867, 255, 3; 'The Sub-Magistracy and the police in this [Godavary] District, understand and maintain their proper and relative position in regard to one another.—Magistrate of Godavary District to CS, 6 February 1867, 29, MJP, 21 August 1867, 254.

\textsuperscript{13} Magistrate of Malabar to CS, 2 February 1867, 12, MJP, 21 August 1867, 269, 3.

\textsuperscript{14} Magistrate of South Canara to CS, 13 February 1867, 3, MJP, 21 August 1867, 253.

\textsuperscript{15} Magistrate of Vishakapatnam to CS, 15 March 1867, 55, MJP, 21 August 1867, 253.
against the magistracy was not to be expressed even in the police diaries. 16

The police were required to report cases of a heinous nature immediately to the Divisional Magistrate and the Subordinate Magistrates who, in turn, were to send a report of the same to the Divisional Magistrate along with the progress made in the investigation. This order firmly enthroned the Sub-Magistracy in the matter of supervision over the police. 17 Without an express order from a Magistrate, the police was competent to enquire into the cases under Section 47 of Act XXIV of 1859 and the Magistrate could not refuse to proceed with the cases on the ground that prior permission for such had not been, in the first instance, obtained by the police. 18 A person arrested with or without a warrant had to be sent to a Magistrate by the police within twenty-four hours and the Magistrates were to receive the prisoners from the custody of the police as urgent business. 19

The police force was described in the Madras Police Act of 1859 as ' an instrument at the disposal of the Magistrate' on the basis of a debate held in the Supreme


17. Govt. Order, 12 November 1867, 1810, MJP, 12 November 1867, 133, 3.

18. Govt. Solicitor to CS, 22 September 1869, 511, MJP, 6 October 1869, 26, 6.

Legislative Council where W. Robinson designated the police as 'his Magistrate's executive police.' The Inspector General of Police was the head of the force in matters of internal economy and discipline; but in reality, the whole force was at the beck and call of the Magistrates whose orders they were bound to obey. Nothing could be more fatal to the satisfactory working of the police as an instrument at the disposal of the Magistrates than the existence of such a system. It strongly illustrated the necessity for insisting on the due maintenance of their relative positions by the two departments. 20

Certain chapters and Sections of the Criminal Procedure Code with reference to the police had been omitted in the Presidency Police Magistrates Act of 1874 even at the bill stage, on the representation made by the Madras Government stating that they might violently affect the existing relations between the police and the Magistracy. 21 No doubt, the relation between the police and the Magistrates maintained on the lines provided by the Madras Police Act of 1859, was a sound one. However, it would be intolerably dangerous to allow the District Magistrates to throw the responsibility of failure on the Superintendents or their subordinates. 22 The Magistrates had to confine

20. CM, 16 April 1873, 23, 6, OMP.
22. IPCR, 1902-3, 121.
themselves to issuing orders to the police in order to preserve the peace or in the prevention or detection of crime. But their intervention must not be constant or in matters of detail. 23 They were there to see that both the magistracy and the police do their work properly by conducting periodical personal tours to various parts of the district and by virtue of being kept informed of everything of importance related to crime, criminals and the police work by the Superintendents of Police. 24 The police force, though bound to obey the orders of the Magistrates with regard to criminal administration, must be kept as far as possible departmentally distinct and subordinate to its own officers. 25

Some subordinate Magistrates under the fanciful imagination that they were following the wishes of the District Magistrate, might do further harm. The ignorance of police work on the part of the Subordinate Magistracy often invited criticism from the police. They often complained that the former did not show interest in matters of putting down crime. This state of affairs could be rectified by placing better qualified persons

23. Ibid., 121.
24. Ibid., 123.
25. Ibid., 122.
in the position of Sub-Magistrates, who were to be better paid. 'This relationship is typical of English arrangements with their lack of logical finish' - the remark made by J.C. Curry had a grain of truth. The prohibition regarding making derogatory remarks about Sub-Magistrates by police officers either in their confidential diaries or in the periodic reports, and instructions to the Sub-Magistrates to send periodically the confidential reports about the conduct of police officers to Sub-Divisional or District Magistrates, fortified the position of the Sub-Magistrates in their relation with the police. Amiable and cordial relation between the two could have been better secured by recruitment to both the classes from men with better background on higher emoluments and by the clear demarcation of their powers in relation to each other.

The Madras Police Act of 1853 and the Indian Police Act V of 1861 did not mention anything about the District Magistrates’ connection with the police discipline. However, they could be at liberty to bring any matter pertaining to misconduct, in which they might differ from the findings of any inquiry, to the notice of Deputy Inspector General of Police or their superior. The dual control and the frequent interference of the Magistrates.

might undermine the authority of District Superintendents and might impair permanently the usefulness of Deputy Inspectors General by reducing them to the level of an inspecting and reporting officer. This practice was to be discontinued. On the whole, these two officers constituted an interesting diumvirate, jointly responsible for peace and good order of the districts by discharging their separate functions to serve the common purpose.

The new police was divested of any approach to military character and principles of working. A civil constabulary on the lines of the Irish Constabulary, was set up only after the abolition of semi-military bodies such as the jihbandi Corps of Northern Circars, the Kurnool Irregular Horse, the Malabar Police Corps and the armed peons of all kinds. Mostly, the constables were drawn from labouring or trading classes of their respective districts. By far the larger proportion was composed of

27. IFCR, 1902-3, 81.

28. 'No other officer [District Magistrate] could discharge those duties so well. No other can exercise so well the beneficial influence of personal supervision, advice and encouragement in respect both of the Magistrate and the police, and no other officer can have the same knowledge of the people as he ought to have or be as well known to them as he ought to be. He is the connecting link between the executive and judicial functions of the administration.' - Ibid., 123.
races and castes which were never found in the ranks of the army. The Inspectors, with few exceptions, belonged to the classes of Brahmins, Naidus and Mudaliyars in whom, it was traditionally believed, no amount of training could infuse a military spirit. Hence, the subordinate ranks of the new police were free from the military influence. However, to turn out an awkward villager into an upright active man with proper neatness of dress and precision of movement which inculcated habits of prompt and ready obedience and exactitude in carrying out orders, certain amount of military training and set up would be of great use and would in no way detract policemen from the efficient performance of civil duties. To meet every possible emergency, the training in the use of weapons was essential. Experience in England and Ireland had proved that such a training was indispensable.

The Indians formed around ninety percent of the total strength of the police force during the period of ten years between 1871 and 1880. Among the Indian policemen, Naidus, Mudaliyars and other Hindu castes came to around 53.7 percent, and formed the majority as evident in table 4.1.

29. IG to GS, 5 November 1867, 1996, MJP, 18 February 1868, 221-D, 2.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.
### Table 4.1

Race and Religion of policemen during the period of ten years, 1871-80

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32. The data for the table 4.1 are extracted from AARs, 1871-80.
Brahmins, the high-caste Hindus, were less than three percent. Muslims were found in numbers to the tune of 23.5 percent, next in strength to Naidus, Mudaliyars and other Hindu castes. The Europeans and Eurasians were very few and formed 0.1 and 0.2 percent of the total strength respectively. Nairs and Oriyas were more in number than the Rajputs who formed three percent of the Indian policemen. Christians were around 2.6 percent. Naidus, Mudaliyars and other Hindu castes and Muslims were largely recruited to the cadre of constables; the Pariahs who were in numbers in the early years of the New Police were reduced to insignificant numbers in due course because they were unreasonably regarded to be inefficient.

Christians and Brahmins were the most frequent choice among the Indians to fill the posts of Inspector as the European young men, frequently of imperfect education and often drop-outs from the army whose attempts to secure a livelihood elsewhere had failed and who had been tried in higher grades of Inspector, without exception, proved failures. Especially Brahmin Inspectors were found in number in the force.

33. IG to CS, 5 November 1867, 1996, MJP, 18 February 1868, 221-D, 2.
34. AAR, 1868-69, 92; PAR, 1867-68, 73.
European young men were considered unfit to hold such vital posts as District Assistant and Deputy Superintendents or Superintendents. The Indians who were more intelligent but deficient in habits of discipline and command and wanting in self-reliance and resourcefulness to meet emergencies, were found to be useful subordinates under efficient European officers. Further they were supposed not to be gifted with a strong will and the determined energy and persistence which were indispensable for the constant and irksome work of inspection over a wide area without which a police force would languish and fall into confusion; and grave and organised crime could not be dealt with such a force. 35 Such views expressed by the Inspector General of Police with regard to the appointment of Indians to such higher posts seemed to be prejudiced.

Had they been given the same salaries as the Europeans, the best men could have been attracted to the police service. No steps had been taken to persuade the young Indians of high birth and education to occupy such posts. Nor was any real responsibility entrusted to Indians. To camouflage his fear of appointing Indians to such vital posts which, he thought, might endanger the safety of the

35. IG to G3, 5 November 1867, 1996, MJP, 13 February 1868, 221-D, 8.
Empire, the Inspector General of Police indeed exaggerated the importance of the Europeans under whose supervision they were to work. This fallacy was underscored by the recommendations of the Police Commission of 1902-1903. However, the Commission admitted that the best and fittest men could be attracted by giving the same pay to them as to the Europeans of that rank.

In order to secure the unwavering confidence of the subordinates, the higher officers were to remain above caste and local influence. For the efficient working of the police, they should maintain the closest relation with the European Covenanted Magistracy which was to be secured only by means of social equality which, in turn, was conspicuously missing in the case of Uncovenanted European and Native Agency.

The Inspector General of Police favoured the commissioned army officers who were considered the fittest to occupy the responsible posts of Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of District Police. The possession of military training and experience was essential in the selection of persons for these important posts. The high tone of honour being in Her Majesty's Service, the habits of command and self reliance, of discipline and obedience in duty which were ingrained upon individual

36. IPCR, 1902-1903, 51.
37. Ibid., 68.
character conferred advantages which, even in England where the field of selection was large, could not certainly be secured from any other class. This principle of appointing military officers to such posts was approved and sanctioned earlier by the Court of Directors.\textsuperscript{38} The Government of Madras followed this directive by appointing army officers to the aforesaid posts in England with the best practical results.\textsuperscript{39} However, the employment of army officers to the police service might lead to the introduction of an undue amount of military feeling that might be injurious to the efficient performance of civil duties as was the case in other provinces. The army officers had been left to develop their previously acquired knowledge, instead of being guided into the new field of civil administration in the Presidency. The previous experience of the army men could best be utilised in the introduction and maintenance of due discipline, control and efficiency as long as they would never lose sight of the real ends for which the constabulary was organised, namely, the prevention and detection of crime and performance of other civil duties.

\textsuperscript{38} IG to CS, 5 November 1867, 1996, MJP, 18 February 1863, 224-D, 8.

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., 4.
The Governor of Madras, who realised the necessity of employing army men for the command of the police force, for the most part, concurred with Arbuthnot in regard to the increase of salaries with a view to retaining the services of the army officers who shouldered such arduous and onerous duties as Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent of Police. The Governor General also consented to reconsider the decision in regard to the introduction of a scale of staff salaries in lieu of consolidated salaries for army officers in the police service proposed by the Government of Madras. A suggestion was made to employ the retired army officers on half pay to meet the requirements of the police. But their advanced age was considered to make them disqualified to discharge police functions effectively. Instead, the well educated young men drawn from middle classes in England were considered to be the best recruiting materials as was done in Royal Irish Constabulary.

The means of nomination and a sufficiently strict entrance examination, helped to select men of robust constitution and of good birth. The competition system,

40. Minute by the Governor, MJP, 13 February 1863, 221-G.
42. Memorandum by C3, MJP, 28 July 1870, 97, 11.
43. Ibid., 12.
it was thought, would make the selection of men of good physique and of good birth and its concomitant advantages.\textsuperscript{44} The training of well educated Englishmen with good constitution in India for police duties would act as a check upon the supply of police cadets from England and keep the police independent of the vicissitudes of the Indian army.\textsuperscript{45}

The minimum age for entering into superior grades in the police department by all Covenanted Europeans was to be 18 years.\textsuperscript{46} This order facilitated the European gentlemen to enter as Inspectors in the police service at an early age with the hope of rising to superior grades in the department. The Magistrate of Cuddapah deprecated the system of employing Europeans and East Indians as Inspectors as unworthy, as they were poor in detective ability. Out of a limited number of Inspectors in the Presidency who had distinguished themselves by their marked ability, there were several Europeans and East Indians. It was unreasonable to exclude a particular section of the people from seeking employment into the police service. The view of the Magistrate of Cuddapah seemed to be erroneous.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., 23.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., 38.
\textsuperscript{46} GI Home(Police), 19 March 1877, 87, MJP, 4 April 1877, 29.
\textsuperscript{47} IG to ACS, 9 April 1874, MJP, 27 June 1874, 183, 2.
To the Inspectors' grade, young men of fair education and respectable connection were selected for trial but too often they turned out failures. The repeated experiments met with the same results, viz., wastage of time and labour in training them. The necessity compelled them to promote head constables who often were mediocre in ability, defective in social standing and below the standard in education. The system of promoting head constables to the cadre of Inspector, it was apprehended, might result in the deterioration of the whole cadre itself. However, the practice of selecting head constables to fill the vacant posts of Inspectors was a better one than that of recruiting fresh men who lacked the knowledge of police work.

The toning up of the head constables' cadre by recruiting young men of good family and education was practically impossible. They detested the very name of head constable, their dress and status. And to be amongst them for drill or inspection was unbearable. Hence, the Inspector General proposed the introduction of an office of Sub-Inspectors on a pay of Rs. 30; they were to be on par with the first class Revenue Inspectors. They were expected to work under the immediate eye of the Inspector by being in charge of a Qasbah (Town) station with a head

48. IG to G3, 13 March 1875, 1336, MJP, 2 April 1875, 21, 6.
constable under them. Their uniform was similar to that worn by Inspectors. They would have to pass a rigorous test before their promotion to Inspectors' post. This proposal aimed at recruiting young men of high class and good education was approved. However, the experienced head constables with proven ability were to be promoted to this grade.

The Inspector General all along insisted that men of good family were to be recruited to the police service; but merit does not always rest with good family. In a caste ridden society of Nineteenth Century, officers of good family carried weight. Furthermore, this was aimed at gaining the loyalty and support of the influential families for the perpetuation of their imperial interests.

The standard of recruitment was to be the same as followed in the Indian army. Proper attention was paid to select men of intelligence, an essential qualification even for any constable who discharged more manifold duties than soldier. The recruitment to the post of constable was made under the personal direction of the Superindents of Police with a view to preventing malpractices.

49. Govt. Order, 2 April 1875, 760, NJP, 2 April 1875, 22.
50. CM, 17 December 1870, 79, 7, OMP, 231.
51. CM, 5 July 1869, 2.
would, however, be necessary to avoid recruitment of people of doubtful character, for their presence might degrade the whole force. Reservations were made to certain hill races like Digalu in Ganjam and Chensuvars in Kurnool in the matter of recruitment to the constable's post. The standard prescribed in matter of recruitment of constables seemed to be high; difficulties were experienced in getting recruits in certain districts of the Presidency. The rigid discipline and close supervision of the Department as well as of the Magistrates to punish the erring men with severity made it difficult to get right men for the posts of constables. The problem was more acute in the initial years of the new police; the Moplahs who showed reluctance in the early years had come forward for enlistment in the District of Malabar.

The recruits to the force were sent to the schools which were first set up in 1862 maintained under an able and efficient Inspector, at the headquarter of each district, for training which would mould and shape them into fine specimens of initiative, drive and courage. The degree of drill sought to be imparted to a constable of the Presidency was higher than that of the Metropolitan Police.

52. OI, 2 November 1867, 632.
53. PAR, 1880-81, 6; IPOR, 1902-3, 54.
54. AAR, 1860-61, 47.
55. PAR, 1880-81, 6.
of London; but the professional attainments of men of the Presidency were much less. The training period included regular drill and emphasised the importance of sound discipline. No hard and fast rules about training had been laid down by the Police Commission of 1860; it 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 and 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' - very sonorous but delightfully vague words. The period of training was more important; the promotions were decided only on the basis of their achievements during this period of training. After completing the course, the recruits were posted to their charges where they had to learn in a hard school of trial and error.

On the whole, the object of training the recruits is best outlined in the words of Colonel H.D. Taylor, the first Inspector General of Police in the Central Provinces and Berar, who wrote in 1863: '...that they [the recruits]

56. The Indian Police Journal, 1961, 166.
57. The History of the Madras Police, 478.
58. Ibid., 478.
should be thoroughly instructed in rudiments of drill and taught to make use of the arms with which they are entrusted. At the same time they should be taught that they are not soldiers but simple policemen and all military terms are carefully excluded from our nomenclature of grades and ranks. 59 A suggestion was made to train young officers upon a system akin to the Irish Constabulary to suit the Indian conditions. To equip them for command and to promote a certain esprit de corps, they were placed during training under the direct supervision of the Commissioner of Police aided by an Adjutant who happened to be a military officer at the Presidency. 60

The system of examinations prepared the police officers to acquire professional education and resulted eventually in raising the efficiency of the entire force. 61 Promotions to higher grades were based on tests. 62 The army men employed in the police service had to pass the language test prescribed by the Government in 1861. 63

The probationary period and practical training in a district were as important as study in a police school.

60. Memorandum by CS, MJP, 28 July 1870, 97, 27.
61. The police test was introduced at the request of IG in 1863- Sy to Commissioner for the Uncovenanted Civil Service Examinations to CS, 16 April 1866, 150, MJP, 2 May 1866, 6, 2.
62. Govt. Order, 2 May 1866, 660, MJP, 2 May 1866, 7.
63. Govt. Order, 14 August 1869, 1342, MJP, 14 August 1869, 106.
The Station House Officer who was generally a head constable or a constable who passed the Station House Officers' examination, became mentor to the recruits who more often found nothing to emulate them and fell easy victims to temptations of all kinds. Those who had undergone the training successfully or to the satisfaction of the authorities were made permanent. The unworthy probationers were removed during the probation period.

It seemed there was no sort of training given to Inspectors and Assistant Superintendents. The former were sent to District headquarters for a period of three months to study the nature of work and the use of revolver; then sent out to a division to work as a Writer to an Inspector for a period of two months. The success of the probationer largely depended upon the capability of the Inspector under whom the probationer worked in the first instance. The chances of knowing fully the nature of his work were scarce; the dearth of personnel to man police stations and circles often compelled the probationers to break off their training in the middle. Instruction had been issued for the training of the gazetted officers but it did not give them an insight into investigation of cases at all.

64. The History of the Madras Police, 473.


66. Ibid., 170.
However, the new police had inherent shortcomings, namely, defective education and inadequate training. The military acquirements and efficiency of the new police were of little practical utility for their defective functions. This view was confirmed by Edmund Cox who wrote: 'I was totally ignorant at first of the organisation of the police force of a District and so far as my own appointment was concerned, I should have been as ignorant at the end of the year as at the beginning.' The failure to maintain a reserve often resulted in calling on recruits to perform police duty before their training had been completed. The evil was magnified further by the defective character of the staff employed in the District Schools. Quite often effective superintendence over the recruits who had undergone training could not be effected owing to the prolonged absence of the Superintendent of Police from this district.

67. 'Each police constable is supplied with a Manual containing the working sections of the Criminal Procedure Code and the Police Law and a Manual of the Law of Evidence in criminal cases. But these works can be of little use to 12529 men or more who can neither read nor write.' - W. Robinson in 1863.

68. MJP, 18 February 1868, 221-D, 17.

69. Edmund Cox, My Thirty Years in India, 81.

70. IPCR, 1902-3, 55.
The defective nature of training was pointed out by the Police Commission of 1902 and it recommended that the course of training needed a revision in such a way as to enable the police to be more conversant with the habits and customs of the criminal classes. The periodical inspection by higher police authorities, the Magistrates and officers from the Education Department might have improved the tone and efficiency of their training. The instruction should have been imparted in drill, in elementary law and procedure, in discipline and the manner in which constables had to conduct themselves towards the public.

The popularity of any service largely depended upon its pay structure and prospects of promotion. The pay of the constables was subjected to much criticism from the very beginning of the organisation of the new police. The three grades of constables in 1859 had been paid at the rates of five rupees and four annas, six and seven rupees respectively which scarcely gave subsistence at the prices which prevailed. However, the subsequent rise to six rupees in 1863 followed by increments and other concessions to the lowest grade of constables in no way compensated them for the hard work and exposed them to temptation resulting in numerous dismissals and resignations. Further it was at par with the wages of

71. Ibid., 59.
72. IG Report, 1862, AAR, 1863-4, 11.
ordinary unskilled labourers. The inadequate pay was largely responsible for the presence of inferior and undesirable men in the lower rungs of the police force.

The Inspector General’s proposed increase in the pay of the lower grades of constabulary was imperative owing to constant hike in the prices of all necessities of life; no wonder the existing situation badly affected recruitment. Even the Government of Madras was unanimous in accepting the proposed measure and recommended an increase in wages generally so as to bring constables on par with the lowest paid agency in all branches of public service; it added that moderate relief ought to be given by means of the payment of a bhatta at the rate of two rupees to the higher and one rupee to the lower grade constables. The evil of an underpaid agency in the police department was more serious and potentially more mischievous than in any other department.

The pay of the Inspectors, like that of other personnel of the force, was inadequate; it was actually insufficient to keep them above temptation. The limited number of the

73. Edmund Cox, My Thirty Years in India, 82.

74. Stevenson’s report submitted to the Police Commission, 26 August 1902.

75. C3 to Gy to GI(Home), 24 November 1864, 1691, MJP, 24 November 1864, 228, 2.

76. Ibid., 4.
posts made them do a lot of investigative work which more often tempted them to corruption. Furthermore, the system of promotion essentially based on seniority often tended to promote undeserving men who often lacked in qualifications, character and influence.

The pay of the higher officers was no way in better state. The anxiety of constant difficulty and the fatigue of constant travel rendered the Deputy Inspector General's post a difficult berth especially when compared with any other posts which were far better remunerated. The pay of Deputy Inspector General of Police controlling the police of a number of districts was much lower than a Collector of a district. Of course the Collector had a chain of promotions open to him which could take him to the membership of the Residency, supreme or even some Government; whereas the poor Deputy Inspector General could advance, and that too in rare cases, by only one step. Most of the occupants of this office were Lieutenant Colonels or Majors who received less salary than they had received in the army or a mere trifle in excess with no hopes of promotion. Their salary was very low for the position they occupied and the amount of power they exercised compared with their counterparts in other

\[11\] J 31, 1902-3, 51 and 52.
provinces where the districts were much smaller. 78 Consequently, the Inspector General of Police recommended an increase of their salary from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 1200. Likewise, the Superintendents of Police, mostly Majors, were paid less salary for their exertions. 79 Their salaries were less than their pay in the army. So, it was proposed to enhance the salary of some Superintendents from Rs. 800 to Rs. 1000. Such Superintendents were usually to be posted in districts where they had to shoulder heavy responsibilities and had to encounter the difficulties of climate. It was also proposed to enhance the Personal Assistants' pay from Rs. 900 to Rs. 1000.

The Inspector General's recommendation for the increase of the pay of his higher officers was accepted with the condition that the additional amount of Rs. 1200 could be met out of the annual savings in the Budget allotment for the police which was fixed at Rs. 34,52,000. 80 The

78. One half of the districts in Bengal were smaller than the districts of Madras Presidency where 13 districts were having an area of 6000 square miles or more. The largest district in the North-Western Provinces had an area of 5200 square miles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Number of DIGs</th>
<th>Pay</th>
<th>Number of JPs on the scale of Rs. 1000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rs. 1500</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.W.P</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rs. 1200-1500</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punjab</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rs. 1200-1500</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

79. Ibid.

80. The History of the Madras Police, 287.
conditional acceptance of the Government clearly showed
the unwillingness to sanction additional money for the
betterment of the officials who shouldered heavy
responsibilities. This attitude gave rise to the
impression that the Government was bent upon collecting
revenue but not on strengthening the law enforcing agencies.

The relentless pressure from the Court of Directors and
later from Secretary of State for India for economy on
the Government of India coupled with the financial strain
caused by the outbreak of the Revolt of 1857 and its
suppression led to the appointment of a Commission in
1860 to carry out detailed enquiries and recommend limits
of police expenses in various provinces. 31 It is difficult
to understand the criteria applied by the Commission to
various provinces. Colonel Bruce, the first Inspector
General of Police for India was appointed to see that
the police was reduced to the stipulated limit in all
provinces. At his instance, the Budget of 1862-3 for
the Presidency was prepared with exceeding difficulty. 32
On the whole, the attempt was 'to adjust expenditure
to income rather than income to expenditure.' It was

31. Ibid., 237.
32. IG to GS, 26 January 1864, 211, GI Home(Police),
15 April 1864, 13 to 15.
like putting the horse before the cart.\textsuperscript{33}

The reduction of 1\textsuperscript{8}63 cut the police force down to a minimum, by effecting retrenchment to the tune of nearly ten percent of the entire force. So it was added the loss of nearly sixty percent of the stipendiary village police. A lot of opposition to the reduction arose from nearly all the Magistrates and police officers. 'There is not one under the Presidency who would willingly assent to further reduction.'\textsuperscript{34}

The Government of India expressed its desire to put an end to the intermediate agency, namely, the office of the Deputy Inspector General of Police to effect economy in the police establishment. The new police originally did not have this cadre. It was soon realised that the immense extent of territory and vast force needed much more detailed and efficient supervision. The appointment of Deputy Inspectors General was quite essential for aiding the Inspector General who found it very difficult to manage single handed such a vast territory with an abundant population. Further, in order to prevent the

\textsuperscript{33} Algin to Charles Wood, 9 August 1862, Algin Collections, J.B. Trivedi, \textit{op.cit.}, 151.

\textsuperscript{34} IG to C3, 4 October 1864, 2075, MJP, 24 November 1864, 225, 4 and 5.
hard worked industrious officers from becoming victims of inertia by a lack of avenues of promotion, the office of the Deputy Inspector General was a necessity. As a result, the Government of Madras, with the full concurrence of the Government of India, had sanctioned the appointment of four Deputy Inspectors General, one to head each range, on 13 February 1861. The Presidency was divided for police purposes into four ranges, each consisting of five districts under a Deputy Inspector General aided by ten to twelve European officers and a large force. It had proved effective and beneficial by experience. In England, there were three police chiefs for an area of 50,000 square miles, corresponding to the area of the Northern range of the Madras Presidency. No wonder the Madras Governor opposed the abolition of the post.

85. IG to CS, 4 April 1865, JJP, 16 June 1865, 117, 26.

86. The police ranges of the Presidency is given in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranges</th>
<th>Number of Districts</th>
<th>Area in square mile</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Range</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50,929</td>
<td>64,13,934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Range</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>38,769</td>
<td>53,40,493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Range</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25,532</td>
<td>72,46,668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Range</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26,493</td>
<td>52,06,264</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

87. CS to Jy to GI Home, 15 June 1865, 857, JJP, 16 June 1865, 113, 3.
Likewise, the Inspector General proposed to abolish the grade of Second Class Assistant Superintendents in the name of economy at the insistence of the Government of India. But the grade was considered desirable at a period when the police could still command the services of young officers of the army, exercised already in habits of submission to authority, whose character was known and whose position afforded a substantial guarantee of honour and conduct. Further, such a grade was needed as a trial and training ground for young men selected from the ordinary avocations of civil life without any previous system of special police education and examination. Hence, this grade was not to be abolished until a suitable alternative was found. 88

On his arrival in India, Lord Mayo thought that the finances of the Government were in a deplorable condition; it had run into a deficit of 2.4 million in 1868-69. He resolved to reduce the expenditure on the police in all provinces. 89 The Acts X of 1865 and IX of 1867 had directed the Presidency Government to reduce the police expenditure to the extent of Rs. 3,97,495. 90 As a result

88. Minute by Napier, 21 July 1869, 125, 6, Minute by Napier, 297.

89. Mayo to Argyll, 9 September, 23 September and 29 October, Argyll Papers, 312, D.B.Trivedi, cit., 151.

90. IG to IG, 20 December 1867, MJP, 18 February 1868, 221-2, 22 and 5.
of this, reduction was effected in the strength of the lower rungs of the police force to the extent of 337 men, and the amount saved by this measure was to be utilised for the increase of the pay of the force in order to attain efficiency. Subsequently, the number of Deputy Inspectors General was reduced from four to three along with reduction of ranges from four to three by merging the Western range with the Southern with some other modifications in March 1871.

To carry out the orders of the Supreme Government with a view to effecting economy, the Inspector General proposed the abolition of the extra allowance given to the District Superintendents of Police. Napier opposed this measure on the ground that this extra allowance had been given to them with a view to securing the services of army officers of the rank of Major whose authority and experience were of immense value to the police. Further, he felt that this moderate inducement imparted, in fact, a stability to the service which nothing else could supply, and

92. The new ranges are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Area in square mile</th>
<th>Number of districts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Range</td>
<td>42,575</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Range</td>
<td>51,375</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Range</td>
<td>47,235</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IG to 30, 31 March 1871, 2974, IJP, 5 April 1871, 10.
retained in active and useful exertion a class of public servants. It was also a just reward for years spent in arduous, repugnant and often dangerous duties. 33 Similarly, Napier voiced his protest against the abolition of bhutta to subordinate ranks which might create the deepest apprehension and discontent. This would compel the policemen to compensate the loss by exaction from the public. The failure on the part of the Government to keep pace with the rise in prices must result in the decline of their standard of morality. 34 Hence, Napier, the Governor of Madras, did not want any interference from the Supreme Government in the existing pay structure. He further pointed out that the expenditure of the Presidency in terms of the per capita cost of policemen was below the average for the police forces employed in other presidencies. Table 4.2 exhibits the low cost of the police in Madras Presidency. The average police charges for all other parts of India were 12.9 percent of the land revenue and 7 percent of the general revenue. The police expenditure in the Madras Presidency was only 3.9 percent of land revenue or 5.5 percent of the general revenue. These proportions would work out to about 39

33. Minute by Napier, 21 July 1359, 125, 5, Minute by Napier, 295.
34. Ibid., 6 and 8.
percent and 73.5 percent respectively of the proportions obtainable in other parts of India. Further, the Madras police was maintained efficiently to meet the local requirements on the most economical footing among the local Governments in India. Any increase in the police expenditure might be more than met by reduction in military expenditure, and this measure seemed to be a great success from a financial point of view.  

Accordingly, the Governor of Madras felt confident that the Supreme Government might not insist on any reduction of police expenditure of the Presidency; on the contrary, he hoped for a gradual increase in the strength and cost of the police which, as J. Robinson justly observed, "must accompany increasing population, advancing prices and improved administration." In reality, the Madras police cost less than the budget limit of 39 lacs set by the Government of India. Even before this, some acts of the Government of India directed Madras Government to reduce expenditure. In spite of that, the administration of the police in the presidency had not been below the


96. Go to Go to GI Home, 13 February 1868, 259, MJP, 13 February 1868, 221-J, 2.

97. IG to GS, 20 December 1867, MJP, 13 February 1868, 221-E, 22.
Table 4.2

Comparative statement of police expenditure in various provinces, 1867-68

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provinces</th>
<th>Police Expenditure</th>
<th>General Revenue Budget</th>
<th>Land Revenue Budget</th>
<th>Proportion to General Revenue</th>
<th>Proportion to Land Revenue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces</td>
<td>14,23,930</td>
<td>1,09,63,500</td>
<td>61,35,000</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oudh</td>
<td>11,73,530</td>
<td>1,39,92,000</td>
<td>1,13,08,100</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BURMA</td>
<td>13,12,050</td>
<td>1,17,03,500</td>
<td>57,74,500</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>31,43,850</td>
<td>3,34,72,600</td>
<td>1,91,52,000</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>55,38,930</td>
<td>9,80,12,500</td>
<td>3,33,13,300</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.I.</td>
<td>33,33,310</td>
<td>5,50,09,500</td>
<td>4,30,03,000</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>37,55,900</td>
<td>6,47,45,500</td>
<td>3,56,33,000</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Average</td>
<td>2,92,95,550</td>
<td>28,48,28,900</td>
<td>15,72,53,300</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>33,70,770</td>
<td>6,93,44,600</td>
<td>4,30,55,000</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average of other parts of India in respect of efficiency.
The Governor while expressing his dissent to the proposal of reduction from 39 lacs to 31 lacs of rupees, said that he could not hope of attaining the object in view without serious detriment to the interests of the country.
However, he expressed the view that 'We could do it best by reduction. We could do it by co-operation. We could do it best by a union of both.'

98. The data have been collected from IG to 33, 20 December 1867, AJP, 18 February 1868, 221-24, 46.
99. Minute by Napier, 10 January 1870, 13, Minute by Napier, 319.
The reduction in the existing police strength was reflected in the rising trend of crimes, and the consequent burden of offences per policeman rose from 3.99 in 1869 to 4.72 in 1870 and 5.22 in 1871 as is evident from table 4.5. 100

The proportion of offences to one policeman correspondingly decreased with the increase in strength. Further, the reduction told upon the efficiency of the police. The proportion of investigations to all the reported cases in 1869 was 34.5 percent; it decreased to 33.6 percent in 1870 and 32.4 in 1871. The annual growth rate of crimes rose from 6.3 percent in 1870 to 12.4 in 1871; the increase in strength brought down the annual growth rate to 6.5 percent in the succeeding year.

Table 4.5 101

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Density of Population</th>
<th>1 Policeman to number of inhabitants</th>
<th>1 Policeman to area in square mile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oudh</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWP</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>1191</td>
<td>2.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>1501</td>
<td>9.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjab</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>5.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>984</td>
<td>5.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>952</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>905</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100. See table 4.5.

101. The data for the table are extracted from K. to C.J., Appendix A, Indian Police Progs, January 1870, 4, D.B. Trivedi, op. cit., 164.
The proportion of the strength of the new police to the population was one policeman to 934 inhabitants of the presidency which seemed to be a reasonable one when compared with the ratio obtainable in other provinces. Table 4.3 shows that the proportion of one policeman to area in square mile was 5.75, higher than that obtainable in the North Western Provinces, England and Wales, the Punjab and Oudh, but it was comparatively lower than that found in Bengal and the Central Provinces. The former group of provinces had a much higher density of population which needed a greater proportion of policemen to area, whereas the density of population in Madras presidency was lower than that of other provinces except for the Central provinces.

Yet these figures do not represent the true state of the force. It had to perform many duties of protective nature. Such duties included the guarding of prisons, treasury and other public buildings and property, and escorting of prisoners, treasurers and officers. They were employed in guarding the salt depots and were engaged in the prevention of land customs. This significantly reduced the number of policemen performing the general duties of preservation of peace and maintenance of law and order.

102. WR, 1862-63, 31.
Table 4.4 shows that the proportion of one policeman on general duty to population ranged from 1440 in 1863 to 1726 in 1870. The low proportion no doubt prevented the attaining of the efficiency that was expected of the new police. It became difficult for the policemen to

The data for the table are extracted from AARs, 1863-50. The population figures found in the Census Report of 1871 have been used for calculation of proportions.
discharge his duties effectively in his area. The reduction affected in the strength of the police in 1870 led to the reduced efficiency of the force as was immediately reflected in crime returns.

Table 4.5
Comparative statement of the strength of police and total cognizable crimes, 1864–30

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Policemen on General duty</th>
<th>Total cognizable crimes</th>
<th>Number of crimes per policeman</th>
<th>Number of cases investigated per policeman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>20,237</td>
<td>85,809</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>23,311</td>
<td>74,420</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>1.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>21,330</td>
<td>73,414</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>24,339</td>
<td>75,311</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>1.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>21,456</td>
<td>78,738</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>20,043</td>
<td>80,134</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>16,142</td>
<td>85,534</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>18,413</td>
<td>36,198</td>
<td>5.22</td>
<td>1.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>22,034</td>
<td>1,02,455</td>
<td>4.54</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>22,004</td>
<td>1,02,365</td>
<td>4.61</td>
<td>1.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>22,223</td>
<td>1,01,133</td>
<td>4.56</td>
<td>1.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>23,191</td>
<td>1,04,552</td>
<td>4.51</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>25,500</td>
<td>1,14,897</td>
<td>4.51</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>23,472</td>
<td>1,55,421</td>
<td>5.46</td>
<td>3.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>24,573</td>
<td>1,28,133</td>
<td>5.21</td>
<td>3.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>24,920</td>
<td>1,00,761</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>25,518</td>
<td>95,580</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data for the table are collected from this, 1864–30.
Table 4.5 shows that the number of cases investigated by the police on general duty was correspondingly increasing in the years following 1870 in view of the increase in crime. The famine year, 1877, was that of the greatest burden for the police; the number of crimes rose to 5.46 per policeman while the cases investigated per policeman were 3.75. Having realised the excessive burden on the policemen during the famine period, the Government sanctioned special allowances. The allowance of two rupees admissible to all lower ranks drawing twenty rupees and under was increased to three rupees by the Government in July 1877. With a view to maintaining the force in thorough efficiency even during the period of distress including Malabar, South Arcot, Thanjavur, Tiruchirappalli and Tirunelveli.

Table 3.107
Statement showing the performance of the police on general duty in a period of six years, 1865-70

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Offences Committed</th>
<th>Number of Persons Arrested</th>
<th>Persons Convicted</th>
<th>Percentage of Convictions to the Arrests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>74,420</td>
<td>1,21,971</td>
<td>45,031</td>
<td>35.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>74,414</td>
<td>1,35,737</td>
<td>56,351</td>
<td>42.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>75,311</td>
<td>1,23,269</td>
<td>51,047</td>
<td>32.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>70,798</td>
<td>1,41,155</td>
<td>54,343</td>
<td>34.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>80,134</td>
<td>1,52,520</td>
<td>52,437</td>
<td>34.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>35,584</td>
<td>1,67,542</td>
<td>53,651</td>
<td>32.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

105. IG to 33, J November 1877, 5824, JIP, 29 November 1877, 231.
107. The data for the table are extracted from IARs, 1865-70.
Table 4.6 shows that the average proportion of convictions to the arrests by the police was 36.72. Such a low proportion does not reflect very creditably on their efficiency. But it is fair to indicate that the police had to face many difficulties in the performance of their duties. They faced considerable difficulties in the discharge of their duties in isolated and unhealthy tracts such as Maliah Hills of Ganjam, the Sowra Hill country, the Gudum Hills in Vishakapatnam, the Ampha Hill country of Godavary District, the Jaypore District, the Hill taluks, Kolegal and Sittyanagudem of Coimbatore District and Synad in Malabar. Likewise, the districts of Nilgiris and Salem, where many lines of roads passed through the mountain defiles and wild areas which afforded shelter and concealment to criminals, presented problems to the police in the effective performance of their duties.

Further, the general apathy of the people in certain areas in helping the police in due performance of their duties was also a hindrance. Especially the people in the Ganjam agency dreaded the peculiar character of the sowrahe who were known to seek 'blood for blood.'

The labour of the police officers in detecting robbers was frequently dissipated by the unsatisfactory nature of evidence when they came before the courts. The courts require an adherence to forms of procedure, and are

108. AR, 1857-58, 83.
110. ARON, 1853, 41.
guided by the rules of evidence which more often protect the criminals than satisfy the ends of justice', wrote W. Elliot. 111 Above all, the police establishment was run with strictest economy compared to the police of other provinces. 112 It often hamstrung their efforts in combating crime. In spite of these difficulties, the new police maintained its efficiency, more than expected of it, and created confidence in the minds of the people by the successful performance in the suppression of an armed outburst of Khond tribes in the Ganjam district without the assistance of the military. 113 The efficiency was much higher than that of the old police as is evident in the table 4.7.

Table 4.7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Summoned apprehended</th>
<th>Acquitted</th>
<th>Convicted</th>
<th>Percentage of acquittals</th>
<th>Convictions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>2,07,032</td>
<td>79,413</td>
<td>47,474</td>
<td>38.27</td>
<td>22.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>2,12,318</td>
<td>33,834</td>
<td>51,448</td>
<td>33.51</td>
<td>24.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>2,35,274</td>
<td>1,06,944</td>
<td>52,134</td>
<td>45.45</td>
<td>22.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>2,21,963</td>
<td>99,558</td>
<td>49,252</td>
<td>43.29</td>
<td>21.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

111. Minute by W. Elliot, 1856, 2 P.M., 44.
112. 13 to 33, 20 December 1857, MJP, 18 February 1863, 221-5.
113. 33 to 34 to 31, 5 March 1864, 31, GI Home(Police) Progs, 15 April 1864, 13.
114. The data for the table are extracted from MJP, 30 July 1863, 211.
The efficiency of the new police had suffered to some extent in the early years of its formation. Circumstances had forced the Inspector General to absorb most of the members of the Old Police when the new force was raised; they were noted for excessive venality and inefficiency. The pay of the constable was in no way better than an ordinary labourer's wages. The negative attitude of many magistrates towards the erring police and the readiness on the part of the higher police officers to find fault with them made the service unpopular. The right stamp of men did not turn up; indifferent and unwanted men had to be recruited.\textsuperscript{115} All this led to frequent resignations accompanied by weeding out of the lazy and indifferent men from the force by means of dismissals as is evident in Table 4.1.

\textbf{Table 4.1}\textsuperscript{116}

\textit{Statement showing the number of resignations and dismissals in a period of eight years, 1863-70}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Police on general duty</th>
<th>Resignations</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Dismissals</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>21,531</td>
<td>2,018</td>
<td>9.55</td>
<td>2,307</td>
<td>10.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>20,237</td>
<td>1,744</td>
<td>8.62</td>
<td>2,150</td>
<td>10.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>20,311</td>
<td>1,431</td>
<td>7.05</td>
<td>1,902</td>
<td>9.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>21,330</td>
<td>1,395</td>
<td>6.54</td>
<td>1,455</td>
<td>6.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>21,333</td>
<td>1,505</td>
<td>7.52</td>
<td>1,332</td>
<td>6.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>21,155</td>
<td>1,467</td>
<td>6.93</td>
<td>1,625</td>
<td>7.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>20,093</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>18,125</td>
<td>1,035</td>
<td>5.12</td>
<td>1,543</td>
<td>3.51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{115} P.A.R, 1860-81, 5.

\textsuperscript{116} The data for the table are collected from AARs, 1863-70.
The percentage of resignations and dismissals in 1863 and 1864 was higher than in other years; however, dismissals were more in number compared with resignations during the years following 1865. Numerous resignations and dismissals had taken place in the Northern and Central ranges. The dismissals were more in the Northern range than the Central range; the resignations were more in the Central range than the Northern range as may be seen in table 4.117

Table 4.117

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dismissals</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Resignations</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NR</td>
<td>CR</td>
<td>NR</td>
<td>CR</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>NR</td>
<td>CR</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td></td>
<td>531</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>2.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>3.96</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td></td>
<td>358</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>1.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td></td>
<td>381</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td></td>
<td>372</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>1.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td></td>
<td>357</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>1.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td></td>
<td>253</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>1.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td></td>
<td>199</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prevention and detection of crime were too closely blended for any categorisation to be made in the police personnel on whom the duty of tickling crime in both respects devolved. In fact the preventive detects and 117. The data for the table are collected from H.A.R.s., 1333-70.
However, the former was considered the prime responsibility of a good police force. It occupied the highest place in the performance of a policeman's duties as his vigil would keep his charge free from crime. The surveillance exercised upon the suspicious characters was not a new practice; it was found in vogue in the Presidency whereby all the suspects and known depredators were compelled to sleep at the village choultry (Kaval chavadi) under the eye of a village watchman. In compliance with the Court's directive, instructions were issued in 1857 to keep strict surveillance over all foreign military personnel and adventurers and prevent them from holding any appointment or moving in the country. In a similar fashion, a circular from the Government required the Magistrates in 1858 to issue orders to the police authorities to apprehend and detain in custody all suspicious characters roaming about the taluq bordering Mysore territories.

Section 565 of the Criminal Procedure Code insisted that all dangerous criminals were to be subjected to surveillance

118. Member of BR to GS, 8 September 1869, MJP, 21 January 1874, 85.
120. IPCR, 1902-3, 130.
121. CD Secret Desp, 25 August 1857, MJC, 6 October 1857, 51, 2.
122. ASI to Magistrates of North Arcot, Cuddapah, Bellary, Kurnool, Nellore, Salem and Canara, 24 November 1858, MJC, 30 November 1858, 1.
in order to prevent them from committing crimes with impunity. To facilitate their work, precise rules for registration of known depredators and suspected persons were laid down. All convictions were to be registered and registers to be maintained for the dangerous criminals who required watching by the police. A novel method which was in use only in the state of Mysore—of photographing the convicts—was introduced in 1869 to help in the identification of criminals. The photographs of criminals were distributed to all police divisions of the town and were pasted in the 'Old Offenders Registers.' This was a great help to the police in identifying the offenders whom they had not seen previously, and served as an effective check on the practice, so frequently resorted to by old offenders, of passing under an alias. This practice was extended to the life convicts sentenced to transportation in 1875. Along with the maintenance of the known depredators' register, this method proved to be of immense help in detection as well as prevention of crime and has continued to do so even in modern times. The net of surveillance was extended even to known receivers of stolen property who were mostly well-to-do and influential men and were capable of securing immunity from severe punishment, while the perpetrators of crime,


who were often poor, were victimised. Under notorious leaders, the burglars and thieves conducted their covert activities almost simultaneously at different localities at a distance from their own homes by availing the facilities afforded by railways. Thus, the act of surveillance was the only possible way to put such notorious gang leaders under restraint. The police should keep a watch over the covert activities of bandymen, the robber class and the so-called criminal tribes under the direct supervision of the Superintendent of Police. All details pertaining to criminals to be watched were read out by the Station House Officer to the constables paraded for daily beat duty. Thereby, all constables would have a graphic knowledge of criminal characters of each district by a system of rotation not lasting more than a week. Such knowledge of criminals helped the police not a little in their detection of crimes as can be seen from table 4.10.

125. 'The Puducottai territory is over run 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 Rolland-Par, 1830-31, Appendix C, xxvi.

126. V.T. Titus, op.cit., 119.

127. GD, 14 June 1861, 172.


129. GD, 23 May 1868, 180.
Table 4.10

Statement showing the number of persons under surveillance in a period of sixteen years, 1865-80

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Known depredators</th>
<th>Suspected persons</th>
<th>Receivers of stolen property</th>
<th>Wandering gangs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>11,220</td>
<td>16,550</td>
<td>1,817</td>
<td>7,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>12,342</td>
<td>16,802</td>
<td>1,739</td>
<td>9,718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>12,531</td>
<td>16,796</td>
<td>1,883</td>
<td>11,501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>11,614</td>
<td>14,970</td>
<td>2,096</td>
<td>24,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>13,039</td>
<td>14,445</td>
<td>1,936</td>
<td>23,211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>20,276</td>
<td>13,384</td>
<td>2,101</td>
<td>60,451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>47,762</td>
<td>12,337</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>21,245</td>
<td>8,074</td>
<td>1,232</td>
<td>33,323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>16,423</td>
<td>7,758</td>
<td>1,039</td>
<td>27,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>16,107</td>
<td>7,437</td>
<td>1,065</td>
<td>31,509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>17,560</td>
<td>8,635</td>
<td>1,109</td>
<td>26,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>13,147</td>
<td>6,791</td>
<td>937</td>
<td>20,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>19,030</td>
<td>5,353</td>
<td>954</td>
<td>19,267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>13,535</td>
<td>5,372</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>25,134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of known depredators and wandering tribes under surveillance was on the increase from 1870; the sudden spurt in the number was mainly due to the framing of precise rules in connection with the maintenance of known depredators' registers. However, the police equipped with the

130. The data for the table are extracted from AARs, 1865-80.
131. AAR, 1870-71, 81.
knowledge of criminals exercised due vigil, which resulted in the decrease of the number of suspected persons and receivers of stolen property. Besides, the act of surveillance had a bad effect producing a good amount of harassment to which people were subjected by the frequent trips of police to villages. This also made the task of ex-convicts to settle in life much more difficult. This must have given a patent tool to police for oppression and extortion.

The detective duty was equally important as protective and preventive duty. Especially, the preamble of the Madras Police Act of 1859 explicitly outlines the duties of the police both for prevention and detection of crime. Unlike other duties, the detective duty requires certain special qualifications such as peculiar aptitude, unwearied perseverance and strict integrity. Well-selected men would be quick-witted enough and careful instruction would perfect their technique and methods. Under the supervision and guidance of good superior officers, a large proportion of such trained men would be very helpful in the detection of crime. The average


133. C.I., 1 June 1861, 163, OMP, 221.
policemen would be good enough for the ordinary crime of the locality in which they had been serving. But entrusting such delicate duties to ordinary or probationary constables would result in lamentable failures and exposures. W. Robinson opposed the employment of ordinary constables for detective work. Detective duty, as a general rule, was to be entrusted to the higher grades of service above the rank of head constables. However, the higher officers would not be justified in delegating the detection of an important case to their subordinates, while they themselves scarcely gave it another anxious thought; the closest and most constant supervision of the men so employed must be exercised.

Captain Weldon, Magistrate of Police, insisted on the necessity of maintaining a separate detective branch on a parallel with the detective establishment of Dublin and London. In London, the detective branch consisted of

134. Member of BR to G3, 8 September 1869, MJP, 21 January 1874, 85, 10.
135. G3, 1 June 1861, 163, MJP, 221.
136. Ibid.
137. Memorandum by Captain Weldon on the re-organisation of Dublin Town Police, 9 June 1869, MJP, 19 June 1869, 141.
twelve highly paid officers who remained at the headquarter and were not employed in ordinary detective work. They were specialists whose work was confined to cases exclusively of more complicated and heinous nature.  
The creation of a separate branch and employing a special officer to detect certain grave crimes were strictly opposed to the basic idea of having only one force performing all the police functions.

The possible benefits to be derived from a separate branch were more than counterbalanced by certain difficulties and evils connected with the measure. The difficulty of obtaining efficient men endowed with detective ingenuity and trustworthiness seemed practically impossible.  
Further, men employed in the central office could not possess knowledge of criminals more than the local police officers. A separate force of detectives would be more and more exposed to temptation.  

The creation of such a separate detective branch would incite feelings of jealousy and disgust or even carelessness and apathy on

138. Member of BR to GO, 8 September 1869, 9, MJP, 21 January 1874, 85, 11.

139. One thousand rupees was granted to Krishnasamy Naidu, a subordinate police officer, engaged in the detection of the sensational Note Forgery Case as a special remuneration— Govt. Order, 1 May 1877, 1091, MJP, 1 May 1877, 810.

140. 'The obtaining trustworthy men is difficult one in England; in India it is an impossibility'—It to CJ, 3 September 1869, 5601, MJP, 21 January 1874, 36, 17.
the part of the preventive branch; among the detectives, it would insulate the feelings of being elites.\footnote{141} However, the honesty of such a detective branch could be well secured under competent European supervision.\footnote{142} The special detective branch suggested by Captain Weldon was, as the Commissioner of Police asserted, to be a two-edged weapon whereas the existing system had no edge at all.\footnote{143} However, the Inspector General of Police agreed to Captain Weldon's proposal in one respect. The promising officers were to be selected and after a careful and meticulous training were to be redrafted.\footnote{144} It was asserted that the existing police force contained an adequate number of acute and experienced officers whose knowledge of criminal classes was quite equal to, if not better than, that of the London Police.\footnote{145}

The detection of crime or apprehension of criminals was facilitated by the system of rewards to those who helped in apprehending the criminals, a principle recognised as early as 1839.\footnote{146} The fixed rates for rewards laid down

\footnote{141}{‘Every one knows the old taluq dodge of convicting poor criminals for the sake of police credit and screening the rich ones for the benefit of the police pocket’—\textit{Ibid.}}

\footnote{142}{Commissioner of Police to CG, MJP, 21 January 1874, 87, 12.}

\footnote{143}{\textit{Ibid.}}

\footnote{144}{IG to CG, 3 September 1869, 5691, MJP, 21 January 1874, 83, 17.}

\footnote{145}{Memorandum by AOG, 5 September 1869, MJP, 21 January 1874, 88, 10.}

\footnote{146}{Faujdarree Adalat, 13, MJC, 26 February 1839, 1708-19.}
in circular order of 8 March 1839, were, however, soon found to be insufficient to induce persons to undergo the exertions and risk attendant on the pursuit and apprehension of offenders. The police were not eligible for these rewards and so they did not enthrone them to greater exertions. As the rewards were not even paid promptly and consequently, there was little enthusiasm amongst the people. This defect was rectified in 1855 when the Government revised the scales of rewards for the reapprehension of escaped convicts including the accused persons under trial and were to be paid to all persons whether employed in the police department or not, who had helped in reapprehending them. Such rewards were to be paid immediately by the Judge or Magistrate into the hands of the captor or captors in such shares as he may award and such award shall be final.

The detective ability with regard to the group of crimes against the person, especially murder, stood high in the Western and Southern ranges as compared to the other ranges. The mean percentage of conviction to detection of cases was less in the Western range as compared to other ranges. The Northern range stood highest; next

147. MJG, 17 July 1855, 9, 2561-62.
149. Govt. Res, 14 September 1855, 656.
came the Southern range. However, the mean conviction was on the higher side in the Western range as in the case of mean detection. The mean conviction was in the order of the Southern range followed by the Northern and Central ranges as may be seen in table 4.11.

Table 4.11

Statement showing the detective ability and performance of police in cases of Murder, 1865-80

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Northern range</th>
<th>Central range</th>
<th>Southern range</th>
<th>Western range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Detection</td>
<td>Conviction</td>
<td>Detection</td>
<td>Conviction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>27.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

150. The Western range has been merged with the Southern range in 1870. The data for the table are extracted from PARs, 1869-70, 73, 79 and 80, Appendix.
Table 4.12

Statement showing the performance of police in cases of dacoity, 1865-80 (except 1874 and 1875)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Northern range Detection</th>
<th>Central range Detection</th>
<th>Southern range Detection</th>
<th>Western range Detection</th>
<th>Percentage of Conviction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>27.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>54.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The detective performance of the police in cases of dacoity stood high in the Western and Southern ranges as compared to other ranges. The lowest percentage of detection occurred in the Central range. The mean percentage of conviction was higher in the Western and Southern ranges than the Northern and Central ranges.

151. The data for the table are extracted from PARs, 1869-70, 73, 79 and 80, Appendix.
The mean percentage of conviction to detection of cases was on the high side in the Central range as compared to other ranges. The Southern range had the lowest. The mean percentage of conviction to detection in the Western range was more next to the Central range as seen in table 4.12.

Table 4.12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Northern range</th>
<th>Central range</th>
<th>Southern range</th>
<th>Western range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Detection</td>
<td>Conviction</td>
<td>Detection</td>
<td>Conviction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>36.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>47.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>61.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>62.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>59.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>51.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>53.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>64.8</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>62.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>54.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>50.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

152. The data for the table have been collected from PARs, 1869-70, 73, 79 and 80, Appendix.
The detective performance of the police in cases of robbery stood high in the Western and Southern ranges like that in regard to dacoity. The Northern range showed the lowest detective performance. The mean percentage of conviction was higher in the Western and Southern ranges than the Central and Northern ranges. The mean percentage of conviction to detection of cases was higher in the Central range than in the other ranges. The Northern range came next to the Central range; the Southern and Western ranges were having low mean percentage of conviction to detection of cases as exhibited in table 4.13.

The detective performance of the police in the group of crimes against the person and the person and property was high in the Western and Southern ranges as compared to the Central and Northern ranges. The Western range was merged with the Southern range as an economy measure in March 1871. The presence of hill tracts in the Northern range and the crime-prone Ceded Districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur in the Central range made it difficult for the police to improve their detective performance. This was not the case with the Southern range. However, the detective performance of the police improved generally in the years succeeding 1870. This might be mainly due to the consolidation of the force which became well

acquainted with the nature of their job and the type of
criminals with whom they had to deal.

Table 4.14

Statement showing the detective performance of the police
in cases of burglary and house trespass, 1865-80 (except
1872, 73 and 74)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Northern range</th>
<th>Central range</th>
<th>Southern range</th>
<th>Western range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Detection</td>
<td>Conviction</td>
<td>Detection</td>
<td>Conviction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>66.9</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>44.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>50.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>56.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>59.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>66.5</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>57.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>67.2</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>64.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>76.4</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>74.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>72.1</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>69.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>61.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>63.1</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>60.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The detective performance of the police was higher in the
western range; next came the Northern range followed by
the Central and Southern ranges. The conviction rate was
much higher in the Northern range as compared to its record
in respect of offences against the person as well as against

154. The data for the table are extracted from P.A.s, 1869-70, 73, 79 and 80, Appendix.
the person and property. The Southern range usually found to head the list of detective performance, next to the Western range, showed very poor detective performance in this sphere whereas the mean percentage of conviction to detection of cases was higher than in other ranges. These tendencies can be observed in Table 4.14.

'Marked progress has been made in directing the efforts of the police into the best channels, and stimulating the beat system' by which the country is carefully patrolled by the rural constabulary. 'This system is to the efficiency of all police working what the circulation of the blood is to a living frame.' 155

The detective work mainly fell on the Station House officers who were often not properly qualified either by education, training or status for this kind of duties. Worse than this was the work done by the ordinary constables in the absence of Station House officers the nature of whose work more often demanded their presence away from their police stations. The detective performance and ability could be improved by putting general restrictions on the use of constables for investigation. The vast jurisdiction under the purview of a police station which, in reality, baffled

155. AAR, 1864-65, 77.
the police officers in the matter of investigation should have been reduced. Close attention to individual cases and constant travelling on the part of the superior officers of the police facilitated by lessening their quantum of table work, would have proved to be beneficial in raising the detective ability of the force. 156

Table 4.15

Statement showing the state of education among the police force of the Presidency, 1868-80

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of police constables</th>
<th>Percentage of literates</th>
<th>Number of enlistments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>can read and write</td>
<td>Under Instruction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>15,648</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>73.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>14,518</td>
<td>4,528</td>
<td>72.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>13,564</td>
<td>2,495</td>
<td>74.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>13,481</td>
<td>2,936</td>
<td>73.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>13,123</td>
<td>3,469</td>
<td>59.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>13,277</td>
<td>3,402</td>
<td>60.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>13,323</td>
<td>3,353</td>
<td>60.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>14,134</td>
<td>3,537</td>
<td>60.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>14,702</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>16,333</td>
<td>2,642</td>
<td>57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>15,584</td>
<td>2,901</td>
<td>63.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>15,554</td>
<td>3,674</td>
<td>62.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>15,457</td>
<td>3,358</td>
<td>60.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

156. PAR, 1879-80, Appendix C, 5.

157. The data for the table have been collected from AARs, 1868-80.
The percentage of constables who could read and write did not fall below 57.4. The percentage of literacy was between 72.2 and 74.8 during the years between 1868 and 1871. It might be due to the smaller number of enlistments as compared with subsequent years. During the rest of the years, the percentage fluctuated between 57.6 and 63.4 depending upon the number of enlistments. The average rate of literacy in the police force was about 63.7 percent. Hence, more than one third of the entire force still remained under the grip of illiteracy. The Northern range except for Vishakapatnam and the Central range were most illiterate. The Deputy Inspector General remarked that 'an Oriya constable when asked why he did not try to read replied that it made his teeth itch.' Such ignorant police were faced with the necessity of memorising all the laws and circulars pertaining to the discharge of their duties. This would be obviously impossible in the majority of cases. Further, the ignorance of police procedure and methods made them resort to illegal means of eliciting information from the supposed criminals. Having realised the values of education, 13.7 percent of the force on an average with a view to qualifying themselves, attended the school for instruction. The general efficiency might have been improved by bringing the remaining force under the spell of education.

158. AAR, 1873-74, 23.
A great shortcomings of the police administration was the lack of understanding and cooperation between the police and the people. Many police officers tried to explain this by ascribing it to the supposed apathetic nature and indifference to social obligations of the people. But such an explanation was not substantially valid. This attitude was the product of the nature of the British Government in the Presidency and other parts of India. The policemen were recruited, organised and paid by the government independently of the wishes or control of the people. They became a part of the machinery, however small it might be, that ruled the country. Hence, the police was an agency of the government which was not responsible for its action to anyone in India. The police enforced laws which were not traditionally familiar to the people, through unfamiliar and complicated procedure. Quite naturally the people were generally apprehensive that they might get trapped in some legal mesh if they would come forward to help the police. Very often they scrupulously avoided any contact with the police.

Generally the system functioned by working upon the fear of the people rather than by exciting their trust. Mutual trust and confidence with the local people was not attempted at, and was rarely desired by policemen because it would

they thought, adversely affect their image of being a part of the establishment of authority. The use of rough methods and excesses on the part of the police could not be checked. On the contrary, the officers turned a blind eye to such actions. The taluq magistrates who had been mostly raised to their post from the police took no notice of the complaints brought before them, out of their obligation to the police force; the higher authorities also, much to the misfortune of the people, neglected to pay any attention. Thus overbearing and disdainful behaviour was added to their ignorance of proper police methods arising from their illiteracy and indifferent training. Very few of them realised that courtesy and firmness were compatible attributes. Though the police orders insisted that the policemen should be required to use civil and respectful language and to observe a quiet but firm demeanour, they were more often ignored than observed. Complaints of oppression and tyranny on the part of the police were frequent in the Presidency and other parts of India. They often used rough and violent methods to investigate and suppress crime.


They quite often used more subtle but far more dreaded means besides physical violence and inquisitorial harassment.\(^{164}\) Caste rules and taboos, for instance, were effective instruments of harassment besides having the advantage of being extremely difficult to prove in case of an enquiry by superiors. It is not surprising that people were scared at the approach of the police in the name of investigation.

The investigation of cases chiefly fell on the head-constables. The number of villages in the Presidency was 59,437 and the size of villages varied from district to district. The proportion of villages to one head-constable was about 20. As they were fewer in number and had to deal with an annually increasing crime rate, it is not surprising that the policemen resorted to illegal shortcuts in investigations and in lieu of accepted police techniques, they often used rough and violent methods to hurriedly extract information from people.\(^{165}\)

The statistical returns were the greatest terror to the police officers. Their efficiency, or otherwise, was assessed on the basis of those returns. As a result, the police officers tried to keep up their statistical

\(^{164}\) *Pachima Taraka*, Report on Malayalam newspapers, July 1879, 62.

\(^{165}\) *EPCR*, 1902-3, 17.
record as best as they could by fair means or foul. 166

Many of them did not refrain from using oppressive means
to make their returns look good. 167

Sometimes, the police who were the protectors of the people
turned against them by entering into league with the
criminals. The Magistrate of Salem stated that 'there
was then unquestionably a league between the police and
the dacoits, and a conspiracy to secure what is called
detection by causing innocent men to be convicted.'

Commenting on the organised levy of contribution from
the Kalrayan Hillmen, the Magistrate lamented that' this
shows to what length of audacity, the policemen were
prepared to go.' 168 Amirtavachani, a Tamil newspaper,
expressed its suspicion about the police connivance in
the occurrence of a torch light robbery at Kambarasenpettai. 169

The working of the police was much handicapped by its
insufficient strength. The proportion of one policeman
to the population in towns ranged from 470 in 1863 to 630
in 1880; whereas the ratio in rural areas was between 1030

166. Sakalavioliabhivardhani, Report on Telegu newspaper,
October 1876, 61.

167. Ibid.

168. PAR, 1880-81, Appendix C, PXXI.

169. Amirtavachani, 26 February 1875, Report on Tamil
newspapers, February 1875, 7.
and 1752. On the whole, on an average, 1084 to 1750 people were under the charge of a policeman. Similarly, their range of jurisdiction extended from 5 to 6.6 square miles, which was too unwieldy for an efficient discharge of duty. Thus, the inadequate number of the force led to undermanned police posts. In 1879, each one had to look after, on an average, 2.39 villages. On their rounds of villages, the policemen inquired from the village Munsif about the occurrences of unusual happenings and received a memorandum to that effect. No wonder, the Sathyavartamani, the Tamil newspaper, ridiculed the system in the following words: 'Yet, what more strange than the marvellous simplicity of the system adopted by the policemen himself?'.

The administration found it very difficult to root out corruption, a problem which posed a serious threat and which was more pernicious in the police department than other branches of the public service. While a police officer took money under threats of arrests, searches and legal proceedings, the others got money for providing a


171. On the resignation of a youth from Sub-Inspectors' post in order to become a volunteer without pay in Collectorate Kachery, the Superintendent of Police of Godavary District commented as follows: 'This would seem to show that the police service is not very popular not withstanding the illicit gains which police officers are supposed to make. Probably illicit gains are not confined to any one department.'—PAR, 1879-80, 5.
benefit or facility. The opportunities for illegal exactions and gratifications were more often open to policemen due to their contacts and dealings with the mass of illiterate people who had little idea of their legal rights and who had a dread for the police, the law courts and complicated legal system.

The power of investigation opened avenues for temptation and corruption. The number of police stations with large jurisdictions made the Inspectors' task of investigation of cases and having a watchful eye over his subordinate's work difficult. The nature of their work did not allow them to take a large number of cases for investigation. Consequently, the Station House officers had to do almost the entire investigation work. Most of them were adept in holding enquiries in such a way as to turn white into black or vice versa. The evil would be infinitely worse when an ordinary constable would be in charge of the police station in the absence of the officers. The head constables often hit a rich vein in cases concerning disputes about land, irrigation or crops, and sometimes in the management of cattle pounds.

174. IFOR, 1902-3, 16.
Both parties would often desire to pay them well for maintaining neutrality; or one party would pay well for intervention on his behalf. Further, the people were scared at the approach of the police and were ready to bribe them for keeping them away from the investigation.

The inadequate supervision over policemen facilitated corruption among them. The vast jurisdiction remained unwieldy for effective supervision by the Deputy Inspectors General who were only four in number. This evil was further aggravated by reduction of their strength to three in 1871. The District Superintendents were so much overburdened by office work that they often remained tied to their desks at the district headquarters. The Inspectors who were put in charge of two or more taluqs found it difficult to keep a watchful eye on the activities of the police in the vast and sprawling areas constituting the taluqs of the Presidency. Their average strength in a period of seventeen years from 1862 to 1879 was 41 which was quite insufficient as each Inspector on an average had to supervise 883 policemen on general duty.

175. Ibid.
176. IG to GO, 31 March 1871, 207, MJP, 5 April 1871, 10 and 11.
The low pay of policemen was indeed the greatest inducement to corrupt practices. The Government of India as well as the Police Commission of 1860 recommended that the pay of a police constable should be on par with the earnings of unskilled labour in the region. Such a recommendation was not very proper as the nature of the police work demanded a touch of professional skill which would not be expected from labourers. Further, their position compelled them to maintain dignity in the eyes of the public by adopting a higher standard of living. Quite often, the unskilled labourers' earnings were augmented by their family members who also worked for wages. The policemen were often separated from their families when on transfer from their normal place of residence. Robinson expressed his dissatisfaction over the low pay of the police constables in his report of 1861-62, and voiced his fear that it would not attract the right stamp of men. The three classes of constables received seven rupees as the highest pay and five and a quarter rupees as the lowest pay, that scarcely gave subsistence at the prices which prevailed.

177. The propositions of the Police Commission, 8 September 1860, P. Harirao, The Indian Police Act (Act V of 1861), 122 and 134 H.

178. Edmund Cox wrote: 'As it is impossible to get a syce or groom for less than rupees nine a month, it is easy to comprehend the sort of stuff that presented itself for enlistment.' —Sir Edmund Cox, My Thirty Years in India, 82.

179. AR, 1863-64, 12.

The duties of the head and deputy constables, Sub-
Inspectors and Inspectors were more important. ' On
these officers, Robinson observed, ' mainly devolves the
duty of maintaining the discipline and efficiency of the
force and also the detection and prevention of ordinary
crime.' 181 The Police Commission rather pompously
declared that they should be given adquate pay to ' place
them above temptation.' 182 Unfortunately the salary's
structure of the subordinate police continued to remain
in the same condition till 1902 when another Police
Commission pointed out the glaring evil of underpay. 183

Table 4.16 184

Comparative Statement of the rates per diem wages of labour
in certain districts of Madras Presidency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Adult 1859</th>
<th>Adult 1874</th>
<th>Adult 1878</th>
<th>Woman 1859</th>
<th>Woman 1874</th>
<th>Woman 1878</th>
<th>Boy 1859</th>
<th>Boy 1874</th>
<th>Boy 1878</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tiruchirapalli</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madurai</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirunelveli</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coimbatore</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Canara</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malabar</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

181. AAR, 1863-64, 13.
182. Harinco, op. cit., 1348.
183. IPCR, 1902-3, 43 and 45.
184. The data for the table have been extracted from Appendix
OXIX, Srinivasa Raghavaiyangar, Memorandum on the Progress
of the Madras Presidency during the Last Forty Years of
British Administration.
The earnings of a family of an unskilled labourer in 1878 were far better than the pay of the constable. If we assume the family consisting of a husband and wife and a boy, the earning of the family was more than double the pay of the constable and even a little over the pay of the head constable.

The head constable's monthly pay was generally less than fifteen rupees, and the Sub-Inspector's pay was fixed at thirty rupees. The Inspector's pay varied from forty to two hundred rupees. The head constables were often in charge of Station houses and were to command one or more police parties.

Usually the policemen did not actually get the full amount of pay attached to their office. Their pay was subject to deduction for various purposes such as the superannuation fund. These deductions made them unhappy and they regarded them as an 'indirect and not very creditable way' in which the Government reduced its obligations.

Promotion policies and prospects of advancement in the force were not conducive to efficient and honest working. The avenues of promotion for policemen were scarce, and offered

no inducement to honest and good work. In 1870, the subordinate police officials consisted of 397 Inspectors, 2,835 head constables and 17,831 constables of which two thirds belonged to second grade and the remaining to the first grade. 188 The chances of rising to the level of head constable or Inspector seemed to be bleak for ordinary constables who could at the most aspire for promotion to the first grade of constable. Even among them, only the talented would get the chance. A majority of them would end their career in the same cadre in which they were appointed or, at best, after advancing only one step in the hierarchy. Nothing could be more disheartening and demoralising. Moreover, since all the posts above constables were filled by promotion, most of the subordinate officers continued the corrupt practices learnt during their long years as constable on a miserable pay of six or seven rupees a month.

The Government tried to minimise corruption by adopting certain measures. An attempt to improve the pay structure was made by resorting to reduction in the existing strength of the force. 189 However, an improved pay structure was in no way superior to the ordinary labourer's earnings. With a view to minimising the opportunities for corrupt practices, the police were divested of all judicial powers. 190

188. AAR, 1863-64, 29; AAR, 1870-71, 60.
189. AAR, 1870-71, 117.
190. CC to GS, 3 December 1853, 60, 14, PRES, 66.
Higher officials were asked to ascertain indebtedness of police personnel while on tours of inspection. The police officers who were in the habit of borrowing money were made to resign.\textsuperscript{191} In particular if the habit was found among the highly paid and trusted Inspectors, it would be tantamount to corruption and would lead to their removal from service.\textsuperscript{192} The system of blackmarks was introduced in lieu of the infliction of fines which often drove the erring to further dishonesty.\textsuperscript{193} The frequent transfer of police officials was also discouraged.\textsuperscript{194} The police officials were prohibited from acquiring lands in the districts of their employment, with a view to ensuring concentration in discharge of their public duties.\textsuperscript{195} But all such measures only scratched the surface of the problem, and made but little impact on the evil.

The practice of employing men in the force who were not natives of the district, might diminish the efficiency of the police force. The success of police largely depended on gaining the sympathy and confidence of the people.\textsuperscript{196} The men from outside the region, perhaps

\textsuperscript{191} Police Order, 26 October 1860, GMP, 291.
\textsuperscript{192} CM, 11 January 1870, 7.
\textsuperscript{193} \textit{Sudhiranjan}, Report on Telugu newspaper, September
\textsuperscript{194} CM, 13 August 1864, 605.
\textsuperscript{195} Govt. Order, 2 May 1866, 668, MJP, 2 May 1866, 24.
\textsuperscript{196} GJ to GI Home(Police) to GJ to MG, 5 July 1871, 439, NJP, 20 July 1871, 117, 12.
belonging to different linguistic groups, would be unacquainted with the language, habits, customs and circumstances of the locality; they might be considered strangers. Their presence would largely contribute to make the police organisation unpopular. This practice was deprecated by the Supreme Government. The local inhabitants would provide good raw material for the police force.

Table 4.17

Statement showing the execution of warrants and summons, 1869-80

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Warrants</th>
<th>Processes</th>
<th>Summons</th>
<th>Proportion per policeman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Warrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>31,069</td>
<td>358,452</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>30,675</td>
<td>397,155</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>33,145</td>
<td>434,461</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>34,367</td>
<td>468,783</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>36,253</td>
<td>439,843</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>36,291</td>
<td>424,176</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>37,387</td>
<td>414,224</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>41,024</td>
<td>441,540</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>55,034</td>
<td>334,359</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>52,276</td>
<td>393,182</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>47,292</td>
<td>386,444</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>40,729</td>
<td>414,744</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

197. Ibid.

198. The data for the table have been extracted from HARS, 1869-80.
The police were often burdened with duties which did not properly belong to them. They had to serve processes issued by the courts. They were often troubled by the issue of processes under summons rather than that of those under warrants. Likewise, they were engaged in the execution of distress warrants for arrears of taxes in municipal towns. This would naturally distract the police from their legitimate duties. However, Act X of 1865 forbade the police to be engaged in the execution of distress warrants—a small concession indeed. Table 4.17 exhibits the amount of work of this kind done by the police.

The new police depended largely on the village police for the effective discharge of preventive and detective duties in the early years of its introduction. The village police was not the creation of the British; they retained it as they found it under the native governments prior to their acquisition, and improved upon it later on. The village police was to be the first step towards 'insuring increased efficiency.' The foundation of this system

199. Refer table 4.17.
200. Govt. Order, 30 July 1867, 834, MJF, 13 July 1867, 141.
201. Act X of 1865, Sections 73 and 74, Ibid.
202. Minute by Elliot, 27 September 1856, 43, RMP, 43.
203. Minute by Montgomery, 2 June 1855, 15, RMP, 17.
was the traditional village police consisting of a village headman aided by a scribe or karnam and village watchmen. The headman performed the police duties, namely, to investigate and report the offences to his immediate superiors, and exercised certain criminal powers. The watchmen were to patrol the villages; his other duties were surveillance of strangers, execution of criminal processes and carrying of information to police station.204

The village watchmen were mainly known as taliars and kavalkars; they were often designated differently in various districts of the Presidency.205 The kavalkars were originally appointed by the ruler, but later on, their offices became hereditary. There were two grades namely head kavalkar and petty kavalkar whose position latter synchronised with the former. The extent of their jurisdiction also varied depending upon their grade. They exercised police powers by virtue of their knowledge of the habits of life of the locality. Protection to the life and property of the inhabitants as well as of the travellers was guaranteed by the head kavalkar in

204. A. Gupta, The Police in British India, 42.

205. The watchmen were known as Amshom adhikari in Malabar. In parts of Tiruchchirapalli they were variously called as arasu kavalkar, kudikavalkar, vissaripukaranas and kulapandis. Tiruchchirapalli District Gazetteer, 255.
association with petty kavalkars whose conduct he had to
vouch for. Further, he also exercised watch over the
covert activities of zamindars and petty kavalkars. It was his responsibility to detect offenders in criminal
cases. In case of failure, head kavalkars were expected
to make good the loss.

The kavalkars of both grades enjoyed a certain number of
inam or rent-free villages and a portion of inam land in
each village which usually amounted to about ten percent
of the land. Besides the collection of certain cesses
like mara, wurtanah, moolvis and fusugui, they collected
ten percent on the gross collection of the Government
revenue.

With the breakdown of political and administrative
organisation in the Eighteenth Century, the system of
kavalkars had undergone a drastic change. The Government
was incapable of keeping them under control. Over the
years they had become freebooters who inhabited the wood
tracts adjoining habitations. The ineffective Poligars

206. Colonel Munro's Report, 10 April 1806, 2, MJS.
207. Ibid., 2.
208. Mar' is an allowance in grain upon each plough or
upon the quantity of seed sown. Wurtanah is an
allowance in money paid by husbandmen on ploughs,
and by tradesmen on houses, shops or looms.
Moolvis is a small duty levied at fairs and weekly
markets. Fusugui means a small duty levied on
shroffs in money and on other dealers. The rates
of the first two varied in every village, from one
fanam to twelve- Ibid., 5.
The mismanagement coupled with the weakness and inefficiency of the Government in the state of Thanjavur made them so powerful that 'the ryots dare not put a plough to the ground without first having obtained the assent of the kavalkars.'\(^{209}\) The kallars and Padavachis (Pallis) swelled the ranks of kavalkars and became the scourge of the prosperous Thanjavur district. Likewise, Maravans, a caste noted in those days for their thievish propensities practically held all posts of kavalkars in the district of Tirunelveli.\(^{210}\) Koravans were the most predominant among the kavalkars in Salem district, and supplied most of the criminals of all the adjoining districts.\(^{211}\) With them, the practice of Tuppukuli reached fantastic heights.\(^{212}\) In former days their rapacity was satisfied; for a timid people paid what was demanded. 'They do not pay now and disaster is the consequence, for the leopard has not changed his spots; but he is very hungry and unfortunately very imperfectly caged.'\(^{213}\) Much of the crimes against property was

\(^{209}\) The History of the Madras Police, 217.

\(^{210}\) Tirunelveli District Gazetteer, 333.

\(^{211}\) The History of the Madras Police, 218.

\(^{212}\) Tuppukuli means restoration of stolen property on payment of a price. Kavalkars acted as intermediaries between the victims of robbery and perpetrators of crime to whom 'Mullukuli' or 'Thorn payment' and 'Kattukuli' or payment for the upkeep of stolen cattle were to be paid. Kavalkars received 'Kulukuli' or the fee ordinarily a quarter of the total amount paid - Tiruchohirapalli District Gazetteer, 256 and 257.

\(^{213}\) PAR, 1863-64, MJP, 16 June 1865, 117.
attributed to them. The judicial reforms carried out by Regulations IX to XV of 1816 and subsequent resumption of the contributions and allowances which were paid to them by villages reduced the position of the kavalkars to that of taliars. Thenceforth, no distinction between the two was made.

The taliars performed duties which were of the same nature as those of the petty kavalkars, but were limited to their own villages. Though they were not bound to make good any part of the articles stolen, the taliars who were considered 'village watchmen', were liable to be punished by fine, imprisonment or dismissal from office. The security of the roads was the responsibility of the taliars with the exception of a few jungles and ghats which were exclusively under the protection of head kavalkars. They acted at the direction of village headmen or patels; both held their offices by inheritance.

216. Colonel Munro’s Report, 10 April, 2, MJS.
217. Ibid., 5.
218. Ibid., 16.
Like kavalkara, they were allowed to enjoy certain inam lands by the villages. But in the early years of the Nineteenth Century, they received a monthly salary of two rupees and a half. But the salary varied from place to place ranging from two rupees to two and a half. Sometimes they were paid in addition to being given inam or manyam lands. Quite often, the manyam lands were wholly or partly unfit for cultivation.219 Those who received an annual salary of thirty rupees were called sambalam or stipendiary taliars.220 In response to the query from the Board of Revenue pertaining to the division of their emoluments, Davis, Collector of South Arcot, submitted his views which were reviewed after a lapse of six years. Thereby, on an average, one taliar was to be in each village. No change was effected in the existing emoluments ranging between twenty-four and twenty-five rupees per annum. The manyam lands, as a rule, should not be waste lands.221 Maltby, Collector of South Arcot, advocated an increase to thirty rupees per annum. But his successor's modification to his proposal was approved and were put into effect from 1 July 1858. Accordingly, three classes of taliars on different pay scales came

219. Minute, 520, MRC, 21 May 1850, 61, 14.
220. Minute, 289, MRC, 30 March 1852, 12, 3.
221. Minute, 520, MRC, 21 May, 1850, 61, 14.
into existence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taliar</th>
<th>Remuneration</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Land</td>
<td>Cash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First grade</td>
<td>Rs. 18</td>
<td>Rs. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second grade</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third grade</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The system of remuneration to taliars was inadequate. The manyum lands which would yield an income of 12 to 18 rupees per annum required the whole-time attention of taliars at time of agricultural operations such as ploughing, sowing, irrigating and harvesting the produce. But the nature of their work often made their presence impossible on these occasions. This made it almost impossible to get the expected income from the lands. Further, they would get very little or nothing during the period of drought or famine, though their work would increase considerably due to a spurt in crime consequent upon the acute distress. The remuneration from land remained uncertain; they would have to depend solely on the remuneration paid in cash which was inadequate to ensure minimum subsistence. There would be no words to describe the state of taliars, if the lands happened to

The data have been extracted from South Arcot District Manual, 1878, 456.
be unproductive. Hence, Pelly, Collector of Bellary District, admitted that the taliar establishment could be the basis of good system, but it was deficient in point of numbers and remuneration. 'To give each man [taliar] rupees three per mensem would cost the state annually about two-thirds of a lac, but would be worth it.'\textsuperscript{223} The Board of Revenue felt that the proposal of Coimbatore Collector to fix the remuneration of a taliar at thirty rupees per annum would be a financial strain to the district.\textsuperscript{224} However, to free the taliars from their precarious dependence upon the villagers and to have a fair rate of remuneration assured to them under all circumstances, the Government directed that the fees paid by the ryots were to be continued.\textsuperscript{225}

The contributions and allowances which were paid to the kavalkars were maintained as a separate fund till 1852 when they were incorporated with the general revenue.

In 1860, the kaval swatantram was computed at Rs. 216000.\textsuperscript{226} Besides, the annual value of grants of lands held by them averaged Rs. 50000. The house tax averaging Rs. 25000 was abolished.\textsuperscript{227} The wholesale dismissal of taliars and their deplorable condition left them to eke out a

\textsuperscript{223} Manual of Bellary District, 1872, 225.

\textsuperscript{224} Progs. BR, 9 October 1854, 477, MRC, 14 November 1854, 93, 6.

\textsuperscript{225} Minute, 1475, MRC, 14 November 1854, 94, 6.

\textsuperscript{226} MJP, 19 March 1860, 335.

\textsuperscript{227} Progs. BR, 29 August 1856, 20.
livelhood often by robbery and theft. The lackadaisical attitude of the higher police officers drove them to set their authority at defiance. The vivid description of the village police in South Arcot in 1860, as explained by the Superintendent of that district in vivid terms, portrayed the deplorable condition of village police throughout the Presidency. A useful and hardworking body of men were thrown at the resources of inherent vice; to retaliate on a people who refused to support them and refuse their aid to the Government that did not support their rights. The institution itself, it was apprehended, would vanish out of existence unless vigorous measures were taken to secure their remuneration and to bring them under the protection of law. In short, they were used by village revenue authorities for their own purpose, threatened by the police, worked by all and paid by none.

The Board of Revenue openly admitted that the pay of the watchmen was not regular and suggested improvement by enhancing their fees. The unabated revolts of Moplahs

228. when the new constabulary was organised, fifteen years ago, 'Some 400 village watchers were dismissed by a stroke of the pen because no provision had been made in the Budget for the year and their places have not been filled up.' - Govt. Order, 2 December 1874, 2197, HJP, 2 December 1874, 24, 8.


230. The History of the Madras Police, 313.

231. PAR, 1861-62.

232. The History of the Madras Police, 312.

which resulted in the murder of Conolly awakened the Home
authorities to the dangers presented by the unsatisfactory
state of police organisation in the Presidency.\(^{234}\) Having
accorded with the Court of Director’s suggestion of
adopting the Bombay police system which was in an
experimental stage, the Governor of Madras, Lord Harris
had opined in 1855 that the plan of placing the village
police under local authorities and ultimately under the
Collector and Magistrate was judicious.\(^{235}\) The proposed
new police force would prove to be sufficient for the
Presidency only with the co-operation of the village
police. It was, therefore, imperative to infuse vigour
into the village police system which, otherwise, was
doomed in a short time to fade away.\(^{236}\) The worsening of
law and order and the inefficiency of the police upto 1859
were mainly due to the abandonment of the village police
and the insufficient remuneration allowed to the village
watchmen. So the restoration of the village police seemed
to be the first step towards ‘insuring increased efficiency.’\(^{237}\)
Since the separation of police and revenue functions in
village establishments was found impracticable in near
future, it was proposed to have the village police under
the orders of the Superintendent of Police.\(^{238}\) He would

\(^{234}\) Sir Percival Griffiths, To Guard My People, the
History of Madras Police, 78.

\(^{235}\) Minute by Lord Harris, 4 May 1855, 52, PRPM, 13.

\(^{236}\) Ibid., 67, 14.

\(^{237}\) Minute by H.C. Montgomery, 2 June 1855, 15, PRPM, 17.

\(^{238}\) GS to GI, 14 August 1855, 579-B, 31, PRPM, 24.
act as a representative of the Collector and Magistrate, absolute and sole authority. Even W. Elliot endorsed these proposals. Morehead suggested the placement of village police under the Commissioner of Police.

Accordingly, the proposed constitution of the police force left the village police under the control of District Superintendent of Police, but strengthened, improved and adequately remunerated and properly controlled by the village police Inspector who formed the link between the village police and the community and the general constabulary. Thus, W. Robinson's view namely, that the village police must be given a prominent place in any scheme of general organisation met with the general approval of the Court of Directors who expressed their regret over the decay of such a useful system and directed its reestablishment on a sound footing. The preamble of the Madras Police Act of 1859 mentions the imperative necessity of reforming the village police who were not covered under the purview of the said Act. It stated that 'no police system can be really effective in India which is not closely connected with the village system.'

239. GS to GI, 14 August 1855, 579-8, Appendix A, 77, 26 and 27.

240. Minute by W. Elliot, 4 June 1858, 4, PRPM, 63 and 64.

241. Minute by Morehead, 4 June 1858, 1, PRPM, 64.

242. CC to GS, 3 December 1858, 60, 7, PRPM, 65.


244. Madras Police Act XXIV of 1859.

This view was echoed even in the recommendations of the Indian Police Commission of 1860 which cautioned against incorporation of the village police into the general police.

The village police suffered from a inherent defect, namely, the hereditary principle. The Magistrate of Cuddapah suggested that "it might not be inadvisable to attach the portion of the imam enjoyed by the persons or other sharers on the demise of each individual and annex it to be enjoyed by those who would perform the village duties." However, the mode of payment by means of manyam lands was felt to be the chief reason for all the evils of the village police; consequently the system was abolished in certain parts of the Presidency. The Madras Government ordered the resumption of manyam lands in 1860 and directed the appointment of stipendiary taliars. Thus, the stipendiary village taliars were placed under the immediate charge of the superior police officers for all practical purposes. Financial difficulties forced the Government to stop payment to village taliars who were denied any fees by the villagers also. The taliars' position was miserable as he had been deprived of any means of subsistence. The wretched condition threw many


of them into the arms of criminals, and they began participating almost in every crime against property.

Their participation in crime depended upon the habits and traditions of their castes; quite often they claimed their criminal action as matter of right. They neglected their duties and the new police received no aid from them.

Seeing the plight of the village watchmen, the Madras Government ordered the restoration of the resumed lands. But the manyam lands resumed were very inadequate. Under the existing circumstances no remedy was feasible; however, Minchin, Magistrate of Kurnool, advocated the introduction of stipendiary or paid village police selected from the existing taliars. By virtue of their better position, efficient service could be expected from them. Further, to maintain the stipendiary village police efficiently, a cess of half an anna in a rupee or 3.12 percent of the land revenue was to be levied in lieu of village police cesses and ultimately credited into the village police fund. The amount accrued from the cess seemed to be sufficient for the effective operation of village police.

249. PAR, 1863-64, MJP, 16 June 1865, 117.
250. IG to CS, 7 February 1862, 329, MJP, 25 February 1862, 217.
253. J.I. Minchin, Magistrate of Kurnool to CS, 2 May 1864, 21, MJP, 10 October 1865, 52, 6.
254. Ibid., 22.
W. Robinson, Inspector General of Police, was vehement against any form of interference with the customary usages of the country which, he thought, would lead to failure in the long run. Moreover, he stressed the necessity of making the people look more to themselves and less to the Government in regard to their local interests. The Madras Government revised the police establishment and the Budget of 1863 left the village functionaries in their existing condition, with the intention of looking to local funds for the emoluments of these village watchmen. This measure had been calculated rather to foster than to shake the sound and popular division of duty and principle of working. 255

Minchin, Collector of Kurnool, contemplated an experiment of appointing of Union stipendiary officials who would be in charge of a group of villages, in the place of traditional heads of villages; such officials would be 'the real focus of interest' in village establishment. But they would neither be obeyed by the village taliar nor tolerated by the people as they would be outsiders. 256 Similar measure already introduced in Thanjavur had proved a fiasco. 257

255. IG to G3, 20 December 1867, MJP, 18 February 1868, 221-E, 4.

256. IG to G3, 9 September 1865, 1787, MJP, 10 October 1865, 53, 5.

257. Ibid., 25.
The appointment of stipendiary village watchmen and inspectors for groups of villages, who were all mirasidars, selected by the revenue officers in the district of South Arcot, proved, if not entirely useless, to be not worth the cost. In 1863 they were dispensed with. Even an attempt which was made to bring the village police more under government officers in the districts of North Arcot and Madras fared no better; consequently, it was abandoned. In spite of opposition from the police officers, the Government ordered the Collector of Kurnool to submit a detailed scheme of his proposed experiment for improving the condition of the village police.

The village watchmen possessed necessary influence for the detection of crime and preservation of order. This fact was attested by the Collector of South Arcot who reported that 'the prominent type of offences still continue to be dacoity and house breaking; and the root of this will not be reached until the village police and magistracy are placed upon a better footing.' Being the village servants, they prevented their fellowmen from stealing in the villages. Besides the work of watch and ward, they assisted the ryots in watching their crops and guarding their threshing floors and grain heaps.

258. Ibid., 26.
259. Ibid., 25.
260. Govt. Order, 10 October 1865, 1443, MRP, 24 April 1866, 2870, 18.
261. Govt. Order, 2 December 1874, 2197, MJP, 2 December 1874, 24, 8.
The village mirasidars or landlords who paid their salaries in addition to kaval tax, claimed their private servants. Consequently they were jealous of interference with their servants. The village taliars were not permitted by them to render the slightest aid to the new police. An attempt was made by Robinson to persuade the mirasidars to spare the taliars with a view to co-operating with the police, but in vain.

Thus the question of remunerating the village police was never satisfactorily solved. Officers in different districts put forth their views and they experimented with different possible solutions. But their views were necessarily coloured by the strictly local conditions. No coordinated and determined efforts appeared to have been made by the Government to solve the problem. As usual the finance was the main constraint. Consequently a valuable institution was allowed to languish and wither while the authorities could not, or rather would not, evolve and implement a logical and consistent system of remuneration ensuring an adequate subsistence to the taliars.

262. MJP, 16 June 1865, 117, 22.
263. Ibid., 21.
264. Ibid., 22.
The village police were made amenable to the penalties of the ordinary police for neglect of duty and were brought under the pale of the Criminal Procedure Code as regards the execution of their duty. However, the sole punishment for the refusal to perform the customary service was dismissal from office and the attachment of their manyam lands. But dismissal was no punishment where no one could be found to accept the underpaid office. Further, the attachment of their manyam lands with the government lands was nothing but the destruction of the funds at the disposal of the villages for the payment of the village police. The hereditary system of succession to the village offices, while it added to the prestige of the office, denied the entry of the best men. Overburdened with the revenue work, the village headmen and his staff found no time to attend the police work. The very low pay did not arouse much interest; consequently the service rendered by them was nominal. Furthermore, the lackadaisical attitude of the higher police officers made them display no energy in helping the policemen in arresting the offenders and in raiding the haunts of criminals. Thus, the want of mutual co-operation and

265. IG to C3, 7 June 1864, 1181, MJP, 8 July 1864, 110, 2.
266. Memorandum by Minchin, Collector of Kurnool, 2 May 1864, MJP, 10 October 1865, 52.
267. IPCR, 1902-3, 48.
cordiality widened the gap between the regular police and the village police. No wonder, they indulged in blaming each other. This could be checked by means of periodical inspections by superior officers who had to enlighten the village police of their duties and to see that their subordinate officers cultivated close acquaintance with them. The official position of the village police must not be to the distaste of the villagers, but amenable to them in carrying out the orders of the organised police.

Caste distinctions stood as a barrier in the efficient functioning of taliars who were exclusively recruited from certain low classes. Likewise, the post of village headmen was not covetable enough to attract men of good families. The powers like those of arrest on suspicion were conferred on village headmen under sections 54 of Criminal Procedure Code but not on taliars who acted illegally for all practical purposes in nabbing the criminals. Similarly, the system of grouping villages under a single headman was not conducive to good work being done by taliars who were often away from their village attending on the headmen.

Though the village police lost its popularity and became stagnant, its importance in the new police cannot be

268. Ibid., 43.
underestimated. They still supplied clues and information to the new police who were mainly dependent on the former. In fact, they acted like the eyes and ears of the Government in every village. 269

The armed reserve was another branch of the police which was stationed in the headquarters of some districts of the Presidency. Prior to the introduction of the new police, such forces had been used in hunting elephants and guarding treasure in Tirunelveli, whereas they were used for the prevention of smuggling of tobacco and ravages of elephants in Malabar and Coimbatore. 270 The establishment of armed police was to be shown separately in the annual returns. 271 Besides, the force had to be maintained in a state of efficiency to meet any emergent calls for extra-ordinary services, such as a fire, riot or cyclone. They were supposed to be of superior physique, well trained and drilled, and in short, the elite corps of the force. The necessity of such a reserve was insisted upon by the Police Commission of 1860 which recommended that a reserve must be kept at some central place, and this was to be available against sudden local outbreaks. The

269. Salem Patriot, Report on Tamil newspaper, 16 October 1880.

270. The History of the Madras Police, 325.

271. AG to CS, 31 December 1853, 339, MJO, 21 January 1853, 19.
recommendation formed the basis for the organisation of the reserve force. They were very often employed in maintaining order at festival occasions and assisted in patrolling localities where crime was rife. The reserve force formed a part of the general force; they performed and the Magistrate's office and sentry duties at vital government offices of the Madras City. The maintenance of reserves in the hill areas in order to face any disturbances seemed to be a difficult one. The climate there was often unhealthy. Stationing a large number of policemen in such areas like the hill tracts of Ganjam and Rumpa Hill country in Godavary District, would breed suspicion among the local people about the intentions of the Government. 272

No separate municipal police paid by the State existed in 1862. 273 The Supreme Government ordered that the police maintained from municipal funds had to be absorbed in the regular police. 274 The growing wealth, extension of cultivation and the settling of population in parts of the country, hitherto poor and little known, were steadily increasing the demand for adequate public protection in the mufassil. A few of the towns in the Presidency had

272. W. S. Foster, Magistrate of Godavary, 20 June 1881, 173, PAR, 1880-81, Appendix C.IX.
273. IG to CS, 17 September 1862, 2104, MJP, 3 October 1862, 24.
274. GI Progs (Finance), 25 October 1862, 756, MJP, 3 November 1862, 16.
town police whose duties included night-watch and patrol. Even the towns were inadequately supplied with the police force. The undermanned police furnished from the general constabulary could not accomplish their task of watch and ward effectively. Burglary and other offences were consequently very rife in small urban clusters and could not, with the existing means, be properly suppressed. The budget allotment of thirty-six and a half lac of rupees was not adequate to meet the growing needs of the rising urban population. The deficiency of the police in towns compelled few of the inhabitants to resort to performing gratuitous night patrol. Often the wealthy employed night watchmen in order to protect their properties. The system was an obnoxious one. Even where most stringently and most carefully worked, the system produced but a fitful, uncertain, and weak watch and ward. This system had to be discontinued. To remedy the evil, the house and shop tax, which amounted to Rs. 2,64,885, might be devoted to police purposes; if need be other municipal tax could be levied. This was not a new idea as this practice was found prevalent in the district of Thanjavur; it was

275. MJP, 22 March 1865, 117.
276. IG to CS, 3 December 1864, 2613, MJP, 9 May 1864, 62, 3.
277. Ibid., 7.
278. Robinson commented on the proposed police arrangement that 'the inhabitants of the town should, in justice to the country and to themselves, be required to pay for their own police.' - Ibid.
discontinued later by Regulation I of 1816. It would be unjust; after all the villagers were required to pay for their village police. Such a force thus raised, it was argued, was to be a part of the regular force subject to the same authority and liable for duty anywhere. Having advanced these arguments, W. Robinson recommended passage of an Act in order to provide for the levy of a police rate in all towns. The police force was to be raised in such towns where the minimum population exceeded 5,000 at the rate of one policeman to every three hundred and fifty inhabitants. As a result, the Towns Improvement Act of 1865 was passed. It enjoined the municipalities to bear three fourths of the cost of the town police, the remaining 25 percent being the government share. In case of towns with large cantonments, two thirds of the cost of the town cantonment police was to be chargeable to the municipal funds. The town police maintained under the Towns Improvement Act were to work in close rapport with the Commissioner and Executive officers. At the same time, they were not to be engaged in the execution of distress warrants for arrears of taxes under Sections 73 and 74 of Act X of 1865.

279. Ibid., 14.
280. CS to Sy to GI (Finance), 14 September 1865, 1318, MJP, 14 September 1865, 150.
282. CM, 1 December 1866, 606, OMF.
283. Govt. Order, 13 July 1867, 834, MJP, 12 July 1867, 141.
police guards engaged on municipal works was to be paid by the municipalities in cash. However, the municipalities were relieved of all claims of expenditure on police guards engaged in municipal works. Prior to the Government order under date 12 February 1868. The contribution made by the municipalities to meet the charges of the town police was reduced from 75 to 60 percent by the Madras Municipal Police Contributory Act of 1878.

The period under study witnessed the construction of railway lines in various parts of the Presidency. The railway premises became the rendezvous for the criminals; the duty of nabbing them as well as the protection of railway properties fell upon the police. No separate police force for the railways had been organised and the police officers were required to perform all the duties pertaining to the railway police of the later day. They were required to observe the conditions of the premises along the railway lines running through their districts and bring to the notice of the Magistrate and the Inspector General, any want of cleanliness and other matters calculated to cause public inconvenience or endanger public health. Further, they were entrusted with the stupendous task of taking

284. Govt. Order, 12 February 1868, 227, MJP, 12 February 1868, 139.
286. GI Home(Legislative) Progs, September 1878, 30 to 42.
287. CM, 5 March 1864, 199.
charge of animals trespassing on the line and put them in the nearest pound, pending the decision of the Magistrate. They were expected to take persons in custody on a charge of 'defrauding the company' by travelling in the company's trains without valid ticket. Likewise, they rendered assistance to the railway authorities by removing the beggars from the railway stations. In case of railway accidents, the police and Magistrate had to conduct enquiries with the assistance of some responsible railway officers deputed by the company themselves. The Magistrate in the railway districts were required to impress upon their subordinates the very serious nature of offences connected with the railways which generally involved danger to the community far in excess of the apparent importance of the offence itself.

The new police subject to the general control of Magistrates worked independently under its own European officers whose relations with the former, in all probability, remained cordial. The new police, though divested of military character, had training based on military discipline and obedience which were requisites of a good police. The

288. CM, 22 October 1864, 815, OMP.
289. CM, 16 April 1864, 273, OMP.
290. CM, 7 January 1865, 3.
291. CM, 3 February 1866, 57.
292. Govt. Order, 2 April 1873, 534, MJP, 2 April 1873, 14.
village police, though its importance was being realised by higher authorities, was neglected. The police, an agency of Criminal Administration, on the whole, preserved law and order by checking crimes under control.