The following conclusions emerge from a detailed study of Police Administration in Assam between 1874 and 1947 in the specific fields:

**Civil Police.**

Four main developments took place in the evolution of Civil Police. Firstly, the ranks of the District Police were strengthened by the merger of the Municipal Police in 1882. The strength of the District Police increased as a result of this amalgamation, which followed the desire expressed by the Govt. of India that the municipalities should be relieved of this charge. Only the municipalities of Sylhet and Shillong were allowed temporarily to retain charge of their police, but there too amalgamation finally took place in 1887.

On the other hand, however, the District Police everywhere was reorganized into Civil and Armed Police in 1878. This change was also introduced at the initiative of the Govt. of India. The re-organization of 1878 also added considerable strength to the two categories of Police, but the total strength of the Armed Police now stood much in excess of the total strength of the Civil Police. This was mainly because in the hill districts like Garo Hills and Naga Hills there was no Civil Police and Armed Police per-
performed both the functions. The strength of the Armed Police was further augmented following disturbances in Naga Hills in 1879. Gradually the Armed Police came to be known as the Frontier Police but till 1880 it was not entirely separated from the Civil Police and the two together were designated as the Regular Police. Following the Frontier Police Regulation, 1883, however, it was decided to give a more distinctly military character to the Frontier Police and to withdraw all Frontier Police from duties in the Districts. It was to be trained properly and regrouped into four districts, only, namely Cachar, Naga Hills, Lakhimpur and Garo Hills, to be in readiness to undertake punitive expeditions against the hill tribes whenever necessary. Its place in the district administration was to be taken by the newly-created Armed Civil Police for performance of such duties as watch and ward, guarding of District treasuries, Courts and Jails and providing escorts. This Armed Civil Police was to be a part and parcel of the Regular Police in the districts, and later came to be termed as the District Armed Reserve.

Only two more developments in the sphere of District Police were henceforward to take place till 1947. Firstly, consequent to the recommendations of the Police Commission 1902-3, important changes took place in the sphere of superintendence by the creation of
of the Provincial Cadres of I.P. (Imperial, and later, Indian Police) officers for manning all superior police posts of and above the rank of Assistant Superintendent of Police. The I.P. officers, mostly Europeans, were to be assisted by a set of gazetted Indian Officers, to be categorized as the cadre of Deputy Supdts. of Police, in every province. Their terms of service were to be inferior to that of the I.P. Officers but provided they did well there was scope for promotion to the superior I.P. cadre. Thus, starting with 5 SPs and 6 ASPs in 1874, when the Chief Commissionership of Assam was first constituted - totally 11 gazetted officers - by the end of the last century following the Reorganization of 1900, there was total 17 gazetted officers. On the eve of Independence in 1947, the sanctioned strength of the I.P. Cadre was 26, and that of the cadre of By. S.P.s was 12 - in all 38 gazetted officers who superintended the Assam Police. Considering the entirely changed circumstances between 1874 and 1947, a three-fold increase was quite justified.

Finally, the hands of the Civil Police were augmented by the opening of the District Branches of the Special Branch under the D.I.G., CID for dealing with the law and order problems created by the Independence movement between 1920 and 1947, especially during the turbulent thirties when terrorist activities became rife, and later the Quit India movement of 1942. The District
The District Superintendents of Police also became designated as the Supdt. of Police District Special Branch and close co-operation has ever since been ensured between the working of the Civil Police and the Special Branch.

Apart from the four main developments narrated above there were periodic reforms, reorganizations of force and territorial reorganization of 1900 and the proposals of the Assam Civil Police Committee 1929. The main reform brought about by the Reorganization of 1900 was added emphasis on the quality and quantity of Sub-Inspectors by ensuring regular intake of superior type of officers for investigation of crime by direct appointment through a system of examination instead of depending entirely on departmentally promoted officers. Simultaneously, there was to be a decrease in the number of Head Constables who were not found of much use so far as investigation of crime was concerned. As a result of this reorganization the number of Sub-Inspectors increased by 155, while of that Head Constables decreased by 105. But the most enduring result was obtained by the change in policy by appointing direct Sub-Inspectors from amongst candidates who had passed the University Entrance Examination. The foundations of the modern police force were thus laid. Subsequently, another important step was taken with the appointment of the Assam Civil Police Committee
Committee 1928 for the creation of a "more disciplined, intelligent and efficient force which will command the respect and the co-operation of the public". The committee recommended that police-public relations could improve if superintendence was closer and better and the subordinate ranks were not permitted to misuse police powers. In order to improve the lot of the constables, it recommended better emoluments and reservation of 75 per cent of vacancies in the grade of ASIs for constables who had put in at least one year of service. A proper Training School for the training of constables was also recommended. It also recommended that in order to provide sufficient incentive for the educated youths to join the subordinate police ranks, 50 per cent of the recruitment to the posts of S.Is should be filled from amongst ASIs by a departmental examination. It also made other important recommendations regarding the terms and conditions of service in the Civil Police. The report of the Committee was a landmark in the modernization of the police and till 1948 when the Reorganization of the Police was undertaken after Independence its recommendations provided the system on which police administration functioned. In the meantime, various territorial reorganizations were also undertaken from time to time, and especially as hitherto vast uninhabited areas were opened up by the immigrants from Eastern Bengal in the twenties of the present century, more police stations and outposts had to be opened to bring law and order to the new settlements.
The overall evolution of the District Police thus took place in two phases. First, between 1874 to 1883 classification of the District Police into the Civil and Armed Reserves was finalized together with the merger of the Municipal Police. It was also separated from the Military Police. Next in the period 1900 to 1947, the Civil Police was progressively reformed and re-organized and its superintendence improved to turn it into a modern and efficient instrument for the maintenance of law and order and prevention and detection of crimes, as far as practicable, though it never got a fair treatment compared with the Military Police and emphasis shifted to its favour only after political unrest in the wake of the Independence Movement began to pose serious problems of internal security. Classification and consolidation were thus the two processes which forged the apparatus of the Civil Police into its final shape.

**MILITARY POLICE**

The evolution of Military Police took place gradually as following the Anglo-Burmese War 1824-25 and the Hmar-Singpho rising 1839 the military regiments stationed in Assam began to be slowly withdrawn and the need of evolving less costly 'Levies' and 'Militias' was felt for the maintenance of internal peace and security in the newly acquired province of Assam. The warlike hill tribes living on all sides of the valley - the Nagas, the Daflas, the Khasis, the Garos the Kukis, the Lushais etc. - indeed posed a bigger problem
problem than keeping peace inside the valley. For centuri-
es past these fierce tribals had been used to raiding nei-
ghbouring areas in the fertile plains and looting bazars
and huts.

In order to secure the frontier, the 'Cachar Levies'
and the 'Jorhat Militia' were the first semi-military bodi-
es to be raised. The former was raised in Nowgong in 1835
and was deployed for guarding the plains against depredati-
ons by the tribals from Naga Hills and North Cachar Hills.
The 'Jorhat Militia' was raised in 1838 for guarding the
North-eastern frontier. Later the two bodies were merged
and this led to the emergence of the Frontier Police,
which was deployed in various districts. An important step
was taken with the coming into force of the Assam Frontier
Police Regulation in 1882 by which Military Police was
separated from Civil Police and in the districts "Armed
Civil Police" was created to relieve the Frontier Police
detachments. The Regulation of 1882 succeeded in turning
the loosely-organized Frontier Police into a well-organized and
disciplined force.

With the frontiers thus secured, there was increase
in commercial and social intercourse between the hill peop-
le and the plains people and during 1888 nearly 18 thousand
hillmen from the Naga Hills and NEFA areas were repor-
ted to have crossed into the plains for commercial purposes.
purposes. However, the turbulent hill tribes required to be subdued from time to time and this necessitated frequent expeditions into the hill areas right till the end of the British days. Even after that, the Naga Hills were the first to go into rebellion after Independence, to be followed later by the Lushais. The purpose for which the Military Police was created was thus amply justified and later, after it was christened into the Assam Rifles in 1917, its role in peace time was thoroughly reviewed by the Inspector General of Police Mr. T.P. M'Cullaghen, I.P. in 1932 in the somewhat changed circumstances. From the age-old duties of protecting the frontiers of Assam and internal defence its role was amplified to be, firstly, a highly efficient armed hills police force, and secondly, to act as reinforcement to the plains police during Civil Disturbances. However, before the force could be oriented to the new roles, the Govt. of India Act, 1935 granting autonomy to the provinces was passed and the Assam Rifles was decided to be treated as a Federal Force and Centralized. The final break from Assam Police came when at the time of Independence the Assam Rifles was completely separated with a separate I.G. under the Central Government. Strangely enough the then I.G.P. of Assam Mr. H.G. Bartley, I.P. chose to go away from Assam Police as the first I.G. Assam Rifles under the Central Government.

The natural evolution of the Assam Rifles into the Provincial Armed Constabulary after Independence was thus
thus denied to it and the credit which might otherwise have
gone to it as the parent body of the present-day State
Armed Police Battalions was taken away by the 'Railforce', a
temporary semi-military organisation formed during World
War II for the protection of railway lines. The total separa­
tion of the Assam Rifles from Assam Police was indeed a
sentimental tragedy perpetuated by the departing British.

FUNCTIONAL AGENCIES.

(A) RURAL POLICE.

(1) The British tendency to conserve tradition and
to perpetuate the "Museum-piece" policy, which had later
to be got rid of by the Govt. of India after Independence
with much difficulty in dealing with backward areas like
NEPA, Naga Hills, Mizo Hills etc., is perhaps best illus­
trated by the reluctance to introduce the Chowkidari sys­
tem in the Assam Valley districts, despite repeated prof­
essional advice from the Police Department.

There was some initial success in the operation of
Amended Bengal Chowkidari Act 1870 in parts of the distri­
cts of Sylhet, Goalpara and Cachar and following this in
1899 the Inspector General of Police Mr. A.W. Davis, I.C.S.,
proposed that it would be advantageous to introduce the
Chowkidar Act into all the Assam Valley districts as well.
But the Chief Commissioner observed that the traditional
agency of the "Gaonbura" already existed in the Assam Valley
Valley villages and to replace this unpaid agency by a system of numerous ill-paid staff would be ill-advised. It was better to develop and improve this existing agency instead of forcing on alien system upon the people of the valley to which they were not accustomed, unlike people in the districts contiguous to Bengal such as Cachar, Sylhet and Goalpara. The efficiency of the Gaonburas could be increased by better executive control over them and by attaching a plot of revenue-free land to the post.

Matters rested where they were till the controversy was revived by Mr. W.C.M. Dundas, I.P., Inspector General of Police, Assam, in 1926. Mr. Dundas contended that rural policing was an integral part of police administration and in order to provide the police with a proper rural agency as in the three districts of Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara it was essential that the Chowkidari Act should be extended to the whole of the Assam Valley. In the meantime, the Assam Rural self Govt. Act 1926 was passed and the views of Mr. Dundas obtained further support from this. It was pointed out that the influx of large number of immigrant Muslims from Eastern Bengal into the Kamrup, Nowgong, Darrang and Lakhimpur districts of the Assam Valley had opened up vast areas hitherto uninhabited and these new settlements belonged wholly to people to whom the traditional Assamese "Gaonburas" and "Mouzadars" had no meaning and they had scant respect for them. Also a good deal of the criminal
criminal element had managed to flow in with the immigrants from Mymensingh and other districts of Eastern Bengal and the crime pattern was undergoing a radical change. The Governor-in-Council appreciated the interest taken by the I.G.P. in rural policing and hoped that under the Assam Rural Self Govt. Act 1926 it would be possible to introduce the Chowkidari system gradually into the areas of Approved Village Authorities under the Act. In the Police Administration Report for 1927 Mr. Dundas again pleaded that in the new situation created by large scale immigration the traditional "Gaonbura" was just turning into an nonentity and for from being any help was reputed to be an actual hindrance to the police. Mr. Dundas repeated his arguments against the next year and pointed out that the traditional "Gaonbura" was useful with the law-abiding simple Assamese people, but he was of practically no use in the immigrant settlements. At best he was a revenue collecting agent, but the full duties of the village headman as defined in Section 45 of the Criminal Procedure Code were traditionally unknown to him and as such the appointment of Chowkidars as a link between the rural communities and the police was most essential. While considering the report of the I.G.P., the Govt. admitted these facts but pointed out that if at all the office of the "Gaonbura" had to be replaced in the Assam Valley it was hardly worth replacing it by the Chowkidari system which was already much cited on grounds of cost and inefficiency.
inefficiency. On the other hand, the extension of the regular police to rural areas was likely to cost far too much. The new I.G.P., Mr. T.P.M. O'Callaghan, I.P., who took over in 1929 also tried his hand and backed up his arguments with the figures of the 1931 census, which revealed that in the last ten years the population of Barpeta Sub-Division in Kamrup had increased by nearly 69 per cent, of Nowgong district by 40 per cent, and of other districts in the Assam Valley between 15 to 30 per cent. Practically the whole of this increase was due to the turbulent immigrants from Mymenshingh, Dacca and Pabna districts of Eastern Bengal.

In the absence of any rural police agency, certain areas in Kamrup, Nowgong and Darrang districts were becoming completely lawless. However, the old argument was repeated in reply that the introduction of the Chowkidari system was scarcely likely to provide any relief since the working of the Bengal Chowkidari Act in the three districts of Sylhet Cachar and Goalpara had already been the object of much criticism and no less than 957 Chowkidars were in arrears of pay in Sylhet alone by the end of the year 1930. The replacement of the Gaonbura by the Chowkidars would hardly provide any useful system in such circumstances. Political opinion in the Assam Valley was also reported to be against the introduction of an imported system from Bengal. In 1932 finally, the Commissioner Assam Valley Districts also officially expressed his opinion against the proposal.

A compromise was at last evolved by forming village
village defence / parties and as an experiment the first such parties were started at Charmeta and Burnihat in Kamrup during 1933. The V.D.P.s were to aid the police in the rural areas in the prevention and detection of crimes. The organization of the V.D.P.s was gradually extended to the rest of the Assam Valley and it received greater support from the Govt. during World War II with the appointment of a Special Officer. After Independence, the village defence organization was taken over by the Police Deptt. in 1953.

Thus ended the long drawn-out controversy over evolving a suitable village police agency in the Assam Valley. But the most remarkable part of it was perhaps the love of the British for the amiable though inefficient village 'Gaonbura', whose traditional office was preserved unscathed despite repeated onslaughts of professional advice. It was a typical example of the inherent British trait of conservatism and the flair for compromise.

(2) The controversy regarding subordination of village police to regular police show how the all powerful bureaucracy fought up for its vested interests in the vital role of policy making.

Following the application of the Rural Police Regulation of 1883 in the districts of Sylhet and Cachar which
which provided for the mode of payment of the Chowkidars and defined their duties, a number of difficulties were experienced in its practical implementation. The salary of a chowkidar was to be fixed by rate-payers and the Panchayats between themselves and in the event of a dispute the Deputy Commissioner could fix the amount payable by the rate-payers. While in Sylhet, the pay of the Chowkidar was at first fixed by the Deputy Commissioner, in exercise of powers under Section 13 of the Regulation, and the Panchayats were then asked to prepare the assessment lists, on the other hand in Cachar the matter was more or less entirely left to the Panchayats. In Goalpara District, the Regulation was not applied and the Chowkidari Panchayat Act of Bengal 1870 continued to be in operation. In all the three districts, however, the Chowkidar was reportedly being left to the mercy of the village Panchayats and many times he had either to relinquish his pay or to declare that he had received it in full due to his fellow-villagers boycotting him on using undue influence. In 1889 the District Superintendent of Police, Goalpara suggested that in order to clear the Chowkidar from the pernicious influence of Zamidars, Panchayat members and village headmen, it would be better if the Panchayat members deposited their collections in the district treasuries and the Chowkidars could then be disbursed their pay like members of the regular police through the Officers-in-charge of Police Stations and Outposts in
in the districts. This well-meaning suggestion which would have brought the rural police, namely the Chowkidars, closer under the control of the regular police, was however rejected by the Commissioner Assam Valley Division on the ground that such a step would make the office of the collecting member of the Panchayats less sought after. It would also cause much inconvenience to the Panchayat members in the remote rural areas in coming to the district treasuries to deposit their collections. Consequently the plight of the Chowkidar continued to be miserable and what was worse, the important link between the regular police and the rural police continued to be weak. A good deal of the time of the Chowkičar continued to be taken in carrying about the realization of his meagre salary from the villagers. As such, he had to neglect the large number of duties imposed upon him and in many cases he had to be punished for infringement of such routine duties as reporting of births and deaths and attending weekly parade at the Police Stations.

Things, however, showed instant improvement in Goalpara district when in 1896 the Amended Bengal Chowkidari Act of 1870 was extended to Goalpara district and the entire management of the Panchayats and Chowkidars was handed over to the District Superintendent of Police. The Chowkidari Reward Fund Rules were framed and after approval of the same from the Chief Commissioner the fund was started. All
All Police Officers below the rank of Inspector were prohibited from having anything to do with the members of the Panchayats on the Panchayat accounts. A Panchayat guide was prepared in Bengali showing the powers and duties of the Panchayats and the Chowkidars were forbidden to be used any more on private errands. As a result, the unpopularity associated with Chowkidari work soon began to vanish inGoalpara district. In Sylhet and Cachar, however, the Panchayats and Chowkidars were not put under the District Superintendent of Police and things continued to be in bad shape.

Under the joint province of Eastern Bengal and Assam from 1905-12, in the President-Panchayat system the control of the Presidents over the Chowkidars reportedly led to widespread manipulation and suppression of criminal cases. The Supdt. of Police was deprived of all authority and contract over the Chowkidars since all control over the Chowkidars has to be exercised directly by the Magistrates instead of through the Police. In 1909, the Supdt. of Police Tippera, Mr. Boyd, reported that by introducing the President Panchayat system the village police was entirely severed from the regular police and co-operation between the two was becoming scanty. It was suggested that instead of a Sub-Deputy Magistrate an Asst. Supdt. of Police working directly under the District Magistrate should be in charge of the work connected with the Panchayats but this was turned down on the ground that a much larger number of A.S.Ps could thus be
be necessary. The gulf between the panchayats and village police on the one hand, and regular police on the other hand continued to widen everyday. In reporting crime, the Chowkidars invariably went to the Panchayats first, instead of reporting all cognizable offences directly to the police, as required under the law. By the time the Police Station got the wind, the entire case had been entirely manipulated, and generally information was received so late that investigation could scarcely help in bringing the culprits to justice.

The I.G.P. Eastern Bengal and Assam, Mr. R.B. Hughes-Buller, I.C.S., discussed the entire question of the cost and merits of the prevalent system of village police in the Annual Police Administration Report for the year 1910. The total strength of the rural police was more than five times that of regular Civil Police and its cost represented about seven-eighths of the cost of the whole of regular Civil police. Did the public get the full value for the huge amount thus expended? Certainly not. In most places the Chowkidars were gradually going to ignore the thana officers and to provide less and less assistance to the police. He recommended that in the sub-divisions the rural police might be placed under the Sub-Divisional Police Officer and on the lines of the measures adopted in Bengal the 'daffadar' should be made the connecting link between the villagers and the police. However, the recommendations of Mr. Hughes-Buller remained in cold storage because in the meantime
meantime Assam was separated from Eastern Bengal in 1912.

The controversy of Police control over the Chowkidars was again revived in 1922 when the I.G.P. Assam, Mr. W.C.M. Dundas, I.P., observed in the Annual Police Administration Report for the year that despite distress warrants being issued against the defaulting panchayats there was scarcely any improvement in the payment of Chowkidars and that defaulting panchayats had become the rule rather than the exception. He suggested that it would be better if the panchayat 'Sarpanches' deposited the full amount of Chowkidari tax with the Magistrates early in each quarter and the amount was later disbursed to the Chowkidars at the police stations in the presence of gazetted officers. The same procedure was also commended in disbursing Govt. rewards. The Governor-in-Council promised to give the matter a careful consideration but later on detailed examination the proposal was found impracticable under the existing law, a radical change in which was not considered desirable at the moment.

This was about the last word on the subordination of the village Police to the regular Police and the position was not to change in Assam till Independence in the three districts of Cachar, Sylhet and Goalpara, as the Chowkidari system was never introduced in the Assam Valley proper excepting Goalpara district. The village Defence Organization started during World War II was later extended and its
its operations and administration were taken over by the Police Department in 1953. The V.D.Ps were to be administered through the District Supdts. of Police and thus ended the age-old controversy of Police control over rural police, in which the bureaucracy never gave up its vested interests till the days of the foreign regime ended.

(B) MUNICIPAL POLICE.

In the wake of the Bengal District Municipal Improvement Act 1864, at the time of constitution of the separate province of Assam in 1874, municipal Police existed in Assam in Kamrup, Sylhet and Cachar districts only. The municipal police, which was employed mainly in the premier towns administered by the municipalities in these districts, was paid by the respective municipalities but was under the operational control of the District Superintendent of Police. In 1876 municipal police was entertained for the town of Goalpara, in 1877 for Dibrugarh Town, in 1878 for Shillong and in 1880 for Sibsagar. The municipal police everywhere was ill-paid, the beats of the constables were too extensive owing to the very small number of constables employed by the municipalities, and service in it was unpopular due to comparatively higher rates of pay and conditions of service in the regular Civil Police. From 1879 onwards criticism began to mount on the unsatisfactory working of the municipal police, as the number of resignations, discharges and desertions continued to increase. As a result, the municipal police everywhere, with the exception of Sylhet and Shillong
of Sylhet and Shillong, was amalgamated with the regular Civil Police with effect from 1st April, 1882. Both Shillong and Sylhet were also to follow suit soon. As a result of this amalgamation the Municipal Funds were saved from paying about five thousand rupees, which was now to be paid from the Provincial Revenues. The existing municipal Police everywhere was to be known as Town Police, which was part of the regular Civil Police of the District. The step reportedly resulted in improving the working and discipline of the personnel.

Thus ended the short-lived experiment of Municipal Police, by which policing of the towns was sought to be left to the respective municipalities. In a way, perhaps, it was an attempt to translate the English pattern of policing on Indian soil, but the experiment failed because of the lack of interest in proper policing exhibited by the majority of ill-financed municipalities and the lack of development of reliance on the principles of local self-government. Unpopularity of service due to comparatively better rates of pay and conditions of service in the regular Civil Police maintained by the Govt. was another factor.

(c) RIVER POLICE.

In 1874 when Sylhet district was attached to the newly created Province of Assam, the Sylhet Boat Establis-
Establishment was the only River Police of its kind in Assam. Subsequently, similar boat establishments came into being in Lakhimpur, Cachar and Goalpara districts. The duties of the River Police consisted of patrolling the rivers from crime detection and prevention. However, the boat establishment was found too expensive and after gradual curtailment from 1887 onwards it was finally abolished by 1894. After the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam came into being in 1905, a reorganization was undertaken in 1908 and a General River Police District was created in 1909. When the Province of Assam resumed its separate existence in 1912, a River Police District was notified for Assam comprising all the rivers in Assam including portions of Dhaleswari, Surma, Bheramora and Barak rivers in 1915. The two existing floating Police Stations at Madina and Markuli were taken over from the Bengal River Police. By 1919 the strength of the River Police consisted of 1 Inspector, 2 S.I.s, 3 HOs and 29 Constables. The River Police Rules were framed in 1921. Proposals for expansion were undertaken in 1928 and again in 1937 but there were only minor additions to the force although it continued to do good work in connection with riverine crime and action against gangs of river criminals under the Criminal Tribes Act. In 1944 finally the question of reorganizing the River Police was taken up but it was decided to do so later under the Post-War Reconstruction Scheme. In the meantime, however, the district of Sylhet was lost on partition in 1947 and with that the ent-
entire River Police Establishment, which existed in that district only by the time, was also transferred to East Pakistan.

The growth of the River Police Organization was, therefore, throughout governed by stringent economy and although it distinguished itself in checking riverine crime, the hub of it remained in Sylhet district only, which was lost on Independence in 1947.

**D) RAILWAY POLICE.**

Prior to 1893 there was no proper Railway Police and generally "Extra Police" was employed whenever necessary, on Railway duties, the cost of which was borne by the requisitioning authority or agency. The first Railway Police proper, the cost of which was debited to the Police Department, was the Jorhat State Railway Police, which came into being in 1893. It was under the control of the District Superintendent of Police. In the meantime, special Railway Police Forces continued to be employed in various places like North Cachar Hills portion or the Gauhati section of the Assam-Bengal Railway. In 1903, the Commissioner of Assam sanctioned a force of 1 S.I., 2 Head Constables and 12 Constables for policing the 350 miles along railway line between Gauhati and Tinsukia. Thus, by 1905 the Jorhat State Railway Police and the Gauhati-Tinsukia Railway Poli-
Police were the only two properly organized Govt. Railway Police forces. In 1912, when the Province of Assam was separated from Eastern Bengal, further additions were made to the Railway Police. In 1929 the jurisdiction of the Assam-Bengal Railway was made coterminus with the provincial boundaries and the railway line from Chittagong to Srimangal was handed over to Bengal and the Eastern Bengal State Railway line from Golakganj to Pandu came under the jurisdiction of Assam Government. The Jorhat State Railway Police, which had continued to retain its individual position till now, was also abolished and its duties were taken over by the Civil Police of Sibsagar District. In 1927 an officer of the rank of Senior Supdt. of Police was appointed to head the Railway Police in Assam and his Headquarter was shifted to Haflong from Gauhati. Excepting the temporary emergence of the "Railforce" during World War II to protect the lines of communication of the military forces, the set-up continued to be the same till 1947 with improvements and additions to the force every now and then.

The development of the Railway Police was, therefore more or less linear from 1893 onwards with the gradual abolition of the special levies and the merger of the Jorhat State Railway Police and the Gauhati-Tinsukia section police to form the Government Railway Police by 1927 under a separate S.P., which pattern continued undisturbed till 1947, excepting the temporary raising of the 'Railforce' during World War II.
FINANCIAL AND PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION.

From a budget of a little over 6 lakh rupees for the year 1874, which was the first year of the Chief Commissioner'ship of Assam, notwithstanding the admission of the Chief Commissioner that all the remedies proposed for the defects which had been long apparent in the police administration of the Province would involve extra expenditure, there was scarcely any increased spending on the police department till 1876. In 1877 there was a nominal increase by thirty thousand rupees and this was followed by double the amount in 1878. In the initial four years of existence of the Chief Commissionership, therefore, the police budget increased by about a lakh only.

However, in 1880-81 there was increase by another 6 one lakh due to permanent increase in the strength of the Regular Police, which then included Civil as well as Military Police. This increase was, in fact, mainly on account of the armed wing of the Regular Police. By 1884-85, the police budget had exceeded 9 lakhs and the reasons attributed to this were measures and expeditions against the frontier tribals by the military police, introduction of the company system in the military police, which was new designated as Frontier Police, the increased salaries of the I.G.P. and other officers in the regular course of promotion, and the pay of recruits during the year. During 1892
During 1892 there was phenomenal increase under head 'Contingencies' by two and a half lakhs, attributable chiefly to more spending on clothing and purchase of arms and ammunition, cost of free rations, Batta allowance, hire of transport and other charges in connection with the administration of the Lushai Hills. By 1894, the cost of the police department went up by another two lakhs, which was mainly on account of the raising of the new Lushai Hills Battalion. Thus the cost of police department by 1894 went up by nearly 4½ lakhs, which was an increase of between 45 to 50 per cent over the cost in 1891. The Lushai and Abor expeditions and the supply of free rations for the Lushai and Naga Hills Battalions were mainly responsible for taking up the police budget to nearly 14½ lakhs.

Thus, in the first twenty years of the existence of the separate province of Assam, the cost of the police department had more than doubled itself. Much of this was due to heavy spending on military police. The Financial Reforms of the Military Police 1895 further raised the level of spending, although it introduced such benevolent measures as the grant of good conduct allowance and fixed instead of graded pay according to the circumstances of posting and the provision of compensation for dearness of provisions for all ranks. By the end of 1897, out of the total cost of the police department of about 15 lakhs, more than 9 lakhs more than 9 lakhs was being spent on military police alone.
At last the improvement of the long neglected Civil Police was also taken up in the Re-organization of 1900 and the total cost of the police department moved up to about 16½ lakhs. Stringent economy measures resulted in some decrease and for the year 1904 before the joint province of Eastern Bengal and Assam came into existence, the police budget stood at a little over 15 lakhs. Totally between 1874 and 1904, therefore, increase in police spendings was by two and half times, much of which went to the Military Police.

At the time of the reconstitution of the separate Province of in Assam in 1912, the police budget stood at over 20 lakhs, the increase again being due to the pursuit of the 'Active Policy' on the North-Eastern frontiers. Then came World War I and the general rise in the prices of rations, clothing and accoutrements and increased expenditure on recruitment owing to the large number of vacancies caused by sending drafts to the Army caused greater spending. The Kuki operations during 1918 and 1919 alone cost well over 23 lakhs. By 1920 the police budget stood at over 29 lakhs. However, in the following year the movement of detachments of Civil Police and the Assam Rifles in connection with the tea garden disturbances, the Assam Bengal Railway strike and the Non-co-operation Movement caused an increase by over 10 lakhs and the police budget crossed the 40 lakhs marks in 1921. Much of this, of course, was due to the inclusion from 1st April, 1921 of the cost of
cost of maintenance of the 4th and 5th Battalions Assam Rifles which was being borne by the Political Budget till then. At the end of 1922 the police budget stood over 44 lakhs and strangely enough it was now decided to restrict the expenditure on Civil Police which had been the recipient of the least benefits from the increased spendings so far. The injustice inherent in such a step was, however, soon felt and this resulted in the financial restoration of 1925 and from 1927 onwards considerable efforts were made to bring about improvements in Civil Police and in 1930 the rates of pay for constables, Head Constables and ASIs were revised in the wake of the recommendations of the Civil Police Committee of 1929. However, an all round period of austerity was soon decided upon and during 1931-34 there was forced reduction of 10 per cent in all contingency expenditure, reduction in the rates of travelling allowances, conveyance and compensatory allowances, lesser movement of the police, stoppage of all new proposals and a temporary out of 10 per cent in the salaries of all police officers above the rank of Sub-Inspector. Due to resultant inefficient functioning a partial restoration had to be ordered in 1935 and in view of the political unrest increased spendings had also to be undertaken on account of the Civil Police. Just before the impact of World War II, the police budget finally stood at about 30 lakhs for the year 1940. The war years were to see an unprecedented increase in police spendings and together with the organization of Civil
Civil Defence and the Railforce and the Fire Service it was to reach the peak figures of over 76 lakhs for the year 1945. However, due to post-war retrenchments and economy measures, the police budget was brought down to a little over 65 lakhs during 1947-48, the year of Independence.

In the overall analysis, therefore, between 1874 and 1947, the cost of the police department increased by roughly 11 times. It had recorded 2.5 times increase only in the first thirty years of the existence of the separate province of Assam, till the time of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal in 1905. Much of this increased expenditure went to military police. By the end of World War I, police spendings had increased by 5 times, most of the increase again being on account of the military police, and by the end of 1922 to more than 7 times. Only from 1927 onwards there were conscious efforts to improve the Civil Police, and despite several financial cuts and restorations, just before World War II the total police budget was about 5 times that of 1874. But World War II caused unprecedented increase and the peak of about 13 times increase (at over 76 lakhs) was reached at the end of World War II in 1945-46. Post-war measures brought the police budget down to over 65 lakhs in 1947-48 and thus in the entire period 1874-to 1947 there was increase in police spendings by about 11 times, much of it being due to the very changed set of
In this vast financial panorama the undesirable conspicuous feature is that a secondary place was always allotted to Civil Police as compared with Military Police. It was the policy of the British to manage law and order with the least expenditure possible. Unluckily, as the frontiers stabilized and it became possible to reduce expenditure on military police, political agitations in the wake of the Independence Movement took over starting from the Non-co-operation Movement of 1921, and in the resultant political climate there was no alternative but to improve the Civil Police for purposes of internal security. Thus from 1927 onwards one finds considerable efforts to improve the Civil Police, and a time came between 1927-31 when budgetary fluctuations began mainly to be caused by Civil Police instead of the Military Police, until the axe fell by the economy drive of 1931-32. The financial administration of the British thus worked purely guided by the principles of expediency and the extension of the police as a welfare agency was seldom kept in mind. Only the internal law and order situation in the wake of the Independence Movement made the stingy Establishment give some concessions to the improvement of the Civil Police apparatus.

**CRIMINAL ADMINISTRATION.**

In the overall analysis of criminal administration between 1874 and 1947, the crime rate increased by about
about four times from nearly nine thousand cases of cognizable crime reported to the police in 1874 to nearly 37 thousand cases of cognizable crime reported to the police in 1947. Apart from this four-fold increase in the crime rate there were also some changes in the pattern of criminality.

Though the first Chief Commissioner on taking over had congratulated himself on the absence of serious crime in the new Province - professional crime being unknown and habitual crime being very rare - there were certain distinguishing features of the crime scene in Assam. The most distinguishing and interesting feature was perhaps that most of the cases pertaining to wrongful confinement had their origin in disputes about women. A young girl often left her home with her lover without the consent of her parents and the father seeing no other way to get the girl back charged the lover with wrongful confinement. Cattle-stealing from the plains by the hillmen, often organized, was another distinguishing feature. The Nagas visiting Sibsagar district to barter their hill commodities for rice and salt often drove off a few heads of cattle. There was seldom a chance of recovery in such cases because if pursued that tribes did not hesitate to kill the beasts. The menace was so widespread that the Govt. had to start a special patrol on the Sibsagar Naga Hills border in 1976. Many of the murder cases were owing to the superstitions practices prevalent at the
at the time. Here and there a case of indulging in slavery would also come to notice.

The crime scene changed drastically after the inflow of immigrants from Mymensingh, Dacca, Pabna etc. into the districts of Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong and Lakhimpur during the twenties of the present century. A large number of hardened criminals also came along with the immigrants from these notorious districts of Eastern Bengal. Crime under heads murder, dacoity, robbery and rioting registered increase whenever these new settlements came up. Most of these remote areas were hitherto uninhabited and there was scarcely any policing. Mostly the existing Police Stations had uncontrollably large jurisdictions and often the Police Stations was so far away and remote from the scene of crime that much of the crime went unreported. The twenties were followed by the turbulent thirties when there was a lot of terrorist activity and political unrest resulting in strikes, agitations etc. and soon after were to follow the Quit India Movement and the climaxing of the political drama as Independence neared. All this was reflected in the contemporary crime scene, which was a far cry from the idyllic circumstances of the old Assam of 1874.

The Provincial Administration first gave serious thought to crime when in 1880 the Chief Commissioner of Assam prescribed four tests for adjudging the results of police action with regard to crime. These tests consisted
consisted of the percentage of convictions to the total number of cases enquired into by the police, the percentage of convictions to cases actually disposed of, percentage of conviction to persons whose cases were disposed of, the percentage of convictions in arrests by the police "Suo-motu" in all cases decided. These tests were scrupulously pursued by the I.G.P. Mr. T.J. Murray, C.S. who took over in 1881 and a very comprehensive assessment of the crime position was prepared. There was, however, nothing very alarming about the crime position in general since nearly half the total cases enquired into by the police were from Sylhet district, which alone was the main crime pocket in the province. In 1888, an assessment was made into whether the small proportion of cognizable crime reported direct to the police, compared with the large number of cases reported direct to the Magistrates was a feature peculiar to Assam, and to what extent there was concealment of crime. It was found that the percentage of cases investigated by the police 'Suo Motu' to all cases reported was certainly low compared with the other provinces and compared favourably only with the North Western Provinces and Oudh. Mainly two reasons were found responsible for this state of affairs. Firstly, the Police Stations in Assam commanded unduly large areas and in most cases the police were no nearer to the complainant than the Magistrate. Secondly, there was the established tradition of going straight to the 'Hakim' (ruler). This was proved by the
by the fact that the proportion of cases enquired 'Suo-Kotu' by the police was higher in the predominantly Bengali districts of Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara. As regards concealment of crime it was found that the remoteness of the existing Police Stations and the hushing up of cases by the Zamindars and Panchayats were the main features responsible.

After the annulment of the partition of Bengal, Assam became a separate province once again in 1912 and it became possible to make separate assessments about the growth of criminality in the region. But perhaps temporary unity with the criminal districts of Eastern Bengal had caused sufficient infection to have swelled the total value of cognizable crime reported to the police to about 19,000 cases in Assam. But during 1916, for the first time in the history of Assam, the crime figures crossed the 20 thousand mark. The number of cases reported direct to the police which had been a subject of controversy in 1888, had been gradually increasing and in 1916 was nearly double the number of cases reported to the Magistrates. This was in contrast to the earlier tendency and showed that the public was coming to repose more confidence in the quality of police investigation and that police stations and Outposts were also becoming more easily accessible to the rural populace. However, the general incidence of cognizable crime continued to increase in all the plains districts and this was attributed generally to economic pressure caused by the
by the abnormal rise in the price of food-stuffs and cloth due to World War I. There were even some 'hut' (bazar) looting cases in Goalpara district. But there was good harvest of crop in the winter of 1917-18 and also the outbreak of influenza throughout the province which reportedly put a natural check on the activities of criminals and thus for the year 1918 the crime level dropped by nearly 3 thousand cases.

If many of the fluctuations in the crime level hitherto had been generally due to economic and other temporary causes, the large-scale influx of immigrants from Hymensingh Dacca and Pabna districts of Eastern Bengal during the twenties was to vitally change the total crime scene. These settlers reportedly brought in a culture of violence with them and the commission of crimes on such matters as evicting peaceable owners from coveted lands, kidnapping, rape, murder and dacoities were minor matters with them. Elements with criminals propensities also managed to pour in together with the immigrants and since there was no rural policing worth the name in these new areas and the immigrants from Eastern Bengal were not amenable to the traditional village authorities of "Gaonbura" and "Mouzadarr" of the Assam Valley, they were particularly left to themselves to perpetuate their culture of violence. As a result, during the ensuing thirties of the present century the figures of cognizable crime shot up, nearing the thirty thousand mark in 1935, after which there was gradual decrease due to
to the stringent measures adopted by the Police until the figures stood at about 26 thousand just before World War II. No doubt the immigrants alone were not responsible for such a tremendous increase. Other new factors such as crimes having political bearings, terrorist activities, cases in connection with the dissemination and possession of seditious literature, vigorous enforcement of the Arms Act vis-à-vis the Independence movement, industrial strikes, labour unrest etc. were also contributory to the increase. A new feature of the crime scene was also the increasing number of communal clashes between Hindus and Muslims, which though not much in number added a new dimension to the crime pattern.

During World War II came the "Quit India" movement of 1942 with its cases of arson and looting and sabotage of Govt. property. As soon as World War II ended, a spirit of complete lawlessness appeared to prevail in Assam following the repulsion of the Japanese Armies. The end of the war meant the end of opportunities to make money legitimately or illegitimately. The large number of discharged personnel and outsiders unemployed population soon became a menace. The wholesale cheap disposal of American stocks of arms and vehicles gave a fillip to smuggling activities. Following the end of World War II there was a sudden spurt in cognizable crime by more than 4 thousand cases. The figures of cognizable crime which stood at 52,617 cases for the year 1945 went up to 36,742 cases for the year 1946.
However, a major relief was soon to come to the crime scene by the separation by far the most criminal district, namely Sylhet, from Assam in 1947 at the time of Independence. There was an overall decrease by six and half thousand cognizable cases as a result of the loss of Sylhet, which now went to East Pakistan, but simultaneously due to the inclusion of the Karimganj Sub-Division in Cachar district the figures of cognizable crime in that district increased by nearly one and half thousand cases. But even now the new Cachar district was more or less on par with some of the districts in the Assam Valley and the crime pattern everywhere became evenly balanced instead of the traditional preponderance in favour of the southern tipped districts of Sylhet since 1874.

Apart from the periodic assessments of crime rate and the adoption of suitable police measures for the prevention and detection of crime, the two main features of the British period were the operation of the Criminal Tribes Act 1911, and the introduction of scientific methods of investigation. Although the Criminal Investigation Department and the Fingerprint Bureau were established for the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam in 1906, consisted of 2 Inspectors, 2 Head Constables and 3 Constables only. In 1912 a gang of professional river criminals was traced in Sylhet by the efforts of the C.I.D. and a proclamation was issued by the Govt. of Assam declaring all members of the tribe living in Assam as Criminal Tribe
Tribe under the Criminal Tribes Act 1911. This was the first time when the Criminal Tribes Act was applied in Assam. The posts of S.P. and Dy. S.P. C.I.D. were sanctioned in 1914 and other additional staff was also sanctioned. The Finger Print Bureau was also activised. Several gangs were rounded up subsequently and action taken against them. By 1919 the C.I.D. also diverted its attention to making use of the preventive sections of the law and owing to the vigorous drive 399 proceedings were submitted under the preventive sections of the Criminal Procedure Code and some 500 persons were bound down to keep the peace. In the meantime the Finger Print Bureau was keeping up its average of about 10 per cent in tracing previous convictions. By the end of 1920, the total number of Finger Print slips on record with the Bureau stood at more than 31 thousand. The Assam C.I.D. Manual was published in 1923. By 1926 the C.I.D. consisted of three branches - viz., the Finger Print Bureau, the Special Branch and the General Crime Branch. The Crime Branch was responsible for the collection and distribution of information relating to crime and criminals on the provincial as well as inter-provincial levels, while its field officers undertook investigation of intricate and inter-district or inter-provincial crimes. The 'Modus Operandi' system of investigation was introduced in 1930 and it was sought to introduce scientific investigation in all Police Stations, and although it was thought by many as resulting in unnecessary increase in work in the beginning it soon began to pay dividends.
Thus, while crime continued to increase due to socio-economic and political causes, the police administration did not lag behind but kept abreast of the situation by introducing scientific investigation and improving the working of the C.I.D. and the Finger Print Bureau. At times it was sought to simplify the whole problem by resorting to generalized legislation like the Criminal Tribes Act, which bound down entire communities by branding them as criminal, but it was found that even for such an arbitrary and the application of the Finger Print and 'Modus Operandi' systems was essential. On the whole the quality of control exercised over Criminal Administration was strict, meaningful and progressive to a great extent.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

Apart from the above conclusions relating to the specific fields, the following general conclusions emerge from an overall study of Police Administration in Assam between 1874 and 1947.

(1) The administration under the Crown in Assam as well as in the rest of India inherited the commercial outlook and legacy of the East India Company, sometimes referred to as the "John Company" in stock-exchange parlance. As such, the outlook of the administration around 1874 was strictly governed by financial considerations and it was desired to govern and maintain a semblance of law and ord-
order with as little expense as possible. The evolution of regular police in Assam followed the gradual withdrawal of military forces and the police force was organized with the twin objects of securing the frontiers and maintaining law and order internally. Even then, as has been seen in the study of Financial and Personnel Administration, the emphasis was right through on the military police, which secured the frontiers, mostly at the cost of the Civil Police to which little attention was paid till the political unrest in the wake of the Independence Movement created serious problems of internal security. Thus, the administrative policy in the beginning was to "let sleeping dogs lie asleep" as far as possible, and both in the fields of town policing and rural policing it was attempted to entrust police functions to the Municipal Police and the Rural Police respectively. Even if the policy of policing the towns by Municipal Police was well-meaning and originated perhaps from some desire to translate the English principles of local self Govt. on Indian soil, it proved to be an utter failure in the prevalent circumstances. The impoverished municipalities and unions found it impossible to maintain adequate town police from their meagre resources and the service proved unpopular with the personnel due to comparatively better rates of pay and conditions of service in the regular Civil Police. After a brief existence of a few years the experiment of Municipal Police was admitted to be a failure and it was merged
merged with the regular Civil Police in the districts and the Crown overtook the responsibility of paying it from the Provincial Revenues. Democratic decentralization with a view to obtained cheap policing in the rural areas was again attempted in the shape of the Chowkidari System under the control of the village panchayats. But the office of the Chowkidar soon turned into a menial of the panchayat president and instead of prompt reporting of crime at the police stations the Chowkidar was often misused for manipulation and suppression of crime by the Zamindars and the panchayat office bearers. The experiment was in fact such a notorious failure that when successive Inspectors General of Police tried to force Govt.'s views in introducing the Chowkidari system in the Assam Valley in view of the large scale immigration from Eastern Bengal during the twenties of the present century the Government had to turn down the suggestions by pointing out that the step was scarcely likely to provide any relief since the working of the Chowkidari System in the three districts of Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara had been already the object of much criticism and no less than 957 Chowkidars were in arrears of pay in Sylhet alone by the end of 1930. The alternative to the pernicious Chowkidari system was finally found in extending rural coverage by the regular Police, by way of opening more police stations and Outposts in the mofussil areas, and by starting the village defence parties which were to assist the regular police in the detection and prevention of crimes.
Thus, in both the fields of town and rural policing, the initial policy of entrusting watch and ward, and even investigative functions to locally financed and controlled police levies had to be abandoned and there had to be unavoidable change-over to the welfare concept of the extension of the official police agency in the urban as well as rural areas. Reluctantly the administration had to organize and improve the Civil Police and extend its coverage by opening more police stations and outposts in the countryside and to upgrade police stations and staff in the urban centres to cater to the very minimum needs of public administration.

(2) Next, there had to be the unavoidable emergence of certain functionally specialist agencies, although it cost money and hurt the imperial purse. Proper Govt. Railway Police had to be organized from 1893 onwards when it was found that the existing system of employing extra police and special levies to be paid by the requisitioning authority as and when necessary was hardly capable of securing the safety of goods and passenger traffic on the railways. Similarly, the expensive River Police had to be organized and entertained to ensure safety of traffic on the rivers from gangs of river criminals. Similarly the Criminal Investigation Department, the Finger-Print Bureau and the Special Branch evolved as necessity forced the hands of the authorities to take steps to esta-
establish these. These functionally specialist agencies came into being as assured peace under the British Govt. brought about stable commercial activity, capital rotation became faster, and simultaneously there was increased criminal activity for illegitimate material gains. Urbanization and improvement in the means of communications brought about a new class of educated and sophisticated criminals. Then came the problems caused by large-scale immigration into Assam from certain notoriously criminal districts of Eastern Bengal. Finally, there was the increasing political unrest in the wake of the Independence Movement. Thus, the Special Branch was especially evolved to deal with the terrorist activities during the thirties and the subsequent "Quit India" movement. If these specialist agencies cost money and their evolution was strictly regulated by the very stringent purse of the Establishment, it is these which ultimately helped forge Assam Police into a modern instrument for the detection and prevention of crimes and the preservation of law and order, and made the police administration a worthwhile legacy of the British after Independence in 1947.

(3) But perhaps by far the best functionally specialist agency that emerged from the British rule was the well-trained, highly experienced and devoted cadre of I.P. Officers who were professional police officers and the first of whom took over as Inspector General of Police from his
from his I.C.S. predecessors in 1919. These Officers, who joined the police service as Assistant Superintendents of Police and had the scope to rise up to the coveted rank of Inspector General of Police, provided a precious reservoir of experience and administrative wisdom in tackling the problems of criminal administration and law and order. The aim of this highly selective cadre was to forge professional competence of a high order, and in co-operation with their colleagues in the I.C.S., they provided the steel-frame on which the British administration rested. It was this reservoir of accumulated professional experience on which independent India had to depend after 1947 to run its police administration. True to its traditions of loyalty and devotion to duty, the handful of I.P. Officers responded to the challenges posed by free India and sustained the best standards of police administration till the cadre was enlarged to include members of the newly-created and highly selective I.P.S., which provides the superior police hierarchy of independent India to-day.

(4) Finally, the study of police administration between 1874 and 1947 reveals the setting and hardening of attitudes as the administration generally stabilized and began to run in well-defined routines and grooves. Initially, the British administrator reasoned and argued as he groped with the reality of the amorphous mass that oriental India was to him. He tried to fit in his concepts and
and notions into the local environs. He assessed and reassessed, valued and revalued, in the intense effort to cope with the plethora of problems that confronted him. The first few Chief Commissioners of Assam took intense personal interest in various problems of criminal and police administration and the I.G.F.s were often put hard to explain the points raised in the "Resolutions" on the annual reports. There were the reasoned and mature arguments of Mr. Fitzpatrick, the Chief Commissioner, who took intense interest in evaluating criminal administration and the efficacy of police action and devised certain tests for the purpose. When crime increased suddenly by about 50 per cent in Nowgong during 1887, the Assistant Superintendent of Police ascribed it to the greater accessibility and popularity of the police in reporting direct from the public and the Deputy Commissioner ascribed it to better health conditions of the people during the year. Mr. Fitzpatrick remarked that the reasoning advanced by the ASP was fallacious for a long-settled district like Nowgong and the reasoning advanced by the Deputy Commissioner was still more absurd. The Commissioner of Assam Valley was asked to enquire immediately and to submit an elaborate report. The Commissioner gave due weightage to the views already expressed by the A.S.P. The Chief Commissioner then lamented that little attention was being paid by the D.C.s in forwarding annual police reports of the districts and pointed out that what was still more
more regrettable was the fact that even the officiating Commissioner of the Assam Valley Districts had passed on these reports without a single remark of his own! (See Criminal Administration—Crime Rise in Kamrup and Nowgong 1887). Such detailed interest by a Chief Commissioner or a Governor was seldom to be seen in the period after World War I; nor were the seasoned discourses of I.G.Ps like Mr. Murray or Mr. Davis or Mr. Bonham-Carter or Hughes Buller henceforward to be come across the pages of annual police reports. Assessments of Police administration after 1920 tended to become laconic and stereotyped, lacking in the vitality of concept and reasoning, and as time advanced through the twenties and thirties of the present century towards Independence in 1947, the energetic, alert and mentally alert British administrator of the earlier days seemed to have fallen a victim to the slumber induced by the sluggishly moving fans in the rooms of the Secretariat, which controlled the sterilized, red-taped machinery of the vast British empire, slowly fading away.

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