



THE HISTORY OF THE MADRAS POLICE



1859 - 1959

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(**CENTENARY 1859—1959**)



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THE MADRAS POLICE

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DEDICATION

...our thoughts return to all those officers and men of the Madras Police who have gone before us and who have made it what it is today. Once more we hear the laughter with which they greeted every hardship. Once more we see them in their sojournings, now shivering with wet and cold, now scorched by a pitiless and burning sun. Uncomplaining they endure stress and strain; and at the last, even wounds and death. Bravest of the brave, most generous of the generous...



SRI M. BHAKTAVATSALAM
Home Minister of Madras.

FOREWORD

It gives me great pleasure to write a foreword to the History of the Madras Police, which is being published very appropriately on the occasion of its centenary. The narrative covers not only the development of the Madras Police during the last hundred years but it takes a magnificent sweep backwards to survey the systems of police obtaining in this country from Vedic times onwards. Even though it treats of such a vast period, this is no superficial historical narrative, but it is a history founded on comprehensive and strenuous original research making it readable for persons of widely diversified tastes and varied degrees of intelligence. It is patent that the compilers of this book, which has been produced within a short period of five months, have put in a stupendous amount of work. They deserve to be congratulated.

It is of considerable interest as also a matter of parochial pride that the Madras Act XXIV of 1859 attracted the attention of all other Provincial Governments in India prompting them to reform their Police Forces on the Madras model. I am glad to say that the Madras Police have continued to maintain their reputation for progress and efficiency and I hope that they will always continue to be a model for others.

To a discerning eye it will be apparent that the success of the Madras Police during the last hundred years has

been contingent on the co-operation which they have sought and secured from the public. There is no doubt that police endeavour without public co-operation is like sand without lime. Therefore, on this momentous occasion of the centenary I would appeal for greater and closer co-operation between the police and the public.

I take this opportunity of sending my greetings and good wishes to the Madras Police and to exhort them to render even greater service to the Madras public in the years to come.

Li. Bhautaraha

HOME MINISTER.

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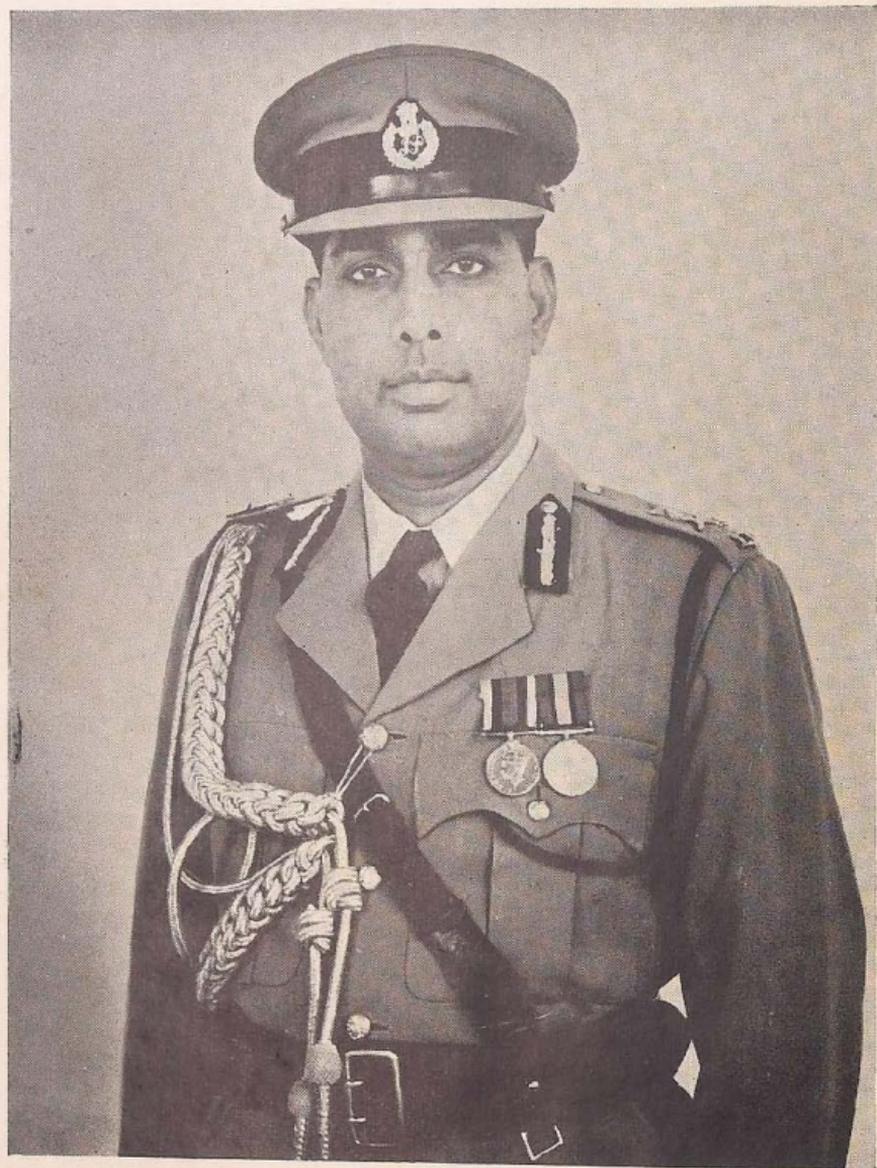
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ABBREVIATIONS

A. V.	...	Atharva Veda.
C.	...	Chapter.
Cap.	...	Chapter.
C. I. D.	...	Criminal Investigation Department.
Cr. P. C.	...	Criminal Procedure Code.
Des.	...	Despatches.
Geo.	...	George.
G. O.	...	Government Order.
I. C. S.	...	Indian Civil Service.
I. P.	...	Indian Police.
I. P. C.	...	Indian Penal Code.
I. P. S.	...	Indian Police Service.
K. D.	...	Known Depredator.
Let. Bk.	...	Letter Book.
M.	...	Madras.
M. P.	...	Madras Police.
M. P. S.	...	Madras Police Service.
O. C.	...	Official Consultations.
P. C.	}	Public Consultations.
Pub. Cons.		
R. I.	...	Rigorous Imprisonment.
R. V.	...	Rig Veda.
Skr.	...	Sanskrit.

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SRI S. BALAKRISHNA SHETTY I.P.,
Inspector General of Police, Madras.

INTRODUCTION

THE MADRAS POLICE presents this volume today, the 6th September 1959, on completing a hundred years of service to the public. Readers may know that a properly organized civil police force came into existence in this State by virtue of Act XXIV of 1859. It will therefore be of interest not only to trace the lines of development during the last hundred years but also to examine the indigenous systems of police which existed in India at different periods.

Attempts have been made in the past to write the history of the police in India. But such productions did not portray in any great detail the systems obtaining in ancient times.

A study of the ancient police systems in this country will therefore not be without profit and was rightly emphasized by the Government of India in their pamphlet *Our Police*. This desideratum has been served in the writing of this volume. Another object of this effort is to have an accurate record of stirring events concerning the police contemporaneous with the various periods under review.

Coming to the plan of the book, it commences with a brief survey of the police in Vedic times. Then follows accounts reflected in the *mirror of ancient classics* of systems which obtained in the days of Kautilya and Thiruvalluvar and during the resplendent regime of the Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas in the South. The law enforcement agencies of the Vijayanagar Kingdom and of the Moghul Emperors and their viceroys in the South are described as accurately as possible. This is followed by an account of the rise of the British administration in India which first struck deep roots in Calcutta, Surat and Madras. *The beginnings of the Madras City Police* could be seen as early as in 1659 when the East India Company had no political designs but only a profit-making motive. In this chapter there are profuse quotations in the actual spelling and English of the early British traders, but modern punctuation, wherever possible, has been adopted. The City Police underwent a series of changes in organization during the Commercial Government of the East India Company until 1832 when it attained a more stable form following *Norton's reforms*. George Norton, the author of these reforms is not connected with the Nortons of a later period who are remembered even today for their legal acumen and brilliance in Madras. G. Norton's reforms had to give place to the needs of changing times. A new *phoenix was born out of the ashes* with the reforms suggested by Mr Elliot in 1853.

The genesis of the mofussil police starts where the history of the Madras City Police in the nineteenth century ends. In the succeeding

chapters the readers are taken through *the decades of transition* through which the mofussil police passed in the early nineteenth century when it became a *model for other police forces* in India in 1859 and it continued to grow in strength till the end of the last century.

It may be observed that the Madras City and Mofussil Police were amalgamated at the beginning of the present century to form *the Madras Police of today*. Specialized units like the Railway Police, the Finger-Print Bureau, the Armed Police and the C. I. D. have been treated in separate chapters. An idea of the welfare work by the police and the impact of political agitations on the work of the police is given in the last two chapters of the book.

To break the monotony of a prosaic recital of events, reforms, and changes connected with the organization, the narrative has been interspersed with relevant anecdotes. The practice of furnishing foot-notes at the bottom of every page has been avoided in order not to distract the attention of readers. Instead, a glossary has been appended to this book. To facilitate easy reference to the events, incidents and names that occur in the book, an index has been prepared. Maps of the Madras State relating to the different phases of administration have also been added so that readers may profit by a reference to them.

Illustrations of the uniforms of the police, of the medals that are awarded for gallantry and meritorious service to the members of the force and a few other pictures of the Madras Police add interest to this volume. It is a matter for regret that the photographs of the first Inspector General of Police, Mr Robinson, and of the first Commissioner of Police, Mr Boulderson, could not be secured.

The compilation of this volume would not have been possible but for the willing co-operation of many officers in the department, the staff of the Madras Record Office and a few professors of colleges, who wish to remain anonymous. We are, however, constrained to make special mention of the stupendous work put in by Sri K. G. Narayanaswamy, Deputy Superintendent of Police, in collecting and collating the material and presenting the book in the present form.

This work was completed within a short period of five months. If there are any discrepancies, or errors, the reading public is requested to condone them, for after all we are "gatherers and disposers of other men's stuff."

S. Bala Krishna Shetty

INSPECTOR GENERAL OF POLICE

CHAPTER I

AT THE DAWN OF HISTORY

THE HISTORY of the police in every country is a story of the growth of its civil power. In military dictatorships, the civil police is either compulsorily merged with the armed services or it becomes a handmaiden of the ruling military junta. In this process, the police loses its identity and assumes the garb of the army in its dealings with the people. But the functions of a police force in normal circumstances are entirely different. Its positive purpose is to maintain law and order and to prevent crime, for the efficient fulfilment of which it has to work in close and cordial association with the law-abiding citizens. Its other function is to bring evil-doers to justice and help in their rehabilitation so that they may become useful members of society. So a well organized police force can be said to be the *sine qua non* of efficient administration and the hall mark of the rule of law prevailing in a country.

The Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform set up in 1947 in its preliminary report observed "In no country perhaps, the whole fabric of Government depends to a greater degree than in India upon its administration." This is as true of yore as it is today, for it was apparent in the past, that when the writ of a king did not run in all parts of his domain, the area became anarchic and a prey to marauders and adventurers. The ancient law-givers called this disturbed state *Matsyanyayanudhbhavayati* i.e. big fish swallowing small fish.

Maintenance of law and order is a pre-requisite for good administration in a body politic which is accomplished by the department of police. According to another ideology, when a country reaches the zenith of its development as the result of following Marxian principles, the State itself will wither away, thereby meaning that people will do just the right thing without the compelling force of law, sanctions or ethics. This may be a consummation devoutly to be wished for, but everywhere we see the interference of the State in all conceivable forms of human activity. Too much of interference will lead to Police States as opposed to Welfare States where democratic principles hold sway and the energies of the people are voluntarily harnessed to creative activities. Some of the advanced countries call their police 'Law Enforcement Agency' in order to escape from the odium attached to the former

name. One may well exclaim along with the Bard of Avon 'What's in a name' and proceed to minimize the etymological significance of the term in relation to the State, for, the police, as an organization for watch and ward activities or bringing evil-doers to justice, has been in existence in one form or other from time immemorial.

Police is thus the lowest tier of justice and an integral part of it. That is why justice is represented by a balance and a sword. The police is the sword-arm of justice without which it will be unable to execute all those well-thought-out and sublime directions aimed at reforming or deterring a criminal from his evil deeds. So the ancient law-givers coupled police with justice and invested the judges themselves with executive police powers. Oscar Wilde wrote in his essay *Critic As Artist*, "There is only one thing worse than injustice and that is justice without her sword in hand. When right is not might, it is evil." Dante in his *Divine Comedy* wrote, "*Quay Sarvata Societatum Sevat Corrupta, Corruptit*," that law without force would be ineffective and therefore void and abstract. Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, while writing about his prison experiences, observed, "In prison, one comes to realize the basic nature of the State; it is the force, the compulsion, the violence of the governing group." "Government", George Washington is reported to have said, "is not reason and it is not eloquence. It is force; like fire, it is a dangerous servant and a fearful master." So force as a necessary expedient to combat evil has never been eschewed, though by all means it should be circumscribed by the condition of a judicial use of it. The police seek to have recourse to force only for the purpose of preserving our dharma or *Aram* (அறம்).

Historically speaking, a student of research is apt to find our source books giving scant information about the police of the ancient days, in the age of the *Puranas* or of the *Vedas*. Did they wear any particular uniform? What were their functions? How did they help the administration of justice or keep order among citizens? These questions are left to conjecture, unlike details about the army. In the latter case, there are glorious descriptions of the mails of steel and machines of destruction; of doublets and hoses and weapons of defence; the colourful cavalry and the elephant brigades; the triumphal procession of chariots and the trumpeters; the brass bugles and military bands; the pennants and the pageantry that added splendour and grace to the ancient militia. Even in later periods information about the police is fragmentary. Al Beruni, one of the Arab visitors

to India in the 11th century A.D., attributed the absence of such chronological data to the lack of historical sense among the Hindus. It may be noted that he was not a carping critic of the Hindu mode of life and so his criticism has a ring of truth about it. He wrote, "The Hindus do not pay much attention to historical order of things; they are careless in relating the chronological successions of their kings and when they are pressed for information and are at a loss, not knowing what to say, they take to tale-telling." That is what differentiates the Chinese from the Indians though both are oriental people. The Chinese kept chronicles of their kings and queens and the rise and fall of dynasties and empires with such meticulous details that it is now possible to reconstruct scenes of those past generations without contributing much from imagination. All the same, the complaint of certain orientalisists that the Hindu law-makers did not evolve a genuine system of criminal law was strongly refuted by Sir S. Varadachariar in his Radhakumud Lectures on the Hindu Judicial System. He said, "The criticism is not easy to justify. Speaking of fourteenth century England, Sir W. Holdsworth says 'even the statutes of Edward III's reign show that the boundary line between the criminal and civil liability was as yet uncertain. Many offences, the commission of which would in our time be repressed by a criminal prosecution, were then remedied either by civil or criminal proceedings...There was as yet no organized police force nor were there armies of inspectors of different kinds. Except in the central courts the administration of justice was in the hands of amateurs whose purity and impartiality were, in many cases, justly open to suspicion. It was necessary to enlist the injured men in the cause of law and order by holding out the prospect of obtaining heavy damages or of using the speedy process available in the action of trespass'."

It may be safe to assume that the functions of the police in the old days were very limited in scope; but as civilization advanced and the art of administration became more complicated, its scope went on enlarging until the present day when the hand of the policeman is felt in all branches of public activity, from rationing to rationalism, from prohibition to public speaking and from town nuisance to temple entry. It can be presumed that in the Vedic Age, the law-abiding sections of the tribes acted as policemen and judges to bring delinquents to justice. In that pastoral civilization cattle lifting and other kinds of thieving were the principal forms of crime. The *Rig* and *Atharva Vedas* mention

about these offences and the punishments inflicted on the offenders. Thieves stole cows and hid in dark caves with the stolen cows. (R. V. i - 65 - 1). They stole garments and a hue and cry was raised after them as loud as the cry of battles. (R. V. iv-38-5). "The robber with the guileful heart" lurked about the highway like a wolf and the travellers prayed to the God Pusha to chase him away. (R. V. i-42-2,3). Thieves also broke into houses in quest of treasure (R. V. viii-29-6). When caught they were severely punished. Their arms were tied behind the back and their mouth was bandaged (A. V. vii 70-5) and they were severely beaten and "crushed to bits."

From the Vedic Age we pass on to the epic period and in this process we traverse the Indian continent from the cloud-capped Himalayas in the North to the verdurous vales in the far South. There is mention in the *Valmiki Ramayana* about Dandayudha Dharas moving about the streets of Lanka, when Hanuman landed there and made a circuit of the City. In the context of the description of soldiers armed with deadly weapons, these men with long lathis are confirmed to be policemen on patrol duty (V. 4. 17). Again Bharata's instructions to Satrughna, while making arrangements for the reception of Rama returning from exile, to post hundreds of men on the road to keep away crowds, is probably the forerunner of modern route lining and traffic police. But much more than all these veiled suggestions and promptings, is the glimpse one gets about the organization of the intelligence system of the Puranic age by means of spies. Spies were the eyes and ears of the king and information about anything happening in the farthest corner of the realm was transmitted to the king by the spies, who, under various disguises, got themselves merged with the populace. The story that it was one of these spies that communicated the prevalent suspicion about Sita's chastity while in captivity, expressed by a washerman during a domestic quarrel leading to the banishment of Sita, is too well known to bear repetition here.

From the Puranic Age, we vault over a fairly long period of time to reach the age of the Mauryas. This age is very important, for it was during this period that one of the greatest books of all time, Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, was produced. Savants who have critically examined the internal and external evidence relating to this book have come to the conclusion that it should have been produced somewhere about 300 B.C. Later books by Kamandaka, Dandin and Kalidasa have drawn on the *Arthashastra* or sometimes parodied its verses. The

Vishnu Purana foretold the downfall and destruction of Nanda Kings by Kautilya and the installation of Chandragupta Maurya. From Indian epigraphical records it can be asserted almost categorically that Chandragupta Maurya was anointed king in 321 B.C. Asoka Vardhana, grandson of Chandragupta, ascended the throne in 296 B.C. The book had been produced before Asoka Vardhana came to the throne. So it may be safely inferred that this famous work should have been written between 321 and 300 B.C.

A little digression is necessary here. People in Tamilnad may well raise the query as to how it could be said that the *Arthasastra* was the foundation for administration in the South India since the Mauryas at no time conquered this part of the Indian peninsula or assumed over-lordship of the local potentates. For one thing, there is no evidence to show that Sanskrit learning was confined to the North nor did the people occupying the Southern peninsula insulate themselves against the on-rushing current of knowledge. Moreover excavations in Mohen-jo-Daro have shown the existence of a Dravidian civilization much anterior and far superior to the emergence of the later Aryan power. This civilization does not appear to have been propagated by sword and fire, though there might have been petty skirmishes and battles between the advancing new comers and the earlier settlers. In course of time, the merger of the two had been so complete, that some of the greatest Sanskrit and Pali scholars were people from the South. The acme of Buddhist art was reached in Ajanta in the South. The paintings at Sithannavasal and the musical inscriptions of Kudumiyamalai in Tiruchirapalli district, are again examples of Jain religion and culture, permeating through the stronghold of Saivism. So it cannot be said that the *Arthasastra* was unknown in the South or that the Chera, Chola and Pandiyan Kings were so ante-diluvian that they failed to profit by the well-thought-out practical principles enunciated by Kautilya for the governance of the country. Another positive proof is that Thiruvalluvar in his *Kural* has freely drawn on Manu, Kautilya, Kamandaka and Vatsyayana. One cannot do better than quote as authority, the late lamented professor S. Vaiyapuri Pillai from his *History of Tamil Language and Literature*—a posthumous publication of the results of his life-long research into Tamil classics. "Even the most conservative of scholars hold that the Sangam Age began only in about the 2nd century A.D. and so Thiruvalluvar's date could not be earlier than this. A study of his work reveals that he is

largely indebted to well-known treatises in Sanskrit such as *Manu*, *Kautilya*, *Kamandaka*, Ayurvedic treatises and *Kama Sutra*. *Kural* 41 and 47 emphasising the importance of the *grahasthas* (house holders) are based on *Manu* iii—78. *Kural* 58 describing the merit of the married woman who bestowed loving care on her husband, owes its idea to *Manu* (ii 218.) *Kural* 396 which says 'the more men study the more is their knowledge' and exemplifies this saying, the deeper a pond in a sand-bed is dug the greater will be the spring water, has a parallel in *Manu* (ii 218.) Instances can be multiplied. Similarly *Kural* 501 which gives in detail the methods of testing the faithfulness of Ministers and other officers is undoubtedly based upon *Kautilya Adhikarana* 1, *Adhyaya* 10 treating the four kinds of *upadhas*. So also *Kurals* 431 and 432 which enumerate the six kinds of faults in a King are taken from *Kautilya Adhikarana* 1, *Adhyaya* 6, treating of *arishad varga*. Valluvar in his detailed treatment of the Seven Constituents of a State follows the order given by *Kamandaka* (iv-1). *Kural* 385 about the acquisition of wealth etc. mentions the same four kinds of acts as those stated in *Kamandaka* (1-20.) *Kural* 581 which says that the spies are the eyes of a King is indebted to *Kamandaka* (xiii 28, 29, 31.) Moreover in the omissions of details and in giving prominence to didactic morality the *Kural* follows the *Nitisara* of *Kamandaka* (Keith p. 460). *Kurals* 948, 949 and 950 dealing with the treatment of patients have taken their ideas from Ayurvedic works. Finally *Kural* 1101 stating that the pleasures of the five senses are all found in the person of ones beloved, is a beautiful rendering of an idea in *Kama Sutra* 1, 2, 11. In the same way, *Kural* 1312, referring to the convention of wishing one long life, if one sneezes, has perhaps for its basis *Kama-Sutra* (vi 2, 15.) Of these works the date of *Manu Smriti* can be fixed only within large limits and the date of *Kautilya's Arthasastra* is open to grave doubts, most of our Indian Scholars placing it in the 3rd century B. C. and the Western Scholars in the 3rd century A. D. (A. B. Keith: *A History of Sanskrit Literature*: p. 461, Winternitz: *History of Indian Literature*, German edition Vol. iii: p. 523). *Kama Sutra* is assigned to A. D. 400 by both Keith (p. 461) and Winternitz (Vol. iii p. 540) though the former is inclined to give it a later date 500 A. D. (p. 469). As for *Kamandaka's Nitisara* to which Valluvar seems to have a great partiality, all are agreed that it is a still later work. Keith says that its date may be C. 700, though others have put it contemporaneous with *Varahamihira* (p. 463). Most probably the latter view is nearer the truth and *Nitisara* might very well be assigned to A. D. 550.

Taking into consideration the dates of these Sanskrit works we are compelled to conclude that the earliest date to which Valluvar can be assigned is 600 A. D." But the period is not important so long as it is considered later than the *Arthasastra*.

Several European writers on the genesis and development of the police organization in India have invariably referred to Kautilya's *Arthasastra*. In this work we see the flowering of a Hindu genius, some of whose directions on the art of administration are true for all times and for all climes. And since there is an unbroken chain of this cultural heritage binding the North and the South, as evidenced by the appearance of an equally brilliant genius like Thiruvalluvar in Tamilnad representing the best in the prevailing cultures, Kautilya's *Arthasastra* and Thiruvalluvar's *Kural* deserve elaborate treatment while dealing with ancient Indian polity. In spite of the dissolution of the system of government by kings in India and the integration of the States and the evolution of an Indian Republic, the principles of administration propounded by Kautilya, though related to monarchy, are as fresh and vigorous, as if they were formulated only yesterday. One can well admire the ingenuity shown in the suggestions for the organization of spies which, in modern parlance, will form the bedrock of the C.I.D. When we have laid down the progressive achievement of complete prohibition as one of the objective principles of our Republican Constitution, we can very well refer to the *Arthasastra* and see how the problem was dealt with about 2300 years ago. Rules about passport systems, keeping of public gaming houses, dealing with corrupt government servants or offences relating to marriages, have not lost their freshness even with the passage of two dozen centuries and the occasional emergence of cataclysmic upheavals on the face of the earth. When Asoka's Edicts have been found on stone pillars in the Andhra country which formed part of the Madras Presidency till recently and in the Mysore State, there can be no doubt that the Tamils were receptive to, and did assimilate, the Sanskrit culture. The term *Manu Needi Chozhan* itself is a reminder to the Tamils that the basic ideals of state policy were based on the treatises of ancient law-givers which were transmitted and transformed in the South to suit local conditions. Kamban is not honoured less because his theme emanated from Valmiki's Ramayana. Both of them stand on the same pedestal for respectful veneration.

CHAPTER II

IN THE MIRROR OF ANCIENT CLASSICS

THE ARTHASASTRA explains *Danda* or punishment as the sceptre on which the well being and progress of the sciences, the triple Vedas, Agriculture, Cattle breeding and Trade, depend. *Danda* or punishment which alone can procure safety and security of life is in its turn dependent on discipline (*vinaya*). In order to test the loyalty and steadfastness of ministers, Kautilya suggests several methods of spying on them. They are *agents provocateur* in the modern sense but in state-craft, there is no room for squeamishness as the stakes involved are very high. Thus a dismissed priest through the medium of spies shall incite the ministers saying that the king is unrighteous and should be replaced ; a dismissed commander prompts the ministers to do away with the king, suggesting that the army is with him ; or a woman spy may say that the queen is enamoured of the minister and he can have her and the kingdom by doing away with the king. In all these cases if the ministers do not fall a prey to the allurements of the flesh, position and honour, they can be said to be dependable. Modern military *coups* are the result of the undermining of civilian loyalty by spies and the taking hold of the country by army commanders who carry on with a civilian head for some time to import a semblance of constitutional propriety into their doings. We can replace kings by Prime Ministers, Chief Ministers or Governors-General and yet the methods of overthrow will still be valid. As already stated, the organization of spies to collect information from all parts of the realm and transmit it to the relevant quarters has been dealt with very elaborately in the *Arthasastra*. Not even that, a method to test the genuineness of the information by tapping three different sources and comparing notes, is in itself of great educative value to modern investigating officers, who may be misled by false scents or clues. The following are some of the spies to be employed :

- (1) Fraudulent disciple (*kapatika-chhatra*) ;
- (2) A recluse (*udasthita*) ;
- (3) A householder (*grihatatika*) ;
- (4) A merchant (*vaidehaka*) ;

- (5) Ascetic practising austerities (*tapasa*);
- (6) A classmate or a colleague (*satri*);
- (7) A fire-brand (*tikshna*);
- (8) A poisoner (*rasada*); and
- (9) A mendicant woman (*bhikshuki*).

“Of these spies those who are of good family, loyal, reliable, well-trained in the art of putting on disguises appropriate to countries and trades and possessed of knowledge of many languages and arts, shall be sent by the king to espy in his own country the movements of his ministers, priests, commanders of the army, the heir-apparent, the door-keepers, the officer-in-charge of the harem, the magistrate (*prasastrī*), the collector-general (*samahartri*), the chamberlain (*sannidhatri*), the commissioner (*pradeshtri*), the city constable (*nayaka*), the officer-in-charge of the city (*paura*), the superintendent of transactions (*vyavaharika*), the superintendent of manufactories (*karmantika*), the assembly of councillors (*mantriparishad*); the heads of department (*adhyakshah*), the commissioner-general (*dandapala*), and officers in charge fortifications, boundaries, and wild tracts.”

The mendicant women shall transmit information from the other spies to the institute of espionage. This institute may send their own spies to check up the information. “When the information thus received from these different sources is exactly of the same version, it shall be held reliable. If they (the three sources) frequently differ, the spies concerned shall either be punished in secret or dismissed.” Some of the terrorist parties in India who were working underground are said to test, sometimes, the reliability of their cadres by passing on some apparently secret information to the suspect and then watching whether the suspect disseminates it to police quarters. If this is proved, such suspects are severely dealt with.

Kautilya gives a recital of 40 ways of defalcation by government servants. Investigating officers enquiring into cases of embezzlement will find this list exhaustive of the *modus operandi* employed by offenders to commit breach of trust of government money.

“There are about forty ways of embezzlement: what is realized earlier is entered later, or what is realized later is entered earlier; what ought to be realized is not realized; what is hard to realize is shown as realized; what is collected is shown as not collected; what has not

been collected is shown as collected ; what is collected in part is entered as collected in full ; what is collected in full is entered as collected in part ; what is collected is of one sort, while what is entered is of another sort ; what is realized from one source is shown as realized from another ; what is payable is not paid ; what is not payable is paid ; not paid in time ; paid untimely ; small gifts made large gifts ; large gifts made small gifts ; what is gifted is of one sort, while what is entered is of another ; the real donee is one, while the person entered (in the register) as donee is another ; what has been taken into (the treasury) is removed while what has not been credited to it is shown as credited ; raw materials that are not paid for are entered, while those that are paid for, are not entered ; an aggregate is scattered in pieces ; scattered items are converted into an aggregate ; commodities of greater value are bartered for those of small value ; what is of smaller value is bartered for one of greater value ; price of commodities enhanced ; price of commodities lowered ; number of nights increased ; number of nights decreased ; the year not in harmony with its months ; the month not in harmony with its days ; inconsistency in the transactions carried on with personal supervision (*samagama-vishamah*) ; misrepresentation of the source of income ; inconsistency in giving charities ; incongruity in representing the work turned out ; inconsistency in dealing with fixed items ; misrepresentation of test marks or the standard of fineness (of gold and silver) ; misrepresentation of prices of commodities ; making use of false weights and measures ; deception in counting articles ; and making use of false cubic measures such as *bhajana* - these are the several ways of embezzlement. ”

Rewards to informants have been specified and suppression of their identity is emphasized. The anti-corruption department may take a cue from Kautilya. Olden days were not the golden age of government servants. “ Just as it is impossible not to taste the honey or the poison that finds itself at the tip of the tongue, so it is impossible for a government servant not to eat up, at least, a bit of the king’s revenue. Just as fish moving under water cannot possibly be found out either as drinking or not drinking water, so government servants employed in the government work cannot be found out (while) taking money (for themselves).

“ It is possible to mark the movements of birds flying up high in the sky ; but not so is it possible to ascertain the movement of government servants of hidden purpose. Government servants shall not only

be confiscated of their ill-earned hoards but also be transferred from one work to another, so that they cannot either misappropriate government money or vomit what they have eaten up.

“Those who increase the king’s revenue instead of eating it up and are loyally devoted to him, shall be made permanent in service.

“The collector-general shall employ spies disguised as persons endowed with supernatural power, persons engaged in penance, ascetics, world-trotters (*chakra-chara*), bards, buffoons, mystics (*prachchhandaka*), astrologers, prophets foretelling the future, persons capable of reading good or bad time, physicians, lunatics, the dumb, the deaf, idiots, the blind, traders, painters, carpenters, musicians, dancers, vintners, and manufacturers of cakes, flesh and cooked rice, and send them abroad into the country for espionage.”

The methods of trapping a judge or commissioner is noted as follows:—

“On acquiring friendship with the suspected person, who may be either a judge or a commissioner, the spy may request him that the misfortune in which a friend of the spy is involved may be warded off, and that a certain amount of money may be accepted. If the judge accedes to the request, he shall be proclaimed as the receiver of bribes, and banished. The same rule shall also apply to commissioners.”

In view of complete prohibition in the State and enforcement of the Madras Prohibition Act by the police, some of the definitions remind one of the modern Acts. The methods of preparation mentioned here may probably surprise the modern illicit distiller.

“Of various kinds of liquor such as *medaka*, *prasanna*, *asava*, *arista*, *maireya* and *madhu*.”

Medaka is probably ‘*Sonti-soru*’ of Madras City. *Medaka* is manufactured with one *drona* of water, half an *adhaka* of rice, and three *prastha* of *kinva* (ferment).

The following may be cider. “A sour gruel or decoction of the bark of *meshasrngi* (a kind of poison) mixed with jaggery (*guda*) and with the powder of long pepper and black pepper or with the powder of *triphala* ((1) *Terminalia Chebula*, (2) *Terminalia Bellerica* and (3) *Phyllanthus Emblica*, forms *Maireya*.”

These liquor shops licensed and controlled by the Government were also expected to help in the control of crime.

“Spies stationed in the shops shall ascertain whether the expenditure incurred by customers in the shop is ordinary, or extraordinary, and also whether there are any strangers. They shall also ascertain the value of the dress, ornaments, and gold of the customers lying there under intoxication.

“Merchants seated in half-closed rooms shall observe the appearance of local and foreign customers who, in real or false guise of Aryas, lie down in intoxication along with their beautiful mistresses.”

The onus is thrown on the Superintendent of Liquor to get suspicious characters arrested.

“All may be compelled to drink liquor within the shops and not allowed to stir out at once, in view of detecting articles, such as sealed deposits, unsealed deposits, commodities given for repair, stolen articles, and the like, which the customers may have acquired by foul means. When they are found to possess gold and other articles not their own, the Superintendent shall contrive to cause them to be arrested outside the shop. Likewise those who are too extravagant, or spend beyond their income, shall be arrested.”

Many a circular of the old days issued by Superintendents of Police when the Abkari Act was in force in this State contained almost the same instructions to subordinate police officers and conspicuous success had been achieved by several investigating officers by putting these into practice.

A scheme of informal rationing of liquor is also found in the *Arthashastra*.

“Liquor shall not be taken out of villages, nor shall liquor shops be close to each other. Lest workmen spoil the work in hand, and Aryas violate their decency and virtuous character, and lest firebrands commit indiscreet acts, liquor shall be sold to persons of well known character in such small quantities as one-fourth or half a *kudumba*, one *kudumba*, half a *prastha*, or one *prastha*. Those who are well known and of pure character may take liquor out of the shop.”

It will be apparent from the above that even more than 2000 years ago, liquor was a product very much under government control and

was taboo in good society. The present attempt to enforce complete prohibition is only the consummation of an ideal set by our ancients.

The police have several responsibilities with regard to the issue of passports. Even at the time of Kautilya several rules had been framed concerning passports.

“The Superintendent of Passports shall issue passes at the rate of a *masha* per pass. Whoever is provided with a pass shall be at liberty to enter into, or go out of the country. Whoever, being a native of the country, enters into or goes out of the country without a pass shall be fined 12 *panas*.”

Forgery of passports appeared to be in existence then, as it is now, and severe punishments are provided for such offences.

Very great precautions seem to have been taken to know about the arrival and departure of strangers. This responsibility is now cast on village headmen who could comply with it only in the breach, owing to the phenomenal increase in population and development of quick modes of transport which has made it almost impossible to keep track of suspicious strangers or new arrivals in a village. The *Arthashastra* enjoins on the managers of charitable institutions to “send information (to *gopa* or *sthanika*) as to any heretics (*pashanda*) and travellers arriving to reside therein.”

Today doctors, both private and official, are instructed by the *Civil Medical Code* to get into touch with the nearest police officer, when an injured person is brought before him. Kautilya lays down the dictum:—

“Any physician who undertakes to treat in secret a patient suffering from ulcer or excess of unwholesome food or drink, as well as the master of the house (wherein such treatment is attempted) shall be innocent only when they (the physician and the master of the house) make a report of the same to either *gopa* or *sthanika*; otherwise both of them shall be equally guilty with the sufferer.”

In cities and towns, the arrival and departure of visitors in hotels have to be communicated to the police authorities in prescribed forms. Here is the *Arthashastra* laying down the rule in the same vein:—

“Masters of houses shall make a report of strangers arriving at, or departing from their houses; otherwise they shall be guilty of the offence (theft, etc.) committed during that night. Even during safe

nights (i.e. nights when no theft, etc. seems to have been committed), they shall be fined three *panas* (for not making such a report).”
 “Spies shall also make a search for suspicious persons in the interior of deserted houses, in the workshops or houses of vintners and sellers of cooked rice and flesh in gambling houses, and in the abode of heretics.”

Profuse quotations from the *Arthashastra* relating to strangers are given above to show that the responsibilities incumbent on citizens and village and town officials then are still valid. Arrest of strangers found under suspicious circumstance is one of those effective remedies to control crime and protect honest people from the ravages of housebreakers and thieves.

The master mind of Kautilya has not failed to define a suspicious person and diagnose the symptoms of a liar. The principles of the modern “Lie-Detector” were not unknown to that immortal genius.

“Persons whose family subsist on slender means of inheritance who have little or no comfort; who frequently change their residence, caste and names, not only of themselves, but also of their family (*gotra*); who conceal their own avocations and callings; who have betaken themselves to such luxurious modes of life as eating flesh and condiments, drinking liquor, wearing scents, garlands, fine dress, and jewels; who have been squandering away their money; who constantly move with profligate women, gamblers, or vintners; who frequently leave their residence; whose commercial transaction, journey, or destination is difficult to understand; who travel alone in such solitary places as forests and mountainous tracts; who hold secret meetings in lonely places near to, or far from, their residence; who hurry on to get their fresh wounds or boils cured; who always hide themselves in the interior of their house; who are excessively attached to women; who are always inquisitive to gather information as to the women and property of others; who associate themselves with men of condemnable learning and work; who loiter in the dark behind walls or under shades; who purchase rare or suspicious articles in suspicious times or places; who are known for their inimical dealings; whose caste and avocation are very low; who keep false appearances or put on different caste signs; who change their ancestral customs under false excuses; whose notoriety is already marked; who, though in charge of villages, are terribly afraid of appearing before the prime minister and conceal themselves or go

elsewhere; who pant in fear while sitting alone; who show undue agitation or palpitation of heart; whose face is pale and dry while the voice is indistinct and stammering; who always move in company with armed men; or who keep threatening appearance; these and other persons may be suspected to be either murderers or robbers or offenders guilty of misappropriation of treasure trove or deposits or to any other kind of knaves subsisting by foul means secretly employed."

Gambling was under State control during the time of Kautilya. This undertaking was said to be for the purpose of finding out spies and thieves. Two thousand years later we find the early British Settlers organizing, although for a different purpose, a Lottery Department in the regime of the East India Company.

"With a view to finding out spies or thieves the Superintendent of Gambling shall, under the penalty of a fine of 12 *panas* if played elsewhere, centralize gambling." Monte Carlo has probably adopted these principles in the maintenance of salons for gambling. In our State, gambling except on the race course has been made an offence.

Superintendents of Gambling appear to have been slowly replaced by licensed keepers of gambling dens. These keepers seemed to have formed a sort of guild called the Players' Association. This is apparent from Sudraka's drama *Mrcchhakatika* which was produced during the Gupta period. The members of the Players' Association had been invested with the powers of arrest of defaulting debtors. This is evident from the following passage-at-arms between Mathura the keeper of a gambling den and Samvahaka who owed money to him.

"Mathura: Here now: I arrest you in the name of the Players' Association.

Samvahaka (gets up sorrowfully): How now! I have been arrested in the name of the Players' Association. Ah! This is a rule which we gamblers cannot break. But from what source am I to pay it?"

The play itself which deals with the suspected murder of the courtesan Vasanthasena by her one-time rich lover Charudatta depicts the way in which cases were investigated and judged in those days. Both the functions had been vested in the court official, who may be termed as Investigating Magistrate on the model of the French. This Magistrate had no powers to inflict the punishment but after recording

evidence to send up the records to the King for pronouncing judgment, just like the Anti-corruption Tribunal of the present day which transfers the case records to the Government with its recommendations about the punishment.

The definitions of criminal offences in the *Arthasastra* which are the products of an incisive mind ever alive to the precision of words and perfection of import, eclipse the efforts of Lord Macaulay who gave us the Indian Penal Code. We find it difficult to accept the reasons set out by Sir Edmund Cox, author of a large number of books on administration, in defence of Macaulay's prolixities. He writes, "The primary essential of any legislature for India is absolute plainness of language. There must be no doubt as to the meaning of any term employed. It has to be remembered that the Code is not generally used in English, but is translated into a large number of vernacular languages. These languages lack the clearness of expression that we are accustomed to in English. In Mahratti for instance, there is hardly a sentence which cannot be written in more than one way. Moreover the oriental mind loves hair-splitting, and will ever strive to convey to a phrase a meaning which it was not intended to bear. Consequently the more elementary words and phrases had to be defined in the code." How hollow this complaint is, can be gauged from the crisp definition given by Kautilya for robbery and theft.

"Sudden and direct seizure (of person or property) is termed *sahasa*; fraudulent or indirect seizure (*niranvaye pavyayanecha*) is theft." Generally fines are noted as punishments for these offences but it has been mentioned that the punishment should be proportional to the gravity of the offence. The liability of abettors, conspirators and instigators for the offences is also specified. How graphically and yet crisply grievous injury falling under Sec. 325 I.P.C. is explained, is clear from the following definition in the *Arthasastra*.

"Beating a person almost to death, though without causing blood, breaking the hands, legs, or teeth, tearing off the ear or the nose, or breaking open the flesh of a person except in ulcers or boils, shall be punished with the first amercement. Causing hurt in the thigh or the neck, wounding the eye, or hurting so as to impede eating, speaking, or any other bodily movements, shall not only be punished with the middle-most amercement, but also be made liable to the payment (to the sufferer) of such compensation as is necessary to cure him."

Four years ago the cutting of the branches of avenue trees or removing its bark became such a big problem in the Madras State that a special staff had to be employed to deal with the menace and measures had to be concerted to change the law relating to such mischief. Kautilya had framed the law and punishment for these mischievous acts. Reserve Forests are also noted here.

“For cutting off the tender sprouts of fruit trees, flower trees or shady trees in the parks near a city, a fine of 6 *panas* shall be imposed; for cutting off the minor branches of the same trees, 12 *panas*; and for cutting off the big branches, 24 *panas* shall be levied. Cutting off the trunks of the same shall be punished with the first amercement; and felling the same shall be punished with the middlemost amercement.

“In the case of plants which bear flowers, fruits, or provide shade, half of the above fines shall be levied.

“The same fines shall be levied in the case of trees that have grown in places of pilgrimage, forests of hermits, or cremation or burial grounds.

“For similar offences committed in connection with the trees which mark boundaries, or which are worshipped or observed (*chaityeshvalakshiteshu cha*), or trees which are grown in the king's forests, double the above fines shall be levied.”

The police are the specialized agencies for protecting the weak and the oppressed but that does not divest the man in the street of the responsibility of going to the help of a person in danger. The present Jagadguru Sankaracharya called this as *Kshatra Dharma*. The omission to perform this is made justiciable in the *Arthashastra*.

“...when a person does not run to render help to another in danger or runs without a cause...a fine of 100 *panas* shall be imposed.”

The people of Madras State are familiar with the celebration of the Fire Services Week by the police. This is for the purpose of spotlighting the attention of the public to the dangers inherent in the spread of fire to inhabited localities. The destruction of life, cattle and grains in such holocausts is terrible. With some elementary precautions most of the fires can be prevented and losses minimized. The Government have already ordered the police to organize village fire

fighting units on a voluntary basis and to give the volunteers training in fire fighting. Let us look into the *Arthashastra* :—

“(If a house owner is not found to have ready with him) five water pots (*pancha ghatinam*), a *kumbha*, a *drona*, a ladder, an axe, a winnowing basket, a hook (such as is used to drive an elephant, pincers (*kachagrahini*), and a leather bag (*drti*), he shall be fined one-fourth of a *pana*.

“They shall also remove thatched roofs. Those who work by fire (blacksmiths) shall all live together in a single locality.

“Each house-owner shall ever be present (at night) at the door of his own house.

“Vessels filled with water shall be kept in thousands in a row without confusion, not only in big streets and at places where four roads meet, but also in front of the royal buildings (*rajaparigraheshu*).

“Any house-owner who does not run to give his help in extinguishing the fire of whatever is burning shall be fined 12 *panas*; and a renter (*avakrayi*, i. e. one who has occupied a house for rent) not running to extinguish fire shall be fined 6 *panas*.

“Whoever carelessly sets fire (to a house) shall be fined 54 *panas*; but he who intentionally sets fire (to a house) shall be thrown into fire.”

Villagers have been requested to provide themselves now with the same articles to put out conflagrations, as are mentioned by Kautilya.

Another part of investigation which the modern police has to deal with is cases relating to counterfeiting of coins. The detection of these cases not only uncovers the activities of criminals engaged in it, but also indirectly helps in the economic development of the country. Counterfeit coins, like deficit financing, improve the purchasing power of the people leading to inflation. The way in which counterfeiters are to be tracked and revealed, is beautifully portrayed by Kautilya.

“Whoever is suspected of manufacturing of counterfeit coins, in that he often purchases various kinds of metals, alkalis, charcoal, bellows, pincers, crucibles, stoves, and hammers, has his hands and clothes dirty with ashes and smoke, or possesses such other accessory instruments as are necessary for this illegal manufacture, may be

requested by a spy to take the latter as an apprentice and being gradually betrayed by the spy, such person, on proclamation of his guilt as the manufacturer of false coins, shall be banished."

Hans Gross's *Criminal Investigation* which is the bible of all investigating officers has not been more elucidative than the above instructions.

Theft of wires used in telegraph and telephone installations has become so numerous in recent years that the State and Central Governments are seriously considering the control of the sale of copper and iron wires under an act with a view to having a check on receivers of stolen properties. Cycles are another important item of property which attract the attention of thieves and their associates, the unknown cycle-shopkeepers. In a democratic constitution any new law has to conform to the principles underlying fundamental rights. Let us see how Kautilya deals with the problem:—

"No person shall, without giving information to the Superintendent of Commerce, mortgage or purchase for himself any old or second-hand articles.

"On receiving information regarding the sale of mortgage of old articles, the superintendent shall ask the owner how he came by it. He may reply: It has been inherited; it has been received from a third person; it is purchased by himself; or it has been made to order; or it is a secret pledge; he may definitely state the time and place when and where it came into being. Or he may adduce evidence as to the price and commission (*kshanamulyam*) for which it was purchased. If his statement regarding the antecedent circumstances of the article is found to be true, he shall be let off.

"When a person is found possessed of an article which he alleges to have been thrown out, lost, or forgotten by a third person, he shall prove his innocence by adducing evidence as to the time, place, and circumstances of finding the article. Otherwise he shall restore the article, besides paying a fine equal to its value; or he may be punished as a thief." The last sentence lays down the law even in the present day.

Even medical jurisprudence has not been left out in the *Arthashastra*. Taylor, Glaister, Smith and Modi vie with one another in approving some of the symptoms of violent death noted in this book. For instance:—

“ Any person whose corpse is tainted with mucus and urine, with organs inflated with wind, with hands and legs swollen with eyes open, and with neck marked with ligatures, may be regarded as having been killed by suffocation and suppression of breathing.

“ Any person with contracted arms and thighs may be regarded as having been killed by hanging.

“ Any dead person with swollen hands, legs and belly, with sunken eyes and inflated navel, may be regarded as having been killed by hanging.

“ Any dead person with stiffened rectum and eyes, with tongue bitten between the teeth, and with belly swollen, may be considered as having been killed by drowning.”

Basic human nature whether for good or evil does not change even with the passage of centuries. It has been often observed by the police that murder by other means is often made to appear as suicide by hanging. Kautilya mentions of such simulations :—

“ Death due to any one of the above causes is sometimes under the fear of punishment, made to appear as having been brought about of voluntary hanging, by causing marks of ligature round the neck.”

Compartmentalization of murder used in statistical assessment of crime in the modern days is done in the *Arthashastra* itself :—

“ All kinds of sudden death, centre round one or the other of the following causes :—

“ Offence to women or kinsmen, claiming inheritance, professional competition, hatred against rivals, commerce, guilds and any one of the legal disputes, is the cause of anger : anger is the cause of death.”

The directions given for investigation in such cases have not been bettered even in recent times.

“ The relatives of the deceased shall be inquired as follows :—

“ Who called the deceased ; who was with him ; who accompanied him on his journey ; and who took him to the scene of death ?

“ Those who happened to be at the locality of murder shall be severally asked as follows :—

“By whom was the deceased brought there; whether they (the witnesses) saw any armed person lurking in the place and showing signs of troubled appearance?”

“Any clue afforded by them shall be followed in further enquiry.”

Torture to elicit confession was not tabooed in ancient days. Most of the corporal punishments could be avoided by the payment of compensation to the parties and the king. From a reading of the *Arthashastra* it is clear that the offenders were brought to justice by the police on the spot and punishment also was immediate. There were no law's delays because even actions of judges were under close watch. There is no wonder that crime was well under control in these times.

The more we peruse the *Arthashastra*, the more are we led to ponder over the immensity of the canvas on which it had been written, touching all aspects of human life. We are astonished at the profundity and subtlety of this master mind who produced this *magnum opus*. A study of this will repay every policeman the time he spends to get acquainted with police procedure, scientific investigation, law and medical jurisprudence.

Thiruvalluvar's *Thirukkural*, as already discussed, belongs to a later age. The Buddha had preceded the writing of the *Arthashastra* but Buddhism had not yet made any considerable headway in India. Small kingdoms in the North accepted Buddhism as a religion more out of regard for the Buddha, who was a prince royal, than of any internal conviction that Hinduism failed to satisfy their craving for salvation. Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, was almost a contemporary of the Buddha. If we accept the age of Thiruvalluvar as the seventh century A.D. it may be clear that the new religions had enough time to permeate among receptive and distracted Hindu minds both in the North and in the South. There was considerable support for these religions in the Southern peninsula. Tradition says that Thiruvalluvar was a Jain monk. Be that as it may, the *kural* is the cream of all that is best in Hinduism and Saivism. Kautilya wrote the *Arthashastra* as a politician and hence he did not oppose opportunism and adventurism when the affairs of State demanded them. He was one with the Right Honourable Sir Winston Churchill who, speaking about the methods employed to win the war, said, “In the struggle for life and death, there is in the end no legality.” Thiruvalluvar on the other hand, is a sage whose sayings are the quintessence of wisdom. As Avvayar said, “If the cream

obtained by churning the seven oceans could be contained in a molecule, that is *Thirukkural*." The instructions are all pitched in the plane of the spirit and morality. Thus, while the *Arthasastra* would have licensed liquor shops and centralized gambling dens, *Thirukkural* disapproved of drinking and gambling. But both suggested the employment of spies by the ruler to get himself acquainted with people's reaction to his policies.

Let us look more closely into some of these couplets of Thiruvalluvar. The following are considered to be the five essential requisites for a country: (1) Freedom from disease, (2) Economic stability, (3) Wealth, (4) Surplus agricultural production, (5) Protection for person and property. The last one is the primary concern of the police. It can be called otherwise by the handy but hackneyed term 'Maintenance of Law and Order'. Of course the police have an important part to play in the maintenance of other conditions also. For instance public-health laws are not observed without the intervention of the police in many areas. Economic stability can be upset in modern times by large scale illegal import and smuggling of dutiable goods or putting into circulation counterfeit coins or notes or black-marketing in essential commodities. The police are there to deal with such unsocial elements and wean them from their illegal activities. Agricultural production can be hampered by frequent quarrels between landlords and tenants in which each party takes the law into its own hands in order to achieve a Pyrrhic victory over the other. The police see to the reconciliation of the parties by bringing the wrong-doers to justice and giving necessary protection to the law-abiding landlords and cultivators. So the presence of the police is necessary both in times of tranquillity and trouble and that is why *Thirukkural* places so much stress on this aspect of administration in its recital of qualifications of a good State.

Regarding the institution of spying *Thirukkural* says as follows :-

"A king should clearly understand that getting prompt information through spies about the happenings in the country and learning well-known treatises on administration, are his two eyes.

"A king's duty is to know all things occurring within his realm without any delay.

"Spies are intended to obtain such information. If a king does not inform himself in secret about the happenings he may not succeed in any of his ventures.

“Particularly a king should know whether his viceroys and representatives are behaving properly, whether his friends and well wishers still retain their affection for him and whether there are in existence persons inimically disposed towards him. Spying actually means getting to know about every body while making enquiries in particular directions.

“A spy should go about in disguise fearing nothing, without others knowing any thing about his identity or the purpose of his movements. He should then be able to collect his information.

“Spies should move about without exhibiting any partisanship and should not reveal any thing even if some persons suspect them and put them through the press.

“A clever spy should be able to gather information not known to him by questioning people without exciting suspicion. The information should also be checked up.

“A king should accept an information brought by a spy as true only after it had been got verified through another spy.

“In important matters three spies should be sent for the same purpose without each one being aware of the deputation of the others. The king should compare the information brought by them and arrive at the truth.

“A king may honour his spies by giving them presents but this should not be known to others. If the public come to know about it, the organization can no longer remain secret.

Thiruvalluvar's views about drink are uncompromising and give added support to the enforcement of prohibition.

“People addicted to drink are not respected by others, they also lose their honour.

“So do not drink liquor. Let people who do not want to be respected by good citizens, consume liquor.

“A person intoxicated by drink is hated even by his own mother. How much more should people who desire discipline despise him.

“Modesty, that inimitable girl, will not care even to glance at the place where people who commit the atrocious crime of drink, congregate.

“Purchasing forgetfulness by paying money is foolishness which cannot differentiate between good and bad.

“Therefore persons who are thus unconscious are like corpses. People who consume drink on every occasion are only taking poison which makes them into corpses.

“People who drink inside their houses and become intoxicated with rolling eyes still become the objects of laughter and dishonour.

“The drink habit, which makes the addict say, ‘I did this under the influence of liquor’ should be eschewed. Secrets concealed within one’s bosom will be revealed while drunk.

“Advancing arguments to reform an addict who is in a hazy condition, is like searching a man drowning in deep waters with a burning torch. Will not an addict reform himself at least in his saner moment by looking at another under the influence of liquor?”

The modern welfare State is compelled to frame laws for the control of gambling and amend them often to match the wits of those that manage to invent new devices to circumvent the statutes. Thus betting on cotton prices, on the numbers of motor cars passing through a particular area or on race results outside the prescribed enclosures are all now dealt with by new amendments. The *Thirukkural* disapproves of all sorts of gambling. Thiruvalluvar says:—

“Even if one wins in gambling one should not resort to it over and over again. This win is only like the hook at the end of a tackle swallowed by fish thinking that it is some kind of an eatable.

“Is there a way for comfortable life for those who win once but fail a hundred times?

“Gambling will give no rest. The rest will come only when all the money had been lost and there is no further scope for earning.

“Even at this time, the craving will make one commit offences. There is nothing like gambling to bring a man to abject poverty. This is the experience of the world.

“People who are entrapped by the gaming devil cannot eat their fill. At all times they will be pressed down by some anxiety or other.

“If one takes up to gambling while young it will destroy all the family property and prestige accumulated through several generations.

“Gambling makes one to lose his property first, then it prompts him to say lies and then incites him to do inhuman acts, leading to misery all round.

“Good habiliments, wealth, freedom from want, good character and learning, all these five qualities will be suppressed in a man addicted to gambling.

“Just as a man gets attached to his body as his bodily suffering due to disease increases, a gambler’s love of gambling increases in the face of his repeated failures.”

Another Tamil classic to which we may profitably turn our attention is *Silappadikaram*, (the story of the anklet.) This is purported to have been written by Ilango, the brother of the Chera king, Seran Senguttuvan. Philological and internal evidence place the period of this book about the beginning of the 9th century. There is another view which takes it seven centuries earlier but this is discounted because of the references in this book to other later productions like *Mayamata*, *Ratna Pariksha*, Karnisuta’s *Steya Sastra* which is followed in Dandin’s *Dasakumaracharita*, *Panchatantra* and works on astronomy and astrology, all of which had come to notice in or about the 8th century A.D. Karnisuta’s *Steya Sastra* which is said to be a comprehensive anthology of thieving methods may have a fascination for the police. The original work is not forthcoming, but an idea of the contents is obtained from other books which have drawn on the original. *Silappadikaram* deals with the well known story of Kovalan and Kannagi, the break in their marital life by the intervention of a courtesan named Madhavi on whom Kovalan bestows all his wealth, the subsequent realization by Kovalan of the injuries he had caused to his dutiful wife and his efforts at rehabilitation by leaving his country along with his wife with the idea of trying his fortune at Madurai, the capital of the Pandyas. The only jewellery remaining was a pair of anklets of which he wants to sell one to raise the required capital. He takes it to the royal goldsmith who, having stolen one of the anklets of the queen, contrives the occasion as an opportunity to throw the blame on poor Kovalan. The king who in a weak moment orders the beheading of Kovalan without enquiry is informed as to how the latter came by it. The town watch who goes to the place finds, from the demeanour of Kovalan, that he does not look a purloiner of goods, but the wily goldsmith quotes chapter and verse from Karnisuta to show how a clever thief will outwit all palace

and town guards and walk away with any property he likes. The story is probably apocryphal but the recital gives details of a past civilization with great verisimilitude and verve. Offences appear to have been punished in a summary way as evidenced by the order to cut the head of Kovalan without getting the anklet properly identified or giving an opportunity for the culprit to explain himself. But one cannot help feeling that an idealized society has been described in this book, for there does not appear to have been any fear of thieves in the Pandyan regime when Kovalan and Kannagi undertook their journey to Madurai from Kaveripoompattinam. They went stage by stage at night in order to avoid the heat of the day without any fear of thieves and robbers, for in the Pandyan country "the lion was lying with the lamb".

According to *Silappadikaram* there are eight qualities for a thief which are: *mandhiram*, *deivam*, *marundu*, *nimitham*, *thandhiram*, *idam*, *kalam* and *karuvi*. If the thief begins to recite some verses he will become invisible. By thinking about his tutelary deity he will escape with all the property from our very presence. With his medicines he will stupefy other persons. Without the proper auspicious signs, he will not venture any expedition even though no effort is needed on his part to remove the properties. If he sticks to the principles of the science of thieving he will even remove the chain from Indra's breast. If he fixes upon a place to take a particular object, nobody in that area can locate him. Even Gods cannot prevent him from thieving, if he had taken advantage of the opportunity, nor could anybody discover him with his house-breaking instruments. He is an adept both by day and night. Every place is open to him. The later Thugs set much store by many of these observances. The goldsmith exemplifies these qualities by citing the instance of a famous thief, who in the guise of a king's messenger loafed about the courtyards and towards dusk dressed himself as a woman and went into the bedroom of the prince, where he took the gold chain from the latter's neck. The prince got up suddenly from his bed and drew his sword, but the thief caught hold of the scabbard and managed to receive all the thrusts made by the prince into it. When the prince attempted to know the identity of the thief, the latter made a decorated pillar nearby substitute for him and vanished into thin air. A touch of realism is brought into this scene by one of the watchers reciting his experiences of meeting a burglar, armed with a housebreaking implement and dressed in dark clothes, who came like a famishing wolf in the middle of a dark night and vanished suddenly

with his sword when he drew it from its scabbard and added that the ways of thieves are inscrutable. All these conversations were evidently leading to a climax. An unlettered brute of a watcher drew his sword and cut off Kovalan's head.

Capital punishment for theft is not anything characteristic of India. Even in advanced countries of the West this was in existence before the new jurisprudence began to hold sway. The Pandya king told Kannagi, who came to beard the lion in his own den, that the decapitation of a thief was the duty of a king and it could never be considered an unrighteous act. But when the king realized that he had been misled by his goldsmith and that he was bereft of all reason when he ordered the killing of Kovalan, he became broken-hearted and died on the spot. This gives an indication of the ideal of justice which the kings of old held up before them and the sacrifice they were prepared to make when they unwittingly made a mistake.

That the systems of town watch and the village watch were in existence in the old days is apparent from another verse in *Silappadikaram*. It also suggests that the king went out at nights in disguise to check the patrols and ascertain the grievances of the people, a method made popular in later times by the Caliph Haroun al Rashid. A brahmin woman living in a hut with no doors exclaims, when there is a tap on her door-frame, that her husband while leaving for a distant place assured her that the king's vigil and watch would protect her and that she need not be afraid of her safety at all and that she cannot understand the disturbance that night. The king who is on his rounds and who has tapped on the door-frame hears this and is mollified. Probably this offers also an explanation for the anger of the Pandyan king against the alleged culprit who had stolen an anklet as he should have considered it as a blot on the family escutcheon much more than a regrettable loss of a valuable article.

The next classic to which we may turn with profit is Sekkilar's *Periapuranam*. Sekkilar was born in the suburbs of the present Madras City and was the Chief Minister of Tondamandalam Chieftains. He mentions in his anthology of Tamil saints how Saint Sundarar was prevented from entering upon a marriage by Lord Siva in order that he may dedicate himself to the service of the Lord. Leaving aside the supernatural element, the story gives us a picture of how justice was meted out in ancient days.

Nambiyurar, the son of a Saivite priest was also the god-son of the king of the realm. His marriage to a daughter of Sivachariar of Puttur near Tiruvennainallur in South Arcot District had been settled and he was proceeding to the place on a horse, accompanied by a retinue of relations and attendants, befitting a royal procession. On the border of Puttur, the bridegroom's entourage was met by a fanfare of trumpets and a bevy of beautiful girls carrying silver plates full of flowers and fruits. An old brahmin was at this time hurrying past the crowd, mumbling within himself as how the marriage could be consummated without his consent. Nambiyurar got down from his horse and was advancing towards the bride's house when the old brahmin accosted him and said in a loud voice "You are my serf. How can you go through this marriage without my express consent?" The crowd was astonished at this interlude and began to murmur, "the old man has lost his balance of mind". Nambiyurar asked him with all humility as to how one brahmin could be the serf of another. The law of the land did not permit it. The old brahmin replied that Nambiyurar's father had executed a deed wherein the latter had bound himself and his progeny to serfdom and he had come to claim his right. He waved aloft the connected deed written on palm leaf. Since brahmins becoming serfs was unheard of, Nambiyurar thought the document to be a forgery and so he snatched the leaf from the hand of the brahmin, crushed it and threw it aside. This raised the ire of the venerable intruder, who fretted and fumed at the injustice meted out to him by Nambiyurar. When the question of justice was raised, all who were on the side of the bridegroom became impersonal and opined that the matter could be decided by a court at Tiruvennainallur. Accordingly all proceeded to Tiruvennainallur where a council of brahmins constituted the court. The old brahmin stated his complaint to which Nambiyurar put forward his objection. The council asked the complainant to produce documentary proof. The brahmin went out and produced another palm leaf which he said was the original deed, the one destroyed by Nambiyurar being a copy. The Court looked into the document and said that though it categorically supported the contention of the complainant it had to be legally admitted in evidence by proving its authorship before reliance could be placed on its contents. Nambiyurar's father appeared to be a man of note, for the record office in the court itself contained documents in his handwriting. This accepted handwriting was compared with the suspected one by the court who found this to be the handiwork of the same person. The old brahmin

won his case and Nambiyurar bowed to the decision. The point to be borne in mind in this incident is the expedition with which justice was administered in far-off times. Even an impending marriage did not get precedence over the court's business unlike today, when procrastination and postponement of hearings are frequent. It also gives an insight into the method of adducing proof of documents, about which much will be said later.

There are references to the village and town watch in a number of other Tamil classics of the Sangam age :—

In *Pathupattu* (Maduraikanchi 631-653) a Tamil classic of second century A.D. there is a description of a dark rainy night. Darkness is thick and as black as an elephant's skin. The thieves, dressed in black and armed with sharp knives and implements of house breaking and collapsible ladders of rope wound round their waists, lurk in darkness. Unmindful of the pouring rain, the patrolmen, renowned for their mastery of the ways of thieves, their leonine courage, indefatigable energy and relentless vigil, pursue these nocturnal hawks like prowling tigers ready to spring upon wild elephants.

In the latter classics also we come across such descriptions of night watches who played no less a vital role in the prevention of crime and protection of property. In *Pandi Kovai* a work of the 7th century A.D. we are introduced to robust youths who keep vigil over Madurai, the Pandyan capital.

Manimekalai (7: 68-9) refers to the men who patrol the highways and by-lanes in the town alerting the citizens with their rattles.

In *Pura Nanuru* (37) there is a poetic fancy which brings to our ken the crocodiles hurrying up in the moats to catch the bright reflected image of the lanterns carried by the City night patrols which appear to them as some kind of prey.

It will be interesting to know how the administration was carried on by the old Tamil kings. It is apparent that they relied on the *Dharmasastra* as propounded by learned brahmins and so there was a large sprinkling of brahmins in their administrative set-up, particularly in Courts of Justice. But as Sri K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in his book on Cholas says, "between an able bureaucracy and the active local assemblies

which in various ways fostered a live sense of citizenship, there was attained a high standard of administrative efficiency and purity, perhaps the highest ever attained by the Hindu State." A remarkable parallel is furnished by the cities like Gaul in the Roman Empire. "It possessed its directing senate, its corps of magistrates, its jurisdictions, its police, its treasury, its goods, movable and immovable, its public fund, its school, its clergy and its high priests. None of all these came to it from outside. Magistrates, Professors, Priests, everyone was found within. Doubtless it was not a free State, it was at any rate a State."

But what are these institutions which evoke our admiration? First there were economic groups consisting of members of the mercantile community. Village assemblies were of two types viz. *Ur* and *Sabha*. In a mercantile town, there was an assembly called *Nagaram*. The *Ur* sometimes acted alone or in co-operation with the *Sabha* which was generally associated with certain villages. In many cases representatives were elected by the village. Executive officers were selected to carry out specified works. People who had failed to pay their dues to the king or who had been convicted of offences were debarred from selection or election. Justice was administered by regularly constituted royal courts in addition to village courts and caste panchayats. Cattle-lifting was viewed seriously. Trial by ordeal was in existence. One of the Chinese visitors to the country during this period noted as follows:—"When any one of the people is guilty of an offence one of the court ministers punishes him; if the offence is light the culprit is tied to a wooden frame and given fifty, seventy or upto one hundred blows with a stick. Heinous crimes are punished with decapitation or being trampled to death by an elephant."

Taxes were levied in cash as well as in kind. Sri K. A. Nilakanta Sastri mentions about the tax recovered to pay watchmen's fees. "The term, *Padikaval* occurring more than once in the list of taxes and dues deserves more attention than most of other items mentioned; for it refers to a universally prevalent system of safeguarding property from theft especially at night. This was the system by which each village maintained its own *kavalkarar* who in return for certain regular payments to him, held himself responsible for the security of property of the village to the extent of either recovering lost property or making it good; this system survived in some measure almost till the other day in the Tamil country and it seems to have been indeed of very ancient

origin. A special staff of officials entrusted with this duty and maintained from the proceeds of a special cess ear-marked for the purpose, the *Padi-kaval-kuli* as it is sometimes called formed a regular feature of the Chola administrative system. In the later Chola days we find these duties increasingly falling into the hands of the overgrown vassals whose rise was a symptom of the imminent dissolution of the empire. Humbler men in charge of relatively restricted areas also carried on their work more quietly and with less detriment to the well-being of the central administration. An inscription from Talaiccangadu (Tanjore District) dated A. D. 1221 states that the *padi-kappar* were provided with residences in the villages in addition to some allowances as their wages. Examples of the other types are quite numerous; often an individual is found in possession of the *Padi-kavval-karu* of a whole *Nadu* if not of a wider area, and such an individual often gave expression to his vanity or piety by remitting the dues from sacred property belonging to temples or requiring the temple authorities to burn lights or conduct festivals in the manner specified by them instead of paying the fee. The Vanakovarayas, Malayamans, Muttarayas, Sambuvarayas and Kadavarayas all furnish instances of the practice sketched above. The terms *Perumbadi Kaval* and *Mer-padi-kaval* are sometimes employed, and these are perhaps meant to indicate the wider sphere of their police duties or their higher status as compared to the ordinary *padi-kaval* of the villages."

CHAPTER III

IN THE MIDDLE AGES

THE CHOLAS were a waning power in the beginning of the 14th century. The Pandyas were a divided house. Mutual recrimination between the Pandyas and Cholas and sometimes hostilities against the Cheras had exposed their weakness to the outside world. The Sultans were slowly consolidating their power in Delhi at this time. Alauddin Khilji had already defeated the Yadava ruler Ramadeva of Devagiri and Prataparudra, the king of Warangal. Malik Kafur, his Commander-in-Chief, extended his operation to the South, defeated the Hoysala ruler Ballala II at Dwarasamudra and turned his attention to the Pandyas. Madura was captured and ransacked. Later the Pandyas after settling their differences gave battle to Malik Kafur and defeated him. After several alarms and excursions, the Muslim hordes sent by Ghiyath-ud-Din Tughluk under the command of his son Ulugh Khan marched to the South and conquered the whole country, defeating the Pandyan king, Parakrama, whose sway extended over Tirunelveli, Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Tanjore. A Muslim Governor was stationed at Madurai. There is evidence to show that the direct rule of Delhi continued in these areas till about 1334-35. It was left to the Vijayanagar kings to oust the Muslim rulers from the South and establish Hindu rule here. Since the Sultans had control of the Southern Kingdom for more than a quarter of a century and exhibited their fanaticism by ransacking temples and razing them to the ground, it is proper to infer that they would have attempted to introduce their system of administration in the Chola and Pandya kingdoms which now constitute the Madras State. So it has become necessary to examine the methods adopted by them to enforce law and order.

In the age anterior to the 19th century there was no clear-cut division between civil wrongs and criminal offences or between the judiciary and the police. Invariably the prosecutor also decided the case in another setting. So the necessity arises to refer to courts of justice while writing about the police. The fountain-head of wisdom and the source of all power as he was, the Sultan exercised three kinds of authority in the legal field. He was the head of Divani-i-Qader which settled disputes among the faithful, whether ecclesiastical or temporal. Through the

Divani-Mazalim he dispensed justice to the other citizens in his State. Being the sole Commander of the troops, he was also the Judge-Advocate of Courts-Martial. The Divani-i-Qader was presided over by the Qadi-Mumalik while the Divani-Mazalim by the Amir-i-dad. There were a number of *cadis* in all important towns who performed police as well as municipal duties, such as maintenance of roads, prevention and encroachments on public thoroughfares and management of property of orphans and lunatics. The *cadi* was an official of the central government and the governors were expected to help him in the dispensation of justice.

The Amir-i-dad is another well-known official, who had both executive and judicial functions. In the absence of the Sultan he presided over the Divani-Mazalim and when the monarch was present he attended to the executive and administrative business. He enforced the sentence of the court. He had powers to delay carrying out the sentences, if he thought the judgement perverse. The city walls and gates were under his charge. He controlled the kotwal, the police, and the Muhtasib.

The Muhtasib was an officer entrusted with all kinds of heterogeneous duties, religious, conventional, municipal and police. The *Namaz* forms an important item in the life of a devout Muslim. The Muhtasib had to see that private and public worship went on without any hitch. The Sultanate expected the Muslims not to drink or get addicted to drugs. The Muhtasib saw to the prevention of gambling and the prohibition of liquor and intoxicating drugs. Transgressions of liquor and gambling laws were met with punishments of great severity. The Muhtasib dealt with frauds and cheats. Masters were prevented from maltreating slaves, on pain of the Muhtasib prosecuting them. He was the head of what is in modern parlance called the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, who prevented the inhuman acts of branding or maiming animals or suffering beasts of draught to carry excessive loads. He was also an industrial tribunal, when he laid down the rules for the employment of servants; a sanitary engineer, when he put an end to public nuisances such as dilapidated buildings and obstructions on public thoroughfares; a town planning expert and government architect, when he fixed the heights of buildings; a superintendent of markets, when he controlled and fixed with equity the prices of food stuffs in the interests of producers and consumers and when he punished those that possessed false weights and measures

and adulterated food stuffs. In short the Muhtasib was an officer with multiple functions and unlimited powers. Actually the Sultan's government were the greatest State traders since fifty percent of the production was to be delivered to the government storehouse by every ryot. Every dealer was registered and essential commodities were sometimes rationed. We are surprised that even 7 or 8 centuries ago, the ruler had perfected a system, which we are utilizing with indifferent success today. The Muhtasib had a large part to play in the working of these controls like the modern police which dealt with black-marketeers and their agents during the war days.

The kotwal was a minor luminary under the Muhtasib. The wide powers of the latter and the nature of his duties required him to keep his eyes and ears always open. He utilized spies as well as the regular police for this purpose. The routine duty of the police was patrolling the thoroughfares at night and guarding vantage points. Leading men were appointed wardens in every quarter of the city and thus public co-operation was enlisted. The kotwal maintained a register of inhabitants within his limits, noting down their addresses and avocations, so that particulars of people without jobs and those living on other people's cupidity or gullibility came to his notice without any delay. It was therefore easy for him to note the arrival and departure of strangers and keep track of them. He was also a Committing Magistrate. The force under him was entirely civil in character and though the term 'kotwal' is sometimes used for military commanders of cantonments also, it can only be in relation to their civil work. The practice of holding inquests on dead bodies in the presence of *Panchayatdars* was in vogue even at the time of the Sultanates side by side with trials by ordeal.

The rise of Harihara and Bukka, two of the sons of Sangama of the Andhra Country, in 1336 A.D. is in itself a story of magnificent achievements, both in the battle field and in diplomacy. This led to the formation of a line of emperors, whose domain extended throughout the country south of the Vindhya. Muhammad-bin-Tughlak, the Sultan of Delhi, carried these two as prisoners after the battle of Kampili in 1327 where they had seen service under the local ruler. That military conquests did not always lead to a peaceful reign, could be seen from the complaint of Malik Muhammad, the overlord of Kampili, who according to Nuniz, wrote to the Sultan, "the land was risen against him; everyone was lord of what he pleased and no one was

on his side; the people came to besiege him in the fortress, allowing no provisions to go to him nor paying him the taxes that had been forced on them". Thinking that the position could be retrieved only by persons who attracted the loyalty of the populace, the Sultan despatched Harihara and Bukka to be his agents in Kampili. Harihara and Bukka, who had been converted to Islam, readily assented and their first task of pacifying the people had very encouraging results. But a spirit of defiance was in the air. The Hindus were waking up from their lethargy. The giant who lay sprawling and inert was showing signs of life. The atmosphere was surcharged with the glories of Hinduism. Harihara and Bukka could not but be impressed by this resurgence in the religion of their forefathers. The promptings of their hearts were further stimulated by the teachings of the saint Vidyaranya. At an opportune moment they threw off the yoke of the Sultan and proclaimed themselves kings. They were reconverted to Hinduism and their coronation took place according to Shastraic rites. They built two towns, the Vijayanagar (the town of victory) and the Vidyanagar (the city of learning) on the banks of the Tungabhadra. The Vijayanagar Empire reached its acme of power, when Krishna-devaraya came to the throne. All the kings of Tondamandalam, Tanjore and Madurai became his vassals. The vestiges of the Sultanate vanished and a mighty Hindu kingdom came into being.

A study of administration always requires a knowledge of the historical causes that lead to the enthronement of a dynasty in power. A Muslim ruler invariably tried to impose the Koranic law or the rules of the caliph. The only exception was Akbar, whose breadth of vision and tolerance entitled him to a place among the greatest rulers of the world. The Vijayanagar kings ruled according to the *Dharmasastras* and they were tolerant and noble.

It will be futile to expect at those times a kind of police organization as it exists today, exclusively for the maintenance of law and order and prosecution of offenders. The rulers were always fighting with a foreign enemy, if they were not quarrelling among themselves. Most of the able-bodied men were in the army and probably every family had its representative in the fighting forces. There was therefore a tendency for a branch of the army to be concerned with the preservation of the peace. It was only in big towns that the system of kotwals and watchers was invariably in existence. In villages, the revenue officers attended to both branches of work. So long as there was a strong central

government this system worked efficiently but, as soon as the controlling hand was removed or weakened, some of the rapacious village officials immediately became rebellious to constituted authority. When they had sufficiently grown in strength and attracted a large number of followers, the central government was compelled to treat with them and bestow on them the privileges of guarding roads and villages and collecting taxes from the inhabitants. The poligars came, thus, into existence. The organization of the police during the Vijayanagar period has been very ably dealt with by Mr A. Falconar, a senior Civil Servant, in one of his minutes to the Court of Directors in October, 1813 A.D., which is reproduced below:—

“The kaveli system, or the Hindoo police, viewed as a branch of the ancient constitution of their Government, was doubtless, in point of utility and efficiency, exceedingly well adapted to the ends of its institution, in a form of Government such as that of the Hindoo Rajahs. Each village constituted a petty commonwealth, having a complete system of municipal police in which the regal, ecclesiastical, and general interests were represented and respectively provided for. It is unnecessary to enter farther into the analysis than as relates to the subject of police. In each village, town, city, and district were stationed officers of police, with gradations of rank and numbers of retainers commensurate with the extent of the respective ranges of territory, from that of the humblest Kavilgar to that of the most powerful Poligar. These Kavilgars having a concurrent jurisdiction, were charged with the internal security and tranquillity of the country. They were armed and paid by means of certain contributions from every inhabitant, in addition to an assessment amounting, perhaps, to about one and a quarter per cent on the annual gross produce of the country, the protection of which also was thus made their duty and their interest. In addition to the charge of the interior peace and security, it was incumbent on the Poligars, or superior orders of the Kaveli class, in common with the rest of the Hindoo feudal aristocracy, to join the army of the Rajah in times of *external* danger, with their respective contingents and armed Peons, which they were not merely permitted but obliged to maintain, as well for the public defence as for purposes of personal safety. Being thus entrusted with the safety of the public property, armed with the means and paid for the purpose of protecting it, they were held responsible for all losses by theft, robbery, or depredation, for the detection and apprehension of all public offenders

of this description, and for the extinction of all offences committed by them. The formidable power thus delegated to these Kavilgars organized by an able minister and controlled by a despotic government, was competent to every purpose of vigorous and energetic police. But it was counterbalanced by a concomitant evil. Under any relaxation of the controlling authority, the Poligars and higher officers of it attained and usurped a power which was employed in maintaining personal quarrels. They extorted and amassed wealth, which was dissipated in a jealous rivalry of magnificent pageantry. The weapons which were intended for the enemies only of the state, were turned against the state itself and against each other, and were used for plans of personal aggrandizement, mutual revenge, or public plunder. It was sometimes with difficulty that the regular or standing army of the state could restrain the insolence, or subdue the insubordination of these intestine rebels and robbers."

Sir Thomas Munro, one of the most distinguished of Indian administrators, who rose from the position of an ensign in the army to be the Governor of Madras, and whose name is still remembered by his statue opposite the Island Ground, made a great contribution to the formation of the modern police in this country. We may have to refer to him often in these pages in regard to his comprehensive analysis of the revenue and police administration in this land.

He wrote as follows about the maintenance of the Kaveli system of the Bijjinugur Rayels as he calls the Vijayanagar kings:—

"The funds assigned for the support of the Police establishment, as far as they can now be known, appear to have been very ample. The Talliar had the same enam lands and the same fees, in money and in kind, as he now enjoys. The petty Kawilgar's allowances arose from the following heads:

- 1st. A village rent-free, or at a low quit rent.
- 2nd. A certain portion of enam land in every village within his jurisdiction.
- 3rd. *Marah*, or an allowance in grain upon each plough, or upon the quantity of seed sown.
- 4th. *Wurtanah*, or an allowance in money paid by husbandmen on ploughs, and by tradesmen on houses, shops, or looms.
- 5th. *Moolvis*, a small duty on goods passing through the country.

6th. *Fusgui*, a small duty levied at fairs and weekly markets, on shroffs in money, and on other dealers in kind.

“The enam village was granted to the petty Kawiligar only in particular cases. His *marah* and *wurtanah* are supposed to have been nearly on the same footing as they have been in later times, and the rates at which they were collected to have varied in every village, from one *fanam* to twelve on each plough, house, shop, or loom. His *moolvis*, or duty on goods, was from one roowa to one pice per gonny; it was levied wherever the sirkar customs were levied, and was usually, to save the expense and trouble of a separate collection, rented to the custom farmer.

“The allowances of the head Kawiligar consisted of:—

1st. A certain number of enam or rent-free villages.

2nd. Portion of enam land in each village.

These two heads of enam villages and lands usually amounted to ten per cent of the land, and sometimes to more.

3rd. *Marah*.

4th. *Wurtanah*.

5th. *Moolvis*.

6th. *Fusgui*.

} In the same manner as to the petty Kawiligar.

7th. Ten per cent on the gross collection of the sirkar revenue.”

Dr Venkatramanayya, in his book on *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar* has referred to a number of documents and inscriptions which show the functions of Talliaris. According to him the Talliar came to be regarded as one of the *Ayagars* from the time of the *Kakatiyas* and that he was one of the most important person in the village whose duty was to prevent quarrels and settle disputes by summoning the disputants before him. But, as time passed, many of these trappings of power had fallen off and during the regime of Vijayanagar Emperors, he had become a mere police official. Apart from protecting the life and property of the villagers, he had to look into the arrival and departure of suspicious strangers, who came in the guise of vagabonds, itinerant dancers and wandering minstrels. It will be remembered that Kautilya's spy-system embraced many of these professions and the Talliar was obviously enjoined to ferret out the spies. He was also a supplier of labour for public works within his

limits. "The ryots," declares the *Atharyana Tantra*, "offer the Talliar food, curry and ears of corn, the Kurubas give him blankets and other things, because as a village kotwal, he might single them out for forced labour when the Government stand in need of men to carry the baggage of their servants."

Over the Talliar was the Kavalgar. His jurisdiction varied from person to person. Some had several villages under them; others had only a few. There is no basis for the inference that there was then a hierarchy of police officers, like the one we come across in later periods, with the names Sthala Kavalgars, Desa Kavalgars or Nadu Kavalgars, assumed by the Kavalgars in the process of assimilation of land with a view to perpetuate their authority. The over-all authority in a province appeared to be the *Danaika*, the Governor. Nuniz, one of the foreign observers in India at that time, writing on the effectiveness of the police, said, "if he (a person who suffers wrong) complains that he was robbed in such and such a road, the king sends immediately for the captain of the province and even though he be at court, the captain may be seized and his property taken, if he does not catch the thief." A distinct obligation to make good the loss in every case was a sufficient inducement to the police to be always on the alert. In such instances false complaints would also be a rarity, as no complainant would be willing to drag the Kavalgar or the higher authorities into payment on the pretext of loss of goods. He would be very soon exposed and the wrath of the Governor would descend on him.

The poligars, about whom there will be references later, were at first intended to protect mountain passes and hilly regions from banditti and marauders. For this purpose they were allowed to build small forts at strategic places and they were given jaghirs, consisting of a number of villages, for maintaining themselves as well as their adherents. The problem of criminal tribes was a headache to the Government. They were called *Kiratas*. The *Amuktamalyada*, whose authorship is attributed to Krishnadevaraya, mentions the method by which these *Kiratas* could be controlled. "To keep these *Kiratas* in check, foreign military adventurers should be given villages temporarily as jaghirs in their neighbourhood. Until these criminal tribes are subdued, the distress of the people does not decrease."

Sometimes these poligars were themselves robber-chieftains who turned over new leaf, finding that their income would not suffer even

if they were on the side of law and order and their satellites would have enough to do in hunting robbers and thieves operating in the mountain passes. Yakarla Yarrama Naidu was one such person who, migrating from Bandar in the North, settled down in the village of Rollamadugu. The brahmins of the place had to leave their hearths and homes on account of his depredations. Subsequently he went to Vijayanagar and began to attend the durbar. While on a pilgrimage to Tirupathi, Krishnadevaraya was informed by the villagers of Rollamadugu about the country being infested with robbers and thieves. The king commanded Yarrama Naidu to rid the place of anti-social beings, allowed him to build a fort there and provided him with a jaghir.

The policemen were deified when they fell in battle with robbers. That was probably the posthumous recognition they were entitled to for their valorous deeds. A temple is said to have been built in honour of two Reddy brothers who were killed in a fight with a robber-chief named Cennama Naidu in Recerla Hills. Cennama Naidu and his associates were surprised in a palmyrah grove in a drunken state but in the proximity to danger they put up a valiant fight and slew the two Reddi brothers who were leading the expedition on the command of the king. The robber-chief was slain and the country was rid of his plundering activities. The heroes of the battle began to be worshipped as the patron saints of the village.

Policing of towns and cities appeared to have been done on a more systematic basis. The whole town was divided into several Palems or wards consisting of several streets. There is an oblique reference to such a system in one of the documents preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. It refers to the division of Chandragiri, the capital of Vijayanagar kings after their defeat at Talikottai, into 77 Palems on the model of the Vijayanagar capital effected by Krishnadevaraya. The *Rayavachaka* contains references to the system. The wards were in charge of Talavaras assisted by a staff. They had to patrol the town day and night and make good the value of the stolen property when the thieves could not be traced. Some sort of curfew appeared to have prevailed in the capital, for it was illegal for anybody to walk through the street after the sounding of a drum at night. Any person wandering about the street, after this time was taken into custody by the patrolmen, placed in stocks and produced the next day before the appropriate authorities. This seemed to have greatly restricted the amorous pursuits of the city's Don Juans and

incidentally offered scope for the Talliards to procure some contributions from the lovers, a fact which proves that they were essentially human. About the police arrangements in the city, Abdur Razak, the Persian Ambassador, gives us some details. Probably he was the same person, who tried to convert the Zamorin of Calicut to Islam and failed in his attempts. Krishnadevaraya seems to have given him several bags of gold saying that since he could not sit along with the king and dine at his table, he should accept the gold as a recompense. According to Razak, the police administration of the capital was under the control of a Commissioner who was served by no less than 12,000 policemen, each of whom received a salary of 30 *fanams* per month. They had to patrol the city and acquaint themselves with all events and accidents that took place within the seven walls of the city and to recover the property that was lost or stolen. It is also suggested that the police organization of the city was maintained by the king mainly from the dues collected from the dancing girls. This may be considered a tax on art in modern days.

At the time of Krishnadevaraya, Jengamayya, a brahmin was said to be the Commissioner of Police. The king used to sally forth in disguise at night to see for himself how law and order were being maintained and how the people were being protected from obstreperous elements by his police. He expected the Police Commissioner to know the details of everything happening within his jurisdiction. It is said that the wily Jangamayya used to conceal himself near the gates of the king's palace and follow his master at a respectable distance in order not to reveal himself. In this way, he was able to know the incidents that came to the sovereign's notice on any night and was ready to answer any questions that might be put to him the next day. It is apparent that these royal peregrinations at night kept the police at the height of their efficiency, because there was scarcely any appeal against royal displeasure.

The Lepakshi inscriptions mention about a Commissioner called Penugonda Viranna at Vijayanagar. The police were always on their toes, though Achutaraya, the reigning monarch, did not go about at night in disguise to supervise their work. The king was very prompt in making the police repay the losses incurred by the citizens owing to robberies and thefts. But the police were rarely brought to this predicament, as they were, according to Nuniz, "wizards who could detect any case and recover stolen properties."

After the fall of the Vijayanagar Kingdom, the Bijapur and Golconda Sultans attempted to extract nominal obedience from the several Nayaks, who were in charge of the South. For all purposes these representatives or governors of the Vijayanagar Emperors were independent and conducted their own wars and came to terms with the aggressors as well as they could. But a great consolidation of kingdoms was taking place in the North. The last representative of the house of Lodi had been overthrown by Baber in 1526. Akbar was third in this line and his reign was marked by all-round improvement in administration. He tried in his own life to reconcile both Hindus and Muslims by entering into marriage alliances with Hindu princesses and raising Hindu nobles to the highest positions in the State. He was willing to draw heavily on the historic culture and tradition of the Hindus. The *Aini-Akbari*, written by his learned and accomplished Minister, Abdul Fazl, reflects the catholicity of outlook of the king and indicates that the tenets propounded by Kautilya were not foreign to this monarch. The following extract translated in English gives a complete picture of the police organization of the country.

“ The Cutwals of cities, kusbahs, towns, and villages, in conjunction with the royal clerks, shall prepare a register of the houses and buildings of the same, which register shall include a particular description of the inhabitants of each habitation. One house shall become security for another; so that they shall all be reciprocally pledged and bound each for the other. They shall be divided into districts, each having a chief or prefect, to whose superintendence the district shall be subject. Secret intelligencers or spies shall be appointed to each district, who shall keep a journal to local occurrences, arrivals, and departures, happening either by day or night. When any theft, fire, or other misfortune may happen, the neighbours shall render immediate assistance; especially the prefect and public informers, who failing to attend on such occasions, unless unavoidably prevented, shall be held responsible for the omission. No person shall be permitted to travel beyond, or to arrive within, the limits of the district, without the knowledge of the prefect, the neighbours, or public informers. Those who cannot provide security, shall reside in a separate place of abode, to be allotted to them by the prefect of the district and the public informers. The receipts and expenditure of each individual shall be narrowly observed; for when the expense exceeds the revenue some misfortune may be anticipated. All this however, should be done in the spirit of beneficence and good will,

as the provision is meant for the protection and benefit, and not for the molestation or oppression of the community. The dealers of every description shall give security that all their bargains and sales in the market, shall be concluded publicly; if any thing should be bought or sold clandestinely they shall incur a fine. The names of the buyers and sellers shall be entered in a journal; and all sales shall be made with the knowledge of the prefect and public informers. A certain number of persons in each district shall be appointed to patrol by night the several streets and environs of the several cities, towns, villages, &c. taking care that no strangers infest them, and especially exerting themselves to discover, pursue, and apprehend robbers, thieves, cut-purses, &c. If any articles be stolen or plundered, the police must restore the articles, produce the criminal or failing to do so, become responsible for the equivalent. The property of persons absent or defunct shall be ascertained and delivered to the heirs, if such there be; if not, the property shall be retained in deposit, and the circumstances reported to the imperial officers, so that the proprietor may be found and the property surrendered. In these transactions integrity and probity are indispensably requisite, lest we should incur the stigma of countenancing such enormities as are practised in Greece. The most rigid vigilance shall be exerted to prevent the use of intoxicating liquors, the consumer, seller, drawer, or manufacturer of such, shall receive such punishment, by order of the Magistrate, as may deter others from similar irregularities. But it is not meant to interdict the use of them by way of medicine or useful experiment."

In Tavernier's account of his travels, we have a bird's-eye view of the state of India during the reigns of Shah Jehan and Aurangazeb. Tavernier was a French goldsmith who made extensive tours of the several regions in India between 1631 and 1668. He paid five visits to this land during this period and stayed for a number of months on each occasion. In the book, *The Progress of Madras Presidency During the Last Forty Years* by Sri Srinivasaraghava Aiyengar, the dispensation of justice by the Moguls or their Governors as noted by Tavernier, is described:—

"The dispensation of justice was very summary and unencumbered with forms. There were no jails, for the custom of the country was not to keep men in prison. Immediately the accused was taken he was examined and sentence pronounced on him and executed without delay. Tavernier went to see Meer Jumla, Nabob of Gundikot, a place in Cuddapah district, who was a general under the king of Golconda at

first and subsequently under Emperor Aurangzebe and whom he had shown some diamonds for sale and of whose abilities, he speaks highly. While he was with the Nabob, it was announced that 4 prisoners had arrived. 'The Nabob remained silent for half-an-hour without replying, writing continually and making his secretaries write but at length he suddenly ordered the criminals to be brought in, and after having questioned them and made them confess with their wails, the crimes of which they were accused, he remained nearly an hour without saying anything and continuing to write and making his secretaries write.' Among these 4 prisoners was one who had entered a house and slain a mother and her three infants. He was condemned forthwith to have his hands and feet cut off and to be thrown into a field near the high road to end his days. Another had stolen on the high road, and the Nawab ordered him to have his stomach slit open and flung in a drain. Tavernier says that he could not ascertain what the others had done but the heads of both of them were cut off." That such apparent cruelty was not characteristic of the orientals alone, is proved by Anglo-Saxon chronicles dealing with the Normans. "This same year, after St. Andrew's Mass and before Christmas, held Ralph Basset and the King's thanes a 'Gewitenemote' in Leicestershire at Huncothoe and there hanged more thieves than ever known before, that is, in a little while, four and forty men altogether and despoiled six men of their eyes and mutilated them. Many true men said that there were several who suffered very unjustly; but our Lord God Almighty, who seeth and knoweth every secret, seeth also that the wretched people are oppressed with all unrighteousness. First they are bereaved of their property and then they are slain. Full heavy year was this."

The responsibility of the village officials and kotwals to protect life and property, the surveillance of suspected strangers and the collection of information about their activities, the control over tradesmen in order that the citizens may not be filched and the safeguarding of property, whose ownership is in doubt, are all in the best traditions of the *Arthasaatra* and the succeeding periods of Hindu rule. In the prohibition of the sale and manufacture of spirituous liquors, except for use in medicine and for experimental purposes. Akbar reminds us of one of the objective principles of our Indian Constitution to achieve complete prohibition in the use of narcotic drugs and liquor. The sixth in the line of the dynasty founded by Baber was Aurangzebe whose ambitious and crafty rule resulted in further aggrandizement. At

the same time his fanaticism and persecution of the people of other religious faiths undermined the structure of the Timur dynasty, which withered away in a few years after his death. In A. D. 1670 his empire extended from Kashmir to Chittagong. But that was not enough for an ambitious monarch who wanted his empire to be extended to Kanyakumari. He directed his armies, therefore, against the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda (Hyderabad) and the Mahrattas. In 1686 he took Bijapur. Next year he captured Abdul Hassan and his stronghold of Golconda together. In 1689 he caught Sambajee, the Mahratta leader, while drinking in a summer house and executed him under circumstances of unpardonable cruelty. Thus the Carnatic came under the sway of the lieutenants of the Great Mogul.

The cosmopolitanism and liberalism of Akbar had given place to fanaticism in the reign of Aurangzebe. Justice was administered according to Koranic precepts. The executive authority was the Sipahsalar or the subahdar for a province, the Foujdar for a district, and the kotwal for urban areas. The executive authority sat along with the Kazi to decide cases and the former was led by the latter with regard to legal principles and punishments. The Dutchman, Van Twist, remarks that during Shajehan's reign (1648) the Government of Allahabad and the surrounding villages rested with "the Coutewael (*cotwal*) and the Judge whom they call Caszy (*Kazi*)." During the time of Aurangzebe, Fryer wrote about the legal system, "their law disputes being soon ended, the Governor hearing and the Cadi or Judge determining every morning." The term Foujdar is derived from the word *Fouj* which means army. The Foujdar commanded a body of armed men. He also supervised the work of the kotwals. Thus he can be said to be in charge of military as well as civil police. The institution of both these organizations under a common head, was tried by the British also before the new system of civil police was put into force. The word Foujdari, adjective of *Fouj*, probably came into use for the functions of the Foujdar. The Foujdari Adalat, the Chief Criminal Court in Madras, is an example. Mutilation was generally practised as a punishment. Sir Jadunath Sarkar mentions that the Kazis were proverbially corrupt and quotes the quip then prevalent that "when the Kazi's bitch died the whole town was at the funeral. When the Kazi himself died not a soul followed his coffin." The kotwals were equally corrupt and it is related by Manucci that a kotwal named Mohamed Said was tortured and executed by Shahjehan for his corrupt practices.

A police prefect, who comes to notice during the Mogul days is Sidi Fulad of Ahmednagar, who was acting as an envoy of Aurangzebe while dealing with Sivaji, then imprisoned by the Emperor. The events that led to this incarceration are well known. In the Durbar Hall, while formally agreeing to the Emperor's suzerainty, Sivaji refused to bow down before Aurangzebe as the other Hindu princes did. This was construed as a deliberate insult and Sivaji and his retinue were locked up. Ram Singh, one of the courtiers in Aurangzebe's court, stood surety for Sivaji and had him confined in his house. Sidi Fulad visited Sivaji for conciliating him but the latter saw through the intention of the Emperor which was to destroy him without the risk of excessive adverse comments. When Sivaji would not be humbled and humiliated, Sidi Fulad was asked to remove him to the house of Qad-Andaz Khan, a low born fanatical favourite of the Emperor, in charge of Agra Fort. But Sivaji would not move out of his habitation before his retinue were given safe passage to their native place. Fulad was requested to issue passports for the journey. The police wanted to queer the pitch for Sivaji and, therefore, a complaint was got up saying that they could not keep a sufficient watch over Sivaji's movements in the open surroundings in which he lived as Ram Singh's neighbour. On this the Emperor ordered that the royal prisoner should be removed to the house of Fidal Hussain. The escape of Sivaji from the prison along with his son in two baskets is a well known theme of historians and ballad singers. The companions of Sivaji who had so well kept the secret of the escape for more than 24 hours were tortured by Fulad Khan but they would not reveal any thing. Sidi Fulad and his retinue disappeared from the scene at this stage and knowing the chagrin this should have caused to the Emperor, it may not be surprising if one finds that they quitted the world altogether !

But the Mogul Empire did not last long after Aurangzebe's death. His Provincial Governors and Nawabs threw off their yokes and set themselves up as independent sovereigns. Sivaji was crowned king. His half-brother Venkoji came to the throne at Tanjore. Hyder Ali captured the throne of Mysore and began extending his domains in all directions. Hyder used his postal department for espionage work. The activities of the minions of law and order in Hyder's, and his son Tippu's time, are very well expressed by Colonel Munro (as he then was), in a report to the Committee of Police, Madras.

“On the accession of Hyder Alli to the Mysore Government, many not only of the head Kawilgars but of the lesser ones were expelled, and their enams resumed. The enams of the great Kawilgars were continued only where they had been so much subdivided among the different heirs as to have none of them more than a mere subsistence. These Kawilgars, as well as all the petty ones, who were permitted to remain in the country, were employed exactly in the same manner as Talliars in their respective villages. During the vigorous administration of Hyder, the police of each district was directed by the Amildar, having under him Cutwals and their Peons; in all the principal towns, and Kutpuddi and Candachar Peons, or militia and fencibles, both in those towns and in all the fortified villages; but the real duty of the police was discharged almost exclusively by the Talliars. It was they who watched the property of travellers and of the inhabitants, traced and seized thieves and murderers and gave information of suspicious persons. The peons, on all such occasions, acted merely in aid of the Talliars, for they were intended rather for military than police purposes. The Talliars were not in any case expected to make compensation for goods stolen, but they were liable to corporal punishment, to fine or imprisonment, where there was any proof, and even when there was no more than a suspicion of negligence or connivance. The roads at this time were perfectly safe, robberies were uncommon, and the police, on the whole, was probably as well conducted as ever it had been in any province of India. Its efficiency was principally to be attributed to the reduction of the Kawilgars and to the personal character of Hyder, who compelled every officer under him to do his duty. Another great cause of it was the vast establishment of militia which he kept up, which by giving a livelihood to numbers of the poorer inhabitants and to all the former adherents of Poligars and Kawilgars, converted into quiet subjects many men who would otherwise have subsisted by their former occupations of robbery and thieving. The apprehension of his power secured his territories from the depredations of the banditti protected by the Poligars of the neighbouring states; for when any of them committed a robbery in his dominions, he never hesitated to make reprisal, by sending a detachment to drive off cattle, to burn grain, or even to attack the place to which the plunderers had carried their booty. He, however, notwithstanding his violence towards all the neighbouring Poligars who protected thieves, made no scruple to keep up a large body of them himself; their chiefs accompanied him in all his marches until his death; they were at liberty to plunder in all

countries but his own, and for this privilege some of them paid him a share of the booty and others a fixed rent.

“Tippoo discontinued this disgraceful mode of raising money, banished the chiefs, and afterwards put to death several of them who fell into his hands. His police system, in other respects, was the same as that of his father, and for some years differed only in being less ably managed; but in the latter part of his reign, from the disorder of his finances, and the consequent disbanding of many thousands of his peons, the return of a number of the expelled Kawilgars, and the general corruption of all his servants, robbery and murder, were every where committed with impunity, and no traveller was safe.”

The Mahrattas adopted the same system of village administration as the ancient Hindu kings. Their most representative king was at Tanjore. They were alien to the soil and the time of most of their kings was spent in keeping their enemies at bay while helping their friends in distress. So, many civil institutions in the country carried vestiges of military autocracy. The Kaval system continued in rural areas but because of the weakness of the overlord and the trying times, these Kavalgars either converted themselves into robbers or actually connived with them to the harassment of the villagers. Owing to mounting debts, the king was compelled to extract as much out of the cultivators as possible and the Kavalgars were not behind in their exorbitant exactions. The judiciary was in existence only in name. The following extracts from the book on *Modi Manuscripts of the Saraswathi Mahal Library, Tanjore* by Sri R. S. Shelvankar, provides an idea as to how justice was administered at the time of Serfoji, the last of the Mahratta Kings, who was advised by the famous Christian Missionary Schwartz to organize Courts of Justice. The excerpts contain the judgment of a trial of a theft case in which the thief and the receiver were summarily dealt with. It gives an indication of the nature of the work of the police in those times.

“There were four different courts with separate establishments; the *Nyaya Sabha* dealt with criminal cases, the *Mudrita Sabha* with civil cases, the *Dharma Sabha* with religious litigations and temple cases, roughly answering to our Hindu Religious Endowments Board, and the *Nyayadhisa Sabha* or *Pratisthita Sabha* which was the court of appeal from the three other courts. Certain kinds of cases went into the office of the *Dapana Karta*, an officer attached to each of the four courts,

whose duty, it seems, was the execution of the Court's decree. The *Dimati* was the officer who signed the court's decree ordering the payment of the amount in suit to the successful litigant, while the *Harkara* seems to have been in charge of the attendance registers of each court.

"The reports of cases and their disposals and other similar office papers bear the signature of the *Phadnavis*.

"The punishments which these courts could award included rigorous imprisonment, fines, corporal punishment and deportation from the limits of the fort. Yet another form of punishment was to take the accused in a mock procession through the four main streets of the city, with beat of tom-toms, and to inflict corporal punishment in the locality where the alleged offence was committed. Even abettors were dealt with, though the punishment was lighter in their case. In the case of theft of a *Tambya* or *Chombu* worth a rupee, the accused confessed his guilt and pointed out the pawnbroker, Namasivaya Chetty with whom he had pawned it, the culprit himself received ten days' rigorous imprisonment and six stripes, while the abettor was let off with a fine of annas eight."

Judgment in No. 807 of 26th October of last year

<i>Complainant</i>	-	<i>Nallathambi</i>
<i>Accused</i>	-	<i>Narayanan Tayappa</i>
<i>Offence</i>	-	<i>That the defendant stole a bronze Chombu worth a rupee in the house of the above mentioned complainant.</i>

On enquiry, it was confessed by the accused that he stole the Chombu and pawned it with one Namasivaya Chetti. He was, therefore, sentenced to ten days' rigorous imprisonment and six stripes before the Chavadi inside the fort, before the one outside and again before the Chavadi on the outskirts of the country.

The pawnbroker Namasivaya Chetti also admitted he was wrong in having received the Chombu out of greed, without showing it to the thana. He was, therefore, ordered to pay a fine of annas eight only.

But with regard to liquor traffic the Mahratta Rajas of Tanjore appear to have taken strict precautions. Sri C. K. Srinivasan in his book *The Mahratta Rule in the Carnatic*, while obviously referring to Fort St. George Country Correspondence, Public Department 1748

page 24, writes, "It is gratifying to note that great precaution was taken for the prevention of liquor traffic and a letter of the Faujdar of Trivadi to Charles Fleyer, asks him to order his men not to enter the limits of the Subah to conduct their trade."

In the beginning of the 19th century the British had made themselves masters of the Andhra districts, which formed part of the Madras State prior to reorganization of States in the year 1953. They found no police worth the name except the different types of Kavalgars and Poligars with their dwindling influence for good and uncontrolled power for doing harm. Everything was in the melting pot. The state of country at the passing of the age of native rulers and the commencement of the British reign will be the subject of another chapter. But meantime one may follow the fortunes of the branch of the East India Company which established itself at Madras in 1640 and slowly built up a prosperous town which is known as Madras City today. One may see in the following pages the rise of the modern City Police which is linked up with the development of Chennapatnam during more than two and a half centuries of its growth.

CHAPTER IV

THE BIRTH OF THE MADRAS CITY POLICE

THE DEVELOPMENT and expansion of Madras from a fishing hamlet occupied by the British, to the third biggest city in India is a saga of endurance, tenacity and diplomacy of the early British settlers. In the beginnings of the 17th century the East India Company had a trading centre and factory at Masulipatam but it found its footing rather precarious owing to constant demands and continual exactions of the local representative of the Golconda Government. Another factory established at Armagon on the Nellore coast was also meeting with foul weather. The East India Company's principal settlements were in Surat on the West Coast of the Indian peninsula and Bantam in the island of Java. The factories on the Coromandel coast were being managed by an Agent and Council who were subordinate sometimes to Bantam and at other times to Surat. The latter had been raised to the status of Presidencies. Masulipatam which formed part of the Vijayanagar Empire, had come under the suzerainty of one of the four Golconda Nawabs, after the battle of Talikota in 1565 when the imperial Andhra power was destroyed by the combined might of the Mussulman Kings of the Deccan. The Vijayanagar Raja took refuge in Chandragiri (in the present Chittoor District) and continued to hold sway on his southern dominions through his Naiks or chiefs like those of Pennukonda, Seringapatam, Armagon, Poonamallee, Gingee, Tanjore and Madura. The subservience of these Naiks to the Vijayanagar Raja was only formal. The descendants of these Naiks became later the poligars of the Madras Presidency. Francis Day who was the factor at Armagon was allowed by the Council at Masulipatam to explore the Coromandel coast for a suitable trading centre and his first exploration in 1637, though not immediately successful, enabled him to get into touch with Naik Damarla Venkatappa, the grand vizier to the king of Vijayanagar, at Wandiwash through his brother Ayyappa, the Naik of Poonamallee. Later in August 1639, Day was able to secure from Naik Damarla Venkatappa a grant of territory called 'Medras-patam' with privileges and licence to build a fort and form a settlement. This place was three miles from the old Portuguese Settlement at San Thome.

The document relating to this grant of territory, called the 'firman', makes interesting reading.

"The firman granted Mr Day for priviledges in Medrasspatam by the Nague Damela Vintutedra.

(O. C. No. 1690, 22nd July (? Aug.) 1639).

"Firman granted by Demela Vintatedro Nague unto Mr Francis Day, Cheife for the English In Armagon, in behalfe of the Hon'ble Company for their tradeing and fortifieing at Medraspatam, to this effect as followeth:—

"Whereas Mr Francis Day, Captain of the English at Armagon, upon great hopes by reason of our promise often made unto him, hath repaired to our port of Medraspatam and had personall Conference with us in behalfe of the Company of that Nation, Concerning their trading in our territories and friendly Commerce with our subjects; wee, out of our spetiall Love and favour to the English, doe grant unto the said Captain, or whomsoever shall bee deputed to Idgitate the affaires of that Company, by vertue of this firman, Power to direct and order the building of a fort and Castle in or about Medraspatam, as they shall thinke most Convcnient, the charges whereof, untill fully and wholly finished, to bee defrayed by us, but then to bee repaied when the said English shall first make their enterance to take possession thereof. And to make more full Expression of our effecton to the English Nation, wee Doe Confirme unto the said Mr Francis Day, or whatsoever other Substitutes or Agents for that Company, full power and authority to governe and dispose of the Government of Madraspatam for the terme and space of two yeares Next Insueing after they shall be seated there and possesst of the said fortifications; and for the future by an Equall Division to receive halfe the Custom and revenewes of that port.

"Moreover, Whatsoever goods or Merchandize the English Company shall either Import or Export, forasmuch as Concernes the duties and Customes of Medraspatam, they shall, not only for the Prementioned two yeares in which they Injoy the Government, but for ever after, be Custom free. Yett if they shall Transport or bring any commodities up into, or through my Countray, then shall they pay halfe the duties that other Merchants pay, whether they buy or sell the said Commodities either in my Dominions or in those of any other Nague whatsoever.

“Also that the said English Company shall perpetually Injoy the priviledges of mintag(e) without paying any Dewes or duties whatsoever, more than the ordinary wages or hire unto those that shall Quoyne the moneyes.

“Iff the English shall Acquaint us before they deliver out any moneys to the Merchants, Painters, Weavers, &c., which are or shall hereafter reside in our prementioned port or teritories, and take our word for their sufficiency and honest dealeing, then doe wee promise, in case those people faile in their performances, to make good to the English all such sumes of money as shall remaine on their Accounts, or Else deliver them their persons, if they shalbe found in any part of my teritories.

“That whatsoever provisions the English shall buy in my Countrey, either for their fort or ships, they shall not be liable to pay any Custom or Dutyes for the same.

“And if any shipp or vessell belonging to the English (or to any other Countrey whatsoever which tradeth or shall come to trade at that port) shall by misadventure suffer shippwrack and bee driven upon any part of my teritories, they shall have restitution upon Demand of whatsoever can bee found remaining of the said wrack. “Dated the 22nd July, 1639...”

Approval was got from Surat to start the new settlement. The factory at Armagon was closed and the European personnel with their merchandise and company of servants and artisans sailed for Medraspatam which they reached on 20th February 1640. As Manucci, a foreign adventurer settled in India observed in 1699, “Not more than sixty years ago this Madras was a sandy beach, when the English began erecting straw huts.” This does not mean that Madras Town was a fishing hamlet and the present city was entirely the handiwork of the British. Later research has shown that there were a number of patrons of Arts and Letters in the City, who managed the big temples, conducted festivals and held salons for *litterateur*. The area occupied by the British was probably a fishing hamlet. The extent of territory transferred by the Naik to the Company is surmised to be about three and a quarter miles from North to South with its mean width of about a mile. The fort named after the patron saint of the British, St. George, was first built in this area. Dwelling houses for the white settlers, godowns, and store houses sprung up within the fort which took the

name "White Town" while the area north of this was called in turn the 'Black Town' where, as the name indicates, coloured people including the natives of the country had their habitation.

How the name Madraspatnam was given to this settlement when the Tamil name even to this day for Madras City is Chennapatnam, still remains a matter for conjecture. For our purpose it will suffice to know that the name Chenapatnam fitted in with the desire of Naik Damarla to name a town after his deceased father, Chinnappa Naik, and the appellation Madraspatam existed for the area surrounding the fort even before the arrival of the English. Arguments advanced to support theories that since the area contained a fishermen's Kuppam under the headmanship of a Christian named Madraser, the name of Madraspatnam was given to it or since it was the seat of a Madrassa or a College, the name took its inception from it, are mere speculations which are of no interest today. But recent researches into literary pieces produced at that time like the *Sarva Deva Vilasa* edited and brought to light by the well-known Scholar Dr V. Raghavan show that the long histories written by the Britishers gave a one-sided picture of life. Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam, Minister for Home and Religious affairs, Madras, in his foreword to the above book says, "The present temple of Chennakesava after whom the city was named, stood originally in the area where the fort was raised and there was a prosperous township around it. Madras and its suburbs were as they are today, full of temples with their great *Dharmakartas*." Dr Raghavan, while referring, in his edition of the *Sarva Deva Vilasa* to Chennakesava Perumal temple, says, "It is this temple which gave the City of Madras, the indigenous name Cennapattana, a contraction of the fuller name Cennakesava Pattana. Cennakesava is the name of the deity of the old Town Temple in the Fort area, covering a part of the present High Court grounds. This temple was demolished by the English and its materials were used for the fortification of their 'White Town'".

The first settlers were very cautious in their approach to criminal and civil jurisdiction of the company over the inhabitants living within Madraspatnam. For one thing, they were only merchants who were interested in their trade and in augmenting their resources and had no legal knowledge to undertake a settlement of disputes or sit in judgment over felons. They were also in the initial stages afraid to appropriate the powers of the Naik to themselves for fear of estranging him. The

following account of the investigation and trial of a murder case in 1642 is of great interest.

“A few days after Andrew Cogan his arrival as aforesaid, a Murther was Committed in our Towne...the discovery of which Murther is not unworthy your knowledge...

“The Woeman had byn wanting many dayes, and none but the Murtherers could say where she was. At length somewhat was seene to floate upp and downe the River, when the partie that murdered her, being amongst divers others, made proffer, and did swime of to see what it was and bring it ashore. When the Corps was ashoare, no wound was perceived, and therefore conceived that she might drowne herselfe; whereuppon order was given for her buriall. When then the party that swam of aforesaid was very importunate to have some satisfaction for his pains; but one of the Standers by tould him that he had no reason of all men to require any such thing, for that she had mainteyned him and his consort for a long time together. Uppon which words, every mans eye was upon him, when one amongst that many discover'd uppon the cloath he wore some blood, and being asked how that came, he presently made answeare how. But within less then half an hower that tale of his was proved a ly, and in the interim wee found that the cloath that he wore and that upon the dead corps had byn on(e) intire peice. When then wee layed the Murther to his charge; but he denying it, wee sent, searched his house, and there found all her jewels and Cloaths, not any one wanting. So then, when all things appeared so plaine, he confessed the Murther, but his Consort was gone 2 or 3 days before; nevertheless he had not the power to goe out of our Command.

“So wee apprehended him likewise, and notified all the passages to our Naigue, who gave us an express command to doe justice uppon the Homicides according to the Lawes of England; but if wee would not, than he woold according to the Custome of Karnatte; for, said he in his Olio, if justice be not done, who woold come and trade here, espetially when it shall be reported it was a place of thevs and Murtherers. Which being so, and unwilling to give a way our (authority) to those who are too readie to take it, wee did justice on them and hanged them on a Gybbet, where they hung till it was the 11th of Xber; when then, because the great Naique cam to visit us for a present, they were cut downe.”

In 1642, Antonio Mirando a Portuguese settler slew a British soldier in a drunken mood. Here the Council was unwilling to deal summarily with a European subject of a foreign power. But the Naik would not allow any delay in the course of justice and the accused had to be shot in accordance with his instructions. There was no difficulty when Britishers were the only parties to offences because these could be dealt with by the Agent in Council. The Indian Adigar, sitting at the Choultry or Town house dispensed justice where only Indians were concerned. But the difficulty arose when the parties happened to be both Europeans and Indians.

Till about 1665 the chief official of the Settlement was called the Agent but a murder was responsible for his designation being changed into Governor which survives even today. Incidentally, this will explain how the settlers tried to bring European offenders to justice for their misdemeanour against Indians. The murder case relates to the fatal attack on a slave girl by her mistress Mrs Ascentia Dawes. The Agent and Council asked for instructions from England and the Company issued the following directive.

“The Company to Fort St. George.

“Having received from you an account of that Cruell act laid to the charge of Mrs Dawes upon one of her Slaves, we thought it our duty that the Law might have its due proceedings in that case upon her, For that end we serched our Charter, wherein we find that the respective Governours and Councells Established by us in any of our fortes, Townes, etc., have power to exequite Judgment in all Causes Civill and Criminall. Nevertheesse, for our and your better satisfaction herein, we thought fitt not onely to advise with his Majesties learned Councell upon the Clause in our Charter which giveth such power, butt also to make our addresses unto his Majestie for his speciall allowance and direction, as you will perceive by his Majesties letters and by a Coppie of the said Clause of our Charter, together with the Sollisitor Gennerall his opinion thereupon and directions in the Case, which wee have herewith sent you. And to the end wee might the more exactly persue the words of our Charter, Wee have thought fitt to Constitute you Governour of our Towne and Forte where the fact was Committed, as well as Agent, and to appoint you a Councell under our Seale, which, together with some instructions and directiones how to proceede in the Triall of this woman, and of such as were Assistants to her, if any were, wee have likewise herewith sent you. (Let. Bk., Vol. 4, 10th March 1665/6).”

The trial itself led to a funny situation when the jury returned quite unexpectedly, a verdict that the accused was not guilty. The Agent and Council found themselves in a very awkward position as the following letter from them to the Company would show:—

“Fort St. George to the Honble Company.

“In pursuance to your order and His Majesty’s Commission to that purpose, wee proceeded to the tryall of Ascentia Dawes about the murther of Chequa alias Francisca, and did therein in all points proceed with as much exactness as we could, according to the instructions you gave. Her Indictment was made according to the forme you prescribed, a precept issued out, and 24 Persons summoned for a grand Jury, whoe returned the indictment *bill a vera*, whereupon a precept was issued to summon a Jury of 12 Persons for her tryall. There were 36 summoned, and appearing, the indictment was read, and shee, as they came to be named, being told shee might except against 20 without shewing any cause, but shee excepted onely against three, vizt., Sir Edward Winter, Mr Robert Fleetwood and Hugh Dixon. And 12 being sworne, six English and six Portingalls, and the Indictment read againe, we proceeded to examination of the witnesses before the Jury, whoe going apart, after about two houres time sent a note into the Court subscribed by their foreman, wherein they say they finde her guilty of the murther, but not in manner and forme, and therefore desired directions from the Court. Answer was returned that they must bring in a verdict guilty or not guilty without exception or Lymitation. After some small stay they came in with a verdict. Being asked whoe should speake, they answered their foreman Mr Reade, whoe, contrary to all expectation, gave in the Verdict not guilty. The Court, supposing it was a mistake, asked him againe, and he continued to give the same verdict ‘not guilty’ and the whole Jury, being asked, said soe too, whereupon she was quit; but for your further satisfaction you may please to be referred to the narration of the whole procedure drawne up by the Clarke that attended the Court. Wee found ourselves at a loss in severall things for want of Instructions, haveing noe man understanding the Laws and formallities of them to instruct us, as...whether anything more had been to be said to the Jury when they brought in such an unexpected verdict. Wee proceeded in those and other particulars according to the best of our Judgments,...but if any like case shall occurr wee shall neede the direction and assistance of a person better skil’d in the Law and for-

malities of it then any of your servants here are..." (O. C. No. 3171, 15th April, 1669).

After this incident two justices were appointed to the Choultry Court and later in 1678 the strength was increased to three. But the following hierarchy of judiciary was appointed by a Royal charter.

"1. That the Governour and his Councill do sitt in the Chappell in the ffort upon every Wednesday and Saturday to heare and judge all Causes.

"2. That the Justice and Justices of the Choultry, and our Constable Bayly, or Officer under them, shall execute all orders, writts and summons from the Governour and Councill for returning of Jurys, Executions after judgment, apprehension of Criminalls, and such like...

"3. That all Tryalls in the said Court be by Jurys of 12 Men, and that the Jurys be returned by the Justice or Justices of the Choultry...

"4. That there be a Clarke of the Court, and the same to be also Clarke of the Peace. Clement King is nominated and appointed.

"5. That there be an Officer of the Court, and the same to assist the justices. Philip Ashton is nominated and appointed.

"6. That there be a Marshall to take charge of the prisoners. Robert Bayly is nominated and appointed.....

"Excepting, and it is hereby ordered, that all causes of small misdemeanour, matters of the peace, and actions of Debt of the vallue of 50 pagodas New and under, shall be examined and decided by the Justices of the Choultry as formerly, and also all other Causes of a higher or greater vallue by consent of the partys; in all which Cases (if any partys find themselves agrieved) Appeals are or shall be allowed to the Court of the Governour and Councill, there to have a Tryall by a Jury, and according to the verdict shall have judgement and Execution awarded."

Having dealt with the judicial arrangements with which the police were intimately connected, we may turn our attention to the police organization during this period. A succinct account is given in Talboys Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time*.

"The following extracts are of very great value. They fully explain the police arrangements in the native town of Madraspatanam in the very

earliest times. We have already explained that whilst the settlement was first made about 1640, no records have been preserved in this Presidency prior to 1670. The intervening period we filled up as well as we could by means of the abstracts of general letters preserved in Bruce's *Annals*; but even they furnish no record of a governor earlier than Sir Edward Winter. From the following entries however one sees a reference to a Sir Thomas Chamber, who appears to have been governor about 1659, and thus to have immediately preceded Sir Edward Winter. Moreover we obtain from them a glimpse of Madraspatanam when it could have been little more than a rude assemblage of bamboo huts, and when twenty peons were sufficient to watch over the interests of the inhabitants. These entries originated in certain charges of neglect of duty which were brought against Pedda Naik and his peons, in other words against the police establishment of Madraspatanam, in the year 1686, and which led to a reference to the original cowle granted for the maintenance of the force. But the extracts will tell whole story.

Monday, 3rd November, 1686. Whereas divers of the Inhabitants of this Town, have made their complaints to us, that they have been great sufferers by the many robberies that have been committed of late; and forasmuch as it hath been made appear to us that the Pedda Naik and his Talliards (who should take care, for the yearly revenue they receive for the same, that no such thing be done, or else make satisfaction) have concealed some of the stolen goods, and imprisoned one of the thieves for fear he should make a discovery of others among themselves, and that the said Talliards do make it their constant practice to receive half the stolen goods and let the thieves escape with the rest: we the President and Council do therefore unanimously agree and resolve, that the said Pedda Naik shall make due satisfaction to every person for whatsoever losses they can justly make appear to have sustained by robbery, either in the inward on outward Town, now or hereafter; which is also agreeable to the contents of his cowle given him by Sir Thomas Chamber the 22nd June 1659.

“It appears from the cowle, which is printed at full length on the page following the above entry, that in a very early period of the history of Madraspatanam, the Pedda Naik had guarded the town with twenty peons. Subsequently when the town had greatly increased in size the Pedda Naik had given up the office on the ground that the number of peons was insufficient for the duty, and that the maintenance granted him was also insufficient. Accordingly eighteen paddy fields were

granted to the Pedda Naick duty free, together with a variety of petty customs on paddy, fish, oil, betel nut, peper and other similar articles; and he in return engaged to guard the town with fifty peons, under the following arrangement, which we shall describe in the words of the cowle granted by Sir Thomas Chamber.

“Also that the 50 peons aforesaid, shall be employed about the Town, as he that hath the charge of the Choultry shall think fitting. And if any man shall be delivered by us into your custody, and shall make his escape, that you shall pay the debt the person escaped owed. Also that if we (the President) should go abroad at any time to take our pleasure, you shall procure 150 or 200 peons to accompany us. And if occasion shall require 150 or 200 peons, your Timmapa with the said peons shall go upon what employment we shall send him, and also allow them 4 days catty; but if we should detain them longer then we are to give them catty. Also if any house is robbed, that you shall make satisfaction for what is lost. And if any merchant or inhabitant of this Town shall run away, and any of your people having knowledge thereof shall conceal it, that then you are to bring that party run away again, and correct him that knew of his departure. This being the *Cowle* given you by us you being peaceably and quietly to take your duties aforesaid, and to do the Company what service you are able. Dated in Madraspatanam, the 22nd June 1659.

THOMAS CHAMBER.

“The result of the present complaints appears to have been that the Pedda Naik agreed to make good all real losses.”

From the above it is evident that the Pedda Naik with a posse of Talliars or watchmen was the earliest police officer in the city. He was vested with the powers of arrest of brawlers and people who created disturbances in the Black Town and obliged to reimburse the victims of robbery and theft. The system was only a remnant of the old *Kaval* organization that was in existence in South India for a fairly long period. The Peddanaikpetta of Madras City is named after this official who had his lands and residence there.

In 1672 Sir William Langhorn approved of the concessions granted to the Pedda Naik in the collection of his allowances from traders and merchants. The following extract makes this clear.—

“Orders by Sir William Langhorn.

“By orders of the Honble Sir Wm. Langhorn, Barronett, Governour and Agent for Affairs of the Honble English East India Company in Fort St. George for the reviving of the antient orders concerning the marketts in Chinnapatnam as they were observed from the beginning.

“In Paddy Bancksall the former allowance was Custome for the Gentu pagoda, for every heape of paddy, one measure: for Peddinagg the watchman, on every greate ox-load of paddy, $\frac{3}{4}$ measure; for small ox-load, $\frac{1}{2}$ measure...

“The allowance of seaffish was: for every great nett, 5 ffish to the Honble Company, and to Peddinagg the watchman 10 ffish. And on the ffish they catch with a hooke, one ffish for the Company, and one for Peddinagg the watchman...” (*Pub. Cons., 18th Aug., 1672.*)

The Company appears to have come to the conclusion in 1686 that the emoluments of Pedda Naik were high considering the increase of population and development of trade and commerce and this was pointed out to the Governor in Council in a letter which ran:—

“The Company to Fort St. George.

“We have read over Sir Thomas Chamber’s his *Cowl* to the Pedda Naigue, in which it Seemes to us that the Duties allowed him to receive are very great, considering how the Inhabitants of your place (are increased), and consequently the Provisions comeing thither; and therefore wee would desire you, for the encrease of our Revenue, to farme out that Office to the Person that had officiated it already, or any other that will give most for it..., casting away the Preposterous distinction between Christians and the Natives, which is and will ever be a meer Cheat to the Company while it is continued. And therefore Wee enjoyn you, without more Capitulation, to compell all Persons within our City of Madrasse or Town of fort St. George to pay just alike in all duties. And that, to make the most of our respective farms, you farm not out any duty for above one year, and that you doe appoint a day in each year to let out all the Companys farmes in a Publick way by the Box with sealed Papers, or else by the Candle...” (*D. from Eng., vol. viii, 25th June, 1688.*)

In 1701, there was a change of Peddanaiks, the last incumbent having died leaving an infant son. Since the post was hereditary, the right of succession of the infant was recognized and his uncle was

appointed to officiate during his minority. A sanad was issued in connexion with this incident.

“*Wednesday, 24th December.* Angerapa Naik, our Watchman, dying the 29th October last, there has been great application by letters from several Poligars to us in the behalf of Timapa Naik, who contended several years for the place with the deceased Watchman; but finding upon enquiry that it was not his right, besides having murdered some inhabitants of this place, he was rejected. And whereas the late deceased Watchman has left a son an infant, who upon enquiry of the most knowing inhabitants of this place say, that the infant has the right of succession: so that to prevent any more application to us, and fearing that Timapa Naik may procure the Nabob’s *perwanna*, which may occasion disputes between the Government and us; we have thought fit to grant our *Cowle* to the infant, during whose minority his uncle Tegapa Naik is to officiate and to be Chief Watchman of this place; and accordingly it is agreed that the infant be tasheriffed with the usual ceremony, and a *Cowle* drawn out.”

Peddanaigue’s Cowle.

“A *Cowle* given by the Honble Thomas Pitt, Esqr., President and Governour of Fort St. George, &c. Councill to Koonugoree Pedde Naigue, Son to Angerapa Naigue lately deceased...”

“That whereas formerly you kept but fifty Peons, now you must keep One hundred good peons to watch this City and the liberties thereof, for prevention of robberies and other disorders. And for their Maintenance wee allow you the following Duties:-

“That you shall have 18 Paddy feilds given you rent free.

“That all the Inhabitants of the Town, excepting Christians and the old Servants belonging to the Company, shall pay You per Annum three *fanams* for every great house, Two *fanams* for a smaller, and One *fanam* for the smallest of all.

“The Hundred Peons aforementioned shall be employed for the Security and peace of this City as the Governour or Governour and Councill shall think fitting. If the Governour shall go abroad, You shall procure 100 Peons to accompany him. Also if occasion requires you shall provide 200 Peons to go upon such Employment as wee shall send them, and you are to allow them four days *Batty*; but in case wee shall employ them longer than four days, we are to give them *Batty*.”

“If any Goods belonging to the Rt. H. Company shall be taken from the Washers, or if any Inhabitants house or Godown of whom you receive your Duties shall be robb'd, then you shall make satisfaction for what is lost, or produce the person or persons that committed the robbery. And if any person deliver'd by Us into your custody shall make his escape, then you shall pay the Debt.

“Timapa Naigne, having Murdered severall of our Inhabitants, has forfeited his right to those allowances formerly given him by your Grand-father, but you are to give the same allowances to his Son that your Grand-father gave to Timapa.

“And as an Acknowledgement that You hold your place from and under the Rt. Hon'ble Company, You shall bring Us in every Year Twelve head of Dear in their Season, and twelve Wild-hogs in their Season. According to this Agreement wee give you this *Cowle*, if you shall faithfully Discharge the Duty of your place, for so long as the Sun and Moon endure. THOMAS PITT, FRANCIS ELLIS, THO. WRIGHT, MATT. EMPSON, THOMS. MARSHALL, JOHN MEVERELL.” (*P.C.*, vol. xxx., 24th Dec., 1701.)

The Peddanaik was also a jailor for the Company. In 1712, it was discovered that a number of civil debtors and other criminals were in the Talliar's hands and there was no prospect of recovering the fines imposed on them. So it was decided to transfer them to the West Coast to be put on building work for their lives so that they might pay off the fines by the result of their labour.

In 1717 the Peddanaik was found to be inefficient. The proceedings of the Governor in Council are extracted at length.

“Monday, 7th July. The President reports to the Board that Pedda Naik, the Chief Watchman of the town, has forfeited his *Cowle* by open and notorious transgressions of every part thereof; that he is become utterly incapable of discharging the duty of that post, having by his extravagance rendered himself unable either to maintain a sufficient number of Taliars to watch the city, or to make good any losses that shall happen as by the *Cowle* he is obliged to do; that through his incapacity as a watchman to discharge his duty, frequent robberies have happened of late, and one instance of what is unusual in these parts of a merchant and his servant murdered in their own house by robbers. The President added that if a speedy stop was not put to this mischief it would increase upon us till it become past remedy.

“The *Cowle* was then read, and the violation of every part thereof by Pedda Naik was notorious to the whole Board.

“The Pedda Naik being called in, and acquainted with the sentiments of the Board on his conduct, was asked if he had any thing to say in his own defence. He only replied that he was not able to do better, and left himself to the judgement of the Board.

“Agreed that Pedda Naik, chief Watchman of the city, having forfeited his *Cowle*, and being incapable of performing the duty of his office, be dismissed the Honorable Company’s Service.

“Agreed that Koonugoree Timapa Naik of the same cast and family with Pedda Naik, be constituted chief Watchman of this city of Madras, under the same obligation of duty, and with the same privileges and revenues as the former enjoyed.

“Agreed that the revenues from the Sea Gate, Choultry and Bazar appropriated to the Watchman, be to the end of this month carried to Pedda Naik account, they being mortgaged to the corporation; and the beginning of the next month delivered up to the new Watchman; and that all these other revenues be immediately delivered up to the new Watchman.”

Again this previous incumbent in the Office of the Peddanaik was reinstated owing to the resignation of the reigning one in 1720. The proceedings are as follows:—

“*Monday, 17th August* — The petition of Coonogozee Timapa Naik read, desiring liberty to resign his employment of Chief Watchman to Coonogozee Pedda Naick, who officiated in that office before him, and was very capable of executing it, but was dismissed for his extravagance. The said Timapa Naik being unfit to do the duty of that post any longer, by reason of his old age; and the former Pedda Naik, being very much reclaimed by the hardships which his extravagance brought upon him, promises a faithful discharge of his duty for the future, and tenders the duties belonging to the office of Chief Watchman as a security for his fidelity and good behaviour.

“Agreed therefore that Coonogozee Timapa Naik be discharged at his request from the office of Chief Watchman of this city; and that Coonogozee Pedda Naik be appointed in his stead.”

We have already seen that at the beginning of the settlement at Madras the Agent and his Council were reluctant to administer justice

or take upon them police duties as they are understood now. But after sixty years of administration and commercial experience which brought them face to face with the internecine quarrels among the Nawabs and their governors, who were willing to surrender their powers for presents of horses, arms or even cases of liquor, they had become contumacious enough to write back to Mir Usman, Foujdar at St.Thome as the following letters that passed between the parties would show.

“ From Mirusman Foujdar of St.Thome.

“ I have power over Chinnapatam, and likewise over St.Thome, as it belongs to the king whose grant of Chinnapatam ground to the Company was on no other intent than to make the place fruitful, and bring riches into his kingdom, but not to act anything that should prove unjust or prejudicial to the merchants interest there. I cannot help putting you in mind of the Governors of Golconda and Bijapore, who for their unjust actions and ill behaviour were instantly turned out of their Province, notwithstanding all their resistance, and clapped into irons. What reason therefore has the king to value any one, seeing he turns out whosoever he pleases; and who by his great kindness and justice towards his people, has obtained power of god to conquer wheresoever he comes; and knowing me to be one of his Officers, I wonder at the style you write me. What can I say more?”

The following was Governor Pitt’s answer :—

“ To Mirusman, Foujdar of St.Thome.

“ I received your impertinent and insolent letter. We all know your king to be great, wise and just, and many of his nobles to be persons of great honour; but most of his little Governors, amongst whom I reckon you, to be very corrupt and unjust. We would have you to know we are of a nation whose sovereign is great and powerful, able to protect his subjects in their just rights over all the world, and revenge whatever injustices shall be done them, of which there will be speedy instances given. I am not a little surprised at your saucy expressions, as well as actions in imprisoning my inhabitants, when you know that I can fetch you hither and correct you for both. This is an answer to your letter.

THOMAS PITT.”

Meantime the rule of law was slowly evolving itself. Cock-fighting and gaming among the artisans had become a problem to the

settlement. The following orders were promulgated making gaming an offence and specifying the penalty for persons found gaming. As early as the year 1700 itself, the British had recognized the utility of informers in locating offences and apprehending offenders and had made provisions to reward them in the same manner as it is done in modern times. The law was enunciated as follows:—

“We being informed that cock-fighting and other games are very much used and practised by the handicraft tradesmen of this place, wherein they consume the half of their time to their great impoverishment, by which they are rendered unable to provide for their families: besides, it prevents the making of many manufactures in this place, and many other ill consequences attending it, destructive to the very being of trade itself. Wherefore to avert so great an evil as will in time ensue thereby, we the Governor and Council do prohibit and forbid all manner of gaming for money or money’s worth by all merchants, shopkeepers, and all sorts of handicrafts of this place and the bounds thereof, upon penalty of twenty-five pagodas every time it is proved upon them before the Justices of the Choultry that they have gamed, five pagodas whereof to the informer and the other twenty for the use of the Company. And in case upon proof it appears that any one has gamed for a trivial sum, and that not to the loss of time in his profession, it is then left to the discretion of the Justices of the Choultry, to inflict such punishment by fine or otherwise as they shall think fit. And this we order to be published in the country languages by affixing the same at the several gates.”

Counterfeiting was another offence that came to the notice of the Governor and Council in the beginning of the 18th century. The Indian craftsman has shown his perverse talent in counterfeiting the pagodas minted at the Company’s mint in the Fort. The judgment in this case was more opportunist than conforming to present-day legal principles.

“It was ordered that the three black fellows apprehended, and found preparing to coin pagodas, should be brought on their trial to-morrow; but finding the evidence against them is so insufficient that they will most certainly be acquitted, and they offering six hundred pagodas to be acquitted without a trial, it is thought much better to accept the same; not only in regard to the six hundred pagodas but likewise their being acquitted on their trial would encourage others

to attempt the same; and accordingly it is agreed to receive the said six hundred pagodas, and banish them the place."

Power had slowly made the settlers take to extreme steps to deal with thieves and robbers and physical chastisement by the Governor himself was not unheard of in those days. Moreover the lives of the Indians were considered to be of no value in relation to the theft of a Britishman's merchandise, as the following excerpt reveals:—

"The Governor this morning summoned this Council to acquaint them, that just then the Pedda Naik informed him that he discovered a villainy in the boatmen, in opening the Company's bales sent on board the "Duchess"; which he hearing of in the night immediately secured the head boatmen and two Peons, at the watching places by the sea side; on whom he found two pieces of middling longcloth. The Governor immediately sent for the Conicopoly of the Godown to enquire what peons were sent off in the boats, that day they loaded fifteen boats; which to his great surprise he told him no Peons at all; though often at the Council Board he ordered that no goods of the Company's should go off or come ashore without Peons in the boats; and the same he had often ordered the Conicopoly went with him, and twice or thrice thrashed him himself when that he found he neglected it.

"The Chief of the boatmen were before us when the Pedda Naik charged them with the knowledge of this villainy, and brought one of their servants to their face to prove it; who did not only do that, but sent some of his people with their servant to one of the Chief's houses, and found four pieces of Bettelees buried underground. Upon which orders were given to apprehend all the boatmen that were ashore, and those that were gone off in boats when they returned; and as soon as the Governor was informed of it, and knowing four boats were gone off this morning with bales, he sent for Captain Raymond, whom he desired to write to his Mate to search the four boats as soon as come on board, to see whether they had not played the same tricks with those bales. When some of those boats off returned near the surf, their associates in this villainy made them some private sign, so that they returned again as far as the Paddy boats, and there consulted one another; from which we apprehended they would run away to the northward or southward. So presently sent to boats with the Vizagapatam boatmen with soldiers to prevent it; which as soon as they

discovered, ten boats run away to the southward; upon which the Governor ordered the Gunner to fire shot from the Battery and sink them if possible; several of which fell very near, but had not the good luck to do execution; and the ship observing it sent their Pinnace, who cut off the flight of four and brought them back, but the other six got to St. Thome, whither the Government sent Peons with our Brahmin to secure them as they came ashore and bring them hitherto; which, if the Governor refused, to charge them with them; both which they (the St. Thome authorities) refused; upon which it was thought fit to fetch them with a Company of soldiers; but upon consideration, we then heard the Nabob was at Conjeveram and expected every day at St. Thome, we desisted, believing the consequence would be embroiling the Company's affairs for the present. Upon which it was agreed to write the Nabob a letter, and another to the Governor of St. Thome, who is now at Poonamallee; and if we have not immediate redress, then to apply ourselves to other courses to procure it."

Under the charter of Charles II dated 9th August 1683 the establishment of a Court of Admiralty consisting of one person learned in the Civil law and two merchants, was authorized. After that the Choultry Courts as already mentioned, were constituted; the Mayor and Corporation were established by a charter of 1687. The Mayor and Aldermen were to be a Court of Record within the Town of Fort St. George and City of Madrasapatam and the precincts thereof. The Mayor of the Corporation for the time being was always to be one of the Justices of the peace both within and without the precincts of the Corporation. The three Senior Aldermen, moreover, were to be Justices of the Peace. The Mayor's Court was empowered to try all causes civil or criminal and was authorized to deal with offences by fine, imprisonment or corporal punishment. The Choultry Judges became Magistrates to deal with petty offences, while the Mayor's Court dealt with serious ones. Special Judges for the Choultry were also appointed to deal with murders. The following gives details of punishment inflicted on offenders.

"A native convicted of murder was sentenced by Mr Dolben in 1693. It was ordered 'that he be executed...at the Common place of Execution, and his body hang in chains on a Gibbett near the high road Leading to Polimilee, and that the two Junior Choultry Justices doe see the Same perform'd.

"The Justices of the Choultry found a native merchant guilty of 'driveing a trade of Stealing children' with the aid of two notorious rogues. The merchant was given the alternative of paying Pags. 200, or standing in the pillory and paying Pags. 80. His two subordinates become slaves to the Company.

"Goods from the seaside having been stolen, it was resolved that any Peon or Talliar found asleep or absent from his place at night shall, by order of the Sea Customer, 'be whipped from Point to Point, and shall receive Five Lashes at each of the five appointed Posts, and be discarded.'

"A Brahman convicted of robbery was sentenced to be hanged. The inhabitants represented that it was contrary to the custom of the Country to put Brahmans to death. The man was accordingly reprieved but the Justices of the Choultry were ordered to punish him in the most disgraceful way practised among the Jentues, and then to turn him out of Madras."

With regard to the formation of the Mayor's Court the details furnished below are of some interest as they mention one of the functions of the Pedda Naik as participating in Governmental procession at the head of his peons.

"The exercise of judicial powers however had never been based on a satisfactory foundation, but, 'in 1726,' says Mr Mill, 'a Charter was granted, by which the Company were permitted to establish a Mayor's Court at each of their three Presidencies, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta; consisting of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, empowered to decide in civil cases of all descriptions. From this jurisdiction, the President and Council were erected into a Court of Appeal. They were also vested with the power of holding Courts of Quarter Session for the exercise of penal judicature in all cases, excepting those of high treason. And a Court by Requests, or Court of Conscience, was instituted, for the decision by summary procedure of pecuniary questions of inconsiderable amount.' With this introduction we place the extracts from the records referring to these new arrangements.

"Monday, 14th August, 1727. The President represented to the Board, that the time for putting in execution the Royal Charter was very near; and that therefore it would be necessary to come to some resolutions agreeable thereto. That the death and absence of Messrs

Higginson, Woolley, Way and Munro, having occasioned four vacancies, it was necessary to supply them according to the rules of the Charter; which was accordingly done by appointing Messrs Thomas Weston, William Monson, John Bulkelay, and Edward Bracstone, Aldermen in the room of the said four persons.

“Mr Higginson having been by the said Charter appointed Mayor, and it being provided therein that the President and Council should in case of his death nominate the first Mayor,—It was unanimously agreed to appoint Mr John Powney to that station.

“Ordered that Thursday next be appointed for swearing the Mayor and Aldermen, and putting in execution His Majesty’s Charter for so far as relates to the Mayor’s Court.”

“*Thursday, 17th August, 1727.* This being the day that the Honorable President and Council had appointed for putting in execution the new Charter, and the Town having received notice accordingly; the Gentlemen appeared on the parade on horse back with the Guards, Peons and country music; and about nine in the morning proceeded to the Company’s Garden house in the following manner.

“Major John Roach on horseback at the head of a Company of Foot Soldiers, with Kettle drum, Trumpet [s], and other Musick.

The Dancing Girls with the Country musick.

The Pedda Naigue, on horse back at the head of his Peon [s].

The Marshall with his Staff on horse back.

The Court attorneys on horse back.

The Registrar carrying the old Charter on horse back.

The Sergeants with their Maces on horse back.

The old Mayor on the right hand and the
New on the left.

The Aldermen, two and two, all on
horse back.

Six

halberdiers

The Company’s Chief Peon on horse back, with his Peons.

The Sheriff with a White Wand, on horse back.

The Chief Gentry in the Town, on horse back.

“In this manner they proceeded from the parade through Middle gate street into the Black Town, and so out at Armenian bridge gate.,

through the Pedda Naik Pettah to the Company's Garden, where the President and council were met to receive them."

The question of territorial jurisdiction arose in the two cases mentioned below:—

"The Justices of the Choultry report to the Board, that they have had under confinement in the Choultry prison for sometime past, two persons for a robbery committed in the country; whom they are at a loss how to proceed about; because by the late Charter, we are not empowered to take cognizance of any crime committed above ten miles distant from any English settlement; and therefore they have not yet bound them over, although the robbery is plainly proved by the confession of the one and the goods being found upon the other.

"Which being considered the Board agreed, by an express limitation in the Charter, they cannot proceed against these persons according to the English laws. That delivering them up to the country Government would be attended with ill consequences; since it would be urged as a precedent in other cases in future; and that letting them escape would be yet worse; since it would give encouragement to future attempts of the like kind. Wherefore it was after a long consideration unanimously determined and resolved to send the two prisoners to Bencoolen, on the first vessel bound thither, to be slaves for life to the Company. This resolution the Board thought justified by the Charter; since being therein directed to act as much in conformity to the laws of England as the condition and circumstances of the place will admit of, the Board cannot but be of opinion His Majesty intended by the above expression to give us a liberty—(in consideration that in so distant a colony, and among people whose religion, laws and customs are so infinitely different from our own, many things must unavoidably happen for which the laws of England have made no provision, and many others where the execution of these laws would be attended with very fatal consequences to settlement)—of acting in all such cases so as should appear most consonant to the well-being and security of the place; and of this nature the Board think the case now before us to be."

"*Tuesday, 24th January, 1738.*—A peon that carries money, having murdered his companion and robbed him of the money and effects he had with him belonging to several merchants: and the murderer having been discovered in Triplicane with most of the effects about

him; the owners thereof appear before the Board, and having made good their claim to the money, &c., the same was delivered them before the Board. But the murder and robbery having been committed to the Southward of Porto Novo, and consequently not punishable by virtue of our charter, the peon was delivered to the merchants under custody of the Poligar's peons, to be conveyed to the Rajah in whose country the fact was committed, in order that he might receive his trial and punishment there."

But in cases of murder, the Hon'ble Court did not appear to possess the powers to bring the accused to execution in 1720-21, when the hold of the paramount power had vanished for all practical purposes. This came to prominence in a case of cold-blooded murder of an Indian by two drunken soldiers when he could not give them money for drinks. The Council sat to consider the evidence and the penalty, soon after the murder was brought to the Governor's notice.

"The affair of the murder is now resumed. The President acquaints the Board, that a Dubash boy (belonging to one of the prisoners suspected to be guilty of the murder) was apprehended at St. Thome; who being sent for in, deposes that he went with Robert Grott, his master, from his house in company with two white men, and a woman, whose names he could not tell, to drink toddy at a toddy house; where they stayed till past 12 o'clock at night, at which time the two men and the woman left them. Then the prisoners Grott and Righting went to a choultry and carried a bottle of arrack; where they saw a man covered over with a clout, fast asleep; whom soon after they awaked by giving him a blow with a cane, and at the same time asked for *fanams* to buy arrack. The man answered he had none. But receiving a blow or two more from them, he gave them one *fanam*. then another, and afterwards a third. Upon continuing their usage to him, and repeating their demands, he drew down his purse and bid them look if there was any more. Then the prisoner Righting told him if he had no more than three *fanams*, he would give him more if he would go with him to the Governor's Garden; But instead of carrying him thither, they led him to another garden near the Choultry, where he afterwards heard him cry out. The Dubash further deposes that when he would have followed them, they struck him and bid him be-gone; and as he was going away he saw Righting take the club from Grott. After this they went to Town, and a soldier, by name Clark (whose house they were in) asked them, how came they so bloody; who

said they had been fighting. The Dubash afterwards went to look for a mat to sleep on, and saw Righting look over some silver things; and upon demanding leave to go home; he denied him. Clark again asked them how came they so bloody; who replied as before that they had been fighting.

“Righting being sent for in and interrogated concerning what the boy had deposed against him, says that he never had the club in his hand, but carried the Chetty into the Garden; upon which he was ordered to withdraw; and Grott being called in says that Righting took the club away from him and killed the man.

“Righting being brought in again, and acquainted with what his comrade had alleged against him, declared that they had been drinking, and that the Dubash boy told Grott that this Chetty fellow had money; upon which Grott went to him and asked him for some, when he gave him two *fanams*; then he demanded two more, but he would not give it them. The deponent Righting, seeing that, took him into a garden, and told him if he would not comply, he would carry him to the Governor’s garden; and as they were talking together Grott struck him with the club and killed him. Grott being called in, again denies what is laid to his charge; and being asked where the Chetty’s silver girdle, his ear-rings, and other things were, avers that Righting took them and he has heard nothing of them since. Upon which Righting was again sent for and asked the same question; who answered that the Dubash boy took them off, which is all that he knows of the matter.

“The prisoners being all dismissed the Room, the Board debated upon the affair for some time, and then unanimously pronounced them guilty of the murder. But the Honorable Company, having not yet procured a power to bring to an execution, it was agreed they should be continued in prison and whipped very severely every week as a punishment for the disorders they committed as soldiers.”

Even 300 years ago, the prohibition of the sale of indigenous liquor had been thought of by the Company and though the settlers were not Pilgrim Fathers with their faces turned against earthly pleasures and human vanities, they found the consumption of *Parrier Arrack* (which was probably being manufactured by the Harijans) unwholesome and the cause for disease among the soldiers and the servants of the Company. So the Governor published a notification prohibiting the

sale of arrack and fixing the time upto which liquors could be dispensed in Hotels.

“By Order of the Hon’ble Sir Wm. Langhorn, Barronett, Governor and Agent in Fort St. George.

“In obedience to my Hon’ble Employer’s orders, and out of that care I ought to take of the people committed to my charge.

“It is enordered and declared, that for prevention of disorders and for the preservation of the Hon’ble Company’s Servants and Souldiers of the Garrison from distempers and diseases frequently caused thereby, and by the unwholesome liquor called *Parrier arrack*.

“That from this day forward, no person whatsoever dwelling within the priviledges of the Towne, who doth sell any of the sort of arrack made here or hereabouts, shall be permitted to sell or give entertainment to any of the Hon’ble Company’s souldier or servants.

“And that all persons keeping publick houses of entertainment, be prohibited after this day from drawing liquor for any person, after the usuell ringing of the bell at eight of the clock at night; but shall desire all person then in their houses to retire to their own lodgings, and suffer them to tarry there no longer. And if any persons shall be found contemner of these orders they shall not for the future be permitted to keep houses of entertainment.

“And for further prevention of all disorders and excesses and impoverishing the souldiers of the Garrison and others in the Hon’ble Company’s servise, by encouraging them to the unthinking way of spending their wages in such disorderly manner upon credit, faster than it comes in, to the ruine both of their purses and their healths and undervaluing of the punctual and bounteous pay of the Hon’ble Company’s, which to all sober and discreet persons is not only sufficient for maintainance, but with any industry and beginning of their owne, enough to get aforehand in the world.

“It is likewise enordered and declared hereby that no Victullar, Punch-house or orther house of Entertainment, shall be permitted to make stoppage at the pay day of their wages or any part thereof, saveing only for their dyet; and accordingly order is given to the Purser to this effect, whereof all persons concerned are to take notice.

W. LANGHORN.”

This can be contrasted with the doings of the French at about the time they conquered Madras. Ananda Ranga Pillai of Pondicherry, the Samuel Pepys of India, wrote in his diary dated 21st August, 1746, "To-day at 10, the Governor summoned me and asked what progress had been made with regard to the arrack." I replied: "The distillation goes on apace. We have not enough Jaggery here. I have consequently written to Cuddalore and will obtain a supply from there. I am only telling you this by way of information." He thereupon said: "Is it not procurable here?" I replied: "No, I have sent an indent for it to Cuddalore and the neighbouring villages and will get the required quantity."

The attempted poisoning of a European Woman by a slave led to the framing of rules relating to the sale of poison. The Poisons Act comes to our rescue now; but in the old days, Government interfered very little with the lives of the people and most of them were left to their own desires. Whether this was advantageous or not is another matter. Control was imposed as a result of the judgment of the Chief Justice of the Choultry Court in the aforesaid case.

"Mr Emmerson, Chief Justice of the Choultry, reports to the Board a late instance of a woman slave having attempted to poison a whole family; that the poison had actually been given, but operating very violently quickly discovered itself, and the effect was prevented by immediately administering proper emetics, and that the criminal had confessed the fact. That in order to strike terror into such abandoned minds and for securing the lives of the inhabitants in future from atrocious attempts, the Justices of the Choultry were come to a resolution to punish the said criminal in the most public and exemplary manner, the approbation of this Board being first had; and that he was further empowered from the Justices of the Choultry to represent to the Board that, considering how easily poisons are procurable here, as in the late instance by low miscreants, even Sublimate Mercury, it will be highly necessary to publish a prohibition of selling or delivering poisons of any sort, but under a proper regulation; that therefore they were of opinion that no person should be permitted to sell or deliver poison, without first acquainting one of the Justices of it, under the penalty of confiscation of half of their estate, and being further liable to corporal punishment at the discretion of the said Justice.

"Approved the proceedings of the Justices in their affairs, and agreed with them to prohibit the selling or delivering poison without the

consent of one of the Justices, and under the penalty above mentioned, and that a prohibition be forthwith published accordingly."

In 1770 Du Pre was the Governor of Fort St. George. His Council instituted a Board of Police with the objects enumerated below:—

"We have indeed for some time had in view the establishing a Board of Police, foreseeing that many good Consequences must ensue, and that the good Government of the Settlement and Inhabitants cannot be attended to without it...

"Resolved that the Business of the Police be preserved distinct from the other Business of the Settlement; that the Rev. Mr Salmon be desired to act as Secretary, with a Salary of £ 100 per annum; and that the President and Council do meet as a Board of Police the first and third Wednesdays in every Month, or oftener if Occasion be, and other Business will permit...

"Misdemeanours have sometimes been punished in one way, sometimes in another, and oftener not at all. This Uncertainty of Controul and Difficulty of obtaining redress hath been introductive of great Abuses in almost every thing, and particularly in the Price of Provisions and Wages of Servants. But what more than all requires the attention of Government is the great Grievance which the Indian Inhabitants of this Colony have labored under...; We mean the want of some Law or means whereby their differences in Matters of Property may be determined, The Charter excludes them from the Mayor's Court unless both Parties shall voluntarily submit their Disputes to its decision, very few Instances of which (if any) have occurred."

At the first meeting of the Board, Governor Josias Du Pre, and the Councillors Warren Hastings, Samuel Ardley, Richard Brickenden and George Mackay were present. As the proceedings would show, the Board appeared to be concerned with the removal of public nuisances, maintenance of public health and the destruction of pariah dogs.

"Proceedings of the Board of Police.

"The Board, being assembled, first take into Consideration an Evil which has been long complained of and is incessantly felt by every individual within the Garrison, and more especially in the Season of the Land Winds, and which arises from the want of a proper Pavement of the streets and other Parts. The Soil on which the Fort stands being very loose and sandy, and made still more volatile by continual Tracks,

is raised by the smallest Breath of Air, and carried in such clouds as renders it extremely disagreeable abroad, and is likewise very sensibly felt in all the Houses, as venetian Blinds or Rattan Shutters are generally used instead of glass windows...It is agreed that the Engineer be ordered to pave such a number of yards as may enable him to make an Estimate of the Expence of paving the Fort throughout.

“Resolved, in consequence of the many Inconveniencies arising from the Number of Parriar Dogs which infest the Fort, that a Reward of two *fanams* be offered by public Advertisement to be given to all Soldiers and others who shall bring the Carcass of a Parriar Dog to the Person appointed to take an Account of the same at the Governor’s Garden House, and, on application to the Town Major, he shall receive the said Reward; and that it be desired that those who have favourite Dogs do distinguish them by Collars with their Names engraved which are to be exempted from this Order.”

As some persons seemed to have objected to the name ‘Board of Police’ the Board asked for the opinion of the public on this point. The Board also wanted to regulate trading in markets and fix prices for articles and wages for domestic servants. It is a common occurrence nowadays for domestic servants whose antecedents are unknown to get into service and abscond with valuable properties after some time. This was prevented in the times of Du Pre by the Police Board insisting on the Headmen of the castes acting as a sort of employment exchange and standing surety for their wards, who were expected to pay one *fanam* monthly.

“The Masters of Palankeen Bearers and the other Tribes or Casts of Pariah Servants shall pay one *Fanam* monthly for each Servant to the Heads of the respective Casts, who, in Consideration thereof, shall be answerable for their forthcoming, for any Money advanced them not exceeding two Months’ Wages agreeable to these Regulations, and for their Cloathing; and out of the above Allowance the Heads of the Casts shall each employ a Conicopilla, who shall keep a register of all such Persons employed. And in case any Inhabitant shall refuse to pay the same, he shall not be entitled to any of the Benefits pointed out by these Regulations.

“Any Person wanting a Pariah Servant of whatever Denomination shall apply to the Head of the Cast, who shall provide the servant required.

“ Any Servant desirous of quitting his Service shall give a Month’s warning, and in like manner any Master having to dismiss a Servant shall give a Month’s warning or a Month’s wages, except when a Servant hath just Cause of Complaint against his Master, or the Master against his Servant, in which Cases, on Application to the Magistrate, the Servant will of course receive his immediate Discharge of Dismission, with such further Redress or Chastisement as the Nature of the Case shall require.”

The Board also established a Court for determining disputes relating to castes among the Hindus. The Police Board was dissolved in March 1771, after a year of its existence. It does not appear to have found favour with the East India Company as is evident from the proceedings of the Company extracted below :—

“ Fort St. George to the Company.

“ Your Honors were advised...that We had formed ourselves into a Board of Police with our Reasons for that Institution. We now transmit to you a copy of our Proceedings, and should be happy could We at the same time inform you that they had been productive of any beneficial Effect. We entered upon this Business with very sanguine Hopes, and with a Zeal animated by the Prospect of becoming instrumental in promoting the Ease and Happiness of the People residing under your Protection, the encrease of the Inhabitants, and with it that of your Revenues; and for some time We prosecuted it with an incessant and Laborious Attention. But various Causes have contributed to obstruct to discourage, and finally to put an End to our Enquiries. As we proceeded, we discovered that We wanted Power to enforce even the most necessary of our Regulations, that the Obedience to them must be gratuitous, and any Authority used in enforcing them liable to opposition, Prosecution and presentments. We are indeed apprehensive that many of the Powers which have been exercised by this Government ever since its first Establishment, tho’ never hitherto disputed, and essentially necessary to good Order and Peace of the Community, yet want the Sanction of British Legal Authority....

“ These difficulties should not have hindered Us from persevering in the Work We had begun, had not our time and Attention been wholly engrossed by Affairs of Infinitely greater Importance to the Interest of our Employers. Our Idea of the Utility of the System which we were

Labouring to Establish, and our hopes of effectual support in perfecting it, very much changed by the Advises received by the Mansfield and the new prospects opened by the arrival of his Majesty's Plenipotentiary. Deprived of the Confidence of our Employers, engaged in Contests with the Nabob, with General Coote, with Sir John Lindsay, on Subjects the most Interesting to your Property, to your Government, and, as We apprehend, to the very being of the Company, Obnoxious in every Step We took to popular Clamors, to the wrath of Government, perhaps to Parliamentary Impeachment, and even to your Displeasure, how was it possible for Us to attend to the internal Regulation of the Colony while so many external Damages beset Us all around? A persuit of this kind is only suitable to a state of Quiet and Established Security..."

Under Regulation Act of 1773, Warren Hastings who was a member of the Council of Fort St. George was elevated to the position of the Governor General of Bengal. A Supreme Court of Judicature was also established there. With these arrangements the complete independence of the Madras Government came to an end.

The Directors abolished the Board of Police on the ground that the establishment was not covered by any Charter and that it would come into conflict with the Magistrate's Court. But the Governor and his Council, who had no reliance on free trade desired to have an agency to control prices of commodities in markets and make the tradesmen behave. So in the year 1777 Governor Stratton appointed one Vera Perumal to be the kotwal or overseer of the markets. In 1780 the post of Superintendent of Police was created to supervise the markets and reduce the price of provisions. The Office of the Superintendent of Police in Madras City can be said to have come into existence when Mr William Webb joined that post on an allowance of 100 pagodas a month. When the office of the kotwal was to be absorbed in the post of the Superintendent and approval was sought for this proposal, the Board of Directors turned round and axed the post of Superintendent retaining at the same time the Office of Kotwal. The name Kotwal Bazaar is derived from the disignation of this officer.

Mr Popham, who is still remembered in Madras by the street which is named as Popham's Broadway, prepared a comprehensive plan for the Police in 1782. Many of those matters in the plan would in modern times fall within the scope of Municipalities or Corporations

but in the absence of any other agency to undertake the work and the necessity for some sort of coercive influence to make citizens pay heed to orders, the police were considered to be the best agency to accomplish the object. Popham stated in his plan "The grand objects of a General Police are to promote Health and to prevent impositions and frauds. Cleanliness and wholesome diet will forward the first, a central market and the Establishment of a Police will prevent the later."

"The police Master should have a deputy with a certain number of European Assistants by way of bailiffs; and some Sepoys, Hircarrahs and Peons for carrying into Effectual execution the several duties of his Office. The Police master's Office and Prison-House should be Central, and there should be besides, Watch Houses in several convenient parts of the Black Town."

"The Bailiffs etc. of each District to go their respective rounds at Certain Hours, and to take and Confine all persons offending against the Peace or who cannot give a good Account of themselves and to bring them before the Police Master or his Deputy by 8 o'clock the next morning. All Complaints about Servants for Insolence or Misbehaviour, the regulation of their Wages, the price of Cooley hire and the like, to be settled by the Police Master."

The police official was thus to be both an 'Industrial Tribunal' and a 'Wage Commissioner', in modern parlance. The Governor who was reluctant in the beginning to interfere with the ordinary lives of the people wanted power at this stage to deal with even private contracts and to utilize the police to enforce them. Mr Popham disagreed with the Company in the dissolution of the old Board of Police pointing out that the powers exercised by the Board could not make it come into conflict with the Mayor's Court nor were they *ultra vires* of the principles of the several Charters granted to the Company.

The scheme of Mr Popham who later became Government Solicitor was considered by the Council of Fort St. George. Mr James Daniell, one of the Councillors while supporting the inherent principles suggested the following method to put them into execution.

"I would in the 1st instance propose that Five Commissioners should be appointed from amongst the Inhabitants in General to draw up a form of Regulations to be approved by this Government.

“2nd. That they should enquire into the quantity and quality of Supplies, and fix on the Establishment of Markets.

“3rd. That 3 of the Commissioners should form a quorum for the daily Regulation of market in all its branches...

“4th. That the whole of the Commissioners should assemble the first of every month to regulate and publish the prices of provisions of that month...

“5th. That the Cutwal should be appointed by the Governor and Council...

“6th. That all orders and Regulations of the Commissioners shall be forwarded to the Board for their approbation or amendment...”

But no action was taken on this proposal and the matter was allowed to lie over till 1785, when 203 inhabitants of Madras submitted a memorial to the Government.

“Memorial of the Residents, dated 21st Oct., 1785.

“We, the Inhabitants of Madras and its Environs, beg leave to Address your Honble Board on a Subject which has been for many Years considered and felt as a General grievance, and repeatedly presented by the Grand jury at the Sessions.

“The Dearness of Provisions of every kind; the Abuses practised by those who deal in them; the Shameful impositions of Servants, Artificers, Labourers and Coolies; the Nuisances in the Streets of the Black Town; the Badness of the Roads in the Neighbourhood of Madras, and the frequent Robberies as well as petty thefts committed, are Objects well worthy the attention of Government.

“We understand that Mr S. Popham has comprehended all those Objects, and proposed Regulations for their Remedy and Removal, in the Plan of Police which he gave into the hands of Lord Macartney some time ago, and which was by his Lordship recommended to the serious Consideration of Council just before his departure...”

Mr Popham directed an attack on the Government for dropping his proposal and denied any self-interest though the proposed market had to be centralized in a site possessed by him. He proposed to find money for the maintenance of the Police by levying taxes on the annual value of property owned by the inhabitants.

Sir Archibald Campbell, who was Governor of Madras at this time, supported the scheme and recommended it for consideration to the Company.

“ Minute by the President.

“The late presentment of the Grand Jury at the last Quarter Sessions on the want of a proper System of Police, or of interior Regulations within the Limits of Fort St. George; the representation of almost the entire Body of Inhabitants to the same Effect; and the Strong and ample Recommendations of Lord Macartney and Mr Davidson in favour of a Plan for establishing certain Regulations of police, by Mr Stephen Popham, for correcting most of the abuses which are here complained of, are Objects which merit the serious Attention of Government...”

“For this purpose I would beg leave to recommend that Colonel Capper, Messrs Petrie, Oakeley, Webb, Haliburton and Moubray from among the Company’s Servants, and Messrs Amos, Antonio De Souza, Edward Raphael and Shemier Sultan from the Free Merchants and Armenians of this Settlement and the Black Town, be named a Committee to proceed on this business without delay...”

The suggested Committee was appointed with one Mr Nathaniel Kinderslery as Secretary. The Secretary was to be paid Rs.6/-per day. With regard to the collection of money from inhabitants, there was a difference of opinion between Mr Popham, who was Government Solicitor and the Attorney General. The latter asserted that the Government had no power to assess the inhabitants. The Committee was in a dilemma and in order to tide over the difficult situation recommended the utilization of the Quit Rent and Scavenger’s duty which had been paid voluntarily for the maintenance of the police.

The word ‘Police’ was looked upon with some prejudice even in England. So the Police Board, fearing that until they changed their name, they might not be looked upon with favour by the Company in England, proposed a way out of the impasse by constituting a Committee of Regulation. The latter was none other than the Board of Police in an innocuous guise.

“ Fort St.George Consultation”

“The Board, again taking into Consideration the abuses and Inconveniences experienced for want of a System of Police, or of

interior regulations within the limits of Madras, Resolve that the Appointment of the Gentlemen nominated to enquire into Mr Popham's Plan be abolished; and that a Committee of Regulation be established for fixing the Wages of Servants, the prices of Provisions, and for preserving cleanliness in the Black Town, to consist of the following Persons, viz. Mr William Webb, Cutwal, Mr Francis Lind, Rental General, Captain James Campbell, Town Major, and Messrs Stephen Popham, Antonio de Souza and Edward Raphael."

But even the collection of Quit Rent and Scavenger's Duty was held to be illegal by the Supreme Court of Calcutta. The Committee of Regulation went ahead in organizing markets and fixing prices of provisions in the several areas in the city. On its recommendation the Government approved the building of the Kotwal's Choultry and Police Office at the market place. Mr Webb had been appointed as Kotwal when the post of Superintendent was abolished. In April 1791, there was a complaint from vegetable dealers against the kotwal. The petition makes very interesting reading. In their language, "the office of Cutwal was instituted for no other purpose than as it seems to do evil to the Public." They alleged that kotwal Rungah received half a viss of articles from each basket every day and $\frac{1}{4}$ fanam from each retailer of article by force; also that he had let our Great Bazaar for 5 pagodas per month, Oly Bazaar for 5 pagodas, Paracherry Bazaar for 4 pagodas, Senga Bazaar for 1 pagoda to peons who also extorted money from stall keepers; that Rungah had oppressed oil mongers and taken 425 pagodas. If there was any opposition to payment, the trouble makers were put into confinement by the kotwal. They also complained that Mr William Webb, the Superintendent of the Market was impervious to their protests and failed to take any action on the kotwal and asked the Government that if the kotwal police be abolished, every article would be sold cheaper. The European element itself was responsible for such inequities as the aim of some of them was only to make easy money by shaking the pagoda tree and retire to their country with sufficient competence. Probably this mass petitioning had something to do with the abolition of the post of kotwal in May 1791. The Committee of Regulation became moribund in the absence of the kotwal. Lord Hobart reviewed the Committee in the following letter:—

"Minute by Lord Hobart.

"The President acquaints the Board that, having seriously reflected on the acknowledged inconvenience suffered by the Community of

Madras for want of a regulated police, he had selected a Committee with a view to make the enquiries necessary to a permanent system and had addressed the following Letter to them: —

“To Messrs Oakes, Chamier, Kindersley and Major Allan.

“The inconvenience generally felt and complained of by the Resident Inhabitants of Madras for want of established regulations respecting the price and sale of provisions, the wages of Artificers, Palankeen boys, coolies and other descriptions of Labourers, having induced me to revise the proceedings of Committee formerly instituted with a view to remedy similar inconveniences, but which, for reasons that I am not accurately informed of, were not productive of the intended effect, I am led to hope that, with your assistance, an attempt at present may be attended with a more successful issue...”

The Committee of Police, thus formed, suggested the appointment of a poligar for the Black Town whose office had fallen into desuetude by the withdrawal of the powers granted to him to levy duties on articles imported into, or exported out of, Madras and whose work had been adversely commented upon by the Choultry Justice for allowing a prisoner to escape from his custody. The inhabitants of Black Town protested against the extinction of the Poligar.

“Petition of the inhabitants.

“That, from the Establishment of Madras, Peddanaik the Poligar had Continued to receive certain fees from your Petitioners and Merchants for Watching their Houses and Goods, and held himself responsible for thefts Committed at your Petitioners’ Houses, and of the said Merchants’ Goods and Merchandize...Government having lately ordered the said Poligars fee...(to) be discontinued in Consequence of his having incurred your displeasure, thereby the Office of the said Poligar became abolished, and your Petitioners are constantly laboring under great fear and Apprehensions to secure their Properties; therefore may it please your Lordship to order the said Poligar’s fee to be paid by your Petitioners and Merchants as usual, in Condition of his Answering the thefts Committed at your Petitioners’ Houses, which shall induce him to Employ a number of Watchers and thereby to secure your Petitioners’ Property’s...”

On the recommendation of the Police Committee, the office of the Poligar was restored on the undermentioned conditions.

" *Minute by Lord Hobart. (P. C., vol. ccxxii, 5th Jan., 1798).*

" The President informs the Board that the principal inhabitants, being desirous of restoring the office of poligar, are willing to contribute the same fees for his establishment as were received by Pedda Naig, His Lordship therefore proposes that Codungore Angarapah Naig, Son of the late poligar, be appointed, and lays before the Board draft of a *cowl* to be granted in consequence—

" *A cowl* granted by the Right Honble Lord Hobart, President and Governor of Fort St. George, and the Council thereof, To Codungore Ungarapah Naig—

" 1st. Having constituted and appointed you to be watchman of the City of Madras and of the washing Grounds near the Bound Hedge on the following Terms, you must keep a sufficient Number of good Peons, not less than 100 at least, for the preventing of Robberies and other disorders in the said City; and for their maintenance we allow you the following Custom.

" 2nd. That for all Goods brought into the Land Custom House by all the Native Merchants you shall receive fees as formerly: On Piece Goods as cleared at the Custom House, Seven and one half Cash on each Pagoda value; On weighing Goods as cleared at the Custom House, twenty cash on each Pagoda value.

" 3rd. That you shall collect from all Goods of all the merchants, excepting Europeans, paying Duty at the Sea Gate, as formerly; Piece Goods, Raw Silk, Drugs, Grain, Lamp Oil Seeds, twentyseven and a half Cash on each Pagoda value; on Paddy, Rice, Comboloo..., Timbers, Planks, Palmiras, Reapers and Redwood, seven and a half cash on each Pagoda value.

" 4th. That all inhabitants of the Town, excepting Europeans, shall pay you yearly, for a Great House three *fanams*, and small Houses two *fanams*.

" 5th. The Peons aforementioned are to be always kept and employed for the security and Peace of this City of Madras as the Governor shall direct.

" 6th. When any person paying Custom as aforesaid to you has been robbed, such person shall acquaint you, and if satisfaction is not

obtained in due time. in any case not exceeding two months, application shall be made to the Governor or the Justices of the Peace, who will take proper measures to cause you to make good the property.

“7th. The Honble Company will allow you the usual fee of seven and half Cash on each pagoda value of cloth for watching their Cloth at the washing Green, but it is required that you should make good the property that may be robbed.”

The Committee of Regulation thus gave place to a permanent Police Committee. Thus the organization had come one full circle. The first Police Committee consisted of the three Justices of the Choultry, Messrs John Chamier, Walter Balfour, and George Taswell with the Superintendent of the Cutcherry, Mr N. E. Kindersley, and the Town Major, Major Alexander Allan. They also sanctioned an establishment consisting of a Clerk of the Market at 150 pagodas, Secretary to the Committee, pagodas 100, kotwal, pagodas 50, Assistant kotwal, pagodas 10, with Interpreter, Writer, Conicopolies, and Peons at ordinary rates. The question of levying taxes to meet the maintenance of this police being hedged in with legal difficulties, the citizens raised a fund by voluntary contributions. The Government appointed one Mr J. Dennis to be the Superintendent of the Market.

That the police were wearing a sort of uniform is apparent from the following explanation offered by an Attorney named Mr Fownes Disney regarding allegation of assault against the Police.

“Mr Fownes Disney to the Secretary to Government.

“The only circumstance that I can recollect to which your letter can possibly allude happened several months ago. I remember I was in the Evening going out to the Garden in my Palanquin, and after passing the Bazar I was surprized at being suddenly set down by my Boys, who at the same time declared that one of my Servants who had gone to the Bazar for Fish was beat by two men, whom they immediately pointed out to me, and whom I slightly chastized. As I never heard more of the matter, I am totally Ignorant who the men might be, or what was the quarrel with my Servant. Your letter informs me they were Servants of the Police, and in the Execution of their publick duty. I incline to suspect his Lordship in Council has been misinformed as to this fact: they were Naked Cooleys without any distinguishing Dress of being servants of the Police, and the sergeants and others standing present of

the Police did not object, or suggest that they were in the service of the Police, or that beating my Servant was in the execution of their publick duty. On the contrary, they informed me the Police Committee had given up the Controul of the Fish Bazar."

The words 'Poligar' and 'Peddanaik' were used synonymously with regard to the affairs of the City of Madras. The Poligar and his staff had to act as body-guards and escort high personages, besides their normal watch and ward duties and also recruit new hands in times of emergency. The poligar was exempted from Quit Rent and Scavenger's duties. The Courts too had no powers to arrest him.

The incident narrated below illustrates how unwilling the Agent and his Council were to expose themselves to the wrath of the poligar and the concern with which they dissuaded the courts from arresting him.

"The Poligar appearing in Court some days after to defend his title, the Court began to examine him touching what happened at Trivitash; an enquiry certainly that was very improper, because the arrest being out of the Company's bounds; it is not in our power to support them in it. Before the Court rose, they committed him to prison, where he remained till about six in the evening, when he was discharged after paying forty-six *fanams*; and then he came to me and complained of it as a matter that was a shame and disgrace to him; and the more so as being done in the sight of his people. The Mayor being with me again the next morning, I asked him how it could be that the Court had treated the Poligar in the manner they had done, after all that I had said to him myself. The Mayor replied that when the Poligar appeared in Court, they did design to have decided the dispute between him and the plaintiff that very day, but some difficulties arising that could not then be cleared up and being twelve at noon, some of the Aldermen cried out let him give bail and answer; and adjourning immediately upon it, he believed the Marshal might have taken him into custody: but did not know that he was imprisoned till the evening, when a person came from him to be his bail. To avoid all further dispute, I was willing to take Mr Mayor's account of the matter; but told him that when the council met, I believed they would take it into consideration, and think themselves obliged to make some order upon it, to prevent the consequences which might follow if it should be drawn into precedent."

The taking of hostages as in war also appears to have been one of the duties of the Police. When the Poligar reported that he was not able to find a warrantee and there was information that his brother had concealed him, the Government ordered that the brother should be confined in the Choultry.

The Town Poligar to Governor Hobart. (P. C., vol. cxcviii, 17th Feb. 1795)

“The humble Representation (of) Codungoore Pedda Naig, Poligar.

“Having received Directions from your Lordship to seize Goda Sawmy; in obedience thereto I have set my people to watch, and made every enquiry in my power, and found a person who had concealed the said Goda Sawmy. He says he delivered the said Goda Sawmy to his Brother, who should in consequence be held Responsible...

“The Country Custom is that, when a Person absconded, to seize his Brothers and House, to keep (them) under Restraint, and threaten them to produce the absconded Person. I have not that power here. There is no other prospect of finding the person unless his Brother is reduced to the punishment of producing him, since it appears that he has concealed him...

CODUNGOORE PEDDA NAIG.”

The police of the day reflected the spirit of the times, when European adventurers were willing to utilize every opportunity to accumulate private fortunes by illicit trading in their own names, and by offering and receiving bribes to acquire or dispense concessions. So the Pedda Naik and his men also were no paragons of virtue. That this is not something peculiar to the British Settlements, is learnt from the Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, the Tamilian Dubash of Dupleix, who gives the following account about the behaviour of the Chief of the Police of Pondichery while at Madras after the subjugation of the British by the French.

“It was estimated that the spoil of Mylapore amounted in value to ten lakhs of pagodas. If this figure is too high, it may be safely put down at half that amount. Muttaya Pillai alone obtained by plunder 10,000 rupees. Such was the estimate of the merchants. Indeed those who saw this when they passed through the hands of M. Le Bon valued

them at much more. It must be borne in mind that this was the value set upon what Muttaya Pillai sent to Pondichery. Who knows what he obtained in ready money or the amount of goods he laid by in Madras. If this man, who went to Madras but yesterday has acquired so much wealth, which considering the extent to which the place had been abandoned, must have been the value that fell into the hands of those who accompanied the French on the original expedition and who continue to dwell in Madras to this day. Such ill-gotten wealth, however will never prosper in the hands of its possessor. Even that which he previously has will be taken away from him. So it has been; and so it will be. I cannot form an idea as to how many men have been ruined and driven to cry aloud in their distress. The whole of the property thus infamously acquired will assuredly melt away."

Mention has been made in the preceding pages about the institution of Courts in Madras City. As the organization and development of the police are intimately connected with the growth of the Courts, a recapitulation is needed here. For civil cases there were the Mayor's Court and Court of Appeals, and for criminal cases, the Justice of the Peace for the month, a quorum of three Justices assembling once a week and quarterly court of Sessions. There were Commissioners of a Court of Requests for the hearing of petty causes and a Court of Admiralty was convened when required. The Quarter Sessions and Admiralty Court were held in the hall of the Fort House and the Court of Requests was accommodated in one chamber or the other as convenient. It is surmised that the sitting Justice of the week held Court in the Choultry. The Court of three Justices sat at first in the Hall of the Admiralty House in Charles Street. All decisions were thus made by one or two authorities viz. (1) the Mayor and the Aldermen or (2) the President and Council or their nominees. None of the Judges had any legal training. They were either merchants, or civil servants most of whom had started as writers in the Company's service and had climbed up the ladder. An Attorney General in the person of Mr Benjamin Sullivan was appointed only in 1786. Lawyers were also few and most of them had not the necessary legal qualification. Lockyear in his *Account of the Trade in India* described the lawyers at Madras "as knowing as can be expected from broken linen-drapers and other crack'd tradesmen who seek their fortune here by their wits." Lawyers in 1799 numbered thirteen in all. Two were Barristers. One had been a Lieutenant in His Majesty's 74th Regiment, two had come to India as Company's

Cadets and one had been bred as a surgeon. In 1786 there was a Quarter Sessions in which the trial of one Shaik Sulaiman for murder of his wife and attempted murder of his daughter, was gone through. The accused's contention was that on account of extreme poverty due to unemployment he entered into a conspiracy with his wife to make an end of their lives but he was prevented from taking the life of his daughter after killing his wife. The Jury found him guilty of murder but made a strong recommendation for mercy. The man was ultimately condemned to penal servitude for life on the fortifications of Madras. It is apparent that such suicide pacts were common even 200 years ago.

Inter-communal disturbances, the bane of India, had begun to make their appearance when the Company was consolidating their possessions at Madras. The non-brahmins had divided themselves into the Right and Left-hand Castes. There was a dispute about the subject of displaying flags at the time of temple festivals. The Left-handers claimed that they were entitled to use silk pendants of five colours or cords stretched across streets, while the Right-handers could only fly white banners. On 4th January 1790 a riot occurred at St. Thome in which serious damage was done. Many arrests were made in this connexion. In view of such constant disturbances, which arose out of disputes over the use of flags during temple festivals, the Governor and Council resolved, in conformity with the Government Order passed in 1771 and the custom observed throughout the Black Town of *Madraspatnam* and in other places, that none other but St. George's flag should be used by the Right and Left-hand castes at St. Thome during their festivals and ceremonies or at any other time. But peace was only temporary. On 5th of September at the Krishnasami Temple festival the Right-handers not only hoisted the white flag but flaunted the very colours which the Left-handers claimed as their own. Rioting occurred and there was a general strike. The part played by the police is not very clear. Riotous assemblies were prohibited not probably under any law but on the executive fiat of the Government. Strikers were ordered to return to work. There were allegations by the Right-handers that the Left-handers carried arms and employed a European artilleryman to assist them. The Company's guards arrested ninety of the Left-hand rioters. Some persons lost their lives. There was an enquiry by the Governor in Council and they came to the conclusion that by the confession of both parties, it would appear that both castes had

transgressed the orders of the Government in using other flags besides St. George's flag, the Left-hand caste having at different times used flags with the figures of a peacock and bull and the Right-hand caste having used those flags in addition to those with the figures of the monkey and kite. The Governor ordered that only St. George's flag should be used by the Right and Left-hand castes. Both parties were bound over under penalty bonds for Rs. 20,000/- each.

There was a recrudescence of trouble in 1795. The trustee of Ekambareswara temple complained that during the temple festival while a procession was passing through the streets inhabited by the Left-handers, a mob of Left-hand people "attempted to pour yellow coloured water over the dancing women of the pagoda and the following day came with swords, sticks and other weapons and created disturbance." On the other hand the Left-hand people alleged that the Right-hand castes broke into their shops at Peddanaikenpettah, beat the owners and plundered their goods. Captain Alexander Allan, the Town Major, was ordered by the Government to warn the people that any disturbance to public peace would lead to the apprehension of the culprits. But the persons sent out by the Town Major to publish notices containing the orders of the Government, the Tom-tom men and sepoys were beset by Left-hand mobs and severely beaten. The Government gave an ultimatum to the heads of castes that unless the culprits were produced by a certain time they would be put in jails. The period having expired, the heads of the Left-hand caste 'Tomboo Chitty, Cavelcherry Ponnaph Chitty, Chinna Tomboo Naig, Nella Moota Achary and Chunga Butten' were arrested and imprisoned. After this, their friends bestirred themselves and delivered up two offenders and stated that the assault had been committed by irresponsible vagabonds during the absence of the headmen, a plausible explanation trotted out under similar circumstances even today. The hostages were then released. But in the disputes between *Tengalai* and *Vadagalai* brahmins which according to the customary were conducted with some decorum, Lord Hobart's Government declined to intervene. They said, "The Board do not think it advisable to interfere in the religious Disputes of the natives, lest, by giving a Decision on grounds of which they are not certain, it might become the Cause of Dissensions Serious in their consequence to the peace of the Inhabitants." But successive Governors did not stick to this wholesome principle and *divide et impera* became their guiding light.

Owing to the increase of population and development of trade, Madras attracted a large number of persons. As a consequence, civil and criminal cases increased and became more complicated. There was considerable delay in legal processes. The Government wrote to the Directors about the desirableness of appointing Judges with legal training. They alleged that attorneys who were intended to put the lay Judges wise on legal matters, had obtained considerable influence over the courts and that the current of justice was in a great measure turned into a new channel. Therefore they suggested professional Judges for the Civil and Criminal Courts, and restraining of appeals to final Decrees and to the Supreme Court of Judicature instead of permitting them to be carried to England which was always favourable to the party interested in protraction. A new charter was issued to the Company by the Act of 33rd, George III dated 11th June 1793. The new act authorized the appointment by the Governor General of such additional Judges as he might deem necessary under commissions to be issued by the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta. Hitherto the Governor and members of Council alone could exercise the functions of Justices of the Peace. There was this limitation to the powers of the new Judges. They "shall not be capable of holding any Court of Oyer and Terminer and gaol delivery, nor to sit in any such court unless the Justices of the said court (i. e. the President and Members of Council) shall on any particular occasion call upon them to do so; in which case and so often the same shall happen, the persons so called upon shall, and may, for that time associate with them and sit as Justices of the said Court of Oyer and Terminer and gaol delivery by virtue of this act, and have a deliberative voice being first specially authorised for that purpose by order in Council." They were also authorized to hear appeals. Three Judges, Messrs T. Corbett, T. Lewin and G. Wynch were appointed as a result of the above act. Messrs Corbett and Wynch were Civil Servants. These Justices were also Magistrates for the City and under colour of this office they brought to the notice of the Government, several breaches of the public peace in Triplicane and the assaults committed by the Moors and Muslims on persons travelling in palanquins through that area and requested that a military force be stationed there. The Nawab of Arcot was residing in Triplicane and his servants were involved in these disturbances which were specially directed against Hindu dignitaries. The Board brought these public disturbances to the

Nawab's notice and desired him to take effective measures for restraining the turbulent men.

While on the subject of these courts, it would be pertinent to refer to the litigation started with regard to the property of Pachayappa Mudaliar, the prince among the donors for the cause of education, whose munificence and magnanimity are kept alive in the well-known institution, the Pachaiyappa's College, in the temples at Chidambaram and Thiruvudaimarudur and in innumerable other charities and religious endowments. Pachayappa Mudali died 31st March 1794 at Tiruvaiyaru in Tanjore District. He had no male issues and his nephew Muthiah claimed the whole property. Muthiah tried to confine Pachayappa's wife and mother-in-law to their house in Tiruvaiyaru but the kotwal came to the rescue of the ladies and drove away Muthiah and his associates. The ladies came to Tanjore and there again Muthiah getting the countenance of the notorious and unscrupulous *Sar-i-khel* Shiva Rao and other officials made them post guards at Pachayappa's residence over the store and treasury rooms. But the Government of Fort St. George interfered and got them safely back to Madras. The probate of the will of Pachayappa was obtained in May 1794 from the Mayor's Court. In October 1798 Sir Thomas Strange, son of Sir Robert Strange, artist and engraver and younger brother of James Strange, Paymaster of Tanjore and friend of Pachayappa who had been appointed as the Recorder of Madras and President of the Court of Mayor and Alderman, intimated to the Government that he proposed to assemble the Mayor and Alderman on 1st November to publish the charter 'for erecting a new court of justice in the room of the existing jurisdictions of this Presidency'. The new charter was proclaimed on that date. "This is in due manner constituted and established, and that all judicial powers and authorities heretofore exercised by the Mayor's Court at Madras and by the Governor in Council as a Court of appeal for the same, and by the Court of Oyer and Terminer and goal delivery, have by virtue of the directions contained in His Majesty's Letters Patent, thereby ceased and determined; and that all civil and criminal Ecclesiastical and Admiralty jurisdiction will hereafter be exercised in the Court of the Recorder of Madras." The Mayor was William Abbot at that time. The Aldermen were James Call, William Webb, Benjamin Rodrick, Alexander Cockburn, Richard Chase, Henry Sewell, James Daly and Richard Yeldham. The last named Alderman gave his name to the road connecting Mowbrays Road with Mount Road. The Mayor and

Alderman were not above board. Rodrick was a businessman of shady reputation and he instigated an attorney named Chithra Pillai to file a suit on behalf of Muthayya for succession to the Estate of Pachayappa Mudaliar. Mayor Abbot tried to capture the Recorder's Court by corrupting the Aldermen, who formed the Rotation Judges. Sir Thomas Strange protested that some of the Aldermen were corrupt and others were unfit for judicial work by reason of their business connexions. Consequent on his representations the Recorder's Court was superseded in 1801 by a Supreme Court of three Judges consisting of Sir Thomas Strange as Chief Justice and Henry G. William and Benjamin Sullivan as Puisne Judges. The last named will be remembered as having been Attorney General from 1786. The litigation relating to Pachayappa continued till it was decided by the Master of equity in 1832 and led to the appointment of a Board of Trustees. A Receiver was appointed for the Estate, but in 1834 the Master of the Supreme Court took up the management of the properties himself. By that time the old trustees had all been gathered to their forefathers. A new Committee was formed with Vembaukkam Raghavachariar, familiarly known as Police Raghavachariar, as President. He was the first Indian police officer in Madras, about whom details will be given at the proper place. The Pachayappa's charities continue to flourish even today on account of the pioneering work of these entrepreneurs.

Coming back to the year 1799 there was a presentment by the Grand Jury about further troubles in Triplicane. A presentment by the Grand Jury is a favourite form of representation of public grievances by the nominated members of the Jury through their foreman to the Sitting Magistrates or Judges and the complaint being forwarded to the Government for redressal. The allegations were that Triplicane abounded with nuisances of public nature and was the resort of a number of people who conducted themselves frequently in a disorderly and outrageous manner and put the passers-by in fear of their lives. They quoted two instances of two gentlemen Henry Browne and John Wallace being outrageously assaulted with rockets and stones by a large body of the tumultuous inhabitants. The Recorder forwarded this report to the Government. Lord Mornington, the Governor General who had assumed direct control of the Government during his stay in Madras for efficiently prosecuting the war against Tippu, wrote to the Nawab of Arcot expressing his expectation that His Highness would take effectual measures without delay for punishing the delinquents and

for preventing future enormities so injurious to the tranquility and good order of the country and so disgraceful to the authority of the Government.

The Supreme Court sat in the building formerly appropriated to the Recorder's Court in the Fort. In 1817 it moved to an edifice on the site of the Marine Yard next to the Custom House. The Courts formed in the mofussil as a result of the regulation of 1802 will be discussed in the chapters on District Police.

CHAPTER V

IN THE CRUCIBLE OF EARLY REFORMS

THE POLICE COMMITTEE for Madras appeared to have continued to function without encountering foul weather for a few years in the beginning of the 19th century. But police arrangements in the districts were in a haphazard state. Regulation XXXV of 1802 which was to serve as a model for the organization of police forces, gave the superintendence to the Zillah Judges and cut off the association of hereditary village watchers in the maintenance of order and prevention of crime. So a Police Committee consisting of senior public servants was formed in 1804 to "enquire into the present and former state of the police in the several provinces under this Presidency" and to devise measures for keying up the pitch of its efficiency. The Committee was composed of Mungo Dick, Member of Board of Trade and also the Council of Governor, J. Hodgson, H. B. Hurdis, E. C. Greenway and Major Leith. The last named appeared to have ceased his connexion with the Committee in 1805. This high ranking Committee was acting as a sort of appellate authority and supervisory body over the Madras Police Committee. In 1805 on the complaint of general inadequacy of arrangements for sale of fish at the markets in Madras, the General Police conducted detailed enquiries and submitted a report to the Government in Council. The subject is not exactly odoriferous or delectable but was considered to be of sufficient importance to exercise the mind of the topmost functionary. The records of these days contain a complaint by a servant of Colonel Agnew alleging that he was always supplied with a small fish but the servant of Lord William Bentinck was supplied with the biggest fish, the next bigger one was given to the servant of the Commander-in-Chief and when Colonel Agnew's servant protested at this exhibition of favouritism and preference, he was assaulted and hustled out by the contractor. Many of the government records of this period relate to the supply of fish to the European residents. Perhaps none but these empire-builders realized better the truth of the sayings: "an army marches on its belly" and "sometimes battles are won on butter rather than by bullets," which mean that the essential pre-requisite for a successful campaign is the proper organization of a regular and uninterrupted flow of supplies. The General Police Committee in

concurrence with the Madras Police Committee reported to the Governor in Council on 30th October 1805 that the market of Madras was being supplied with fish by two castes of fishermen, who form two opposite parties. The party which used the line and hook to catch fish wanted permission to bring their catches to the market themselves instead of selling them to the contractor who sold them to the Europeans, whereas those who gathered fish by means of nets stated that it was not possible for them to bring the fish to the market themselves and attributed the low production to the scarcity of rice in Madras. The heads of the fishermen of all *Coopums* had bound themselves by *Muchalikas* to deliver all the fish they caught to the intermediate dealer called *Cauriacarer* at a fixed price and the latter had to produce them in the market at an advance of 50 *fanams*. The whole supply was being superintended under the orders of the kotwal of Madras who was being assisted by two natives serving without salary or any sanctioned fee or emolument. The assistants of the kotwal were exacting money from the *Cauriacarers*. Moreover the preparation of the salted fish was also taking away a considerable portion of the catches and "the European master was compelled by the roguery of his comprador to pay the price of scarcity in the midst of abundance." The General Police Committee suggested multiplication of the places of sale under the superintendence of the Madras Police Committee, instead of under the kotwal and the removal of the native servants.

An event of considerable importance, which had a direct bearing on the organization and strengthening of police forces in Madras and in the districts and to which the City and General Police Committees referred to in their reports, is the mutiny at Vellore in 1806. In 1805 Sir John Craddock had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army. He found on his arrival that the regulations in the several units of the Army were at sixes and sevens and so ordered his Adjutant General, Colonel Agnew, to remedy this defect. Early in 1806 Colonel Agnew submitted the draft of the codified regulations to the Commander-in-Chief. Two regulations became later the rallying points of unrest among the sepoys. One was the introduction of a new pattern of turbands which, the men declared, bore an offensive resemblance to the hat worn by East Indian drummers. Missionary exertions for proselytizing Indians were being made with great vigour at this period and both Hindus and Muslims thought that the new head-dress was a design for their forcible conversion to Christianity.

Morcover the relations and the descendants of Tippu, who were in confinement at Vellore Fort appear to have had a hand in fanning the agitation, dormant in the minds of soldiers. This was further aggravated by Regulation X which reads as follows :—

“It is ordered by the Regulation that a native soldier shall not mark his face to denote his caste or wear ear-rings when dressed in his uniform. And it is further directed that at all parades, and upon all duties, every soldier of the battalion shall be clean shaved in the chin. It is directed also that uniformity as far as is practicable be preserved, in regard to the quantity and shape of the hair on the upper lip.”

The new regulations were approved by the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor. Orders were sent in April, May and June to different regiments to comply with the regulations. The 214th regiment at Vellore was the first to show resentment. They positively refused to wear the turbands. Twenty-one ring leaders from this regiment were sent to Madras, tried by court martial and sentenced to receive 500 lashes. The other regiments in the Vellore Fort were incensed at this disciplinary action and secret meetings were held in which plans were mooted to murder all Europeans. At 2-30 a.m. on the 10th of July 1806, the disgruntled sepoys made an almost simultaneous attack on the European guards, on the barracks and on the officers' quarters. Most of the British officers and soldiers were killed before they could recover from their surprise. But a small party managed to escape and establish themselves on the main gate. Colonel Gillespie, stationed at Arcot about 18 miles from the place, rushed to Vellore and the Dragoons and Cavalry under him charged into the fort. In the fight that ensued the sepoys bitterly paid for their mutiny by leaving more than 350 dead on the field.

Colonel Munro's reactions to this incident is in sober contrast to the highly coloured accounts of other Europeans in India. Colonel Munro blamed the pettifogging attitude and lack of understanding of the authorities as being responsible for this holocaust. In a letter to his father dated 4th September 1806 referring to the Tenth Regulation, and the proposed introduction of the new turband he wrote :—

“This trifling regulation, and a turban, with something in its shape or decorations to which the sepoys are extremely averse, were thought to be so essential to the stability of our power in this country, that it was resolved to introduce them, at the hazard of throwing our native army into rebellion. One battalion had already at Vellore rejected the



SIR THOMAS MUNRO

turban, and been marched to Madras, with handkerchiefs tied about their heads; but the projectors were not discouraged. They pushed on their grand design, until they were suddenly stopped short by the dreadful massacre of the 10th July. They were then filled with alarm; they imagined that there was nothing but disaffection and conspiracy in all quarters, and that there would be a general explosion throughout all our military stations. There was unfortunately, however, no ground for such apprehensions; for almost every person but themselves was convinced that the sepoys, both from long habit and from interest, were attached to the service — that nothing but an attempt to force the disagreeable regulation upon them would tempt them to commit any outrage, and that whenever this design was abandoned, every danger of commotion would be at an end, and the sepoys would be as tractable and faithful as ever. Their discontent had nothing in it of treason or disaffection. It was of the same kind as that which would have been excited in any nation, by a violent attack upon its prejudices.

“Peter the Great found the Russian beard a tough job. Beards and whiskers are not now such weighty matters in Europe as formerly; but even now, an order to shave the heads of all the troops in Britain, leaving them only a lock on the crown like Hindoos, or to make all the presbyterian soldiers wear the image of the Pope or St. Anthony, instead of a cockade, would, I suspect, occasion some expressions, if not acts, of disloyalty. A stranger who reads the Madras Regulation, would naturally suppose that the sepoys’ beards descend to their girdles, and that they are bearded like the pard; but this is so far from being the case, that they are now, and have been, as long as I can remember, as smooth on the chin as Europeans, making a due allowance for the difference of the razors employed on the two subjects. And as to the hair upon the upper lip, its form is so much like that which sometimes appears upon the upper lip of our own dragoons and grenadiers, that none but the critical eye of a shaver could distinguish the difference. Had the grand projected shaving match terminated without accident, it might have amused the spectators like a pantomime upon a large stage; but when it is considered how many brave men lost their lives by it, one cannot help feeling for the national character.”

Lord William Bentinck, who was Governor of Madras, had been singularly agitated over this incident, as he had no premonition of its happening. He attributed the complete blocking of sources of information to the absence of an organized police force and appears to have

taken the earliest opportunity to get into touch with Sir Thomas Strange, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Sir Thomas Strange's letter dated 26th July 1806 makes this clear :—

“The Supreme Court sitting, I have been prevented as well by the ordinary avocations of the week as by the Mislaying of a particular paper, connected with the subject from complying till now with the wish your Lordship was pleased to express to me in conversation on Sunday last, for my submitting to you my conception of the fittest means to be adopted, toward the establishment of the great, and at this moment, for obvious reasons urgent *desideratum* of something like an efficient system of Police for this Presidency within what are usually called the limits of Madras.

“I shall forbear on the occasion to do more than allude to those reasons, which seem at length to render a measure of the kind an object of something like first necessity, to our personal and political existence. No one can be more sensible of them than your Lordship. Be assured however that in whatever degree you feel them, you are far from singular. As many-so-ever among us, adverting to the state of the Native population of Madras, and our most exposed intermixture with it, have reflected, as none can have failed, on their pillows nightly for some time past to reflect, on the alarm that has been recently excited, by occurrences that have scarcely had their parallel in the History of British India. So many, it may be believed, do most fully sympathize with your Lordships, be the degree of your anxiety on the occasion (as intimated before) whatever it may. He must be indeed either very callous or very sanguine, who does not perceive to the quick the danger of the horrid example that has been so lately set at no great distance from the seat of Government, as well as the tendency of the disquiet that continues to agitate the Minds of the Native soldiers by whatsoever causes excited. Whatever these may have been they would appear, to have affected at once both the Mahomedan and Hindoo. Both appear to have expressed in too sensible a manner their resistance to legal Authority; each to have been concerned in the butcheries to which I allude. To what extent the contamination may or may not spread throughout the people at large, if measures of precaution be not quickly adopted, it may be difficult to say and dangerous to trust. Not confining our attention to what has recently occurred, but looking back to antecedent events, it may be said, without risk of contradiction, that, from the Mussulman of every description, everything is reasonably to be apprehended.”

Sir Thomas Strange suggested the formation of a representative Committee for devising measures for the organization of an effective police force within the City. He framed the following terms of reference to the Committee:—

“To enquire into the present state of the existing Police establishments, their nominal and actual efficiency with the expense and means by which they are supported.

“In adverting to this I am led to observe, that I was surprised at the last sessions to find the Polygar's People still acting as Officers belonging to the Polygar. I had taken it, that the Polygar's establishment had been superseded soon after your Lordship's arrival, and had expected to find its very name by this time extinct. It would seem however, that it continues to flourish and act. I take a distinct power of this kind to be a sort of solecism in Police, and have reason to believe, in the present instance, that it is a source of corruption. In ascertaining the identity of property upon trials, it serves to complicate the proof, instead of facilitating the investigation; for it becomes necessary in many instances to trace the property first, through the hands of the Polygar's people, and afterwards through those of the runners belonging to the Justice's Office, to which it is almost in every instance eventually brought whereas proof of this kind cannot be too simple any where, and particularly where it is to depend upon credit so frail as that of native testimony. The Polygar establishment may, therefore, so far be said to be obstructive of Public Justice. But this is, comparatively I believe, a small evil attending its existence. It may be for your Lordship's consideration hereafter whether it should not be entirely abolished, making compensation where compensation may be due.

“To investigate and state the mode in, and the extent to which depredations are committed upon property in and about Madras; of which it is to be apprehended that much passes with impunity; to suggest also the best means of prevention in future.

“To enquire into and state the nature, extent and quality of those quarrels and disputes, that are the subject of continual discussion at the Justices' Office, and to suggest some means of deciding, and adjusting them, at a small expense to the parties.

“To suggest such improvements and alterations as shall occur to be best adapted to the present local circumstances of Madras, and for putting a stop to existing evils.

“To state every circumstance connected with the subject referred, adding the observations of the Committee upon them, so that your Lordship in Council, and the Legislature at home (should it be found necessary to resort to it for carrying into effect the whole of any plan to be suggested by the Committee) may have exposed and detailed a complete view of the entire subject.

“In executing the Instructions to be given it may be fit that the Committee to be appointed should be authorized to refer for information (should they themselves deem it desirable) to another Committee which I understand to be at present subsisting for purposes of a like nature as applicable to the whole of this Territory; and that the latter should be directed to attend to such applications, as to every particular upon which they may be so referred to.

“The Committee should also, in my opinion, be directed to proceed in their inquiries with all practicable dispatch, making as early a report as the nature of the reference will allow, and conducting their inquiries, in a manner to excite as little attention abroad as possible.”

The suddenness of the uprising and the Government being taken completely unawares by it, are again noted in a confidential letter written by Lord William Bentinck to Colonel Munro on 2nd August 1806. He advised the latter not to place too much reliance on the native troops as there was a movement among the disaffected soldiers to re-establish the Mussulman Government under one of the sons of Tippu Sultan. About the spread of disaffection, he added, “It is hardly credible that such progress could have been made in so short a time without the knowledge of any of us. But believe me, the conspiracy has extended beyond all belief and has reached the most remote parts of our army, and the intrigue has appeared to have been everywhere most successfully carried on. The capture of Vellore, and other decided measures in contemplation will, I trust, still prevent a great explosion.”

The City Police Committee suggested on 8th August 1806 certain proposals for immediate adoption which were: (1) the removal of the Justices' Office to a convenient situation in Black Town, (2) to augment the number of paid European officers to ten, (3) to abolish the poligar's office after paying him sufficient compensation, (4) to augment the strength of peons to 500, (5) a house of correction with a proper establishment, (6) a horse patrol of not less than thirty men, (7) the

appointment of 20 *Hircarrahs*, an additional European Clerk, two Persian and Malabar *Moonshees* and a sufficient number of writers, (8) a fund of 50 pagodas to reward good work done by officers, and (9) the division of the Town of Madras into *Tannahs*. The Government accepted all the proposals of the Police Committee. The Governor, Lord William Bentinck, recommended Mr Walter Grant for the post of Superintendent of Police in the following terms.

“It is indispensable to the success of the Establishment that the superintendence and the responsibility of its execution should be entrusted to one individual who may enjoy the general confidence and I beg to recommend Mr Walter Grant as the most eligible person within my observation for this office. From the length of his service as a Magistrate he is well acquainted with the people of Madras. His character stands high in the estimation of the Supreme Court and of the Public. And his discretion combined with his professional knowledge as a Lawyer will enable him to carry to its utmost extent the exercise of the power entrusted to him without overstepping the delicate limits prescribed by law and committing the Government. I think that this Office should be established in some situation central to the greater part of the population and that Mr Grant, like the Sitting Magistrate in London, should be constantly resident. The want of power can only be compensated by increased vigilance. An European Gentleman should be attached as a Clerk to this Office. I recommend that Mr Grant shall receive 200 pagodas per month in addition to his present salary and his Clerk 100 pagodas per month.”

Mr Walter Grant can be said to be the first regularly appointed Superintendent of Police in the City.

Reference has already been made in the preceding pages to the tangle relating to the collection of money for maintaining the police force. Subsequently it was being met from the Assessment Fund collected from the residents on the basis of rental values of their houses. It can also be seen from later correspondence that some illegal collections were being made in the Market to maintain the staff of the kotwal. In the light of the reorganization of the police, the Governor estimated the establishment charges to amount to 47,404 pagodas. The assessment was estimated to amount to 36,000 pagodas. A deficit of 11,404 pagodas had been left uncovered. The Governor proposed the levying of house tax on all houses within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court

as against the prevailing practice of collecting assessment from Black Town only. A lottery was being conducted under governmental auspices. It was decided to allot 2/7th of the profits of the lottery, estimated to be about 7,500 pagodas, to the Police Fund. An import duty had been laid in 1804 on betels and tobacco coming into Madras, one half of the assessment being intended for defraying the charges incidental to the police establishment. This collection which amounted to 18,000 pagodas was being used to maintain fencibles or armed guards. But the high duty had curtailed imports and the Government proposed the retrenchment of fencibles and the reduction of the duty by 50%. The Chief Secretary's letter to the Board of Trade asking for their opinion in the charge of import duty made it clear that, as the police was essentially conducive to the protection and welfare of the native inhabitants of the place, there appeared to be no doubt of the justice of their contributing in a reasonable degree to the expenses attending it and that there could be any mode less exceptionable than that which had been stated. Another taxation proposal to meet the expenses of the force was to levy a rupee on each bottle of snuff imported into Madras by which about 7,000 pagodas were expected to be collected. This assessment was considered a "tax upon a luxury of life and particularly free from objections on all accounts." The extra-collections above the police budget were set apart for being spent on conservancy, sanitation and on roads.

The Committee suggested by the Chief Justice was ordered to be formed on 11th October 1806. It consisted of the three Justices of the Peace and Magistrates, Messrs G. Taswell, W. Grant and R.A. Maitland, the Hon'ble Basil Cochrane, Captain Thompson, G. J. Fraser and J. H. D. Ogilvie. This Committee sent up a preliminary report pointing out the legal difficulties in the formation of the police and bringing offenders to justice. It stated that the limits of Madras resembled a semi-circle described with a radius about four miles in length including Fort St. George, the Town of Madras and a number of populous villages. The population was said to fluctuate between two hundred thousand and four hundred thousand. The inhabitants comprised:—

“ 1st European British Subjects.

2nd Descendants of British Subjects by Natives.

3rd European Foreigners of all Countries, many of them French and the descendants of French.

- 4th Natives of India, of Portuguese extraction with whom may be classed Native Hindoos who have assumed the Dress, Language and religion of the Portuguese.
- 5th Natives of India converted to Christianity but retaining their own dress, language and customs.
- 6th Hindoo Inhabitants, Natives of the Town, or of Territory, subject to the British Government.
- 7th Mussulman Inhabitants or Natives of Territory, subject to the British Government.
- 8th Vakeels from Native Powers with their armed *Folla*, not subject to the British Government.
- 9th Armenians, Greeks, Chinese and Malays.
- 10th Forcigners from Arabia, Persia and all parts of Hindoostan."

The Committee added that among this population there were only three hundred Britishers and only these persons could be depended upon for the support and maintenance of the British Government in case of insurrection. About the Hindus and Muslims, the opinion of the Committee is in striking contrast with the patronage of the British extended to the Muslims in the thirties of this century which continues to dominate their international relations even today.

"The generality of the Hindoos are too ignorant and too much bigoted in their own customs to perceive the benefits that they enjoy under our Government, while the more enlightened and opulent of them feel their former consequence and influence entirely lost in a system of Government which boasts as its peculiar perfection the exclusion of them from all confidence and trust.

"It is impossible that the Mahomedans as a people can be attached to a Government which has so lately supplanted their own and deprived them of all influence, rank and employment. Having no industry and scarcely any means of subsistence, except the few that are employed in the service of the Company, or in that of the Nabob, their minds must be, and evidently are, brooding over their situation, and they must be desirous of any change."

Adverting to the Vellore Mutiny as 'late melancholy events,' the report proceeded to say that confidence in the fidelity and attachment in the well-disciplined army had been naturally shaken and it had

therefore become highly necessary to strengthen one of the principal engines of all civil government i. e. the police. But it was highly to be lamented that no authority existed in the Government at that important crisis to establish and arm the police with sufficient power. The Committee wanted the Governor to be vested with power 'for the purpose of making provisionally and subject to the approbation of His Majesty in Council, Ordinances, Rules and Regulations for the good Government of this place adopted to its peculiar situation.' It pointed out that such a power was possessed at Fort William, Calcutta and there was no reason why an exception should be made of Fort St. George. At the same time, the members would not stress strict adherence to the laws of the realm, as the laws to be promulgated in India should adopt penalties having regard to character, habits and state of society in this country. There were orders that such rules, ordinances etc. should be made valid only after having been duly registered and published in the Supreme Court of Judicature with the consent of the Judges. This gave a vetoing power to the Judges on the promulgation of any Police Regulation on which the Government as the custodian of law were interested and so it would be more in public interest that the Judges of the Supreme Court were only invested with a concurrent power with the members of the Government with regard to law-making. The Committee hoped that the Hon'ble Court would be sensible of the importance of affording the means of establishing an efficient police at Madras and realizing the importance, the Government would be induced to take early steps of obtaining from Parliament the authority which was required for fixing the important branch of the police on a permanent and secure basis.

The General Police Committee in their report dated 24th December 1806 referring to the Vellore Mutiny observed, "recent unfortunate events have marked in the strongest manner the necessity of infusing with the system which may be adopted, activity and vigour, qualities which can only be excited and maintained by the example as well as by the authority of the Superintendent," and the members suggested the divestment of the Judge "whose whole time according, ought to be dedicated to the business of the Court, and entrusting it to the Collector."

The Governor wrote to the Court of Directors enclosing the views of the Chief Justice and the Madras Police Committee in the following terms :—

“ Your Hon’ble Court will have been informed through the channel of our despatches to the Hon’ble Secret Committee of the ‘ unhappy catastrophe ’ which lately occurred in the garrison of Vellore and of the very serious agitation which followed the event not only in your native army but in a large portion of the population of these territories.”

“ The attention of this Government had been during a very long period of time called to the serious defect which exists in its constitution, from the want of an organized establishment ; but on no occasion was this want ever so severely felt, as during the period of anxiety and embarrassment to which we have referred.”

“ From the absolute want of that regular chain of combination and connection by which the Government might be enabled to exercise a salutary superintendence over the proceedings of the community of this Presidency, in that important branch which relates to the duties of police, the channel of intercourse between the ruling authority, and those of its subjects, whose actions it is particularly required to observe with vigilance, is in a great degree cut off ; and transactions the most immoral, or intrigues the most dangerous, may be continued and executed in the secret retreats of this populous settlement, without the means being left to the Government of prevention or of punishment.”

The first case of preventive detention which was used freely in the forties of this century during the war and afterwards, occurred in 1807 ; when Chingali Cherogar, a son-in-law of the Poligar, Marudu, was detained in Fort St. George on the orders of the Governor. Chingali Cherogar in the East India Company’s records probably stands for Sangili Servaigar. The Superintendent of Police, Captain Grant, reported on 27th March in 1807 in continuation of the personal communications he had made to Lord William Bentinck, that the Servaigar was a dangerous subject and had been a leader of the Marudu’s rebellious force in 1801, which had collected to oppose the detachment under Colonel Agnew, that he had in his pay and attached to him a large portion of the rebels, that some were collecting information, some in attendance at the different public offices and that he was forming intimacies with the principal natives at Madras. The Superintendent of Police requested the Governor to take the opinion of Colonel Agnew and Mr Hurdis, who was the Collector of *Peishcush* at Tinnevely in 1801. Colonel Agnew intimated that Sangili was a man of great ability, great personal courage and of a most intriguing spirit. He would have been executed for his

part in the rebellion but for a general amnesty given to all Servaigars on promise of life to surrender, in which he included himself and was pardoned. He had incited the people of Sivaganga against the Zemindar and had tormented him with endless litigation and two of the men attending on him were concerned in facilitating the escape of poligars from Palamcottah jail which again caused a flare-up in Panchalankurichi. Colonel Agnew concluded that the suspect deserved the utmost vigilance of the police. Mr Hurdis wrote in the same vein, pointing out Servaigar's collision with Kattabommu Naik and contacts with the French, and that his explanation that he had come to Madras regarding some allowances was ridiculous. On the basis of these opinions the Governor passed the following order:—"The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council of the Presidency of Fort St. George having received the information implicating Chingli Sherogar in treasonable transactions, which have recently occurred in the Zillah of Tinnevely, has judged it expedient that his person shall be placed under restraint until full investigation shall be made of the circumstances connected with his conduct, you, the above named Captain James Grant, are accordingly hereby authorized to arrest and detain until further orders, the body of the said Chingli Sherogar, for doing which, this shall be your authority. Given under our hands and the seal of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies this twentyfifth day of April in the year of our lord 1807." The Town Major was instructed to allot a place for his confinement in Fort St. George and the Servaigar was detained there. Meantime the Superintendent of Police was ordered by the Governor to address the Zillah Judges of Palamcottah, Ramnad and Madurai to report about the detenu. The Ramnad Zillah Judge wrote that the Servaigar had proceeded to Madras for the purpose of prosecuting some appeals in the Sudder Court on behalf of the widows of Marudus and he did not consider his departure from Ramnad as connected with anything but the prosecution of those appeals. The Madura Judge had also nothing against him and the Palamcottah Judge did not think it worth-while replying to the letter. Sangili Servaigar in his representations to the Government alleged that the evidence against him was fabricated by the Zemindar of Sivaganga, whose Zemindary had been carved out of the Pollam of Marudus. It was left to Mr George Garrow, the successor to Captain Grant as Superintendent of Police to bring to the notice of the Government the unsubstantial nature of the allegations against the detenu. He wrote, "Inasmuch as the heinous offence of rebellion had been forgiven by

Government and the latter accusations had not been substantiated, it would not be consistent with justice to detain the Servaigar a prisoner at Madras away from his courts and family." He requested the Governor to permit the Servaigar to return to his place and to instruct the Judge and Magistrate to establish such checks as were necessary to frustrate evil intentions the detenu may be disposed to exhibit. On the report of the Police Superintendent, the Servaigar was released from detention.

But this period of alarms and excursions slowly passed. The emergency gave place to normalcy and, as is usual on such occasions, the Government thought it wise to cast off the additional burden of the expenditure on the police by retrenching the staff consistent with security. Mr George Garrow who was formerly Secretary to the General Police Committee had replaced Mr Walter Grant as Superintendent of Police in 1807 and the Chief Secretary Mr George Buchan requested him to send in his proposals for reduction of the forces. The idea with which the foreign Government organized the police is apparent from the Superintendent's letter to the Government. Mr Garrow stated that the force was created at a period of considerable alarm and its principal object was to obtain information, to watch over and be a check upon the dispositions of the native inhabitants, to prevent treasonable combinations and the perpetration of crimes and to preserve the peace. Probably this explains succinctly the views of the rulers in the formation of the police. Mr Garrow said that an efficient police may be maintained without the establishment of *Darogahs*, their deputies and subordinates. *Darogahs* were the forerunners of the Inspectors of later days. He stressed however that a regular channel of intelligence should be kept up and a knowledge obtained of the movements, habits and dispositions of the subjects of Government of every class in every part of the country. The *Darogahs* carried out this part of their work with too much show and had therefore excited jealousy and distrust. Their reports were coloured and they diverted and corrupted the channels of intelligence. So a discontinuance of the system was advisable. He proposed in its place a combination of all the offices of police under one General Superintendent who should also be the Superintending Magistrate. The offices to be brought under this single officer were: (1) the Office of the Superintendent of Police, (2) Public Office and Justices, (3) Superintendent of Details, and (4) Clerk of the Market. The monthly expense at that time amounted to 3,038 pagodas for all these offices together. The Sitting Justices were to continue performing

their rotation duties of Magistrates. With regard to the protection of the Peace and the prevention of Crimes and the apprehension of offenders, ten European Constables with a certain number of peons were to be responsible. Each European Constable was to be paid a salary of 10 pagodas per month. Recruitment of special police officers was also contemplated from among the Europeans and "half-caste inhabitants". It was also thought expedient to employ police peons in the Customs Department to whom detachments could be furnished every month. The police peons were said to be of a superior description than other peons because they were supposed to act under the sanction of the law and to possess powers that others were not competent to exercise.

There were at that time 450 peons in the Police, 220 in the Customs and 80 under the Collector of Madras. Mr Garrow suggested the utilization of a fund of 200 pagodas per annum usually collected for police purposes, for instituting the system of village watchers, so that a reduction in the police establishment could be made, and also recommended the diverting of the duty on merchandise called *poligar's* fees amounting to 300 pagodas monthly for defraying the expenses of the police. The Superintendent envisaged a nett saving of 17,640 pagodas per month by these measures.

On 15th June of 1808 the Governor in Council ordered that the appointment of *Daroghas* and their deputies should be discontinued and the number of police peons be reduced by 200. But the most important decision was to unite the duties of the Superintendent of Police with that of the Collector of Madras. Mr J. H. D. Ogilvie was ordered to take charge of the department from Mr Garrow. The Collector was to exercise the general duties of a Magistrate but he was not charged with the rotation duty. Mr Ogilvie was requested to explore avenues for augmenting the resources established for the support of the police and also to pay particular attention to the means of obtaining intelligence about matters of political importance. He was also given the option to pay rewards to persons giving accurate information. Intelligence requiring secrecy was instructed to be communicated to the Secret Department. Thus the Collector of Madras became the Superintendent of Police.

This arrangement appears to have been in existence only upto the year 1811 when we find Lt. Col. G. H. Symons in charge of the Police, with his office at Vepery. The three Justices of the Peace and Magistrates

with their office remained at the Beach. In the beginning of the year 1812 a contractor named Solah Kistna put in a petition before the Hon'ble Sir George H. Barlow, the Governor, promising to pay 2,412 pagodas every year for the next 10 years for the privilege of supplying sheep and kids to the Market as against 2,040 pagodas being paid by the existing contractor. This led to a searching enquiry as it was well known that no tax was laid upon the supply of sheep and the Government was surprised at this illegal exaction. The Police Superintendent reported that the tax had been laid ever since 1798 and that it was designed to defray the expenses of the Clerk of the Market and the Market Police. The tax supposed to be collected was 2 *fanams* per sheep of the first sort, 1 *fanam* per sheep of the second and 40 'cash' each of the sheep of the third sort and on each goat. The Clerk of the Market reported that only seven hundred and eighty sheep of the first and second sort were sold per month. This statement the Superintendent believed to be wholly inaccurate as the number would not yield enough to cover the contract or allow a quarter of a sheep to a European per month and secondly he learnt from the slaughter houses that one hundred and seven sheep were killed daily for the Black Town Market alone. But those were spacious times when such deviations were not thought much of and one is left to remember the joke of the Superintendent that he wondered what the third sort of the sheep must be like, when the first sort itself was scarcely edible! This exposure led to further probing and it came to the knowledge of the Government that taxes were levied upon articles brought to the markets and there existed a system of perpetual interference with the dealers. The Government abolished the taxes of all descriptions and directed the Superintendent of Police to give the most public and general notice of the abolition.

The most important incident relating to the police in the year 1812 was the framing of 10 Police Regulations which later became the subject of a spate of legal controversy. At this distance of time it is impossible to visualize how such regulations restricting the liberty of citizens could have been enforced without the slightest opposition. But if we consider the fact that people became victims of curious laws even in the twenties and thirties of this century with regard to wearing of head-dress or singing of songs, then we cannot be surprised at such laws one and a half centuries ago. The first was entitled, "The Regulation for Establishing an Efficient System of Police." The first section provided for the establishment of Police under the authority of a Justice of the Peace,

denominated 'The Superintendent of Police for the Town of Madras'. He could exercise the general duties of a Magistrate but should not be charged with the usual rotation duty. One Justice of the Peace would sit along with the Superintendent to determine cases in which the authority of two Justices might be required. Two Justices of the Peace should attend the Rotation Office five days in a week. The Second Regulation was for apprehending and punishing idle and disorderly persons. Lin Yutang, the famous Chinese author, would have been in two minds when he wrote his panegyric on idleness, if he had known about this law! Actually it was the case of a Chinese labourer that highlighted the authoritarian nature of these laws. Section of the Regulation read as follows :—

“All persons, who, not having wherewith to maintain themselves, live idle without employment and refuse to work in the places where they then are and all coolies or labourers refusing to work for a reasonable hire in places where they are idle, and also all persons going about from door to door or placing themselves in streets, highways, or passages to beg or gather alms and all persons wandering abroad and lodging in taverns, punch houses, or arrack shops or toddy shops not giving a good account of themselves, and all persons being of suspicious characters, and all persons without having any visible honest means of subsistence, may be found playing or betting at any games or plays of chance and all persons who may run away from their service, and all persons using any subtle craft to deceive and impose upon others, and all persons who may desert their wives or children, shall be deemed and adjudged to be Rogues and Vagabonds, and such offenders (being thereof convicted before one or more Magistrates by their own confessions, or by view of the Magistrates or of either of them, or by the Oath of one or more credible witness or witnesses), shall and may be committed by the said Magistrate or Magistrates to labour on the public roads for any time not exceeding three months.”

By this regulation idleness which is a vice became a crime. The Third Regulation dealt with the prevention and punishment of dishonest practices, of the misconduct of servants and of affrays and other misdemeanours. The 4th Section put a blanket curb on the rights of servants.

“All servants and all workmen, lascars or others hired to work in any employ who shall refuse to work, or shall desert their employ or

wilfully disobey or behave disrespectfully or insolently to their Masters or Mistresses, employers or lawful superiors or who shall neglect their duty, shall be subject, at the discretion of the Magistrates, to whipping not exceeding 2 dozen stripes and hard labour for a period not exceeding 4 months, or either of those punishments on conviction before two Magistrates."

This brought into prominence the question whether an artificer is a workman. An artificer was considered an intellectual as well as a workman and the contention of a later Attorney General was that such a case will not come under Section 4. This was strongly resisted by the Superintendent of Police and the controversy was taken to England for a decision. In modern legislation when a working journalist comes under the Trade Union Acts, this battle of words is only of semi-historical significance.

Vending of spirituous and other intoxicating liquors was dealt with under Regulation IV. Even as early as 1806, the Police Committee had written to the Collector of Chingleput advising him to remove all liquor shops within 3 miles from any military station or encampment and the Collector had agreed to abide by the rule. But there was some difficulty with regard to the sale of liquor, the contract for which had been taken by an important member of the Government. Licences to vend liquor had to be taken according to this regulation from the Superintendent of Police. The location of punch houses or taverns was to be determined by him. Section 7 is a sample of the spirit pervading the regulation.

"Every such vender of spirits by wholesale shall keep a book containing a regular and separate account of all such liquors as he may buy or sell, and shall have the same at all times ready for the inspection of the Superintendent of Police or of such person as he shall think proper to appoint for that purpose."

They next dealt with registration and control of gold and silversmiths, shroffs, hawkers, China-bazaar men, shopkeepers, second-hand dealers, Shipping Dubashes, head cooly men, head bandymen, head carpenters, smiths, bricklayers, tailors and all headmen or *maistries* in every other trade or occupation. These persons were expected to get themselves registered in the Police Office and to obtain a certificate to that effect from the Superintendent of Police on payment of one pagoda excepting shopkeepers and second-hand dealers who should pay only $\frac{1}{2}$ pagoda.

The jewellery shops were precluded from buying any article of value from persons whom they either did not know or whom they suspected to have come by them through illegal means. The instructions of the police were to be taken in such matters. The Pawn Broker's Act and the Fundamental Rights in the Constitution were not in existence to help these dealers from these so called Draconian laws. The sixth regulation was one concerning markets. The preamble explained the purpose of the act as to throw open the public markets and bazaars within the limits of the Town of Madras to general competition and to punish all acts and combinations for the purpose of preventing or impeding the free and natural supply of the markets and to regulate and define the qualities and fix the prices from time to time of certain articles and to punish all frauds in the qualities thereof as well as all frauds in weights or measures. A reading of it will give an idea of the comprehensiveness of this law which probably is now being handled under 20 or 30 acts. Under Section 1 the Superintendent of Police was charged with the general control over all markets and bazaars within the limits of Madras. A regulation for rating the wages of coolies, artificers and workmen of every description was the heading of Regulation VII. The purpose of the act was said to be for preventing habits of idleness and dissipation among labourers and others as well as removing the inconvenience to the public from exorbitant rates of wages and similar exactions and with this object it was thought expedient to fix the wages of such persons and also the hire of bullock-bandies and bullocks and the hours during which such labourers and others should be compelled to work. Palanquin bearers were also included in this regulation. The attention of law was then directed to offences committed by boatmen on the beach and on the sea. Here the Master Attendant, obviously the forerunner of the Port Officer was empowered to act as a Magistrate and empowered also to sit along with a Rotation Magistrate or a Police Magistrate to try the cases. Next came municipal offences. Powers were given to the Superintendent of Police and the Sitting Magistrates to remove encroachments after giving notice to the parties. Persons dirtying the streets with filth and rubbish or obstructing them with scaffolding, bamboos, rope, carriage of bricks were liable to be charged and convicted to a fine not exceeding 25 pagodas. The Justices could acquire land for the purpose of cutting drains or completing roads and could also fix a fair price for the land with the help of a Jury of 12 British subjects. Regulation X related to traffic on the roads and was promulgated with the ostensible purpose of preventing

accidents from the negligence of persons in charge of horses, carriages, carts or other conveyances. Women were not allowed to drive bullock-carts nor boys under the age of fourteen years. Keeping to the left was insisted upon.

The Advocate General, Mr A. Anstruther prepared the above regulations in consultation with the Superintendent of Police and the Rotation Magistrates. He had also the concurrence of the learned Judges of the Supreme Court. On 9th October 1812 these regulations were registered in the Supreme Court by Sir T. A. Strange and Sir F. Macnaghten and thus became law.

Certain administrative changes were found necessary in consequence of the promulgation of the new regulations. The Offices of Second and Third Commissioners of the Court of Requests dealing with petty civil suits, were merged with those of the two Sitting Magistrates, who were to be paid 350 pagodas per month. The third Magistrate, besides sitting in rotation at the Justices' Office, was also ordered to act in conjunction with the Superintendent of Police in all cases coming before that officer in which it might be considered necessary that two Magistrates should act. He was also to be paid the same salary as the other Magistrates. The salary of the Clerk of the Justices was raised from 100 to 150 pagodas per month. The Clerk of the Justices was the top most ministerial functionary in the Justices' Office. The Governor in Council wrote to the Hon'ble Government informing them of the new regulations which, he stated, "had been framed for the purpose not of conferring new powers upon the Magistrates but of legalizing those powers, which from the necessity of the case they had been accustomed to exercise and which it was thought fit they should possess." He also quoted the Advocate-General's opinion that the directions of the statute which required in many cases the concurrence of two Magistrates, had been extended to most other cases where summary conviction and discretionary punishment were proposed and that this had been considered a proper precaution against the possibility of hasty decisions.

Lt. Col. G. H. Symons was the Superintendent of Police from 1811 to the beginning of 1815. His administration seemed to have been efficient according to the opinion of the times, though in the Solah Kistnah's petition already referred, his office did not come off with flying colours.

Another unsavoury incident is the case of the Chinese artificer named Amoo who having contracted to do building for Mr Greig and having failed to keep to the contract was placed before the Justices who dealt with him summarily for refusing to work and put him to hard labour on the roads for non-payment of fine. This judgment brought to the fore the highly obnoxious effect of the new regulations and led to an application for *habeas corpus*. The Superintendent of Police differed from Sir Samuel Toller, the Advocate General, who found the regulation *ultra vires* of the laws of the realm. The judgment is given below:—

“ *Substance of the evidence* :—The Prosecutor states on oath that the defendant as a workman of his under an agreement dated the 25th of June 1812 now produced and marked with the Magistrate’s initial I. M. S. the 10th November 1813. In consequence of the agreement the prosecutor gave the defendant notice to go to his work at Ennore on which he said that he had undertaken to build a Boat, which would occupy him some months, but when it was finished he would come, instead of which the Prosecutor about a month ago found him employed on other works, when he summoned him under his engagement. The Defendant is asked if the agreement was given by him, who acknowledges, that the agreement was given by him, but not explained. The Prosecutor asserts that it was explained to him in his presence. The defendant ultimately says he will not go to work and that the Magistrates may do as they please.

“ *Judgment* :—The defendant is convicted under the Police Regulation No. 3 and to work on the roads for four calendar months.”

Colonel Symons’s administration was commended by the Judges at the Quarter Sessions despite these occurrences. The commendation published in the Gazette for 6th January 1814 reads as follows :—

“ The lovers of good order in a community will be gratified to learn that no person belonging to this populous and extensive District was brought up for trial and of the numerous persons without the jurisdiction but residing out of its circuits one only had been indicted, the Bill against whom not being found, the Sessions closed without any trial whatever, a circumstance which we presume could scarcely occur unless where there is a proper and vigilant Police and strict and impartial administration of Justice and under a well regulated, wise and efficient general system.”

Mr Thomas Harris became the Superintendent of Police and in March 1815, soon after his taking charge, the Government asked him to submit a report about the working of the police. The report which is given below in full gives a picture of the city as it was in 1815. The several divisions into which it had been divided, the nature of duties of the several ranks and the several functions of the Superintendent, who is now called the Commissioner of Police.

“ I shall now submit the accompanying statement showing the strength of the whole Establishment under me and from that document, endeavour to explain the nature and efficiency of each appointment, together with such remarks on the various duties of the Superintendent in directing the whole, as appear to be requisite.

“ Some preliminary observations are however obvious and to these I shall humbly request your Honor’s attention.

“ The records of this office do not extend beyond the year 1806, when Mr Walter Grant was appointed the first Superintendent of Police, without the duties of Sitting Magistrate attached to his situation. His attention was entirely to be given to the superintendence of an effective police, to be founded on regular systematic principles.

“ Until the enactment of the Police Regulations dated October 1812, the same conduct was observed in this office, and on all offences where two Justices of the Peace were by law required to enforce punishment, reference was had to the Sitting Magistrates.

“ Under Regulation No. 1 Section III, it was deemed requisite to alter that system and to place the power of punishing under the Superintendent and one of Sitting Magistrates to act with him.

“ That the general result has been highly beneficial in the attainment of the speedy ends of Justice, no doubt can be entertained. If it be permitted me, I would wish to express my own conviction of this result and to add my unqualified approbation of the services of Mr Greig, likewise the humble tribute of my gratitude for the assistance I have derived from his experience and advice.

“ The first in rank and importance in the office is Mr F. Kelly, Clerk to the Magistrate and confidential Clerk and Interpreter to the Superintendent. The duties attached to his Department, are, recording the Magistrates proceedings, drawing up information, warrants and

commitments, and attending to the general detail of Police. The most important of those duties, is recording the proceedings of the Magistrates and concisely entering in their Record Book the matter which comes before them.

“The second on the list Streenevass Braminy, sworn interpreter to the Magistrates, *Sheristadar* or General Accountant, and to explain to Native Parties their information on oath.

“The Third, Tomby Choury Moottes, to enter cases in the fair Record Book, Issuer of Passports, Keeper of the Register of Europeans not in King’s or Company’s Service and of all Foreigners’ resident in Madras and in the Territories subject thereto, and French Interpreter.

“The Fourth, Ragavellie Naick, Record Keeper, to enter daily the cases to be brought before the Magistrates in their rough book, to attend during the Sittings, Current business.

“The Fifth, Narsingayah, writer in English, Tamil and Telugu, Issuer of Permits for the sale of Native ornaments, writer of warrants in the Native languages.

“The Establishment of Constables is the next. To this part of its strength and efficiency, I beg leave to submit that there are seven constables attached, each of whom resides in one of the seven divisions. Their duties are to go the round of their respective Divisions every night and to report the ensuing morning all occurrences to the Superintendent, to serve warrants upon Europeans and Natives. There are only four equal to the Duties of their office, viz. James Ballard, Richard Scrivens, Thomas Wingley and William Robertson, the Market Sergeant; the remaining three L.Krebs, John Barrow, William Brind, are from infirmities unequal to their employment.

“I have now to detail the strength of the Police Divisions.

“The Limits of the Supreme Court, which equally constitute the limits of this Department are divided into Eight Divisions.

“The first Division, Triplicany and Mylapoor, includes the whole of those villages and subordinates in a line from the Government Gardens and Mount Road on the North to the North Bank of the Adiar, by the Mylapoor or Long Tank, on the west, exclusive of the Mount Road. Mahomud Hyder, the Cotwal of Triplicany is at the

Head of this Division, having 1 Constable, 1 Moonshee, 1 Conicopoly, 4 Daffadars and 31 Peons divided into Eight *Tannah* Stations under him.

“I am not fully prepared to report upon the Cotwal and Establishment under him. The extensive and turbulent population in this Division require the greatest zeal and attention on the part of the Cotwal, to watch over and protect them. The duties heretofore performed by this officer are undefined, I have made it however a particular part of my care, to explain to him the nature of his office, and my expectation of the most rigid attention to my orders, especially to his constant daily attendance at the choultry in Triplicany.

“The Second Division, Cintadrepet, Nagatta Covil, Perrea Metta, Poodu Parcherry, Comaleeswaran Covil, Pudupet, Choolay, part of Vepery, Permalpettah, Begum Bazar; 1 Jamadar, 1 Constable, 4 Daffadars and 22 Peons are charged with the Police duties and are divided into five *Tannah* Stations.

“The Third Division, includes that part of Black Town bounded on the North by the wall, South by the Esplanade, East by the Sea, and West by Popham’s Broadway; 1 Jemadar, 1 Constable, 3 Daffadars and 25 Peons are charged with the Police duties, (including the Market) and divided into five *Tannah* Stations.

“The Fourth Division includes that part of Black Town, bounded on the North by the Walls, South by the Esplanade, East by Popham’s Broadway, West by Govindappah Naick Street, Ramalingam Street, Mootoo Comaresan Street, West by Mr Gregory’s Garden as far as the North Wall; 4 Daffadars, 20 Peons are charged with the Police Duties of this Division, divided into four *Tannah* Stations.

“The Fifth Division, includes that part of Black Town bounded on the North, by the walls, South by Mundvally Street, East by Govinda Naick Street, Ramalingam Street, Mootoo Comaresan Street, West of Mr Gregory’s Garden upto the wall, west by the Walls; 3 Daffadars and 17 Peons are charged with the Police duties of this Division, divided into five *Tannah* Stations.

“The Sixth Division, includes that part of Black Town, bounded on the North by Mundavelly Street, South by the General Hospital, East by the Esplanade, West by the Walls; 3 Daffadars and 12 Peons are charged with the Police duties of this Division divided into four *Tannah* Stations.

“The Jemadar, who superintends the police of these last four populous divisions, and the equally important duties of the Market whom, from my own personal observation, I have every reason to be fully satisfied with, I deem it my duty to bring before your Honor in Council as an Officer deserving the approbation of Government.

“The Seventh Division includes the village North of the Black Town walls, viz. Tondiarpet, Washerpet, and Karookpet; 1 constable, who attends the Market, 4 Daffadars and 26 Peons, are charged with the Police duties of this Division.

“The Eighth or Garden Division requires to be more particularly reported upon. It comprises nearly the whole extent of Residences occupied by Gentlemen and others, possessing or inhabiting Garden Houses within the villages of Pulliampaukum, Chetput, Keelpaukum, Chimum Parcherry, Porsawaukam, Cosapettah, Peremboor, Vyasurpauy, Vepery, Egmore, Nungumpaukum, Poodoopettah, Royapettah and Alvarpet; 1 Jemadar Imaum Khan, 15 Daffadars and 71 Peons are charged with the Police duties of this Division, divided into twenty-two *Tannah* Stations.

“Connected with the general duties of Police, the numerous daily complaints against servants for petty thefts and neglect of duty, are referred to this Jemadar, who confines the parties complained of, during the night, reporting every circumstance the ensuing morning to the Superintendent. The like obtains in every division. In this however, the references are tenfold in comparison with other Divisions and consequently the duties are likewise increased.

“I have every reason to be satisfied with this officer's conduct. The monthly pay of this class of officers is six pagodas. Taking therefore the relative portion of labor and responsibility of Imaum Khan and Moodeen Khan the two Garden Division, Black Town and Market Jemadars under consideration, I would submit to your Honor in Council the inadequacy of their present allowances. It has not been without due consideration I now venture to propose an increase of four Pagodas per month, making a permanent annual increase of ninety six Pagodas in the amount of expense of the Establishment.

“The remaining Peons are employed as per accompanying list, with an explanation of their several duties.

Talliaries 24, employed in summoning and watching in the different Divisions. These men are the only remaining part of the Poligar Establishment, formerly charged with the Police and have been found very useful as possessing a knowledge of all old offenders within the Limits.

Hircarrahs twenty two, employed in attendance in the Office, obtaining private information within Madras, carrying orders.

“Three Native Priests to administer oaths : The foregoing complete the effective Police Establishment.

“Having detailed the strength of the Establishment and the manner in which each individual is employed I shall now proceed to lay before your Honor in Council the daily course of Business in the Offices which open at nine o'clock. The Cotwal, Jemadars, Constables, Secret Informers and Daffadars give in their report individually, to the Superintendent, of whatever may have occurred during the preceding twentyfour hours and if the circumstances reported are of a nature requiring further enquiry, immediate steps are taken to obtain every information on the subject. It is in such investigations, a great part of the Superintendent's time is occupied. At half past nine o'clock the Magistrates sit.

“Issuing Passports under this head is comprised, one of the important Political branches of Police.

“The great change which has taken place within the last seven years in fixing the solid stability and undoubted security of the British Empire in India, particularly under this Government, may have contributed to a less rigid system being observed towards Foreigners and British subjects unauthorized to reside in the dependent Territories. The several references which I have submitted for the orders of your Honor in Council, shew that this Branch of my Official Business has not been overlooked and as I would wish to present the necessity of a more strict control in this Department. I shall hereafter submit such measures as may appear conducive to the attainment of this important object.

“The Superintendence of the Market and Bazars is another Branch of my duties since my appointment; no complaints of any description, as regards the supplies to the public Markets have come before me; and but one instance of bad meat being offered for sale has occurred.

“The first object to which I directed my attention was an examination of the Butchers’ steel yards. From their very worn-out state, the public has been subjected to a very great loss. No notice having been heretofore taken on the state of these instruments, I did not punish the Butchers, further than by compelling them to purchase new ones.

“In examining weights and measures I have long been and am still occupied. The necessity for this scrutiny will be apparent to your Honor in Council when I submit that out of six hundred and sixty two bazarmen of different descriptions in Triplicany, wholesale and retail, there are no less than two hundred and twenty four whose weights and measures were found incorrect. In Black Town, out of fifty seven of those examined, but four have correct weights. The evil had become so general, I adopted in conjunction with the Collector, the measure of strict and immediate scrutiny. I trust that the result will have a beneficial effect. The Bazarmen have been fined under the Police Regulations.

“The Weights and Measures and Stamping Department will form an important part of my supplementary report.

“The House of Correction, attendance at the Monegar Choultry and Military Male Assylum, complete the routine of duties of the Superintendent of Police.

“My attention having been particularly directed to point out ‘the proper duties of the Police Office as distinguished from that of the Sitting Magistrates, the degree in which those two offices mutually relieve each other.’ I have the honor to submit to your Honor in Council that when the Police was first organized and conducted by a Superintendent in its various and important Details in the year 1806, the then complexion of the times, the unsettled state of the District dependent on the Government of Fort St. George, the lax system of Police which had obtained prior to that period, the knowledge that the Presidency had become the resort of all disaffected persons and dangerous characters, first led to the formation of a distinct Department. The strength of the Establishment in Peons, Patrols &c..., exceeded considerably the present. The object was then immediate safety; and no doubt, that object was obtained under Mr Ogilvie; a considerable reduction took place; and on the appointment of the late Superintendent, the Establishment was again increased to its present number. To enable me to compare the

relative duties of the Justices at the Beach, with those performed by the Police Magistrates, I would submit the propriety of their being called upon, for statement of the number of cases entered and heard from the 1st January to the 30th April last.

“I am not aware of any further relief, which this office can experience, than by the Justices at Beach, taking a greater portion of Magisterial business, than the Police. I have reason to believe, that by far the greater number of cases are brought to this Office. This would appear to arise from the nature of the Police Establishment, spread as its emissaries are, throughout the limits of the Supreme Court. The immediate appeal for redress or protection vests in its Offices, and naturally the oppressed individual, seeks the nearest means to obtain that end. Unqualified as I am to enter upon this important subject, yet feeling the necessity of some important change in the Police system, whereby the Superintendent shall be the more at leisure to pursue the arduous duties of his Station, I can have no hesitation in submitting to your Honor in Council, that the sitting of the Magistrates at the Police Office, gives high respect and strength to the Superintendent's general powers and that the removal of such authority from this office would on the contrary, have a most injurious effect.”

The Government were far from satisfied with the working of the courts and the police. This was to be expected inasmuch as there was no model on which an efficient system of police could be based. Even the British Police, which we may have occasion to refer to, was in the doldrums. Sir Robert Peel was yet to put forward his proposal for police reforms. So the Madras Government was gaining experience by trial and error in the matter of police organization. On 26th October, 1816, the Government constituted a Police Committee consisting of experienced civil servants, Messrs J. H. D. Ogilvie, W. Thackeray and T. Daniel, with the last named as Secretary and Junior Member “for the purpose of investigating the defects of the system of police at the Presidency and of suggesting the means which might be considered best calculated to remedy them.” It may be remembered that Mr Ogilvie had already been in charge of the Madraspatnam Police as Collector of Madras. Mr Thackeray was an experienced Collector whose opinions carried weight even with Colonel Munro.

There had been a change of Superintendent of Police in the meantime, Mr Campbell having replaced the Hon'ble Mr T. Harris.

In September 1818 Mr Mc Kerrel was permanently appointed Superintendent. The Police Committee was directed to get into touch with the Advocate General and the Superintendent of Police for details they might require in their enquiries. Mr Mc Kerrel's report is interesting. First he furnished the area of the City under his charge. This gives an idea of the City in 1818. The details are given in his own words:—

“The space within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Madras is in extent about four and twenty square miles. It comprehends the Fort and Town of Madras; the Town of Triplicane; the Town of Mylapoor or St. Thome, the Villages of Poodoopaukum, Royapetta, Venayakenpetta, Vellala Thanampetta, Tullee Thanampetta, Alvarpetta, Cosapetta, Kistnampetta, Meersahibpetta, Caulavoypetta, Beemanumpetta, Chintadrepetta, Negattacovil, Comala Ishwera Covil, Poodoopetta, Periamettoo, Choolay, Lukshmee Narrianpoorum, Vaniarpetta, Meenacsheepetta, Corookoopetta, Vannarpetta, Cunycovilpetta, Tondiarpetta, Sunjeveeroyenpetta, Cosapetta, Arunachella Ishwerapetta, Royapooram, Vencutashperumalpetta, Narrainpalliam Perumal Petta, Vepery, Poorsevaukum Rosssetta, Vadavenayagapooram, Company Petta, Cosapetta, Vyservady, Petrepetta, Perumbore, Madavaukum, Nadumbery, Eroongunum, Kilpaukum, Chetteputtoo, Nungumpacum, Egmore, Orsanore, Wellpetta, Chilvepetta and a considerable number of Parcheries occupied by Pariars and native Christians.”

This may be compared to the definition of Madras City in Sec. 12 of Regulation II of 1802.

“That the southern limits shall be the southern bank of the Saint Thome river, as far as the road leading to the Long Tank; that the limits shall then be continued in a northern direction, along the bank of the Long Tank, and from thence along the bank of Nungumbaukum Tank, as far as the village of Chettapet, upon the banks of the Poonamally river; that the limits shall be continued, in the same direction to the village of Kilpaukum and Peramboor, and that, from the latter village, it do take an eastern direction to the sea, so as to include the whole village of Tandearpetta; also that no lands situated to the southward of the Saint Thome river, or to the westward of the bank of the Long Tank, or of the Nungumbaukum Tank, shall be considered within the limits of the said town of Madras; but that all the lands included in the said villages of Chettapet, Kilapukum, Peramboor, and Tandear, shall be considered within the said limits.”

Mr Mc Kerrel then explained the duties performed by both the Ministerial and Executive staff. The standing orders issued by him for the guidance of the different grades of staff form probably the beginning of the City Police Orders of today. The relevant portions of his report are excerpted here :—

“ I shall now do myself the honor of stating to you, briefly the various duties performed by the individuals employed in the Department.

“ The duty of Mr Kelly, the Clerk of the Police is that of issuing summonses and entering the Proceedings of the Magistrates during their sittings, preparing information of recognizances, commitments &c. when cases are to be submitted to the Supreme Court or the parties are to be bound over for their good behaviour, and registering the licences for the sale of spirituous liquors; he also keeps possession of all stolen property deposited before the trial of the Prisoners; and gives evidence regarding its indenture before the Supreme Court.

“ Streenevasiah the Interpreter to the Police Magistrates enters the daily reports in the Book of Intelligence, prepares the lists of prices of grain to be sent to the Town Major and published in the Government Gazette, receives, and keeps an account of the summons fees, licence fees, fines and forfeitures, keeps a register of the Peons and an account of the Batta to prisoners, and pays the establishment; he is also in-charge of the stationery and unclaimed property.

“ Chouree Mootoo is Keeper of the Register of Foreigners and of Europeans not in the King's or Company's service. He is also in charge of the Passport Department; being a native of Pondicherry he is well acquainted with the French language, and therefore, possesses a facility in communicating with foreigners. He also enters the daily complaints as they arrive in the book of Judicial proceedings.

“ Ragavalloo is Keeper of the Records, and calls the Parties before the Magistrates in their regular order. He also attends for the same purpose at the Supreme Court during the Sessions.

“ Narasingayah is a writer in the English, Tamil and Telugu languages.

“ Ragavayah is employed in the same duty, and also in copying the correspondence of this office with other Departments.

“The Persian Moonshee, Shroff, Moochie, Conicopoly and Tom-Tom man do not require any particular remark. The three Priests are employed in administering oaths, to the Prosecutors and witnesses according to their respective persuasions. Mr Mackenzie and his Establishment attended to the sick.

“The six constables are stationed in different Divisions. They go their rounds during the night and attend every morning to make their reports, at the Police Office. They are also employed in taking up deserters (from the ships) in the roads; the Artillery and Regiments in Garrison at Madras are extremely useful in co-operating with the Peons when there is any disturbance, or riot, in Black Town. One of them having been formerly a Butcher by profession (after his discharge from the army) attends daily at the market and reports to the Superintendent of Police, the qualities of the provisions that may be brought there for sale. The same duties are performed by the Market Sergeant who constantly resides there, and is very active in the discharge of his duties as a Constable. He also takes charge of such European Deserters as are under restraint, but when it may not be judged fit to send to Jail.

“Bhellayah, the Market writer is always in attendance there during the day, and supplies Palenquen Bearers, Cavady men, Coolies, Bullock Bandies and Carriage Bullocks, upon the requisition of individuals, or by order of the Superintendent of Police.

“The duties of the Jemadars, Daffadars and Peons may be comprised under one head. The force of each Thana or Station, is either four Peons or a *daffadar* and three. They keep watch in rotation during four hours at a time, and during the night they go rounds twice, namely from twelve o'clock till two, and from three till day light. All the Jemadars, and one *Daffadar* from each Division attend at the Police Office in the morning to give in their reports. A certain number of Peons are employed during the Sessions in conveying Prisoners to and from His Majesty's Jail to the Court House. They also attend at executions and during marriage and religious processions amongst the natives with a view to preserve order. When any disturbance takes place in Black Town, such as the disputes between the right and left hand castes, the Lubbies or the native Christians, they attend and are found extremely useful. Occasional parties are also sent to the out-stations with Prisoners by order of Government.

"The duty of the Cutwall is somewhat similar to that of a Jemadar. He attends also at his choultry during certain hours every day for the purpose of settling trifling disputes.

"The Talliards, whose particular duty it is to discover Thieves, are too few in number, five are stationed at the Police Office, and the remainder are employed in the different divisions.

"Duty of the Cotwall and Jemadars :—

"1st. To fix on proper stations for *Thanas*, and to see that the limits of each *Thana* be particularly defined, and understood by the Peons attending at its Choukey.

"2nd. That they shall collect every morning the Reports from the Peons at each *Thana* and forward the same to the Police Office.

"3rd. If any thing of importance, particularly murder, or theft, or riot, has occurred within the Division, or their being informed thereof they shall immediately proceed to the spot and make a particular enquiry respecting it, so as to be able to give a perfect account of what has happened, and immediately send notice to the office of the Superintendent of Police.

"4th. That when any thing particular has secured they shall themselves attend at the Police Office, at the sitting of the Magistrates and bring with them such witnesses as they can collect respecting the matter.

"Duties of the Peons :—

"1st. The Constables, Cutwall, Jemadars, Daffadars and Peons are denominated Peace Officers and Peons, duly to preserve as much as possible the Public Peace, and to secure the persons and the property of individuals.

"2nd. When, therefore they see persons violently quarrelling, in such a manner as is likely to proceed a Breach of Peace (Blows) on either side they are to interfere and endeavour by their influence to separate the parties. Should this interference be effectual, they are particularly to observe who is the aggressor, and to take into custody, and bring before the Magistrates, either or both of the Parties. But in case of apprehending one only, the other party must be directed to attend the Magistrates to give evidence against the party or parties so apprehended.

“3rd. As Drunkenness generally leads to a breach of the peace, and often to more serious offences, when persons are found drunk and riotous, (that in quarrelling) they are to be secured, and brought before the Magistrate.

“4th. That in the night time certain number of Peons at each Thana, shall twice or thrice in the course of the night make a circuit round it, to see that all is quiet and safe, while the others remain at their Post.

“5th. Each Peon shall be provided with a rattle for the purpose of alarming the others, and which, in case any occasion shall occur, he shall make use of, and on hearing the alarm, the peons at the nearest *Thana*, shall proceed to the place, whence the alarm comes and give their assistance.

“6th. It is likely that, on such alarm being given, the person who has been guilty will attempt to make the escape by running and in that case the Peons shall stop any person that they may see thus attempting to escape, and who may appear to them suspicious.

“7th. On a person being taken up they are to secure him for the night in the nearest Choultry until sun rise in the morning, when they are to proceed with him to the Police Office.

“8th. The persons are to be careful to conduct themselves in a peaceable manner, and not to ill-treat any person when they may think it necessary to secure.

“9th. That in case of theft, and the property being found the property shall remain in the possession of the Peon or persons who may first get possession of the same, and that it be brought by him to the Police Office which will save much trouble and uncertainty in the future proceedings.

“10th. That in case of the apprehending suspicious persons, or thieves, care is to be taken to carry with them to the Magistrates every article which may be found on them.

“11th. That if a thief on his being apprehended shall confess where he has deposited or pledged any stolen property, the peons who have apprehended him shall immediately proceed with him to the place which he shall point out, and bring the persons pointed out, with the property which may be found, to the Police Office.

“12th. When the peons are required by any person to apprehend another on a charge of murder, or robbery, or theft, they are to do so without waiting for an order from any superior, but in such a case, they are to take care, that the persons so accusing the other shall be known to them, or be secured, so as to ensure his attendance before the Magistrates, to follow up the charge.”

The Superintendent also suggested the organization of a Marine Police under him and requested that the City Police should be invested with powers to chase offenders beyond the city limits and arrest them when necessary. Another suggestion which had important repercussions later, was the combining of the offices of the Justices of the Rotation and the Superintendent and bringing the whole organization under the charge of the latter. The establishment charges for the two offices supply statistics of the pay and allowances of the Police and Judicial staff of the period.

“The police duties of Madras are at present divided, or perhaps with more correctness it may be said, are supposed to be divided, between two distinct and separate offices, the one situated in Vepery and the other at the Beach.

“At the Police Office in Vepery the following Establishment is at present maintained.

	<i>Pgs.</i>	<i>Fnm.</i>	<i>Cas.</i>
Superintendent of Police	350	0	0
Clerk	75	0	0
Interpreter	30	0	0
3 Writers	24	0	0
7 Constables at 10 Pagodas	70	0	0
1 Moochy	2	0	0
3 Oath Officers	6	0	0
3 Jemadars at 6 pagodas	18	0	0
43 Duffadars at 3 pagodas	129	0	0
316 Peons at 2 pagodas	632	0	0
24 Talliars at 2 pagodas	48	0	0
22 Hirkaraha	59	11	20
1 Cutwall of Triplicane	20	0	0
1 Mootoosuddie	5	0	0
C. O.	1468	11	20

	<i>Pgs.</i>	<i>Fnm.</i>	<i>Cas.</i>
B. F.	1468	11	20
1 Conicopily	3	0	0
1 Tom-tom man	1	22	40
1 Market Sergeant	6	22	40
Butta to -do-	2	11	20
2 Conicopilies at 3½ pagodas	7	0	0
2 Sweepers for the Market	1	40	0
Black Town Cutwall's Choultry rent	3	0	0
Triplicane Cotwall's Choultry rent	3	0	0
Police Office rent	60	0	0
Secret Service money	50	0	0
Medical attendance	50	42	60
<i>Total :—</i>	<u>1657</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>20</u>

At the Rotation Office on the Beach the following is the Establishment :—

	<i>Pgs.</i>	<i>Fnm.</i>	<i>Cas.</i>
Three Magistrates at 350 pagodas each per mensem	1050	0	0
Clerk	150	0	0
Interpreter	40	0	0
Deputy Interpreter	10	0	0
Office Manager	20	0	0
2 Writers	20	0	0
3 Oath Officers	6	0	0
Tom-tom man	1	22	40
Totty and water woman	1	22	40
Moochy	3	0	0
4 Constables at 10 pagodas each.	40	0	0
1 Jailor	5	0	0
2 Head Talliards at 4 pagodas each.	8	0	0
23 Summoning Talliards at 2 pagodas each	46	0	0
6 Office Peons at 2 pagodas	12	0	0
Office Rent	100	0	0
<i>Total :—</i>	<u>1513</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

The debacle in the Justices' Office is deserving of recapitulation. Under the system existing there were two offices for hearing the

complaints and petty offences. In the one on the Beach there were three Magistrates who sat by rotation three days in the week, either singly or two together as the cases brought forward might require. Of these three Magistrates, two were also Commissioners of the Court of Requests, for the recovery of small debts in which capacity they received each a salary of two hundred pagodas per month and in the capacities of Magistrates, one hundred and fifty pagodas per month. The third Magistrate also sat daily in conjunction with the Superintendent of Police and for this double duty, received the same aggregate salary as the other two magistrates viz. 350 pagodas per month.

Thus the Superintendent of Police and the third Sitting Magistrate formed a second tribunal for hearing complaints of petty offences which had its sittings at the Police Office in Vepery. It was expected that two offices situated in different parts of the local jurisdiction would afford facility both to those who sought redress and to the Magistrates who received complaints. In effect, however there was no advantage probably because peons by whom offenders were apprehended were under the authority of both the Superintendent of Police and the third Magistrate sitting every day. Whereas the Magistrates at the Beach sat only three times a week, it was found that by far the greater proportion of complaints was brought for hearing to the Police Office and that the office in the Beach afforded but little relief either to the police or to parties seeking redress of wrongs. In this state of things most offences fell to be investigated by the Superintendent of Police under whose direction the offenders were generally detected and apprehended.

The Police Committee discussed the organization, duties and regulations of the police. They found the force of police peons altogether excessive. About 30 of them had been used for providing guard to private houses belonging to the principal inhabitants. The Committee said that in England a man's house was considered his castle, which he himself was bound to secure and the provision of police guards to private houses was irregular. Moreover the increase in the number of peons had reacted adversely on the strength of Hircarrahs and Talliards, the intelligence or detective department. About 124 pagodas were said to have been expended for the purchase of turbands for them. The report shows that uniformity in the police seems to have been obtained by the wearing of similar belts, badges and turbands. They added that thefts from dwelling houses were never prevented by the night patrols

that went out at regular intervals from the *Tanahs* with rattles in their hands. When a thief met a patrol, it was observed that all he needed was to lie down in the nearest ditch or hide among the jungle which surrounded every European house.

With regard to the regulations, the Committee found many of them beyond the accepted canons of jurisprudence. They wanted the punishment to vary according to the religion of the offenders. They suggested that Hindus should be punished by caste i. e. probably meaning ex-communication, the Mohammedans by fine or imprisonment and the Pariahs and other low castes by stripes and hard labour. They discussed five plans for the supervision of the Police Department. They were: (1) the Magistrates may be jointly charged with the preservation of the peace, the procuring of information and the superintendence of the police, (2) one of the Magistrates may be in special charge of the police in addition to his judicial duties, (3) Clerk of the Justices may take charge of the police, (4) it may be entrusted to a distinct person exercising judicial powers, and (5) the Collector of Madras or his deputy may be in charge of the organization. After discussing the pros and cons of each of these proposals the Committee came to the conclusion that it would be better to entrust the department to the Collector, the best informed of all local officers in the City, who prevented smuggling and exercised control over 56 *chowkies*. The Collector was also the licensing authority for toddy shops and arrack shops beyond the City. In the City within $\frac{3}{4}$ mile radius of the Fort there were 50 arrack shops and 96 toddy shops and as such a considerable part of the work of the police centred round bringing drunkards before the Justice, the Collector was the proper authority to control the police, The Committee also made the curious suggestion that the word police, as it denoted some engine of tyranny, might better be dropped while specifying the department. They proposed the establishment of one office for both the Justices of the Peace and the police, pending acceptance of their other recommendations.

On the basis of these recommendations the Governor in Council ordered on 10-12-1817, the carrying out of the following reforms:—

There shall be one General Police Office at Madras and that would be housed in the existing office at Vepery. The head of this office shall be a covenanted servant of the Honourable Company, who should be denominated 'The Superintendent of Police' and who should be

entrusted with the sole management of the Police Establishment. Four Magistrates should be appointed and two of them should be in attendance at the Police Office daily from eleven to three o'clock. They should be denominated Police Magistrates. The Police Magistrates were strictly prohibited from being concerned in trade either directly or indirectly. A subordinate branch of the police should be established at the Beach for exclusively guarding against the depredations of the boatmen. As this work necessitated the frequent moving about in boats, a Marine Officer would be in charge of it and designated as the Marine Police Officer. He would be directly under the Superintendent of Police to whom he would make his daily reports and to whose office he would transmit all prisoners. The Superintendent of Police was expected to reside at the Police Office so that he might be accessible at all times. He would have the power of summoning a Board of Magistrates and presiding over it. He would correspond directly with the Government or other Magistrates in the province. He would be ex-officio member of the Road Committee, the Board of Monegar Choultry and of such other public institutions as the Government might deem fit. He should issue passports and be responsible for the proper disbursement of the funds collected by assessment. The Governor in Council also ordered that the warrant of the Superintendent of Police should take effect in the Province without the intervention of local Magistrates and that full and free communications should exist between the Provincial Magistrates and the Police Office at Madras. For the maintenance of the Beach Police i.e. Marine Police, the levying of increased hire for boats was decided upon.

On 8th May, 1818 Mr Fullerton, who was a Member of the Council, recorded a minute in which he objected to the Magistrate being placed as they were, in subordination to the Superintendent of Police and to their having no establishment of their own. He also stated that hardships were suffered by some of the servants of the former establishment which had been dismissed.

In September 1818, the Governor in Council deliberated on the above note and expressed their opinion that the new arrangement of having one office had not resulted in any advantage. It was intended mainly to relieve the Superintendent of Police of a good deal of his judicial work and to exercise the regular attendance of Magistrates but, on the contrary, it had brought to the Police Office a greater portion of the work than anticipated. Moreover, every complaint was coming

through the Police Office only and this might eventually lead to the suppression of complaints against the police. Since the Magistrates were acting only through the agency of police and holding their courts in one wing of the Police Office, they had been looked upon as a subordinate branch of the police. So the Governor in Council decided that the restoration of the clerk and native establishment was necessary for the correct discharge of their duties and the court should be established in the Beach. At the same time, the Police Office was to be situated in a central place in Black Town where the population was most concentrated. The Superintendent of Police would continue to be the Presiding Magistrate and there should be two Magistrates in attendance every day from ten to four to transact all business. The Superintendent should arrange the rotation of the Magistrates and cause it to be published in the papers, a week in advance of the sittings.

In the correspondence relating to these changes one could perceive an under-current of conflict between Mr Flower, the Clerk of the Justices, and Mr Kelly, the Clerk of the Police. Mr Flower was for the time being successful in the disjunction of the two offices. In October 1818, the new arrangement commenced functioning.

Mr Mc Kerrel, the Police Superintendent, was exercised over a case of kidnapping during this period. Four Hindu girls were stolen successively from Triplicane. The mothers of these children wandered about in great distress, searching for them, having reason to believe that they had been stolen for the purpose of being sold as slaves to Mohammedan families of rank living within the city. A singularly fortunate incident helped them to find out the whereabouts of these children. A girl aged about 10 years who had similarly been removed, made her escape from the house of Shah Begum, a grand-daughter of Nawab Mohamed Ali. She gave information that several girls were being detained in that house. The mothers wanted to verify the veracity of this information and so dressing themselves as mendicants they managed to enter the precincts of Shah Begum's residence, where true enough, the missing children were found confined. They knew that they could not escape with their lives, if they tried to rescue the children and so suppressing their maternal instincts they came out and waited for some days, hoping that these children might also have a chance to escape. But finding days passing without chance of any reunion with their children, they approached the Superintendent of Police for redress.

The Superintendent found himself in a very difficult situation. He could not discover any law by which action could be taken. He explained that by the common law of England, the crime of kidnapping which was defined by Justice Blackstone as the forcible abduction or stealing away of a man, woman or child from their own country and sending them with another, was punishable as a misdemeanour by fine, imprisonment and the pillory but when this punishment was not sufficiently severe, the kidnappers were being tried for grand larceny by indicting them for stealing the clothes upon the body of the children. Later a statute was passed which declared it as a felony and punishable as such, but there was no statute in India to deal with such offences. So the Superintendent approached Major Mc Donald of the Political Department to approach the Nabob to procure the enlargement of the unfortunate children. This was done and the Nabob wrote a letter to Doolla Meah, the husband of Shah Begum, and sent it through a *vakil* asking him to deliver the children to two *chobdars* and the police peons. The mothers also accompanied the party.

The party was not allowed to examine the house and two of the mothers were scandalously assaulted by the servants of Shah Begum at her instigation. The children were also not restored. Then the Superintendent took affidavits from the parties, applied to the Supreme Court for four writs of *habeas corpus* through the Advocate General. The writs were granted but the Begum's advocate and attorney denied the possession of the children and made returns to this effect. The barristers of the Begum represented to the Court that the Superintendent should be ordered to pay costs but the Judges of the Supreme Court unanimously rejected the contention of the advocate and spoke in high terms of the conduct of the Superintendent of Police. The result of this litigation was that the children were never traced. Kidnapping of children as an organized form of crime is in existence even today.

The licensed pleaders and *vakils* of these days came for some scathing comments. They were said to be wanting in respectability of character with little sense of reputation and depending for their subsistence on the encouragement and fomentation of frivolous and vexatious litigation. Colonel Leith, a well-known administrator, wrote about them, "There is perhaps no part of the judicial system which had been attended with worse consequences than the *vakil*-branch of it. They are in general, extremely illiterate and their situation gives them

various opportunities of committing abuses which are not easily detected. In particular they have been accused of promoting litigation by holding forth false promises of success to their clients." But, that even British lawyers sent out to India did not maintain that record of official decorum expected of them, can be seen from the history of George Norton, who became the Advocate General of Madras and who had a hand in framing some Police Regulations.

We have already seen that the Police Committee headed by Mr Ogilvie drafted regulations in the place of Regulations 1 to 10 of 1812, some of whose sections called for severe strictures. These new regulations were placed in the Statute Book in December 1817, but the Government itself found out later that no copy of the regulations was available after six months! It is too much to believe now that codified laws could vanish without a trace, but that was what happened and the old regulations continued to hold the field until amended in 1832.

In April 1819 the Grand Jury made a frontal attack on the administration of the police and the Supreme Court brought it to the notice of the Government. The allegations were that the police considered themselves as fixed to subordinate *Tanahs* and their duty was limited to receiving charge of persons as might be brought and delivered to them under accusation of having perpetrated crimes. The Grand Jury added that the respectable inhabitants no longer dared to sleep with their usual ornaments on their persons and that they retired within their dwellings at an early hour; that drunkenness had increased to the scandal, inconvenience and danger of the respectable members of the community who might not venture into the streets even before the sun had set and that obstructions in the streets had been permitted to an alarming degree. The Superintendent of Police according to the custom of the times appears to have been summoned before the Supreme Court and questioned with regard to the allegation. Mr Mc Kerrel admitted the deterioration in the efficiency of the police which he attributed to the separation of the offices of the Justices and the police. This admission by the Superintendent of Police, called forth a strong note from the Government asking him why such a situation has been allowed to develop and why no remedial measures had been taken early to stop the rot in the police. Mr Mc Kerrel in his reply pointed out that the word 'Police' which was of foreign origin and signified in the first instance "the regulation and Government of a city or country in so far as regards the inhabitants," had

a variety of meanings in a secondary sense, according to the constitution of the country in which it was used. On the continent of Europe it in general imported a branch of the executive government superior to law and responsible only to that government for the acts which it did. In Great Britain, on the contrary, and in all those dependencies of the British Empire in which the English Law obtained, police signified neither a power superior to the law nor inferior to it. It was in fact the law itself. While appreciating Dr Colquhoun for his writings about the police, Mr Mc Kerrel asserted that the English law was not the best suited for societies composed of such heterogeneous elements as inhabiting the cities in India, but the police of Madras were compelled to model their actions on this ineffective law since they could not have recourse to any other law. Then he had his quip at the five suggestions made by the Ogilvie Committee because they could not decidedly determine upon any one scheme for the police. Then he referred to the separation of the two offices which left the Superintendent without a co-adjutor and so deprived him of the power he hitherto possessed. From this period onwards things had gone worse with more burglaries, larcenies, assaults of various kinds and breaches of the peace. He refuted the complaint that the police peons did not move out of their *Tanahs*, by stating that night patrols had been regularly arranged. He wanted the Police Office to be strengthened by the addition of a second Police Magistrate who should be permanently attached to it and in attendance every lawful day between 10 a.m. and 4 p.m. In the event of his proposal being accepted, the reduction of the strength of the Magistrates in the Beach could be effected from four to three and in course of time two Magistrates might be able to manage the entire work provided they sat daily. He concluded his report by stating that peculiar difficulties existed in this country to the formation of a good and efficient system of police and that the police of Madras, until their powers were extended, must always be much cramped by the fetters which were imposed upon it by unnecessary legal formalities. The state of education and morals was also such and the facility of committing trifling larcenies so very great, from the peculiar manners of the habits of the people, that many years would in all probability elapse before the number of offences was brought within a moderate compass.

Mr Mc Kerrel was supported in his view by the Magistrates Messrs T. Daniel, I. B. Huddleston and L. H. Sterling. Mr S. H. Greig,

another Magistrate and an admirer of Colonel Symons, the previous Police Superintendent, alleged that the opinion sent up by the Magistrates was not the one unanimously arrived at during a discussion and that he protested against the alteration to suit the Superintendent's view. In a separate reference he castigated the Superintendent of Police in no uncertain terms. He suggested that, without disturbing the existing Magistracy, the system which obtained under Colonel Symons might easily be again adopted, by confining the Superintendent of Police to his own duty and placing the Magistrates at the Justices' Office upon the same independent footing they formerly were and directing one of them after the routine business of the day was over, to attend at the Police Office to sit with the Superintendent in the trial of all police cases.

The Board of Directors found that the Magistrates had several other commitments apart from their magisterial work. Two of them were Commissioners in the Court of Requests, where they received 200 pagodas for doing one day's duty in a week; another was a Barrister attached to the Supreme Court and the fourth was a partner in a house agency. It was the custom of these gentlemen never to sit during the Session of the Supreme Court.

In June 1819, the Superintendent seems to have made some temporary arrangements in accordance with his plan but, in his own words, he found after four months, it was not successful. "For the last three months the Superintendent of Police has had no less than four colleagues and has, in general, changed his co-adjutor twice and sometime even three times a week; under such an arrangement, it is impossible that any regular system of proceeding be adopted and, this I am sure, will be admitted when I add that a case is frequently commenced by one set of Magistrates and decided by another." In October 1819 they reverted to the system of 1812 and the office came back to the Beach. The Board of Directors found fault with the Government for giving less attention to the police than its importance demanded.

In 1819 we find a surgeon Mr MacKenzie attached to the Police Department. He was the forerunner of the Police Surgeon. The Marine Police had Lt. John Betham as the Officer and Justice of the Peace, with one European police constable.

Lt. Betham had been appointed Justice of the Peace and Marine Police Officer to look into the offences committed on the beach and by

boatmen. In 1820 the principal merchants of Madras viz. Parry and Dare, Binny & Co. and Arbuthnot, De Monte & Co. addressed the Government regarding the unsatisfactory nature of the boat service. They complained of a difficulty in procuring boats; disputes about overcharges and delays; continual pilfering; and the new Marine Police, who were useless and expensive. The matters were referred to a mixed Committee, Messrs A. J. Hadwin, W. Givathkin, J. L. Grant, George Arbuthnot, John Binny and Thomas Parry. John Binny and Thomas Parry were the founders of Binny & Co. and Parry & Co., respectively. Thomas Parry was at one time asked to leave the country for unhealthy business practices, but later the order was rescinded. The Committee found that a set of regulations prepared by the Board of Trade in 1809 had not been enforced. *Maistries* and boat owners were directed to enter into penalty bonds to make losses good, but the Master Attendant did not make use of these provisions. Later his authority was superseded by the appointment of the Superintendent of the Marine Police. The Committee stated that the latter establishment appeared to be useless and recommended that the Master Attendant should be given entire control with Magisterial powers. The Committee also submitted draft rules. Government concurred generally with these views and ordered the Marine Police to be put immediately under the orders of the Master Attendant. In the year 1821 Mr W. Ormsby became the Superintendent of Police and Justice of the Peace in succession to Mr Mc Kerrel. Mr Campbell officiated for a short period in this interval, Mr J. Betham was the second Police Magistrate. The General Police Office was in Vepery. The Rotation Magistrates Messrs L. H. Sterling, Edward F. Elliot and Robert Sherson sat in the Beach Office.

On 12—4—1822 the Government called for a report from Mr Ormsby, the Superintendent of Police, about the working of the police in the city. His report showed that a part of the staff was being paid from the Assessment Fund and the rest from the General Revenues by the Government. The first set consisted of one kotwal, 6 Jemadars of varying grades, 2 Head Pygusts, 42 Daffadars, 222 Peons, 1 Daroga of Talliars, 2 Deputy Darogas of Talliars, 1 Pygust Naik, 17 Naiks and 68 Talliars accounting for a monthly expenditure of Rs. 3,017/-. The rest of the establishment and their monthly emoluments were as follows:—

	Rs.	A.	P.
1 Superintendent of Police	1500	0	0
1 Clerk of the Peace	262	8	0
1 Interpreter	140	0	0
1 Registrar of Passports	70	0	0
1 Record Keeper	35	0	0
5 Writers	175	0	0
1 Market Sergeant	63	0	0
4 Office Constables	140	0	0
1 Head Hircarah	17	8	0
1 Deputy do	14	14	0
22 Hircarahs	231	0	0
3 Conicopilies	36	12	0
1 Persian Moonshee	21	0	0
1 Shroff	10	8	0
1 Mootchie	10	8	0
1 Office Head Talliar	21	0	0
4 Deputy Office Head Talliar	28	0	0
1 Office Duffadar	10	8	0
20 Office Peons	140	0	0
3 Oath Officers	26	4	0
1 Tom-tom man	5	4	0
1 Mashalchie	6	2	0
1 Water-man	6	2	0
1 Sweeper for the Office	3	8	0
1 Sweeper for the Market	3	8	0
1 Scavenger	3	8	0
1 Water Pandal Brahmin	7	0	0
Office Rent	175	0	0
Cotwall Choultry Rent	10	8	0
Triplicane Choultry Rent	10	8	0
Police Jail & Hospital	17	8	0
Periamettoo Thana Rent	7	0	0
Secret Service money	175	0	0
Medical allowance	140	0	0
	<u>3523</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>0</u>

Some of the official names are peculiar. The *Hircarrahs* were the staff of the Intelligence Section, directly under the Superintendent of Police. Provision was made for secret service money to be spent on informers. There were three Oath Officers who were drawn from the Hindu, Muslim and Harijan communities. Even from those days the Harijans were being treated as members of a separate religion and not as forming part of the Hindu community. With regard to the distribution of drinking water there were two men, one a *Water Pandal Brahmin* to supply water to the higher castes and the other probably a non-brahmin who distributed water to other Hindus and Harijans. Adequate provision for the medical expenses of the staff was also made by the Government.

The Superintendent of Police Mr Ormsby stated in his report that there were 52 *Tanahs* within the city limits and the watching establishment was distributed among them. The native officers of each *Tanahs* were expected to go round their limits every night from 12 o'clock till day-break with one or more peons. They were instructed to secure all idle and disorderly persons and bring them next morning before the Superintendent of Police who might deal with them summarily or order them to be taken before a bench of two Magistrates. Such cases were called night cases. The *Talliars* patrolled the roads on the outskirts of the town and were to be on the look-out for suspicious strangers and disposal of stolen property. Private parties could set the law in motion by taking out summonses against those whom they wished to charge with assaults, detention of property, misdemeanours and other disputes.

It was reported by Mr Ormsby that in the year 1820, 1,733 night cases and 5,303 summon cases were heard at the Police Office and in 1821, 1,234 night cases and 5,748 summon cases. Night cases practically meant cases put up by the police consequent on the arrest of the offender. The fall in night cases in the latter years was attributed to the reduction in the feeding charges of persons confined in the House of Correction, an explanation that suggested that good feeding in jails invited more inmates. The Superintendent added that the police attended the conduct of all processions and native ceremonies in order to preserve the peace and maintain good order. Sometimes police protection for ceremonies was provided to private parties at their own expense. One Jemadar, 1 Assistant Jemadar, 2 Head Pygust, 4 Daffadars and 50 Peons from among the staff,

were under the control of the Master Attendant for detection and prevention of thefts on boats and the maintenance of good order among boatmen. The Master attendant who was a Justice of the Peace and Magistrate had an office establishment of 1 Sworn Interpreter, 1 Assistant Interpreter, 1 Constable and 3 Oath Officers.

The thefts in the city were committed mostly by persons coming from the Southern Districts and Nellore, who migrated to Madras as coolies and mendicants; and Lubbies were the principal receivers of stolen property. Mr Ormsby wanted the Monegar Choultry to be utilized as a workhouse for many of the beggars, who were being ordered to quit the city. He found juvenile delinquency rampant, most of the offenders being orphans or children of parents in indigent circumstances. If they were sent to the House of Correction, they came out more confirmed thieves by association with the worst class confined there; yet because of insufficient accommodation, there was no possibility of their being separated from the adults. He noted, "I can form no hope of amendment in these boys unless the means of subsistence and of education could be provided. Their numbers may average from one to three hundred, and, if small schools were formed in each of the Police divisions under native management and European Superintendence, I should think it would soon be practicable to clear the streets of these boys and to bring them up in the path of industry."

The Superintendent then gave details of the Justices' Office or the Rotation Office as it was called. Actually there were three offices of Justice at Madras: the Police, the Justices and the Master Attendants' Office, the cases cognizable by the third being restricted to the crimes of boatmen or persons connected with them. The Superintendent explained the defects of having the former two offices separated. He said:—

"In the Police office it may be stated that the great proportion of criminal cases are decided, besides various cases of assault etc. and in the Justices' Office various cases of assaults and other charges are preferred, many of which are by the same parties as have been before the Police, those who are prosecutors in one Court being defendants in the other. This is in my humble judgment a very great defect, inasmuch as the spirit of litigation is thereby upheld. It not infrequently happens that when parties dispute, one has recourse to the Police Magistrates for redress, whilst the other flies for the same purpose to the Justices, and it then remains to be ascertained upon which party the summons of either

court is first served when the right of investigation is decided. This system also upholds the too prevailing habit of false swearing as parties in cases decided in one office frequently change sides in the other on the following day when he who was convicted on the preceding day becomes Prosecutor, swears in direct opposition to that which had been sworn the day before and then the Magistrates are informed by the opposite party that the case had been already decided and it is dismissed. It is in this manner that the number of summons cases is increased, and the inhabitants become adepts in litigation and practice in taking oaths."

Mr Ormsby refuted the arguments that the separation was intended to act as a check over the police. He said that the principle of upholding such a check was highly objectionable, for all Magistrates should be considered as in aid of the General Police, the Supreme Court being the only proper constitutional check over Magistrates. He did not approve of the suggestions for parcelling out the area into districts and placing a Magistrate over a limited jurisdiction, nor would he give any weight to the claim that there should be a Magistrate's Office on the Beach, since most of the cases were being dealt with in the Police Office and there was the Master Attendant to deal with offences on the Beach. He suggested the unification of the two offices by which Government would gain to the extent of Rs. 11,000/- per year.

Sir Thomas Munro was the Governor of Madras at this time. The following order was issued by the Government as a result of a decision taken by the Governor and his Council:—

"I am directed by the Honorable the Governor in Council to inform you that it has been resolved that the separate Office of Justices on the Beach shall be abolished and that the whole Department of Magistracy at the Presidency shall be united under the general control of the Superintendent of Police.

"The Office of Police will be that at present occupied for the purpose in Vepery at which one of three Magistrates at present attached to your office will in rotation be required to give daily attendance for the purpose of associating himself with the Superintendent of Police, who on all occasions will be considered to be the senior or presiding Magistrate, for the discharge of such duties as by law require the hearing of more than one Magistrate.

“It is desired that the whole of the Establishment at present attached to your office shall be discharged from the end of the next month.

“The Governor in Council has however resolved that your Clerk Mr A. Flower shall as a temporary arrangement be transferred on his present salary to the establishment of the Superintendent of Police; of whose services Captain Ormsby will be instructed to avail himself in such manner as he may judge to be most fit.

“The Superintendent of Police will be desired to receive charge of and to transfer to his Establishment the Jail in the Black Town at present attached to your office. He will also receive from you all the public records and furniture which you may have to make over to him.”

Thus Captain Ormsby became the Superintendent of Police, Chief Presidency Magistrate and the Superintendent of the Jail. There were 5 European Constables. The Indian counterparts were never called constables at this period. The Police Magistrates were Messrs L. H. Sterling, T. Daniel and R. A. Maitland. The office was situated in a building near Lang's Garden. In 1825 Mr E. F. Elliot came in as a Police Magistrate replacing Mr Daniel. Probably the authorities did not want Daniel to come to judgment! In 1828 we again see the General Police Office shifted to Vepery. In that year a storm appears to have ravaged the coasts of the city in which several seagoing vessels were wrecked, causing loss of life and property. The Market Sergeant and Chief Constable George Spencer, Jemadar Teekaram, Perumal, Naik of Talliar and thirty-one Daffadars, Peons and Talliards acted gallantly in rescuing marooned and drowning persons and salvaging property. The Superintendent of Police requested permission from the Government to grant rewards to these persons. Advance increments were granted to John Spencer from his pay of Rs.63/- to Rs.84/-, to Teekaram from Rs.28/- to Rs.35/- and a lump sum grant of Rs.50/-, and to Perumal Naignue from Rs.10½/- to Rs.21/- and a cash reward of Rs.50/-. The other ranks were each granted a reward of one month's pay. In this report the Superintendent suggested the striking of a medal in silver in consultation with Mr Elliot and the Mint Master for being granted to the above persons for meritorious conduct. Under orders of the Government nine medals were struck in silver with the names of the recipients engraved on the edge and awarded to the gallant policemen.

Obviously this award was the forerunner of the Police Medals of later days.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century was thus a crucial period in the growth of the City Police when it had to learn, by a method of trial and error, its scope, functions and limitations in order that it might become in the years to be an organized force and an indispensable limb of the Civil Power.

CHAPTER VI

IN THE WAKE OF NORTON'S REFORMS

WITH THE growth of British power in the South in the thirties of the nineteenth century the need for a better organized police force was greater than ever before. The Police Regulations passed in 1812 were not found to be in conformity with the accepted principles of English Jurisprudence. It was given to Mr George Norton who became the Advocate General in 1828 to amend and reframe the old regulations so that they might suit the needs of the Government and the ends of justice.

Mr Norton was no relation of the other famous Nortons of a later period, but had made a name for himself as a Judge-baiter in Bombay. On his arrival at Bombay, as Advocate General of the Company, he began to charge exorbitant fees from private parties for legal assistance. In fact a case could not be proceeded with, because, the solicitor engaging Mr Norton found him to be a white elephant. His example was followed by the other barristers. Sir Edward West was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at that time and, on his being apprised of this sky-rocketing in fees and consequent law's delays, he ordered that the Master of Equity and Attorneys were the best judges of legal emoluments and any claim beyond what was the usual practice in England should not be countenanced. The Bar thereupon sent a round robin to Sir Edward West asserting that his action had prejudiced the professional right and privileges of the Bombay barristers and therefore he had been guilty of an irregularity in the administration of justice. A round robin is a written petition containing the allegations with signatures in a circle in order to conceal the identity of the prime mover of the representation. Students of literature would remember that such a one was sent to Dr Samuel Johnson, the prince among lexicographers, by his friends Sir Joshua Reynolds, Burke and several other literary luminaries in connexion with a memorial for Oliver Goldsmith. Mr Norton was one of the signatories to the complaint against Sir Edward West. All of them were asked to explain their conduct but nothing could be put forward in mitigation of their conduct. So they were suspended for six months and in their places the Attorneys were allowed to practise. It is not certain whether the Advocate General was visited with the same punishment but the report of that period states that

"thereafter Mr Norton took every opportunity of annoying Sir Edward West and was followed into court by a crowd to witness his insults." With the Chief Justice against him, Mr Norton found Bombay too hot for him and so he shifted his practice to the more salubrious climate of Madras. He was enrolled as an Advocate of the Supreme Court of Madras in 1828.

The early escapades seem to have completely rehabilitated him and in Madras he had been described as a sound legal adviser to Government and a forcible and exhaustive Advocate who gained the entire confidence of his clients and the respect of the court. But more than all this, his claim to fame rests on his obtaining the sanction of the Supreme Court for a scheme which he prepared for the administration of Pachayappa's charities.

On 3rd October 1828 the Government sent him a letter requesting him to constitute a Committee with himself as the President, the Superintendent of Police and the Master Attendant as members for the purpose of suggesting recommendations for reforming the police. He sent two reports dated 30-11-1829 and 21-8-1830 respectively. He stated that he had obtained the opinions of the Superintendent of Police and the Master Attendant but had not presented a joint report since unanimity was difficult in such matters and he did not want to send in a crippled report. The only suggestion of the Master Attendant was that he had no power to inflict corporal punishment and that it may be conferred on him. Mr Norton brushed it aside by stating that his predecessor deliberately omitted it from the provisions of the Acts as degrading and now there was nothing fresh in its favour to deserve recommendation. Then he went into the history of the previous enactments and stated that he could not trace all the regulations passed in the year 1817 and some of the salvaged ones were evidently scrappy. So he found that those regulations passed in 1812 still held the field. The language of these enactments was very loose and they suffered from tautology. Some of them were evidently based on arbitrary principles of judicial administration. He suggested the division of the City into districts, each in charge of one magistrate who would control the police under him and live within his jurisdiction. Agreeable to the practice in Bombay, he wanted Courts of Petty Sessions and Quarter Sessions to be formed. The Court of Petty Sessions would deal with the appointment and conduct of District High Constables, High Constables and Constables, and also with crimes which required two magistrates for

a decision. The Superintendent of Police would be the Magistrate for a district but would have the powers of superintending the work of other districts and presiding over a bench of magistrates. The Quarter Sessions would pay attention to the disputes arising out of assessment, making of roads, construction of bridges and lighting up streets. The courts might requisition the assistance of a barrister or other technically qualified person as assessor on deciding questions about particular subjects. Public Prosecutors should be appointed for courts. Rules relating to jails were outmoded and there were no provisions for privileges of good conduct. He then furnished the draft of seventeen regulations in the place of the ten of 1812. The first entitled the "Magistrates of Police" ran thus:—

MAGISTRATES OF THE POLICE

Article 1: The Governor in Council for the time being, shall and may select four or more Justices of the Peace to be, and act specially as, Magistrates of the Police, one of whom shall be styled the Superintendent and Magistrate of Police and the others, Magistrates of Police; and who shall respectively perform the duties and exercise the authorities in the following Articles of this Title specified.

Article 2: The Superintendent and Magistrates of Police shall each of them ordinarily exercise the functions, and authority of single Justices of the Peace, and single Magistrates of Police within such local limits respectively as the Governor in Council shall have from time to time assigned, and over cases therein arising and for this purpose they shall attend at their respective Offices, to be situate within such respective local limits from ten in the forenoon to three in the afternoon of every day, except when their attendance may be required at the Court of Petty Sessions, as hereinafter provided for, or elsewhere on some other lawful occasion, and they shall always leave at their Offices, information where they may be found at any time of the day or night. And if either of them shall be incapacitated by sickness, or prevented or excused by or through any other lawful reason from acting, or attending at his office, he shall if, and so soon as time will allow procure some other Justice of the Peace, while so acting, and

attending shall have and exercise all the powers and jurisdiction of the Magistrate of Police for whom he so acts.

Article 3: Provided always that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent the said Superintendent or other Magistrates of the Police from performing the duties of a Justice of the Peace, or of a Magistrate of Police, beyond such local limits assigned, as aforesaid, for the ordinary exercise of their functions, and over cases arising beyond the same, if occasion shall require, not to prevent any other Justice of the Peace either solely, or in conjunction with any other Justice of the Peace from exercising any of the duties assigned by the King's Commission of the Peace.

Proviso for the occasional performance of their duties elsewhere.

And for preserving the authority of other Justices

Article 4: The Superintendent Magistrate of Police shall, and may at all times as often as he shall see fit, attend at any Police Office, or other place appointed for conducting the business of any other single Police Magistrate, within the district assigned to him, for the purpose of either presiding over, or in the absence of the Police Magistrate assigned for such district, or of his substitute, conducting any Magisterial business proceeding there, at, or for the purpose of inspecting the records and proceedings.

The special authority of the Superintendent at all the Police Offices.

Article 5: It shall be the special duty of the Superintendent Magistrate of Police and he is hereby authorized and required, to visit from time to time as he shall see occasion, all places of confinement wherein any persons sentenced by any summary conviction thereto by any Magistrates may be imprisoned, and to see to the execution according to law of all such summary sentences, as well of imprisonment as of hard labour and also to provide for the due execution, according to law, of all such other summary sentences to corporal punishment, as may be awarded by the Court of Petty Sessions."

The Superintendent to provide for the due execution of sentences.

The other titles were: Of the Petty Sessions; of Constables; of Mesne Process; of Bail; of costs; of process in execution and of the disposal of penalties; of certain offences which are indictable; of idle and disorderly persons; rogues and vagabonds, of goods suspected to

have been stolen; of slave-dealing and abduction of young married females; of fraudulent ousters and unauthorized building on private or waste and public grounds; of persons able but refusing to maintain their families; of houses of public entertainment or resort; of dangerous and pernicious trades and employments, and such as are instrumental to crime; of offences by false weights and measures, of offences by servants and by labourers and workmen; of dangerous weapons; of nuisances and offences against the public communication; and of religious rites and processions. At the present day many of these will be considered gross encroachments on civil liberties but in the year 1831, public opinion had not begun to express itself and a conquering nation had the authority to execute any law framed by them, may be to their own aggrandizement, without the intervention of a vigorous citizenry.

The Government appointed another Police Committee on 18th February 1832 to put the recommendations of the Advocate General into practical shape and allocate the staff consequent on the reorganization. Mr G. Norton was made the President of the Committee; Messrs Edmund Smalley, Collector of Madras, T. B. Wheatly, Secretary to Government and Captain J. J. Underwood, Superintending Engineer were the members of the Committee. Mr C. C. Lovell was appointed the Secretary of the Committee. Later Mr C. R. Cotton came in as a member of the Committee in the place of Mr Wheatly. The Committee submitted its report on 8th June 1832. and recommended the division of the city into four Districts and appointment of four Police Magistrates. The names of the districts were Black Town District, Triplicane District, Vepery District and Saint Thome District. Important portions of the orders are extracted here.

“The Triplicane District having been assigned to the Superintendent of Police, the other Magistrates will arrange amongst themselves the allotment of the remaining districts bearing in mind that it is considered desirable that each Magistrate should reside within his own District.

“In the Triplicane District the present Police Office and residence of the Superintendent will remain as at present.

“In the Black Town District the Military and Marine Board will be directed, in communication with the Magistrates, to allot a portion of the Buildings formerly occupied by the Board of Trade or the buildings now occupied by the Justices in Sessions and the Assessment Establishment as may be deemed best, for the new Police Office.

“In the Vepery District it is stated in the 15th par. of the letter from the Police Committee dated 8th June 1832 to be understood that there is an ample and suitable establishment now rented for 25 pagodas per mensem which the Superintendent of Police will allot as a Police Office for this District.

“In St. Thome the Superintendent of Police and Magistrate of the District will select and recommend to Government a building to be rented on moderate terms as a Police Office.

“The Superintendent of Police and the Police Magistrates will allot suitable portions of the present Police Establishment and of such other establishments as may be discharged or transferred to the General Police Establishment under these Resolutions to the several Police Districts and Police Offices, and the Superintendent of Police and the Magistrate of each district will assign the several Wards or Beats within the District and select a Head District Constable for each such District Ward and the Superintendent of Police and the Police Magistrates will consider and carry into effect such a system of subordination in the constabulary force as will be necessary under the operation of the New Police Regulation and as explained in the reports of the Police Committee.”

On 12th October 1832, the regulation was passed. It was entitled “A Rule, Ordinance and Regulation for the good order of the Civil Government of the Town and limits of Madras in relation to the Police within the same.” But as the Supreme Court had been closed it could not be registered till the commencement of the next Session in February.

In February 1833, probably before the Act could be registered ‘in the Supreme Court,’ C. Nottoo Subramanya, Suneoo Kistnamah Chetty and C. Narrain Moodeliar as representatives of the Hindu natives of Madras, presented a petition to Sir Fredrick Adams, the Governor. The sprawling giant was slowly becoming conscious of his rights. The petition stated that in the earliest age of the world, when men formed themselves into societies, and the many voluntarily submitting to the ruling few, laws and regulations for the due preservation of the tranquillity of the community had been, except under tyranny and despotism, exacted by the people or their representatives “and so when innovations which affected their civil and religious manners and customs were intended, an expressing of opinion by the parties is worthy of attention.” When large scale alterations

and revisions of old codes were under contemplation, it should be but proper to consult the most respectable and intelligent persons of the community which had so long lived under the old law without a murmur or complaint. They alleged that Mr Norton who had been resident only for a few years in Madras, had no opportunities of getting into touch with the manners and customs of the people. According to them Mr Norton appeared to be under the impression that the new regulations were admirably calculated for the welfare of the people but that was only a theoretical delusion. The very light calendar of criminal cases, about 10 to 15 cases committed for trial in the Supreme Court at every Quarter Sessions, many of them under the Emigration Act, was indicative of the innate gentleness and honesty of the Hindus. The New Regulations offered opportunities to the peons to extort money from labourers. The laws and regulations should have as their object the amelioration of the conditions of the Hindu subjects, who formed the greatest part of the native community and not their oppression or inconvenience to the advantage and for the benefit of "a few European sojourners and their descendants, not legitimate." They cautioned the Government that by the precipitancy with which the New Regulations proposed by Mr George Norton, the Advocate General, had been ordered for registration in the Supreme Court, "the memorialists would be under the necessity of opposing the same at the trouble and expense of parties litigant in a court of law." In the absence of writs their remedy was not apparent.

The petition seems to have produced the desired effect, for we find the registration of the Code being suspended. Another petition, which is of some interest to us, was the representation by W. Raghaviah Brahminy (Europeans were suffixing Brahminy to the names of brahmins) that the Marine Police had no Secret Service Funds and so he was compelled to spend his own money in employing emissaries to procure information in a case in which a notorious robber named Annasami was concerned. He also instanced other good work done by him and wanted his pay to be increased from Rs. 28/- to Rs. 70/-. He was obviously basing his claim on the advance increments granted to certain police officers for assistance rendered during the storm mentioned in the previous pages. Raghaviah Brahminy's request appears to have fallen on deaf ears.

It has already been noted that Europeans were recruited to the post of constables. Joseph Marshall, David Dalton, Michael Norton

and William Todd were the constables in the year 1831. During that year Captain Ormsby was succeeded by Mr John Blackburn as Superintendent of Police. In 1832, Mr Thomas Keighly replaced Mr John Blackburn. In the place of Constable William Todd, James Brown was appointed. In 1833, the Superintendent requested the Governor for the sanction of a special post of Head Constable at an increased salary of 8 pagodas per month. The Superintendent recommended Constable Brown for the new post in these words: "Born in this country of European parents, conversant with its language and customs, young, active and intelligent, regardless of the climate and of most temperate habits and is at all hours ready for service." The Governor in Council sanctioned the post of Head Constable and appointed Brown to the post. Thus the post of Head Constable came into being.

Mr Thomas Keighly died in 1834 and Mr E. F. Elliot the senior most Police Magistrate was temporarily appointed to the vacant post. From a letter which Mr Elliot sent to the Chief Secretary, it is clear that policemen were wearing conspicuous belts and badges. The Superintendent brought to the notice of the Government, that peons attached to many offices and in various employments were wearing the belts and badges of police officers solely because those peons were either furnished by or paid from the police office. Upon all occasions of peons being sent at the request of private individuals to watch property, the same belt and badge were being given. He considered the system to be reprehensible, for it was likely that the men wearing the immediate distinguishing mark of a police officer might be led to use the power of one. So he published in the Fort St. George Gazette that peons furnished by the Police Department for private purposes should distinguish themselves by wearing a brass plate on the right arm with the letter 'W' engraved thereon to denote that they were mere watchmen and not police constables. He also suggested that the same badge might be worn by the peons watching the Court House and Houses of Judges. The Government approved of the suggestion and issued orders to that effect.

The year 1834 was memorable in the annals of the Madras Police for it was in November, that year, the first Indian police officers and magistrates were appointed in the City. Mr Elliot, who had been placed in temporary charge of the Superintendent's post was characterized as "deficient in forbearance and self-possession in circumstances of emergency" in the Despatches from England. Probably the above

two qualities were considered to be the hall mark of the chief officer of the police in the city. The Governor in Council replied to the Board of Directors that they had been guided in the selection of Mr Elliot as Superintendent of Police by the public voice of the whole community, native as well as European. They added that by a zealous devotion to public duties of the hours usually given to rest, by indefatigable activity of mind and body and by distinguished success in tracing offenders and bringing them to justice, he had won the confidence of the public. They did not also want to interfere with his post as Chief Commissioner in the Court of Requests which he might continue to exercise while having general superintendence over the police.

The Governor and Members of the Council noted that the grand defect of the police in the city was that the whole of its overwhelming details devolved upon the Superintendent of Police, who was thereby diverted from the duties properly belonging to that office. He was the only officer who also sat daily in the Police Office to decide in conjunction with Rotation Magistrates innumerable cases of common assaults, squabbles in the streets, bazaar disputes and petty thefts with numerous other petty complaints. This led to his inability to supervise the work of the police.

The European magistracy were little acquainted with the language, customs and manners of Indians. Natives of India were not generally admitted to Government services as they were thought by the Britishers to be too corrupt to be trusted. At this juncture the broadmindedness and breadth of vision of Sir Thomas Munro, who was always a staunch supporter of the cause of Indians, come into our ken. He wrote as early as 1818 to the Governor General, Lord Hastings:—

“But it is said that the natives are too corrupt to be trusted. This is an old objection and one which is generally applicable, in similar circumstances to the natives of every country. Nobody has ever supported that the subordinate officers of the Excise and Customs in England are remarkable for their purity. But we need not go home for examples. The Company’s servants were notoriously known to make their fortunes in partnership with their native Agents, until Lord Cornwallis thought it advisable to purchase their integrity by raising their allowances. Let this be done with regard to the natives and the effect will be similar, though not perhaps in a similar degree, for we cannot expect to find in a nation fallen under a foreign dominion the same pride and high principles as

among a free people ; but I am persuaded that we shall meet with a greater share of integrity and talent than we are aware of. While we persist in withholding liberal salaries for the natives we shall have the services of the worst part of them ; by making the salaries adequate to the trust we shall secure the services of the best. Natives should be employed in every situation where they are better calculated than the Europeans to discharge the duty required. In all original suits they are much fitter to investigate the events than Europeans. The European Judge should be confined almost entirely to the business of appeals. In criminal cases, the fact should be found by a native jury, who are much more competent than either the European judge or his officers to weigh the nature of evidence.

“Our Government will always be respected from the influence of Military power; but it will never be popular while it offers no employment to the natives that can stimulate the ambition of the better classes of them. Foreign conquerors have treated the natives with violence and often with great cruelty, but none has treated them with so much scorn as we; none have stigmatized the whole people as unworthy of trust, as incapable of honesty and as fit to be employed only where we cannot do without them. It seems to be not only ungenerous but impolitic, to debase the character of a people fallen under dominion; and nothing can more certainly produce this effect than our avowing in want of confidence in them and on that account, excluding them as much as possible from every office of importance.”

The Court of Directors acted upon the recommendations of Sir Thomas Munro and an Act of Parliament passed in England suggested the admission of natives of India into the Commission of the Peace for selecting some of them for administering of justice to their countrymen. On 31-8-1827 Regulation VII was passed by the Governor in Council by which the office of the native judge was established. This was to be, according to the Council, of immense benefit to the people themselves, as it would improve their character and would afford the European magistracy little acquainted with the language of the people, the experience and sagacity of the sons of the soil. The Governor and Council therefore proposed the issue of a new Commission of Peace to Messrs Francis Kelly and Vembaukkam Raghavachariar. Mr Francis Kelly had been an official attached to the Police Office for a number of years as Interpreter to the Clerk of the Peace and, as previously recorded, had been a contestant with Mr Flower for

superior posts. In the end his merit seems to have been recognized. Mr Francis Kelly should have been an Indian Christian or an Anglo-Indian as the name would indicate.

The name of Vembaukkam Raghavachariar had already been indicated in connexion with the Pachayappa's charities. He was the paternal grand-father of the late Sri V. V. Srinivasa Ayyengar, who was a High Court Judge and a doyen of the Madras Bar. At the time of his appointment, he was Head Sheristadar of the Office of the Collector of Madras. His father Krishna Ayyengar was a Dubash and Shipping Agent and went by the name of Kappal Krishna Ayyengar. The following arrangements were ordered in consequence of this proposal :—

Mr Elliot to be Chief Magistrate and Superintendent of Police in succession of Mr Keighly deceased.

Mr Kelly and Vembaukkam Raghavachariar to be Police Magistrates on a salary of Rs. 350/- per mensem and also to be Deputy Superintendents of Police.

The Superintendent of Police was to be relieved from all rotation duty at the Police Office though he had the power to officiate and to preside whenever he did officiate.

The ordinary petty rotation duty at the Police Office was to be performed by the European magistrates, Mr Hart and Mr Teed, alternately in conjunction with one of the two native Justices. They were to sit from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. daily. One of the Indian magistrates should assist the Master Attendant at the Marine Police Office. In case of difference of opinion between the European and Indian magistrates the Superintendent of Police would be called in to decide. In July 1834 the two magistrates had already complained that in the absence of a substitute in Mr Elliot's place, they were finding it difficult to cope with the work of the courts. On 7th November 1834, the Government ordered the appointment of Mr Elliot as Chief Magistrate and Superintendent of Police without prejudice to his being the First Commissioner of the Court for the Recovery of Small Debts. On the same day, in order No. 1439, Messrs Francis Kelly and Vembaukkam Raghavachariar were appointed Police Magistrates and Deputy Superintendents of Police. They were instructed to take the oath of qualification as Justices of the Peace before the Supreme Court. Thus the first Indian magistrates and police officers invaded the realm of purely European administrative set-up.

There were no pucca station-houses during this period. This is evident from a letter put up by the Justices in Session to the Government requesting for the sanction of expenditure towards erection of lamps on teakwood posts. It has already been mentioned that the Justices in Session were responsible for lighting and other municipal matters. They wrote that many of the Tanah Stations being fixed upon *pials* or exposed places offered no protection to a lamp or lantern owing to inclemency of weather and so the oil given by the liberality of the Government was of little use. On this the Government ordered the erection of 36 teakwood lamp-posts, 8 feet high with ten lamps fitted with glass globes, at a cost of Rs. 29-4-4 each. The lighting of police stations was solved in this manner.

The Advocate General was asked by the Government on the 21st April 1835 to revise the Police Code prepared by him with the understanding "that all those portions of the Code which relate to the appointment of the Magistrates of the Police and the assignment to them of separate local jurisdiction, the Court of Petty Sessions and the constabulary force should be omitted as incompatible with the subsisting constitution of the Police Magistrates' Office, which it is not proposed to abolish at present."

Mr Norton in his report, submitting a draft of the new Code, stated that he had already informed the Government that the existing Police Code was at variance with constitutional principles and so he had tried to make the new system legal and definite. He omitted the constitution of petty sessions and other matters and also the recruitment of High Constables, Chief and District Constables. The clauses in the Code for regulating religious rites and processions so as to protect the public peace during their celebrations were altogether deleted. He was not in agreement with similar Calcutta Regulations which dispensed with the bench of two magistrates and conveyed all cases to single magistrates for disposal. He questioned the propriety of this step when magistrates in Madras had hardly two hours' work every fourth week. The India Criminal Act (9. Geo. 4. C. 74), which was a most able and well considered statute, provided that in India (as indeed in England) two magistrates must concur in bailing for a felony. Mr Norton said, "I confess the delegation of powers of bailing in all charges of felony and even in those of murder, to one Justice in India and possibly a native, appears to me a power under any circumstances too extensive." This

was obnoxious particularly in some cases of summary jurisdiction, like slave dealing and licensing of spirit-shops and public houses.

The emphasis on daily attendance of Magistrates in the Police Office seems to have greatly curtailed the freedom of haphazard attendance which these officers so long enjoyed. Mr Hart, one of the magistrates, resigned in December 1835. The Governor was anxious to appoint a successor, who had no other employment and who would devote his time exclusively to the duty of Police Magistrate. The Governor discovered that he could not get any persons with the necessary qualifications and requisite talents on the salary of Rs. 525/- which was being paid previously. Sir F. Adam suggested to the Supreme Government the expedience of raising the salary of each of the two European Magistrates from Rs. 525/- to Rs. 1000/- as this arrangement would render the appointment an object of some importance and admit of selection being made of experienced officers from the army which would tend naturally to improve the efficiency of the police. The Supreme Government agreed to the suggestions and in later years military officers also found a place in the magistracy.

Two years after the introduction of the system of Indian Magistrates and Deputy Superintendents of Police, the Government called upon the Superintendent to state "whether the advantages anticipated from the appointment of two native gentlemen to be Police Magistrates have been realized." The Superintendent Mr Elliot replied that the Bench as then constituted of one European and one native magistrate had proved itself efficient to adjudicate such cases as were generally brought before them and, on questions where the customs of the people were concerned, the knowledge of the native magistrate was of infinite use to enlighten his colleague and lead him to a correct conclusion. He added that in cases where the matter related even in the most distant way to his own immediate feelings, the native magistrate had always with proper delicacy begged to be relieved from sitting so that the judgment might not be assailed on the ground of prejudice. With regard to their police work, the Superintendent claimed that these native gentlemen were of the greatest service to the public as well as of assistance to the Superintendent of Police because of regular and constant attendance of both at the Police Office. The services of one was always available for the immediate dispatch of business or in cases of emergency. They were also likewise efficient public servants in aiding to superintend the police establishment. Mr Elliot concluded, "after an experience of two years,

I have no hesitation in stating that by combining the European and native magistrate, the system works well but I doubt whether a native magistrate sitting singly would answer at the Presidency where Europeans of all classes constantly make appearance before the Bench." We are thankful to Mr Elliot for recording that Indian magistrates should be debarred from sitting singly not because of their inefficiency but because of propriety!

In 1839 the General Police Office had shifted to Pantheon Road. Mr Elliot continued as Chief Magistrate and Superintendent of Police. There was no change in the posts of Messrs Francis Kelly and Vembauk-kam Raghavachariar. Captains G. W. Walker and F. L. Clark were police magistrates. M. Somasundara Moodely who later became a Magistrate and Deputy Superintendent of Police was an Interpreter. The European constables were stationed at (1) Market, (2) Parchery, Black Town, (3) Opposite Police Office, Pantheon Road, (4) New Town, Periamet and (5) St. Thome. The entire city was divided into 6 Divisions with a Jemadar at the head of each, as follows :—

- “ 1st Division — Black Town.
 2nd „ — Triplicane, Royapett, Meersapett, Nagathal Covil, Narsingapooram, Wallajahpettah, Chepauk.
 3rd „ — St. Thome, Tanampett, Alverpett, Quibble Island.
 4th „ — Chidadrepett, Egmore, Comilesveran Covil, Poodoopett, Nungambakkum, Chetput, Curcatha Covil.
 5th „ — Pariamitto, Vepery, Choolay, Pursewaukum, Perambore, Vasarapaudy.
 6th „ — Washerman's pettah, Tandearpett, Sungeeveeroypett, Royapooram, Cochrane's canal.”

The following gives details of the work of the Police and Magistracy during the period :—

“ For complaints of assaults and misdemeanours, summonses are issued at the office from 3 p. m. every day, except Sundays and festival days.

“ Police office is open from 9-30 a. m. to 5 p. m. or until business is finished.

“The Chief Magistrate is on the Bench from 9-30 to 11 a. m. to hear the night cases and reports from the several Divisions. At 11 a. m. the Sitting Magistrates for the week take the Bench and dispose of all such as are summoned. At 4 p. m. the Chief Magistrate resumes his seat on the Bench for the purpose of hearing petitioners, &c.

“The Chief Magistrate from 11 a. m. to 4 p. m. is always accessible to all parties in his own office, administers oaths, investigates cases for committal &c.

“The Rotation Magistrates for the week (one European and one Native) sit together from 11 a. m. till 4 p. m. each day, or until the cases are disposed of; hear and adjudicate cases requiring the presence of two Justices. The Chief Magistrate occasionally presides in deciding caste, religious and family disputes, and charges preferred against police officers. The other (native) Magistrate is occupied in investigating cases sent to him by the Superintendent of Police, and in committing for trial at the Sessions.

“The Lock-up-house, Justices’ Jail, House of Correction, and House of Industry, are under the special orders of the Chief Magistrate.

“The Chief Magistrate, and Police and Beach Magistrates, visit the Jails monthly in rotation.

“All religious and other processions are under the directions of the Chief Magistrate.

“Correspondence on general points affecting the Police or its Establishment passes through the office of the Chief Magistrate.

“Complaints against Police Officers to be preferred to the Chief Magistrate.

“The Superintendent and his Deputies investigate charges preferred against individuals violating the Rules of the Revenue within the Collectorate of Madras.

“Police Magistrates attend the Beach Police weekly in rotations.”

In the year 1838, Mr Kelly seems to have petitioned for an increase in pay. At that time it was not received with favour but allowed to lie over to be brought to the notice of the Court of Directors in the ordinary course. In 1839, Mr Vembaukkam Raghavachariar presented a similar petition to the Government wherein he stated that during the five years

he had occupied the post of Magistrate and Deputy Superintendent of Police, he had not been given any increase of pay, whereas if he had continued in the post of Head Sheristadar in the Collector's Office he would have been eligible for periodical increments pertaining to that office. He alleged that his work had become more arduous than before by the transfer to the Madras Police of the duty of investigating cases of smuggling of foods into the Collectorate of Madras, which was formerly performed by the Criminal Judge of Chingleput. He was obviously referring to Regulation XXII of 1837 where it had been enacted that neither the Criminal Judge nor the Magistrate of the Zillah of Chingleput could have any jurisdiction in respect of offences committed within the Collectorate of Madras against any regulation relating to the public revenue but only the Superintendent of Police, Madras. He explained the laborious nature of his duties by noting that it required his uninterrupted attendance at one of the offices, that he had to receive daily reports in the morning and to commit cases for trial at the sessions, sit every day on the Bench with another magistrate and also attend to other miscellaneous matters connected with public peace and control of establishment. There were two police offices at this time, the General Police Office at Royapettah and the Town Police Office at Bentinck's building, Custom House. He pointed out that the salaries of European magistrates had been raised from Rs. 525/- to Rs. 1000/- per mensem and some of the uncovenanted assistants in Government offices, the Registrar of the Court of Commissioners and the Manager of the Revenue Board Office were getting the same pay as he, though they were in less important and responsible positions. His petition was forwarded to the Governor in Council with the recommendation that his salary might be increased to Rs. 500/- per mensem. This was sanctioned by the Government of India. This post was analogous to the post of Deputy Commissioner of the present day, who was being paid only Rs. 500/- even as late as 1867.

In 1841 Mr Elliot appears to have gone on leave. Mr Bell acted as Chief Magistrate and Superintendent of Police in his place. There was a storm in a teacup between the Superintendent of Police and the Collector of Madras with regard to the issue of licences for toddy and arrack shops. There was a police regulation in the city by which the Superintendent of Police became the licensing authority. Till about the year 1832, the Superintendent and the Collector of Madras used to sit together and the former issue the licences. Later it became more formal and the list of contractors for whom licence should be issued was being

sent to the Superintendent by the Collector and the licence was being issued automatically. There was a provision in the police regulation that each shop should be in the name of one licensee and a corporation or a combine of financiers should not own a number of shops. In course of time, this evil insidiously crept in without the police being aware of it and the vendors began to contravene all rules in the wake of the power of the cartel. Mr Bell's police opened their eyes to the inequities of the system and began to deal with the offenders in earnest. There was a threat of strike and of closure of toddy and arrack shops and the Revenue Board was perturbed because if the threat fructified, a reduction in revenue would be the result. The Collector Mr Huddleston wrote that if the toddy and arrack shops had become receptacles for the worthless and depraved, places of drunkenness and all manner of debauchery, the result had arisen from the supineness of the Police Department in neglecting to see enforced the provision of Regulation IV which required that each toddy and arrack-renter should be of good character. The Government would not be deprived of their revenue by a strict compliance to ethics, morality and law. This attitude continued to persist with regard to liquor revenue till the very introduction of prohibition in the forties of this century. So a compromise was arrived at wherein the police were instructed to proceed a little slow with regard to enforcement of the law pending licensing of renters for the succeeding year.

In the year 1842, the Superintendent of Police, applied for the sanction of a *cumbly* each to every police officer. In his report, he stated that the police peons patrol throughout the town every night from 12 until daybreak, each man having but one night out of four to sleep at his own house, the consequence of so much exposure during the wet season was frequent absence from sickness and that many of the men could not afford to purchase fit clothing for protection. The price of the *cumbly* was noted as nine annas. The strength of the lower ranks of the police was noted as follows:—

		Rs.	As.	P.
10 Duffadars at	Rs. 10½ each	105	0	0
50 Naigars at	Rs. 8½ „	425	0	0
345 Peons at	Rs. 7 „	2415	0	0
20 Talliar Naicks at	Rs. 10½ „	210	0	0
84 Talliaris at	Rs. 7 „	588	0	0
<u>509</u>	TOTAL	<u>3743</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

The Government was as usual obtuse to the benefit of the measure and wrote in the accepted vein "As the supply of *cumblies* at the public expense to the Police Officers would form an inconvenient precedent the most Hon'ble the Governor in Council is precluded from complying with the application made in the letter from the Chief Magistrate and Superintendent of Police."

An Intelligence Department was slowly coming into being in the forties of the nineteenth century. It has already been mentioned in the previous pages that the Hircarrahs formed the backbone of this organization. This force which consisted of one Head Hircarrah, one Deputy Head Hircarrah, twenty-two Hircarrahs and two Pygusts, enabled the Superintendent of Police to obtain secret intelligence of all circumstances likely either to affect or to promote good order and tranquillity at the Presidency and to serve as a check on the entire police establishment. For this purpose the Head Hircarrah and his Deputy together with seven Hircarrahs were attached to the General Police Office and one Hircarrah to the Town Police Office. The Head Hircarrah and his Deputy received instructions directly from their Superintendent and all private enquiries were committed to them and they in rotation slept in the office and went on their rounds at night throughout the city. The remainder were distributed among the divisions, two Hircarrahs to each division. They were required to go on their rounds by day and by night and it was the duty of these officers to detect any malpractice, neglect of duty, or any other misconduct on the part of the other police officers and to bring the same to the notice of the Superintendent. The two Pygust Naiks also went on their rounds by night but their jurisdiction extended to the whole of the city. It is seen from the correspondence on this subject that the Intelligence Section had also to report about the cleansing of the public roads and all cases of encroachments into the streets on public highways.

In 1852 a person calling himself as Mohamed Abdullah Sahib, son of a former Head Darogha and Tahsildar, Mahabub Olly Khan of Coimbatore attempted to impose on the people by calling himself as Head Roving Police Commissioner for the Districts of Nellore, Chittoor, Chingleput, Cuddalore, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madurai and Tirunelvely. This came to the notice of the Government but Mr Elliot found the impostor slightly deranged in his mind and dropped the whole affair.

CHAPTER VII

THE PHOENIX OUT OF THE ASHES

WE HAVE already seen that the growth of the City Police is always linked with the expansion and development of Madras City. By about the middle of the nineteenth century almost all parts of India that came under the British rule bore the stamp of industrial and commercial progress ushered in by a western civilization. The Presidency of Fort St. George, being one of the earliest British trading settlements, was also growing in size and stature with the decline of power of the local rulers. Trade and commerce grew at a rapid pace; society could no longer remain static; it was progressing in all directions; and laws and regulations, which were temporary expedients, had to be consolidated and also remodelled to suit changing times. The regulations framed in the first quarter of the nineteenth century for dealing with crimes and misdemeanours in the City were found by Mr Norton to be totally inadequate to meet the needs of Government and to maintain law and order. But with the march of time even Mr Norton's reforms fell short of the demands of a progressive society. A new and more efficient police system had to be ushered in to safeguard the interests of the Government and to protect the rights and liberties of a growing population.

Mr Elliot had been a Chief Magistrate and Superintendent of Police for two decades, and had more than justified his choice against the initial lukewarm attitude of the Board of Directors in his nomination. By his deep erudition in law and extraordinary administrative abilities he steered the ship of the police through the storms and stresses of that period, and won the appreciation of the Government and the admiration of the people. No wonder, the Government ordered him on 19th April 1853 to prepare a Police Code in relation to Madras City. Excerpts from his letter of 15th July 1853 are given here to bring into focus his line of thinking on the reform of the police in the city:—

“I beg to observe that this Code is confined strictly to the regulating of the Police Courts, and does not contain any proposition for the improvement of the Police for which I propose to prepare

another Code if so directed by Government. In England the Acts for these purposes are distinct: II and III viz. Cap. 47/17th August 1839 is an act for further improving the Police in and near the Metropolis 'whereas II and III viz. Cap. 71/24th August 1839 is an act for regulating the Police Courts in the Metropolis;' the former is for improving the new system of Police as established under 10, Geo. IV Cap. 44 which organizes the Police Force, regulates its powers and duties; and the latter viz. II and III viz. Cap. 71 is for the more effectual administration of Justice in the Office of the Justice of the Peace in the Police Offices.

"An act for a new and more efficient system of Police could only be carried out at considerable expense, and difficulties may arise on this point which would cause delay. Hence I have been induced to adopt the principle at Home, and to forward this Code in its present form. At the same time it will be absolutely necessary to remodel the office establishments of the two Police Courts to render them efficient for the dispatch of business, which has greatly increased in both offices but especially at the Town Office where all cases connected with the Port are disposed of. Frequently the work is in arrear in both offices for the want of sufficient power and upon any emergency it becomes necessary to bring in extra hands. No Establishment was ever sanctioned for the Town Office which was established at the time the Marine Police Office was abolished and from which little or no assistance was obtained. On this point I beg to refer to a letter from this Department dated 26th September, 1840...

"I beg leave respectfully to draw attention to the lists of the Establishments employed in the Police Courts at Calcutta to enable Government to compare the expense at the two Presidencies.

"I have altered in this Code the denomination of Superintendent of Police to that of Commissioner of Police as I propose in reforming the Police Force to name the European Police Officers as Superintendents in each of their Divisions, the same as in London.

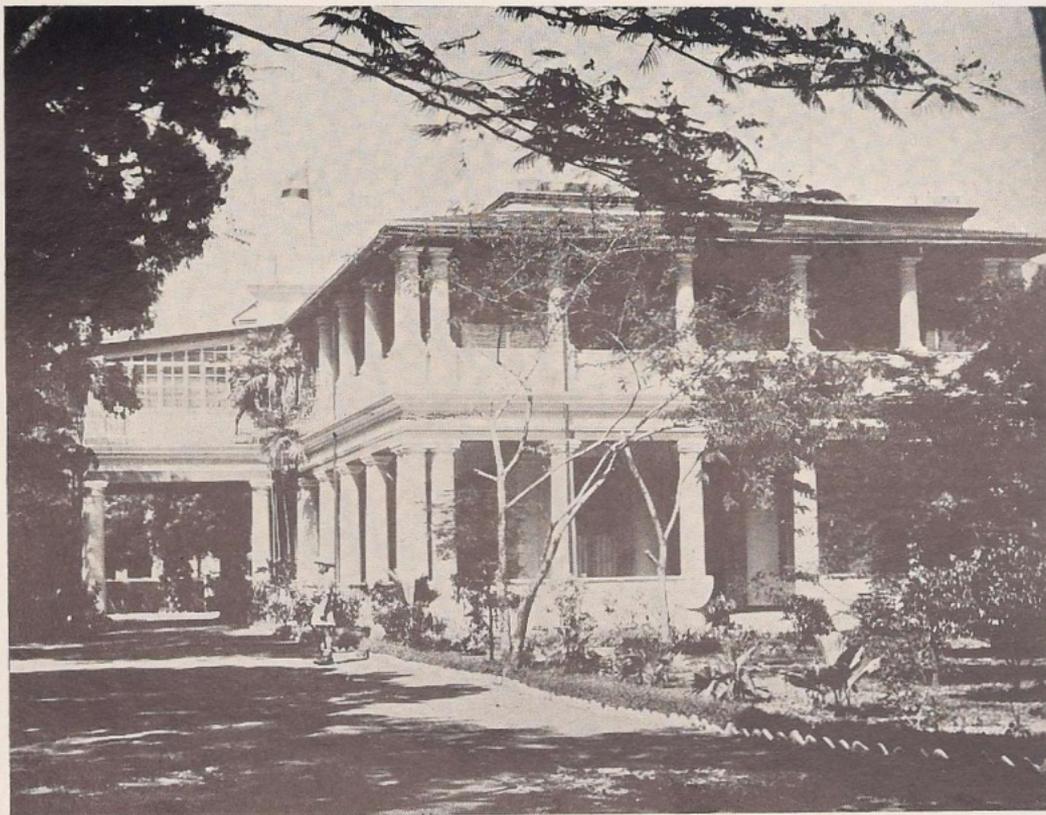
"It is worthy of consideration whether a clause could not be introduced into this Code authorizing a periodical census by the Police. The question was submitted for the opinion of the late Advocate General but no reply was received on this point. Another clause may also be added authorizing the Police to make monthly returns of all deaths but for this purpose some special Establishment will be necessary

to obtain the Returns from the numerous Burying Grounds of Christians, Mohammedans and Pariahs and at the several Burning Grounds."

His draft was sent to the Advocate General Mr Thomas Sydney Smyth. Some of the proposed sections were symptomatic of the powers of a colonial Government: sections relating to servants, misbehaving or deserting or refusing to proceed on journey; journeymen labourers and artificers, neglecting their duty; embezzling property or preventing others from engaging themselves; washermen pledging; and ordering maintenance for wives and children and also relatives. According to Section 3, the Commissioner of Police was to be assisted by 2 Deputies. Institution of two or more Police Courts with the Commissioner of Police as Chief Magistrate was envisaged under Section 4.

Mr Smyth's note about Section 26 relating to the maintenance of wives and children, has an element of humour about it. He stated that decision about parentage should not vest on the oath of the mother. He adverted to an incident in one of the female jails in England where, eighty or ninety female convicts being required to swear to the parentage of their bastards in order to enable the Magistrate to make orders for maintenance to relieve the State from the expense, one half of the number swore all their bastards to the Governor, Sir R. Bourke; and the other half, all of them to an old clergyman past 80 years of age, who happened to be a Sitting Magistrate! With regard to a single magistrate sitting as a Justice, he quoted with approval a note by Mr G. Norton in 1843 disapproving of Indian magistrates being invested with such power. Mr Norton had stated, "But the natives of this Presidency are very inferior in point of qualification to the numerous wealthy, educated and intelligent natives of other Presidencies. They are scarce more than awake to the advantages of results of education. Their total indifference to it, prevailing among the better orders, has with much difficulty and but recently been conquered and, I am sorry to say, is in my opinion relapsing, although a few do still encourage or allow their sons to persevere in attaining a higher quality of education."

The Advocate General's report was sent on 10-10-1853 to the Government. The Government made some verbal amendments to the drafts and in their proceedings assured that Indian magistrates would



Office of the Commissioner of Police, Madras.

not be allowed to sit singly. They had issued instructions to the latest incumbent to the post of Police Magistrate, Mr Ramanujacharloo, that in adding the designation, 'Magistrate' to his name the Government did not intend that he should perform the general duties of the office, that his primary duty would be police, as deputy to the Superintendent of Police, and that he should be available for the occasional duty when the Superintendent of Police asked him to sit along with the other magistrates.

This draft formed the basis of the City Police Act XIII of 1856, which was passed by the Legislative Council of the Governor General and came into force from 1-11-1856. The act postulated the creation of a superannuation fund which was later abolished on the introduction of the pension system. The contribution to the fund was to be half anna in the rupee by every member of the force. The amounts accruing out of stoppages due to sickness, fines imposed for misconduct, and on drunken persons or for assaults on police officers and sale proceeds of worn-out clothing were to be added to this fund for the purpose of giving a retiring allowance or gratuity. Lt.Col. J. C. Boulderson became the first Commissioner of Police under the new Act.

The City Police Office which stands on the Pantheon Road today was a paddy field upto the year 1840 when the owner of the land Sri C. Arunagiri Mudaliar thought it fit to erect a bungalow at a cost of Rs. 36,000/-. He completed the building on 1-5-1842. The General Police Office was occupying the bungalow at a rent of Rs. 165/- per mensem. Fourteen years later on 22nd July 1856 Lieutenant Colonel G.C. Boulderson, the first Commissioner of Police acquired the bungalow for Rs. 21,000/- after treating with the landlord, Arunagiri Mudaliar. The Commissioner of Police removed his office and his establishments into the new building as soon as he could after the separation of his establishment from that of the Magistrates in accordance with the Act XIII of 1856.

During the tenure of Mr J. C. Boulderson, the City Police Force was found to have been divided into two sections called Preventives and Detectives. The Preventives consisted of:—

Inspectors	...	11
Constables	...	14
Jemadars	...	7
Duffadar Majors	...	10
Duffadars	...	30
Naigues	...	44
Peons	...	437
		<hr/>
		553

The Detectives were composed of:—

Darogahs	...	11
Talliar Naigues	...	24
Talliars	...	120
Head Hircarrah	...	1
Deputy do	...	1
Hircarah	...	22
		<hr/>
		179

Thus the total strength was seven hundred and thirty-two.

On 22nd March 1856, unlike in the matter of the *cumblies* referred to previously, Government ordered that the officers of the Madras Police Force, meaning the City Police, should be provided with clothing at public expense. An idea of the uniform at that time can be gauged from the indent given by the Commissioner:—

JEMADAR		Rs. A. P.
2	Longcloth Jackets	@ 1—0—0
1	Turband	5—0—0
2	Trousers	@ 7—8—0
1	Pair of Sandals	0—9—0
1	Cumbly (Triennial)	1—4—0
1	Tunic (do)	5—1—0
1	Silk Girdle (Quinquennial)	6—0—0
1	Embroidered shoulder belt (Quinquennial)	17—0—0

DUFFADAR MAJOR, NAIGUES AND CONICOPILIES.

2	Longcloth Jackets	@	1—0—0
1	Turban		3—8—0
2	Trousers	@	1—8—0
1	Sandal		0—9—0
1	Red Sash (Biennial)		0—6—4
1	Broad cloth shoulder belt (Biennial)		2—3—8
1	Cumbly (Triennial)		1—4—0
1	Tunic (do)		5—1—0

One Office Duffadar Major and three Office Duffadars were entitled to silk girdles and embroidered shoulder belts, with the Jemadars.

PEONS

2	Longcloth Jackets	@	1—0—0
1	Turban		2—8—0
2	Trousers	@	1—8—0
1	Red Sash (Biennial)		0—6—4
1	Broad cloth shoulder belt (Biennial)		2—3—8
1	Cumbly (Triennial)		1—4—0
1	Tunic (do)		5—1—0

DAROGAH, HEAD HIRCARRAH, AND DEPUTY HEAD HIRCARRAH.

			Rs. A. P.
2	Longcloth Jackets	@	1—0—0
1	Turban		5—0—0
2	Trousers	@	3—8—0
1	Sandal		0—9—0
1	Cumbly (Triennial)		1—4—0
1	Tunic (do)		5—4—0

The Talliar Naigues, Talliars and Hircarrahs had the same supply but their turbands cost Rs. 3-8-0, Rs. 2-8-0 and Rs. 3-0-0 respectively. The garment of a Hircarrah was priced Rs. 3/- only. In addition the Talliar Naigues and Talliars were being supplied with waist belts priced at Rs. 2-3-8 each.

The Mounted Branch consisted of five Constables, five Sub Constables and seventy Troopers. The former two ranks were supplied with

one silk girdle priced Rs. 3-0-0, helmets with turbands, covers and gilt crowns costing Rs. 7-1-5 and waterproof capes at Rs. 4-0-0 each. The Troopers were furnished with one helmet with turband and one waterproof cape etc. priced as noted above. The constables had blue broad-cloth tunics with gilt buttons and crowns at Rs. 23-2-0 each and sky-blue cloth trousers at Rs. 5-10-6. The Troopers had blue broad-cloth tunics with brass buttons at Rs. 11-9-7 and sky-blue cloth-trousers for the price already fixed.

Colonel Boulderson was learnt to be holding the scales even between Indians and Europeans. He invited the censure of the Government on this account. The matter related to the conversion of a Hindu youth by European missionaries. The youth had placed himself under the protection of the missionaries. His relatives were trying to get at him. On the convert being brought before the Commissioner and asked to go wherever he liked, he had again joined the missionaries. In the Court, Colonel Boulderson had openly expressed himself against the right of asylum claimed for the youthful convert and was unwilling to offer protection for that purpose. Some days after, a large mob collected in front of the mission compound and the missionaries had to flee for their lives and seek the assistance of Mr Roberts, a civil servant. The missionaries were powerful forces to be reckoned with in the early days of the British administration. Later the police authorities were asked to explain for their neglect of duty. The Government's review of the evidence and orders on the explanation are given below :—

“In regard however to the riot itself, as soon as the probability of its occurring was reported to him, the Commissioner seems to have acted with promptitude in despatching his Deputy, Mr Lafond, to the scene of expected strife, with orders which, had they been carried out, would probably have prevented mischief.

“Mr Lafond, the Deputy Commissioner had, like his principal, formed his own opinion of the proceedings of the Missionaries. He considered that they were acting unjustifiably in giving an asylum to the boy, and he actually put this sentiment on paper when writing instructions to the Constable on the evening of the riot. Finding the Missionaries resolute in disregarding his advice, he left the place accompanied by all the Peons. His excuse that he thought all would end quietly, and believed that the presence of the Police would rather

attract a mob than otherwise, if it be accepted as his real opinion, can be regarded only as evincing an utter want of judgment and of knowledge of his duty.

“It is in such a crisis as this that the true character and value of a Principal Officer of Police is tested. It is then that they who appointed him, and the public can decide how far they may rely on his judgment, impartiality and determination. Mr Lafond shewed himself signally deficient in all these qualities, and whatever may have been his long service, and his acknowledged merits as a Subordinate, it is clear that he is utterly unfit for the important and responsible post to which he has been lately appointed. He will therefore be dismissed, but without prejudice to his re-employment in a less responsible position when an opportunity offers.

“The conduct of Inspector Stuart is no less reprehensible. He is above shown to have retired from the Mission House to the Tanah, and to have withdrawn the Police thither in defiance of the entreaties of the Missionaries, and in the face of the clearest indications of the coming tumult. From the Tanah he went to his own house. The road leading from the Tanah to the Police Court where Stuart resides, passes by the back of Hinton's Stables into Yaby and Sahib's road, which is opposite the Mission gate, so that, as the riot must by this time have begun, the Inspector could not have helped both seeing and hearing the commotion. Yet he goes quietly home and composes himself for the night. His pretext for leaving is an evident subterfuge. He could easily have found the accommodation he required at Hinton's Stables or some of the many East Indian Houses in that quarter. But even had he failed, he need not have been absent more than ten minutes or a quarter of an hour at the outside. He would not have taken off his uniform. But Mr Roberts found him in undress and slippers and extremely unwilling to be disturbed. This reluctance may perhaps in some measure be attributable to his belief that he was carrying out the instructions of Mr Lafond. But it is clear that these instructions how injudicious-so-ever they might have been, ceased to have any application when a breach of the peace had actually occurred. The Governor in Council cannot permit the continuance in the Police Force of an European Constable or Inspector who has so imperfect a knowledge of his duty as Stuart, and must therefore order his dismissal.

“The Duffadar Ramoodoo followed the example of his superiors in withdrawing from the scene. His sole excuse is that he went after a

Jemadar, to obtain his instructions as to what he was to do in the event of a disturbance. This man is no longer fit to be in the Police, and should be dismissed.

“With regard to the Police Peons left in the Tanah without any Officer to direct them and perceiving the feelings of their superiors with regard to the Missionaries, it is not to be wondered at, that they made the fact of having ‘no orders’ an excuse to withhold all assistance. Their conduct is not to be defended, but Government are unwilling to make the humbler class of Peons suffer for what really was the fault of those under whose orders they were placed. They desire the Commissioner will summon all these Peons before him in open Court and explain to them, that whatever orders they may receive, it is their duty to quell any disturbance that has actually commenced, and that any future inactivity on their part will be followed by immediate dismissal.

“The Government cannot close these observations without expressing their surprise at, the decisions given by Colonel Boulderson after a Judicial enquiry by him on the conduct of Stuart and the Duffadar. Even according to their own admissions they were guilty of gross neglect of duty whereas the Commissioner considers that it was a ‘mere relaxation of vigilance,’ and directs their return to their situations without loss of rank or pay. Even in his letter to Government of 31st July 1858, there is an evident attempt to extenuate the conduct of those whom it was the duty of the Commissioner to bring to account.

“Finally, the Governor in Council must express his thanks to Mr C. Roberts for the promptitude and energy evinced by him on the occasion of the riot, whereby the Police were recalled to a sense of their duty and the impending catastrophe averted.”

Three years after the passing of the City Police Act, the District Police Act came into existence. By Section 5 of that act the administration of the police ‘throughout the General Police District’ was vested in the Inspector General and in such other subordinates as the Governor in Council might appoint. Till 1867 the City Police continued to be regulated by Act XIII of 1856. But it was incorporated by Section 2 of Act VIII of 1867 into the General Police Force of the Presidency, the town of Madras henceforth forming part of the ‘General Police District.’ Under Section IV of Act VIII of 1867, the immediate

administration of the Town (City) Police was vested, subject to the authority of the Inspector General, in a newly appointed officer styled the 'Commissioner of Police' and all the provisions of Act XXIV of 1859 and of the Criminal Procedure Code which applied to a Superintendent of Police, were made applicable to the Commissioner.

In 1876 orders were passed by the Government instituting a category of posts called Sub Inspectors which was to be filled up from Chief Constables of Indian nationality.

If one has an idea of the population, the composition of society and the customs and manners of the people inhabiting Madras City in the latter half of the nineteenth century one may appreciate better the duties the police had to perform and the difficulties they had to face. The total population of the city amounted 4,05,848 and the average number of persons to each occupied house was therefore 8.4. The average number of houses per square mile was 1,788 and of persons 15,031. There were no statistics of the various communities namely the Hindus, Mohammedans, Eurasians and Europeans. There were very few foreigners. The Eurasians were numerous in comparison with Europeans. The number of houseless persons and travellers was 5,537. "European vagrancy", wrote the then Commissioner of Police, "which though not so fully developed here as in Calcutta and Bombay still exhibits a tendency to increase. Europeans are largely employed on Plantation, Railway and Irrigation or other works. They are discharged for drunkenness or other causes and forthwith become mere loafers without any possible means of livelihood. The ranks are swelled by discharged or runaway sea-men of indifferent character and importation from Australia who came here with horses and remain here to better themselves, which they seldom succeed in doing. There is no mere manual labour to be found for Europeans in India. Without money or employment they are driven to beg and their begging too frequently assumes the form of threat, when they visit houses which they find to be tenanted by ladies only. The conduct and appearance of these disreputable tramps cast discredit on the ruling race. Sooner or later the matter will call for legislative action."

The increase in the population between the census of 1871 and that of 1881, amounted to 8,296. The total length of the streets and roads in the city was 471 miles and the number of street lamps 3,186. The street lamps were all lit with oil and put out at midnight, and when there was

a moon. The number of licensed hackney carriages was 3,159, and of labour carts 1,618. The number of foreign ships averaged about 9, and the number of native craft about 16, besides 169 registered boats plying in the harbour. The foreign ships made a short stay and there were no seamen's boarding houses. There was a Sailors' Home at which an average of about two sailors stayed.

A number of wandering gangs that visited Madras City were registered by the police as they were suspected of crime. Depredations by outside criminals particularly from the neighbouring districts were as much a common feature as they are now. The number of criminals registered by the police was 7,686, of whom 2,278 were under surveillance. Prostitution which is now considered a slur on civilization and national prestige was an accepted social vice in those days. There were 620 registered prostitutes in Madras City. There were 237 retail liquor shops, 343 toddy shops and 139 intoxicating drug shops. Perhaps these were meant to cater to the needs of the mixed population. There were 11 factories in which 5,040 workers were employed.

Madras was famous for its numerous temples, as it is now, and processions were continually taking place in the most populous parts of the city. Hindu festivals and religious processions were always very large and often marked with merriment and gaieties. During those days there was a great antagonism between classes and sects of the Hindus which demanded constantly the presence of a considerable body of police force. Likewise there always existed a tension between the Hindus and Muslims. Several times at the Moharam, feelings ran so high that it was necessary to call in the aid of the troops and on one occasion there was a riot attended with loss of life. The aid of the troops was also invoked in the suppression of the grain riots of 1866. Portions of European regiments were always quartered in Madras to meet any emergency or to tackle a sudden uprising. Besides the aid from the troops, reinforcements were sought from the districts on three occasions in 1886, namely during the visit of the Viceroy, the detention of king Thebaw and the fire in the People's Park at the close of the year 1886.

In December of that year a carnival and fair were in progress at the People's Park. On the 31st of the month soon after 6 p.m. a fire suddenly broke out on the western side of one of the enclosures. The carnival ground was overflowing with a multitude of people. The fire

rapidly gained intensity and there was a stampede when people rushed to the eastern side. Gas lamps that were on the passage were upset by the panic-stricken people rushing out for their lives. In a moment the block of buildings on the eastern side was also in flames. The fire spread towards the Salt Cotaurs and the General Hospital gates by which the crowd tried to escape. Several people fell and the gates were blocked by writhing humanity. Many were suffocated and the fire overtook the fugitives and the burning roof of an adjoining block fell almost directly upon the people in the gateway. In about fifteen minutes, ten complete blocks in the enclosure were burnt down and about two hundred and fifty corpses were found littered about the place. After the fire two hundred and eighty three persons in all were found dead in the Park and from the effects of the catastrophe forty two died subsequently in their own house and eighty in hospital. The Jury which sat at the inquest opined that the fire was purely accidental and that the provision made at the fair for ingress and egress was sufficient. The police in Madras City had to perform arduous duties in rescuing people and retrieving goods from the fire in the People's Park.

We get a clear picture of the different branches and the ranks and duties of the City Police during the latter half of the nineteenth century from the old records from which Mr A.H. Giles, who submitted his report on the working of City Police in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta in 1887, had drawn freely.

The Commissioner of Police: The immediate administration of the City Police was, subject to the authority of the Inspector General of Police, vested in the Commissioner of Police and the provisions of the Act XXIV of 1859, and of the Criminal Procedure Code which apply to a District or Deputy Superintendent of Police, were made applicable to him also. The declared object of Act XXIV of 1859 was to make the police force throughout the Madras presidency a more efficient instrument at the disposal of the Magistrate for the prevention and detection of crime. The administration of the force was vested in the Inspector General of Police for the Presidency of Madras, "who was empowered to frame, from time to time, subject to the approval of the Governor in Council, such orders and regulations as he should deem expedient, relative to the general government and distribution of the force, the places of residence, the classification, rank and particular service of the members thereof, their inspection, the description of arms, accoutrements and other necessaries to be furnished to them, the collecting and communicating intelligence and information, and all such orders and

regulations relative to the force as he should deem expedient for preventing abuse or neglect, and for rendering the force efficient in the discharge of all its duties."

The Commissioner of Police had the privilege of being appointed a Justice of the Peace under Act VIII of 1867 and vested with the jurisdiction of Magistrate of Police (now entitled Presidency Magistrate). He could act as a Justice only so far as might be necessary for the preservation of the peace, the prevention of crime, and the detection, apprehension, and detention of offenders, in order to their being brought before a Magistrate of Police. The Commissioner of Police possessed the sole authority of regulating public processions, keeping order and preventing obstructions, and the licensing of the use of music in the streets and public places within the city. This authority is not expressly given even to the Inspector General of Police. Being a Presidency Magistrate and a Justice of the Peace, the Commissioner of Police was empowered "to order and receive reports of investigation into non-cognizable cases; to receive reports of cognizable cases usually sent to the Magistrate; to authorize the detention of an accused person in custody, for a term not exceeding 15 days; to discharge from bail persons against whom there was insufficient evidence; to take cognizance of any offence upon any information or upon his own knowledge or suspicion; to deal with persons arrested on warrants; to issue warrants for the search of places suspected to contain stolen property, forged documents &c.; to direct searches of the above nature to be made in his presence; to receive reports of the seizure of false weights or measures; to receive and dispose of suspicious property seized; to appoint, of his own authority, special police officers on any temporary emergency; to permit persons to go armed; to license taverns and places of entertainment; to close disorderly brothels or other houses; to grant warrants to enter gaming houses; to grant licences for the manufacture, possession, sale, deposit, and transport of gun powder, &c.; to issue warrants to search for gun-powder, &c., not covered by such licences; to prescribe limits within which certain acts were, with the sanction of the Government of Fort St. George made punishable as nuisances; to grant search warrants on suspicion of goods being stolen, or unlawfully obtained to administer the estates of intestates when the property does not exceed Rs. 200/- in value; to establish pounds; to cause stray dogs to be killed at certain appointed times." The Commissioner of Police was also the custodian of the standards of weights and measures. Under the provisions of

Act III of 1862, he was empowered, with the sanction of the Government of Fort St. George, to make such bye-laws as he considered necessary for more effectually carrying out the objects of the Police Acts and for the preservation of order within the town of Madras. Act III of 1862 was, however, antecedent to the present Police Acts, and it was therefore questionable whether the Commissioner could still legally exercise this power. He registered printing presses and newspapers. He issued passports to pilgrims. He was the Superintendent of the convicts passing through Madras. He recorded the declarations of prostitutes as to their voluntary registration. He was an official visitor of the Jails and Lunatic Asylum, and President of the Committee for the management of the Government work-house. He was a Director of the Monegar Choultry (an alms-house) and had the entire management of the Triplicane Langerkhana (a Mohammedan charitable institution). He was also charged with the registration and regulation of hackney carriages.

The Deputy Commissioner: The town was divided into two districts, and the Deputy Commissioner exercised all the powers and performed all the duties of Commissioner of Police in the Northern District, except that in regard to the punishment, promotion, and transfer of officers above the rank of constable he exercised only a limited control. It was his duty to inspect the lock-ups, stations, and men periodically, also the premises, stocks, and accounts of dealers in arms and ammunition. He was the Crown Inspector of Factories for the City of Madras, and an official visitor of the Government work-house and Lunatic Asylum. He would attend at the Magistrate's Court and at the Sessions during the trial of important cases. He would also attend important inquests, large fires, and assemblies, public ceremonies, &c. He regulated the processions connected with the temples, which in Madras was a delicate and responsible duty; directed the operations of the police generally; conducted correspondence, and checked expenditure connected with his Division, besides performing many other duties of a miscellaneous nature. He was a Justice of the Peace and an Assistant Superintendent on the graded establishment of the Madras Presidency. His salary was Rs. 750/- a month, and he got neither quarters nor an allowance in lieu. He resided in the Northern District and had his office there.

The Assistant Commissioner: The Assistant Commissioner performed at the Central Office those ordinary duties of the Commissioner

connected with the Southern District, which the Deputy Commissioner performed in the Northern District, except that he did not either punish, promote, or transfer any of the force under him. He was an Indian, and dealt especially with difficult disputes connected with the temples, &c., in which only Indians were concerned. His salary was Rs. 350/- rising to Rs. 400/- by an annual increment of Rs. 10/-. He got neither quarters nor house allowance.

Inspector: The town, as before stated, was divided into two districts in charge of the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner respectively. The Northern district was again divided into three divisions (B, C and H), and the Southern into four divisions (D, E, F and G). Each of these divisions was subdivided into three sections, in each of which there were three beats. Each division was in charge of an Inspector whose duties were to patrol his division, morning and evening and, at his discretion by night; to hold office every morning at his central station, and there to enquire into cases, write up his case-book and diary, and prepare charge sheets of all cases except those of a trivial nature falling under the Police Acts, &c., and to examine the books and registers of all three stations of the divisions. Occasionally he had to attend the court to watch important cases and afford information regarding them. He had also to take up defaulters to the Commissioner for punishment, or as occasion demanded to proceed to the spot and take up enquiries into cases. Under the Coroner's Amendment Act, it was his special duty to hold inquests in those parts of the town which had been excluded from the Coroner's jurisdiction. He inspected the kits of his subordinates, prepared pay bills and miscellaneous returns at the close of each month. He attended all large gatherings in his division, and sometimes was called upon to assist at similar gatherings in other divisions. He was empowered to grant ten days' casual leave to his subordinate constables only.

There were two Inspectors in the G Division, it being exceptionally large, two in the Reserve and two at the Courts. There was also an Inspector in charge of the Beach Police. Inspectors in charge of divisions lived within their respective jurisdictions. The duties of the Inspector of the Beach Police, or M Division, were special, and would be found under the head Marine Police. All the Inspectors were then either Europeans or Eurasians. They performed their duty patrol on horseback, and their night rounds on foot. They were entitled to a chair when calling upon their superior officers.

Sergeants: These were all Europeans or Eurasians. One was attached to each station, one to the M Division, and two were in reserve. Those at stations, patrolled morning and evening on horse-back, regulating traffic and supervising the constables on beat. They patrolled once in three nights on foot. They furnished a report daily of the times and places at which they had met officers and men. They wrote up the night case of nuisance register, and took it in turns to attend court or to keep order, &c.

Sub Inspector: These were all Indians. There is one to each division. Their position corresponded with that of the Inspector, to whom however they were subordinate. It was their especial duty to enquire into cases in which Indians were concerned, and to do generally the detective business of the division. They patrolled their division every day and by night, like the Inspector. They kept note-books of proceedings in the investigation of crime, but did not keep registers. They were eligible, but did not often rise to Inspectorships.

Head Constable: There were three of these attached to a station, each being particularly responsible for one beat. It was their especial duty to receive and record complaints, and to enquire into cases. All three of them patrolled alternately from 6 a.m. till 8 p.m. Two of them in turn were deputed specially every night to patrol together for four hours, the particular hours selected being communicated to them after the constables had gone to their night beats. The third got a free night and could go home. They furnished daily patrol reports similar to those furnished by Sergeants. The Head Constable kept a vernacular Crime and Occurrence Register, a bail bond and search register, and registers of convicted persons, known depredators &c.

Constable: To each station 21 constables were allowed for beat duty. There were three beats, consequently seven constables to a beat. Two of these constables were on beat and two on station duty at a time. The remaining three might be at their homes. The roster was arranged so that a man got duty as follows:—

		<i>Beat</i>	<i>Station</i>	<i>Off Duty</i>
1st day	...	11 hours	9 hours	4 hours
2nd day	...	9 "	11 "	4 "
3rd day	...	8 "	4 "	12 "

Station duty consisted in remaining present at the station to meet any special or emergent call. The number of constables on beat duty

was doubled between the hours of 4 and 8 p.m. The constables did not as a rule remain at fixed points in their beats but patrolled about separately. At night they patrolled together. There were however a few fixed points in each division by day. Each constable was provided with a beat ticket, upon which any officer he might meet noted the hour and place of meeting. These tickets were delivered up daily and checked at the station house. When a constable's turn of beat duty was over, he returned to the station and awoke his relief who then proceeded to the beat. There was no regular relief by Indian officers. One constable in each central station-house acted as a vernacular writer, and if there was a pound, had charge of it. There were four constables for sentry duty at the station-house. There were five other constables who formed a sort of reserve at each central station. They performed all sorts of orderly duty, filled temporary vacancies, and were generally available for extra and miscellaneous duty.

Marine Police: This branch of the police protected property within the limits of the Port which extended for about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles along the beach. It was furnished with two boats and had to answer all calls from the shipping for police assistance. It also escorted convicts to and from the ships. The boats were manned by men, some of whom were originally enlisted as constables, but their certificates taken from them for some reason two or three years later. It was not clear whether these men were constables or not. They had however been declared to be, like constables, eligible to pensions for superior service. Registered boatmen in Madras were liable under Act I of 1881 (M), to be flogged for obstruction or hindrance to police officers. The police boatmen were not registered. When the 'suspicious weather' signal was hoisted at the Master Attendant's Office, it was the duty of the Inspector in charge of the Marine Police to communicate the fact to the Commissioner of Police, in order that he might warn the police officers at Vellore and Salem to hold their respective reserves in readiness for despatch to Madras to assist in saving lives and protecting property in case of shipwreck. A new station-house for the Marine or Harbour Police was constructed on the beach near the pier. The upper storey was used as an office for the Deputy Commissioner.

The Port Trust paid half the cost of the Harbour Police, but no part of the cost of the boatmen for the harbour.

Detective Force: There was no permanent separate establishment. An addition to the force of one Inspector, two Sub Inspectors, and

four Head Constables, was made in order to enable the Commissioner to withdraw men from divisions for detective purposes. The most skilful men were selected, and a special allowance was made to them whilst so employed at the following rates:—

			Rs.
Inspector	per mensem	...	35/-
Sub Inspector	„	...	15/-
Head Constable	„	...	10/-
Constable	„	...	5/-

The allowance was provided for in contingencies

Mounted Police: There were four mounted Indian constables or *sowars* who remained at the Reserve and performed 'orderly' and special duties. One attended daily at the Office of the Inspector General and two attended at the Commissioner's Office. One on off duty attended to the stables, &c. The horses and their equipments were supplied and kept up by Government. One *sowar* received a salary of Rs. 12/- per mensem, the other three got Rs. 10/-. They received uniform cost-free, like other constables. Besides these, there was no special mounted force in Madras, but each Inspector and Sergeant attached to a Division was provided with a fully equipped horse, which was kept for him at the expense of Government at stables situated within the Central Section of the Division. The total number of horses so supplied, exclusive of two pairs for the prison van, was 36. They were excellent horses, costing upon an average Rs. 500/- each. The Inspectors and Sergeants underwent a course of riding instruction, and assisted in regulating traffic and preserving order in all large assemblies within or without their circles, as occasion required.

Reserve: Eight head constables, and sixty constables, were kept at headquarters as a specially trained force to be available at a moment's notice to meet emergent calls for extraordinary services, such as a fire, riot, or cyclone. They were supposed to be of superior physique, well trained and drilled, and in short the *corps d'elite* of the force. They were rarely, if ever permanently, transferred to any other post, but they filled vacancies at Divisions temporarily when the divisional reserves were exhausted. They were frequently employed in keeping order at the band stands, churches, Lock-Hospitals, halls, fairs, and other gatherings. They reinforced the police of neighbouring districts on the occasion of large fairs and festivals, escorted prisoners and treasure within the limits of the town, and assisted in patrolling localities where crime was rife.

Two-thirds of this force were always kept in readiness at the Reserve guard-room, whilst the other third were at their homes. The rest of the men shown as in reserve performed the following regular and continuous duties. They furnished two orderlies to the Commissioner, two to the Deputy Commissioner, one to the Assistant Commissioner, two head constables and five constables to the Commissioner's Office, one head constable and four constables to the Inspector General of Police, and four constables to four Magistrates. They sent two head constables and sixteen constables to the Town, and two head constables and fourteen constables to the Egmore Police Court, two head constables and sixteen constables to the Gun Carriage Factory; one head constable and twelve constables to the Stamp Office; one head constable and four constables to the Egmore Lock-up, one constable to the Currency Office, one head constable and six constables to the Deputy Collector's Treasury, and two head constables to the Reserve School.

The Inspector in charge of the Reserve had charge of the clothing and stores at the Central Office, and kept the following books and registers:—

(1) Account of receipts and issues of new clothing. (2) Account of receipts and issues of part-worn clothing. (3) Account of receipts and issues of accoutrements. (4) Stock Book. (5) Indent Book. (6) Correspondence about clothing. (7) Register of Known Depredators. (K. Ds) (8) House-feed accounts.

There was usually an additional Inspector with a Sergeant or two in reserve.

Office: In the office there was a manager and nine clerks on salaries from Rs. 15/- to Rs. 200/- a month. The manager's salary rose by periodical increment of Rs. 10/- from Rs. 150/- to Rs. 200/-. The other salaries were fixed. The number of books and registers kept was 53, many of them involving much trouble. The number of letters received in 1886-87 was, 2,510, and of letters despatched 2,289. The number of licences, passes, &c., issued was, including duplicates, 7,128. Of these 4,800 were for music in the streets.

There were fifty-four inferior or menial servants employed principally as sweepers at police stations and punkah-pullers.

Hackney Carriages : There was a separate establishment under the Hackney Carriage Act. An Inspector of Police received Rs. 50/ a month as supervisor, and two others got each Rs. 40/-, salary and Rs. 10/-, conveyance hire. There were 2 clerks on Rs. 20/- each. One of these was a Sergeant of Police in the Reserve who drew this allowance in addition to his pay. Four police constables were also entertained and paid for from the fees. These were for serving summonses, as offences against the Act were not cognizable in Madras City.

There were no separate establishments under the Contagious Diseases Act or the Arms Act. Prostitutes declared before the Commissioner that they had registered voluntarily, and their names were entered in a register by one of the office clerks. The working of the Act was managed by the Health Department.

The duties under the Arms Act were performed by the Inspector in charge of Divisions without extra allowances.

Recruits : The European staff, as a rule, began as Sergeants. The Commissioner registered the names of suitable candidates, either European or Eurasian. They must be of good physique, under 25 years of age, and acquainted with one or more of the regional languages. On a vacancy occurring, the Commissioner selected the best of the registered candidates and sent him for examination by the Medical Officer. If passed, he joined the Reserve, where he was put under a course of instruction in Police Orders, drill and riding. After a fortnight or so, he was sent to a Division, and given practical instruction in his duties by the Inspector. He continued to attend the drill and riding-schools for about two months till he was efficient. Inspectors were expected to pass a departmental examination in papers set by the Inspector General on Police Orders and practice. Officers thought fit for the appointment of Inspector, and who had passed the departmental test, might on payment of a fee of Rs. 3/- present themselves before the Presidency Committees for examination in law and languages by both standards. If they succeeded in passing the language examination within one year from the date of their first appointment, and if their salary did not exceed Rs. 200/- a month, they might draw a Munshi allowance of Rs. 250/- on passing by the lower, and Rs. 500/- on passing by the higher standard. Indian candidates for constabships were sent in by Inspectors of Divisions. The Reserve Inspector then registered and took before the Commissioner all such as had the necessary qualifications :

those who could read and write and were under 25 years of age, with a measurement not less than 32 inches round the chest, and 5 feet 5 inches in height. The Commissioner selected the required number and sent them for medical examination. If passed, each was given a roll as to antecedents and character which he took to the Divisional Inspector to fill in after due enquiry. If the report was satisfactory, the candidate was enlisted and placed under a course of instruction in drill, and his duties. He remained under daily instruction till he passed an examination to the satisfaction of the Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner. There were two schoolmasters. The time spent under instruction varied from 2 to 3 months. When they had passed, and not till then, they were supplied with uniform and permitted to perform police duties. Nearly all the constables were recruited from the Madras City or its suburbs and spoke Tamil or Telugu, and Hindustani. Eight hundred and fifty-four officers and men could read and write their own language. Many of them also spoke and wrote English. In the City Police there were twenty-five Mohammedans, ten Brahmins, ten Rajputs, sixty-six other Hindus and thirty-nine European and Eurasian officers. Among the constables twenty-seven were Indian Christians; one hundred and eighty-three Mohammedans; seventeen Brahmins; twenty-four Rajputs and, five hundred and sixty-six other Hindus. The total strength of the City Police was 967.

Dress and Equipment: The clothing and accoutrements of all ranks below that of Sub Inspectors were supplied cost-free by the Government. The uniform of each rank was as follows:—

INSPECTORS

	<i>Cost</i>
	Rs.
Blue-cloth patrol-jacket and trousers, trimmed with mohair lace.	40/-
White-cloth patrol-jacket and trousers, trimmed with cotton braid.	5/-
White helmet with red pugree, plated spike and chain	10/-
Blue-cloth forage cap, with drooping peak and device.	8/-
Black leather sword and pouch-belt.	25/-
Wellington boots, with spurs, or, when not mounted, ankle boots.	15/-
Bedford or cord breeches according to occasion.	12/-
<i>Total:—</i>	<u>115/-</u>

SERGEANTS: Similar to Inspectors, but without braid, lace, sword and pouch-belt and helmet ornaments.

		<i>Total cost Rs.</i>	65	4	0
CONSTABLES					
3	White cotton drill suits		4	2	9
1	Turkey-red turban (made up)		0	7	6
2	(pairs) Sandals, at 15 annas each.		1	14	0
1	Woollen coat		2	12	10
1	Cumbly (or blanket)		1	13	3
1	Beat badge (for cuff)		0	6	6
1	Turban fringe		0	2	0
1	Leather thong (for buttons)		0	0	5
10	White-metal buttons		0	1	8
1	Waist belt		0	13	0
1	Whistle with chain		0	11	0
1	Frog		0	3	0
1	Baton		0	10	0
1	German-silver figure (worn on fringe of turban)		0	1	9
3	German-silver letters (worn on fringe of turban)		0	5	3
		<i>Total :-</i>	<u>14</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>

The cost of washing, which the constable bore himself, came to about Rs. 4—8—0 annually. The uniform of head constables was similar to that of constables, with the addition of a silver crown and chevrons on the sleeve, a silk sash or belt, and lace on the turban. The uniform was supplied upon indent by the Inspector General of Police, and an account was kept of all receipts and issues by the Reserve Inspector. A complete kit was not served out at once but gradually. Any article of uniform damaged otherwise than by fair wear and tear had to be made good by the person responsible. The uniform was almost identically the same as that worn by the Madras District Police. The baton was worn inverted in a frog. Men actually on active duty wore a red-silk beat-or-duty-badge on the left cuff. None of the force were armed. There were, however, 75 swords in stock for use if required.

Prosecution: No one, police officer or other person, was especially charged with the duty of prosecuting offenders. The charge sheet

containing a list of witnesses, and an abstract of their evidence was laid before the magistrate who used it as a guide to the conduct of the case. If the Inspector or other officer in charge of the case desired any question to be put, he informed the magistrate. No Public Prosecutor had been appointed. Cases, as a rule, were gone into very fully, a good deal of evidence being recorded, and the trial frequently taking more than one day. Persons who had been convicted several times of theft were not always committed to the Sessions, nor punished with the full amount of imprisonment, the Court was competent to impose. The number of persons re-convicted of offences under Chapters XII and XVII of the Penal Code in 1886 was 241.

But the Police Administration in the cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras seems to have come to adverse notice. The Government of India appointed Mr A. H. Giles, Superintendent of Police, Bengal in 1887 to report on the strength, cost and working of the police of the Towns of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. Mr Giles observed in his report that the city and the district police forces were composed of vastly different materials, that a severer discipline was necessary in the case of the city police and that the powers wielded by the Commissioner should be necessarily more despotic and also that the result of the incongruous union between the district and the city police was that the only rules the city police had to guide them were those laid down for the district police, which on many essential points were wholly inapplicable. One cannot do better than quote Mr Giles himself to bring out the healthy conclusions at which he had arrived.

“The Madras system has all the disadvantages of the Calcutta system, with some special drawbacks of its own. The force under the Inspector General of Police, of which the Madras City Police is an integral part, is scattered over a vast area and has to be controlled for the most part by means of correspondence and returns, which involve the devotion of more time and labour than a busy city policeman can spare. I do not know upon what grounds Mr Robinson, who was at the time Inspector General of Police, recommended the subordination of the City Police to himself, but in 1838, Mr Halliday advocated a similar policy in Calcutta, for the following reasons:—

‘It is my opinion’, he wrote, ‘that the Calcutta Police, like that of the rest of the country should be placed under the Superintendent General and form part of the general system. For this the Calcutta

Police is obviously well adapted, as it is in effect the very system which I propose for the provinces, and could not therefore fail to amalgamate with it successfully. Separated, the two systems of Police (that of Calcutta and the mofussil) will, whenever they come in contact, injure each other, as in practice they now do. United, they would in a very high degree assist each other's efficiency. In the districts which immediately surrounded Calcutta, the greater crimes all emanate from the capital, and the Magistrates of the neighbouring zillahs well know the secure retreat which Calcutta affords to dacoits after the commission of robberies in the suburbs. The Superintendent General of the Mofussil Police must be, for the most part, powerless in Hooghly, Midnapore, Burdwan, Nuddea, Jessore, Barasat and the Twenty-four Purgunnahs unless he be, at the same time, Superintendent General of the Calcutta Police. To be subject to his authority would in no degree weaken the latter, and the alteration would give an incalculable addition of power to the machinery of the former.'

"Whatever may have been the case fifty years ago, Calcutta criminals do not now harry the mofussil. It is rather the other way; and the head of the mofussil police does not, I believe, feel himself powerless, even in immediately adjacent districts, for want of authority over the Calcutta Police. Nor is there any friction worth speaking of between the two forces. What little occurs is due to their ignorance of each other's system, and somewhat closer communion is perhaps desirable. This can be attained without subordinating the Commissioner to the Inspector General, an arrangement which had hardly a redeeming feature, for the systems approved by long usage for town and country have little in common.

"The Inspector General, unless he happens to have been Commissioner himself, can have but an imperfect knowledge of the requirements of the town, and may, if he asserts himself, prove either a wet blanket to damp the ardour of a competent officer or a buffer to protect an incompetent one. Under any circumstances, he is a clog; and it is an anomaly that an officer exercising the important functions of Commissioner of Police in the Capital should be in no better position as to authority over his men than a District Superintendent in the mofussil. Though the force under him may not greatly exceed that under a District Superintendent, it is composed of vastly different materials. A severer discipline is necessary and the powers wielded by the Commissioner must necessarily be more despotic, untrammelled by a

right of appeal, and tempered only by the publicity of the situation. So strongly is this felt in Madras, even by the Inspector General himself, that the law is left a dead letter in regard to many matters; though unfortunately the burden of voluminous correspondence and numerous returns and registers still remains.

“Another result of this incongruous union is that the only rules the Madras Police have to guide them are those laid down for the use of the Mofussil Police, which on many essential points are wholly inapplicable.

“I therefore recommend that the appointment of Commissioner of Police of Madras be reconstituted, separate from, and independent of the Inspector General of Police.”

The Madras Government accepted the recommendations of Mr Giles and on 22nd November 1887, introduced a bill in the Legislative Council with the object of forming the City Police into a separate force. The statement of objects and reasons for the bill indicated that it reproduced and consolidated the provisions of existing laws relating to the City Police with such amendments and additions suggested by the experience of twenty years. The bill contemplated the separation of the City Police from the rural constabulary, in accordance with the law and practice in force in the other Presidency Town and in England and Ireland. The bill also sought to eschew some uncertainty of administration and some confusion caused by the attempt to apply a law, which properly applied only to the rural police, to a town force working at the same time under other and distinct laws. Moreover the management of the City Police required distinct treatment and a distinct organization. The provisions of section 2 of Madras Act VIII of 1867 were, therefore, repealed and the bill was made complete in itself, obviating the necessity for references to other special and local laws.

The bill after discussion and amendment, was passed into law as Madras Act III of 1888, and this Act with several subsequent amendments governs the City Police even now. Under section 5, the administration is vested in the Commissioner, except in respect of the Railway Police, the administration of which rests with the Inspector General. The name Inspector General was not mentioned throughout the Act.

The post of Station House Officer in the City came into being from 1st November 1888. In the same year Act IV of 1888 contemplated the

separation of the City Police from the rural constabulary and gave to the Commissioner of Police powers similar to those conferred by Act II of 1888 on local authorities outside Madras with regard to places of public entertainment.

Mr Giles's report mentioned that the Commissioner of Police in Calcutta was also the Chairman of the Municipality and that in Bombay, there was a proposal to make him a Municipal Commissioner. In that respect he found the Madras system to be excellent and suggested a pay of Rs. 1,500—Rs. 2,000 without house allowance for him. He wanted a Senior Assistant Superintendent of Police to be appointed Deputy Commissioner, on a pay of Rs. 750/- with the use of a house. The post of Assistant Commissioner in Madras, who was having control over the clerical establishment and stores, he considered to be redundant. He suggested the division of the City into three divisions with 7 stations in each division under the charge of an Inspector or Sub Inspector unlike the system of Station House Officer then prevailing. The constables who numbered 634 at the time were to be started on pay of Rs. 7/- instead of Rs. 6/-. He found the European sergeants and European constables' salaries to be insufficient to keep them out of debts. In Madras, according to him, the coolies earned more than constables. The latter were better educated though more indolent and independent than constables in Calcutta and Bombay and so did not make good beat constables. Most of them were married and could not live away from their wives. The uniform in Madras was white in colour. Mr Giles summarized his recommendations as follows:—

“It is customary to judge of the relative efficiency of bodies of police by appeal to such standards as general security of person and property, detection of crime, successful prosecution of offenders, and arrest of escaped criminals. But these are frequently fallacious tests, results being due more to accidents or circumstances over which the police have no control, rather than to anything else. So common is it to judge police by reference to criterions of the above kind that it may not be out of place to explain myself more fully by means of a few illustrations. The Irish Constabulary has always borne the reputation of being foremost among police forces as maintainers of law and order. Yet without any deterioration on the part of the constabulary we have lately seen Ireland the theatre of outrages of the gravest nature and the police powerless to prevent or detect them. The obvious reason being

that, though Irishmen themselves, they lacked the sympathy and co-operation of the people at large. This is a condition which often exercises a baneful influence on police action in India, more especially in connection with crimes in regard to the heinousness of which the people and the law take different views. Given the protection or apathy of the people and the criminal has little to fear from the police. Were this otherwise, nihilism should long ago have been extirpated from Russia. The state of the law itself may give one police force advantage over another. In New York, witnesses are kept in confinement from the moment a case is sent up till their evidence is recorded, tampering with them—a prolific source of failure in India—being thus rendered almost impossible. The police of Paris are armed with powers, and work under conditions which make them, in the eyes of criminals, the most formidable in the world. Yet their action in crimes of violence often proves abortive, from the perversity of juries. This particular trait may display itself today in regard to one kind of crime, tomorrow in connection with another. It is regulated neither by time nor place. Occasionally it shows itself in India. Then, to take an illustration from India itself: the police of the Punjab hold a high reputation. Nevertheless crime of the gravest kind enjoys almost impunity from their inability to cope with the Afghan desperadoes. A comparison, based upon the state of crime, between the police forces of, for instance, Kentucky and Copenhagen, in Western countries, or Peshawar and Cuttack in India, would be unfair and useless in the extreme—the surroundings of each being utterly different, and a police force being, like all organisms, liable to be moulded by its environments. Unless these environments can be modified, comparisons based upon an absolute, rather than a relative, state of things are fallacious and worthless. And as it is impossible to estimate even approximately the value of the complex influences at work, some simpler test must be sought for. The safest criterion of police efficiency seems to me to be a thoroughness of system, the best procurable material distributed to the best advantage, guided by appropriate rules, restrained by a wholesome discipline, and maintained at a reasonable cost. Where this state of things is found to exist, we do not require the evidence of crime statistics to arrive at the conclusion that efficiency has been attained.”

As a consequence of the report of Mr Giles, Colonel Weldon who was the Commissioner of Police submitted several proposals for increase of pay to the European as well as Indian staff but the

Government found themselves unable to carry them into effect due to financial consideration. Subsequently in G. O. Nos. 1116 and 1117 Judicial dated 27th July 1901 and G. O. No. 914 Judicial dated 10th June 1902 the Government sanctioned the re-grading of the post of a Superintendent as Chief Superintendent on a pay of Rs. 400/- per mensem and ordered that 4 Divisional Inspectors should be promoted as Superintendents on a pay of Rs. 300/- per mensem, that the remaining 12 Inspectors should be termed as Divisional Inspectors and placed in three grades of Rs. 130/-, Rs. 160/- and Rs. 200/- per mensem, that the twenty-nine Sub Inspectors should be placed on grades of Rs. 50/-, Rs. 80/- Rs. 90/- and Rs. 100/-, that the pay of the European Head Constables should be raised from Rs. 35/- and Rs. 40/- to Rs. 40/- and Rs. 50/- respectively and the constabulary should be increased by 252 recruits. The European Sub Inspectors' cadre was instituted on 1st November 1890. It was to be filled from among Sergeants.

Some important changes were made in the administration of the City Police. The magisterial powers of the Commissioner of Police were well defined and clearly set forth by the Government in G. O. No. 1271, Judicial, dated 13th August 1898 which is quoted below :—

“In exercise of the power conferred upon him by section 7 of the Madras City Police Act, 1888 and in supersession of all previous orders on the subject, the Governor in Council is pleased to declare that the Commissioner of Police, Madras, shall not, in his capacity as a Presidency Magistrate, exercise the power of taking cognizance of offences under section 190 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, except so far as may be necessary to receive, “Occurrence Reports” under section 157 and to deal with such reports under section 159, and also to receive and dispose of reports submitted under section 173, and to make orders under sub-section (3) of that section.”

In 1900 itself the Government issued an important order investing the Inspector General of Police with powers to inspect the City Police Force, its office or records and to call upon the Commissioner for information regarding it and directing him to report to Government, whenever necessary on any matter relating to its administration. This was after Mr Giles found in 1887 the Inspector General an incubus of the City Police Office and suggested the complete severance of his hold on the City Police. This bestowal of powers on the Inspector General was necessitated by certain complaints of ineffective investigation of

cases in the City Police and the differences between the Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner reaching a climax. On the appointment of an Inspector of Steam Boilers and Prime Movers, the Deputy Commissioner who was so long doing the work of Inspector of Factories was relieved of this work.

In 1902 the City comprised an area of 29 sq. miles and contained a population of 5,09,346. It was divided into 2 Police Ranges, the Northern Range being in the immediate charge of a Deputy Commissioner who was subject to the control of the Commissioner while the Southern Range was in charge of the Commissioner himself, who was assisted by the Chief Superintendent. The Northern Range consisted of four Divisions of which one was the Harbour and Marine Police and the southern five of which one was the Reserve. Each Division was in charge of an Inspector and in each Division there were three stations except in Marine Police Division where there was only one police station. Each Range had 2 Superintendents, who supervised the work of 2 Divisions. The Superintendent of the first district, was in charge of 'B' and 'C' Divisions, Black Town and Muthialpet; the second district comprised 'D' and 'E' Divisions, Triplicane and Mylapore. 'F' and 'C' Divisions i. e. Chintadripet and Vepery were in the third district; while the Superintendent of the fourth district held charge of 'H' and 'M' Divisions comprising Washermenpet, Tondiarpet, Royapuram and the Harbour. The staff of the City Police at that time consisted of one Commissioner, one Deputy Commissioner, one Assistant Commissioner, who was the ministerial head, one Chief Superintendent, 12 Inspectors, 21 European and 9 Indian Sub Inspectors, 14 European Head Constables, 140 Indian Head Constables and 1,214 Police Constables. All the Inspectors were Europeans. An Intelligence Department consisting of one Inspector, two Sub Inspectors and four Head Constables was employed on specially difficult cases and duties of a confidential nature under the immediate orders of the Commissioner. The Hircarrahs had blossomed into this new intelligence staff. The duties of the different ranks in 1902 are noted below :—

Chief Superintendent: The Chief Superintendent was the principal executive officer under the Commissioner whose position was similar to that of an adjutant in a regiment. He directly received orders from the Commissioner and communicated them to the force with the result that all instructions received from the Chief Superintendent were considered in disciplinary matters as coming from the

Commissioner. He was responsible for the general discipline and training of the force. He scrutinized the state of each Division and took the orders of the Commissioner before filling up of vacancies by enlistments or transfers. He was in principal charge of the Intelligence or Detective Branch which also looked after the registration of Known Depredators and the taking of measurements of criminals for compiling criminal records. He had charge of the Hackney Carriage Department. He supervised the executive work of the Southern Range and occasionally visited the Divisions in the Northern Range to inspect the buildings occupied by the police and the arms, accoutrements, furniture and stores. Reports of cases in the Southern Range coming under Act V of 1889 (Coroner's Repeal Act) were sent in the first instance to the Chief Superintendent who, held an inquest himself or, if necessary forwarded the report to the Commissioner for orders. In ordinary cases, the Inspectors themselves took the usual steps for investigating such cases unless and until they received orders to the contrary. All recommendations for promotion and reward were submitted through the Chief Superintendent.

Superintendents: Superintendents resided within the limits of their respective districts and closely supervised all executive details therein. They held inquests, conducted prosecution in the Magistrates' Courts in important or difficult cases in which the Crown Prosecutor or Government Solicitor did not appear. They also attended to the maintenance of discipline and the practical instruction of men recently drafted to their divisions. They periodically inspected departmental buildings, records, arms and accoutrements and of all furniture or stores in charge of the department in their divisions. They also made necessary arrangements to keep order in public assemblies within their district and communicate prompt information to their superiors in the event of an anticipated public danger or breach of the peace. They were able to give, or immediately obtain, information on any matter of public interest in their districts and made themselves well acquainted with the character, conduct and qualifications of all their subordinates. They went on night rounds once in every seven days. They carried the periodical inspections under the Indian Arms Act, the Explosives Act and the Emigration Act, saw that complete lists were maintained of all places in the district coming under the operation of these laws; also of all liquor or intoxicating drug shops and generally, of all places of public resort. They paid special attention

to the registration of known depredators and suspected receivers of stolen property and saw that their Divisional Officers were well informed on those points. They might sanction transfers of constables within the Division from one section to another. Rolls for promotion or reward were submitted by Divisional Inspectors through Superintendents.

Divisional Inspectors: Inspectors of Police held an important position in the police set-up in regard to the discipline and the performance of regular preventive and executive duties. Prosecution of criminal cases, the connecting link between the operations of the police and the Judicial Tribunals, almost exclusively fell on the grade of Inspectors. The Inspector resided within his own Division. The ordinary duty of the Inspector in regard to the working of the police was that of constantly moving through his Division to supervise the discipline and working of the constabulary. At the different Station Houses he would inspect the beat tickets, rosters, books, charge sheets, and returns of every kind. He would examine the arms, accoutrements and uniform, and prepare indents for all articles which might be deficient, he would muster and drill the men and indent for clothing. He enquired into petty complaints among the men and saw that the head constables were just and judicious in regard to the distribution of general work. He made special enquiry in regard to the character, honesty and trustworthiness of every police officer in his Division and at once made the preliminary enquiry in regard to any charge of bribery, corruption, or oppression by the police with a view to bringing such matters before a judicial Tribunal, under the direction of the Commissioner. It was the duty of the Inspector to visit his Division frequently and become personally acquainted with the principal inhabitants, and especially with the suspected characters amongst the higher orders; these he would endeavour to influence in the cause of order, and at all events satisfy them that they were closely and constantly watched by a systematic organization, whose vigilance they were not likely to elude. Inspectors were asked to furnish or obtain exact and confidential information in respect of every part of their Divisions. Collection of general and secret intelligence always demanded the exercise of judgment, tact and ingenuity. On every occurrence of a grave crime the Inspector would instantly proceed to the spot and take the necessary steps for detecting the criminals and procuring evidence required for conviction; and he would

bring the case before the Magistrate. The Inspector would ride through his Division twice daily from 6 to 8 in the morning and from 4-30 to 7-30 in the evening. He would go round his Division for four hours one night in every week.

Reserve and Store Inspector: The Reserve Inspector in addition to having the immediate charge and drilling of the reserve and the recruits, conducted the distribution of clothing, arms and accoutrements and performed all executive duties connected with Stores Department. He checked the monthly gram and stable accounts of the Reserve and submitted a daily report showing the sanctioned and actual strength of the Armed Reserve and the several duties of the men.

Court Inspectors: An Inspector was told off to each of the two Presidency Magistrates' Courts in the city. He maintained order, kept the process registers and verified all measurements of prisoners taken for the purpose of compiling criminal records. He was also in charge of the Justices' Jail of the range which he was required to visit daily—in the morning, evening and at an uncertain hour occasionally at night. Here, he inspected the guard, prisoners in custody, the rosters, search register and satisfied himself that the prisoners had been properly treated and fed. He sent in a daily report to the Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner, as the case might be, of the result of such inspection. He was at the disposal of the presiding magistrates and promptly attended to all instructions received from them. All police officers arriving at the court would report themselves and the nature of their business to the Court Inspector. It would be his duty to report all delinquencies or shortcomings on the part of the police, as observed in the course of the trial and see that the constables, when no longer required at the courts, returned promptly to their stations.

Inspector (Mounted Branch): He was in charge of the Mounted Branch and all matters connected therewith. He kept the forage and stable accounts and the register of horses. He superintended the breaking and training of remounts and imparted instruction in the mounted duties of Inspectors, Sub Inspectors, European Head Constables and *sowars*. The prison vans, harness and saddlery were also in his charge. He would take command of any parade of the Mounted Branch for drill exercise or, when called on, to act in a body. He occasionally visited and inspected the stables, horses, and saddlery in Divisions bringing to the notice of the Commissioner any defects

observed. Any communications touching the Mounted Branch would be made, in the first instance, to him and he would either dispose of the matter himself or report it for orders through the Chief Superintendent. He exercised the same powers in respect of the *sowars* and stable establishment as a Divisional Inspector. All ranks from Chief Superintendent to European Head Constables, (except Indian Sub Inspectors) were provided with horses and saddlery, for the purposes of their out-door duties, expenses connected therewith being met by Government.

Sub Inspectors (European and Indian): These officers were placed in charge of sections and discharge in reference to them the same executive duties as a Divisional Inspector discharged in reference to his division, subject to the control of the latter officer. Sub Inspectors had to ride through their sections daily from 6 to 8 in the morning and from 4-30 to 7-30 in the evening and go rounds for four hours every third night, starting at an hour fixed by the Divisional Inspector.

Head Constable (Indian)—The Station House Officer: The senior Head Constable in charge of a police station was called the Station House Officer and he was responsible for the effective working and management of the section attached to his station and for the preservation of the peace and prevention and detection of crime therein. His immediate official superior was the Sub Inspector of the section. He was responsible for the orderly conduct of his men at all times; he mustered his men every morning and evening and assigned to each his duty for the day; he ascertained by every means within his power that the constables performed their duties, himself inspecting two or three beats every day. On the occurrence of a crime within his section he sent early intimation to his Divisional Inspector and to the Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner and Chief Superintendent when necessary, and proceeded at once to the spot to detect and apprehend the offender. He was responsible for the accuracy with which the proper forms were kept in the Station House and for the punctual despatch of diaries, reports, returns and all other papers required to be submitted to the Commissioner's Office. When a Station House Officer left his station, even for a short time, he should invariably appoint another head constable or constable to take charge during his absence. He would be in charge of the unclaimed property and all property in connexion with cases, left at the station and be responsible for all

monies for the current expenses of his station. He would go rounds for four hours one night in every three.

The Police Commission of 1902 suggested the introduction of important changes in the administration of the City Police. One of the primary recommendations was that the Commissioner should be subordinate to the Inspector General of Police as the complete separation existing then between the City and District Police was not conducive to systematic co-operation and also left the Inspector General in ignorance of the police work in the most important charge in the province. The next was that the Commissioner should be graded as a Deputy Inspector General of Police and should retain larger powers of discipline and control than a District Superintendent of Police. A third was to abolish the posts of Deputy Commissioner and Superintendents as they existed then and their places to be taken by a small number of District Superintendents of Police deputed for duty in the City. With regard to the lower ranks an organization similar to that in the districts but with a large proportion of European elements was recommended. All these recommendations were accepted by the Madras Government.

The Government also passed orders that City Police Inspectors should be graded at Rs. 200/-, Rs. 250/- and Rs. 300/- with free quarters and a conveyance allowance of Rs. 25/-. They were to be recruited from the ranks of Sub Inspectors, who were to be placed on Rs. 75/-, Rs. 100/- and Rs. 125/- grades with a conveyance allowance of Rs. 20/-. The Head Constables' grades were Rs. 15/-, Rs. 20/- and Rs. 25 - while the Constables' would have Rs. 8/- Rs. 9/ and Rs. 10/-. These increments for police constables were to take effect at three years, ten years and seventeen years of service. The training was to be similar in all cases to that in the mofussil.

The Mounted Police had also come within the purview of the Commission. Mr Giles had not set much store about their utility for traffic control, for purposes of rapid communication or for suppression of riots. The Commission did not lay any hard and fast rule about the maintenance of the Mounted Police but stated that the pay of the Mounted Police should be the same as that of the Foot Police.

A few remarks must be made about the Marine Police at this stage. In the early years, the Marine or Beach Police was distinctly a harbour police, responsible for all police duties ashore and afloat and for the

safe custody of cargo in transit from the shipping to the Sea Custom House. Subsequently it was relieved of the duties of the watch and ward of the cargo and the strength of the force was reduced. After the formation of the Harbour Trust Board, the Chairman of the Board wrote to the Commissioner to increase substantially the strength of the Marine Police. Accordingly one Inspector, two European Sub Inspectors, four European Head Constables, ten Head Constables and seventy Constables were sanctioned for the Marine Police. The same distrust of efficiency of Indians running through every recommendation of this period was noticed in the correspondence of the Commissioner with the Chairman. With regard to European supervision in the harbour the Commissioner wrote :—

“ I now come to the most important item in the whole scheme and the one which the Harbour Trust Board seem inclined to consider unnecessary, viz. the European officers. Native police, whether constables, or head constables, cannot be kept up to the mark without constant European supervision. This is found to be the case all over the city; if it is removed or lessened, the native head constables at once get slack in their supervision of the constables and the constables at once neglect their work and in fact absent themselves from it. It is only the knowledge that a European officer will be coming round that makes the whole machinery work. Another point is that in matters of obstructions and keeping order in such places as the pier, a native policeman will usually begin a long argument and so make the confusion worse confounded, whereas a European officer clears the obstruction first and argues afterwards. I would also mention as showing the necessity of European officers, that we have to detail a European to be in charge of the quarantine party on board every ship in quarantine and that when some native police were employed on board ship to check broaching of cargo in the hold they appear to have joined with the cooly thieves and got drunk on the liquor stolen in the hold. The work of the harbour, both of police and others, has been admittedly unsatisfactory and this has undoubtedly been caused by a want of European officials. I may mention that so much have the police felt it that I have been obliged to allow a European head constable to be borrowed from B Division, where he could ill be spared, for work on the pier. If the same false economy is now to be exercised and an insufficient European staff to be employed, no improvement can be expected and, as stated in my previous letter, I would not undertake the responsibility involved, unless.

of course, ordered by Government to do so. I still consider that the addition of one Sub Inspector and four European head constables is absolutely necessary. This would give us an Inspector in charge of the whole force and six European officers who would be divided into two parties of three reliefs, one party for supervision of all duties on shore and on the pier and the other for the duties afloat. Natives could hardly be trusted to do water patrolling at night unless a European were in charge."

Thus the Madras City Police of the present day was born like the phoenix out of the ashes of an early police system which lived for over two centuries ever conscious of its role in ensuring the success and stability of the East India Company. When the early police system was found to have outlived its purpose, there was born in 1856 a new and more vigorous organization to meet the growing demands of the Government and constant needs of the citizens. No longer did this new organization bother itself with the supply of fish and sale of vegetable; municipal administration and market affairs; the Monegar Choultry and the Military Male Asylum; it confined itself to duties which were purely police: preservation of the peace, protection of lives and property, and the prevention of crime. Like every living organism, the new born City Police also suffered from infantile disorders and teething troubles. In 1856, when it was born, the administration was in the hands of the Commissioner of Police who was directly responsible to the Government. But in 1867 the Madras City Police was incorporated with the general police force of the province and the Commissioner placed in subordination to the Inspector General of Police. This arrangement continued till 1888 when the City Police was separated from the General Police, thus making the Commissioner once more independent of the Inspector General. Until 1902 when the Police Commission went into the causes that hampered the vigorous growth of the police organization as an effective limb of the Government ensuring internal security, the city and the district police forces functioned independently. We shall see in the pages that follow the origin, growth and development of the police in the districts of the Madras State.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GENESIS OF THE MOFUSSIL POLICE

WHEN THE EARLY British traders extended their commercial activities to the interior of the southern peninsula, they no longer confined themselves to trade and commerce alone but on the other hand began to evince an active interest in the political affairs of the country. The lure of power is as irresistible as the lust for gold and no wonder the one-time traders became the rulers of the land when the sceptre of the local potentates fell. The administrative machinery of the British which functioned within the fortifications of the Fort St. George moved along with the marching army into the interior of the peninsula. Consolidation of power followed the conquest of territories. The police became the handmaid of the civil power to ensure the stability of administration.

We have seen the genesis of the City Police and followed its growth during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In order that one may follow the course of expansion of the City Police its story has been told at one stretch from its inception to the end of the nineteenth century. Now it remains to trace the course of the mighty river, the Mofussil Police, which has flowed through centuries in the interior parts of South India. Therefore it becomes necessary to go back again to the beginning of the nineteenth century and trace separately its course through the rocky eminences of Eastern and Western Ghats to its confluence with the City Police at the beginning of the present century.

The Madras State arose out of the territories conquered by the British which were pieced together and brought under the jurisdiction of Fort St. George. The fifth report of the Select Committee of 1822 on the affairs of the East India Company provides a concise version of the acquisition of territory by the East India Company upto the beginning of the 19th century.

Northern Circars "originally formed part of the ancient kingdoms of Oriya and Telinga; having with the whole of those kingdoms, been brought, in the thirteenth century, under the Mussulman dominion of Beder. In 1687, they were conquered by Aurungzebe; by the issue of

successful rebellion they passed, in 1724 from the descendants of that emperor to Nizamul Mulk, the soubah or viceroy of the Deccan, who still retained that title, though he had established for himself a distinct, though tributary kingdom, of which the city of Hyderabad was the capital. He was succeeded by his third son, Salabut Jung, who being greatly indebted for his elevation to intrigues and military assistance of the French East India Company, rewarded their services, in 1752, by a grant of the circar of Condavir or Guntoor, which was soon afterwards followed by the cession to that Company, of the other circars. They did not however long remain in the hands of the French. The capture of Masulipatam, in 1759, by the British arms, having deprived them of all real power and influence; these territories reverted to the Government of the Nizam, with the exception of the acknowledged dependencies of the town and fortress of Masulipatam, which were retained by the English East India Company. This course of policy on the part of the British power would seem to have been dictated by the pressure of other concerns, and by the fear of engaging in an undertaking, apparently beyond its strength. Deprived of the support of the French, Salabut Jung, whose resources were as feeble as his conduct was irresolute, was soon superseded in his authority, by the influence of his brother Nizam Alli. It is not necessary for your Committee to enter into the history of an offer made by the new soubah to the East India Company, of the Northern circars: or of the circumstances which put an end to the negotiation on that subject. It is sufficient to state, that the discovery of an intention on the part of the Nabob of Arcot, of eventually adding the sovereignty of the circars to his dominions in the Carnatic, induced Lord Clive, in 1765, to obtain from the Mogul a grant of four of them, namely, Cicacole, Rajahmundry, Ellore and Condapilly; which in the following year was confirmed by a treaty entered into with the Nizam.

“The remaining circar of Guntoor was at that time, in the possession of Bazalet Jung, the brother of the Nizam, by whom it was held as a jaghire. It was contingently stipulated for in the treaty with the Nizam, subject to the life of Bazalet Jung; but did not devolve to the East India Company, till the year 1788. A treaty had indeed (77) been most improperly concluded with Bazalet Jung, in the early part of the year 1779, by the Government of Fort St. George, without the consent of the Nizam, for the cession of this circar; and in a few months afterwards, it was granted by the same government

to the Nabob of the Carnatick, on a lease of ten years; but the whole transaction was annulled in the following year, by the authority of the government of Bengal.

“As on the acquisition of the four circars, two of them only had acknowledged the authority of the company, and as their servants were, of necessity, but very imperfectly informed of the usages of the people; there was every reason to believe that the first arrangements to be made, would be attended with great difficulty. It was therefore judged expedient, to administer the government for a time, in the manner which had been found established. The total management of the circars of Rajahmundry, Ellore and Condapilly was consequently committed, under a lease for three years, to a native, Hussein Alli Khan, who had before governed the country in the name of the Nizam, and who, as deputy of the British government, was invested with all the power and splendor of a viceroy. The circar of Cicacole was placed, under another delegate.

“The districts of Salem and Kistnagherry, comprising the Baramahal, and the provinces of Dindigul and Malabar, were ceded to the Company by Tippoo Saheb, under the treaty of peace concluded at Seringapatam, on the 18th March, 1792. The Malabar country was, at first, placed under the charge of the Bombay government, and so continued until 1880. The Company were before possessed of the fort and dependencies of Tellicherry, Mylam, and Durmapatam, which yielded only a trifling revenue.

“In 1793, the settlement of Pondicherry and its adjacent lands, were acquired in consequence of the war, with France; and in 1795 in consequence of the same war, which involved the Company in hostilities with the Dutch, they obtained possession of Pulicat and Sadras.

“In 1799, the province of Canara and the districts of Soondah and some other districts, were, according to a schedule annexed to the treaty of partition with the Nizam and the Peishwah, dated the 22nd June, in that year, transferred to the Company, as their share of the dominions of the late sultan of Mysore; and by the same treaty, the Company also acquired the province of Coimbatore, the circar lands and pollams of Ballaghaut, and the island of Seringapatam. It was also in the same year that the province of Tanjore, was by treaty with the Rajah, made over to the Company.

“In 1800, under a treaty with the Nizam, dated 12th October, all that tract of the country situated south of the rivers Tungbudra and Kistna, which the Nizam acquired by the treaty of Seringapatam of 1792, and by the treaty of Mysore of 1799, together with the talook of Adoni, and all other of His Highness's talooks south of these rivers, were ceded to the Company. This large portion of territory is what is now called the Ceded Districts; and to these districts, two-thirds of Punganoor and part of Goodiput were added, having been exchanged for certain districts which had been reserved by the treaty of Mysore in 1799, as the eventual portion of the Peishwah; but which, by the supplementary treaty of Mysore, dated 29th December 1803, fell into the possession of the Company. Other districts (116) were also obtained in exchange, which were attached to the Malabar and Carnatic territory.

“In 1801, the whole of the possessions of the Nabob of Arcot, situated in the Carnatic, with the exception of a small portion retained by him as the household lands of himself and family, were transferred to the Company, by treaty. Of the Pollams situated in the southern part of the Carnatic, commonly called the Southern Pollams, consisting of the Tinnevely, and Manapara Pollams, and the two Marawars, Ramnad, Shevagunga, and of those situated to the westward, called the Western Pollams, the Company had collected the peshcush or tribute, since 1792, under a treaty with the Nabob in that year. In 1795, the Pollam of Ramnad, of which the Company collected the peshcush since 1792, came under their sole and absolute charge and management. The remaining part of the Carnatic acquired by the treaty of 1801, consisted of the districts of Palnaud, Nellore, and Ongole, the province of Arcot, the Pollams of Chittoor, the districts of Satevaïd, Tinnevely and Madura.

“The papers which have been at different times, laid before the House, have already furnished it with information of the circumstances under which these extensive acquisitions came into the possession of the Company.

“A considerable portion of them, consisted of districts held by Poligars or military chieftains; but the remaining, and by far the largest part, had been under the immediate management of the native governments, who collected the revenues, and administered the local affairs, in such manner as they thought proper.”

The British power may thus be said to have been fully established in this Presidency in the beginning of the last century. The only territorial changes that occurred by the end of that century were the annexation of Kurnool proper in 1838, the transfer of North Canara to Bombay Presidency in 1862 and the addition of Bhadrachalam and Rekapalli Taluks transferred from the Central Provinces to the Godavari District in 1874. The condition of the country during this period of transition was one of acute famine and pestilence. In the language of the "Fifth Report" when the Northern Circars were handed over by the Nizam to the English in 1766 "the whole system of internal management had become disorganized. Not only the forms but even the semblance of civil authority seemed to be wholly lost." The Chingleput district had almost been depopulated by the wars with Hyder, so much so that "hardly any other signs were left in many parts of the country of its having been inhabited by human beings than the bones of the bodies that had been massacred or the naked walls of the houses, choultries and temples which had been burnt." Dr Buchanan who travelled from the East to the West Coast in 1800, mentions that the country was infested by gangs of marauders to such an extent that "the smallest village of 5 or 6 houses is fortified. The defence of such a village consists of a round stone wall perhaps 40 feet in diameter and 6 feet high. On the top of this is a parapet of mud with a doorway in it, to which the only access is by a ladder. In case of a plundering party coming near the village, the people ascend this tower with their families and most valuable effects and having drawn up the ladder defend themselves with stones, which even the women throw with great force and dexterity. Larger villages have square forts with round towers at the angles. In those still larger, or in towns, the defences are more numerous and the fort serves as a citadel; while the village or *pettah* is surrounded by a weaker defence of mud. The inhabitants consider fortification as necessary to their existence and one at the expense of building and the risk of defending them. The country indeed for a long series of years, has been in a constant state of warfare and the poor inhabitants have suffered too much from all parties, to trust in any."

References have often been made in the preceding pages to poligars and the Kaval system. It may be better to tarry a while at this stage and understand the evolution of the poligar system and how it was invested with Kaval powers. *A Comprehensive Tamil and*

English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil by Winlow defines a Palayam as follows :—

“ In Tamil the word ‘ Palayam ’ means the country or district of a feudatory chieftain, a camp or town or village surrounded with stones; and Palayapatti means a Town or village governed by a poligar or his estate. Rev. Caldwell in his “ *History of Tennevelly* ” gives the literal meaning of *palayakaran* as the holder of a camp and secondly as the holder of a barony or military tenure. The English seem to have taken their favourite name poligar not from Tamil *palayakaran* but from the Telugu ‘ Palegadu ’ or the Cannarese ‘ Palegara ’ the meaning of which is the same. Similarly the Anglo-Indian word Pollam (poligar’s holding) is derived from the Telugu Palem rather than from the Tamil Palayam.”

Viswanatha Nayakkan (1559) is said to be the founder of the establishment of the poligars. The *Madura District Gazetteer* says “ The system was based on a principle which no previous ruler has adopted in the South; and it seems more reasonable to attribute its origin to the self assertion of local leaders than to the deliberate action of a paramount authority.” Rev. H. Heras in his book on the *Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar* slightly differs from this view. “ Although the system was not completely new inasmuch as we find some Palayakarans in the Southern country before the establishment of Vishwanath; nevertheless to him was due its institution as a permanent and efficient body for the administration of the country and for the defence of the capital.”

The rise of the Nayakkan power in the South was a result of fortuitous circumstances. It has already been stated that the Muslim supremacy in the South established by the conquests of Malik Kafur was set at defiance by the rising Hindu power of Vijayanagar, by about the year 1365. Though the overlordship was vested in the Vijayanagar kings and a representative of the Emperor was in Madurai, there does not appear to have been much interference with the rule of the Pandyas. Dr Caldwell says that “ throughout the greater number of the reigns of these Pandyan kings of the later line (that is those who ruled after the expulsion of the Mussulmans) the kings of Vijayanagar appear to have exercised supreme authority, but I think it may be assumed that they did not interfere much in the internal affairs of the country, and that they contented themselves with receiving tribute and occasionally military help.

In about 1558 the then Chola ruler invaded Madura and dispossessed the Pandya king. The latter appealed to the Vijayanagar emperor for help. In response to this appeal, an expedition was sent to Madura under the command of certain Nagama Nayakkan. The new Commander was instantly successful and removed the domination of the Chola. But power seems to have corrupted him and instead of putting the Pandyan king on the throne, he threw off his allegiance and proclaimed himself an independent sovereign. The Vijayanagar emperor was wroth at this disloyalty and in the council summoned of his most loyal officers, he cried out "Where amongst you all, is he who will bring me that rebel's head". Everyone in that vast assemblage was astounded to see Nagama's own son Viswanatha stepping out and begging of his sovereign to let that honour go to him. The offer was accepted and he was sent to Madura with a large force. A pitched battle ensued between the medieval Rustum and Sohrab in which, true to tradition, the son had the victory. Nagama Nayakkan was put in confinement and was later pardoned for his indiscretion, through his son's intercession.

The Pandyas had become a decaying power and the appearance of Viswanatha on the scene gave a death-blow to this feeble dynasty and the Nayaka regime, by accident or design, developed first into a governorship which became hereditary and then into what was practically a hereditary monarchy. The following details given in the *Madura District Gazetteer* shows how the poligar system had its genesis at the time of Viswanatha.

"Viswanatha is said to have immediately set himself to strengthen his capital and improve the administration of his dominions. He demolished the Pandya rampart and ditch which at that time surrounded merely the walls of the great temple, and erected in their place an extensive double walled fortress defended by 72 bastions; and he led channels from the upper waters of the Vaigai—perhaps the Peranai and Chittanai dams owe their origin to him—to water the country, founding villages in the tracts commanded by them.

"In his administrative improvements he was ably seconded by his Prime Minister, Arya Nayakka Mudali (or, as he is still commonly called, Arya Natha), a man born of peasant Vellala parents who had won his way by sheer ability to a high position in the Vijayanagar court. This officer is supposed to have been the founder of 'the poligar

system', under which the Madura country was apportioned among 72 chieftains—some of them local men and others Telugu leaders of the detachments which had accompanied Viswanatha from Vijayanagar—who were each placed in charge of one of the 72 bastions of the new Madura fortifications, were responsible for the immediate control of their estates, paid a fixed tribute to the Nayakkans, and kept up a certain quota of troops ready for immediate service. Unless their family traditions are uniformly false, these men did much for the country in those days, founding villages, building dams, constructing tanks and erecting temples. Many of them bore the title of Nayakkan, and hence the commonness of *Nayakkanur* as a termination to the names of places in this district. They also brought with them the gods of the Deccan, and thus we find in Madurai many shrines to Ahobilam and other deities who are rarely worshipped in the Tamil country. Their successors, the present zemindars of the district, still look upon Arya Natha as a sort of patron saint.

“This man is also credited with having constructed the great thousand-pillared mantapam in the Madura temple, and he is still kept in mind by the equestrian statue of him which flanks one side of the entrance of this, and is even now periodically crowned with garlands by the hero-worshippers of today. He lived till 1600 and had great influence upon the fate of the Nayakkan dynasty until his death.

“Viswanatha also added the fort of Trichinopoly to his possessions. The Vijayanagar viceroy who governed the Tanjore country had failed to properly police the pilgrim roads which ran through Trichinopoly to the shrines at Srirangam and Rameswaram, and devotees were afraid to visit those holy places. Viswanatha accordingly arranged to exchange that town for the fort of Vallam (in Tanjore) which was his at that time. He is said to have then vastly improved the fortifications and town of Trichinopoly and the temple of Srirangam, and to have cleared the banks of the Cauvery of robbers.”

The poligar system was beneficial to the ryots and the common people, so long as the controlling power was strong and vigilant but after the disruption of the Vijayanagar dynasty in 1565 at the battle of Talikota, the Nayakkans became independent and were bent upon enriching themselves at the expense of the hewers of wood and drawers of water. This is graphically explained in a letter from a Jesuit priest which is preserved in one of the four volumes of the book entitled

“*La mission du madure*”, containing letters and periodical reports of the priests of the Jesuit Mission at Madurai.

“The king or great Nayakkan, of Madura has only a few estates which depend immediately upon him, that is to say which are his own property (for in this country the great are the sole proprietors and the common people are merely their tenants) and all the rest of the land belongs to a crowd of small princes or tributary poligars. These last have, each in his own estate, the entire administration of the police and of justice—if justice it can ever be called—and they levy the revenue (which comprises at least half the produce of the soil) and divide it into three parts. Of these, the first is set aside as tribute to the great Nayakkan, the second is allotted for the upkeep of the troops with which the poligar is obliged to furnish him in case of war and the third goes to the poligar himself. The great Nayakkan of Madura, and also those of Tanjore and Gingee, are themselves tributary to the king of Vijayanagar, to whom they have each to pay annually from six to ten million francs. But they are not regular in sending these amounts, often make delay, sometimes even refuse insolently to pay at all; and then the king of Vijayanagar appears, or sends one of his generals, at the head of 100,000 men to collect the arrears with interest. When this happens (as it often does) it is once more the poor common people who pay for the fault of their princes; the whole country is devastated, and the inhabitants are pillaged or massacred.”

In 1794 the poligars of Madurai district were in open revolt and the British had a hard time to cope with their activities.

The District Gazetteer mentions the confused state as follows:—

“The December of this same year Mr Wrangham was replaced by Mr George Wynch, but the year and a half during which the latter remained in charge witnessed even worse confusion than ever. He had scarcely taken charge when Captain Oliver, the officer commanding the district, reported that the Palni poligar was engaged in open hostilities with his neighbour, the poligar of Ayakkudi, while one of Tipu Sultan’s officers complained that the former was looting across the boundry in Coimbatore; several of the other poligars disobeyed the Collector’s summons to appear before him in Dindigul; the poligar of Sandaiyur laid claim to the *palaiyam* of Devadanapatti, the owner of which had recently died, and refused to enter into any engagement for

the payment of his arrears until his claim was allowed; the Palni poligar objects to the proposal to detach and assess separately the Ayakkudi estate which had once been an appanage of his *palaiyam*, and not only refused to pay his peshkash but armed a thousand of his followers; and Virupakshi poligar declined to receive the Collector's sanad and customary presents and laid claim to the Kannivadi estate; the Travancore manager kept on committing every sort of excess in Kambam and Gudalur; in April the Collector himself and his escort were stopped on the boundaries of Bodinayakkanur and his peons were fired on; and in May the Vadakarai poligar joined Bodinayakkanur, both Palni and Ayakkudi began arming, Virupakshi opposed the Collector's progress, and Kombai set himself to stir up disturbances in the Kambam valley."

The *Tinnevelly Gazetteer* gives a vivid picture of the ancient police system and how the poligars utilized it to gain their own ends.

"The basis of the ancient police system of Tinnevelly was the *Kudikaval*, or *Stalakaval*, the "village watch". Dating perhaps from the time of the formation of the village community itself, it represents the simple and effective device of a self-contained group of inhabitants for protecting their lives and property from the aggression of hostile or jealous neighbours. Theft is the commonest and most dangerous form of crime in a primitive community; and should a theft occur in the village, it was the duty of the *Kudikavalgar*, the people's watchman, to trace and recover the stolen property or, if he failed in this, to recompense the owner from his own resources. The office of *Kavalgar*, when we first find it, is generally hereditary, and the watchman is paid by contributions made at the time of harvest by all the villagers. Though primarily a servant of the villagers and responsible to them, his value is recognized by the Sirkar, a central authority, and in recognition of this fact he is often allowed to enjoy lands on favourable tenure.

"With the institution of the poligar system—popularly ascribed to Viswanatha Nayakkan (A.D. 1559-1563)—the innocent and peaceful institution of *Stalakaval* suffered a blow from which it never subsequently recovered. Whatever may have been the intentions of their founder (if indeed the poligar system may be attributed to the deliberate action of a central authority), there is no doubt that the poligars soon usurped most of the authority of the government to which

they were nominally subject and terrorized the country to a degree which in these days it is scarcely possible to realize. The strongest engine of their power was an institution invented by them which came to be known as *desakaval*. The earliest enquiries as to its origin (made in 1797 by Mr Lushington) went to show that the system originated in the early years of the eighteenth century, when anarchy had reached its highest pitch, and that, during the convulsions which followed, it had developed and extended its power. It is quite possible, however, that the institution was a good deal older than this and that, from having been in its origin harmless and possibly necessary, it had by the eighteenth century degenerated to a system of plunder and extortion, in which it was impossible to recognize its original purpose. The *desakaval* was maintained by the levy of fees from the inhabitants of villages, whether belonging to the poligars or the *sirkar*, theoretically for the performance by the poligars or their nominees of those duties of watching which it was beyond the power of the village-watchers to execute. The high roads, the jungles, tracts of uninhabited country, the district borders—in all these places, gangs of marauders might be found; and to deal with law-breakers of this kind the poligars instituted their special constabulary. Like so many institutions of its kind, the *desakaval* soon lost its good features and developed its worst. The collections were made by armed peons, and, when the demands were not quietly submitted to “torture and the whip are applied, the whole village put into confinement, every occupation interdicted, the cattle pounded, the inhabitants taken captive to, and not unfrequently, murdered in the *pollams* and in short every outrage and violence and cruelty committed until their purposes are obtained.” The contributions consisted of fees, fixed in lump on a village, “the people suffering considerably if the village is declining in its tillage, or population, because it then becomes divided upon fewer persons than when the village was in a thriving condition.” Fees were levied also on ploughs, looms, shops and labourers; the poligar had allotments of land in the *sirkar* villages, on which he received the government share or assessment, a claim which he had no difficulty in enforcing against his rival in extortion, the *sirkar's* renter. The poligar's methods were ingenious. Discontented *sirkar* ryots were easy enough to find; and if they chose to fly from the renter to the poligar, as the latter encouraged them to do, the poligar would pose as the champion of the *sirkar* village in question and demand from the renter the recognition of his *madisum*, or self-imposed duty of protecting the village from

any "breach of faith" on the part of the *sirkar* servants. If this were denied the poligar, the discontented villagers would be settled in the *Palaiyam*, or the village bodily annexed, and the renter would lose a year's revenue. The *madisum* was recognized, the renter's demands were modified, and the *desakaval* of the poligar was fortified. In the hands of men who exercised, within their *palaiyams* at least, the powers of life and death, the *desakaval* was a weapon of incalculable savagery.

"But the power of the poligars did not stop with *desakaval*. Not only had they seized and appropriated large extents of the *sirkar* lands, but, in more than three-quarters of the total number of villages remaining to the *sirkar*, the poligars had usurped the power of appointing and controlling even the *stalakavalgars* and receiving from them "russoms" or fees. The exercise of this power led to other exactions, "Hunting batta," contributions to marriage parties, and numberless fees of all sorts and sizes.

"The treaty of 1792 placed the poligars under the Company's authority; but, when it was realized that the poligars dominated the *sirkar* villages only in a slightly less degree than their own, differences naturally arose between the parties to the agreement as to interpretation of its terms. The difficulties of the situation were explained by Mr Landon and by Mr Powney who succeeded him. Was the *desakaval* right with its fees to be admitted? If so, who to collect the fees from the *sirkar* villages, the Nawab through his renter or the Company through its "Collector of Peshkash"? The Nawab might collect the fees and pay the amount to the Company; but the poligars, the suppression of whose excesses was the main object of the Company's control, would still exercise their tyranny over the *sirkar* lands. A sum of nearly three lakhs of rupees—which was the estimated value of the poligars' usurpations in the *sirkar* lands—represented an extensive and dangerous authority. It was suggested that, as had already been done in Madura, Government should resume the *kaval* lands and itself pay the actual *kavalgars* from the produce of the lands. This might have been practicable, had the produce of lands been the only source from which the poligars derived their payments; it might also have been possible to levy an additional revenue from the poligars and relieve them entirely of the duty of maintaining their establishments, had not the treaty of 1792 fixed the *peshkash* amounts. The fact was that, so

long as the dual control of the Company and the Nawab continued, it was impossible to effect any satisfactory police arrangements.

“Finally, in 1800, after the suppression of the great poligar rebellion of the previous year, an agreement was effected with the Nawab, by which the poligars were prohibited from collecting from the *sirkar* villages either *Desakaval* or *Stalakaval* fees; the Company undertook to perform the duties for which these fees had been paid, and the Nawab was to collect the fees and reimburse the Company for the loss they sustained by the surrender of them.

“In regard to the *Desakaval* the situation, though still difficult, was improving; the position of the *Stalakavalgars* was, if anything, worse. ‘The power of the *cavel carrahs*,’ i.e. (*Desakavalgars*) wrote Mr Lushington, ‘has been so completely humbled, that the *tullam cavel carrahs* have no longer any dread of them; and from their interference I have no apprehension of any serious obstruction to the well-ordering of the watching services; but there are other circumstances, which, if suffered to take their course, would place the provinces in a greater state of confusion and insecurity of property and life than it was in the plenitude of the poligar power. I refer to the injuries which the *cavel carrahs* no longer protected by or connected with the poligars receive from the *circar* servants by the withholding of their *russooms* and being made responsible for thefts which have never happened. Under the pressure of such injuries it is obvious that men who have arms in their hands, who are well acquainted with all the lurking-places in the country, whose line of duty favours nightly excursions and to whom the hereditary office of protector as well as their long connection with the poligar has naturally given a spirit of enterprise and independence will plunder and rob rather than starve. To disarm them would not be effectual; for a large bamboo with a piece of iron stuck on the top of it is all-sufficient for the purposes of robbery and plunder.’ The problem was not solved until 1801, when the undivided sovereignty of the whole district came into the hands of the East India Company.

“The *Desakaval* was immediately abolished by proclamation; the fees levied on this account, to the value of Rs. 1,92,500 were resumed; and the poligars, now finally disarmed, were prohibited from receiving ‘watching fees’ on this account and from performing any duties connected with the police of the country. At the same time Mr Lushington accomplished his design of ‘restoring the *tullum caval* to the intention

of its institution and the enjoyment of the fees and privileges justly due to that service to the executors of that duty.' A few years later Mr Hodgson, who had been sent on a commission of enquiry to the district, was able to report: 'the security of persons which has followed from the assumption of the *cawelly* from poligars, the punishment of the rebellious and the transfer of the country to the authority of the Company can only be estimated by those who were witnesses of the previous scenes of insecurity, robbery, plunder and murder.'

"Suitable, however, as the *Stalakaval* system may have been to an age when the necessity of self-protection made the isolated village strong and when the interference of a feeble central government was confined to the periodical exactions of its renters, it possessed in itself all the elements which, having been excited by the inroads of plundering poligars, were to defy for years to come the best efforts of a strong and persevering Government to regulate."

The names of some of the poligars of this period have caught the popular imagination at the present day and they have been held up as champions of the cause of freedom and models of patriotic fervour and leonine courage. British historians and military annals have characterized them as free-booters and rebels and attempted to depict them as monsters committing the most heinous crimes. A description of the poligars of Tinnelvelly and their followers are extracted below from the *Tinnelvelly District Gazetteer*.

"At the time when the English first set foot in Tinnelvelly (probably Lieutenant Innis was the first Englishman to do so) there were in the district (that is, in the district as it existed till 1910) no less than thirty-one such baronies. Of the modern district practically the whole of the Sankaranainarkoil taluk, a great part of the Tenkasi and Ambasamudram taluks and more than half the modern Koilpatti taluk were under the control of these chieftains. The poligars of the Koilpatti country were almost all of the Tottiyar caste, owing their establishment, doubtless, to the favour or at least the acquiescence of their fellow—Telugus, who constituted the Nayakkan dynasty of Madura; prominent among them were the chieftains of Panjalankurichi and Ettaiyapuram. The western poligars, with the exception of Sivagiri and the unimportant Alagapuri, who were Vanniyans, belonged to the Marava caste; their leaders were the poligar of Nelkattanseval (always known as the Puli Thevan) and the poligar of Chokkampatti.

Each chieftain was surrounded by a horde of armed retainers, mostly Maravans. By Orme and other writers of the period they are referred to as *colleries*, a word invented for the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts, where the corresponding race of free-booters belonged to the caste of Kallans, or *cullers*. Referring to the Marava *colleries* of Tinnevely, Orme says:—

“The Colleries of this side (i.e. the west) of the Tinnevely country possess nothing of the ugliness or deformity which generally characterize the inhabitants of the hills and wilds of India. They are tall, well-made, and well-featured. Their arms are lances and pikes, bow and arrows, rockets and matchlocks, but whether with or without other weapons, every man constantly wears a sword and shield. In battle the different arms move in distinct bodies; but the lancemen are rated the most eminent, and lead all attacks. This weapon is eighteen feet long. They tie under the point a tuft of scarlet horse-hair and when they attack horse, add a small bell. Without previous exercise, they assemble in a deep column, pressing close together, and advance at a long steady step, in some degree of time, their lances inclining forward, but aloft, of which the elasticity and vibration, with the jingle and dazzle, scare the cavalry; and their approach is scarcely less formidable to infantry not disciplined with fire-arms.”

The most prominent of these fighters for freedom, who had several victories over the British arms to his credit is Kattabomma Nayakan, the chieftain of Panjalankurichi. The exploits of this chieftain, his younger brother Oomathurai and captain of his army have been sung in ballads and poems. They have stirred the hearts of thousands of his countrymen and though the end was a tragedy, it ennobled and purified the sordid details of their fights with the British. A hero of the same stature, who is slowly coming into his own is Puli Thevan, the poligar of Nelkattanseval. It was a pity that these two could not join hands and drive away the Muslim invaders whose presence in their midst led to eventual British occupation.

The History of the Madras Regiment (1758-1958) written by Lt. Col. E. G. Phythian-Adams, O.B.E., mentions an incident about the stout-heartedness and courage of the poligars as described by Colonel Welsh. One of the poligars who were on the side of the British had been mortally wounded. He had carried himself into the presence of

the British commander. Without any perturbation the old man said in a firm voice, "I have come to show the English how a poligar can die." He twisted his whiskers with both hands as he spoke and gave up his ghost. This is the metal of which the poligars were made and it is not surprising that Kattabomma Nayakan and Puli Thevan still represent an age of indomitable will and courage inspite of heavy odds against them.

In some of the areas of Trichinopoly district the Kaval system was controlled by *arasu* (royal) *kavalagam*. The *arasu kavalagam* of Pudukottai was the Raja himself, and those of Turaiyur, Ariyalur and Udaiyarpalayam were the poligars of those places. They were apparently responsible to the native government for the maintenance of order, and employed a host of *men* (upper) *kavalgars*, *kudi kavalgars*, *visarippukarans* and *kulapandis* under them. All these received a share of the fees paid by the ryots, and they also possessed inam lands. The *men kavalgars* had a badge of office in the shape of an inscribed copper or brass plate called a *pattayam*. Regarding the peculiarities in the *kaval* system the undermentioned paragraph extracted from the *Trichinopoly District Gazetteer* is of interest.

"Thus the ordinary *kaval* extends to all property; but the Kallan *kaval* in the south-west of Karur is confined to bullocks, while the Kuravans in the same area take no responsibility for bullocks. Again the fees vary a good deal. In Karur the Kallans demand a money payment from each ryot, which varies with the extent of his holding but does not exceed Rs. 3/- per annum; while the Kuravans collect grain payments from landholders (sixteen measures of grain for a large holding and eight measures for a small one), a rupce or a lamb for each pen of sheep or goats, and two measures of grain for each threshing or a basket of ears for each harvesting. The Kallans of the east of the district levy four to six annas for each family and lesser fees in money from single men among the poorer classes; but they exact large fees in grain and animals from richer ryots, rather on the lines adopted by the Kuravans of Karur. Again the extent of each *kavalgar's* 'holding' varies a good deal. In the Karur taluk the Kallan *kavalgars* often hold several villages, while the Kuravans hold only one village each. Indeed in this taluk the Kallan *kaval* is known as the *Desai* or 'district *kaval*', while the other is known as the *padi kaval*. The Kuravan *kavalgars* of Namakkal also have only one village each. In the east of the district however, as already noted, 'holdings' of various sizes, numbering from three to ten villages, exist.

“Wherever *Kaval* exists, *Tuppukkuli* usually flourishes alongside. This, as already noted, is a system whereby stolen property is given back on payment of blackmail. The agent of the thieves comes to the loser of the property and intimates what he will have to pay to get his property back—generally half its value. The money is paid and the property reappears. Ordinarily a man who has been robbed by one of the *Kavalgar* tribes will not complain to the police. If he does, his property will disappear for ever, and he will not only gain nothing but will be liable to further depredations. If he submits and pays his blackmail he is at any rate certain of getting his property back. The result is that a considerable amount of crime is probably never reported to the police at all.

“The Kallans have rather elaborate arrangements for dividing the fees paid as *Tuppukkuli*. The *Men Kavalgar* gets half the amount paid. This is the *Tuppukkuli* proper. The hired cattle-lifters get from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 for their trouble. This is called *Mullu Kuli* or ‘thorn payment’ because it compensates for the thorns which ran into their feet when they took the cattle across country at night. The harbourers of the stolen cattle get a *Kattu kuli* (‘tying-up payment’) of one rupee per head of cattle. If pursuit is anticipated, the cattle are moved several times by stages of 10 or 15 miles, and each harbourer has to be paid. Lastly there is the *Kulu Kuli*, which is the share paid to the village *Kavalgar* for his trouble in acting as agent to extort the blackmail. This is ordinarily a quarter of the total amount paid. The people employed are not always Kallans, though Kallans are generally the harbourers of the stolen cattle. Nor of course is the general habit of stealing and extorting *Tuppukkuli* confined to Kallans, but it is practised by all castes who ply the trade of *Kavalgar* and even by some others.”

The following details are given in the *Tanjore District Gazetteer* about the kaval system and the inequities heaped upon the head of the poor ryots by the kavalgars and their leaders.

“The Kallans and to a less extent the Padaiyachis (Pallis) appear as the kavalgars or rural police at the end of the last century; and, like such officials in other districts, were oppressive in the extreme and infinitely more truly criminals than preventers of crime. Indeed it was probably these very propensities which (owing to the native custom of conciliating thieves by employing them as police) obtained for them

their appointment as guardians of the public peace and private property. Their power for evil was increased by the disorder consequent upon Haidar's invasion of 1781, and by the weakness of the native government in the years just preceding the British occupation of the country. The situation as described at the end of the eighteenth century affords a parallel to the state of things so notorious in Tinnevelly and Madura.

“The institution of District and Village watchers is become the scourge and pest of these rich and happy provinces...Originally a warlike race of peons,...as long as the influence of a superior Government was felt, they were found to perform their duties with wonderful punctuality, and, by an unexampled vigilance, to secure the inhabitants in general from loss...They have been admitted to the receipt of fees from the cultivators and to partake of certain defined privileges...As the powers of Government relaxed their misconduct was overlooked, and the inhabitants, defenceless and exposed, were unable to keep them in bounds. Being naturally of a predatory habit, they presumed to help themselves with impunity, and to make demands upon that property they were employed to protect...and the inhabitants found to their sorrow that no attention was paid to their complaints and that the Circar had lost the power to...chastise their aggressors. It is no longer to the Circar officer that the inhabitant pays his first tribute of submission but to the Cavalcarra...We also learn from the inhabitants that such is the arrogance to which they must submit, that they dare not put a plough to the ground without first having obtained the assent of the Cavalcarra...”

The *South Arcot District Gazetteer* mentions particulars of a jaghir granted to the Company in 1749 by Mohamed Ali, Nawab of Arcot, and the staff of the poligar in charge of it.

“It consisted of 31 villages, five of which were held as a *shrot-riem* by a ‘poligar’ who was responsible for police duties throughout the farm and was required, as usual in such cases, to either detect any thefts which were committed or to make good the loss, and also to furnish *sibbandi* peons in the event of an invasion by an enemy. Besides the income from his own *shrot-riem* villages he also received a small percentage of the crops reaped in the other villages of the farm, and a fee of two *fanams* on every loom in them; and in addition one-eighth of the land-customs-duties, or *juncans*. Under

him were four watchers whose duties and privileges were similar. The village officers and artisans in the jaghir included the astrologer brahmin, the accountant, carpenter, smith and shroff, three 'toaties', the washerman, barber, snake-doctor, potter, shoemaker and sluice-driver and lastly, the 'players of Country Music.' Their several duties are indicated by their names. There was also a head accountant, who was responsible to the *amildar* of the farm (or, when it was leased out, to the renter) for the accounts of the whole property, and peons to attend on the *amildar* or renter. The report also mentions, as though they were a species of village servant, "the male and female slaves of the husbandmen, called *panacaras* and *panacarcheys*," who were paid certain shares of the produce at harvest time."

The details furnished from the several districts applied *mutatis mutandis* to the conditions prevailing in the other Tamil districts of this State, which do not find mention and they can be summarized as follows in the words of Sri C. S. Srinivasachari in his brochure on *The Poligar System in the Tamil Country, its Origin and Growth*.

"The Poligar's men exercised police duties not only in their own villages but presumed to protect the property of the inhabitants and travellers in the adjoining villages and roads. This extension of authority wholly based on encroachment was covered into a pretext, 'for the more severe oppressions of the people in the form of fees and ready money collections'."

Malabar which was taken over by the British in 1792, had been ruled by *nadvazhis* and *desavazhis*. Their armed Nair retainers maintained law and order. These *nadvazhis* and *desavazhis* were in the same position of *arasu kavalgar* and *desa kavalgar*. With the Moham-medan invasion, this system broke down because Tippu embarked on proselytization to Islam by fire and sword. Against the might of his arms, the divided Malabar chieftains had no answer and many of them migrated to Travancore hoping for better times. The mass conversions disrupted the Hindu society of the land and led to the fall of the social and administrative organizations intended for the development of the country. So when the British took over Malabar, except for the animosity between the Hindus and Muslims which had assumed dangerous proportions, they found that the foundations of law and order had been undermined. But the spirit of freedom began to reanimate some of the chiefs when they discovered that the British were

intent on colonization and changed territorial boundaries and disposed them of as if they were of no concern to the sons of the soil. One of the earliest to take up arms against the British was Pychy Raja, a scion of the Kottayam Raja's family. It can be said that like Kattabomma Nayakan this Malabar chieftain was one of the pioneers in the war of liberation of India. All the ingenuity and tactics of Colonel Wellesly, who later humbled Napoleon, as the Duke of Wellington, were tested in the campaigns against Pychy Raja, who was more than a match for him. A curious story is prevalent about his wooden-headedness in his youth. A knowledge of Sanskrit was considered to be a necessary accomplishment of princes in Malabar at that time. Our hero had none of it. His mother was compelled by force of circumstances to send him on a visit of condolence to a neighbouring ruler. The prince was tutored a number of days to put the question, "What am I to do for you"? in Sanskrit, by way of courtesy to the other ruler. But he made a mess of it by pronouncing the first word short whereupon his host lost no opportunity in correcting him by saying that he would be obliged if he pronounced it long. This incident so mortified the mother that she sent him to go and pray underneath a waterfall for twenty one days. On his return after the penance the people were astounded to see him 'lispering in numbers and the numbers coming'. He wrote a number of *Attakathas* i. e. the script for Kathakalis. His ill luck towards the end of his days is attributed to the sin of *aram* arising out of the last line in one of his *Attakathas*, where the hero ended the scene by saying that 'henceforth the forests are my refuge'. For about nine years, the Pychy Raja was continuously at bay with the British. Regular troops tied to their transport wagons were of little use against the mobile bands of this warrior, who was a past master in guerrilla warfare. Eventually his end came not at the hands of his foreign enemy but at those of the *kolkars*, the policemen organized by Capt. Watson a few years before, who under the lead of the Sub Collector Mr T. H. Baber were able to deplete the strength of his adherents piecemeal and ultimately bring about the Raja's end on 30th November 1805. The *kolkars* had been organized by Captain Watson in 1801, mainly for the purpose of collecting revenue, and in the troublous times of Pychy insurrection numbered about 1200.

The administrative difficulties inherent in the management of a district which had newly come into the possession of the Company can be best understood by the records available about Salem district, which had the good fortune of being under the charge of Captain Read, the

mentor of (Sir) Thomas Munro. Captain Read was a rare type of military officer whose conduct was invariably regulated by private honour and public interest and who exhibited unwearied zeal in whatever he undertook. Lord Cornwallis in choosing a military officer acted contrary to precedent. But the compelling motive for this deviation is given in Gleig's *Life of Sir Thomas Munro*. "The inhabitants of Baramahal were principally Hindus, who for ages had been guided by their own customs. Of the Company or of its mode of acting they knew nothing; and they were, moreover, at this particular juncture under the miseries incident upon having their country made the theatre of recent war. To have committed to men ignorant of their dialect, the charge of introducing among them the Company's authority would have been an act of absolute insanity." Captain Read selected as his assistants, Captain Munro, Captain MacLeod and Captain Graham. Captain Munro in a letter to his father remarked that no man should get the charge of a district who did not understand the language of a district and Captain Read and his assistants were versatile in this matter. They had also an abundance of sympathy towards Indians. Captain Munro in another letter said "Learned Men who write of India, begin by talking of the Sun and then tell us that its vertical rays make the natives indolent; but notwithstanding all this, the farmers are at least as industrious as those of Europe and their women are so. They owe their poverty to their government and neither to their idleness nor the sun." When Read took charge of Salem District in 1792, it was in a state of abject lawlessness. A gang of banditti under the leadership of a free-booter named Chila Naik collected a plough tax in Dharmapuri area. Robbers from the Carnatic and Tanjore were making Salem their happy hunting ground but when they were kept in some awe by posting a few small guards at the frontier, the guards were not allowed to pursue them into the Nawab's territory. The maintenance of law and order was heart-breaking. Read wrote in 1792 to the Board of Revenue :—

"I am sorry to acquaint you there have been three murders and many robberies committed in these districts of late, especially in the Baramahal.

"As immediate and severe example should be made of such robbers as may be apprehended, I request to be informed what judicial authority is annexed to my station as Collector.

“I punished one man of a gang lately convicted of driving away the inhabitants’ cattle several times to the other side of the Cauvery, by depriving him of his ears, and have four now in custody accused of murders which, from every appearance they have committed.”

Writing again after in 1794 Read reported:—

“Robberies and murders are much more frequent than they were under Tippu’s Government. There have been so many of late, that neither the property nor the lives of the ryots are anywhere safe. If the Government or the laws cannot protect both revenue must suffer diminution. There are a hundred felons confined in irons in these districts, employed in repairing highways, and clearing wastes of jungle; but they endure that situation without much inconvenience and their punishment is not severe enough to operate as an example. Besides those who have committed theft only, suffer equally with those who are guilty of murders attended with every circumstance of the most wanton cruelty; because I fear that, if released, they will betake themselves to their former trade. Every practical means is taken to prevent this growing evil, but it will prove ineffectual, while such miscreants are not punished with death, or with that severity which their crimes deserve.”

One of Read’s first acts was to fix on the Tahsildars the responsibility for the safety of private property and in the *muchulika* these officers had to execute before entering upon their duties, a clause was inserted binding them to take every means “to apprehend thieves and effect the restitution of stolen goods to the owners” and refer to headquarters all complaints of other injury or grievance which they could not redress.

Before passing from this subject, it would be appropriate also to refer to another kind of extortioners called renters who also possessed extensive police powers and who joined hands sometimes with the poligars to inflict untold hardships on the peasants and ryots. Colonel Fullerton’s description of this type of blood-suckers in the body politic of the transitory period is well worth enumeration.

“The established practice throughout this part of the peninsula has for ages been, to allow the farmer one-half of the produce of his crop for the maintenance of his family, and the re-cultivation of the land; while the other is appropriated to the Circar. In the richest soils, under the

cowle of Hyder, producing three annual crops it is hardly known that less than forty per cent of the crop produced has been allotted to the husbandman. Yet renters on the coast had not scrupled to imprison reputable farmers, and to inflict on them extreme severities of punishment, for refusing to accept of sixteen in the hundred, as the proportion out of which they were to maintain a family, to furnish stock and implements of husbandry, cattle, seed and all expenses incident to the cultivation of their lands. But should the unfortunate ryot be forced to submit to such conditions, he has still a long list of cruel impositions to endure. He must labour week after week at the repair of water-courses, tanks, and embankments of rivers. His cattle, sheep, and every other portion of his property is at the disposal of the renter, and his life might pay the forfeit of refusal. Should he presume to reap his harvest when ripe, without a mandate from the renter, whose peons, conicopilies and retainers attend on the occasion, nothing short of bodily torture and a confiscation of the little that is left him, could expiate the offence. Would he sell any part of his scanty portion, he cannot be permitted while the Circar has any to dispose of; would he convey anything to a distant market, he is stopped at every village by the Collectors of Sunkum or Cabella who exact a duty for every article exported, imported or disposed of. So unsupportable is the evil, that between Negapatam and Palghautcherry, not more than three hundred miles, there are about thirty places of collection, or, in other words, a tax is levied every ten miles upon the produce of the country; thus manufacture and commerce are exposed to disasters hardly less severe than those which have occasioned the decline of cultivation.

“But these form only a small portion of the powers with which the renter is invested. He may sink or raise the exchange of specie at his own discretion; he may prevent the sale of grain, or sell it at the most exorbitant rates; thus, at any time he may, and frequently does, occasion general famine. Besides maintaining a useless rabble, whom he employs under the appellation of peons, at the public expense, he may require any military force he finds necessary for the business of oppression, and few inferior officers would have weight enough to justify their refusal of such aid. Should anyone, however, dispute those powers, should the military officers refuse to prostitute military service to the distress of wretched individuals, or should the Civil Superintendent remonstrate against such abuse, nothing could be more pleasing to the renter; he derives, from thence, innumerable

arguments for non-performance of engagements, and for a long list of defalcations. But there are still some other not less extraordinary constituents in the complex endowments of a renter. He unites, in his own person, all the branches of judicial or civil authority, and if he happens to be a brahmin, he may also be termed the representative of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. I will not enlarge on the consequences of thus huddling into the person of one wretched mercenary all those powers that ought to constitute the dignity and lustre of supreme executive authority."

Read's next step after enjoining on the Revenue subordinates to bring offenders to book was to strip the caste-panchayats of all their powers and resume the *inams* of the hereditary watchmen.

In consonance with these troubled times, the caste-panchayats had also become self-seeking and the headmen (Chettis) were corrupt and utilized their position to accumulate wealth to the detriment of proper dispensation of justice.

"When the districts were ceded to the Company, the Chettis of certain castes, exercising judicial authority over their clients, were in the practice of levying taxes on the Pallars, a caste of husbandmen; on the five castes of artisans, viz. goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, braziers and stone-cutters; and on washermen, barbers, pariahs, chucklers and others. The Chettis likewise exacted fines for murders, theft, adultery, fornication, breach of marriage contract, and also for killing cattle, brahminee kites, monkeys, snakes, etc. The Government, in consideration of these privileges, had imposed a tax upon the Chettis; but conceiving that I and my assistants might administer justice throughout the districts with greater impartiality than the Chettis, their judicial powers were annulled, and with them the tax upon castes."

It will be pertinent at this stage to say that the districts of the period of early British occupation were not of the present size or description. Thus Salem district had been divided into three. Sometimes a Tahsildar's jurisdiction was also called a district and then that officer became a native Collector. The changes in other districts also followed a common pattern. The poligars and Kavalgars were disenfranchised. Their *inams* and estates were taken over by the Government. A set of mercenary village policemen took their place and a fatal blow was struck at the hereditary nature of the village police

institution. Criminal law was being administered in the early days of the Company according to the Muslim law. This might have been due to the fact that the English got all their possessions from Muslim potentates and Nawabs who had either set themselves as independent sovereigns or were the Subahs or representatives of the Moguls.

The following excerpt from Regulation XV of 1803 makes that clear :—

“ The Mohammedan law vests in the sovereign and his delegates the power of sentencing criminals to suffer discretionary punishment (under the legal denominations of *tazeer*, *acoobut* and *seesut*) in three cases: *First*, in the case of offences for which no specific penalty of *hud* or *kissaas* has been provided by the law, being for the most part offences not of a heinous nature, the punishment of which is left discretionary below the measure of the specific penalties for the correction and amendment of the offender. *Secondly*, for crimes within the specific provisions of *hud* and *kissaas*, when the proof of the commission of such crimes may not be such as the law requires for a judgment of the specific penalties, though sufficient to establish a strong presumption of guilt; or although the proof be such as is required for a sentence of *hud* or *kissaas*, when such sentence is barred by remission of the claim to retaliation in cases of *kissaas*, or by any of the special exceptions and scrupulous distinctions, which (under the general denomination of *subah*) are considered by the prevalent authorities of Mohammedan law to bar a judgment for the specific penalties of that law. *Thirdly*, for heinous crimes in a high degree injurious to society, and particularly for repeated offences of this description, which for the ends of public justice (as expressed by the term *seesut*) may appear to require exemplary punishment beyond the prescribed penalties; and with respect to crimes of this description, an unlimited discretion extending to capital punishment is admitted to have been left by the Mohammedan law to the sovereign authority of every country in which that law prevails, as well as to its judiciary delegates. In the adjudication of punishments under the discretion thus allowed by the Mohammedan law, especially in the second of three cases above stated, it has been observed, that the *futwahs* of the Mohammedan law officers of the Criminal Courts are often governed by a consideration of the degree of proof against the party accused, rather than the degree of guilt and criminality of the act established against him; and the penalties awarded by them in such cases are either adjudged on

insufficient proof of guilt, or are inadequate to the heinousness of the offence of which the prisoner is convicted. It is therefore necessary that provision be made for determining the punishment to be adjudged by the criminal courts in all cases wherein a discretion is left by the Mohammedan law, as well to guard against the infliction of any punishment without sufficient evidence of guilt, as to maintain the uniform and adequate punishment of offenders when convicted, according to the criminality of the offences established against them."

The Supreme Government in Calcutta sent instructions to the Government of Fort St. George to organize the police without associating the land holder and the people with the force. This is known as "Cornwallis's Policy". The instructions were as follows :—

"The Governor General in Council considers it to be of the greatest importance to the maintenance of peace and good order, as well as to our political security, that the Police of the country should be superintended by officers especially nominated by the Government.

"The exercise of this important branch of the public authority in the hands of the individuals is more particularly objectionable in the territories under your presidency, as tending to keep alive those sentiments of independence which have characterized the landholders, and which must be completely extinguished before they can become useful and good subjects. While any portion of public authority is allowed to devolve to them by inheritance in virtue of their possessions, they will be never brought to consider themselves as mere proprietors of estates.

"Independent of these important considerations, to abandon the charge of the Police of the country to the landholders must always give rise to the most flagrant abuses. In the enquiries which preceded the resumption of this charge from the landholders in Bengal, it was established, that the offices of Police were held chiefly by most notorious robbers, who paid large sums of money to the Zemindars, or to their officers and departments, for these situations; the possession of which enabled them to carry on their depredations with impunity.

"The arrangement suggested will not prevent your Lordship in Council from deriving every assistance from the landholders, in maintaining the peace of the country, in their individual capacity of proprietors of estates; on the contrary, a clause should be inserted in

their engagements, binding them to convey to the Magistrates or to their officers the earliest information of every circumstance affecting the good order of the country, and they should be subjected to punishment, extending in certain cases of enormity to the forfeiture of their estates, if it should appear that they had connived at robberies, or protected robbers or other disturbers of the public peace.

“The Magistrates, and the officers acting under them, should possess the most absolute control over all the village watchmen of every description. At the same time, these watchmen should be carefully secured in their lands, fees and allowances, of which they are stated...to be in the enjoyment, so as to render their services efficient to the original purposes of their institution. These persons will no doubt become extremely useful in preserving the peace of the country under the reforms proposed by your Board of Revenue.”

For the first time in the existence of the Company after the landing of the Britishers in India, it began to enact laws for the governance of the country. The veil shrouding the trader was rent asunder and the face that was revealed was that of a colonizer. In 1802 a bunch of these laws called Regulations were placed in the Statute Book. The most important of these Regulations are summarized in the *Salem District Gazetteer* as follows:—

“The year 1802 ‘deserves to be immortalized as the date of the most absurd code of regulations that ever was imposed on a conquered nation’...The first regulation explained the advantages of a code of laws, and declared that each law should be called a regulation,—should be numbered, have a title, and possess a preamble, ‘be printed on paper of the same size as the paper on which this regulation is printed’, ‘be bound up at the end of each year with all others passed during the course of it’ and a copious index. They were to be the sole guide of civil and criminal courts of justice to be hereafter created, and ‘were to be translated into Persian, Telugu and Tamil’. ‘One part of a regulation is to be construed by another, so that the whole may stand’; and the component parts, it is further enacted, are to be called ‘sections’.”

“By Regulation II of 1802 a court was established in each district, to receive and decide all suits that should hereafter arise, regarding both real and personal property; all questions comprised in the civil law; all matters in which caste was involved and every other question that civilization gives rise to.”

“The decisions of Zillah Judges in civil matters were subject to appeal to one of the four Provincial Courts established for the purpose of disposing of such appeals. The courts were ‘to be held in a large and convenient room, three days in every week; or oftener—if the business shall require it’. The Provincial Courts in turn were subject to the Sadr Adalat or Chief Court of civil judicature at Madras. Regulation IV of 1802 established one of these Provincial Courts at Krishnagiri, with jurisdiction over the zillahs of Salem, Mannargudi, Mayavaram and Conjeevaram.

“The duties of the Zillah Judge did not end with his civil work. He was also Magistrate, Superintendent of Police and Chief Gaoler. The Judges of the Provincial Courts were, for purposes of criminal trials, constituted itinerant Courts of Circuit, subject to the Foujdari Adalat, at Madras and to expedite justice, there were to be two general gaol deliveries annually in each zillah or district. It was the duty of the Zillah Judge, in his capacity as Magistrate, to ‘apprehend murderers, robbers, thieves, and all disturbers of the peace’ and ‘persons charged before him with crimes or misdemeanours.’ ‘If of opinion that there were not sufficient grounds for commitment, the parties were to be released; otherwise he was to commit them for trial, and was to deliver to the Judges of the Courts of Circuit, upon their arrival at their respective places of residence, a calendar in the English and Persian languages.’ He was empowered to try and punish slight misdemeanours, and, under restrictions, petty thefts; he had the control of the whole police force, which was modelled after the most approved European fashion; and the gaol, with prisoners under trial, and one, two, three or five hundred convicts working in chains, was also put under his charge. This elaborate exotic system was introduced concurrently with the Permanent Settlement. The result was disastrous. ‘The police of the district speedily became frightfully disorganized, and the people were pillaged by bands of banditti, as well as by the regulation-born zemindars’.”

The preamble of Regulation 35 of 1802 is revealing.

“The establishment existing in the Zillah of Carangooly for the purposes of police, having been committed to certain Poligars and Cavalgars to be inadequate to the prevention of crime or the apprehension of offenders and have by the abuse of power entrusted to the Poligars and Cavalgars been converted with additional means of

disturbing the order of society with impunity ; wherefore the Governor in Council has resolved to abolish the Office of Poligar and Cavalgar and to substitute a 'more efficient plan of police for the Zillah of Carangooly under the following regulations."

The Company called the present Chingleput district as Carangooly which is probably a variation of Karunguzhi where the headquarters of the district was situated for sometime. The Company undertook to recruit and maintain the following ranks of police officers : (1) Darogahs, (2) Tanahdars, (3) Peons and Watchers. The zillah was divided into 4 divisions each under a Darogah. The charge of Darogah was on an average 20 miles square; he had immediately under him 20 to 50 Tanahdars and Peons. All watchmen of the village establishment were subject to his orders. In cases, where a thief was convicted he received ten per cent of the value of the stolen property recovered, as his reward. He was also granted Rs. 10/- for every dacoit apprehended and convicted. In towns the office of the kotwal was continued.

The result of the reform was far from satisfactory. The ancient system of collective responsibility was absent in the mercenary Darogahs and Tanahdars. The abrogation of the contractual obligation to restore stolen property brought in its train a feeling of irresponsibility. The village watchers who were disenfranchised of their *inams* and prevented from collecting *kaval* fees had themselves turned into marauding gangs of robbers and thieves. In some cases the new village servant was only the robber's kinsman who attended to his office by day and became the member of the gang at night. The stipendiary peons under the Darogahs were mainly dependent on the village watchers for pursuing clues and detecting cases. The peons had no status in villages and were a cowardly lot on the model of Dogberry and Verges immortalized by Shakespeare in *Much Ado About Nothing*.

"Dogberry : Come hither, neighbour Seacoal. God hath blessed you with a good name : to be a well-favoured man is the gift of fortune; but to write and read comes by nature.

Second Watch : Both which, Master constable,—

Dogberry : You have : I knew it would be your answer. Well, for your favour, sir, why, give God thanks, and make no boast of it ; and for your writing and reading, let that appear when there is no need of such vanity. You are thought here to be the most senseless and fit

man for the constable of the watch; therefore bear you the lanthorn. This is your charge: you shall comprehend all vagrom men; you are to bid any man stand, in the prince's name.

Watch: How, if a' will not stand?

Dogberry: Why, then take no note of him, but let him go; and presently call the rest of the watch together, and thank God you are rid of a knave.

Verges: If he will not stand when he is bidden he is none of the prince's subjects.

Dogberry: True, and they are to meddle with none but the prince's subjects. You shall also make no noise in the streets: for, for the watch to babble and to talk is most tolerable and not to be endured.

Second Watch: We will rather sleep than talk: we know what belongs to a watch.

Dogberry: Why, you speak like an ancient and most quiet watchman, for I cannot see how sleeping should offend; only have a care that your bills be not stolen. Well, you are to call at all the alehouses, and bid those that are drunk get them to bed."

Thefts and robberies increased and the Darogahs and their peons were ineffective in dealing with the offences. So Lord William Bentinck constituted a Police Committee consisting of Mungo Dick, J. Hodgson, T. B. Hurdis and E. C. Greenway, four senior Civil Servants, to suggest ways and means of improving the efficiency of the police system. The Committee sent a questionnaire to all Magistrates, Collectors and Commercial Residents within the Madras Presidency. Colonel Munro's abilities as an administrator stood so high with the Government that he was specially asked to submit a report and the Committee waited till 1806 for it before submitting their final report. The members expressed satisfaction to find that Colonel Munro's sentiments generally agreed with theirs. The Committee traced the history of the village watchers who were called "Dundasses" in the zillah of Ganjam, "Barkees" in the district of Chicacole and Vizagapatam and "Naickwadies" in Rajahmundry. They were generally called as Kavalgars in Tamil districts. A comprehensive name for all these different kinds was Talliary, who

acted as peons under zemindars and were remunerated by the grant of service lands under the term 'Kavalpaddy'. There were very few crimes in this period as almost all the inhabitants were either employed as cultivators or formed part of the military establishment of the zemindar. Mohammedan conquest followed. "The nature of the Mohammedan Government was indeed unfavourable to the establishment of a civil police in its Indian conquests. Founded on a religion which abhors toleration, the Government appears not to have consulted the welfare of its conquered subjects. An infidel was not in the estimation of the Mohammedans entitled to the privileges of a man; and although they appear to have receded from the first idea with which they set out, of propagating the law of Mohammed by the sword, they would seem to have been actuated and impelled by a thirst of power and conquest and by the necessity of paying their troops from the revenues of the conquered countries. They in consequence, paid little attention to the municipal institutions in the country but exacted from it what they could, and trusted to their military prowess for the maintenance of their dominion." The Committee observed that the establishment of the Courts of Judicature introduced a new epoch in the Indian Government and that the police "must assimilate in its principle to the judicial establishment or one will counteract the other, and the effect of both be diminished." Most of the Magistrates i. e. Zillah Judges wanted the entire exclusion of zemindars from any reformed police system, the duties of which they desired to be discharged by paid servants of the Government as the zemindars had forfeited the right to vest any confidence in them on account of their predatory behaviour. Such a system of informers by itself could not cope up with crime. The Committee said, "it would be better to entrust the work to the better class of natives." The Committee agreed with the idea of Mr Thackeray, Magistrate of the zillah of Masulipatam, "of uniting as many persons as possible in the police and particularly the zemindars and head inhabitants" which had the support of ancient usage. They said that the zemindars naturally fretted at the appointment of "a set of men much beneath them in rank to watch, check, and control their actions and tried by the most obvious means to render such an establishment as useless burden to the State." A police without its moorings in the village will be useless for procuring information. Peons could not be started in every village without incurring heavy expenditure. The organization of a police

force carrying with it the association of the people, was also intended to cut down expenditure in the maintenance of units of the Army for internal peace. The system which the Committee proposed provided for the discharge of the duties of the police as far as they related "to the prevention of crime and apprehension of offenders by the body of the people themselves, by the heads of villages assisted by the village accountants, and village servants in the first instance to be superintended and controlled by the zemindar and his servants." The zemindar might recommend the appointment of a Darogah and the magistrate might appoint him if suitable. The system suggested was said to be similar to that imposed by Alfred on the counties, hundreds and decennaries in England of making good the losses occasioned to individuals by robberies and by the time lost in attendance upon the Courts of Circuits during the prosecution of the offender. If the offender should escape, a fine was expected to be laid on the zemindary commensurate with the gravity of the offence, part of which collection should go to reimburse the loss of the sufferer and the remainder reserved for a fund for defraying police charges and rewarding secret information. The Committee also proposed the immediate superintendence of the police establishments to be entrusted to the Collectors who had means of procuring information through their servants employed in the collection of revenues and in their Circuits round the districts. The Collectors were also to be invested with Magisterial powers so that they could commit offenders for trial before the appointed courts. Colonel Munro's report to the Committee elaborately deals with the problem. An excerpt from it relating to Talliars and Potail (Village Headman) is reproduced here to show his appreciation of the ancient system and his line of thinking with regard to the reformation of the police system.

"The police duties of the country are at present discharged almost entirely by the Talliars, who are assisted in the principal towns by the Cutwal's establishment, and everywhere occasionally by the Amildar's Peons. The Cutwals and their Peons are the only servants whose duties are confined solely to the police, but they can do nothing without the aid of the Talliars. There are no gradations of offences purely of a police nature. The Talliar acts under the Potail of the village, and the Potail under the Amildar of the district; but all these persons are at least as much revenue as police officers. The Talliar and Potail hold their offices by inheritance. They are not supposed to be removable,

unless for gross misbehaviour and then the nearest heir ought to be appointed. The Talliar watches the property of the inhabitants and of all travellers, both in towns and villages: he makes good no losses, but he is so far answerable for them that he is obliged to discover the thief, or to shew that he does not belong to his village. If he fails in both these points, and it appears that his failure proceeds from want of exertion, his allowances are stopped until he makes the required discovery, or he is removed and another branch of the family appointed in his room. The Talliar watches suspicious persons and reports them to the Potal, who takes them up, examines them in conjunction with the Curnum, and reports them to the Amildar. The Talliar knows every house within the limits of his village, and the character and means of subsistence of every person residing in it. As he collects the house-rent as well as the other taxes of the village, he must necessarily know every house that pays, or is exempted from rent; and from the inquiries into the circumstances of the inhabitants, upon which the amount of the house-rent is usually founded, he becomes acquainted with their means of subsistence. By going round to collect the sirkar-rent, to demand his own fees, and to beg food at the full and change of the moon and other festivals, he visits every house several times in the course of the month, he observes when any person is absent, and if he thinks that there is no cause for his absence he watches his conduct, and from long habit he is so dexterous in forming his judgment on such occasions, that can almost always ascertain whether or not the absentee had been employed in thieving. Mohammedan Phausigar, who live by robbing and murdering travellers, may sometimes remain undiscovered by the Talliar, because their scene of action is always at a great distance: often in the territory of a foreign power, when they give out that they had been employed in the army; and as this is actually sometimes the case, and is rendered probable by their long absence of one or two years, the Talliar is sometimes deceived by them. No other description of robbers or thieves residing in his village can elude his vigilance: if they remain undiscovered it proceeds from his connivance."

Mention has already been made in previous chapters about the anxiety of different types of Governments commencing from the time of Kautilya, to control the prices of commodities and wages. That the British in India were particularly exercised over it, may be apparent from the several rules and regulations passed by them with regard to markets, prices of commodities, wages of palanquin bearers and the

like. The Police Committee of 1806 also applied their mind to procuring the requirements of European travellers and the army on the march and made the head of the village responsible for it. The headman was to see that the prices noted in a table were adhered to by suppliers.

On 28th November 1811, a circular was issued to the judges and Collectors asking for particulars about the constitution and organization of the police in each district, the expenditure involved for their maintenance, the approximate collection on account of police in days preceding the British advent and whether any reduction in expenditure was possible. The judges and Collectors were also requested to send draft regulations in consonance with the alterations to be effected to the existing structure. The early British settlers always wanted to give top priority to the needs of the army and the convenience of their compatriots. Two questions in the questionnaire sent out to the district speak for themselves.

“(1) Are any and what regulations in force defining the duties and for fixing the rates of hire of artificers, coolies, palankeen bearers and menial servants? Would regulation be attended with benefit to the Public without encroaching upon the rights and liberty of those classes of people?”

“(2) Are any regulations in force respecting the price of provision or for furnishing supplies to Military detachments and travellers? If so upon what principle are such regulations founded and do they answer the end proposed?”

Very exhaustive and detailed reports were sent by the Collectors and judges with long statements about wages, prices of commodities and details about the money spent on the maintenance of the police. They make very interesting reading.

The system that was said to be prevalent in Mysore shows the police as a sort of Tourist Bureau. General Stuart who had made a note of the system wrote as follows:—

“In his minute dated 5th September 1805 the Commander-in-Chief observes that ‘on arrival of a traveller at a village in Mysore he is met by an officer or peon of the Police who presents him with two official papers, one prescribing the conduct he is expected to observe and the other containing a *nirk*, fixed of course with the consent of the

inhabitants of the prices he must pay for the articles he requires.' This 'nirk' is at once a security to the traveller that he is charged a reasonable price and, what is much more important, to the villager that he shall receive from the Police Officer the sum that is paid.

"The traveller informs the Police Officer of the articles he requires which are punctually brought at the stated times; he pays for them with his own hand and before his departure from the village is informed whether his servants have been equally correct in their dealings, the obliging conduct of the Police Officer generally procures him a small remuneration and the parties take leave mutually satisfied with each other.

"If any impropriety has occurred it is immediately reported to the Dewan and by him to the resident who considers no act of alleged oppression too trifling for investigation and if the officer be a military man represents his conduct to the officer commanding the troops. On the other hand the Dewan receives with candour and redresses with impartiality any complaint of frauds or neglect on the part of the officers of the Police, his severest punishment consisting of dismissal from office."

A few paragraphs from the report of the Collector of Chingleput are excerpted here. They show that at one time the poligars were recruited as Darogahs in order to associate the native element in the enforcement of law and order.

"In obedience to the instruction you were pleased to convey to me you will be pleased to inform the Honorable the Governor in Council that there are five Darogahs employed in the Police Department in this Zillah viz. Streeram Royal Naick Darogah at Carangooly on the monthly pay of Pagodas 70, Nynapah Naidoo at Conjeveram on the monthly pay of Pagodas 45, Potooreddy Singarinaidoo at Struperomadoor on the monthly pay of Pagodas 40, Potooreddy Vencatakistnama Naick at Chingleput on the monthly pay of Pagodas 70 and Comara Mulrauze at Trispassore on the monthly pay of Pagodas 70. Exclusive of the above allowances monthly paid by Government, the Carangooly Darogah Streeram Royal Naick has a shotreem village in the Narumboor Zemindary called Suttoor the annual Beriz of which is Pagodas 441-42-15 and the annual rent payable to Government Star Pagodas 43-7-15. The Conjeveram Darogah Nynapah Naidoo has a shotreem village in the Paddapellum Zemindary called Pondavaukum the annual Beriz of which

is Star Pagodas 319-24-10 and the annual rent payable to Government Star Pagodas 120-43-10. The Chingleput Darogah Potooreddy Vencata-kistnama Naick has four shotreem villages in the Zemindaries of Chingleput and Madumbaukum called Cummalumpoondy, Punungadavaukum, Keerpaucum and Taulumboor the annual Beriz of which is Star Pagodas 309-37-50 and the annual rent payable to Government Star Pagodas 43-10-50. The Tripassore Darogah Comara Mulrauze has four shotreem villages in the Tinnalore Zemindary named Mora Vellanoor, Poolegooty and Tanumbaucum the annual Beriz of which is Star Pagodas 250-19-0 and the annual rent payable to Government Star Pagodas 111-0-0. The Darogah at Carangooly has a Dulvoy employed under him at Pagodas 4 per month, a Sumpretty at Pagodas 3 per month, one Head Peon in his Cutcherry at Pagodas 1-33-60 and two Peons at Pagodas $1\frac{1}{2}$ each per month, one Tanahdar at the Cusbah station at Pagodas 3 per month, and 17 Tanahdars, at 2 Pagodas each per month and 68 Peons at Pagodas $1\frac{1}{2}$ each per month. The Darogah at Conjeveram has a Dulvoy employed under him at Pagodas 3 per month, and a Sumpretty at Pagodas 3 per month also and one Peon at his Cutcherry at Pagodas $1\frac{1}{2}$ per month. He has employed under him in the Town of Conjeveram three Tanahdars, one at Pagodas 5 per month and two Tanahdars at Pagodas 2 each per month, 18 Peons at Pagodas $1\frac{1}{2}$ each per month and one Tom-Tom Man at Pagoda 1 per month and 16 Tanahdars at out stations at Pagodas 2 each per month, and 62 Peons at $1\frac{1}{2}$ Pagodas each per month. The Darogah at Streperomadoor has a Dulvoy employed under him at Pagodas 3 per month and a Sumpretty at Pagodas 3 per month, one Peon at his Cutcherry at Pagodas $1\frac{1}{2}$ per month, one Tanahdar at the Cusbah Station, at Pagodas 3 per month, 14 Tanahdars at out stations at Pagodas 2 each per month and 82 Peons at Pagodas $1\frac{1}{2}$ each per month. The Darogah at Chingleput has a Dulvoy employed under him at Pagodas 4 per month, a Sumpretty at Pagodas 3 per month, 3 Peons at his Cutcherry at Pagodas $1\frac{1}{2}$ each per month, one Tanahdar at the Cusbah Station at Pagodas 3 per month, 17 Tanahdars at out stations at Pagodas 2 each per month and 84 Peons at Pagodas $1\frac{1}{2}$ each per month. The Darogah at Tripassore has a Dulvoy employed under him at Pagodas 4 per month, a Sumpretty at Pagodas 3 per month, one Head Peon at Pagodas 1-33-60 per month and two Peons at $1\frac{1}{2}$ Pagodas each per month at his Cutcherry, one Tanahdar at the Cusbah Station at Pagodas 3 per month, 27 Tanahdars at out stations at Pagodas 2 each per month, 104 Peons at Pagodas $1\frac{1}{2}$ each per month. You will be pleased to inform the Honorable the Governor

in Council that the shotreem villages were given to the Darogahs previous to their appointments, and allowed them for their subsistence, in consequence of their privileges being resumed by Government when acting as Poligars."

The Tirunelveli Collector reported that his district was divided into five divisions, each in charge of a Darogah. "The other staff consisted of one Cutwal, six Roysums, five Duffadars, forty Tanahdars and hundred and seventy Peons and also a headquarter staff of one Jemadar, five Duffadars and thirty Peons. After the resumption of kavel fees by the Government they were really making a profit of 25,241 pagodas every year from the funds intended for maintaining the Police." He also suggested that the Tanahdars and peons should wear belts and brass badges on which shall be inscribed the names of the division to which they might belong and their number. In Trichinopoly district there were 7 Darogahs, 94 Tanahdars and 204 Peons. There was one Cutwal and 20 Peons to keep order within the fort but the Collector reported that owing to the increase of population in the environs to the City, offences of illicit distillation had greatly increased and a staff of 2 Tanahdars and 4 Peons were not able to maintain the peace of the area. Some of the Collectors and judges suggested in the draft regulations that braziers, blacksmiths, silversmiths and goldsmiths should be made to execute *muchulikas* (bonds) to the effect that they would not purchase stolen or second hand articles or melt them without informing the nearest Tanah. Similar conditions in Kautilya's *Arthasastra* come to our mind. But we are still dealing with this problem of shady shopkeepers unsatisfactorily because of the protection afforded to the citizen in the Constitution. The Curnums were enjoined to keep a register of Koravars, Valayars, Pariahs, Chucklies and their male children within their limits and report about their movements. Such registered persons were to take out cadjan leaf passes when they go out of the villages. There were also proposals that even Talliards and village watchers who leave the village for short period, should be in possession of such passes. This is probably because these village servants were recruited from the classes of people addicted to crime in those days. The replies also revealed that there were several ranks in the police in each district. Darogahs, kotwals, Tanahdars and peons were common to all the districts. Then there were Sardars, Havildars, Naik Darogahs, Chowdreys, Muttsidys, Hircarrahs, Duffadars, Roysums, Mocassedars and Cutbuddys. The last two were servants of zemindars keeping order in the ghauts, on the

same footing as Talliards. In Malabar and Kanara the system of Kaval was not prevalent and so there were no accounts of money set apart purely for police duties. The *gomastha* took the place of *roysums* in Malabar. The peons were known as *kolkars*. Headmen of the castes known as *mukiastans* were attending to incidental police duties but they were not paid any fees. One *marcan* a sort of labour *maistri* was employed in each Taluk. There were no hereditary system of village officials both in Malabar and Canara and these had to be created. The *adhigar* of Malabar became the *patel* of Canara and the *Kolkar* was called as *ugrani* in Canarese areas. A story current in South Canara about the power exercised by this lowest police official, the *ugrani* is worth recapitulation. This official visited a hilly hamlet and was received with the greatest honours as the representative of the *sircar*. He was made to sit on a pedestal and shown almost the reverence due to a village deity. Some years later, a higher revenue servant visited the place. The village had been unchanged by the passage of years and the inhabitants would not allow this officer to sit on the same pedestal occupied by the *Ugran* stating that it had been sanctified by the *Ugrani Devar*—the Ugrani God. The aborigines were simple and were sometimes a prey to such impositions.

The pay of these police officials varied from district to district. The Salem Collector suggested that Darogahs should be paid 15 pagodas. A pagoda is valued at about Rs. 3½ at that time. Naik Darogahs, 10 pagodas, Tanahdars Rs. 8/-, police peons Rs. 6/- and Talliards Rs. 3/- per month. Most of the Collectors reported that funds which had been assigned under native rule to officers of various ranks for securing peace were at the disposal of the Government and they were more than sufficient for the maintenance of the police. At the present day, it would be better to remind oneself of the fact that liberal provisions had been made by the old rulers for the maintenance of the police and all the lands intended for this purpose had been resumed by the Government.

In the year 1812 a questionnaire was sent to senior Civil Servants of India by the Court of Directors of the East India Company regarding the efficiency of its administration. The following was the question relating to the police. "What is your judgment concerning the system of Police established by the British Government? Can it be rendered more perfect and efficient, or do you think it would be practicable and expedient to resort to any of the modes practised by the native Governments, for maintaining the peace and order of the country?"

Mr John Rawlins, a senior civilian, replied that he had always considered the re-establishment of the control of the village watchmen by the zemindars as the best calculated to give efficiency to the police. "To effect this, he suggested, "the village watchmen might be put more under the controul of the Zemindars than they are; but neither they, nor the Zemindars, should be released from the controul of the Magistrates and Police Darogahs, within whose jurisdictions they resided, and such regulations should be framed as might be best calculated to obviate oppression. When acting as Magistrate of Shahabad, I had an opportunity of making some propositions on this subject, but without effect. In the event of its being deemed improper to subject such individual to this responsibility, it might be less open to objection to render the Zemindars of a *pergunnah* collectively responsible. The grounds on which the expediency of some such arrangement is, in my opinion, established, are the great influence of the Zemindars within the limits of their own estates, the knowledge they have of the habits and character of persons living on them, and the advantages thus possessed by them for the apprehension of robbers."

Another civilian Mr T. Pattle wrote, "Much has been already written on the subject of police, by all those who from being constantly employed in the departments in Bengal, may be considered most competent to give information, and the question submitted embraces a most extensive field of enquiry. I certainly think the state of police admits of considerable improvement, and that it might be rendered more perfect and efficient than it is. Its principal defect seems to be, the entire want of co-operation, on the part of the governed, with the established authorities, without which the expense of an efficient police must be enormous. By the original constitution of the country, the inhabitants generally were bound to co-operate with the executive officers of police, the Zemindars were made responsible for losses sustained by robberies committed within their respective districts, they indemnified themselves by general assessments and taxes imposed on their tenants, to meet the call made on the landholder, and an establishment was kept up, not only in principal towns, but in each village, of watchmen and officer of various denominations and descriptions, whose services were remunerated by grants of land which they had free of rent. These grants have been generally resumed, with a view to increase of revenue; the ancient establishments have been

discontinued without adequate substitutions, which have been withheld on account of the expense to which it would have led. There seems now to be no preventive police: and to that, I believe, is imputable the increase of dacoities and robberies. There are, I think, many obstacles in the way of returning, after so long an abandonment, to the system practised by the Mohammedan Government for maintaining the peace of the country. I do not feel that I am competent to go into a detail of reasoning on that subject, situated as I am, remote from the scene of action which would afford easy reference on points of importance, and without the help of records for assistance; now could I at any time, or in any situation, hope to submit to those I am now addressing, information more complete, more useful, and more conclusive, than can be derived from inspection of the many able reports made by the constituted Authorities in Bengal, in answer to the inquiries from the Governments respectively, or by the members of the different Courts of Circuit, individually, when reporting (as by the regulation ordered) at the close of each session. I hope such reports as I have submitted, holding official situations, may throw some light on the subject, and many be found to evince a proper zeal for the service, and a lively sense of interest for those over whom I was placed in authority; and to those documents I respectfully beg to refer, for a more general communication of my sentiments on the subject of police, than I can now pretend to offer."

Mr T. H. Ernest one of the Justices of the Peace decried the system of *goyendahs* (spies) by which the police of Bengal tried to tackle outbreaks of dacoities and stated that these spies under the shadow of official protection were themselves committing many atrocities and extortions and though the wholesale arrests of many suspects and confining them in jails without trial gave a temporary quietus to the offences of the type for some time, they broke out again with reinforced vigour. He also suggested the utilization of the services of the public in the control of crime.

"I know of no modes practised by the native Governments for maintaining the peace and order of the country, to which I should judge it expedient to resort, except that of making the Zemindars answerable, in a greater degree than they are at present, for the performance of that duty. A serious impediment has arisen to the establishment of an efficient police from the alienation of the service lands, which were formerly appropriated to the maintenance of a

considerable number of petty police officers, but were resumed at the time of the permanent settlement, and formed part of the resources on which the public assessment was fixed. But this difficulty does not affect the principle for which I contend, though it certainly abridges the means of giving it effect. All the authority which exists in the interior of the country being derived from possession of land, I have no idea that there can be a vigilant and efficient police without the decided support of the landholders. But the engagements which they entered into for their estates, they were rendered exclusively answerable for the police; and the reasons which induced the Government to exonerate them from that charge, in the 1793, having been since found inapplicable to the actual circumstances of the country, their services have been successively called for in aid of the police, by Regulation XII of 1807, Regulation IX of 1808 and Regulation VI of 1810. These Regulations require the Zemindars to assist the police officers in the discharge of their duties, and to give information to the Magistrate of all robberies and other heinous offences committed within their estates. They are also rendered liable to severe penalties for harbouring dacoits and other public offenders; but they are not empowered to take measures, in the first instance, for the discovery and apprehension of all disturbers of the peace, and the Daroghas are apt to be jealous of their interference."

Another senior officer Mr R. W. Cox was of opinion that the system of the police adopted by the natives was vigorous and efficient. It gave great power which was sometimes abused but it was possible for the Government to avail itself of the system and fill in its shortcomings. Giving his own personal experience he stated that most of the dacoities were committed under the influence of liquor. Under the native governments drunkenness was nearly prevented but the British had extended the scope for drinking by its Abkari laws, which he suggested should be curbed. Sir H. Strachey a high official of Bengal was emphatic in his assertion that certain palliatives were necessary to bring the rulers and the ruled together since the former were far removed in habits, in tastes and in sentiment from the natives and the evil could be cured only by employing the natives in high offices. A plan for the police according to him should embrace the preservation of the establishment of village guards. Mr J. G. Ravenshaw, a Madras Civilian pointed out that in the Talliars and other village officials assisted by the Revenue Tahsildars and other district officers there was the

foundation for a good system of police. The Zillah Judge who is also a Magistrate controlled the police at that time. But the Talliars were also subject to the orders of the Collector and since no man can serve two masters well, it would be advantageous to combine the powers of the Magistrate with those of the Collector thereby leaving the Judge to exercise his judicial powers alone. This conferment of magisterial powers to the Collectors would be greatly beneficial to the public because the Collector being a touring officer had the opportunity of coming in contact with people and knowing their troubles first-hand while the Judge, who was stationary, had neither the leisure nor the opportunity to understand the needs of the people. He pointed out an instance where a Collector having been ordered by a regulation to furnish supplies to troops found that he had not sufficient magisterial powers to enforce his orders and thus the regulation became nugatory. So it was suggested that the Collector should be invested with the powers of a Magistrate and Superintendent of Police.

Colonel Fullerton, who was one of the members of the Council at Madras while approving the transfer of superintendence over the police to the Collector did not desire the Zillah Judge to be divested of his magisterial powers in favour of the Collector. He wrote that it became the duty of the Superintendent of Police to enquire summarily whether the criminal charge be or not well founded and when it appeared so, to cause the parties and the witnesses to be sent to the magistrate. The magistrate is to judge and to determine the measure of punishment to the extent allowed him; or if the crime be such as to require punishment beyond his powers it will be his duty to commit for trial before the superior tribunal, the Court of Circuit. He conceived the arrangements for the prevention of crime to be the first object of police and detection as the next concomitant step towards the apprehension of the criminals while he suggested that the trial and punishment of offenders should be left to magistrates and Courts of Circuits in their respective gradation, according to the gravity of the offence.

Last we come to the opinion of the Colonel Munro. He stated that the new system of police established under the judicial regulations had everything against it and nothing in its favour. It was at variance with the feelings and prejudices of the people and had therefore no moral force to uphold it. It rested almost exclusively on the services of a set of hired Darogahs and peons who, having no connexion or common interest with the inhabitants and not having like

the hereditary watchmen been trained from infancy, had neither the requisite zeal nor the skill for its execution; and as it placed the Potails and Talliards in some degree under the control of the Darogahs, it lessened the influence of the Potails in their villages and deprived the Talliards of the credit and reward they usually obtained for the successful exertions in the apprehension of robbers and it thus injured the only men by whom the duties of police could be efficiently discharged. He added that few persons who had bestowed any attention on the municipal institution of the village corporations or little republics of which India was composed, would doubt the absolute necessity of placing the police in the hands of the Collector, but some might question the expediency of granting him judicial powers and many who thought that they should be granted, would entertain very different opinions with regard to their nature and extent. According to him, while framing new Regulations it would be desirable to examine the time-honoured institutions of the country and decide what should be preserved and the rest abolished. Adverting to the system under native Governments, when the Collector of the Revenues was also the Magistrate, and the Potails, Curnums and watchmen as well as some others of the village servants were both revenue and police officers, he suggested that in order to secure the attachment of the latter, they should be unreservedly placed under one superior only who would be the Collector with magisterial powers.

A Police Committee was constituted in 1812 by the Government to look into the policing of Tanjore which had been acquired by the Company from the Rajah of Tanjore. This Committee was composed of Mr Fred A. Grant, Judge of the Provincial Court, Southern Division, Mr W. Blackbourne and J. Wallace, Principal Collector of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. They submitted a report on 4-4-1813, which is characterized by perspicuity and much wealth of details, giving a historical background of the *kaval* system and how it had fallen into evil days owing to the decay of native rule. They stated that the Kallars who formed the majority of *kavalgars* in Tanjore district had turned themselves into rapacious free-booters and were a turbulent lot. The Europeans called them 'colleries' in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The report added that the Kallar *kavalgars* killed several sepoy in Shiyali (Sirkali) and also set fire to the Police Cutcherry at Pattukottai. They also burgled the house of the Darogah. Their collections had reached the stage of extortion with the duty of restitution of stolen property cast to

the winds and, at the time of resumption of their *inams* and *maniams*, there were decrees to the extent of 51,312 pagodas for reimbursing losses to the victims of robbery and theft, out of which only 28,857 pagodas could be paid in satisfaction from the income derived from the assumed lands. This report formed the basis for the promulgation of Regulation I of 1816 with regard to *cavelly* lands.

On 12th October 1813, a high ranking Police Committee was formed by an order of the Governor in Council with Mr R. Fullerton as President, and Mr Greenway, one of the Judges of the Foujdari Adalat, Mr Grant, a Judge of the Circuit and Mr Savory, a Magistrate, as members. Mr Greenway was a member of the Police Committee of 1806 also. In 1814, Mr C. M. Lushington, who became later the Collector and Magistrate of Trichinopoly substituted for Mr Greenway on other duty. Mr Clarke, who subsequently became Tamil Translator to the Governor was the Secretary to the Committee. This Committee was directed by the Government to look into all the replies sent by the Collectors and Judges to the questionnaire and to evolve a regulation for the better and more efficient administration of the police in Madras Presidency. The President R. Fullerton had started life as a Commercial Resident in the North, then he became Superintendent of Lotteries and rose to be a second member of Council. Colonel Munro referring obviously to him wrote in 1815, "The President is undoubtedly a shrewd, intelligent man but he has spent his life in the Commercial Department excepting a few months that he was a Circuit Judge. He has therefore only the general knowledge of the inhabitants, of local institutions and of revenue details, which any sensible man may derive from reading and conversation; he is totally without experience. It is therefore very reluctantly that in compliance with the wishes of Mr Elliot I have two or three times met him in order to discuss the subject of Police. I feel as if I were conversing with a well-informed Captain of an Indiaman, who has all the general knowledge of India which can be derived from books or a short residence on the sea coast."

The main recommendations of this Committee were summarized by the Secretary himself in a communication to the Collector-Magistrate in the zillah of Chingleput on 10th June 1814.

"The system proposed by the Committee may be comprized under the following heads :

“*First*: That, under the Magistrate, the superintendence of the Police and each Zillah shall be committed to a few *darogahs*, in most cases not exceeding five, and in several falling short of that number, with sufficient pay to induce natives or respectability to accept of the office.

“*Secondly*: That each *darogah* shall have a *roysum* and an adequate number of peons attached to the station at which he resides.

“*Thirdly*: That no peons shall be entertained at any station at which either the Magistrate, or some one of the *darogahs* or a kotwal does not reside.

“*Fourthly*: That the heads of villages shall be employed under the *darogahs* on police duties.

“*Fifthly*: That the *curnums* and village watchers shall be employed under the heads of villages on those duties.

“*Sixthly*: That the heads of villages and *curnums* shall receive no allowance on account of the police duties with which they are charged.

“*Seventhly*: That the allowance of a number of village watchers sufficient for the discharge of the police duties to be assigned to them shall be raised to the rate of two rupees and a half each per month.

“*Eighthly*: That where there may be no heads of villages, or where they may decline the police duties proposed to be assigned to them, *ameens* of police shall be appointed by the Magistrates in their stead and, if necessary, that a moderate remuneration shall be granted to them for their services.

“*Ninthly*: That wherever it may be thought safe and expedient zemindars shall be employed as *ameens* of police or *darogahs*, or partly in a joint capacity.

“*Tenthly*: That kotwal shall be employed in large towns in which it may be inconvenient to fix the residence of the *darogah* of the division.

“*Eleventhly*: That wherever it may be practicable the Coimbatore system of police shall be introduced. Under that system the Zillah is parcelled out into wards and the people of each ward divided into twelve monthly watchers, who perform the duties of police under foremen for a month at a time.”

In the middle of the year 1814 the report was sent to the Foudari Adalat and was said to be in cold storage for sometime.

The concensus of opinion was that some immediate reform was needed to rescue the police organization from the mire into which it had slipped. But the civilians in the service were still hoping that drastic measures might not be necessary in this process and everything should proceed with caution. The Court of Directors could no longer be lulled into the belief that the judicial administration was proceeding smoothly. The rot had to be stopped and so Colonel Munro was appointed to act as the head of a Commission to devise measures for putting new life into the administrative system. Colonel Munro was in England at that time. He came back to Madras on 16th September 1814 to take up his new post, after an absence of about 6 years from India during which period he was equipping himself by constant study and travel. The first act of Colonel Munro on his arrival was to send out a circular to the Sadr and Subordinate Courts to give their views on the following points.

1. Cases in which the principal zemindars may "be entrusted with the powers of an agent of police."

2. Whether or not it would conduce to the more prompt and convenient administration of criminal justice, if the Zillah Judge were to be so far invested with a jurisdiction in criminal matters, as to enable them to hear and determine all cases of public offences not of a capital nature, and now cognizable by the Court of Circuit only.

3. Whether the same important end would not "be materially furthered, were the Collector, acting as the Magistrate of Zillahs, to be empowered to punish offenders by corporal punishment, to the extent of thirty Rattans; by fine not exceeding one hundred Arcot Rupees, and by imprisonment, not of longer duration than three months."

4. Whether or not "the Collector should be associated with the Zillah Judge in the trial of offences at quarterly sessions."

5. Whether "the sentence of the Provincial Courts of Circuit may not be carried into immediate execution, without a reference to the Nizamut Adalat, when the guilt is clearly established, and there seems to the Circuit Judge no ground for recommending the prisoner to mercy; and with the same view of expecting the administration of the criminal law and whether the present forms of proceeding in the Court of

Circuit will not admit of simplification consistently with the substantial ends of justice.

He noted that on the following points no discretion was left with the Government but to carry them out in the best manner possible, agreeable to the directions of the Court of Directors.

1. The Village Police agreeably to the usage of the country, to be re-established in the zemindary countries and placed under the orders and control of the Magistrate, and "in such other parts of the Madras, possessions in which it may be found neglected or in a mutilated condition to be also restored to its former efficiency."

2. On the completion of the village police, the Darogah establishment and the Police Corps to be reduced as far as practicable.

3. The Superintendence of the Village and Zillah Police to be transferred to the Collector.

4. The police districts to be under Tahsildar instead of the Darogah.

5. The agents of the Collector in the administration of the police will be the distinct Amildars and Tahsildars and the village Potails, Curnums and Talliars aided as occasion may require, by the Amildar's peons and by the Kotwals and their peons in Large Towns.

6. The office of the Zillah Magistrate to be transferred to the Collector.

The appointment of Colonel Munro as already stated had fluttered the doves of officialdom since he was always forthright in his denunciations of sloth and unrighteousness. Even while he was the Principal Collector of the Ceded Districts, the Board of Revenue and the Secretaries had not taken kindly to the language of his reports or the methods of his address. An excerpt from one of his letters to Mr Cockburn, a senior official and an admirer is revealing:—

"I have always written in the same style both to the Governor and to the Board of Revenue without ever suspecting that my disrespect had attracted their attention. I must confess, however, that the words at the close of a letter, "I have the honour, &c." were omitted by design; but I omitted them for the same reason that I once used them,—that I thought it was the fashion. I observed that they were

falling into disuse in public correspondence in Europe, and I supposed that the same might have been the case in this country. Indeed, I was in some degree confirmed in this opinion last year by a government order directing all officers, when writing to the Adjutant General, to drop the usual complimentary expression, and simply sign their name at the bottom of the letter. This is perhaps approaching too closely to French modes; but I imagined it was the will of Government, and could not believe that what they approved in the military they would censure in the civil department. Be this as it may, I find that I have been wrong; and I shall trust to your kindness to point out, hereafter, any expressions in my letters that may be deemed exceptionable."

From the beginning of the administration these senior Civil Servants, who were sticklers for form rather than content, were always on the lookout for putting Colonel Munro on the mat and exposing his theories as unsound. So in his formulations of an integrated police policy consistent with the usage of the country, he found a formidable opposition from the Supreme Court to the Zillah Judges and there was a deliberate cold-shouldering by these courts to his request for statistics regarding the disposal of cases by them. He found that the Supreme Court had not disposed of a single case in some years and the work of the zillah courts and Provincial Courts was equally appalling. He was able to convince the Government of the desirability of associating one more civil servant with the work of the Commission. Mr George Stratton, a protege of Colonel Munro was appointed the second member and in order to facilitate wielding of authority over courts, he was also made the third judge of the Sadr Adalat. With regard to this opposition Colonel Munro wrote to his friend Cumming in England: "The Government with its secretaries, the Sadr Adalat and its register, and every member of the Board of Revenue excepting Cochrane, are hostile to everything in the shape of Ryotwari system." The village police, it should be noted, is intimately connected with the retention or modification of this system. He also suggested to his friend that the court of Directors should give specific directions in their letter such as 'we direct', 'we order' instead of 'it is our wish', 'it is our intention' and 'we propose' etc. Stratton's efforts to make the subordinate courts send returns about the pendency of cases in courts met with protests. Munro anticipated them and wrote:—"He will be opposed by both the other members, but still their opposition will be much less determined than it would have been, had he not

been present to dissent from their opinions." He gave his reasons for the proposed charges by writing that they were opposed by some from a sincere conviction that the native agency was dangerous, and by some, because they have had no share in suggesting them, but the best founded motive for opposition was one which had only lately appeared namely, the probability that the native would give so much preference to the settlement of laws by heads of villages and panchayats as to leave so little business to the Zillah Courts, that many of them would be reduced. There was some controversy about the definition of the term Head of Village. He said that wherever the ancient or modern Potail was in office, the person however he may be designated who came nearest to the description of the Potail by exercising the same powers, was the head of the village. This included renters also, because they were the collectors of revenue who had the charge of the village servants and directed the affairs of the village.

The year 1816 witnessed a spate of law-making as a result of the labours of the Commission. Some of them according to Colonel Munro did not go the whole hog with the principles that had crystallized in his mind, but he was willing to compromise on minor points. Regulation XXXV of 1802 which formed the basis of the police organization in the Presidency had been extended to the several districts. The judge had been given powers to draft regulations suitable to each district but the formulations had not been taken up in earnest. The first regulation in 1816 was "for declaring the contributions hitherto paid in the province of Tanjore on account of the Cavelly Police appropriated to the support of the new police. The preamble to the regulation makes the intention of the Government clear:—

"WHEREAS it has been deemed expedient to abolish the cavelly system in the province of Tanjore and to establish a more efficient system of police for that province; and whereas it has become necessary, in consequence, that the funds hitherto allotted for the support of the cavelly system should be declared appropriable, under the orders of the Governor in Council, to the maintenance of the new establishments of police; and whereas those funds derived from certain proportions of the annual gross produce of cultivated lands, whether *malgoozaree* or *lakhirai*, from certain allotments of lands rent free or favourably assessed, from a tax on houses from the contributions termed *porapoo* and *magama*, and other taxes of various descriptions, have never been regulated by public authority, but have been partially collected, and

their collection has been attended with much inconvenience, irregularity, and trouble; and whereas it is expedient that the tax on houses should preserve a due proportion to the fluctuating value of such property, and that provision should be made for collecting such sums as may be due in arrear to the police fund, according to the rules which have been heretofore adopted by the Collectors of the land revenue under the sanction of the Board of Revenue; therefore, with a view to provide for the equalization and due collection of the said funds, and to render them appropriable to the support of the new police establishments in Tanjore, the Governor in Council has been pleased to enact the following regulation to take effect from the date of its being promulgated."

Regulation IV of 1816 declared the head inhabitants of villages to be Munsiffs in their respective villages. Under Regulation IX the Collectors of the Zillahs were entrusted with the powers of the Zillah Magistrates which were with the Judge. The Assistants to the Collectors were made Assistants to the Zillah Magistrates also. According to Section 9 "it should be the duty of the Magistrate to apprehend murderers, robbers, thieves, house-breakers and disturbers of the peace and persons charged before him with crimes of misdemeanours. Section 21 authorized the Magistrate to announce the offer of rewards amounting to Rs. 100/- for the apprehension of the leader of a gang of robbers or murderers or Rs. 20/- to each of his associates. The Foujdary Adalat had powers to give rewards amounting to Rs. 500/-. In other cases where a higher reward was necessary, the Government had to sanction it. The Magistrate was empowered under Section 32 to levy a fine not exceeding fifty Arcot rupees or imprisonment for 15 days for petty offences, "such as abusive language, calumny, inconsiderable assaults or affrays." In cases of petty thefts not attended with aggravating circumstances he might inflict corporal punishment on the offenders not exceeding eighteen rattans or commute them to jail for a term not longer than one month. The Court of Circuit was to supervise the work of Magistrates, who were also empowered to remove police officers from one station to another within their respective jurisdiction. By Regulation X the Civil Judge of the zillah was also made the Criminal Judge. This was followed by Regulation XI, the most important of all regulations, passed on 13th September 1816 as a result of the Herculean labours of Colonel Munro and George Stratton. The preamble to the regulation reads as follows:—"It being expedient that a system of Police founded chiefly

upon the ancient usage of the country, should be established throughout the territories subject to the Government of Fort St. George and the powers and authorities of the several classes of persons to be entrusted with the performance of police duties should be defined, the Right Honourable the Governor in Council has been pleased to enact the following Rules." By these rules Regulation XXXV of 1802 was rescinded and the establishments of Darogahs and Tanahdars was abolished. The police duties were then vested in—(1) Heads of villages aided by Curnums or village registers and talliards and other village watchers. (2) Tahsildars or native Collectors of district by whatever name designated with the assistance of Peishkars, Goomasthas and establishment of peons. (3) Zemindars. (4) Ameen of Police. (5) Cutwals and their peons. (6) Magistrates of zillahs and their peons.

Heads of villages were to be ex-officio heads of the police in villages and they were to apprehend offenders and forward them to the police officer of the district, except in cases where they could themselves act in petty offences and inflict punishment of detention of an offender for a period not exceeding 12 hours in the village choultry or when the offender was one belonging to the lower castes, he might be put into stocks for a period not exceeding 6 hours. The heads of villages were authorized to call upon the villagers generally for his assistance and also on the heads of neighbouring villages. They were to disseminate information about crime and criminals and intimate the police officer of the district the arrival of suspicious strangers in their villages and details about them. On receiving information about stolen property they had to proceed to the scene, arrest the person selling such stolen property and send him to the police of the district. Persons acquainted with the circumstances of the case were also to be produced before the Magistrate. Heads of villages should also take charge of all stray cattle. With reference to the discovery of dead bodies, heads of villages were enjoined to send intimation to the police officer of the district and in the event of non-arrival of the officer he should himself proceed to the spot, conduct enquiries with the help of the *curnum*, apprehend the person suspected to be involved in the offence, if any, and send him along with the evidence to the police officer. Village watchers had to continue their traditional duties under the control of the heads of villages but they were not to be called upon to make compensation for losses by theft. The office of village watchers

was made hereditary and they were entitled to receive allowances in land, grain or money. Their duties lay in arresting persons found committing offences and producing them before the heads of villages, and in transmitting information about suspicious persons either passing through or residing in the village to the *curnum* and the head of village. Kotwals and their peons were made subject to the Tahsildar and the head of the village and they were also to assist in furnishing supplies to travellers and in the maintenance of the peace. Tahsildars who were native Collectors of districts, by whatever name designated, were made the heads of the police within their jurisdiction and were to be responsible for the maintenance of the peace, under the control of the Magistrate of the district. The *peishkars*, *goomasthas* and peons, who may be employed under Tahsildars of districts were directed to perform police as well as revenue duties and thus they were considered to be police as well as revenue officials. Tahsildars were asked to assist the village police and also to despatch their peons to markets, fairs and other public places in their district in order to preserve the peace. When information was received about the commission of any heinous offence the Tahsildar had to make enquiries and apprehend suspected persons. He was empowered to record the confession of the prisoners and then send the proceedings along with the prisoner to the Criminal Judge. Anybody maltreating a prisoner was to be produced before a Magistrate, or before the Zillah Judge according to the nature of the injuries caused on him. Tahsildars could release persons on bail in bailable offences and dismiss trivial complaints when the complainants compromised with the accused. Tahsildars were also empowered to impose a fine of one rupee on the accused or confine him in a *choultry* for a period not exceeding 24 hours or if he should be one of the lower castes of people put him in the stocks for a time not exceeding six hours in trivial offences which had been proved to his satisfaction. Tahsildars should also disseminate information about crime and criminals. They should pursue the offenders to other districts also. Tahsildar should in all possible cases take up investigation in murder cases. The Magistrates granted sanads to willing zemindars to act as heads of police within their jurisdiction specifying the nature of duties usually performed by a Tahsildar. Police ameens could be appointed in large towns and vested with the powers of either heads of villages or those of Tahsildars. In towns where there was a large European population, an Assistant Magistrate was to be appointed. Police officers were estopped from receiving complaints which were more than

three months old. The highlight of the act was that the police establishment which might be transferred to the Collectors as Magistrates should not be considered as distinct from the revenue establishment, but should be equally employed in police and revenue duties as occasions might require. Manufacture of fire arms were licensed by Magistrates who were also expected to keep in touch with their counterparts in the neighbouring districts. They and their subordinates should prevent forcible occupation or seizure of lands or crops. They would also determine the rates of hire to be paid by travellers to palanquin bearers, coolies and boatmen which should be tabulated and kept by all police officers. The Magistrate was permitted to correspond directly with the Government in matters of police.

The new regulation, far from being perfect according to modern standards, was considered such a far-reaching one that the Sadr Adalat and the Provincial and Zillah Courts were against it; but Colonel Munro had the whole-hearted backing of the Court of Directors. In a letter to his friend Mr Cumming in England, Colonel Munro wrote "You will be glad to hear that the regulations defining the powers of the Collector as Magistrate, and of the Zillah Judge as Criminal Judge, have at least been passed, together with the general police regulation.

"A long Report has been given in by the Sadr Adalat on the answers to their queries, received from the provincial and zillah judges. It was so short a time in my possession, that I could only run over it hastily. It was chiefly on matters of civil process; but where it treats of the transfer of the police to the collector, it evidently, I think, endeavours to place, in an unfavourable light, those opinions which are at variance with their own. Mr Barber, in particular, is treated very unfairly. The Sadr Adalat seem to value opinions, rather by their number, than their quality. The opinion of such a man as Mr Barber, who has been so long and actively employed in police duties, both in the revenue and judicial line, is worth the opinions of the whole Sadr Adalat and half a dozen of common judges besides. You know, I believe, that...s opinion stands for that of the Sadr Adalat—he writes whatever he thinks proper, signs it without difficulty, and it is then the voice of the court. I never myself had much faith in the opinions of the judges concerning the police, because their fixed situation gave them little opportunity of knowing much about it; and my faith has not been much increased by what I have seen since my

return to India. The zillah judges are now chiefly men who were sent from Madars as registers; they had the code of regulations for their guide, and few ever thought of inquiring about any thing beyond them. They have been fixed to one spot, with little communication with the inhabitants, except by a native in court. They hold them in too much contempt to think their institutions worthy of the smallest consideration, and they have such a reverence for the courts, that they think every improvement in the state of the country is the consequence of the labours of some court or other. The circuit judges entertain the same notions; and hence they attribute the submission of poligars and the increasing tranquillity of the country, to this or that judge, when it is owing to neither Judge nor Collector but to our extended influence among the neighbouring states, and to the dread of a regular army, which puts down all opposition. The objections of such men, to the new arrangement, cannot be expected to arise from any knowledge of the native character or customs: it rests upon the old common place arguments of their venality, ignorance, and incapacity, and the necessity of employing European agency everywhere. It is besides very natural that every person connected with the courts should disapprove of measures which they suspect will tend to diminish the business of the courts, and to enable Government to abolish some of them. The advocates for the old system speak on all occasions as if the regulations were completely efficient throughout the country; whereas they have little effect, except in the immediate vicinity of the court, and their police is everywhere vexatious and oppressive. Both the framers of the regulations, and most of the men who speak of their excellence, never seem to have considered the great difference between the condition of the people here and in England, and that the state of society and the character of the natives, make the regulations totally inapplicable to the great body of the people in this country. Mr Sullivan and myself have, in two or three paragraphs of the Coimbatore report, endeavoured to show how little they are calculated to redress or protect the ryots; and I hope he will find time to give some details of the police of that province, which was held up as a model to be imitated every where else. If he does, he will show how odious, and degradingly vexatious it has been to the inhabitants; how utterly incompetent a stationary magistrate is to control it, and how little dependence is to be placed on the reports of the Circuit Judges in general, whenever they venture beyond their calendars of prisoners."

Colonel Munro was highly critical of the touch-me-not attitude and the insularity of European Judges. In a letter to Mr Sullivan, the Collector of Coimbatore he wrote :—

“The influence of the judicial system has been very prejudicial to the internal administration of the country, both among Europeans and natives. It has thrown almost the whole of it into the hands of Judges who know little of the natives, because they have little communication with them, except upon the bench. It has compelled those collectors who would wish to protect the ryots against the extortions of zemindars and renters, to look on quietly, because, by law, redress can only be given by the Courts of Justice to which the ryots cannot afford to do. It has enabled those collectors, who are averse to every business but amusement, to refuse to hear the complaints of their ryots; and it has left the ryots in a worse state than under any Native Government, completely at the mercy of the renters, because the courts cannot give, and the collectors are prohibited from giving them relief.”

CHAPTER IX

THE DECADES OF TRANSITION

REGULATION XI of 1816 did not work as satisfactorily as was expected. The Collector of the District who was the District Magistrate had only limited powers for punishing offenders. The prisoners had in almost all the cases to be taken before the Zillah Judges. A great number of offenders had to be committed to take their trial before the Courts of Circuit, who were able to visit a district only once in six months. Since gaol deliveries were effected only during their visits, people continued to be detained in jails for three or four months without trial, when their convictions might have been only for one or two months. The Court of Circuits and the Sadr Court were invested with the powers of supervising the work of the police and the magistracy and sending reports to the Government regarding their findings about the police. At this distance of time it can also be stated that the Courts were instinctively averse to the changes effected by Sir Thomas Munro in the police organization.

The main features relating to revenue officers in Regulation XXXV of 1802 were not brought within the Regulation of 1816. The Board of Revenue referred to this defect in their minutes of the 5th January 1818 and wrote:—

“It was not as has been heretofore supposed and recorded that the forms established by these laws were incompatible with the details of the ryotwar system for any little ingenuity in this respect could easily have been reconciled; but it was that the fundamental principles of the new code were entirely at variance with those of the existing revenue administration. The new regulations required revenue to be subordinated to justice while the ryotwar system had rendered justice entirely subordinate to revenue. The new laws by their general principles and not by any specific enactment, took from the native revenue officers, the power to punish and confine, which they have exercised to coerce the ryot to cultivate and annually to take from him all that he was able to pay; the Tahsildar was stripped of the Ketti Cole or hand torture, the stone placed on the head under a burning sun, the stocks and other of his former insignia of office, by the display of occasional use of which

he has been enabled to saddle the ryots with the rent of such of lands as he deemed proper. The lictor deprived of his fasces was no longer terrible to the people."

With the experience gained for five years, another Regulation No. IV was passed in 1821. This was intended for giving greater efficiency to the system of police established in the provinces. The act gave extensive powers to police amins. The preamble further detailed the purposes of the law. "It is also expedient that the preliminary powers of investigation for the discovery of offences and the apprehension of offenders which are now vested only in Tahsildar or other head officers of district police, should be delegated to competent subordinate officers in different parts of each taluk and whereas transmission of parties and witnesses in all cases of petty thefts and other petty offences from the place where the offence charged to have been committed to a distance therefrom, in order to their being brought before the magistrate, is a cause of great inconvenience, loss and injury to the persons so sent and there is reason to believe that in consequence of the dread of such inconvenience, the knowledge of offences committed is frequently concealed and suppressed and the offenders escape punishment and it is therefore expedient that the powers of the heads of districts and village police should be extended and whereas the recording of evidence in cases of petty offences and petty thefts is a duty of great labour and time, without an equivalent benefit, and the too frequent administration of oaths, when the matter under enquiry is of little moment, has a tendency to weaken the sanctity of oaths and to encourage perjury", the regulation was enacted to get over these defects.

By the regulations, the heads of the district police which in this case means the Tahsildars were empowered to punish thieves where the value of the property did not exceed Rs. 5/- and the offence was not committed by old offenders. In other cases the case should be forwarded to the magistrate of the district. They might fine to the extent of Rs. 3/- and might award compensation to victims. They were also exempted from the necessity of recording depositions just like the magistrates.

But the investment of additional powers of police on revenue servants as contemplated in the Regulations of 1821 turned out to be an unmixed evil. In the Judicial Letter of the Court of Directors, of 11th April 1826, we meet with the following account of torture used for the purpose of extracting Government revenue:—

“Extreme cruelties have been practised on prisoners in Malabar, as detailed in the following extract from a report from one of the Circuit Judges: ‘The various acts of oppression and abuses of power similar to, and indeed in many instances equal in atrocity to the acts charged against the Parbutty and Kolkars of the Wuttun Hobity which have come to light during the late circuit, as well in the course of the trials, (one of which is the prosecution of the Parbutty and Kolkars of the Turroovungoor Hobity in Koormnad talook, for the murder of the nephew of a revenue defaulter) as in the Magistrate’s and Assistant Magistrate’s calendars of persons punished and discharged by them, show the prevalence of this practice to such an extent as to call for the interference of the Court of Circuit, since there is hardly a case wherein the sufferers who have had courage, or been in circumstances to enable them to complain against their oppressors, have met with redress of their grievances, and the accused have not been sent back to their situation they have so grossly abused, and thereby encouraged to renew their excesses by the facility they experience in escaping justice. The charges set forth in these complaints are the seizing and carrying bound the inhabitants from their homes to the Parbutty, Sheristadar, or other revenue officers, either at their houses or cutcherries; and there confining them in stocks without food, tying by means of ropes, or by the fibres of cocoanut trees or the Adoomba vine, their neck and feet together, and in this posture laying stones upon their backs, flogging, kicking, and beating them with their fists, making them stand in the water or mud, exposed to the heat or inclemency of the weather, making them stand upon one leg, and in that position placing upon their heads a large log of wood, also breaking open their houses and carrying off and selling their property and even slaves, without due proclamation being made thereof; and all these acts of torture and personal violence to exact payment of alleged revenue arrears, and in some instances of presents of money under the head of *koori kallyanum* and *chit fanam*, and alleged debts from one individual to another, without authority from any local tribunal. In most of these complaints the Judge on circuit has, after much labour read through the Magistrate’s or his Assistant’s proceedings, and has been truly concerned to find that all, with hardly an exception, have been dismissed as not proved or groundless, although the evidence in most has been such as to leave not a doubt that considerable personal violence had been done by the Parbutties and other Kolkars to the complainants, and in most cases to an extent to require that the accused should have been sent to the

Criminal Judge for him to try or commit for trial before the Court of Circuit, according as the facts deposed before him might seem to render necessary."

The existence of large scale torture was discounted by Sir Thomas Munro in his minute dated 30th January 1827, as follows:—

"It is no doubt too certain that many irregularities are used in obtaining confessions and that in some instances, atrocious acts are committed but when we consider the great number of prisoners apprehended and habits of the people themselves always accustomed to compulsion where there is suspicion, how difficult it is to eradicate such habits and how small the proportion of cases in which violence has been used is to the whole mass, the number of these acts is hardly greater than was to be expected, and is every day diminishing."

In the year 1827, a number of regulations were passed strengthening the hands of the police who were none other but the revenue servants and the criminal judiciary. These regulations provided for the formation of the Auxiliary Zillah Courts and appointment of assistant judges and Sadr Ameens who were empowered as Joint Criminal Judges of the zillahs. Powers to appoint native criminal judges and to transfer cases for trial to other zillahs in particular instances under the orders of the Foujdari Adalat and provision for taking security for good behaviour and for dealing with counterfeiters, were the other salient features of the Regulations. Another innovation was the trial by jury which was meant for expeditious disposal of cases by cutting away a lot of scriptory work and for "raising the character of the people".

All these new enactments gave extensive powers to the Court of Circuits and the revenue-cum-police servants. The supervision of the police became the joint responsibility of the Courts of Circuit and the Magistrate, both of whom were saddled with other important responsibilities which had priority over police work. It gave subordinate revenue officers a Roman holiday in relation to their police work. In the year 1843 by Regulation VII, the Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuits were abolished and new Zillah Courts were established to perform the functions and exercise the powers of the former courts. This change brought about the superintendence of the police to the Zillah Courts who within their respective zillahs were invested with

precisely the same powers of supervising the proceedings of the magisterial and police authorities as those exercised by the Courts of Circuits within their jurisdiction. With regard to the control of the police by judges the following remarks of the Hon'ble Mr Clerk, who later became the Governor of Bombay, are often quoted: "It may be safely asserted that there are no necessarily any two qualities in common, between a good Judge and a good Superintendent of Police, except the industry, patience, and uprightness, which all public servants might possess. It is the duty of the Judge to know nothing of matters which can come before him judicially but what he hears and sees in court. Universal knowledge of everything that passes, which can affect crime or criminals, sought often from sources the least pure or creditable, is the aim of the Police Superintendent; the Judge must confine himself to what is clearly established before him or what may be logically deduced from it. It is a mark of peculiar sagacity in a police officer to jump at right conclusions from the most trifling evidence and often from data quite imperceptible to all but his practised eye. The personal zeal and interest with which the police officer tracks the criminal are diametrically opposed to the temper of him who can evenly hold the scales of justice and who is expected in administering justice, to lean, in all doubtful cases to the side of mercy. It is true that some of the qualities enumerated are less needed in the superintendent than in subordinate police officer; but if he does not need them himself, it is essential, he should have some sympathy with those who do and who are to be instigated by him to the exercise of such qualities. This is hardly possible, if his own character be the direct opposite."

The attention of revenue officers to police work was only partial, for the natural and inevitable tendency of Tahsildars and others, was to give their zeal and attention to revenue duties. The effect of this was visible in almost every case of failure of police enquiry. Even in very important cases, the Tahsildar pleaded he was prevented from going to the spot on account of important revenue duties. An inferior revenue servant who is sent brings a garbled version of the case with all the stresses and strains in the influence of the parties involved in the offences and action is taken on his report which in nine cases out of ten would have been prejudiced and partial. The Collector himself was unable to give undivided attention to police work, as it was according to the opinion prevalent then, subordinate to fiscal and revenue occupations.

Mr Le Geyt, a veteran administrator of the day, whom the Hon'ble Mr George Clerk often quoted to support his views, wrote :—" For the Europeans, the path of promotion and distinction is not the department of the police but of revenue."

" There are no rewards for able police officers, no prestige even attaches to ability in this department obtaining for its possessor credit in the eyes of Government or among his fellow servants."

" A Collector who devotes this principal part of his attention and time to the police of his district would in all probability be found deficient as a revenue officer perhaps only from want of time to attend properly to both. His conduct as a revenue officer comes immediately before Government. His ability as a police officer is scarcely known ; and in the case supposed would be lost sight of in the obloquy cast on him as a bad collector ; among the native subordinates, the same depressing cause also exists to a great degree ; it is not impossible that a subordinate officer may gain credit for his activity and zeal in police duties, but he will never be made *mamlutadar* unless he shows considerable fiscal ability and knowledge, and he has not time to acquire fame in both the departments, even had he the capacity."

An event of great importance during this period is the formation of the Sind Police in 1846 by Sir Charles Napier on the model of the Irish Constabulary. His earliest efforts in the administration of Sind were successfully devoted to the organization of a police force and his example had been more or less adopted on the subsequent acquisitions of territories by the British. Sir Charles Napier's view is well worth quotation.

" To secure the peace of the country and avoid disseminating the troops which would render them familiar with the people and possibly diminish the wholesome fear of our power, I established a police of 2400 men, well armed, drilled and divided into three classes, one for the towns, two for the country, the first of all infantry, the two last infantry and cavalry, called the Rural Police. They assist the Collectors but form a distinct body under their own officers."

Sir Charles Napier knew that an undisciplined, underpaid or ill-controlled police, are most insufferable of persons instead of what they ought to be under a proper organization, the most efficient protectors of the people; and that upon their conduct, as a representative of the

Government, scattered in every hamlet they must be most active promoters of either loyalty or disaffection towards the State. Hence a perfectly sound principle of police he aimed at as the most critical and important of all Government Departments. He would never consent to corrupt or deteriorate his troops by imposing upon them police duties because he knew it to be the most costly as well as the most impolitic course he could adopt, whether as regards the interests of the people, the Government, the police or the army. Thus in proportion to the sound discipline and correct principle of action with which he could inspire his police, he was enabled to propose reductions in the numerical strength of his troops as regards the requirements of internal Government.

There was another reason for the employment of an exclusive force. It was to relieve the Army from the drudgery of escort duties and of guarding treasuries and sometimes jails. With regard to these non-military duties, His Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir Patrick Grant stated, "the best informed and most experienced civil officer will allow that small parties of soldiers under native commissioned and non-commissioned officers afford no adequate support to the authorities nor any real protection to small treasuries in the interior of the country and that employing the men on duties of that description, while it is ruinous to discipline, not only falls short of the object in view, but is absolutely mischievous." So the army wanted that the furnishing of guards for treasuries and jails, and escort and detachment duties should be taken over by the police so that the whole of the regular soldiers of the Madras Army could be relieved from extraneous non-military duties and become stronger by improved discipline.

The atrocities committed by revenue servants acting as police officers and attracting a bad name to both the branches, the lackadaisical attitude of collectors to police work and consequent growth of indiscipline and corruption in the ranks of revenue servants, and the apparent ineffectiveness of the check exercised by the zillah judges over the police, were leading matters to a crisis. On 23rd August 1854, the Board of Directors of the East India Company wrote to the Madras Government asking the latter to institute an investigation in the manner they thought fit for ascertaining how far the system of police had worked satisfactorily in the public interest. The enquiry had to be conducted with a two-fold aspect: first, with regard to the faithfulness, the diligence and the efficiency of the local administration; and second, with regard to the means possessed by the authorities at the seat of the

Government for obtaining accurate knowledge of the details of that administration and to the competence of the said authorities thus situated, for its direction and control. The Government asked the Sadr Adalat and the Board of Revenue for their opinion in this matter. The Foudari Adalat in their letter dated 22nd November 1854 observed that the disadvantages of the then existing system were that the number of officers to whom the duty of supervising the police was entrusted precluded the possibility of selection according to fitness for superior posts and the Zillah Judge was too much on a par in respect of position with those over whom he had to exercise control. He and the magistrate were generally of about the same standing and their emoluments were the same. In most districts the Zillah Court and the headquarters of the District Magistrate were at the same station, which brought the appellate authority, and those whose proceedings he had to supervise, into daily familiar intercourse. The court admitted that the degree of supervision which can be exercised over the proceedings of the police by a judicial functionary must of necessity be ineffectual compared to that of which could be effected by an efficient Superintendent of Police and that the organization of the police under the superintendence of the courts and judges was extremely defective and the supervision by the magistrates by no means adequate. The Registrar of the court concluded his letter as follows:—"The separation of the judicial duties of the Magistrate from those which relate to the prevention and detection of crime, appears to the judges to be an excellent arrangement. It, moreover, is most desirable to have an officer who may be available in any emergency to trace out serious crime in the scene of its occurrence and on whose proceedings full confidence may be placed. The duty at present devolves on native functionaries whose proceedings are ordinarily very ineffective and command no confidence so that the judicial authorities have constantly to be on their guard against the machinations of the police, by whom confessions are extorted, and evidence concocted, to save themselves from the stigma and consequences of failure in the detection of crime. In most of the districts of the Presidency two Superintendents of Police will be required." Lord Harris who was then the Governor of Madras, in his minute on the reports received by him, stated that he could not assert that the agents of the police, whether Tahsildars, sub-officers or peons could be declared as a body to be faithful, diligent and efficient. But he was disposed to think that many of these officers were zealous in their desire and exertions and supported their superiors, though at times, they might in the performance of their

duties, resort to measures which were not justifiable. The laxity could be attributed to an accumulation of offices on individuals and to insufficiency of emoluments. He approved of the plan of leaving the village police under the local authorities and ultimately under the Collector which he considered necessary in view of the peculiar circumstances of society in India. He opined that it would be advisable to introduce a police corps for the whole Presidency officered by Europeans with the chief officer residing principally at Madras, and one subordinate at least residing in each district, with sufficient number of subordinate native officers. The officer at the head of the police in each district would work under the orders of the Collector but he would be responsible for carrying out the general rules of discipline and collection of information in which matter he would take orders from the Commandant at Headquarters. He found 13,111 police to be employed at this time involving a cost of Rs. 69,556 in addition to 4,525 persons who performed other duties as well as police costing Rs. 14,926 to the Government. These figures excluded the strength of the city and the village police forces. Sir H. C. Montgomery, one of the members of the Council, in his minute noted that he was not inclined to the belief that the provincial police was inefficient as it was the fashion to assert it to be. It possessed the elements of great efficiency, but the Government had allowed in many parts of the country the old village system to fall into decay and the emoluments of the office of the village servants to become so diminished that their services could not be exclusively devoted to their duties. He then referred to the exacting nature of the evidence demanded by courts. He believed that ordinarily the police did find out the real offenders but the difficulty of obtaining evidence that satisfied the judicial tribunals was great, that conviction was rarely secured; and the probability of the release of criminals by some of the several courts by whom they were in succession tried was so great that persons feared to incur their vengeance by giving evidence against them, or by co-operating for their punishment. He added that the police in fact was often enfeebled and rendered ineffective in its operations by the fastidiousness of the courts and the requirements of evidence, which the state of society in this country did not admit of procuring. Until some remedy was found for this evil the utmost exertions of the best police would be unavailing in the prevention of crime.

We have already seen while discussing about the Madras City Police that recruitment to and organization of that branch received

a fillip owing to the sudden outbreak of the Vellore Mutiny. In the same way the Moplah assassinations and rebellion were responsible for expediting the formation of district police and passing of an act for that purpose. So this topic has to be discussed here.

Arab traders gained a footing in Malabar for the purpose of furthering commerce between the two countries in about the beginning of the ninth century. Islam was a young vigorous religion and unlike Hinduism believed in proselytization. Malayalam chronicles speak of the great success achieved by these Arabs in the conversion of the last of the Perumals, Cheraman Perumal, who had offered them facilities to construct mosques, prior to his change of faith.

*“The lofty monarch joins the faithful train
And Vows at fair Medina’s shrine to close
His life’s mild eve in prayer and sweet repose.”*

—CAMOEN’S LUSIAD.

According to the *Malabar Manual*, it was in August 825 A.D. that Cheraman sailed for Mecca after dividing his country among his subordinate chieftains. Historical verisimilitude is difficult to find in this matter as it had not been possible to fix which of the Perumals forsook the religion of his forefathers to join the ranks of the faithful. There is also a tendency to confuse this with another incident, where one of the Perumals was alleged to have accompanied Sundaramoorthi Nayanar to the abode of the Lord. After reaching Mecca, Cheraman Perumal advised Malik-Ibn-Dinar to pay a visit to Malabar. Malik-Ibn-Dinar with a party of 15 Muslims came to Malabar, built 10 mosques after obtaining permission from the petty rulers. They began conversion among the Malayalees which resulted in the creation of the race of ‘Moplahs’. The *Malabar District Gazetteer* mentions that the Zamorin of Calicut who was one of the chief patrons of Arab trade definitely encouraged conversion in order to man Arab ships on which he depended for his aggrandizement and he decreed that “in every family of fishermen, one or more of the male members should be brought up as a Mohammedan.” Tippu’s conquest of Malabar gave an impetus for forcible conversion and the Muslims became a sort of *Herrenvolk*, being of the same religion as the conquering ruler.

In course of time the convert became more fanatical than the proselytizers themselves and an idea began to be sedulously propagated

that anybody who killed a '*kafir*' (infidel) for upholding the tenets of Islam and died in the attempt could become '*saheed*' (martyr). Koran was misinterpreted and the ignorant Moplah was made to believe that paradise was to be gained by slaughtering a Hindu and dying in fight with the Government. But what are the joys of paradise which make it worthwhile to cast off this mortal coil with so much dispatch? The following is a translation of a part of a song composed in sacred memory of forty-seven *Saheeds* who were the first martyrs in defence of a mosque at Malappuram in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

“ The pleasures of wealth or of family are not equal to an atom of celestial happiness. Our most venerable Prophet had said that those who die in battle can see the houries who will come to witness the fight. There is nothing in this world to compare with the beauty of the houries. The splendour of the sun, of the moon and of the lightning in darkness compared with the beauty of their hair which hangs over their shoulders. Their cheeks, eyes, face, eye-brows, forehead, are incomparably lovely. Their mouths are like corals of gold, their teeth like the seeds of *Thali* flowers. It is not possible for the mind to conceive the loveliness of their breasts and shoulders. If they spit in the sea, the salt water becomes as sweet as honey, as fragrant as attar. If they were to come down to this earth and smile, the sun, moon and stars would be eclipsed. Mortals would die if they but heard the music of their voices. When they wear red silk, bordered with green lace of seventy folds, their skins, muscles and bones can be seen through. Such is the splendour of their body. If they clasp their hands, the clash of their jewels will be heard at a distance of 50 years' journey. They clap their hands, dance and sing as they come like the swans to the battle-field. If a human being were to see their beauty, their dance or their smile, he would die on the spot. Gently they touch the wounds of those who die in battle, rub away the blood and cure the pain; they kiss and embrace the martyrs, give them the sweet water of heaven to drink and gratify their every wish. A horse caparisoned with precious stones will be brought and a voice will say, 'Let my men mount; let them dance with the celestial houries'. Then the celestial coverings will be placed on their heads, they will mount the beautiful horse which will dance and leap and take them to heaven, where they will live in unbounded joy.”

The next recorded outbreak was in 1836 when a Muslim stabbed a man of the astrologer-caste, who subsequently died, and wounded three others.

The assailant was pursued by the police under the Tahsildar and shot dead. In a similar offence in 1837 again the accused who had taken port in a shop paid with his life when the Tahsildar and the police attacked him. In the year 1839 two Muslims killed a Hindu, burnt his house and a temple and then barricaded themselves in another temple. They were pursued by the police under the Tahsildar and were shot dead in the fight that ensued. Another attempt to kill a Taluk peon and a Hindu in the same year by another fanatic was fortunately foiled and the culprit was sentenced to transportation for life. In 1840 a murderous attack on two Hindus by a Muslim took place after which the aggressor ran to a temple and set fire to it. The man was shot dead by a Taluk peon. On April 5th, 1841 a party of 9 Muslims killed Perumballi Nambudri and another and burnt 5 houses. Four days later, they were killed by a party of the 36th Native Infantry and Police peons. In November of the same year 8 Muslims killed a peon and a Hindu and took port in a mosque. They defied the police for three days and in the meanwhile three more fanatics joined them. Military reinforcements arrived in the shape of a party of 40 sepoy of the 9th Regiment N. I., on the 17th November and the rebels perished in the fight. On the same day a mob of Moplahs estimated to be about 2,000 set at defiance a police party guarding the burial place of the casualties in the battles, dug up the grave and forcibly carried the dead bodies to the mosque and interred them with all honours. In December of the same year eight Muslims killed two Hindus and then took port in the local village headman's house. On seeing the police and villagers surround the house, the besieged rushed at them and died fighting in the encounter. There were 5 similar cases between 1843 and 1849. In April 1840 Atten Koorikul, the descendant of a class of instructors in arms and gymnastics, and his associates, killed four persons and took port in a temple. They desecrated the temple. Military help was sought for by the Assistant Magistrate Mr Collett. Captain Watt with Ensign Wyse and a party of 43rd Madras Infantry of soldiers from Malappuram went to the assistance of a civil power. The details of the combined operation of the police and the army given by Charles Collett, Esq., Assistant Magistrate of Malabar are well worth reproduction.

“The temple in which the insurgents have taken up their position, is situated on a steep hill the approaches to which are but two, viz. to the north-west and to the south. On the other sides the ascents are very steep, and the ground is covered (I can speak but to the west side) with

low thick jungles and rocks. Between the hill on which the small public bungalow stands, and the one on which the temple is, there is a small strip of paddy-land to be crossed. It was on this side that Captain Watt determined to make his approach. From the description of the temple, it appeared to Captain Watt, that it would be a work of some difficulty to carry the post by assault, provided the men within made a determined resistance. His object was, therefore to draw out the men from their position ; for this purpose it was arranged to send one party of Kolkars, consisting of 25 men, by the approach on the south side, and another party of Kolkars and countrymen across the paddy-fields, to the north-west. These parties had orders to fire upon the insurgents, but to retire as they approached, and that the troops would be ready to proceed in the direction in which the insurgents came. These parties did not proceed so far as it was expected that they might ; but the insurgents began to show themselves, and Captain Watt directed Mr Wyse to proceed across the paddy-fields, and take up a position on a clear space just on the opposite side ; the rest of the detachment being in readiness under himself and Lt. Burn, to proceed to his assistance if attacked. Ensign Wyse proceeded to carry his orders into effect, and had crossed the paddy-fields. The insurgents began now to come down, but not at first in any numbers ; in fact, there was one man who came some distance in front, some five or six men following in a straggling manner, and the remainder of the insurgents being some distance on the brow of the hill. Ensign Wyse proceeded his men out of the paddy-fields, some three or four men followed, the rest evidently hung back, and though there was a good deal of firing, strange to say, it did not appear to be with any effect ; the first insurgent, though frequently fired at, was not hit, and in fact, was killed by Ensign Wyse, with his own hand. Others now came down upon Ensign Wyse, and I am informed that one of them seized him by the jacket, and he received a wound, when he appears to have fallen and was of course quickly put to death ; but by this time, three of the insurgents had fallen, and now those men in the detachment who alone had emulated their officer, fell, one of them having first gallantly bayoneted the man who gave Mr Wyse his death wound. The rest of the detachment were, as I have said, ready to render assistance, being stationed on the brow of the hill, and as soon as the attack on Mr Wyse's party commenced, Captain Watt gave the word ' forward '. Before Mr Wyse had fallen, his party, after giving their very ineffective volley, turned ; at this crisis Captain Watt's party, who had begun the descent of the hill, fired an irregular volley,

without orders, I believe, and immediately retired. Seeing this, the natives who were collected on the hill, of course, fled in confusion. I was standing on the brow to the right of Captain Watt's party, and saw them break and retire. Two natives came up to me, and catching hold of me, called out to me, not to stay any longer. I turned and saw that a picquet of 16 men (as a guard), in front of whom I had been standing, had taken to their heels, and sepoys and all seemed to be in a general flight, and so I thought it time for me also to make off and join my Military companions. Only one of the insurgents, a wounded man, crossed the paddy fields, and ascended the hill on which we were, and here he was put to death by a sepoy, though Captain Watt rushed to save him."

The failure of this attack added immense prestige to the rebels and the Assistant Magistrate was forced to ask for further reinforcements. His Majesty's 94th Regiment under Major Dennis was sent to the assistance of Captain Watt and the Collector Mr Conolly reported as follows on 4th September 1849:—

"I am happy to say that we fell in with the fanatics after a forced march, and after a most spirited engagement, killed the whole of them, 61 in number, with a loss of two Europeans killed, four wounded, (I fear one will die), and one sepoy wounded. Lt. Vaughan of His Majesty's 94th Regiment received a wound in the thigh, but it is slight. Major Dennis had a wonderful escape from a bullet, which grazed his wrist. He had one or two contusions from the blow of something or other.

"The fanatics came out to meet the detachment in the most determined and resolute manner. It was beyond expressions extraordinary, to see a band of 60 men, some mere boys, rush out on a force of 300 men, and 100 of them composed of Europeans. It was to the latter that their attention was almost solely directed. They evidently wished, not only to die, but to die with as much *eclat* as possible. As for saving any of the men alive, it was all but impossible. They fought with the utmost desperation so long as any strength remained. One of them wounded severely a sepoy, by throwing a knife at him, after he had been brought to the ground."

Messrs Collett and Conolly were intimately connected with suppression of these risings for a considerable time and the latter suggested five measures to tackle the situation. They were: (1) to disarm the people

(2) to impose collective fines on Moplahs ; (3) to remove the Tirurangadi Tangal from the area ; (4) to escheat the property of the fanatics ; and (5) to deport the persons suspected in the rebellion. The Tirurangadi Tangal was a high priest of the Muslims. He came of Arab stock and was held in such high veneration that his slightest wish was accomplished whatever might be the perils of fruition. It was in evidence that prior to almost all these frenzied attacks, the rebels had visited the Tangal and obtained his congregational blessings. The Board of Directors in England were not prepared to go the whole hog with the Collector in his recommendations. In January 1852, again there was a frenzied attack on the brahmins of Mattanoor in Kottayam Taluk in which 17 persons were killed and 4 injured, 3 temples were defiled and images destroyed. But the insurgents met their fate at the hands of a party organized by a Hindu landlord. Mr W. Robinson who later became the first Inspector General of Police, was the Head Assistant Magistrate, Tellichery having jurisdiction over this place. His report to the Government gave the genesis of the trouble and eulogized the private effort of the Hindu landlord to defend himself in this matter. He wrote wryly about the Tahsildar, the head of the police, "The Tahsildar reached Kuliatt about an hour after the fight was over, via Plattur as he considered it safe to take a round-about road till he learnt of the destruction of insurgents." The Collector Mr Conolly wanted a commission to be appointed to judge how far his methods in dealings with the rebellions had succeeded and what further measures were to be taken to avoid a recurrence.

Mr Thomas L. Strange, Puisne Judge of the Sadr and Foujdari Adalat was appointed Special Commissioner for this purpose. The Special Commissioner in his report dated 25th September 1852 gave elaborate details of the offences committed from the year 1837 upto 1852. He noted thirty-one distinct instances as having had place in the intervening period of 16 years, during $5\frac{1}{2}$ of which however, there was an interval free from disturbance. In the remaining $10\frac{1}{2}$ years there were sixteen actual outbreaks by Moplahs in which murder was committed or attempted, with other outrages. Four of these outbreaks occurred since the beginning of 1851. In all but two instances, the outbreaks were confined to the three Taluks of Ernad, Shernad and Walluwanad in South Malabar. The last but one occurred in Kottayam (then a Taluk of North Malabar), the last in Coormenad of South Malabar. In these sixteen outbreaks, forty victims were killed, and

sixteen wounded, most of them desperately and always with intent to kill; sixteen others were sought for, but escaped; seventeen of those killed were brahmins, of whom twelve perished in one house, two brahmins were wounded and six sought for; eight men of rank and property were among the killed, and four among those inquired for; eleven houses were burnt down, and six pagodas more or less so, besides six defiled and partially injured. On four occasions, property was plundered; in two cases, to a considerable amount; in three cases large quantities of documents of high importance to the owners were destroyed. In the case which occurred at the beginning of 1852, heavy collateral loss arose from the inhabitants of the neighbourhood having fled to the woods, abandoning their crops of rice and pepper, just ready to be gathered in. In ten of the outbreaks, bands of Moplahs acted together; in the remaining instances, the actors were single. In all, the criminals were acting in open defiance of the authorities.

The number of criminals concerned in these sixteen outbreaks was 156. All but two were killed in conflict or died immediately of their wounds. One of the two who survived was desperately wounded, the other was taken unwounded. The number "believed to have been ready to break out, but who were timely arrested was 31", making a total of 187. The loss in conflict with these criminals was 23 killed and 38 wounded. The criminals and plotters in all cases were Moplahs, and the victims, and those threatened, Hindus.

Mr Strange disbelieved the allegation that agrarian discontent and destitution had occasioned these outbreaks. The true incentive to them according to him, had been the most decided fanaticism, "the victim or the designed victim having been all Hindus and their slayers or intended slayers, all Moplahs; and those who have carried out these purposes having done so with the avowed desire of seeking their death in arms against 'Kafirs', with the view of obtaining the joys of their fancied paradise." The burning and desecration of pagodas resorted to on many occasions, he noticed, as betraying the like spirit of fanaticism. He also suggested the framing of new acts to deal with the situation.

Meantime the Tirurangadi Tangal had been compelled to leave the shores of India, on pain of incarceration and deportation. But the superstitious veneration for his person and office still persisted and the *Haj* pilgrims continued to keep in touch with him. At the request of Mr Conolly, Government sanctioned on 31-3-1854 the organization of a Police Corps with the following ranks and allowances:—

	Rs.
1 Commanding Officer (Civil allowance)	200/-
1 Adjutant -do-	100/-
2 Subedars @ Rs. 25/- each	50/-
2 Jemadars @ Rs. 15/- each	30/-
12 Havildars @ Rs. 10/- each	120/-
12 Naigues @ Rs. 8/- each	96/-
2 European Sergeants @ Rs 30/- each	60/-
1 Sergeant Major	60/-
2 Buglers @ Rs. 6/- each	12/-
150 Privates @ Rs. 6/- each	900/-
	<hr/>
Total :	1,628/-

A few months later Mr Conolloy, District Magistrate of Malabar and provisional Member of Council, was barbarously murdered by four Moplah convicts. They had escaped from jail on August 4th 1855, and for nearly six weeks they had roamed over the district. They had prayed at the Taramal Tangal's shrine, and it was generally known that they contemplated some desperate deed. At nightfall on September 12th they made their way into Mr Conolly's bungalow at Calicut on the hill where the military barracks now stand. Mr Conolly and his wife were seated on low sofas in the verandah on either side of a table bearing lamps. 'He was approached from behind, and even Mrs Conolly did not catch sight of the first blow which alone would have proved fatal; and the next moment the lights were all swept off the table and the ruffians bounded on their victim slashing him in every direction.' Mr Conolly lingered for about an hour in intense agony. His assailants made good their escape, but were overtaken five days later in the Ernad taluk and shot down. Nine *amsams* implicated in the outrage were fined, and the net proceeds of the fines, aggregating nearly Rs. 31,000 were granted to Mrs Conolly.

Mr Collett was put on special duty for investigation into this murder case. Act XXXIII of 1854 which had been framed on the recommendation of Mr Strange was put into operation. This Act gave extraordinary powers to meet an emergency. Mr J. B. Norton, the Advocate General and Judge of the Foujdary Adalat opined that since the publication of the Act had taken place only after the murder of Mr Conolly, the incidents prior to that date could not be brought within the ambit of the law. So the Madras Government had to get the concurrence of the

Central Government for arming themselves with retrospective jurisdiction. Soon after the murder, the Police Corps under Major Hally and a company of His Majesty's 574th Highlanders went into action and the Moplahs who were suspected to be responsible for the murder were destroyed at Morar, 8 miles from Manjery. Mr Collett wrote: 'The men of the new Police Corps emulated the Europeans in their steadiness and were equally to the front at the last charge.' This Corps was the forerunner of the Malabar Special Police but it took another six decades for the latter's formation. Mr Collett made a detailed investigation and came to the conclusion that five insurgents were responsible for the murder of Mr Conolly four of them having escaped from Calicut Jail, 5 weeks prior to the incident. During this period they had traversed the countryside and secured the help of many Moplahs, but neither the local police nor the Tahsildars came to know anything about their movements. They tried to recruit one more to their ranks after the murder about whom Mr Collett obviously referring to the song of the *saheeds* wrote:—"He is one of those ignorant and degraded fellows who will be easily enticed by the sensual pleasure of which the criminals held out to him, and it is a fact that the belief as to the reality of the pleasures being immediately secured by death as a *saheed* is universally believed by the lower classes." It was also found that *Hal Ilakkam* (religious frenzy) preceded the determination of a person to die as a *saheed*. Lord Harris, the Governor, in his minute on the report about the murder remarked;—

"The over-sensitive jealousy for the liberty of the subject which is rendering the formulae and practice of our courts now in civilized life rather a defender of the evil than the protector of well disposed, quite unfits them for acting against a set of fanatical barbarians."

"There is one point which strikes the mind very forcibly in reading this paper of Mr Collett and that is the utter worthlessness of the police in Malabar. Mr Elliott, one of the members of the Council wrote: "It appears incredible that a band of men should traverse a great part of the district for a period of six weeks, with the avowed intention of destroying the principal person in it, that this intention should be known to hundreds, probably to thousands and that not a whisper of it should be conveyed to those entrusted with the preservation of order or if known should be completely withheld."

It has already been shown that the revenue-cum-police establishment was not exactly popular because the revenue officials utilized their police powers in their collection work and there was no delimitation as to where the revenue duties began and the police duties ended. Our people are noted for their great passivity and implicit obedience to authority but there are occasions when even the proverbial worm will turn. The inhuman and often callous torture inflicted on people by the revenue servants became so pronounced that ultimately the Madras Government was compelled to institute an enquiry into these allegations. This is called the TORTURE COMMISSION and the findings of this Commission are often quoted to justify the separation of the revenue and police powers from the same individual to two distinct entities. The immediate cause for the constitution of the Commission was the furore raised in the House of Commons by certain members of liberal views with regard to the torture adopted by the servants of the East India Company in the collection of rent and the wide publicity the allegations received at the hands of the Press. *The Post* carried the speech of Mr D. Seymour, one of the members as follows:—

“The grand object of the Company was to get 10s. out of a man where he had but 8s, and the same means of torture and coercion were used in the district to which he referred now in order to obtain taxes, as were used under the French dominion, described by a Jesuit, who wrote a hundred years ago, ‘Every year, in certain districts that were over assessed, this torture went on’. He knew that this was gainsayed, but the mass of evidence left no doubt of the fact. British merchants who knew it, were afraid to disclose it, because they feared that their position might be affected by the displeasure of the Indian Government. He had moved for documents showing what the Collectors of the provinces of Madras said on the subject, but they were refused, he believed, at the instance of Sir J. Melville.” Sir J. W. Hogg another member disapproved of Mr Seymour’s method of focussing public attention and then John Bright took up the challenge. *The Times* reported the speech as follows:—

“The Hon. Baronet, the Member for Honiton, had charged the Hon. Member for Poole with retailing the stories heard in the country, and wished the House to suppose that he referred to the practice of torture in the collection of the revenue; but would the Hon. Baronet deny that the practice of torture was not an unfrequent occurrence? Evidence of this the Hon. Member for Poole had gathered from the evidence of

Englishmen—Collectors and officials—and he had also gathered evidence of that which was yet more horrible than anything which he durst state to this House. The evidence of Mr Fisher, a most highly respectable merchant in India, clearly showed that, when an unhappy ryot was unable to pay his rent, he was visited with every species of severity, of cruelty, was torn from his home, imprisoned, subjected to the thumb-screw and other tortures, and finally, when no rent was to be got from him was turned out of his little holding, and sent forth to beg, to steal, or to starve, as the case may be. That these things were so, was fully confirmed by the testimony of native merchants and others of unquestionable veracity and respectability. The Collector's subordinates had the excuse, so far as they were concerned, that if they did not, somehow or other, extort the rent from the wretched ryot, they were themselves dismissed as negligent in their duty." There were similar speeches for and against the allegations but the public conscience in England was roused and had its repercussions in India. That was why the Governor formed the Commission composed of Messrs E. F. Elliot, H. Stokes and J. B. Norton. The Government in their communique said that whether the rent or tax be immoderate or not, was a point which was unnecessary to discuss but the other portion involved a charge of serious a nature that it was imperative on the Government to make every exertion to discover by the strictest scrutiny, whether there was any and what degree of truth in so grave an imputation. The Governor added that the idea of such a practice as alleged was so abhorrent to the principle innate in every Englishman that he would not hesitate to repel such an accusation on the part of the covenanted services but he felt that a mere general denial of that nature would not be satisfactory to the officers of the services themselves but that, on the contrary, they would be as desirous as he was that the fullest enquiry should be made, in order that, if untrue, the charge may at once be openly or clearly rebutted, while if on the other hand there should be any ground for the assertion, every exertion might be made to expose and effectually prevent such highly objectionable practices, and vindicate the character of the Government.

Messrs Elliot and Stokes, were civil servants of the Government while Mr J. B. Norton later became the Advocate General. The latter was the son of Sir John Norton and was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1841 and came to Madras in 1842. He held in succession the appointments of the Clerk of the Crown, Council for Paupers,

Government Pleader and Professor of Law. He was the first person to be appointed Crown Prosecutor of Madras. He was a patron of Pachiappa's Charities and for many years delivered an annual address at the Pachiappa's anniversary in which he reviewed the existing and future prospects of Indian education. He wrote a number of books on law and politics. His criticism of the ways of the judiciary in the mofussil was telling and direct. He wrote :—

“The two great evils in our present administration of justice arise from the incompetency of the judges and the corruption of all below them. Coupled together these two causes have made our Civil and Criminal Courts the pest and bane of the country. The amount of perjury which prevails throughout the land, is not so much the consequence of the national character of the people as the result of that feebleness on the Bench, which cannot contend against the cunning of false witnesses, whereby Indians see that acts of perjury, subordination of perjury and forgery and the like are the several means of gaining causes; that may be practised with one hand and with impunity on the other; and therefore most liberally has recourse to. As to the character of native evidence, it must be admitted, I fear, that it is altogether untrustworthy. Any number of witnesses may be procured in the bazaar for a few annas.”

In support of his contention he instanced several cases of which one related to a charge of murder against a zemindar. After 50 witnesses on either side had sworn to facts which contradicted each other, the Judge availed himself of the habitual latitude allowed by the law and cleared the court for the purpose of asking the Jury what their opinion on the subject was. The Jury said that every word that had been uttered on either side was utterly false and one of them further observed, “The fact is we all know the truth. Everybody knows the fact. Neither did this man kill the deceased, nor was he a hundred miles off, as he is stated to have been; but he was in the village at the time hiding himself in a house for fear his enemies should accuse him.” John Bruce Norton was the father of Eardley Norton, the famous barrister who in later years became a thorn in the side of the police, because of his cross-examining and forensic abilities.

In the light of the situation prevailing at that time, it cannot be said that there was no exaggeration in the evidence collected by the Torture Commission. After the formation of the Commission with the primary object of finding out the truth of the allegations

whether torture was used to extract rents, the scope of the enquiry was extended to the doings of the police also. This was an unwarranted incursion into the realms from where, as far as the Parliament was concerned, there were no complaints; but probably the Governor thought that since the twin powers were being exercised by revenue servants, it would be better to probe into both the functions. But the result had been far from being beneficial and a sort of hardening of feelings against the police had arisen in successive Police Commissions, because the Torture Commission had made certain remarks against the police. In these assessments it had always been forgotten that the Commission's enquiry was directed only against revenue servants and there was no distinct branch of the police during that period. The report of the Commission was submitted to the Governor on 16th April 1855. The Commission came to the conclusion that though torture had been diminishing in severity and extent it was still of enormous proportions and the remedy lay in the separation of the revenue and the police functions. The Commission quoted with approval the remarks of a Sheristadar who wrote in halting English:—

“If the duties of Police and Revenue are hereafter separated and the Amildars and heads of Police aided with sufficient establishment are employed to conduct them respectively, allowing them at the same time a handsome pay, it will, I undoubtingly say, a great relief not only to the servants but also to the subjects of the state, both in revenue and in police matters and moreover these two officers will be too much a friend of each other to commit any irregularity in exercising their powers. Torture may thus be suppressed entirely.” The Commission recommended that though the Collector would remain the political head of the district and retain all his powers as a Justice of the Peace, a European officer who could give his whole time and undivided attention to the organization and training of the police, would be necessary to keep it up to the requisite state of efficiency. It emphasized this point again: “It seems more than probable that this measure would have a very powerful effect upon the welfare of the people. In police cases, it cannot be doubted that a better paid, better organized police force separated altogether from the ordinary revenue duties, placed under European officers and commanded by an intelligent Superintendent immediately responsible to the Government for the peace of whole district, could in very short time interpose an effectual check to resort to torture to elicit confessions.” The Commission had used the word

'European Agency' very frequently for the superintendence of the police. In the concluding paragraphs the members were apologetic to the use of this word. They said, "Perhaps instead of the phrase 'European Agency' it should have been more correct to have used the term 'Moral Agency' without reference to colour or birth; for there are many East Indians and some natives who in our opinion might as safely be trusted with powers as among ourselves. It is gratifying to know that among the present there are and among the rising generation of Hindoos, there will be probably many more, who would not look to the place as the opportunity of amassing riches by dishonest means or oppressive practices; and to whom the liberation and welfare of their fellow countrymen might be safely committed. Some such there are at the present moment exercising authority with high advantage to the people of the province. Whenever and wherever such men can be found, we would advocate their employment. Our aim is to guard the Natives against themselves, such as they are now."

On 23rd July 1856 the Board of Directors sent a communication to the Governor pointing out that in the year 1854 gang robberies with aggravating circumstances amounted to 481 and the total number of other gang robberies, to 1724, in the districts of Madras and this indicated a great failure either in the means at the disposal of officers charged with preserving peace and good order or in their use of such means and called loudly for a remedy. At the same time they were not quite sanguine about the proposal to bring the police of the districts under one single head because of the failure of the system in North Western Provinces and the Lower Provinces of Bengal. The minute of the Governor on this, is revealing. The Governor wrote that he believed that 'no Police Force could be efficient, unless it be placed under one command and unless there be uniformity of discipline and of method throughout the whole body.' He conceived the duties of such a corps to consist in the preservation of the public peace, the protection of person and property, the prevention and detection of crime, and last (though not least important to a Government conducted by a few foreigners amidst vast masses of another race), the procuring of continued accurate information on the state of the country and the feelings and sentiments of the population. He was also of opinion that the members of the police corps should be restricted solely to the duties above mentioned and that judicial duties should on no account be joined with them excepting such as may have reference to the internal

discipline of the corps. He added that the position then was that the police was entirely confined to each district under the Collector and there was no general supervision whatever and no regular communication from one district to another or to any central office on the several points of business which so imperatively required combination of thought and action. The want of combination and effort and the neglect of communication were very remarkably manifest in the murder of Mr Conolly, the Collector of Malabar. He suggested that on an average there should be one police constable to every thousand inhabitants and estimating the population of the presidency at 22,00,000 he wanted 2,200 men to be recruited. Then he came forward with another proposal that the village police should be under the same control as that of the district police in order to ensure uniformity and discipline. The Hon'ble W. Elliot, one of the members of the Council noted that the inefficiency of the police was to a certain extent due to the attitude of the Courts. He said that the courts required an adherence to form a procedure and were guided by rules of evidence, which more often protected the criminal than satisfied the ends of justice. Their tenderness in dealing with offenders, their unwillingness to convict without the clearest testimony, their fastidiousness in estimating the value of evidence were carried to an extreme. It might be that a Sub Judge felt loath to act on his single judgment and where there was the smallest room for doubt. It might be that where the office was obtained by the chances of the service and not by the possession of judicial qualifications, there was often a want of the firmness and self-reliance required for arriving at a decision under such circumstances. He cited the bringing into force of new Acts like *XXX of 1836*, *XVIII of 1837*, *XVIII of 1839*, *XXIV of 1839*, *XXIV of 1843* and *XXIII of 1854* when the judicial system had produced evils which peremptorily called for a cure. He strongly supported the Governor in his other recommendations.

The Board of Directors in their letter dated 24-9-1856 approved of the Governor's recommendations and ordered that the management of the police in each district should be taken out of the hands of the magistrate and be committed to a European officer with no other duties and responsible to a General Superintendent of Police for the whole Presidency. They wanted a common plan for the whole of India. The police was to consist of Horse and Foot, its larger divisions were to be superintended by European subalterns, well acquainted with the languages, and of not less than from six to eight years of service; and

the whole should be superintended by one head. Its arms and equipments, clothing and internal discipline should be such as to preserve the character of the police, and to render it serviceable and efficient without approaching an absolutely military organization.

Lord Harris summarized the instructions of the Board of Directors in the following form :—

1. "There shall be in each Presidency, a Chief Commissioner, in whom will be vested, in communication with the Chief Secretary to Government of course, the direction discipline and internal economy of the Corps.
2. There will be in each district a European Deputy Commissioner, with a sufficient number of subordinate officers, European East Indians or Natives, and of Peons.
3. The duties of the officers shall be solely those belonging properly to a detective and preventive police not possessing a definite judicial character."

We are surprised at one of Lord Harris's remarks about the increase of scriptory work. "The tendency of the age," he said, 'is rather to exceed than otherwise, in requisition of returns etc. so that the time of officers is rather occupied in completing such documents, than in performing the active duties of their office.' A century of administration has not in any way curtailed the burden which goes on increasing in volume. With regard to complaints against the police, the Governor noted that the records of his Government showed how really cases were got up against the police without any real foundation, particularly at the present time, when it appeared to be generally supposed among the people that any charge of torture would be at once accepted as true. The time-lag vanishes when we look at it at the present day and find that human nature has not changed all these hundred years.

Sir H. C. Montgomery, one of the members of the Council, attributed the failure of the police to the attitude of the courts. These old administrators were refreshingly candid and put forward their views without thinking of public obloquy they might occasion or difficult situations they might create. In the present day, authorities are compelled to be apologetic in their support because public opinion plays a great part in the evolution of Governments. Sir H. C. Montgomery recorded, "But it is not only a more efficient police that is wanted for

the suppression of crime. The efforts of the most vigilant have hitherto been, and will continue to be, of little avail in securing the punishment of heinous crimes offenders, if the Courts continue to afford criminals such facilities for evading conviction as they now do. The evidence demanded for conviction is mostly as unsuited to the habits of the people, that it is rarely forthcoming, and the consequence is, the release of those whom the police well know to be the actual perpetrators of crime, emboldened by their success to repeat their lawless acts and to be the terror of all who aided in their apprehensions”.

In 1857 the Hon'ble Court sanctioned the reorganization of the police on the system advocated by the Madras Government in the following terms :—

“ The leading features of your plan for the improvement of the Police of the Madras Presidency, are : first, the appointment of a Chief Commissioner of Police for the whole Presidency, in whom will be vested, in communication with the Chief Secretary to Government, the direction, discipline, and internal economy of the Police Force ;

“ Secondly, the appointment in each district of a European Deputy Commissioner of Police, with a sufficient number of subordinate officers and peons ;

“ Thirdly, the entire separation of the Police from all connection with the revenue branch of administration ;

“ Fourthly, the separation of the Judicial duties of the Magistrate from those which relate to the prevention and detection of crime ;

“ And, fifthly, the re-organization of the Village Police.

“ We authorize you, subject to such future modification as time and experience may suggest, to organize the Police of your Presidency on the plan you have recommended in your several communications on the subject to the Government of India.

“ Your first step will, of course, be the appointment of a Chief Commissioner of Police upon such salary as may be deemed proper, and sanctioned by the Government of India. Then will follow the appointment, in like manner, of the District Deputy Commissioners. The Chief Commissioner and the Deputies, acting under the orders of Government, will then re-organize the District Stipendiary Police in the manner proposed by you and on the completion of the new

arrangements in any district, the Police functions of the Magistrate will cease.

“You will make the necessary application for such legislative measures as may be requisite for giving effect to any part of your scheme of reform. And as the change will involve considerable additional expense, the regulation of which must remain with the Governor General in Council, you will communicate, from time to time, with the Government of India, in regard to the gradual introduction of the system into the several Districts of your Presidency.

“We concur with you as to the expediency of putting the Village Police under the control of the District Deputy Commissioner of Police. At the same time we are decidedly of opinion that any measures which may be adopted for the improvement of this important institution, respect should be had to the leading characteristics of the system which has been found to prevail among the village communities, and may be supposed to be most in accordance with the feelings and habits of the people. The decay of the Village Police system in many of our older possessions is much to be regretted, and we shall gladly give our support to any measures for re-establishing it upon such a basis as shall render it efficient for the purposes of its original institution. The appointment, duties, and allowances of the Village Watchman, the authority to which he is to be immediately subordinate, the position which he is to occupy in relation to the Headman of the Village, and the inferior Officers of Police, and the sources from which the means of his remuneration (whether from lands held rent-free as before, or a system of town duties, or a local assessment) are to be drawn, are subjects which will call for your early and attentive consideration.”

On 22nd December, 1857 the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council in their Order No. 5347 sanctioned the appointment of a Chief Commissioner of Police on a salary of Rs. 2,500/- per mensem, with an office establishment costing Rs. 1,000/- per mensem, twenty Superintendents of Police at Rs. 700/- each and twenty Assistant Superintendents of Police at Rs. 300/- each. The total monthly cost of this new establishment was Rs. 23,500/-. The Central Government gave the option to the Madras Government to appoint to a district one Assistant of a superior class at Rs. 300/- per mensem or two of a lower class at Rs. 150/- per mensem. The Chief Secretary Mr Pycroft whose memory has been perpetuated by naming after him a road in Triplicane, raised three queries on which he said it was desirable that a clear understanding

should be arrived at. They were: (1) the authority to have charge of, and control over the village police, (2) the relation in which the Commissioner of Police and the local police are to stand to the Magistrates of the several districts, and (3) into how many and what districts the system should be first introduced, if it was not at once to be carried out generally. The Governor could not make up his mind about the village police though he stressed that there should be unity of action and identity of system without which there could be no real efficiency. With regard to the second question, the head of the Province noted that the police of the whole Presidency should be considered as one force dependent for its orders, its rules and regulations, distribution, and all that concerned its internal discipline and economy, on the Commissioner. But, inasmuch as the Chief Magistrate of each district was and would be responsible for the peace and order within his jurisdiction it was not only advisable but necessary that he should have a voice in the distribution of such portion of the Force, as should be attached to his district and should be kept acquainted with all the information gained by the police and receive from the Force all the assistance required. A slightly different view was expressed by the Hon'ble Walter Elliot. His idea of a village police was that this should consist of a police village-headman, who should be distinct from the revenue *monegar* or headman or a *curnum*, likewise distinct from the revenue village-accountant, of the whole of the Talliars, of village watchers, and of one or more of the 'Vetter or Toties'. Without such exclusive control he considered the formation of a preventive police to be impracticable. He found it difficult to define the relationship between the District Superintendent and the Collector and Magistrate. He said that in Bombay the Superintendent was subordinate to the Magistrate but they had no Chief Commissioner. But according to him the creation of the latter post altered the whole position of the subordination of the District Superintendent to the Collector and he could not see how these local officers could be placed under the District Magistrate in any respect when they were directly subordinate to the Commissioner and there was no reason why this should be so, if they had separate village establishments. The Hon'ble W. A. Morehead, another Member of Council agreed with Mr Elliot and added that the police will act in regard to the Magistrate exactly as was being done then in the Town Police of Madras.

On the basis of these discussions, the Madras Government wrote on 14th August 1855 to the Governor General proposing the appointment of

a Superintendent of Police for each district who would have the immediate charge of the district police force and who would be vested with the special duty of the prevention or detection of crime. But the success of the whole scheme would depend upon its being efficiently supervised by some central controlling authority. So the Government strongly advocated the appointment of a Commissioner of Police for the whole Presidency. His headquarters would be at Madras, the police force of which, as that in the mofussil, would be under his control and he would make occasional tours and ascertain by personal inspection the defects of the working of the system. He would be the referee and adviser of Government in all matters of police and the channel through which all reports and returns on police would reach the Government.

In pursuance of the orders of the Board of Directors and the discussions of the Governor in Council, Mr W. Robinson, a covenanted civil servant, was appointed Chief Commissioner of Police in May 1858. He had great experience of the Moplah riots in Malabar as Head Assistant Magistrate, Tellichery, and later as Collector of Malabar. His knowledge of law and local languages was considered so thorough that at one time he was suggested for appointment as Public Prosecutor in the event of the Conolly murder cases' coming up for trial before any special Tribunal. He should be considered the first Inspector General of Police, though the post at that time went by the name of Chief Commissioner of Police. The Head of the City Police who is now called Commissioner was till 1856 called the Superintendent of Police and later by the former appellation.

Mr Robinson proceeded to each district and studied the condition of the existing police establishments with a view to separating the joint revenue and police duties and establishments. Special Commissions were appointed to give effect to the separation. Early in December Mr Robinson submitted a sketch of the system proposed by him for carrying out the objects in view. The leading features of the proposal were that the police should be a distinct department under the direct supervision of the Government; its members of all grades, divested of judicial functions, should be under the exclusive control and management of their own officers. The Chief Commissioner's draft which forms the foundation of the modern police in Madras, is given below.

The following will be the constitution of the police :—

I. " VILLAGE POLICE : under the control of the District Superintendent, consisting of the Village Watch ; constituted as at present of the

Official Village Watchers, but strengthened, improved, adequately remunerated and properly controlled. A Village Police Inspector, to exercise the Executive Police functions of the present Village Moonsiff or Potail to superintend the Village Watch, and to form the link between the Village Police and Community, and the general Constabulary.

II. "A GENERAL STIPENDIARY CONSTABULARY; consisting of sufficient number of Subordinate Police Officers, as follows :

Constables

Head Constables

Inspectors.

III. "SUPERINTENDENTS in charge of the Police of their respective Districts.

IV. "A CHIEF COMMISSIONER, in whom will be vested, in communication with the Chief Secretary to Government, the direction, discipline, and internal economy of the Police Force.

"Measures will be taken for the recruiting and training of the different grades of Police, for which a moderate expenditure on preparatory grade will be indispensable.

"Parties of Mounted Police will be maintained in certain localities.

"All Inspectors and Sergeants will be mounted.

"A suitable reserve will be kept with the Police Head Quarters of each District.

"The Stipendiary Police will be duly instructed in the use of their weapons, Sword and Carbine; but will not carry Arms, beyond a Truncheon, their ordinary badge of office, except as occasion requires.

"This Constabulary will undertake every executive duty in each District, Jail and General Treasury Guards, Escorts of Revenue and Treasure, &c.

"The Police will exercise no Judicial or Magisterial function whatever. It will take the initiative only for the preservation of peace and prevention of crime, and in case of serious offence, in all other matters it will act under a Magistrate's process alone."

To this scheme of reorganization, the Government accorded general approval. But Mr Robinson was ordered to have the draft prepared by

a professional man, which according to the Government should be Mr Mayne, the Professor of Law in Madras University and Barrister-at-law, as both Law Officers of the Government and the Government Pleader in Sadr Adalat were occupied in other work. The new draft was approved and Mr Robinson was instructed to proceed with it to Calcutta and get into touch with Mr Forbes, the Member for Madras in the Legislative Council, which appeared to comprise representatives from different States. Sir Charles Trevelyan had become Governor by this time and he and the Members in Council veered round to the view, that the District Superintendent of Police should be subordinate to the District Magistrate, unlike the previous opinion that he should be independent of him. The instructions to Mr Forbes on 6th May, 1859 and 20th June 1859 make this clear :—

“ You will therefore understand it to be the distinct and unanimous intention of the Madras Government.

First.—“ That the local Superintendents of Police are to be entirely under the orders of the local Magistrates.

Secondly.—“ That the functions of the Commissioner, or, as he should more properly be styled, the Inspector General, will be confined to the organization of the establishment, and to maintaining it in a state of efficiency, by a proper attention to promotion, discipline, and other details of management.

“ The primary object of the plan, I am desired to add, is to place an improved instrument, for the prevention and detection of crime, at the disposal of the Magistrate; besides which incidental advantages of great public importance will be obtained, such as the assumption, by the Civil Power, of its proper duties in guarding Treasuries, Jails, &c., the concentration and consequent reduction in amount, and improvement in efficiency of the Military Force; and the general advancement of the population in character and resources, from the superior protection which will be afforded, both from the exactions of native subordinates, and from the depredations of thieves and robbers.

And further :—

“ The preamble may, it appears to this Government, properly run as follows :—

“ Whereas it is expedient to make the Police Force throughout the Madras Presidency a more efficient instrument, at the disposal of the

Magistrate, for the prevention and detection of crime, and to reorganize the Police Force, and improve the condition of the Village Police, it is enacted, &c.”

“It will be proper, lastly, that you should bear in mind the future discussions on this Bill, that while it is proposed to vest in the local Magistrates the most ample powers of control (save in matters of drill, discipline, &c.) over the District Superintendents and their Establishments, it is yet meant that such supervision shall be of a general character, that the Superintendents shall, as far as possible, be left to provide for the prevention and detection of crime in their Districts, by means of the Police Force under their orders; the Magistrate exercising a general control, and interfering more immediately, only on occasions when he may deem his intervention really necessary. The relation of the Superintendent to the Magistrate, his superior, and the paramount authority in the District, cannot be easily defined in words in all its bearings; but its general purport is as above indicated. The real working of the revised system can only be clearly seen and appreciated after it shall have been brought into actual operation; and it will be the duty of this Government carefully to watch the introduction of the improved Police, and to check at once any departure from the principles upon which it is based.”

The subordination has proved only to be a legal fiction during the course of years but there are vestiges of it present even now which may call for removal. The Bill was passed as Act XXIV of 1859 on 6th September 1859 and this marked the beginning of the modern Madras Police.

CHAPTER X

THE MODEL FOR OTHER POLICE FORCES

THE MADRAS Act XXIV of 1859 seems to have attracted the attention of all the Governments in India and prompted them to view the reform of the police as an immediate necessity. But each Presidency had its own problems apart from the special situation in the cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The Court of Directors had insisted that there was a need to cut down expenditure with regard to police administration and at the same time make it more efficient. So with a view to make a comprehensive enquiry into the efficiency of the existing systems of police establishments in India and to devise ways and means of reducing the expenditure and increasing the efficiency of the police, the Government of India by a resolution on 17th August, 1860 appointed a Commission consisting of the following members:—

1. Mr M. H. Court, Bengal Civil Service (N. W. Provinces.)
2. Mr S. Wauchope, C. B., Bengal Civil Service (Lower Provinces.)
3. Mr W. Robinson, Madras Civil Service.
4. Mr R. Temple, Bengal Civil Service (Punjab).
5. Lt. Col. Bruce, C. B., Bombay Army, Chief of the Police, Oude.
6. Lt. Col. Phayre, Commissioner of Pegu.

The stock of the Madras Government and of Mr W. Robinson, the Inspector General of Police, Madras stood high with the Central Government at this time. Actually the Commission was instructed to draft a Bill on the model of Madras Act XXIV of 1859 and submit it to the Central Government, empowering the local governments to give effect to any such reform as they might desire to carry out, in furtherance of the suggestion of the Commissioners. The Government order itself specified that Mr Robinson whose duties will probably require him to return shortly to Madras, will continue to be a corresponding member of the Commission and should be consulted by letters on all questions of principle which may come before the Commission after his departure from Calcutta."

This can be said to be the first All India Police Commission. The Commission submitted its report in September 1860. It noted that the members had derived great assistance from the experience of results obtained by the Madras Police. Colonel Balfour of the Military Finance Commission, who had been addressed with regard to the savings that could be effected by replacing the army personnel doing police duties, wrote that after the formation of the new Madras Constabulary, four extra regiments and two veteran battalions had been broken up and about three hundred and twenty men struck off the strength of each of the fifty-two native infantry regiments, making a numerical reduction of 20,000 men. He envisaged a further retrenchment of 100 men per regiment which would bring the total to 25,000 men. The savings to the State in military expenditure by the reduction of 25,000 native infantry would, calculating at Rs. 200/- per head per annum, amount to about Rs. 50 lakhs annually. He added, "I have thus shown the saving to be effected in the military expenditure of the Madras Presidency, by reductions of the military forces consequent on the formation of an efficient constabulary; and I need only refer you to Mr Robinson, Inspector General of the Madras Mofussil Police, who is a member of your Commission, for all particulars as to the additional expense likely to be entailed on the Civil Department by the substitution of the new Constabulary Force for the old Police Force; only remarking here that according to the information by the Military Finance Commission the increased outlay for the constabulary would not amount to more than one fifth of the savings in military expenditure (50 lakhs) as above shown." He thought it sufficient to have only police guards even in military cantonments and over military installations and instanced the example of the Metropolitan Police in England watching the Royal Arsenal at Woolwich, the Tower of London, the Small Arms Factory, Enfield, and the Army Clothing Depot, Pimlico.

The Commission in their report said that the military arm should be relieved from all non-military duties; and the peace and order of the country should be preserved, on every occasion of tumult and apprehended disturbance, by the civil power and not by military force. The civil power would be the police, who would work under the orders of the district officer, the latter being the Chief Magistrate of the district in whom the police and judicial functions should unite. With regard to the pay of the constables, it laid down that the lowest rank should

receive pay equal at least to the average ordinary wages of unskilled labour of the province. This direction continues to follow the fortune of the police constables even to the present day, though the work expected of them is of a nature which should place them above temptation. Each local Government was instructed to prescribe suitable and inexpensive uniforms to be furnished to all officers of police below the rank of Inspector at the cost of the State. In the matter of arming the police, the Commission said that the arms should be of the lightest and most handy description, namely, a light smooth-bore carbine with a bayonet, and a sword to be used as a side-arm and that the police should be thoroughly trained in the use of their arms but should never carry them except in the performance of any duty in which the carrying of their arms was prescribed. They should carry ordinarily only a baton or truncheon. Among some of the general principles enunciated by them, one was that no separate class of clerks, writers or ministerial officials should be allowed in the police and that all writing and accounting work should be done by the enrolled members of the police force. They also laid down:—

“That the police should not be used as an agency for the record of any evidence, confession, inquest or the like; but a system of keeping faithful, accurate, and minute diaries should be maintained. These diaries should specify, concisely, but in detail, all duties in which any police officer may have been engaged, and every occurrence and information that may have required the attention of the police within their respective ranges. All police officers engaged in specific detective duties should keep an accurate and minute diary of every step taken, and every information obtained in following up the clue of evidence—such diaries should be police documents only, and be sent to the District Superintendent, but should be open to the inspection of the District Officer.

“That the police be strictly forbidden by law, to take cognizance of, or interfere with petty offences of any description, or otherwise interfere with the liberties or convenience of the people.”

The Hon'ble Sir H. B. E. Frere, the Home Member moved the first reading of the Bill in the Legislative Council on 29th September 1860. During the motion for the second reading of the Bill on 6th October, 1860 Mr A. Sconce, one of the members, was critical of the many provisions. He said, “this was not a new Bill. It was an old

friend with a new face." He believed that the members of the Council were of opinion that a change in the police administration which was applicable to Madras might not be inapplicable to the whole of India. He said that in the Bill before the Council so many different topics were mixed up and the provisions were heterogeneous. It was the firm view of Mr Sconce that in a Police Bill the provisions relating to the substantive and procedural laws should never find a place and the Bill should confine itself only to the constitution, organization and administration of the police. He also focussed the attention of the Council on numerous provisions needlessly included in the proposed legislation which were already incorporated in the Indian Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code.

Mr Sconce's criticism is well founded and even today one is led to conjecture, why all the numerous sections were included in the Police Act. The plausible explanation is that except for the Regulations of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras there was no other codified law in the country at that time since the Indian Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code had not been passed into law. The former Code was just then passing through the Council and so the framers of the Indian Police Act would have come to the conclusion that it would be better to include some of the powers without waiting for the other act which had taken about twenty years to see the light.

This brings us to the codification of laws in India during the British administration. The name that stands out head and shoulders above all others in this matter is that of Lord Macaulay. Of course, he had written disparagingly and said some unwise things about Sanskrit literature being nowhere near English. That a man well versed in several European languages, who could converse with the greatest among them on equal terms, should hold such views about Indian literature without making an effort to study them is indeed a matter more for commiseration than for carping criticism. But this could not detract from the merit of Lord Macaulay as one of the greatest expounders and codifiers of law, after Justinian. In 1833, the fortunes of the party ruling England were on the wane. Macaulay was a Junior Minister in the Board of Trade but he could not continue in politics under an unstable Government without sufficient independent competence which was lacking. Authorship was an uncertain profession. So Macaulay was on the lookout for a suitable situation. This offered itself when the new India Bill provided that one of the members of the Supreme Council i.e.

the Viceroy's Council in India was to be chosen from among persons who were not servants of the Company. The salary was ten thousand pounds a year which was considered fabulous at that time. On 4th December 1833, the Directors of the East India Company appointed him to a seat in the Council of India by nineteen votes to three. On 10-6-1834 Macaulay landed at Madras and proceeded to Ootacamund to meet Lord William Bentinck, the Viceroy who was detained there due to ill health. He spent two months on the Nilgiris and then started on his journey to Calcutta. The future law-giver had a taste of Anglo-Indian Justice when his servant was hauled up for having made advances to a married woman. The situation was very happily described by Macaulay.

“My new servant, a Christian, but such a Christian, as the missionaries make in this part of the world, had been persecuted most unmercifully for his religion by the servants of some other gentlemen on the Hills. At last they contrived to excite, against him, (whether justly or unjustly I am quite unable to say) the jealousy of one of Lord William's under-cooks. We had accordingly a most glorious tragi-comedy; the part of Othello by the cook aforesaid; Desdemona by an ugly, impudent, Pariah girl, his wife; Iago by Colonel Casement's servant; and Michael Cassio by my rascal. The place of the handkerchief was supplied by a small piece of sugar-candy which Desdemona was detected in the act of sucking, and which had found its way from my canisters to her fingers. If I had any part in the piece, it was, I am afraid, that of Roderigo, whom Shakespeare describes as a 'foolish gentleman,' and who also appears to have had 'money in his purse'.”

There was an enquiry by a court and the servant was pronounced not guilty. Macaulay afterwards wrote: “I did not then know, what I learnt some days after, that this respectable Magistrate had received twenty rupees on the occasion.” Mr Macaulay reached Calcutta safely and entered upon his new duties.

By a clause in the India Act of 1833, a Law Commission was appointed “to enquire into the jurisprudence and jurisdiction of our Eastern Empire.” Macaulay, at his own request, was made the President of that Commission. His colleagues were Mr Cameron and Sir John Macleod. Mr Charles Hay Cameron was a barrister from England who was said to be a disciple and ultimately the last disciple of Jeremy Bentham. He became the Legal Member of the Council in 1843.

Sir John Macleod was a distinguished Madras Civil Servant, who had been Secretary in more than one department. Macaulay suggested the framing of a Criminal Code for the whole of the Indian Empire as the first task to be undertaken by the Commission. "This Code," wrote Macaulay, "should not be a mere digest of existing usages and regulations, but should comprise all the reforms which the Commission may think desirable. It should be framed on two great principles—the principle of suppressing crime with the smallest possible amount of suffering, and the principle of ascertaining truth at the smallest possible loss of time and money. The Commissioners should be particularly charged to study conciseness, as far as it is consistent with perspicuity. In general, I believe, it will be found that perspicuous and concise expressions are not only compatible, but identical."

The work was laborious and consequently slow. Macaulay was not at all hustled by the passage of years in drafting the Code. About the delay he wrote "Indeed, if we compare the progress of the Indian Code with the progress of Codes under circumstances far more favourable, we shall find little reason to accuse the Law Commission of tardiness. Buonaparte had at his command the services of experienced jurists to any extent to which he chose to call for them; yet his legislation proceeded at a far slower rate than ours. The French Criminal Code was begun, under the Consulate, in March 1801; and yet the Code of Criminal Procedure was not completed till 1808, and the Penal Code not till 1810. The Criminal Code of Louisiana was commenced in February 1821. After it had been in preparation during three years and a half, an accident happened to the papers which compelled Mr Livingstone to request indulgence for another year. Indeed, when I remember the slow progress of law reforms at home, and when I consider that our Code decides hundreds of questions, every one of which if stirred in England, would give occasion to voluminous controversy and to many animated debates, I must acknowledge that I am inclined to fear that we have been guilty rather of precipitation than of delay."

While writing to his father, who was very prominent in the abolition of slavery in British dominions, he mentioned, "In a few months—I hope, indeed, a few weeks,—we shall send up the Penal Code to Government. We have got rid of the punishment of death, except in the case of aggravated treason and wilful murder. We shall also get rid indirectly of everything that can properly be called slavery in India. There

will remain civil claims on particular people for particular services which claims may be enforced by civil action ; but no person will be entitled, on the plea of being the master of another, to do anything to that other, which it would be an offence to do to a free man."

But owing to many preoccupations of the Government, the Penal Code could be enacted only in 1860. It came into operation on 1st January 1862. The Law Commission continued to exist with constant changes of members. In 1847, the Commissioners were instructed to prepare a scheme of pleadings and procedure with model forms of indictment adapted to the provisions of the Indian Penal Code. A Criminal Procedure Code was drafted in 1848. This was examined by the Indian Law Commissioners appointed in 1853. A revised draft Code of procedure was produced. This was ultimately passed into law as Act XXV of 1861 and came into force on the day the Penal Code also became operative. A police officer is closely connected with these two Codes because most of his work is centred on them.

The present Code does not contain some of those illustrations to sections, which Macaulay noted in the original draft. His examples were taken from the details of crime which had come to notice through the literature of the world. For instance the offence of fabricating evidence was exemplified by a case which might easily be recognized as that of Lady Macbeth and the grooms. It is as follows :—

"A, after wounding a person with a knife, goes into the room where Z is sleeping, smears Z's clothes with blood and lays the knife under Z's pillows ; intending not only that suspicion may thereby be turned away from himself, but also that Z may be convicted of voluntarily causing grievous hurt. A is liable to punishment as a fabricator of false evidence."

The Penal Code did not become a favourite all at once. Its merits could be assessed only by discerning eyes. Mr Fitzjames Stephens, Macaulay's eminent successor wrote as follows :—

"In order to appreciate the importance of the Penal Code, it must be borne in mind what crime in India is. Here, in England, order is so thoroughly well established that the crime of the country is hardly more than any annoyance. In India, if crime is allowed to get to a head, it is capable of destroying the peace and prosperity of whole tracts of country. The mass of the people in their common moods are gentle, submissive, and disposed to be innocent ; but, for that very reason, bold

and successful criminals are dangerous in the extreme. In old days, when they joined in gangs or organized bodies, they soon acquired political importance. Now, in many parts of India, crime is quite as uncommon as in the least criminal parts of England; and the old high-handed systematized crime has almost entirely disappeared. This great revolution, (for it is nothing less) in the state of society of a whole continent, has been brought about by the regular administration of a rational body of criminal law.

“The administration of criminal justice is entrusted to a very small number of English Magistrates, organized according to a carefully devised system of appeal and supervision which represents the experience of a century. This system is not unattended by evils; but it is absolutely necessary to enable a few hundred Civilians to govern a continent. Persons in such a position must be provided with the plainest instructions as to the nature of their duties. These instructions, in so far as the administration of criminal justice is concerned, are contained in the Indian Penal Code, and the Code of Criminal Procedure. The Code of Criminal Procedure contains 541 sections, and forms a pamphlet of 210 widely printed octavo pages. The Penal Code consists of 510 sections. Pocket editions of these Codes are published, which may be carried about as easily as a pocket Bible; and I doubt whether, even in Scotland, you would find many people who know their Bibles as Indian civilians know their Codes.”

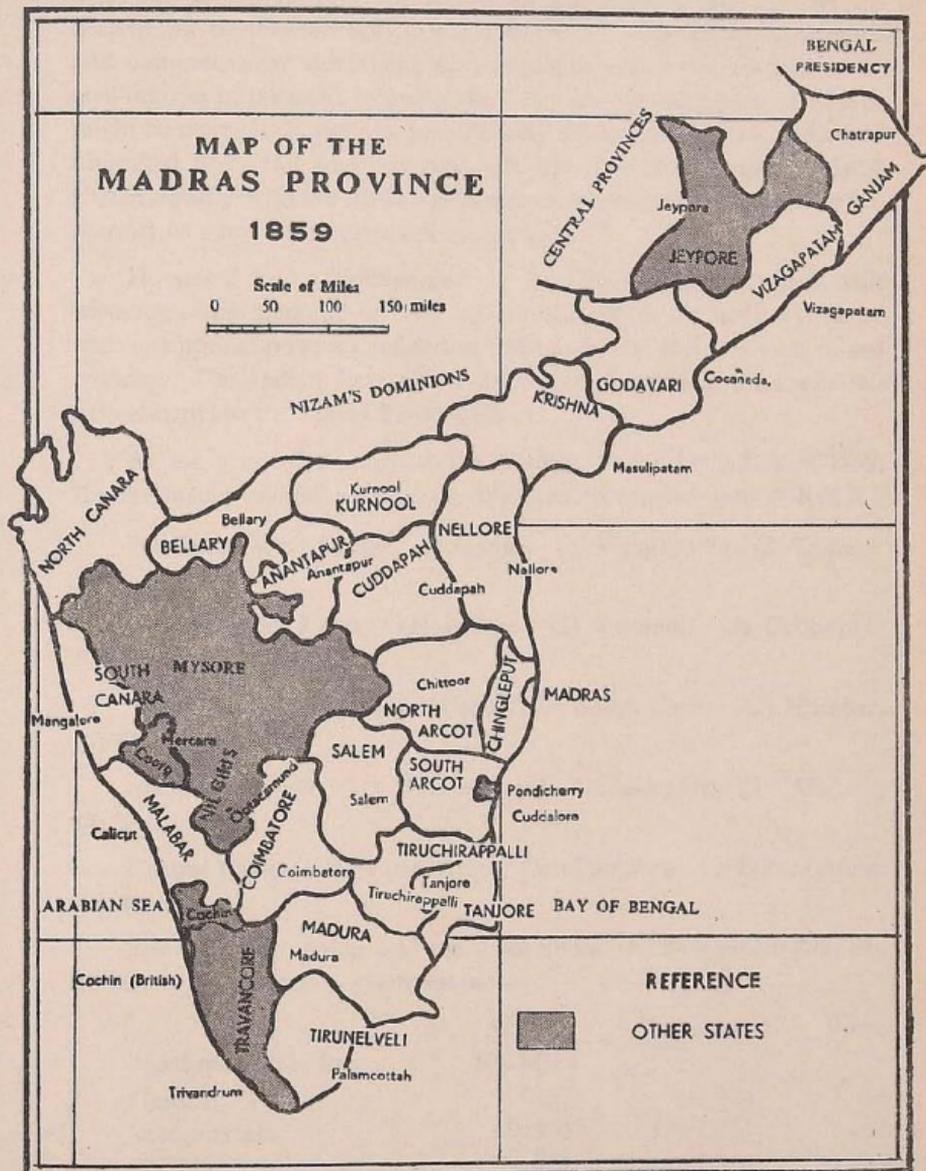
But the Indian view of that time, which the new education sponsored by Macaulay brought out, was succinctly expressed by Sri Rungacharloo, Dewan of Mysore and one of the ablest administrators of those times. Sri Rungacharloo wrote:—

“It is impossible to feel some surprise at the complacency and even admiration with which the working of the theoretic code is usually regarded without considering its effects on the interest of the people at large. Theoretical minds carried away by the logical perfection of the Code forget the evil effects of its artificial definitions, which are not altogether based on the popular train of ideas. Popular definitions admit of natural expansion to meet every new circumstance while artificial ones perpetually stand under the necessity of artificial expansions which serve only to remove them further from popular thought. It is undeniable that the Code is not understood without great effort even by educated officers and much less carried in their daily train of thoughts. What must be the effect on the illiterate population of such legislation

MAP OF THE MADRAS PROVINCE

1859

Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150 miles



bearing on their daily concerns! Popular experience can only describe the Code as a cruel piece of legislation which in its anxiety that no description of offence might possibly be left out, has framed such wide and comprehensive definitions as to mingle serious crimes and mere civil injuries in the same category, and in order that all aggravated cases might be adequately met has provided for offences exorbitant and often unlimited fines and imprisonment. It has thus placed the peaceful citizen equally with the professional dacoit perpetually under the tender mercies of a not immaculate official hierarchy."

He stated that a simpler code in keeping with popular ideas with certainty rather than of severity of punishment in all ordinary cases, with exceptional powers confined to special courts, was the want of the country. The Indian Law Commission is still engaged in formulating amendments to the Indian Penal Code.

At the time of passing of the Madras Police Act XXIV of 1859, the Presidency comprised the following districts divided into 5 Ranges.

Northern Circar Range : (1) Ganjam. (2) Vizagapatam. (3) Krishna. (4) Godavary.

Ceded District Range : (1) Bellary. (2) Kurnool. (3) Cuddapah. (4) Nellore.

Western Range : (1) North Canara. (2) South Canara. (3) Malabar. (4) Coimbatore.

Southern Range : (1) Tanjore. (2) Trichinopoly. (3) Madura. (4) Tinnevelly.

Central Range : (1) North Arcot. (2) Chingleput. (3) South Arcot. (4) Salem.

The area, population and the force under the new Police Act, are shown in the tabulation given below:—

	Area in Sq. Miles	Population	Force
Northern Circar Range			
Ganjam	4,457	9,48,124	1,398
Vizagapatam	18,935	15,71,854	1,651
Krishna	6,918	8,56,366	1,144
Godavary	7,533	13,21,091	1,539
Total :—	37,843	46,97,435	5,732

	Area in Sq. Miles	Population	Force
Ceded District Range			
Bellary	11,351	10,64,653	1,380
Kurnool	7,984	5,11,512	900
Cuddapah	9,140	10,56,860	1,380
Nellore	8,000	9,35,700	1,098
Total:—	<u>36,475</u>	<u>35,68,725</u>	<u>4,758</u>
Western Range			
North Canara	4,300	4,30,700	1,090
South Canara	3,480	6,50,000	700
Malabar	6,262	17,09,302	1,697
Coimbatore	8,100	12,27,200	1,098
Total:—	<u>22,142</u>	<u>40,17,202</u>	<u>4,585</u>
Southern Range			
Tanjore	3,720	15,80,264	1,534
Trichinopoly	3,200	8,09,580	805
Madura	8,373	17,92,737	1,380
Tinnevelly	5,144	13,39,374	1,150
Total:—	<u>20,437</u>	<u>55,21,955</u>	<u>4,869</u>
Central Range			
North Arcot	7,526	14,52,949	1,510
Chingleput	3,010	6,11,200	739
South Arcot	4,933	11,85,625	1,144
Salem	7,610	12,68,200	1,184
Total:—	<u>23,079</u>	<u>45,17,974</u>	<u>4,577</u>

The Act was first extended to North Arcot on 25th October 1859. On 19th January 1860, Nellore, South Arcot, Chingleput, Coimbatore and Tanjore came under the Act. North Canara and Salem were brought under the Act on 9th March and 27th April 1860 respectively. Eight districts remained incomplete at the close of the official year 1861-62. These were completed during the year 1862-63. When the Police Act was passed in 1859 the post of the Deputy Inspector General was not in existence. A group of districts was supervised by a Superintendent of Police called the Inspecting Superintendent of Police.

These Inspecting Superintendents of Police were designated Deputy Inspectors General of Police by a Government Order on 4-5-1861.

The strength of the force on 30th April 1863 was as follows :—

Inspector General	...	1
Assistant Inspector General	...	1
Deputy Inspectors General	...	4
Superintendents	...	20
Assistant Superintendents	...	18
Inspectors of all ranks	...	443
Constables of all ranks	...	23,925
Kurnool Irregular Horse	...	234
		<hr/>
		24,646
Stipendiary Village Police	...	3693

The relative proportion of constabulary to population and area for the whole Presidency was 1 to 982 inhabitants and 1 to 5.7 square miles respectively.

The expenses of the force under the different heads were as follows :—

Pay and allowances	...	Rs. 27,72,125
Clothing and accoutrements	...	Rs. 2,85,243
Rent, stationery and other charges	...	Rs. 87,395
		<hr/>
		Rs. 31,44,763

The cost of the constabulary averaged Rs. 127/- per annum on the whole force and annas 2.1 per head of the population. The organization which started with five Deputy Inspectors General in 1859 came to possess only four when the scheme was completed. The Ranges were Northern, Central, Southern and Western. All the Assistant Superintendents, Superintendents and Deputy Inspectors General were recruited from the Army.

The force was composed in each district of Inspectors, Head Constables and their deputies and constables. There was also the village police.

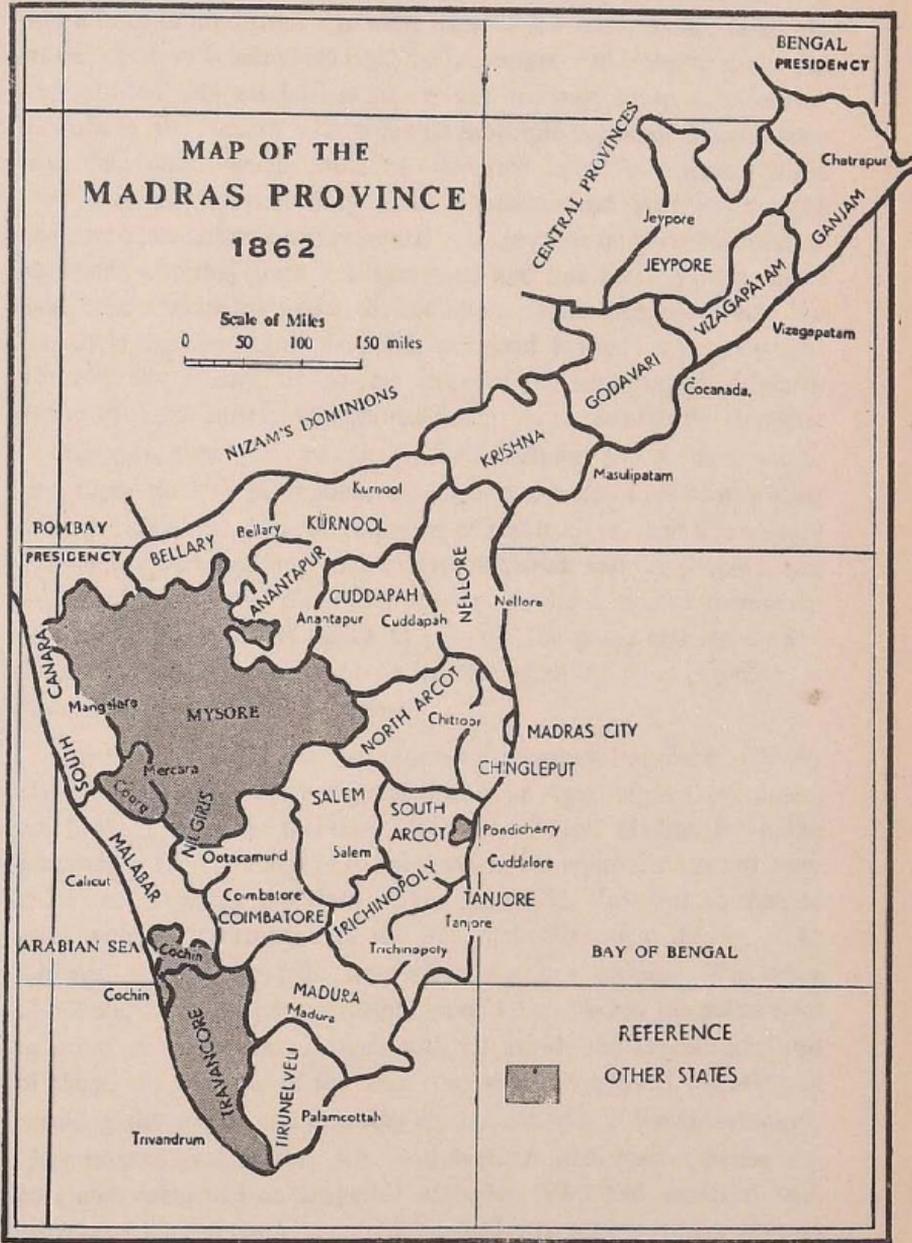
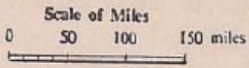
The Inspectors were the hub of the police wheel. Though there were some difficulties in securing the right type of men for a service that was harassing, continuous and responsible, some very able men joined

the police in the rank of Inspectors. They were hardworked. The caution necessary in the selection of Indians and the limited supply of men of proper stamp led to a dearth of hands which consequently gave rise to a spate of work in each district. It was the experience of the Government in those days that Europeans were best suited to be employed as Inspectors for they had a sense of duty and discipline, coupled with energy and tenacity of purpose. A system of gradation amongst Inspectors was introduced in 1861. The higher grades of Inspectors were placed in charge of two or more Taluks, in the position of Inspecting Officers who served as links in the chain of responsibility and supervision and added to the efficiency of the service.

Next to the Inspectors came the head constables. A head constable commanded one or more parties of police and was responsible for their discipline and efficiency. He was in charge of a station-house with a range of 50 to 150 square miles around, and was responsible likewise for everything of a police nature occurring within the range. Great difficulty was experienced in getting men fitted for these varied duties and responsibilities. In fact, they had to be made and trained after entering the service, and a regular system of school instruction and examination before promotion to this rank had been instituted and was being perfected in each district. Several officers were peculiarly diligent and successful in laying this all-important foundation of the future efficiency of their District Force.

The physique and intelligence of the Force were in most districts still rather below the standard to which they had to be brought. The service was new and not popular, especially amongst the old hands in the public service. The discipline and duty were very severe, irksome, and continuous; departmental supervision was close and telling; and the magistracy of all grades readily listened to charges against the police, and punished with severity instances of misconduct and venality. It is not to be wondered that police service was not popular. In fact, the policeman has few friends, is weighted with heavy responsibilities and penalties and has much to discourage him even in the present day. The consequence was that in several districts many had held aloof for a while. But these difficulties disappeared as the service became better known and more appreciated and the local officials, more tolerant. This was especially the result in districts where the magistrates personally interested themselves in the constitution of the police force of their districts. It is an axiom in English Constabulary management, that it takes

MAP OF THE MADRAS PROVINCE 1862



a year to make a recruit fairly acquainted with his duty; three or four years to make him a really useful and trustworthy police officer. The police force in no district was more than a few months old; in all, it was as yet insufficiently officered by Inspectors. In order to avoid the cost of doubling establishments, it was necessary to send policemen to work in the country with only that moderate degree of acquaintance with their duty, which could be imparted in a few weeks. When they were on out-post duty, strict obedience and attention relaxed and inveterate habits again prevailed. Some cases of grave misconduct occurred; but they were less numerous and less heinous than might have been anticipated under the conditions which then prevailed. On the whole, the conduct of the police was good beyond expectation, and wherever the officers, by the completion of the organization and occupation of their district, had been enabled to study minutely the character of their men, supervise more closely their discipline and conduct, and to give more time to instruction, a really useful body of police was being formed. Cases of abuse of authority, official insolence and unnecessary interference were promptly and severely punished, and the people began very generally to feel that while they might have availed themselves of the assistance of the police to preserve the peace and repress and detect crime, they were not under the necessity of submitting to oppression, extortion or arrogance.

In 1862 North Canara was annexed to Bombay Presidency. In its place Jeypore which was being managed by an Agent of the Government was brought under the Inspector General of Police, Madras for police purposes. The sufferings of the pioneers in the police department were immense. Towards the close of the year 1863, they had to come to grips with an insurrection in the hill tracts of Ganjam district. The Khonds, an aboriginal tribe, were inhabiting these regions. The crime of infanticide was widely prevalent among them. When the police went to arrest some persons charged with infanticide and apprehended two of them, the Khonds of the area rose with the avowed intention of expelling the police and throwing off the authority of the Government. They rescued two persons who had been arrested, burnt a police out-post and compelled an Inspector of Police, who had marched with twenty-five men to reapprehend the rescued prisoners, to retire. Prompt measures were taken by the local authorities to reduce the insurgents and in less than a fortnight, the ring leaders were given up and the insurrection was quelled. The Khonds were addicted to human sacrifices,

denominated Meriah sacrifices but the presence of the Khond Police seemed to have acted as a deterrent to this abominable practice.

In 1862-63 there was a disturbance, which was said to be periodical in the Hill Zemindary of Rumpah in the Godavary district. The constabulary which was marched into the country took all the stock-leaders and reduced the malcontents to submission and order. The police suffered terribly in health and many died. The European officers broke down after putting down insurrection. In the year 1922, there was a large scale disturbance up in this area called the Fituri. A description of it will be given in the proper place.

By 1862-63, the military had been relieved of its civil duties in all districts. The police guarded all the treasuries. They watched all the jails. In the coastal districts salt preventive duty was entrusted to the police and steps were taken to use the same agency for the duties of a coast guard. 1577 constables were engaged in the salt prevention duty, which was considered as most arduous, presenting many temptations to those engaged in it. In every district, a school was maintained at the headquarters under an efficient Inspector for instructing up recruits. The Inspectors themselves had to pass the same examination as Sub Magistrates. Provision was also made to hold classes in each station house. Extracts from Police Law, and other Criminal Codes, were supplied to every man in his own language. In spite of all these efforts, in course of time it became apparent that the police force suffered from several drawbacks. The emoluments were not sufficiently inspiring to draw the best material into its fold. The recruits came mostly from the lowest stratum of society with very little education. The nature of work was such that they had either to succumb to temptations to lead an easy life or suffer for zeal and enthusiasm.

In 1868-69, 47 towns were found to have municipal police. These had been introduced as a result of the Madras Town Improvement Act of 1865 by which the Municipalities were enjoined to pay 75% of the cost of the Town Police. This scheme worked satisfactorily for some time but was given up later. The Madras City Police was also benefited by this measure till the system was scrapped, the expenses on the police being considered as a charge on the revenues. Actually the following separate establishments among the police have been noted for that year.

Madras Town	...	1112
Other Towns	...	1263
Salt Preventive Establishment	...	1563
Land Custom	...	154
Jail Guards	...	1114

Private guards had also been provided on payment to banks and private persons.

This gives an idea of the various duties performed by the police during this period. The four Ranges in the Presidency were converted into three. The Southern and Western Ranges were amalgamated, with South Arcot going to Central Range from Southern Range in 1870-71. The posts of one District Superintendent of Police and four Assistant Superintendents of Police were abolished. The Indian Evidence Act was passed in 1872.

Even as early as 1872 the police had to deal with inter-state crimes. There was a great note forgery case during this year. On the 30th May 1872, one and a half lakhs forged (Madras) Notes for Rupees 1,000 each, were paid to a Sowcar in Benares by a man calling himself Vencatachellum Iyah for a large assortment of native Jewellery. On the 10th June, the telegraphic wires were carrying the information all over India. Vencatachellum, supposed to be a Madrassee, had in the meantime disappeared. A most important statement taken from his servant in Benares on the 19th June by the Superintendent of Police and immediately forwarded to Major Bowen, Acting Commissioner of Police, Madras Town, was not communicated to the Inspector General of Police till the 4th July. Meanwhile when a reward of Rs. 20,000 was offered for information leading to the arrest of the forgers, the greatest excitement prevailed. The police were everywhere on the *qui vive*. On the 30th June, two men were arrested at Negapatam by Inspector Kistnasawmy Naidu, with the whole of the Benares Jewellery in their possession. One was Vencatachellum while the other was said to be his servant. On the information furnished by Vencatachellum the police took him to Trichinopoly, Calicut and finally up the sacred Tirupathi Hill, where, owing to the gross negligence of the Police Inspector in charge, both prisoners, after being un-handcuffed, jumped into the tank and were drowned. On receipt of the servant's statement, the Acting Inspector General of Police at once assumed personal direction of the case, placing certain officers of Madras Town Force specially upon it. Towards the end of July, the Government put the

case into the hands of Captain Weldon, Magistrate for the Town, who, in the most able manner, brought matters to a successful conclusion by obtaining the conviction of two of the three remaining conspirators, one being permitted to turn approver. The forgers viz. (1) Jugganatha Puntaloo, alias Vencatachellum, (2) Seetaram Puntaloo (whose sister was married to Dachina Moortee, the second prisoner drowned at Tirupathi and (3) Padmanabah, Dewan of the Sooringee Zemindar were men from the district of Ganjam who had come to Madras in 1871 on appellate business connected with the conviction for forgery in Ganjam of certain relatives.

Another case of much interest was the forgery of the signature of Mr Cadell, the Collector and District Magistrate of Tanjore. A catechist Gurubatham of the S. P. G. Mission in Tanjore and Mr H. D. Kohlhoff, a resident of Tanjore took advantage of certain facts of which the latter as Secretary to Succaram Sahib, the son-in-law of a deceased Rajah of Tanjore, was aware. These two scoundrels concocted a letter purporting to come from Mr Cadell, the Collector of Tanjore and addressed it to Succaram. The letter read as if Mr Cadell had addressed the Government to confer the title of His Excellency on Succaram Sahib and to return him a piece of ground on which some palace stables formerly stood. The fact that Succaram always coveted such honorific prefixes to his name was the trump card for the crooks. When all was ready, a man, disguised as a Collector's peon, was sent to deliver the letter and was shortly after followed by Gurubatham who pushed his advantage and hinted that Rupees 10,000 were required by Mr Cadell. Although the forgery was a most clumsy one, not at all resembling Mr Cadell's signature, the greenhorn, Succaram Sahib, was foolish enough to pay then and there Rupees 10,000 to this man, Gurubatham. Both the cheats were exposed soon after and sentenced by the Sessions Court to five years' rigorous imprisonment each.

During this period the administration of the Madras Presidency was vested in a Governor, with a Council of three members, one of whom was the Commander-in-Chief for the time being, and the other two were members of the Covenanted Civil Service.

For revenue and general administrative purposes the Presidency was divided into twenty-one districts. Each district was under the charge of a Collector and Magistrate who was subject to the direct control of Board of Revenue, Madras which was composed of three members

of the Covenanted Civil Service. Every Collector and Magistrate was a Covenanted Civil Servant, usually assisted by three other Covenanted Officers, termed respectively Sub Collector and Joint Magistrate, Head Assistant and Assistant. In five districts, (Trichinopoly, Kurnool, South Canara, Madras and the Nilgiris) however, there was no Sub Collector, and in three (Chingleput, Madras and the Nilgiris) there was no Head Assistant. In the Nilgiris the principal administrative officer, termed the Commissioner, had only one Assistant, while in the district of Madras which consisted of the Presidency Town, only the Collector of Sea Customs performed the revenue duties of a Collector concurrently with his other duties. Besides the Covenanted Assistants already specified, the Collectors of all districts were aided in treasury matters by Uncovenanted Assistants, called Deputy Collectors, and in the larger districts one or more of these officers were also attached for general duties. In the maritime districts the work connected with the manufacture and sale of salt under the monopoly was usually placed under the charge of a Deputy Collector specially employed for the purpose. Each district was divided into taluks. For each taluk there was a special local revenue and magisterial head, called a Tahsildar, and in the larger taluks he was aided by one or more Deputy Tahsildars and Sub Magistrates. In the zemindary tracts these local officers possessed magisterial powers only, but they were still available for general executive or administrative purposes. The taluks were again subdivided into villages under a headman or *potail*, who was vested with judicial and Magisterial powers.

The forest administration was under an Inspector of Forests for the Presidency; but every Collector was the Conservator of Forests of his own district, and a professional Deputy Conservator placed immediately under his orders assisted him in this work.

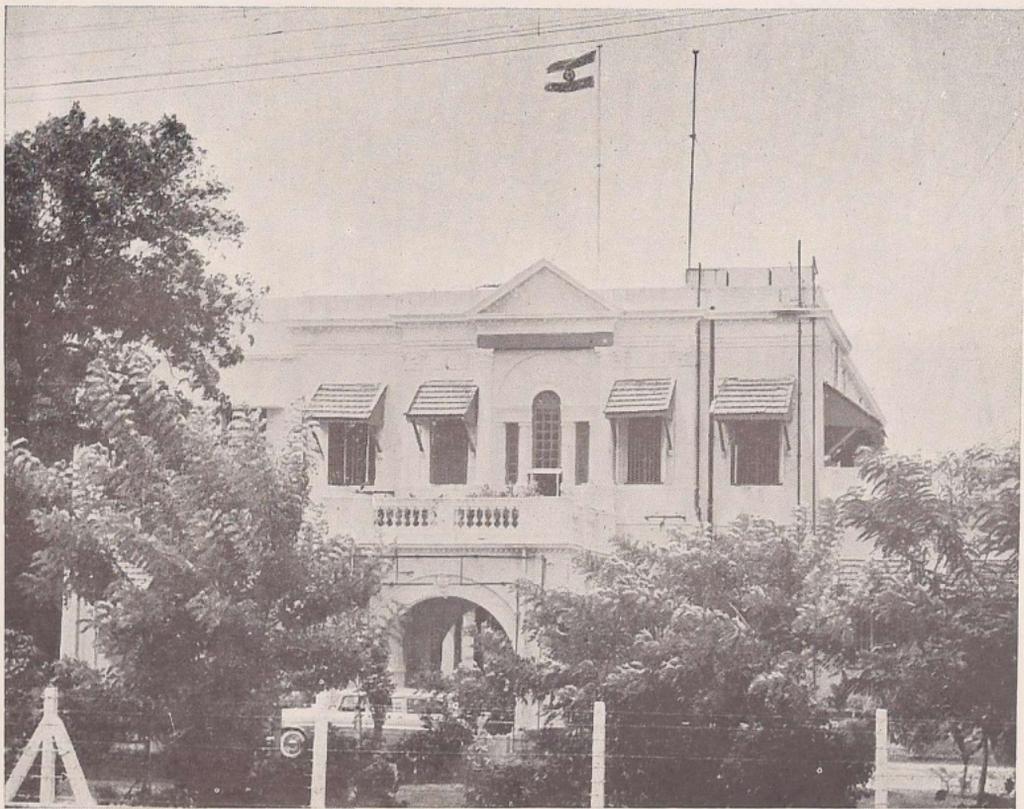
In each district there was also a Superintendent of Police under the departmental orders of an Inspector General, but subordinate to the magistracy in all matters connected with the detection and suppression of crime. In the work of supervision of the police stations scattered throughout the district, the Superintendent was assisted by Inspectors most of whom were Indians. Each was entrusted with the direct charge of a taluk.

The administration of civil and criminal justice was under the superintendence of the High Court, which exercised ordinary original

jurisdiction within the Presidency town, and appellate jurisdiction throughout the whole of the Presidency. In each of the districts above mentioned, with the exception of the Nilgiris and the Town of Madras, there was a District and Sessions Court presided over by a Judge, who was a member of the Covenanted Civil Service. In two districts there were two such courts, and in the Nilgiris the functions of a District and Sessions Judge were exercised by the Commissioner. The court next in importance to the District Courts was that of the subordinate judge, who was empowered to try all original suits and, in most cases, exercise Small-Cause-Court powers up to Rupees 500. The powers of a subordinate judge were also exercised by six courts originally established for the trial of Small-Cause suits, and usually presided over by a Covenanted Officer. The next in grade and most widely distributed and generally useful court was that of the District Munsif, with jurisdiction in all suits of which the value did not exceed Rupees 2,500 and with Small-Cause-Court powers in suits upto Rupees 50. There were 111 of these courts in the Presidency. The judicial powers of the heads of villages as Village Munsifs extended to suits for personal property upto Rupees 10, and as arbitrators upto Rupees 100, and they might summon panchayats to decide suits for personal property, without limitation as to value, with the consent of parties.

The Office of the Inspector General of Police on the South Beach Road, Madras belonged to the Free Masons of Madras till 1874. The Inspector General of Police took this Masonic Lodge called 'Perfect Unanimity' on a lease for seven years from 24th July 1865 on a rent of Rs. 90/- per mensem. On 11th June 1874 the Government acquired the building for a sum of Rs. 20,000/- and spent an additional sum of Rs. 10,000/- towards addition and repairs. Special alterations and extensions were made in the year 1909 to house the C. I. D. which was formed in 1906.

In 1875-76 Bhadrachalam and Repalle were added to Godavary District from Central Provinces. The pay of the Deputy Inspector's General was raised from Rs. 1,000/- to Rs. 1,200/-. The pay of two Superintendents was increased from Rs. 800/- to Rs. 1,000/-. A new grade of Sub Inspectors on Rs. 30/- per mensem was established during the year with a view to inducing young men of education and family to enter the force where they should be well grounded before succeeding to the arduous duties of Inspectors. But the system was not extended after the first recruitment.



Office of the Inspector General of Police, Madras.

The year 1876-77 was one of famine which gave rise to many offences. The outburst of dacoity was terrible during the first panic of hunger when the North East monsoon failed. This phase of crime naturally presented itself to a starving people. They beset the village 'Komuties' for food and when they could not get what they wanted, they looted their shops at night. Many grain riots occurred. The police had a hard time in keeping the peace and maintaining order. Even at that time the revenue servants were unwilling to admit starvation deaths on the understandable view that, being entrusted with running the Government, such deaths would be a reflection on their administration. The Inspector General, Colonel Hearn, wrote about the inaccuracies in the statistics relating to starvation deaths: "It was found quite impossible to get statistics of starvation cases in the Police Department. Every case so reported by the police was in some districts magisterially questioned and investigated, the result frequently arrived at being that the police had been wrong in their report, and thus the monthly report of deaths by starvation would show perhaps some half a dozen cases in districts, the inhabitants of which were dying by hundreds in the Madras City Relief Camps (whither they had flocked) of diseases caused by inanition, while in every relief camp all over the country there were numerous deaths from famine-dropsy or famine-diarrhoea, and many cases of that stage of emaciation from which recovery is impossible even though food be supplied. How many died from famine in villages and out of the way places will never be known."

The situation looks almost similar to the one experienced some years ago, when the Second World War was at its height and essential commodities were rare. In almost all districts the police were extended to keep the starving humanity from flying at the throats of landlords and merchants. Owing to casualties and sickness among covenanted servants in 1877, a new cadre of Assistant Superintendents called Uncovenanted Assistant Superintendents had to be created by promotion from the ranks of Inspectors. They were the forerunners of the Deputy Superintendents of the present day.

The Arms Act of 1878 cast additional burdens on the police. It would be patent to any disinterested judge of administration that police work increased with the formulation of new laws.

In 1883, therefore, the police severed their fifteen-year old connexion with the Salt Department and confined themselves to the

duties of prevention and detection of crime and maintenance of law and order. At the end of that year only 40 policemen were employed by the Salt Department. Therefore no addition in strength was made in the Police Department.

It was only in the case of punitive police that additional strength was always being employed, for the organization of the punitive police is the *sine qua non* of the punishment on the people. In 1882-83 an Act to provide for an increase to the general police force occasionally at the expense of inhabitants of the country, where such additional force might be employed, was passed. The immediate cause for this legislation was the serious riots at Salem which also incidentally exposed the weakness of the police establishment in the absence of an Armed Reserve.

The town of Salem had at that time, a population of 57,000. The Mohammedans of Salem were poor, and were out-numbered by the Hindus by about 12 to 1. Early in 1878, the Mohammedans set about building a mosque in Shevapet, a suburb of Salem. The site selected was their own; but as the Hindus of the neighbourhood were apprehensive that a mosque in that locality might possibly come to interfere with processions from numerous adjacent pagodas, it was arranged that the District Magistrate's order should be obtained before the building was commenced. The District Magistrate granted permission to the Mussulmans of Shevapet to erect a masjid subject to the condition that they agreed to allow free passage to all processions (Hindu and others) while passing and re-passing this masjid. He also ordered that all music should cease while any procession was passing the above masjid. The principal Hindus of Shevapet, aggrieved by the Magistrate's orders enforcing the cessation of processional music opposite the mosque, instituted a suit in the Court of the District Munsif to obtain a declaration of their right to use music while processions passed that building. They obtained a decree which was set aside by the District Judge on an appeal preferred by the Mohammedans. The Hindus took the case before the High Court in a second or special appeal. The case was heard on the 30th January 1880, and stood over for consideration till the 11th October when judgment was delivered declaring the order impugned by the plaintiffs to be *ultra vires*. The plaintiffs were authorized to use their music 'on all lawful occasions and in a lawful manner, so as not to disturb the respondents or other persons assembled for the performance of religious worship or religious ceremonies.' The authority of the Magistrate, however, to override temporarily the

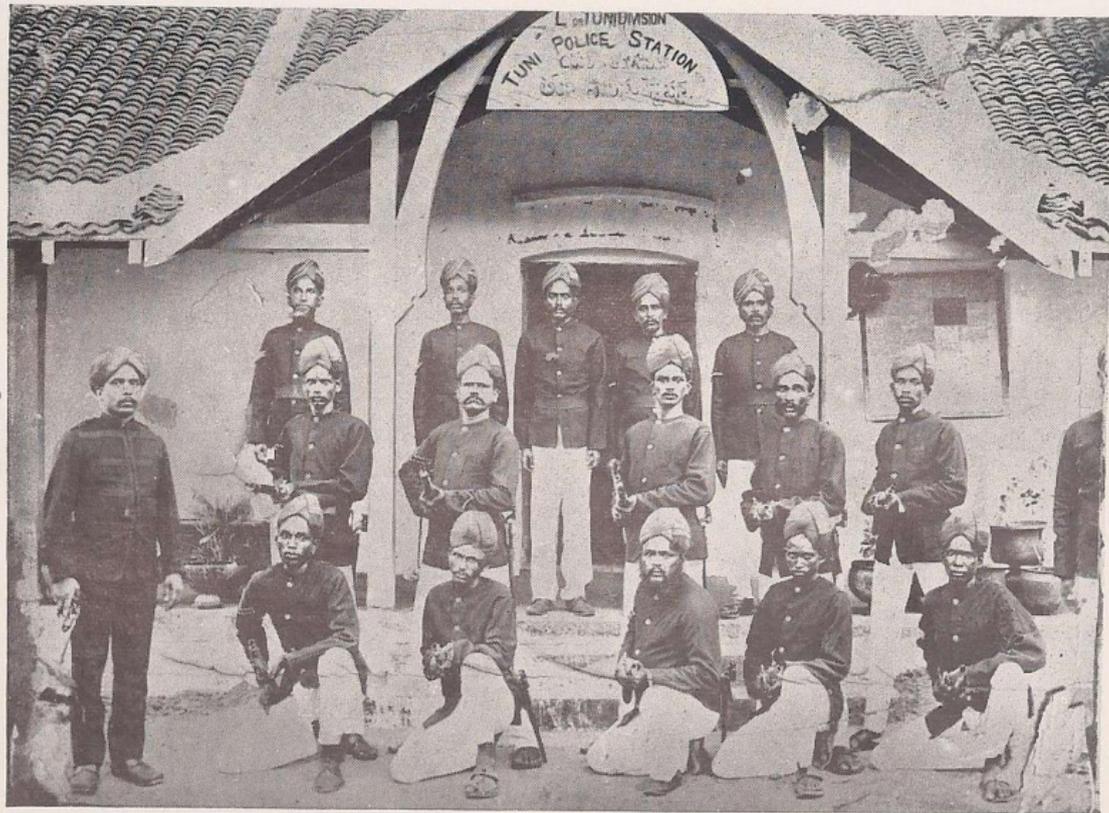
plaintiffs' right when he thought that a breach of the peace was imminent, was clearly recognized. As soon as this judgment was communicated to the Government, a copy was furnished to all District Magistrates and to the Inspector General of Police. After this, in October 1881, a petition to Government was sent by the Mohammedans of Salem enclosing the *fatwah*, or formal opinion of the chief Muslim doctors at Madras, that mosques are open for prayer both day and night, and that, whether a congregation was worshipping or a single person only, the music of a procession would be equally a disturbance to a religious duty and equally insulting to the dignity and honour of the sacred edifice. Finally, the petitioners called upon the Government to disregard the judgment of the High Court in such affairs. But the Government said that the decision of the High Court would stand. Thereupon the petitioners addressed a memorial to the Government of India. The Government of India sought the opinion of the Madras Government. The Governor in Council suggested that it would be better to ban by legislation all music in front of any recognized place of public worship. Before the reply of the Government of India was received, the Madras Government determined, in view of alarming and constantly recurring disturbances in some of the large towns to instruct the magistracy to issue a special prohibition in every case where they might apprehend serious tumult from any particular action intended to be taken by processionaries. In G. O., dated 1st June 1882, it is laid down: "In regard to the police force available to a magistrate, the Governor in Council observes that it is *nowhere sufficient* to render a threatened tumult innocuous in any populous town where the sensibilities of a numerous sect are shocked and exasperated by learning that a rival sect is permitted by the Magistrate, regardless of ancient custom and practice, to conduct its procession in a certain manner under circumstances which the processionaries well understand must prove highly irritating, scandalous and offensive to the persons alleging themselves to be aggrieved thereby. Some magistrates indeed have recently, on such occasions, called into the town, where the obnoxious procession was to pass, several hundred police from the rural districts—a proceeding which, however well calculated to secure the object in view, is one which the Government are unable to approve, the evils resulting therefrom being far from compensated by the success immediately attending it. It is impressed, therefore, on all magistrates that they will, in the opinion of Government, show a sound discretion by availing themselves of the authority which the High Court declares to

be vested in them on every occasion where the ordinary police of the locality is insufficient to repress tumults—and that tumults are certain to arise where the long-standing custom which has regulated the action of rival processionaries towards each other is infringed.”

On July 28, 1882, a procession of washermen was passing the Mosque in Salem with music, when some thirty Mohammedans rushed out and assaulted the processionaries. Riots followed on the 29th and 30th, and military aid was called in. In these riots some half a dozen Mohammedans and over fifty Hindus are said to have been wounded. The Muslim aggressors were charged. An unfavourable impression was caused by the lightness of the punishment inflicted on the Mohammedan rioters, and the acquittal of most of them on appeal.

For the next two weeks uneasy feelings prevailed. The Hindus wished to celebrate a Mariamman festival, but dared not. The Ramzan was approaching. The troops posted there had been sent away, and after a vain attempt at effecting a compromise, the Collector left the station. On August 16th matters came to a head. In the early morning the streets were almost empty and shops closed. At 9 a.m. however, crowds began to collect all over the town. It does not seem to have occurred to any one that Shevapat would be the main object of attack. A riot was first reported near the Salem Market. A mob tried to advance from Kichipalayam into Salem, but were prevented by the police. Another mob collected in the Salem Main Bazaar Street near the Virabhadra Temple. An attack was made in the first instance from the Gugai side by some rioters who collected in the latrine on the river bank and fired across the river. These were driven out by the police by about 11 a.m. In the afternoon some rioters from the Salem side of the river were firing into the Mohammedan quarters in Mettu Street, and by 3 p.m. they were fired on by the police, charged with fixed bayonets and dispersed.

Meanwhile, up till 11-30 a.m., all was quiet in Shevapat. But soon after noon, whistles and calls were heard from Gugai, which were answered from Shevapat. Immediately after, “three distinct mobs of armed Hindus, one from Gugai and the other two from Kandakara Street and Potter’s Street, swarmed into the Mosque square. The Mohammedan shops to the north-west of the Mosque were looted and set on fire. Bamboos and timber were taken from the bamboo yards, and carried to the Mosque. Some 800 or 900 people ascended the



A Police Inspector and his Constables in 1892

Mosque, and began to demolish it with crowbars and picks. The furniture of the Mosque was thrown into the streets, and the bamboos and timber from the adjacent yards, were lighted inside the Mosque. During this incident a crowd of some 5,000 Hindus collected on the Gugai bank of the river. The destruction of the Mosque was inevitable; about 4 p.m. the main beam which supported the roof of the Mosque fell in, and the work of destruction was completed. Between 4 and 5 p.m. the mobs all over the town began to disperse, and before evening a certain amount of order was restored, except in the streets of Shevapat. The list of casualties was remarkably small. According to the official returns, "only 9 were killed and 40 wounded and of these only 12 were Mohammedans." The majority of the killed and wounded appear to have been shot by the Police. The value of the property destroyed was estimated at Rs. 12,000."

The whole episode was remarkable, especially the singleness of purpose with which the rioters set about the demolition of the Mosque. The organization was perfect, the secret cleverly kept till the time for action arrived. "Villages from miles around sent in their contingents to assist," and the men selected for the work of destruction were skilled in the use of pickaxe and crowbar. The forbearance of the rioters was astonishing, considering that they were shot at and charged by the police. With two or three exceptions, the Mohammedans were not wantonly attacked, and the police were unmolested.

There was a furore over the profusion of confessions in the cases handled by the police during this period. The European Judges, being completely out of touch with the people, saw in this the compelling hand of the police. Colonel Porteous, the Inspector General of Police was requested by the Government to comment on the view of the Judges in this matter. He said that the litigants in India, particularly from the Hill tracts were very simple people, who always told the truth at the earliest interrogation by the police and there was an undercurrent of speaking the truth prevailing among the generality of people. This might be due to the fact that people generally thought, after committing an offence, that the best form of expiating the sin was to speak the truth and invite the required punishment. It is highly refreshing to find several decades ago an Englishman, Colonel Porteous, differing from Lord Curzon, one of the Viceroys of India (1899 to 1905) who characterized India as a nation of liars. Colonel Porteous instanced the case of a guard Head Constable in Malabar, who having stolen a cash-chest

from the Taluk Office admitted the offence before the Superintendent of Police and showed the place of concealment in spite of the fact that he was fully aware of the consequences that might ensue. Towards the end of a long note on the subject Colonel Porteous wrote:—

“Every possible precaution having been adopted in the interest of the suspected criminal to protect him from any oppression on the part of the police, I trust that I may be pardoned for pleading for some generosity of treatment of a department which has had and still has much to work against. Much of the fears and doubts, as to the conduct of the police are, I submit, speculative, the facts being that the Police Force of this Presidency which numbers over 21,000 men, enquired into 18,188 cognizable offences during 1887 and only six (6) charges of using violence to obtain confession were made against them. This cannot be said to represent great heinousness and does not appear to have been sufficient to have inspired a spirit of distrust in the police generally.

“There cannot be a doubt that in such a large force there must be many individual black sheep, and it is to the interest and credit of the department to get rid of them; but on behalf of the force generally, I most respectfully appeal for more encouragement and less distrust, the latter takes the heart out of the officers and men and must affect the tone and efficiency of the force.”

Police guards were replaced by warders in the Central Jails of Rajahmundry, Vellore and Coimbatore during the year 1887. By 1888, the guarding of jails had been entirely taken over by the Jail Department. Consequent on the warders taking up duties in jails, Act II of 1889 which amended the Madras Jails Act of 1869, conferred on jail warders the same powers of arrest as the police possessed under section 57 Cr.P.C. with regard to the non-cognizable offences punishable under sections 14 and 15 of the Madras Jails Act. Another measure which provided for the prevention and control of nuisances outside the City of Madras was also passed the same year. Not only did this lead to a large increase in work in later years but also brought the police unpopularity. The Secretary of State sanctioned an addition of 482 men to the rural executive police and 417 to the strength of the treasury and subsidiary-jail guards. In 1898, the Government of India ordered a large reduction in the number of arms possessed by the police force, in order to emphasize its essentially civilian character. Enforcement of anti-plague measures was one among the numerous duties of the police.



A Police Inspector in 1892

This was a risky job, for it attracted the wrath of the ignorant populace when they were compelled to make protective arrangements against disease. In the year 1899 one Tahsildar was attacked and killed by a mob for erecting a plague-shed in a village.

The most important and publicized event of this year was the disturbances in Tinnevely and parts of Madurai which were known as the "Anti-Shanar Riots." These had their origin "in the pretensions of the Nadars (Shanars) who were toddy-drawers by profession to a higher social and religious status than other Hindus were willing to concede them." The Maravars, their most bitter opponents at that time, organized attacks on Nadar villages. These culminated in the looting of Sivakasi on June 6th 1899, by over five thousand Maravars, when twenty-five persons were killed and a large amount of property was stolen or destroyed. Sepoys from Trichinopoly and extra police from neighbouring districts had to be brought in to quell the disturbance. For ten days the troubles continued to rage and tranquillity was restored only by about 16th June. To prevent a recurrence of such lawlessness a special police force was stationed in the disturbed area at the cost of the inhabitants of that tract.

Sorcerers also came in for very rough handling by the public in the past. In the year 1900 several of them lost their lives. Apart from two cases in Cuddapah and Coimbatore where sorcerers were killed, a whole family of Kurumbas in the Nilgiris district was wiped out on the suspicion that the head of the family brought death and disease into a Badaga village. The sympathies of the whole countryside were so strong with the murderers that detection was made very difficult and the prosecution in the court more difficult and no witness would come forward to speak the truth. In North Arcot a man believed to have great power over animals, which he threatened to use against his neighbour's herd, was caught hold of by the latter and his friends. There appeared to be prevalent a belief that the sorcerers could be deprived of their power for evil by drawing out all their teeth. In this process, however, the life of the sorcerer concerned was also knocked out. Another curious case was one in which a Head Constable and Constable in Vizagapatam were murdered by hill-folks. A rude hill-man was giving out that he was an incarnation of one of the Pandava brothers. In the course of a few months he obtained a following of 5,000 people, who believed in his claims to divinity. The movement eventually assumed a political as well as a religious complexion. The

policemen went to get information about their activities. They were caught and ordered to pay homage to the divine incarnation. This they refused to do and the mob in anger took away their lives. A force of Armed Police was sent to arrest the ring leaders, but the rebels offered resistance and a number of misguided people were killed while subduing them. One of the principal murderers was shot and another executed after trial. The bogus incarnation was arrested and charged with abetment of the murder but he died in jail before the trial.

At this stage it will be proper to take stock of the village police system, which came into being after 1859 when the District Police Act was placed in the statute book. When the Police Act was enacted in 1859, one of its objects noted in the preamble was "to improve the condition of the village police." It was repealed later in 1895. The village police were not enrolled under Act XXIV of 1859 although they were after reorganization, appointed, paid and dismissed by the regular police. This arrangement was tried for a number of years at least in several districts and was abandoned as a failure. The village police throughout the Presidency was in a most unsatisfactory and precarious position. The Superintendent of South Arcot remarked in 1860: "The Village Watchers are in the most unfortunate condition; and little or no reliable assistance is derived from them. Their remuneration has fallen into irremediable confusion. Their fees and privileges are withheld; while every department—Revenue, Survey, Civil Court (Munsif) &c.—claims, a right to work them, and to interfere with their proper police functions. The value of this branch of the police organization cannot be overestimated; it is all-important, And the principal obstacle to the successful detection of crime is that we have not the advantage of the real services of our village police. They have in a measure struck work, and only serve the village accountant and *maniyakars*. Used by the village revenue authorities for their own purpose, threatened by the police, worked by all and paid by none, is it to be wondered at that their legitimate service is neglected? Their conduct increases the crime of the district. The unfortunate Talliars are driven to a mode of life the very opposite to that indicated by their office. They have become demoralized, and a most useful hard-working body of men are thrown on the resources of their inherent vice, to retaliate on a people that won't support them and refuse their aid to a Government that does not support their rights—both parties still making loud demands upon their

time and labour." This picture was strictly true in regard to the village police of the whole Presidency. It was in fact for years useless, or worse than useless. Attempts were made to utilize and work it. But the Talliards were implicated in every gang and highway robbery and in almost every crime against property. Retaliation was their traditional law of self-defence.

Sir W. Robinson, the Inspector General of Police wrote to the Government in 1865 that his views about village police had undergone considerable modification. One of the admirable qualities which these early European administrators possessed was the habit of admitting their errors without persisting in preconceived views. Sir W. Robinson said in his letter dated 9th September, 1865:—

"Some personal explanation is due to Government of the very modified views which experience has forced upon me in respect to village establishments. My service of Government has lain chiefly in Canara and Malabar. In this former district, practically speaking, the village system passed away before our rule began. Malabar is the only province under the Presidency where a village system never existed; consequently the existing stipendiary local Revenue (mainly) and Police establishment (Amsham Adhigari and Kavilgar) is not unsuited to the constitution of society, and works fairly well. I thus came to the study of the condition of other parts of the country in this respect, with pre-conceived hopes of stipendiary local establishments. But greater experience and careful study—aided by the observations of able district officers, such as Captain Charles Hearn and others—have forced me reluctantly to abandon those views and hopes, and to accept what seems to me the only true foundation of successful municipal working—the existing village system—as the one which every consideration requires us to comfort and strengthen—which should be still treated as the basis of future, as it wisely has been of all past legislation and measures."

Since 1865 Talliards had been put under the control of the Collector and District Magistrate and it was recognized that they could be employed by village heads in doing revenue work so long as they could do so without detriment to their police duties just as the Vettis could be employed on police duties when this could be done without detriment to their revenue work.

Another village cadre employed in police work were the Ghat Talliards who were paid and controlled by the police department. They

were, as the name implied, to be employed in patrolling ghats in order to transmit information to the police authorities. An extract from the administration report for 1875-76 will make clear the efforts taken by the department to place the village police on strong foundation.

“No actual change has taken place in the village police during the year except that the inams of Jungi Kattubudis in Cuddapah were enfranchised and that out of the funds thus obtained, a force of Ghat Talayaris to watch the numerous passes of that district has since been raised. But the actual establishment of this new force belongs rather to the operations of 1876. In other respects the village police in Cuddapah remain as they were. In Kurnool, the salaried village police are said to assist the regular police considerably. Twelve men received money rewards for good conduct during the year. In Salem new village arrangements are in contemplation by the Magistrate including the reorganization of the village police. The subject of a village police force for Tanjore which has at present none, is receiving attention. In Tirunelvely a scheme for remodelling of the Maravar Village Police has long been on foot, but no change has yet been made.”

The village police which in the middle ages was a power to be reckoned with grew ineffective after they became stipendiary servants of the Government. The regular police depended on them for information about crime and criminals in villages and when the latter became lethargic, the effect of it was felt in the upper layers of administration. Kavalgars continued to flourish in spite of the abolition of Kaval system and their demands without the responsibility of reimbursement of losses due to offences, reached fantastic heights. *Thuppu cooly* or clue hire flourished on a large scale. Some of the incidents relating to this disenfranchised Kavalgars make sometimes fascinating and at other times, pathetic reading. It might be surprising to find at this time Kaval system firmly established in Trichinopoly Town. Every conceivable household, whether native or European employed one of these parasites. The Europeans made vain attempts to fight this pernicious system by dispensing with the Kavalgar but it was later discovered that this only invited housebreaking and theft in their bungalows. Many stories were current about the escapades of some of these notorious Kavalgars. A District Judge, it was reported, declined to employ a Kavalgar and he lost all his plate as a consequence. He learnt his lesson and when he employed not one but three Kavalgars, the vanished plate made its appearance again! The Trichinopoly Club had the bitter experience of losing all the

furniture in the ladies' room when some of its Kavalgars were dismissed. Even military officers were compelled to employ them. The story is told of a Commanding Officer of the troops in the cantonment who having refused to employ some Kavalgars found himself, on waking up in the morning, lying on his bed in the middle of his compound, whither the thieves had moved him without awaking him, with all his bed-room furniture arranged around him. He changed his decision!

In Tirunelveli district the situation was still more serious. As already seen, a feature of the new scheme of the police was the organization of bodies of village servants with a view to their acting as a village police. This step involved the entire reconstitution of the village establishments. The cess which under the provision of Act IV of 1864 was to pay for these establishments was first imposed in 1873 and the appointment of new Vettis and Talayaris (as the village policemen were called) proceeded from this year. But the Kavalgar still remained and the two services known as *Kudikaval* and *Sirkar Kaval*, the latter paid at a fixed rate of three or four rupees a month, existed side by side. The village police were poor creatures "playing the hypocrite by day by being living protests against Kaval while they shared the profits in the night." They were, like the Kavalgars, mostly Maravars, sometimes the old Kavalgar in a new disguise—"new Vetti but old Kavalgar writ large" it might often have been said; but the new men had the positive disadvantage of being in no sense the nominees of the villagers. To put down the old system, the Act declared that the payment of fees as "being due by custom" to Kavalgar was illegal; but the fact was that they were due by contract and it seemed difficult to declare that such contracts were illegal. The results of the new system were alarming; in Ambasamudram Taluk alone the value of property lost in robberies amounted Rs. 15,000. If the old Kavalgars were not always successful at detection at least they were fairly good at prevention. The new village police could neither prevent nor detect.

Coming to Salem district, the Kavalgar-Koravars supplied most of the criminals and the members of all the three *Nads* into which they were divided were all equally bad and ready for any sort of crime, though they usually drew the line at murder. To all outward appearances, they led respectable lives. To guard against the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code, they purchased a little, not very

valuable, land and leased it out for a small fee for others to cultivate. When they were asked by the police as to how they earned their livelihood, they could point to their land and cattle and pose as agriculturists. They kept on good terms with the villagers among whom they resided, especially with the leading men, whom they took into their confidence. If all went well the villagers made good profit out of the Koravars by purchasing their booty at a low price. The village police were their own men. As they profited by the Koravars' crime they carefully concealed the whereabouts of their proteges, if the latter happened to be absent from the village when an inquisitive officer came along.

In 1886 Criminal Tribe Settlements began to take shape. In North Arcot District the experiment of settling Koravars in two settlements, one on zemindary and the other on Government land was commenced by the Superintendent of Police. But these attempts at rehabilitation of the criminal tribes did not in any way bring down the incidence of crime in the Presidency. The public were not very appreciative of the difficulties that beset the police. The new Codes of Criminal Law and Procedure also leaned more on the side of safe-guarding the interests of the evil-doers. The predatory clans, professional gangs of robbers and thieves and the criminal tribes were proving themselves to the police to be constant thorns in the side.

Thus the new police found themselves in an unenviable position. The pattern of the difficulties was the same in almost all the districts. Detection declined and safety to property and person was in jeopardy. But the inequities were not confined to Madras State alone. So an All-India Police Commission was constituted by the Government of India on 9th July 1902.

The Hon'ble Mr A. H. L. Fraser, C. S. I., Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces was appointed President. The members were: (1) The Hon'ble Mr Justice Candy, Puisne Judge of the Bombay High Court, (2) The Hon'ble the Maharaja of Dharbhanga, K. C. I. E., Additional Member of the Council of Governor General, (3) The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa Raghava Ayyengar, C. I. E., Member of the Council of the Governor of Madras, (4) The Hon'ble Lieut. Colonel J. A. L. Montgomery, Member of the Council of the Lieut. Governor of the Punjab, (5) Mr W. M. Colvin, Barrister-at-Law of Allahabad, and (6) Mr A. C. Hankin, C. I. E., Inspector General of Police, Hyderabad State.

The Secretary of the Commission was Mr H. A. Stuart, Inspector General of Police, Madras Presidency. The Commission was instructed to enquire and report on the following points.

(i) "Whether the organization, training strength, and pay of the different ranks of the district police, both superior and subordinate, foot and mounted, whether on ordinary duty or in the reserve, are adequate to secure the preservation of the public peace and the proper investigation and detection of crime, and, if not, what changes are required in them, respectively, in each province with regard to its local conditions, in order to attain these objects ;

(ii) "whether existing arrangements secure that crime is fully reported or require to be supplemented in any way ; and, in particular, whether the village officers and the rural police in each province are efficient aids to the district police in the matter of reporting crime, and, if not, how the relations between the former and the latter can (subject to the condition that the rural police in each province must not be enrolled under the Police Act) be improved ;

(iii) "whether the system of investigating offences now in force in each province, the object being to provide for the full investigation of all serious crime, while avoiding interference by the police in trivial matters, is capable of improvement, and, if so, in what manner ; and whether the institution of fully organized Criminal Investigation Departments, either Imperial or Provincial, is recommended ;

(iv) "whether the form of statistical returns now adopted is satisfactory or capable of improvement, and whether the use to which such returns are now put as tests of police working is appropriate or not ;

(v) "whether the general supervision exercised by the magistracy over the police, and the control of the superior officers (including Inspectors) over the investigation of crime are adequate to prevent oppression on the part of the subordinate police ; and, if not, how they can be made so ;

(vi) "whether the existing organization of the railway police, its operation as between provinces and states, and its connection with the district police are in a satisfactory condition, and, if not, what improvements can be effected ; and

(vii) "whether the career at present offered to natives in the police in each province is sufficiently attractive to induce the proper stamp of men to enter it; and, if not, what steps can be taken to remedy this evil consistently with the recognized measure of necessity for European control in the district charges."

The Commission in the course of their enquiries held 50 sittings. Replies to the questionnaire noted above were received from 683 persons. 244 of these were examined orally. 35 gentlemen who had not submitted replies to the questions were also examined. Each Government was asked to constitute a Committee consisting of a Sessions Judge, a District Magistrate and a Superintendent of Police to look into the existing organization of the police, and its defects and suggest remedial measures to remove the drags. The Madras Committee consisted of Mr J. Andrew as President and Messrs L. R. Miller and F. Fawcett as Members. Mr F. Fawcett, the Police Member, later became the first Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C. I. D., Madras.

The report of the Police Commission is a very valuable document and its recommendations formed the foundations of the system of police that exists in Madras today. But it has to be viewed as a document prepared by the Britishers for the perpetuation of their rule and so some of the principles enunciated by them for the guidance of the police are fundamentally at variance with those prevalent in free countries. The greatest drawback in the scheme was the insufficient appreciation of the status of the police constable and his consequent relegation, at least in the matter of pay, to the position of an unskilled labourer. The result is that persons with higher educational qualifications fail to enter the police as constables and since most of the police work of the present day has to pass through the hands of constabulary at one stage or other, the impact of ignorance on the matter on hand has a tendency to twist it out of shape. The Investigating Officer finds it difficult later to straighten things out.

We may examine the report of the Commission a little more closely. There was the usual complaint that general deterioration had set in in the work of the police and most of the Indian ranks were corrupt. The Government of India stated that by picking out and massing together all the separate blots which at various times disfigured police work in India, the Commission had produced a picture which

would give to any outside observer a somewhat overcoloured idea of the ordinary conduct of police enquiry or of the habitual behaviour of the Indian Police. The Governor General in Council said that the Commission had hardly made sufficient allowance for the tendency of the Indian witness to exaggerate, especially when he had genuine grievance, nor had it reminded itself that much of what is called corruption, is little more than a highly developed form of that system of paying expedition money, which was not unknown in Europe. The Government observed that the giving and taking of money, whether mere gratuity or something more serious, was traditional among the Indian people and quite as much so among the givers as among the takers, and was objected to only when it exceeded certain limits and became injurious and excessive. It was recognized by the Government that where the materials were inferior and the standard of personal conduct was low, the quality of work done was bound to reflect the character of the agency employed. The subordinate police officer was worse than similarly placed subordinates of many other departments mainly in so far as his power and opportunities were greater. But the Government of India contended that with many of the elder generation of Indian Police Officers an intimate knowledge of the country and the people combined with great activity in the discharge of their duties had made up for any shortcomings in the matter of mere book knowledge, while some had attained conspicuous success as practical administrators and in the case of both Indians and Europeans, the prospects of reform had been constantly deferred by the low scale of pay in relation to the laborious character of the work and the physical energy, mental alertness, readiness of resource, and attention to minute details which its proper performance demanded.

The Commission condemned the practice of sending constables on a roving commission on the beat or putting them on miscellaneous duties. Local recruitment of constables and the training of the selected ones at Central Police Schools were suggested. The minimum pay of a constable was fixed at Rs. 8 per mensem. Three increments, of Re. 1 each, were recommended to be given after three, ten and seventeen years of approved service. The constables were to get free kits but no good conduct pay. They were to be given local allowances on special tracts and a travelling allowance of two annas per diem when deputed beyond the Inspector's Circle. The Head Constables were to be of three grades at Rs. 15, Rs. 17-8-0 and Rs. 20. They were not

to be in charge of stations and should not be employed except in unavoidable emergencies in investigations.

Sub Inspectors of the new cadre, were to be in charge of police stations and responsible for investigation. They were recognized as the most important class of officers in the whole force. The Commission proposed that Sub Inspectors should be recruited direct between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five, that their educational standard should not be lower than the Matriculation or School-final examination and that promotions from the class of Head Constables should be limited to 25 per cent of the vacancies. The Sub Inspectors were to be trained in a Central School and then they were to undergo a probationary year of practical training. With regard to the pay of Sub Inspectors, the Government considered that it should be on a par with that of Naib Tahsildars on the revenue side of the administration. The distribution among five grades was noted as follows :—

	Rs.	Per cent
1st	100	5
2nd	80	20
3rd	70	25
4th	60	34
5th	50	16

The Sub Inspector was to receive Rs. 25 per mensem while at Training School.

Coming to Inspectors, the Government came to the conclusion that they should ordinarily be appointed by promotion from among Sub Inspectors but direct appointment might be permitted upto a maximum of 10 per cent of the vacancies. There were to be three grades from Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 with a few special appointments at Rs. 250. The Inspector's position was said to be analogous to that of a Tahsildar in revenue matters. They were to be sanctioned a daily allowance of Re. 1 when on camp. Inspectors in charge of Towns and Prosecuting and Reserve Inspectors were to be given fixed horse or conveyance allowance.

The recruitment and training of European officers of the police was discussed in paragraphs 63 and 64 of the Commission's Report. The salient features of the recommendations were :—

(1) that the recruitment of the European service should be by competitive examination for candidates between eighteen and twenty years;

(2) that the successful candidates should be required to undergo a two-year course of training at an English residential university, where there is a Board of India studies, each candidate receiving an allowance during this period, of £100 a year and that the course of study should include Criminal Law & Practice, taking of notes of cases in the Criminal Courts, an Indian vernacular, Indian History, Geography and Ethnology and riding;

(3) that in addition to this probationary training in England, each Assistant Superintendent should on arrival in India be attached for one session to the Provincial Training School. The Government decided that in exceptional cases Europeans could be recruited in India, if a candidate with the requisite educational qualification was sponsored by the Provincial Government. The Government did not accept the suggestion about the training in a residential university in England, but laid down the rule that after passing in riding, the candidate should have eighteen months' training in India. The Assistant Superintendents of Police were to be graded at Rs. 300, Rs. 400, and Rs. 500. The pay of the District Superintendent of Police was fixed at Rs. 700, Rs. 800, Rs. 900, Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 1,200.

The creation of a Provincial Police Service to be filled by Indians called Deputy Superintendents was mooted in paragraphs 66 and 68 of the Commission's report. Their functions and departmental status were to be similar to those of the Assistant Superintendents. They were expected to help the Superintendent in his duties of control and supervision and also to relieve him of his office routine. The Government of India expressed the hope that it would be possible to secure good material for this class, who would eventually furnish the source from which Indian District Superintendents might be drawn.

It would be proper at this stage to refer to the minute of dissent written by the Maharajah of Darbhanga who had more progressive views in this matter. It may be difficult to visualize now, when all the Superintendents of Police are Indians, that it required extreme courage to put forward in the beginning of this century the necessity for Indianization of services. The Maharajah wrote that he considered it his duty to mention that there was an extremely strong feeling among Indians that recruitment should be made by means of open competition both in England and in India without distinction of race. He also added that provision should be made for the promotion of a small number of

Inspectors to the ranks of Assistant and District Superintendents of Police. He foretold dissatisfaction and resentment at the proposed distinction between the European Assistant Superintendents and Indian Deputy Superintendents. He wrote :—

“ We require Englishmen as well as Indians in the higher ranks of the police in the interests of good administration; and we require from both classes of men the same qualifications, intelligence and capacity for work, knowledge of and sympathy with the people, self-reliance and resourcefulness, sober judgment and promptitude. That being so, a uniform method of admission is best calculated to secure these objects; a distinction made will needlessly degrade one class of officers in their own estimation and in the estimation of the people. Sympathising entirely with the object of my colleagues to secure a class of Indian officers who will be in touch with the Indian people, and at the same time qualified eventually to act in independent charge of districts, I submit that this object can be best secured by a uniformity in the method of recruitment and by the effacement of all distinctions between class and class. To create a separate grade for Indians would not adequately secure the two-fold object we have in view, viz., to bring police administration more in touch with the people, and to secure a class of self-relying and capable Indian officers. Deputy Superintendents of Police, marked off by their nomenclature and by their method of appointment from the other officers of the higher police service, will fail to bring their full influence to bear on police administration, and will also, I am afraid, be slow to acquire those virtues of self-reliance and promptitude so essential in an officer holding charge of a district. I concur, however, in the views of my colleagues that the salaries of statutory natives of India should be two-thirds of the salaries of officers imported from England. *But I do not approve of any differences whatever in designation or class.* I hope that the difference of salary will make the proposal more acceptable to local Government.”

The Government laid down that it was inexpedient to reserve a certain fixed number of posts of District Superintendents of Police for Deputy Superintendents but said that the latter would be eligible for promotion when their fitness was fully established.

The pay of Deputy Inspector General was fixed at Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 1,800 and that of the Inspector General of Police at Rs. 2,500—100—3,000.

The relationship that should exist between the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police has nowhere been definitely defined. Some things were taken for granted and much was left to common-sense. The Police Commission also did not enunciate any hard and fast rule about it. They said that to preserve the responsibility of the District Magistrate for the general success of the criminal administration of his district, it was necessary to afford him prompt means of ensuring the obedience of the organized constabulary to his lawful orders. But his intervention was not intended to be constant or detailed. It was intended to be confined to what was necessary to maintain the Magistrate's control over the criminal administration of the district and his responsibility for the maintenance of the peace, but it was not intended to extend to the administration of the Police Department. The Commission added that though the Superintendent must carry out the lawful orders of the District Magistrate, "he is not his assistant in the sense in which an Assistant Collector is."

The Maharajah of Dharbhanga differed from the general view of the Commission. While quoting Sir Frederick Halliday who said that "the union of Magistrate with Collector of Revenue has been stigmatised as incompatible but the junction of thief-catcher and judge is surely more anomalous in theory and more mischievous in practice", the Maharajah stated that there should be a complete severance of executive and police from judicial functions. Alternately he added :—

"A second scheme which is designed to relieve the District Officer of the headship of the police, is supported by the high authority of Sir Henry Prinsep, who has in his evidence before the Commission declared himself to be 'in favour of creating a separate Police Department quite independent of the control of the Magistrate save in respect of the prevention of a breach of the peace.' As matters now stand, however, there seems to be a general consensus of opinion that the present class of District Superintendents are incapable, as a rule, of working the police successfully without the control and help of the District Officer: and it will be necessary, before any such scheme can be adopted with success, to revise the examination-regulations so as to ensure the recruitment of men who have some recognized test of high educational proficiency which I should not myself place much below the level of the Examination for the Civil Service of India and the Colonies. But if this is done, and I am in cordial agreement with my colleagues

in hoping that it may be done, I am bound to say that I can see little or no objection to the proposal. The arrangement in the mofussil will then correspond to that by which the Commissioner of Police in Calcutta is in independent charge of the Calcutta Police. The work of the Police Commissioners will be supervised by Inspectors General and Deputy Inspectors General, and under them will come the Assistant Superintendents and the body of Inspectors and Sub Inspectors. I believe that the scheme is not one which appeals to educated opinion in the country as more satisfactory than the scheme of placing all judicial officers under the Judge of the district; but it is a considerable improvement in the present state of affairs, and rather than see nothing done, I would welcome its adoption."

The Government of India ordered with reference to these indistinct and sometimes conflicting views that the principle that the District Magistrate is the chief executive authority of the District should be maintained. His interference in police matters should refer to the maintenance of law and order and the detection and suppression of crime.

"He should not, however, interfere in matters of departmental management and discipline, except where the conduct and qualifications of a police officer affect the criminal administration of his district. Even then his power of intervention should be exercised, not by issuing direct orders, but by bringing the case to the notice of the superior officers of the police. Owing to the indistinctness of the law as it now stands some local Governments have given magistrates larger and more detailed powers than were originally contemplated, or than are necessary for the purpose of giving effect to the principle stated above. It is essential, in the view of the Government of India, that the law should now be made perfectly clear on this important subject, so as to remove all occasions for the complaint that the District Magistrate's powers have been improperly extended, and the authority of the District Superintendent over his own subordinates unduly reduced. It is equally essential that the supervision of the District Magistrate over the action of the police should be real, and that there should be no room for doubt as to his full responsibility for the criminal administration of his district."

The Railway Police also came within the purview of the Commission. The history of the Railway Police forms a separate chapter where the recommendations of the Commission find a place.

Finally the Government agreed to the proposal of the Commission for the creation of Provincial Departments of Criminal Investigation, which would be in touch with the Central Criminal Intelligence Department.

Another branch of the police which the Commission dealt with was the Armed Reserves. We have already seen that even during the period of the *Darogha* system, there was a Reserve Police Force in headquarters of some of the districts such as Tinnevely. From a correspondence between the Revenue Board and the Government in the year 1840, it is seen that the Civil Auditor, who stood on the same footing as the Accountant General of the present day, was showing certain staff as Civil Armed establishments in his books, though with few exceptions they formed the component part of the regular police force of several districts. But in Tinnevely a unit called the *Sibbundy Corps* was employed in hunting elephants and guarding treasure while in Malabar and Coimbatore similar units were used for the prevention of smuggling of tobacco and ravages of elephants. In another communication of the Government of India in July 1851 the Government of Madras reiterated their earlier decision to show the Armed Police which were employed distinctly for purposes other than police duties, separately in annual returns. But the 1860 Police Commission envisaged the formation of Armed Reserves in the headquarters of districts. The instructions do not appear to have been followed in their entirety though Madras Presidency was ahead of others in this matter. The question came into prominence when certain religious disturbances occurred in North and South India. This led Lord Dufferin's Government to review the formation of Reserves in the Presidencies from which information relating to the steps taken in this direction was asked for. After considering the replies of the local Governments Lord Lansdowne's Government decided in March 1889 (i) that the principles laid down in 1860 should be strictly adhered to, and that as far as possible the arrangements then proposed should be preserved or restored as the case might be; (ii) that a sufficient reserve should be maintained if possible in every district, but at all events at convenient centres, to put down all riots and local disturbances and ready or capable of being concentrated for extraordinary emergencies; (iii) that the reserve should form part of the District Force and should not be relieved of all escort duty; (iv) that all recruits should, as far as possible, pass through the Reserve, and be capable of serving with it as occasion might require;

(v) the Snider rifles should be given only to Special Reserves employed as military police or against dacoits; and (vi) that the ordinary Reserve did not require rifles but ought to have such arms as would enable them to deal effectively with large bodies of rioters at close quarters and that a suitable weapon for the purpose would be a breech-loading smooth bore carbine to fire ball or buckshots.

The Police Commission condemned the system, existing in the then United Provinces, of dividing even the 'station police' into armed and unarmed sections in preference to a Headquarters Armed Reserve and agreed with the suggestions of Lord Landsdowne's Government. They recommended that the charge of this Headquarters Reserve should be given to a European Inspector assisted, where it was large, by one or more European Sergeants. They wanted that all members of the police force should pass through the Reserve periodically for courses of training of suitable duration.

The Commission dealt also with the difficult and important subject of village police. The specific recommendations made by them were:—

(1) that the responsibilities of the village watchman for the performance of village police duties should be recognized and enforced in every province and that the village watchman should be a village servant subordinate to the village headman and not to the regular police;

(2) that the supervision of the village headmen should be entrusted to the Collector and his subordinate officers; and

(3) that it was expedient to relegate the trial of petty offences to village headmen and the panchayats. The Government of India entirely agreed with these principles enunciated by the Commission but left the introduction of the scheme to the provincial governments as it was intimately connected with the system of land tenure, which differed from province to province. It has already been noted that Madras Presidency was the first to enforce the scheme of village responsibility consistent with the well-known and well-considered views of Sir Thomas Munro. But in practical working, the efficacy of the method depended on the human element in charge of villages, which in many cases exhibited a strong bias against police administration. In 1894, Colonel Porteous, the then Inspector General of Police had submitted proposals for the reorganization of the village police by (1) fixing the strength of village establishments with due regard to police as well as

revenue and judicial duties, and (2) placing one or more Talayaris in each village under the control of the Police Department for the proper performance of police duties. The Government did not favour the proposals. Mr Hammick, Colonel Porteous's successor also disagreed with him. But in 1904 Mr W. O. Horne, who succeeded Mr Hammick wrote in the administration report for the year 1903, "My attention has been attracted to the frequency and flagrancy of the delay which is almost everywhere made by Village Magistrates in sending reports of cognizable offences to the police. It is the common practice, in fact the general rule for these officers on receiving report or complaint of a crime, to proceed to the spot or hold an enquiry, making no report to the police until many hours sometimes a day afterwards. As a result, the case is often spoiled, either by the Village Magistrates' carelessness in omitting essential facts or by his rascality in wilfully giving a wrong direction to the investigation." Actually Mr Horne circularized all District Magistrates, about the measures to be taken to enthuse Village Officers in police work. The circular letter is given bellow:—

"I have the honor to address you on a matter to which my attention has for sometime past been attracted and which I consider to be of the utmost importance from a police point of view.

2. "Under section 45, Criminal Procedure Code, village heads are bound to communicate to the nearest magistrate, or to the officer in charge of the nearest police station, whichever is nearer, the occurrence, among other things, of crimes under certain sections of the Indian Penal Code. In practice they invariably report both to the magistrate and police and this is what is ordered in the Village Officer's Manual.

3. "I have been much struck, however, with the delay which takes place before village heads send any report of crimes which are reported to them. Recently, in a certain district, in which there was an epidemic of serious crime against property, I found that frequently 12 hours, and sometimes 24 and more, elapsed between the report of the crime by the complainant to the village magistrate, and that by the latter to the police. As a natural consequence the usually very modest detective ability of the police hardly gets fair play. They are laid on a cold scent and frequently on one which has been thoroughly foiled by the sometimes honest, frequently dishonest, and always clumsy efforts of the village magistrate either to discover the criminals or, as is not unfrequent, to ascribe the crime to his own personal enemies.

4. "Moreover, owing to the astonishing reliance which is placed by the courts on that fetish 'the village magistrate's first report', and to the fact that the police theory of the case, if it disagrees with it, is generally discredited, it is important that the said report should be despatched with no delay, no time for concoction, and should contain nothing beyond the complainant's story and any facts which may happen to be or to have come under the personal observation or within the personal knowledge of the village magistrate, including, of course, the most important thing of all, the names or descriptions of any of the offenders who have been recognized or identified by name or description by the complainant or witnesses.

5. "It is of very frequent occurrence that the village magistrate on receiving a report of a murder, dacoity or the like, proceeds to the spot and holds an investigation, and makes no report, such as section 45, Criminal Procedure Code, requires, until his return to the village after such investigation. For this procedure there is no justification and no authority. It is from every point of view undesirable and detrimental to the ends of justice. The police are, I regret to say, often untrustworthy, but what shall be said of most village magistrates, mixed up as they are in factions and disputes which tend to bias their judgment and pervert the direction of their enquiries?

6. "It would, I think, do much good if you would kindly issue such instructions to your village magistrates, and to the subordinate magistracy, and revenue officers who control them, as will ensure that crimes are reported to the police at the earliest possible moment. In my opinion, a village magistrate, on receiving a complaint or report of a crime, should immediately despatch the talayari with a report to the police (section 45, Criminal Procedure Code, requires such reports *forthwith*), in which report the substance of the complainant's statement, and those of any witnesses who may have accompanied him to the village magistrate, should be given, and in which care should be taken that the time of the offence, and the names or descriptions of any offenders identified are not omitted. It should not be necessary for the village magistrate to proceed to scene of crime, unless it is under his nose in the village, before reporting, and above all he should hold no investigation and examine no witnesses.

7. "It rests with you, of course, to decide what is "immediately", but I think that in fairly civilized parts, reports should be sent by night

as well as by day and should reach the police station at the rate of four miles an hour, allowing the village magistrate certainly not more than an hour to receive complainant's statement and write his report.

8. "I hope that you will see your way to issue stringent orders in the direction indicated, and that you will kindly order that village magistrates, who are reported by Superintendents or Assistant Superintendents for delaying reports, are dealt with in a deterrent manner. In some districts the latter is far from being the case."

Thus in the beginning of the twentieth century the Police of this Presidency was hedged in with difficulties on all sides. The growth of population, the expansion of trade and commerce and the faster means of communication and travel, brought in their train an increase in the incidence of crime, the rules and methods of criminal procedure increased the scriptory work of the police and the apathy and indifference of the village police decreased detection. The public, growing tired of an alien rule, were phlegmatic in their attitude towards the Government and governmental activities. The police could not turn to any one for help in the battle against crime and lawlessness. The demands of the Government on the sword-arm of justice were exacting. To get the willing co-operation of the public they had to wait for another half-a-century when civic consciousness blossomed with the dawn of independence.

CHAPTER XI

MADRAS POLICE TODAY

THE POLICE Commission Report of 1902 left a blaze of discussions in its trail. People in all walks of life, educationists and professors, jurists and advocates, politicians and statesmen were very much exercised over the findings of the Commission. The public discussions resulting out of the enquiry of the Police Commission exerted a powerful influence on the working of the police. That these discussions were not always beneficial was proved by the remarks of Mr Horne, I. C. S., the Inspector General of Police in the administration report for the year 1904.

“I have above given some of the reasons which are offered, and which on the whole may be accepted, for the failure of detection in various districts. The fact, however, remains that, since 1900, there has been on the whole a steady and continuous decrease in the success of the police in bringing evil-doers to punishment. For this there must be a reason which is general and not local, but that reason is not at all easy to fix. For my own part I am inclined to think that one result of the Police Commission's enquiry and of the enquiries and public discussions preceding it, has been to considerably reduce the power of the police for evil and concurrently, or perhaps consequently, for good. There can be no doubt that increased attention has been attracted to the faults and shortcomings of the department. Always unpopular, the department has become more than ever an easy, and as it were an authorized, target for aspersion both in the Press and in the Courts. Many weaknesses and malpractices which were or are common in it, have been exposed and discussed, and many more, which were or are occasional, have been advertised as common. All this will no doubt result in good, but the good has yet to be attained, while the other results are in full operation. One of the most apparent of these is that the Courts have undoubtedly become more suspicious of police work and of police cases, and that convictions are harder to obtain, while another is that, with diminished credit and prestige, the influence of the police has declined throughout the country and the respect, in which it was held, has decreased, with the inevitable further result of diminished

efficiency. Without going so far as a recent writer in the nineteenth century, who observed, 'the plain fact is that our rules and methods of criminal procedure are devised in the interests of wrong-doers,' it will be conceded that the odds have always been in favour of the criminal in his battle with the police, and I maintain that recent developments have not reduced them. If this theory is not accepted, we are driven to the conclusion that there has been a steady and continuous decline in the intelligence and zeal of the police—both officers and subordinates. With regard to the former, I emphatically deny it, while in the case of the latter the conclusion would infer that the large increase in the number of educated men and graduates has been a measure of doubtful policy."

A new District, Guntur, was formed on 1st October, 1904. This raised the number of Police Districts in the Presidency from twenty-two to twenty-three.

The most important event of the year 1905 was to put the Police Training School on a sound and solid basis to train the new cadre of Sub Inspectors who were to replace the old Station House Officers. The training and discipline of the members of the force is dealt with in a separate chapter. With regard to the preparation of statistics of crime, a change was effected for the better in accordance with the suggestions of the Police Commission. Mr W. O. Horne, I. C. S., Inspector General of Police reported in relation to statistics that "the Police Commission had driven the last nail into the coffin of the antiquated system of judging the value of police work by statistics particularly as regards detection." The Commission's views were accepted by the Government of India, and by the Government of Madras, in G. O. No. 1035 Judicial, dated 1st July 1905. The Inspector General of Police added that for several years the principle accepted by them that work should not be judged by statistics, had been enforced in the Madras State. But the fact was not well understood by the public which was imbued with the fallacy that the police were always working for statistics and that in this motive might be found the key to many of their actions. On a review of the police administration for the year, the Government remarked that it was a matter for regret that in many districts the village police continued to be unfavourably reported upon. Indifference on the part of many village magistrates and active complicity on the part of a few, tended to render the village police a less efficient agency for the prevention and detection of crime. While advising the police to adopt a

more cordial and conciliatory manner in their dealings with village officials, the Government called the attention of the District Magistrates to the need of themselves recognizing and impressing upon Sub Divisional Officers and Tahsildars the duty of exercising a close supervision over the work of the village magistracy and village police in regard to crime, especially should the Tahsildars (Taluk Magistrates) be required to make it their business in every village they visited in their frequent tours to inquire into the state of local crime and overhaul the work of these village officials.

The recommendations of the Police Commission continued to be enforced during the year 1906. Two new district charges were formed; the Nilgiris Sub Division of the Coimbatore District being constituted a separate district, and a second Superintendent being added to the Railway Police. The Railway Police will be discussed separately. A Superintendent of Police was placed in charge of the Vellore Police Training School. Eight Deputy Superintendents of Police, a new cadre, were appointed during the year out of the forty sanctioned posts. The scheme for reallocation of the District Police was worked out and submitted to the Government of India. Malabar was divided into two police districts, North and South Malabar in 1907. In Madras City, an additional Deputy Commissioner, bringing the number to two, was sanctioned. The posts of the Chief Superintendent and four Superintendents, fixed in the old scale, were abolished. Two Prosecuting Inspectors were appointed; one, a practising vakil from the High Court and the other an experienced Inspector from the mofussil police. Fifteen more Deputy Superintendents were recruited, four by promotion of Inspectors, six from other departments of Government and five by direct recruitment in 1907.

Two riots which occurred during the year in the State exposed the inflammatory feelings excited by caste and communal prejudices. One was the riot on the night of 31st May at Cocanada in Godavary District. Earlier in the evening Captain Kemp, the District Medical and Sanitary Officer struck a brahmin boy who had insulted him and this incident was enough excuse for the collection of a mob which after parading the streets and assaulting two Europeans, raided the English club where Captain Kemp was, and caused considerable damage to property. The District Magistrate, Mr J. A. Cumming, I.C.S., quickly arrived on the scene with some constables and though seriously hurt

in the face, he dispersed the rioters and prevented the disturbance from becoming more serious. A party of the Reserve Police from Rajahmundry was brought into Cocanada with commendable promptitude and was soon reinforced by parties from other districts. But there was no further trouble. The second incident that occurred at Villupuram in South Arcot District on December 10th was due to the Hindus opposing a Roman Catholic procession. The permission granted by the District Magistrate to the processionaries to pass through a Hindu Street was an innovation that was resented at. A crowd of Hindus indulged in a demonstration in front of the Roman Catholic church when the procession was about to start and defied the Head Assistant Magistrate's order to disperse. The mob became more violent when an ineffectual fire was opened on them. The police were driven back and the mob set fire to the car and idols in the compound of the church. Mr Walsh, the Head Assistant Magistrate, and other officers were compelled to retreat to the Railway Station escorted by the South Indian Railway volunteers who also fired on the mob with little effect. The house of a leading Catholic merchant who had in fact been the author of the innovation at which the Hindus had taken offence, was then attacked. When the miscreants damaged his property and maltreated his family they were in a way satisfied with the revenge they took and the disturbance came to an end.

One I. C. S. Officer Mr E. F. Thomas who was serving in the Police Department reverted to the Revenue Department in 1908. The city police was brought still closer to the district police by the introduction of the maintenance of the first information reports, case diaries, charge sheet and final reports and general diaries kept in mofussil police stations, in accordance with G. O. 1317 Judicial dated 22nd September 1908. The first case of theft of university-examination question papers occurred this year. Valuable information in this case was furnished by a clerk in the office of the Commissioner of Police. The papers were being printed in the S. P. C. K. Press, Madras. The Intelligence Department of the City Police who enquired into the case traced the leakage of these papers to a machine-man in the Press and his accomplices Subramanian, a bill collector of the same Press who passed on the question papers to Seshachalam, a candidate for the B.A. degree examination. The first two who were charged for theft were each sentenced to eighteen months rigorous imprisonment while the student who received the stolen question papers got off with a fine of Rs. 250.

For the first time in the annals of the Police Department Sri P. S. Srinivasachari, District Superintendent of Police was awarded the title of Dewan Bahadur in 1908. There were several territorial changes during the year 1910. Madurai and Tirunelveli districts were reconstituted into three districts—Madurai, Ramnad and Tirunelveli from the 1st June. Kadiri Taluk was transferred from Cuddapah to Anantapur district from the 1st October and Trichinopoly district was enlarged on 15-11-1910 by the addition of Namakkal and Karur Taluks from Salem and Coimbatore districts respectively.

A remarkable case of double murder occurred on the Nilgiris this year, in which five Todas who were driven to despair owing to the wrongs, they and their wives had suffered, killed two Rowthers at Bettumud in Wellington Station limits. One of the deceased, Sahib Rowther, owned a small shop on the Coonoor-Kotagiri Road and the other was his cook. Sahib Rowther who supplied provisions to the Todas and Badagas of these parts was an extortionate usurer who managed by these means to get many unfortunate Todas into his clutches. He falsified their accounts, treated them with great cruelty and oppression, frequently with blows and confinement and seduced their wives and daughters. In fact as remarked by the Additional Sessions Judge who tried the case, "his shop was a brothel for Toda wives and a prison for Toda husbands." When a Toda woman became pregnant by him he bargained for her marriage with some Toda, the purchase price being usually paid in buffaloes at a rate fixed by the ruffian who then appropriated the whole amount whether paid in cash or kind and informed his victim that it had been credited to his account. The climax was reached when the wife of one of the accused, whom the Rowther had been keeping, became pregnant and the *purushut-pimi* ceremony had to be performed. Without this ceremony, a pregnant Toda woman cannot be admitted into the caste, but Sahib Rowther refused to have the ceremony performed. This sealed his fate and it was shared by the cook who was as great a scoundrel as his master. The Todas admitted the murder and although three of them were convicted and sentenced to transportation for life, these sentences were commuted by Government to five years rigorous imprisonment on the recommendation of the Additional Sessions Judge. Thus was justice tempered with mercy.

In the City, the Assistant Commissioner of Police was put in direct charge of the Intelligence Department, in accordance with the orders



KING'S POLICE MEDAL

Instituted by a Royal Warrant of H. M. King Edward VII on the 7th July 1909; awarded to the members of all Police Forces in the British Empire, both for gallantry and distinguished service. Awards for gallantry carry a monetary allowance of Rs. 25 to Inspectors; Rs. 15 to Sub Inspectors; Rs. 7-8-0 to Head Constables and Rs. 5 to Police Constables. The recipient is eligible for the allowance as long as he is alive; even his widow will draw the allowance for her lifetime. This medal was replaced by the President's Police Medal on 26-1-1950.

Medal made of silver.

Riband for gallantry; A red line runs over the white stripe.

Riband for distinguished service—without the red line.





of the Government. With regard to inspections, the Government observed that the object of all Inspecting Officers from Assistant and Deputy Superintendents upwards should be to examine with care and intelligence the steps taken in the course of investigation in order to ascertain and correct any errors that might have been committed. They were not to find faults but to help and guide the investigating officers with a view to securing improved efficiency in police work. The inspecting officer should specially devote his attention not to the results obtained but to the methods adopted and the action taken to detect the offender. Reviewing the reforms effected in the Police Department as a result of the Police Commission's Report, the Government noted that the reforms introduced in the State were of a radical character. The Madras Police organization formerly differed from those of the rest of India in two important features: the first was the larger number of police stations, the second, the absence of the rank of Sub Inspectors, with the consequence that all police stations were in charge of head constables who conducted the investigation of offences under the supervision of a relatively large body of Inspectors on comparatively low pay. The essence of the Police Commission's reforms was to tone up the investigating agency. The Madras Government readily agreed that this was of supreme importance and created the rank of Sub Inspector. But with the substitution of an officer on Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 a month, a house allowance of Rs. 15, for a head constable on Rs. 14 to Rs. 25 with a small charge allowance, it became clear that for financial reasons, the number of police stations should be reduced. The Governor in Council greatly regretted this necessity, for he recognized that many people would be deprived of the easy access to the police which they had hitherto enjoyed. How much they appreciated this convenience and protection afforded by the presence of a police force, had been shown by the representations that were made by practically every caste against the abolition of police stations under the reallocation scheme. On the other hand, the public received the benefit of a higher class of investigating agency which it was hoped would go far to remove the abuses that formerly existed. The Government instructed the superior officers to treat the young Sub Inspectors with consideration and remember that a young man will respond to kindly guidance and instruction far more readily than to strictures and punishment.

The districts of Cuddapah, North Arcot, South Arcot and Salem were on the 1st April 1911 reconstituted into five districts viz. Cuddapah,

Chittoor, North Arcot, South Arcot and Salem. The number of police districts was increased from twenty-seven to twenty-eight. Under the orders of Government the system of awarding stripes to constables for good conduct was discontinued from the beginning of the year. Considerable difficulty was experienced in the recruitment of constables. Mr D. G. Cowie, I.C.S., the Inspector General of Police mentioning particularly Madurai and Bellary districts reported to the Government that labourers of all kinds were extremely well-paid in Madurai Town and agricultural work in the district was far more tempting than it was, owing to the introduction of Cambodia Cotton. In Bellary, he said, the police had never been popular although the pay offered had for some time been higher and the physical standard required lower than in other districts. So he suggested the retrograde step of enrolling a fair proportion of men, who were illiterate so that a better stamp of men with good physique could be obtained and also the direct recruitment of some head constables, who would be Sub Inspectors in the coming years. Crime charts modelled on the system of Mr Gayer at Hyderabad were introduced in the Presidency during the year.

The Presidency Police Sports came into being in the year 1912. A healthy convention of holding a Conference of Deputy Inspectors General and some selected District Superintendents of Police was also established. The new Police Order Book was brought out and the Drill Manual was revised. The Manager of the office of the Inspector General of Police was recruited as a Deputy Superintendent of Police.

Communal disturbances during Moharram had been the bane of the State. This necessitated always the mobilization of Reserves and calling for aid from outside when grave riots were anticipated. One such riot occurred at Tiruppattur, North Arcot District on the 1st January 1912, the last day of the Moharram. For sometime previously, the feelings between Muslims and the Hindus of the place were strained owing to the proximity of a Hindu temple to a mosque. The last procession of the Moharram, as well as the final procession of the Vaikunta Ekadasi festival fell simultaneously on 1st January. The Joint Magistrate Mr Hall with a view to averting all clashes ordered that the Moharram procession should end by 7 a.m. and the latter should begin at 9 a.m. The Muslims did not comply with this order and at 8-30 a.m. when the Joint Magistrate went out to see how matters stood, he met the Moharram procession. He attempted to persuade the Muslims to get the procession through. But in the meanwhile the

Muslims, under a lame excuse that a Muslim boy was stoned by someone, flared up, assaulted Mr Hall and drove him to seek refuge in a shop nearby. Had he not been rescued by the reserve police party which promptly arrived on the scene he would probably have been very roughly handled by the infuriated mob. On the arrival of the reserve the mob retired but nothing could induce the Muslims to resume their procession or to take up again the *tarboots* they had deposited in the middle of the street. Simultaneously with the attack on the Joint Magistrate several temples were attacked and plundered. Altogether 30 people were injured and removed to the hospital for treatment. A detachment of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Regiment under Captain Le Marchand arrived shortly before midday just in time to prevent a serious riot between the two communities near the market. The District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police arrived in the evening. A double company of the 119th Infantry under Major Pocock came in the night. The next day a free fight between the two parties was apprehended, but was averted by the presence of the sepoy and the police. The *tarboots* which the Muslims refused to remove in spite of the notice issued by the District Magistrate were taken to the police station in the evening and peace was restored. The most conspicuous feature of this riot was the heroism displayed by two Sub Inspectors and a constable in defending the Joint Magistrate though they were themselves grievously injured.

An important event in the year was the appointment of a Commission presided over by Lord Islington. This is generally known as the Islington Commission. The members of the Commission were Earl of Ronaldstray, Sir Murray Hammick, Sir Theodore Morison, Sir Valentine Chirol and Messrs M. B. Chaubal, Abdur Rahim, G. K. Gokhale, W. C. Madge, F. G. Sly, H. A. L. Fisher and Ramsay MacDonald. Sir Murray Hammick was a former Inspector General of Police, Madras and a member of the Council. The Commission was to examine and report on (1) the methods of recruitment and the systems of training and probation; (2) the conditions of service, salary, leave and pension; and (3) on such limitations that exist in the employment of non-European and the working of the system of division in relation to the Indian Civil Service and other services, Imperial and Provincial. Prior to 1893 the gazetted ranks of the Indian Police were filled either by appointments made from the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army or nomination by the local government. Since 1893 practically all the

officers of the Imperial Service were being selected in England through a competitive examination and for a number of years, the examination for the Indian Police and Indian Forest Service was identical, the successful candidate having the option of entering one of the two services.

The Imperial Police Service Association in Madras, Bombay and Punjab submitted memoranda to the Commission explaining their grievances. They said that the conditions of service in the police department were harder and more exacting than those of any other department in India. This had never been sufficiently recognized. The Police Commission spoke of the "very trying nature" of police work and the Government of India's resolution on the Commission's report alluded to "the laborious character of the work and the physical energy, mental alertness, readiness of resources, and attention to minute details which its proper performance demands." That these facts had never been properly appreciated was probably due to the absence of a police representative with the Central Government. Police administration was becoming sufficiently complex to call for expert handling but it was being entrusted to an officer who might have been anything from a Collector of Customs to a Chairman of a Corporation before his official position in the Government of India brought him in direct touch with police matters. According to law a police officer was "always on duty." He was never allowed to forget his work or get it off his mind. He was frequently called out in the middle of the night to the scene of a fire, a riot or a murder; he had to be about in all weathers and in all seasons; when there was famine or pestilence he had to be actually in the thick of it; and this activity he had to maintain unceasingly until late on in his service. Again his work was subjected to a watchful and censorious criticism by his official superiors, the magistrates, and the higher courts. Not only was any little slip taken up by the press and magnified a hundred-fold but facts entirely in his favour were often ingeniously and maliciously interpreted to his discredit. A certain type of Members of Parliament never wearied of putting questions which they thought might relate to bonafide instances of misconduct on the part of individuals and which often cast the most gross and unfounded insinuations on the name and character of the Indian Police. To these wanton traducers of the good name of the police, too meticulous a deference was often paid by the government. Far too much dirt had been flung and a good deal of it had stuck; those on whom it had stuck very

naturally disliked it. The police were the only effective intelligence system which the civil and even the military administration possessed. In some parts of the country it was not too much to say that police officers employed on political duties carried their lives in their hands. The Inspector-Generalship of Police should be reserved in every province for police officers even where it might involve the appointment of an officer from an adjoining province. He must be altogether a very exceptional District Magistrate who was better than the best police officer available. With regard to the relations that had to exist between the District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police they said that, though the Police Act and Government resolutions in force laid down certain rules defining the limits of the control of District Magistrates over the police, the actual interpretation of these rules depended largely upon the personal idiosyncrasies of different officers. One might largely leave the police administration of a district in the Superintendent's hands while another might unduly interfere in matters which were really departmental or might arrogate to himself powers of direction which were not justified. Appeal to the Revenue Commissioner was permissible but the Commissioner was a member of the Indian Civil Service and the service was naturally somewhat jealous of its supremacy. Summing up they added that the conditions of service were such as to produce discontent in the mind of almost every single officer. The policeman was nobody's child. His was the one department without which the government (martial law apart) could not carry on. He was charged with the most elementary and the most important of the functions of any civilized government. Yet his importance had never been realized nor had he been assigned an official position befitting his station and his duties. He alone had been stamped with the brand of second-class importance and everyone knew it. It was the same in the days of Kipling, when the mother of Strickland's fiancée refused to allow her daughter to marry into "the worst paid department in the Empire." The Association suggested incremental system of pay, increased pension, more favourable acting allowances and overseas allowances.

The Commission after a lengthy enquiry and examination of witnesses submitted a report. Important changes recommended in relation to the police were as follows :—

Once an officer of a Provincial Police had been promoted permanently to the Indian Police Service, he should become a full member of

that service and should be able to rise through all its grades. Europeans of mixed descent and Indians of unmixed Asiatic descent who had been educated in the United Kingdom for a period of 5 years, should be allowed to appear for the open competitive examination. The power possessed by the Governor General in Council to make appointments in India in exceptional cases should be developed to cover the case of all statutory indices and should be freely exercised. Not less than ten per cent of the Superintendentships should be filled by promotion from the Provincial Service and efforts should be made to extend gradually this amount to twenty per cent. Recruitment in England for all the appointments thus allocated should be stopped. The Inspectors General should not be recruited from the Indian Civil Service but Indian Civil Servants should continue to be eligible for these appointments subject to the claims of qualified police officers. The posts of Inspector General and Deputy Inspector General should carry a special additional pension under the general scheme.

The changes proposed in the provincial police were as follows:— Officers should not be appointed from other departments. A Committee to advise on the selection of direct recruits should be formed in each province. A grade of probationers should be created large enough to ensure that on an average two years will be passed by each direct recruit before confirmation. The services should be developed and there should be no hesitation in adding to the cadre to meet administrative requirements. The service should be styled the Madras, Bombay etc. Police Service. In matters of attendance and in the operation of the Arms Act and kindred matters Deputy Superintendents should enjoy the same privileges as members of the Provincial Civil Services.

The report of the Islington Commission was signed in August 1915, when the war had been in progress for a year. The Governments both in India and in England, were fully occupied with the prosecution of the war. Consequently the proposals of the Commission were shelved and the report was not published till 26th January 1917. Before the report could be taken up for consideration, the facts on which it was based had materially changed. On 20th August 1917, the Secretary of State announced in the House of Commons that the policy of His Majesty's Government was that of "the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to progressive

realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." The Islington Commission had no occasion to take note of the three new factors that had arisen: (a) the special stress laid on the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, (b) the new policy directed towards the progressive realization of responsible government, and (c) the marked rise in the cost of living. Meantime the Government of India Act (1919) emerged on the basis of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. But the inception of the new policy did not eliminate the unrest in India as it was hoped for. The relations between the political groups and the service instead of improving, markedly worsened. The European elements were apprehensive of the future and consequently the recruitment of the best available material in England received a set back. In Indian circles, the rate of Indianization was regarded as illiberal. For instance, the recruitment of Indians for the Indian Police Service was fixed in 1919 at 33 per cent in Madras. The All India Services continued to be under the Secretary of States for India who again appointed a Committee under Lord MacDonalld to enquire into the methods for improving recruitment. But changes in the political horizon were taking place at a rapid pace and the need was felt for another fresh, full and impartial enquiry into the matter. Therefore the Royal Commission of 1923 was appointed with Viscount Lee of Fareham as the Chairman and the following as members: (1) Sir R. H. Craddock, ex-Governor of Burma, (2) Sir Cyril Jackson, (3) Sir C. H. Setalvad, Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay, (4) Khan Bahadur Sir Muhamed Habibullah Sahib Bahadur, Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Madras, (5) Rao Bahadur Harikishan Kaul, (6) David Petrie of the Indian Police Service, (7) Bhupendranath Basu, Member of the Council in India, and (8) Reginald Coupland, Professor of Colonial History, University of Oxford.

The Lee Commission recommended that out of every 100 recruits for this service, 50 Europeans and thirty Indians should be directly recruited and the remaining twenty obtained by promotion from the provincial services. The initial basic pay was raised from Rs. 325 to Rs. 350. The senior scale was to start at Rs. 650. The selection grade was fixed at Rs. 1,450. Sir Reginald Craddock while writing a dissenting minute to the report said that "in the case of the Indian Police, the proposals of the report were designedly more cautious than in the case of the Indian Civil Service. For one thing, the proportion

of Indians already serving in the Indian Police Service was much smaller than in the Indian Civil Service ; for another, while in the Indian Civil Service there were many posts not directly concerned with law and order, in the case of the police there was scarcely a single post of which the incumbent was not directly dealing with the maintenance of public order and the detection of crime and for a third, it was not a service which had hitherto attracted that precise type of Indian recruit, which was likely to be most successful for a work of this kind. Nevertheless so much depended upon the continued efficiency of the police force over the whole of India that greater caution was essential and indeed the evidence showed that even advanced political opinion was averse from as rapid an Indianization of the police as it recommended in the case of other services, not excluding the Indian Civil Service. Events had shown that communal differences had increased rather than diminished in bitterness since the advent of the reforms, and that, without any reflection upon the courage and integrity of Indian police officers (and they had shown abundance of it), the British officers' natural aloofness from these communal disputes was a source of confidence to all contending communities alike that in conflicts, which might arise between them, racial and religious prejudice would not be a factor, when action had to be taken against offenders." Sir Reginald added that he could from his own experience testify that " however justly and impartially an Indian police officer had acted in such cases, his action was apt to be attributed to partiality with one of the contending sides when a British police officer taking precisely similar action, would be exempt from any such imputation upon his good faith." In agreeing to the recommendation of the report that half the future recruits should be British, he said that he had taken account of the fact that with the existing preponderance of the British element in the police, it would be some twenty-five years before the actual composition of the Indian Police Service corresponded to the half-and-half recruitment-ratio which the Commission had recommended. The poor success that had been attained by direct recruitment to the Indian Police Service and the reported greater efficiency of the officers promoted from the ranks of Deputy Superintendents of Police in the provincial police service—an experience common to all provinces—had led to the proposal to provide one half of the recruitment of the Indian element by promotion, the proportion being increased if the anticipated improvement in the quality of Indians directly recruited did not materialize. But the British Government

were to realize soon that even these so called advances left the Indian public opinion cold.

In detailing the activities of the several Commissions dealing with public service, a survey had been made of a period of twelve years from 1912 to 1924. It is necessary to retrace one's steps to look over the work of the police during these years. The Madras State and the Indian Police suffered a grievous loss in 1913 by the sudden and untimely death of Mr I. E. David whose services had been lent to Ceylon as Inspector General of Police. The outburst of sorrow his death evoked in that island testified to his popularity. The Ceylon Police had greatly benefited by his Madras experience. Another irreparable loss to the department was the demise of Rao Bahadur T. Jeya Singh a well-known C. I. D. Officer who was one of those rare types who combined abundant common sense with energy and detective ability of a high order. A remarkable case of theft occurred in Kistna district. Two persons agreed to buy a big emerald and other precious stones from the brother of the Zemindar of Chellapalli for Rs. 20,000. They paid Rs. 100 in advance and also deposited as security some valuable stones. These, and the stones sold, were put in a tin-box which was covered with a piece of cloth, stitched and sealed by one of the buyers and handed over to the seller for safe custody. The men then left on the understanding that they were to return in twenty days with the balance of money and receive the articles. They never returned. Suspecting foul play the zemindar opened the tin-box only to find to his amazement a bit of Cuddapah slab and a piece of china. Needless to say, the swindlers had cleverly substituted another tin-box for the one in which the precious stones were packed. The investigation in the case was conducted by Sri P. Sanyasayya Garu, Deputy Superintendent of Police, C. I. D. who visited Madras, Bangalore and Calcutta in the course of enquiries. The large emerald was eventually traced to a jeweller in Calcutta who had bought and cut it up. The two accused were arrested. While convicting them, the Sessions Judge complimented the able manner in which this case was handled by the investigating officer.

The Great War broke out in 1914. All officers on leave were recalled for duty. Out of the Central and Southern Ranges, each being found too heavy for a single officer, an additional Range was created temporarily with headquarters at Trichinopoly. In the pages relating to the genesis and growth of the City Police in the nineteenth century it

had been shown that the Chief of the Police was also the Chief Presidency Magistrate. Afterwards the Presidency Magistrates were being appointed from among judicial officers. In December 1914 Mr C. B. N. Pelly of the Indian Police who was acting as a Deputy Inspector General of Police was appointed Chief Presidency Magistrate, Madras. Another Indian Police officer Mr G. W. Deane was posted as Superintendent of Penitentiary and Civil Jail, Madras. Two other officers were deputed as Aides-de-Camp to His Excellency the Governor of Madras.

The Inspector General Mr P. L. Moore, I. C. S., who later became a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council reported that there had been a considerable increase in expenditure in the department since the reforms introduced as a result of the Imperial Police Commission's recommendations which were in the process of realization. The Commission roughly estimated the cost of these reforms at Rs. 31 lakhs per annum in respect of the salaries of the executive alone. The estimate was by no means an exact one, the cost of the reform of the City Police was not fully provided for, and the cost of the temporary and the plague-police was omitted from the calculation. Over and above the additions to the police recommended by the Police Commission he said, "there had been a reorganization of the Armed Reserves bringing with it an additional increase in the number of Sergeants as well as in the rank and file and consequent increase in the amount paid in salaries. Further the estimated cost of reallocation schemes drawn up in 1905-06 had been increased consequent on revision of these schemes as a result of practical testing. With the increase of the executive force, there had naturally occurred an expansion of the clerical branch; and there had been necessarily increased expenditure on travelling allowance, clothing, contingencies and grain compensation allowance, while the estimate of the Commission omitted all account of expenditure under these heads. The expenditure in 1914-15 as compared with 1905-06, the year just previous to the one in which the first step towards reorganization was taken, showed an increase of nearly 44 lakhs of which about 27 lakhs occurred under salaries and the rest under other heads." The Inspector General added that in another direction, namely in the improvement of the condition of the rank and file, increased expenditure was an urgent and imperative necessity. Prices shot up to an extent which had not been fully appreciated. Wages increased all over the country and the cost of living

correspondingly went up. The pay of the constabulary had never been a living wage, and would not be, till it was materially increased. The quality of the rank and file had seriously deteriorated. The wages offered must really suffice for the support of the constable and his family if the proper stamp of recruits were to be attracted and the charges of corruption so frequently laid at his door were to be refuted.

The year 1916 is conspicuous for the introduction of the experimental scheme of abolishing the post of Circle Inspectors in Trichinopoly and Kurnool districts. Three additional Deputy Superintendents were appointed in the former and two in the latter; the cadre of Deputy Superintendents in the State was temporarily increased by four. The Superintendents of these districts were relieved of the responsibility of any direct charge. Several European police officers joined the Indian Army Reserve of Officers. Another important event in the history of the Madras Police was the appointment of Dewan Bahadur P. Parankusam Nayudu as the Commissioner of Police. He was the first Indian to occupy this post which had all along been denied the sons of the soil. In building up the City Police, be it the Crime Wing or Law and Order, two names of Indians stand in relief. One is Sri Parankusam Nayudu; the other is Sri Bhavanandam Pillai who followed the former's footsteps in work as well as in the rungs of the official ladder. Both of them were honoured by the Government with titles and medals. In his *Fifteen-year Summary (1904-1919) of the Harbour Administration* Sir Francis Sping, K.C.I.E. wrote as follows about Sri Parankusam Nayudu, and the Harbour Police: "The organization is controlled, under the Commissioner of Police, Madras; by the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Northern Range who during the last seven years has been Dewan Bahadur P. Parankusam Nayudu. The relations between this officer and me and my staff have always been most harmonious and I have sought his advice in all questions of walling and gating. The public goods passing through the harbour nowadays to the value of about 20 crores of rupees per annum, suffer far less now than formerly at the hands of the Madras depredator."

During the year the abolition of circles underwent a slight modification by which a Sub Divisional Officer assisted by one or two Inspectors was charged with the control and investigation of grave crime. This system was introduced first in Coimbatore. But in 1918, the whole scheme was found to be a failure. The defect of the Inspectorate was traced to the dictum of the Police Commission that the Circle

Inspector should not ordinarily be an investigating officer. But the Inspectors could not justify their assuming, as they did, an attitude of absolute irresponsibility. The real position was that a Circle Inspector was as much responsible for the criminal administration of his Circle as the Superintendent was for that of his district and it was his duty to visit the scene of very important crime, study its characteristics and not only should he advise his Sub Inspector but also co-ordinate all information available throughout the whole of his and other Circles. The function of the Circle Inspector was overlooked to such an extent that at one time he was thought in some quarters to be a superfluity and it was this opinion that hatched the experimental schemes. The Inspector General asserted that the scheme had failed and the necessity of the Circle Inspector had been proved. In his absence, crime was generally hushed up, discipline seriously suffered and consequently crime also increased. The most fatal objection to the scheme was that the Sub Divisional Officer had an unmanageable charge and that the Sub Inspectors were left to themselves and discipline got slack. The Inspector was a necessary link in the chain and was therefore allowed to remain. In 1917, Mr Pelly who had been working as the Chief Presidency Magistrate reverted to the Police Department as Deputy Inspector General of Police. An additional Assistant Commissioner of Police for the purpose of directing and co-ordinating the investigation of crime in Madras City was sanctioned in G. O. No. 2685 Home (Judicial) dated 3rd December 1918 and Sri N. H. Jagadesa Ayyar was the first Crime Assistant Commissioner. Mr Moore, I. C. S., the Inspector General of Police, left on 1st February 1919 to Delhi on deputation as an additional member of the Imperial Legislative Council. Before leaving for his new assignment he left a note suggesting a half-yearly conference of Deputy Inspectors General of Police and a conference of selected police officers every year with the Honourable Member in charge of the police portfolio and also an annual District Police Sports in every district. About the mounting expenditure on police he wrote:—"I am aware that any increase in police expenditure is jealously watched in the Legislative Council and this is natural because it is, on the face of it, less productive than expenditure on education and sanitation. At the same time it would, I believe, be incorrect to come to the conclusion that expenditure on the police is distasteful to the people of the country. The services of the police are undoubtedly appreciated by the people; what they want is not less police expenditure but more efficiency, which can



P. B. THOMAS Esq. I.P.,

The first Police Officer who became the Inspector General of Police, Madras.
(1919 - 1921)

only be assured by a properly paid, properly housed and therefore contented force." Though police officers had sometimes acted as Inspectors General of Police for short periods when permanent I. C. S. officers had gone on leave, Mr P. B. Thomas, Deputy Inspector General was for the first time permanently appointed Inspector General of Police, on the departure of Mr Moore. It will be remembered that the Islington Commission had already laid the rule by this time that this top post should generally go to the senior police officers though I. C. S. officers were not precluded from occupying it. For about three decades the practice of promoting police officers as Inspectors General continued until there was an interregnum in 1947 when Mr C. K. Vijayaraghavan, I. C. S., became the Inspector General of Police. From June 1949 onwards the thread was resumed.

Two noteworthy arrests made in the year 1919, were those of Chekkannan operating in South Malabar and Cochin, and Irula Tholan in Salem and North Arcot districts. Chekkannan was a bandit harbouring in inaccessible jungles on the frontiers of Malabar and Cochin from which he made marauding expeditions on both sides. He eluded the police for a long time but by the joint efforts of the British and State Police, he was captured with two of his lieutenants in a cave after an exchange of fire. Tholan was a very daring outlaw, who had escaped twice from subjail. Once he broke into a police outpost, and carried away carbines and uniforms; and donning the stolen uniform, he posed as a police officer and made arrests and searches besides committing a series of crimes. Finally a party of policemen and villagers went after him and in the struggle that ensued Tholan was mortally wounded by a villager.

A new agency division comprising the old Jeypore district and the Agency tracts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godavari was constituted with headquarters at Waltair in 1920. Partly owing to other changes and partly with a view to better co-ordination of work in districts the charges of Deputy Inspectors General of Police were also redistributed, the headquarters of the Central and Southern Ranges being moved to Bellary and Vellore respectively. The headquarters of the Western Range which had been changed from Trichinopoly to Coimbatore were temporarily removed to Coonoor. On the request of Pudukottai Durbar Mr T. V. Krishnasami Ayyar was posted to be in charge of the police at Pudukottai. In the month of March, a scare spread throughout the city that children were being kidnapped either for the purpose

of being sacrificed at the extension to the Government House Bridge or for being taken to Hyderabad by Muslims. The scare continued for two days and several innocent persons were brutally assaulted by mobs in different parts of the city when four persons died in the melee. The police rescued many with the help of private persons. The superior officers were thanked by the government for the efficient manner in which they handled an anxious situation while the subordinate ranks were liberally rewarded. The conduct of the numerous private gentlemen who co-operated with the police in allaying the general panic was also appreciated by the Government.

In June 1921 Mr P. B. Thomas went on leave to England and Mr Armitage became the Inspector General of Police. The department sustained a serious loss in the death of Mr Thomas while on leave in England. He had been the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D. for 5½ years before he became the head of the police in the State. He established sound traditions and amply justified the change-over from the supremacy of the I. C. S. to the I. P. The Moplah rebellion overshadowed all activities during the year. This subject is so vast and mainly concerned with internal security, that it has been dealt with in a separate chapter.

A considerable sensation was caused in Chittoor district about the middle of the year by a self-styled religious and social reformer named Uma Maheswara Pantulu, a native of Guntur district. After exploiting the district and neighbourhood for some months he claimed supernatural powers and gave out that on 5th July at Tirupati he and his wife would sit on a fire of sandalwood, give forth inspired words and finally ascend to heaven. Some 40,000 people assembled in Tirupati, and as none of the promised miracles was performed, the crowd became excited and dangerous and it was only by the impostor's consenting, in fear of his life, to be escorted to the railway station and put in a train to Guntur that a very threatening situation was terminated by the police without any serious disturbance.

A serious outbreak occurred in the Cannanore Jail on 4th December. When the prisoners were being taken out for food, a Moplah life-convict raised a war-cry and immediately a large number of other prisoners got out of hand. They broke into the jail-carpenter's shop and arming themselves with tools and other articles, attacked the warders and the hospital, liberated some convicts and attempted to

escape. They were fired upon by the warder staff under orders of the Superintendent of Jail and 10 prisoners were shot dead and 11 wounded. The Malabar Police had a hard time in these jail riots. In the City, about a dozen strikes occurred during the year; the most troublesome were those in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills which commenced on 20th May 1921 and lasted till October. The President of the Labour Union was Mr Wadia, who left for England on Trade Union work and the leadership of the organization fell into the hands of politicians. The Harijan workmen seceded from the union and their return to work caused considerable ill-feeling; and the continued efforts of other strikers assisted by Khilafat Muslims to prevent them from going to the mills failed. The strikers inaugurated a campaign of violence which culminated in incendiarism, riot and other disorderliness, entailing loss of life and property. The magnitude of these disorders is easily seen from the fact that not less than 599 huts were burnt down, 11 persons including two members of the police force lost their lives and many were seriously injured during the riots. The police officers killed were a Chittoor Reserve constable who was shot and a sergeant of the South Arcot Reserve on whom a bomb was thrown by the rioters. The total number of reported cases was 193. It was found impossible to keep peace and order for months on end with the inadequate city force and the armed reserve at the disposal of the Commissioner. The seriousness of the situation necessitated the drafting into the city of 300 armed men from different districts to assist the local police and the calling out of the military, namely the Madras Guards and the Southern Provinces Mounted Rifles on several occasions. A Committee was appointed to enquire into the disturbances. It came to the conclusion that the City Police and the Armed Reserve were inadequate to the needs of growing Madras. Sri Parankusam Nayudu retired this year full of honours and his place as Deputy Commissioner was taken over by Sri Bhavanandam Pillai.

The Rampa disturbances in 1922 were a sign of the upsurge among the masses for freedom, though they were misguided. These disturbances took a heavy toll of lives; many policemen lost their lives and the police force of the Presidency as a whole, had a hard time throughout the year. Dr C. P. Ramasami Ayyar was an Executive Councillor at this time and he found the Rampa affairs more than a nuisance as they were first thought to be. The incidents have been described in detail in another chapter.

During the Moplah rebellion a Special Superintendent of Police was appointed in the afflicted area. This post was abolished in 1923, when Malabar was split into 2 districts—North Malabar district with headquarters at Calicut, and South Malabar comprising the rest of Malabar with headquarters at Malappuram. The City Police Sports were held for the first time this year. A recreation club for the use of the City Police Officers was opened by Her Excellency Lady Wellington who gave a munificent donation of Rs. 5,000 for building the club; a similar amount was contributed by the Government; Messrs Binny & Co. gave a donation of Rs. 6,500; and there were also subscriptions from the public. In the same year, the Agency Division was abolished, the Police Department of Jeypore was reorganized and the Agency areas which formerly belonged to the districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godavari were restored to them.

An event of great importance to public services in Madras, was the appointment of retrenchment committees for each department. The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms found public expenditure increasing steeply. At the close of the First World War it stood at Rs. 989 lakhs and went up to Rs. 1,130 lakhs in 1920-21. In the first three budgets after the reforms, it rose to Rs. 1,360 lakhs, 1,337 lakhs and 1,364 lakhs respectively, after excluding the contribution to the Government of India. In the face of these figures, the question arose as to what were the causes that necessitated such a large expansion of expenditure compared with those of the years preceding the reforms. Chief among the causes were the world-wide decrease in trade, the fall in the value of money and the increase in prices. When the cost of every commodity increased by 83 per cent in India, it was obvious that the cost of administration also must have increased. The cost of buildings increased by 45 per cent, of railway travelling by 100 per cent, of stationery by 200 per cent and so on in every branch of State administration. There was a revision of salaries, as a consequence of which the salary bill of the Government which stood at Rs. 394 lakhs in 1918-19 rose to Rs. 656 lakhs in 1922-23. A sum of about Rs. 204 lakhs represented the cost of the revision of salaries while the balance of Rs. 58 lakhs was on account of additional appointments and allowances. In the meantime revenue receipts began to dwindle and enough funds could not be allotted to the departments of Transferred Subjects which were under the Ministry. So the need for economy was compelling.

In the budget debates of 1921-22 it was announced that all heads of departments had been called upon to send in proposals showing how well the work in their departments would be conducted if they were ordered to make a saving of 20 per cent. This developed into further enquiries and a reduction of Rs. 23 lakhs was effected under salaries. The Central Government complimented the Government of Madras for their great efforts to reduce expenditure. But this was not considered enough and a resolution was passed in the Legislative Council that a retrenchment committee should be appointed to look into the matter. In G. O. No. 796 Finance dated 22nd September 1922, the Standing Finance Committee of the Legislative Council was appointed to carry out the duties of a retrenchment committee. The Chairman of the Committee was Mr C. G. Todhunter, I.C.S., and the members were: Messrs A.M. MacDougall, I.C.S., C. Natesa Mudaliyar, T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar, A. Ranganatha Mudaliyar, O. Thanikachala Chettiar, C. E. Wood, I.C.S., Sir Muhammad Usman Sahib, and Dr Subbaroyan.

With regard to each department, a separate committee was constituted. The G. O. authorizing the formation of the Police Committee, [No. 43, Judicial (Police), dated 25th January 1923] stated that the financial position in which the Government found themselves had necessitated a careful review of administration in all departments and an examination of all possible avenues to economy. So far as the police was concerned, the Government would have been extremely reluctant to do anything that would tend to weaken the forces of law and order. On the other hand, they were most anxious to go ahead with measures which were quite necessary, the most important of which was the formation of adequate striking forces and the acceleration of building programmes. As matters stood then, there was no prospect of getting funds for these projects without effecting substantial economy in other spheres. The Government added that the cost of the police had risen from Rs. 49,39,617 in 1905 to Rs. 1,76,97,158 in 1920-21 and though it might be attributed to the carrying out of the recommendations of the Police Commission, the time had arrived to review the whole position and examine how far the changes introduced in accordance with these recommendations had proved successful in practice and how far they had failed to fulfil anticipations both as regards the prevention and detection of crime. With this end in view the Government appointed a Committee consisting of Messrs E. A. Davis, I. C. S., District Magistrate, Tirunelveli; H. F. M. Tayler, C. I. E., I. C. S.,

District Magistrate, Kistna ; J. Narayana Reddi Garu, Second Presidency Magistrate, Madras ; P. Hannyngton, Commissioner of Police ; J. Moore, Personal Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C. I. D. ; F. Sayers, Superintendent, Government Railway Police, Trichinopoly ; Dewan Bahadur T. Venkoba Rao, District Superintendent of Police, Chingleput ; and N. Ramanuja Iyengar, Acting District Superintendent of Police, Ganjam. These magistrates and police officers were asked to send their views to the Chief Secretary on a memorandum prepared by the Government in this connexion. Afterwards they were asked to assemble at Madras to form the Committee which was to be presided over by the Chief Secretary. The Inspector General of Police and two members of the Finance Committee were to participate in the deliberations at Madras. Sri Natesa Mudaliar and Dr Subbaroyan represented the Finance Committee. Though invitations were later extended to Sri P. Theagaraja Chettiar, Sri O. Thanikachalam Chettiar and the Rajah of Ramnad to join the Committee, only the Rajah of Ramnad took some part in the proceedings.

The memorandum of the Government suggested that upon a proper system of decentralization it might be possible to reduce the number of Deputy Inspectors General of Police (including the Commissioner of Police) from six to one. The only Deputy Inspector General of Police would always remain at the Presidency headquarters to assist the Inspector General of Police in disposing of appeals and act as his Deputy when he was on tour and also control the Railway Police and the Criminal Investigation Department. With regard to District Superintendents of Police the proposals were : (1) to abolish the post of Superintendent of Police of the Nilgiris district and to appoint in his place an Assistant Superintendent of Police, the district itself being added to Coimbatore for police purposes ; and to dispense with the Assistant Inspector General of Police and the Personal Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C. I. D. The posts of Personal Assistant to District Superintendents of Police were also to be abolished. Passing on to the subordinate staff, the Government said that it would be advantageous to revert to the old system of placing head constables in charge of police stations as the Government was not getting the stamp of officers they wanted and they attributed the failure of Sub Inspectors to detect cases to "the fact that criminals are, generally speaking, drawn from the lower strata of society in the presidency which

renders it perhaps easier for officers of the class of constable or head constable to obtain information." In relation to the Inspectorate the Government saw that it should be unnecessary to retain the Circle Inspector as a supervising agency. But they would have a small specialized detective staff in each district, organized somewhat after the manner of the C. I. D. and would be composed of one Inspector, two or three Sub Inspectors and a few constables. Another suggestion was the replacement of writer-head-constables by educated constables and also a reduction in the constabulary itself.

As regards the City Police the Government recognized that the problems of the city differed a good deal from those of the mofussil but that did not entitle them to have a Commissioner of the rank of a Deputy Inspector General of Police. A senior District Superintendent of Police would suffice for that post with as many Assistant Commissioners as might be required. A post of one Deputy Commissioner was also proposed to be abolished along with 8 Inspectors and 24 European Sub Inspectors. A reduction in the number of horses was also envisaged.

It will be found from these details that the Government had very ambitious schemes for retrenchment. While drawing attention to the fact that the practical abolition of a grade to which most, if not all, superintendents had the prospect of promotions, would be a breach of faith, the Police Committee said that it considered that the duties which would be thrown on the Inspector General of Police and the one Deputy Inspector General of Police whose retention was suggested in the memorandum, would be far beyond the capacity of any two officers and it was considered that the loss of efficiency by the abolition of the Range Deputy Inspectors General of Police would be so great as to outweigh the benefits of retrenchment. The Range Deputy Inspectors General of Police were needed not only to supervise and co-ordinate the work of Superintendents and to dispose of appeals but also to keep the Inspector General of Police informed of the work in the districts, to an extent to which it might not be possible for him to obtain through his own inspections. It was not every Superintendent of Police who was an officer of sufficient experience to administer his district without more detailed control and supervision than he could get from the Inspector General of Police; the best Superintendent of Police was often glad of advice and suggestions, and it was not only in connexion with organized gangs of criminals that co-ordination was required. On the whole the

Committee was of opinion that the Government might consider the abolition of the post of one Deputy Inspector General of Police as the limit of retrenchment on that grade. As regards the two posts of Assistant Inspector General of Police and Personal Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C. I. D., the Committee opined that the former should be filled by an officer of the rank of Superintendent of Police. His responsibilities were great, especially when the Inspector General of Police was away from headquarters and the fact that he might have to issue orders to the district staff rendered it necessary that he should be an officer of considerable seniority. The abolition of the post of Personal Assistant was recommended by the Committee.

Passing on to the City Police, the Committee as a whole concluded that the Commissioner of Police ought to be an officer of the rank of Deputy Inspector General of Police. For good and sufficient reasons, he had been placed in a position of comparative independence; he was expected to deal with a variety of situations which did not arise in a district and with classes of people with whom a District Superintendent of Police seldom came into contact. It was also of the opinion that if the standard of police work in the city was to be efficiently performed, there should be no reduction in other superior posts or in the posts of Inspectors and Sub Inspectors. The Committee noted that the number of mounted men was already small; yet they were of great use in regulating traffic, conducting processions and controlling crowds of all kinds; and their work could not be done equally well by men without horse.

As regards the subordinate staff, the Committee did not countenance any condemnation of the Sub Inspectors and regarded it as an entirely mistaken view that the reputation of the police force as a whole did not generally improve after the reorganization. Statistics of detection and recovery of property, they urged, proved nothing. In former times, a very small proportion of the crime committed was ever reported; whereas few crimes, they contended, went unreported during their time. While many of the old head constables were efficient, the majority of them were dishonest and their methods were open to serious objection. If they could be revived they would be comparatively of little use especially when things had changed. People were far more insistent on their rights; communications were rapid; and the legal talent which they would have to contend in court was very much greater. Answering the argument that the

head constable would be better suited than the Sub Inspector to obtain information about crime and criminals for the reason that he was himself drawn from a lower social stratum, the Committee noted that this fact was in itself a reason for not allowing the head constable to work without the closest supervision.

Mr Sayers, who later became the Inspector General of Police, compared the police without the Inspector to an engine without a governor or pressure gauge. The Committee was impressed with the unanimity of opinion about the necessity for Inspectors not only to maintain discipline and ensure the detailed inspection of the station but also to help the Sub Inspector in all difficult cases and circumstances. It accepted the judgment of the superior officers who found that the experiment tried in Trichinopoly and Kurnool resulted in dangerous relaxation of discipline, the loss of control over the rank and file of the force and extensive hushing up of crime. The Committee agreed that if constables were made writers it would be necessary to give them allowances.

The Government accepted the following specific recommendations :-

- (1) The abolition of one Range Deputy Inspector General of Police.
- (2) An Assistant Superintendent of Police in the place of the Superintendent of Police for the Nilgiris.
- (3) The substitute of Assistant Superintendents of Police for Superintendents of Police in the posts of Assistant Inspector General of Police and Personal Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C. I. D.
- (4) The replacement of writer-head-constables by writer-constables.
- (5) The closing of recruit schools.
- (6) The reduction of constables by 2,000.
- (7) The abolition of Ghat Talayaris.

The Government expected a saving of Rs. 7.49 lakhs per annum exclusive of incidental expenditure such as allowances and contingencies.

The year 1923 saw the exit of Jambulingam Nadar, a notorious criminal. The Moplah rebellion and the *Fituri* disturbances eclipsed the activities of Jambulingam and displaced him in the official records of 1921 and 1922. To omit in these pages the activities of this desperado who was not less audacious or less adventurous than his counterparts in the West is to shut out from the readers one of the interesting encounters of the police in the underworld of crime. A criminal who

acts Robin Hood, robbing the rich and helping the poor, is seldom without his hero-worshippers. Jambulingam had his own set of admirers in the Tirunelveli country and one Mrs Carmichael of Dhonavur, a Christian missionary, appears to have given asylum to his satellites. She almost became their patron saint.

Jambulingam was a native of Konavillai near Panagudi in Tirunelveli district. From infancy the woods attracted him and in course of time poaching in the Reserve Forest became his chief pastime. Several intrepid spirits joined him in the forest. There was a torchlight dacoity in Kottayam, Travancore limits, in which he is learnt to have taken part. But he slipped through the fingers of the police. His associates were apprehended and convicted in this case. From then on Jambulingam was an outlaw; he took the first step towards becoming a living legend. His following grew in number. With the help of his lieutenants, chief of whom was Kasi Nadar a desperate criminal, he would intercept the travellers on the highway in Nanguneri taluk and divest them of their valuables. The Tirunelveli Police were put on their mettle. They bided their time and in the last of the highway offences, they caught him and rounded up his gang. They were confined in Nanguneri subjail. Within 5 or 6 days of their confinement in the subjail, Jambulingam, Kasi Nadar and two others escaped through an opening made by wrenching the window-bars of the cell in which they were locked up. The gang grew in strength and having armed themselves with unlicensed fire-arms, they were on the highway again. Their depredations continued for another year when Jambulingam was caught again at Kilakad on 22-6-1921. On the arrest of his chief, Kasi Nadar surrendered in court. His surrender was clearly a ruse; he wanted to be by the side of his master in case of danger. On 2-10-1921 when both were being escorted from the Palayamkottai district jail to Nanguneri subjail they overpowered the escort constables, took their guns and ten rounds of ammunition, and made a bee-line for the woods. They were rearrested by the police on 15-10-1921. Jambulingam and his henchmen were tried for robbery and dacoity and each was sentenced to 5 years' R. I.

Breaking out of prison was Jambulingam's forte. He had hardly been 9 months in prison when he escaped from the district jail along with two Marava convicts. The two police informers who helped the police in their arrest, became marked men. They were murdered in cold blood. The difference between him and the later Sicilian bandit

Giuliano, who led the Dance of Macabre before dealing with his treacherous victim, was that the latter used to pin on the dead body a note which said: "Souls of spies do not go to heaven." A constable on patrol duty was shot dead by Jambulingam's gang and his gun and ammunition were removed by them. Then they took up temporary headquarters in Suravali Hills. Jambulingam had spent his early life here where his father was a gardener, and the people of this mountain retreat welcomed the return of the prodigal. Moreover the people of this gateway to the hills were divided into two factions and both parties were bent upon winning Jambulingam over to their side and none dared to give offence to him. The villagers vied with one another in passing information to Jambulingam and currying his favour. So by a sort of private intelligence system he was able to know the movements of the police dogging his steps. To ferret him out in his hide-out with its well-knit intelligence system, was no mean task for the police.

But such criminals have to come perforce into the open to buy the necessaries of life or to replenish their purse with fresh loot. The police were on the *qui vive*. On 20-3-1923, they received information that Jambulingam and his lieutenant Kasi were hiding in a house at Konoor. The police surrounded the house and there was an exchange of fire between the parties. Meantime some associate of theirs set fire to a neighbouring house and created a diversion in order that the dacoits might escape under the cover of smoke and confusion that arose. The gangsters moved to another house and the police followed suit. Finding that no escape was possible except through a violent getaway, the gangsters began spattering the police with gun shots. The police fired in self-defence and Kasi fell. Jambulingam held the police at bay and managed to run a furlong under cover of fire. He took up position behind the stem of a big tamarind tree and the pistol in his hand spat fire on the approach tracks. The duel lasted for about 15 minutes when a bullet from the police party struck Jambulingam dead. Thus the meteoric career of a notorious criminal came to an end and the people of Nanguneri were able to sleep in peace. Jambulingam's pistol is now an exhibit in the Police Museum at Vellore.

As a result of the retrenchment proposals the Western Range was abolished from 27th April 1924. Three districts were added to the charge of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C. I. D. and the range was renamed as the C. I. D. and Eastern Range. During this year the East Indian Railway secured the services of

Mr L. Witainshaw, District Superintendent of Police as Superintendent of the Watch and Ward Department. A Deputy Superintendent of Police was also lent to the Cochin Durbar for appointment as Commissioner of Police, Cochin, and the services of a District Superintendent of Police were lent to Travancore.

In the order regarding the formation of the Police Retrenchment Committee itself, an indication had been given about the organization of striking forces. The matter became important in the context of the Moplah rebellion and the *Fituri* disturbances, where contingents of Armed Reserves from neighbouring districts were found ineffective to halt the onslaughts of the rioters and insurrectionists. The Government were greatly exercised over this lag and in their order No. 575-A Judicial (Police) dated 24th October 1923 they appointed Mr H. G. Stokes, C. I. E., I. C. S., as a Special Officer for reorganization of the Armed Reserves and Special Police parties. The terms of reference for the special officer pointed out that one of the most important features of police administration that had recently engaged the attention of the Police Committee and the Government, was the question of the Armed Reserves. These forces existed in varying strength in the Presidency except in the Nilgiris where a proposal to constitute a force, though sanctioned, had been held in abeyance. Their function was primarily to deal with local disorder and their training and constitution necessarily differed considerably from that of the ordinary station-police whose duty it was to administer the law contained in the Indian Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code. The Reserves were entrusted with certain fixed duties connected with the escort of treasure and prisoners, and the provisions of guards and it might be said that the Reserves were more of a military than a purely police type, for the qualifications required of the reserve men were more exclusively physical while a combination of intelligence with somewhat lower physical standard was required of the ordinary police.

The Government added that the growing cost of the Police Department and the political changes of the preceding few years, combined with the latest disorders, which had resulted from the non-co-operation, Khilafat movements, the Moplah rebellion and the Agency *Fituri*, had all tended to direct public attention more particularly to that branch of the force, which was directly concerned in the suppression of disturbances. The utility of the Reserves was questioned and it was a matter of increasing difficulty to obtain the sanction of the Legislative

Council to any proposal put forward by the Government for increasing their strength or even improving their efficiency. The Government was always ready to testify to the value of the Reserve which lay in the suppression or prevention of local disturbances of a minor type. But both the Moplah rebellion and the Agency *Fituri* proved that, a more efficient force was required to deal with serious disorder. Therefore the Government sanctioned the constitution of two new bodies of special police in Malabar and on the east coast which were constituted and equipped on entirely different lines to the District Reserves. In adopting this policy they were influenced by the needs of the situation and also by the fact that "it had been impressed on them more than once by the Government of India that in view of the paramount need for reducing the military budget and the great expense that military assistance entailed, and in the interests of the Government, to depend more than they did on their own resources by recruiting and maintaining some form of military police."

The Government instructed Mr Stokes to decide on the future strength and location of the Armed Reserves and also on the organization, recruitment, equipment and distribution of the striking forces that might be formed for meeting any emergency in the Presidency.

Before dealing with the recommendations of Mr Stokes, it would be necessary to know the history of some of the special forces. A separate chapter deals with the activities of the Malabar Special Police and the East Coast Special Police, which were mainly employed in ensuring internal security in the beginning of this century. But there were other forces, which began as punitive organizations and continued to exist even after the emergency had passed. The Kamudi Special Force, Sivakasi Special Force and the Tuticorin Special Force belong to the aforesaid group.

A punitive police was established in Kamudi in 1901. It continued up to 1909, when the station staff of Kamudi was strengthened and an addition of one sergeant, two head constables and twenty-four constables was made to the Madura Reserve. This addition formed the nucleus of the Ramnad Reserve when that district was formed. When the recrudescence of Shanar-Maravar antagonism resulted in a serious riot in September 1918, a punitive force was again constituted under G. O. No. 2305 Home (Judicial) dated 11th October 1918. Under the authority of Government Memo No. 4563-1 Judicial, dated 8-8-1922,

the cost of the force was assigned to the provincial funds. This force consisting of five head constables and fifty-one constables with other supervisory officers had no guard or other duties of an ordinary Armed Reserve.

The Sivakasi Special Force was also born out of the Shanar-Maravar troubles. On 7th July 1899 in G. O. No. 1077 (Judicial) the Government sanctioned the formation of a punitive police which became a paid force in 1904 and, later in 1908, formed part of the permanent force when its strength was reduced from 100 constables to 75.

The Tuticorin Special Force traced its origin to the sanction conveyed in G. O. No. 592 Judicial dated 23rd April 1908 as a punitive force on the occurrence of seditious riots that formed part of the freedom movement under Sri V. O. Chidambaram Pillai. It was absorbed in the regular police establishment by a G. O. No. 1254 Judicial dated 10th September 1908.

With the prestige of his position as a member representing Madras Presidency in the Council of State at Delhi, Mr Stokes made an elaborate enquiry, interviewed Deputy Inspectors General of Police, District Magistrates and District Superintendents of Police in several districts and gathered particulars from Government records. His report makes interesting reading. He commenced his report with giving a general description of the various classes of the police force that existed then. He explained that the training of the ordinary station or taluk police consisted of a six-month course in a recruit school, where they acquired, if illiterate, a knowledge of reading and writing, and were instructed in such elements of local knowledge, law and procedure, rudimentary squad drill, marching and handling of arms. They were, however, not armed and did not ordinarily carry fire-arms. They could never attain even remotely to any degree of discipline and if they had in the past succeeded in many instances in maintaining order, it was as much a tribute to the docile temper of the ordinary villager as to the discipline of the police. The necessity for improving the efficiency of the police for the purpose of dealing with tumult and local disturbances without military aid began to be felt as early as the fifties of the last century and had engaged the attention of the Government ever since. The result, according to him, was a gradual process of specialization. The District Armed Reserves took over various routine and fixed duties previously discharged by the taluk police and by 1912, the stage had been reached

when a definite portion of the District Reserve in each district was allotted as an 'emergency force' as opposed to the performance of routine duties.

The recruitment to the Armed Reserves for the most part was for the more virile and robust, but frequently less intelligent of the community from each district. They were armed for the most part with bored-out M. H. Rifles, firing ball or buckshot. They carried also bayonets. The duties of this force were to provide in each district: (1) an 'emergency force' under the order of the District Superintendent of Police and District Magistrate; (2) men to escort prisoners and treasure and to guard the principal treasury, the district and sessions courts, in certain cases some of the subordinate courts of the district; (3) to provide orderlies for the superior magistracy and the superior police officers of the district and the like.

Generally speaking the Armed Reserve was intended and designed to deal with unarmed mobs. Mr Stokes added that the amount of valuable work done by the District Armed Reserve was perhaps not fully realized by those who denounced them as worthless in the Legislative Council and elsewhere. Discussing the utilization of the military to prevent or suppress disturbances, the Special Officer stated that though this might be available to the same extent as in the past, the maintenance of a striking force would obviate recourse to military forces whose intervention might be necessary only in the actual suppression of a disorder which had attained to something of the dimension of a rebellion. The striking force would be trained and equipped on military or semi-military lines. Their role should be that of a second line of defence against disorder. Malappuram, Vizianagaram and Trichinopoly were fixed as centres for locating these forces. The strength of the force at the two latter places was noted as 3 companies each. The Commandants and Adjutants to these forces were to be seconded from the Army. Mr Stokes discussed in great detail the ordinary duties of the Armed Reserve. The following excerpts will throw light on the system prevailing then:—

Collector's Night Guards: The only item under this head is the guard of 6 men employed at night to protect the Collector of Malabar at his residence. I am doubtful whether it is really necessary to retain the guard and propose to abolish it. The present District Magistrate (Mr Thorme) did not attach importance to it.

District Magistrate's Orderlies : These according to the allocation statement account for 59 men. I see no reason whatever for providing men from District Armed Reserves for this purpose. Collectors and District Magistrates are already provided with a sufficient number of persons and the cases in which offenders are brought before them in custody are not, I consider, sufficiently frequent to require them to be provided permanently. With full-time orderlies from the Armed Reserves, prisoners when brought in custody before the District and other Magistrates are usually in charge of the constables of the Taluk Police who bring them to court and take them away again. I am of opinion therefore that these 59 men may be definitely reduced from the District Armed Reserves.

Divisional Assistant Magistrate's Orderlies : For reasons similar to those given in the case of District Magistrate I consider that the provision of orderlies for Divisional and Assistant Magistrates from the Police Armed Reserve is not necessary. Nor do I think it will be necessary to replace them with men from the Taluk Police."

While referring to the objection generally advanced that the system of supplying personal orderlies from the ranks of the force was a waste of man-power and that the work for which they were employed could be done equally by peons, Mr Stokes remarked that it was erroneous to suppose that constables employed as orderlies were taken away for good, and all from the ranks of the force. This was of course not the case and they were assigned to their routine duties only for a limited period. It would of course be possible to employ peons but this would involve creating a new and very limited order of employees which would have also to include casualty provision representing an extra-expenditure which would swallow up the saving resulting in the change. Moreover it has to be remembered that from the police point of view it is important that a police officer should get to know as many of his men as possible personally and the provision of personal orderlies affords him a valuable opportunity. On the whole it was decided that the idea of substituting peons in all cases for all classes of orderlies should not be pursued.

The Government in G. O. No. 73 Judicial dated 12-2-1925 recorded that they were indebted to Mr Stokes for a careful and well-reasoned report. On the main question the special officer pointed out that the existing District Armed Reserves were extended and designed to deal with

unarmed mobs. There was a general concensus of opinion that on the whole they proved adequate and sufficient for the purpose intended and that the creation of specially trained armed forces on a semi-military basis would not result in the abolition of the District Armed Reserves. Mr Stokes recommended some reduction in the strength of the Armed Reserves by the abolition of the Tuticorin Force and the retention of the Kamudi and Sivakasi Forces as local Reserves and the opening of bicycle sections in some of the Reserves. He also suggested that the question of a separate Armed Reserve for the Nilgiris may be dropped. All these recommendations were accepted by the Government.

In the year 1926 there was a case of kidnapping of minor girls, where the Commissioner of Police found that the Madras Police did not possess the power to suppress immoral traffic as in Bombay and Calcutta. A Muslim prostitute of Meerut obtained possession of two minor Hindu girls and, having converted them to Islam, took them away to Meerut for the purpose of bringing them up as prostitutes. On a complaint she was arrested and brought to Madras. Claiming the privilege of the purdah she fought strenuously against all attempts to secure her identification. The children though aged 12 and 11 respectively were found to have been forcibly outraged and infected with disease during their stay with the prostitute at Meerut. They were rescued from her possession and placed temporarily in the custody of the Madras Children's Aid Society. The officers of the Intelligence Department spared no pains in securing proper evidence regarding identification and finally succeeded in getting her convicted.

Many experienced police officers will be aware of the fact that certain criminals are able to conceal stolen jewels in a sort of pouch near the throat. As soon as they steal a jewel they swallow it and it remains in the cavity till they take it out by twitching the muscles on the neck. While in jail they would similarly secrete sovereign and money in this pouch to meet their expenses without the knowledge of the warders. But sometimes their plans miscarry. A notorious thief who robbed a pointsman's child of its gold ear-rings at Sattirakkudi Railway Station was arrested but the jewels were nowhere to be found. He was remanded to custody. A week later he was found unable to swallow his food. The medical officer who examined him found the ear-rings in his throat and reported that the man had granular pharyngitis and had learnt the trick of concealing jewels and coins near the

epiglottis. The jewel was recovered and the man was sentenced to two years' R. I.

Special detective staff were sanctioned in 1926 as an experimental measure in the districts of Salem and Anantapur. The Collector of Anantapur Mr T. G. Rutherford, I. C. S., wanted to see the staff develop into a local "Scotland Yard" for cases beyond the capacity of the local constabulary. The Government agreed with his view and suggested specialized training to police officers in the methods of detection.

The life of a policeman is always hedged in with risk. In a fight between two parties it is the poor policeman that becomes the target of attack. One of the cases in 1928 is an example of motiveless malignity on the part of some rioters. In April 1928 during the *Kumbhabishekam* ceremony of a newly-built temple in Alangudi (Ramnad district), there was a rush of Nadars into the feeding shed at the entrance of which the police were regulating the crowd. A Marava accidentally fell down and was trampled to death. His castemen were enraged at this and a number of them joined together and severely beat three constables on duty and injured eleven others. When the injured constables were taken to a thatched shed, used as a temporary outpost by the police, the unruly mob rushed in and the injured constables fled and took shelter in the temple store-room which was also broken open by the mob that followed them. One of the injured fugitives was identified by someone in the mob as a beat constable who was on duty at the feeding shed. The mob chased the poor constable along the bund of the temple tank and when he tripped over the bund and fell into the water, he was stoned to death. The grant of extraordinary pension to the wife of the deceased was indeed a poor palliation for her loss.

The year 1929 is a landmark in the history of the Madras City Police. As the prevailing system of work and the territorial division of the city into ranges were found to be unsatisfactory and detrimental to efficiency, the entire organization was remodelled. With effect from 1st May 1929, a Crime Department under a Deputy Commissioner of Police, assisted by an Assistant Commissioner, was formed with a Central Crime Station, which took over the maintenance of all crime records and the investigation of all important crimes occurring throughout the city. The opening of the Crime Branch resulted in the free reporting of crime, since the station staff to whom investigations were

no longer a burden did not resist or discourage reporting of crime nor did they minimize or suppress reports. Informants were quickly attended to and the reports of crime were promptly telephoned to the headquarters where Inspectors and Sub Inspectors were available day and night and in a matter of minutes the investigating officer arrived on the scene.

The Law and Order Department was evolved out of the Station or Divisional Police. All purely local and routine work, such as beats, patrols, bundobust, the supervision of licensed houses and investigation of petty crime and minor traffic and other offences under the special and local laws were now assigned to the Law and Order Department. The strength of stations was adjusted so as to provide for the performance of all these duties. A sectional system was introduced under which clear-cut responsibilities were for the first time placed upon head constables. This led to simplification of work in stations, gave substantial relief to the Sub Inspector and effected a perceptible advance on the usefulness and efficiency of head constables. Sectional duties were so arranged that each man did 8 hours' duty per day, usually not more than 4 hours at a stretch, and got a weekly holiday. The system of night patrol was improved by specifying the limits for each batch so that the men on duty should be found by checking officers quickly and with certainty. Under the new arrangement, it was found possible to mobilize a large force of divisional police, when there was need without recourse to the 'Station-Remain System', which resulted in wastage of man-power.

The Law and Order Department was put in charge of a Deputy Commissioner assisted by two Assistant Commissioners with sub-divisional responsibilities, each in respect of three divisions of the city. The Deputy Commissioner himself held direct charge of each division in rotation one at a time in addition to having direct charge of the Armed Reserve, the Mounted Branch and the Fire Brigade.

Responsibility in respect of all matters relating to traffic was assigned to a third Deputy Commissioner of Police, who was also in charge of licensing, Harbour Police and the Langarkhana. Traffic points in the city were increased from 65 to 86. Provisions were made for reinforcing men on some traffic points and for serving others for longer periods than were previously allowed. Additional men were provided to regulate the coming and going of buses at their termini and

to regulate traffic in congested parts of the streets other than traffic points. There were also the staff to check motor vehicles on roads and at parking places with a view to enforcement of the provisions of the Motor Vehicles Act and Road Traffic Code.

Control of traffic grew into a big and complex problem after the end of the First World War. The Inspector General and the Commissioner of Police had been requesting the Government to sanction extra staff to deal with the problem; but, bent upon retrenchment as it was, the Government were tardy to increase the staff. In the year 1928 the Government observed, "The Inspector General and the Commissioner of Police refer to the importance of traffic control. The Government fully realize that this is a problem which has come to stay and grow and adequate methods of dealing with it must be devised." Again reviewing the administration report for 1928 the Government remarked, "The control of motor traffic presents a problem of considerable and growing difficulty. It is important, the Government consider, to bear in mind, in devising measures of control, that the selection of intelligent men for this duty is of greater importance than a mere increase in the number of constables so employed, and that they should receive a thorough preliminary training in the principles and application of control." With the rapid growth of communication and an ever increasing number of vehicles on the roads this problem has assumed such a magnitude that it continues to exercise the minds of authorities even today.

Another important phase of the reorganization was the formation of a surgeon's department to look after the health of the force and to give expert advice and assistance in medico-legal matters connected with crime. When the scheme of reorganization was under consideration, there was an alternative proposal to build a police-annexe to the Royapettah Hospital where the T. B. wards were formerly, to facilitate treatment of police officers and men who required hospitalization. But this was not found possible. At the time when the subject of Police Surgeon was broached, there was an impression that the surgeon might be a sort of expert, who would help police officers in their investigation in the exclusive branch of science where he was an authority. An extract from a letter from Major-General Hutchinson, I. M. S., who had been consulted about it makes this clear :—

“You now point out the desirability of appointing as Police Surgeon, a man who would be expected to acquire the status of a recognized medico-legal expert and authority upon whom the criminal courts could rely with safety. In fact you want to make a Sir Bernard Spilsbury. I agree with you in principle...The basis of medico-legal work is deep and comprehensive knowledge of pathology. Sir Bernard Spilsbury is one of the greatest pathologists in the world but his knowledge of pathology was not gained solely by medico-legal post-mortem. A medico-legal expert is a pathologist who specializes in the result of crime but first and foremost he is a pathologist. Pathology is a huge subject; it embraces the causation of disease, the visible and microscopic changes produced in the body by disease and the reaction (a better and more comprehensive with their symptoms) provoked in the individual by disease. The enormous addition to knowledge in the last few years has subdivided the work among (a) the pathologist in the old narrow sense, (b) the bacteriologist, and (c) the chemist. You must not mix up the work of the chemist with that of the chemical analyser; the latter in medico-legal investigations deals mainly with the absence or presence of poisons and perhaps the identification of blood stains. The pathological chemist or the old chemist, as he is sometimes called, is becoming more and more important in all pathological investigations including medico-legal work. You suggest that one man should be an expert in all three branches, an expert who would command the confidence of the courts and who would have his own laboratory. I can assure you, you are asking for the impossible.” But he said that the main value of a Police Surgeon’s appointment would lie in keeping the police force healthy and this alone would justify the appointment.

Readers will remember that there was a surgeon attached to the Police Department in the twenties of the 19th century. The post fell into desuetude but was revived after a hundred years with the appointment of Captain T. V. Rajarathnam, M. B. C. M., I. A. R. O., the first Police Surgeon under the new scheme. His duties consisted of (1) giving medical attendance to officers and men of the Madras City Police, including clerical and menial establishments; (2) running the police dispensary; (3) keeping in close touch with officers of the City Police under treatment in the various State Hospitals in the city; (4) the medical inspection of the forces; (5) examining new entrants to the force, applicants for leave, return to duty etc.; (6) examining bus and taxi-drivers; granting certificates of age in cases under the Madras

Children Act; (8) acting in an advisory capacity in the investigation of crime explaining facts and any needs and framing questions to medical and other experts; and (9) generally acting as an intermediary between the investigating police officers on the one hand and the medical experts on the other.

Other highlights of the reorganization were the provision of greatly improved telephone facilities, the creation of a photographic section as an adjunct to the Crime Department, the augmentation of the strength of the sowars and the revision of the scales of pay of City Inspectors and Sub Inspectors to correspond with the mofussil scales, facilitating interchange of Inspectors and Sub Inspectors with the districts. The pay of the Sergeants, who were generally, 'chronically indebted' was increased 'to enable them to live in the style of which they were accustomed.'

Apart from the increase in gazetted officers, already noticed, the number of non-gazetted staff of 16 Inspectors, 77 Sub Inspectors, one Jemadar, 256 Head Constables, 1,625 constables, 1 Head Sowar and 13 Sowars was changed into 20 Inspectors, 72 Sub Inspectors, 51 Sergeants, 1 Jemadar, 261 Head Constables, 1,797 Constables, 1 Head Sowar and 22 Sowars.

The originator of the whole scheme was (Sir) Charles Cunningham, Commissioner of Police, who later became the Inspector General of Police, Madras.

The Police had their hands full with the civil disobedience movement in the year 1930. The political disturbances are reviewed in another chapter.

The police had been reporting for a number of years about the extra work thrown on them by the very great increase in the volume of traffic on the roads. The Government wrote in August 1930, "The problem of motor-vehicle traffic (except in Madras City, where the slight increase in the number of reported accidents does not appear to be a correct reflexion of the maintained improvement) continues to be acute. Even taking into consideration the increase in the number of vehicles registered in the Presidency as compared with the figures for the previous year, the fact that the total number of accidents to cars in the Presidency increased from 314 in 1928 to 480 in 1929, and that the number attended with loss of life increased from 148 to 172 is in itself alarming. Overloading and rash-driving continued to be the chief

causes of accidents, and the necessary enquiries have thrown largely increased volume of work upon the Police Force. The Inspector General mentions that in many places where the District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police of the District have advocated traffic control as a necessity, it has been impossible to provide the staff from the district strengths. The difficulty of dealing adequately with the problem, except with increased staffs, is undeniable. But emphasis must be laid upon the necessity for public education in developing among pedestrians, no less than among drivers of vehicles, a proper road-sense. The absence, in almost all streets of the town in South India, of pavements for pedestrians renders it more than ever a vital necessity for every pedestrian to walk with caution and for every driver of vehicle to drive with caution, and the facts do not justify strictures at the expense of either class of the public to the exclusion of the other. The Government trust that when the Committee appointed to revise the rules under the Motor Vehicles Act eventually produces its recommendations, such measures will be devised as will in their practical application, effectively reduce the growing number of accidents."

A new armed police force styled the Presidency General Reserve with a strength of 10 Sergeants, 10 Havildars Major, 50 Head Constables and 594 Constables, sanctioned in G. O. No. 354 Public (Police) dated 24th June 1930 in order to ensure public safety in the province, was duly enlisted and trained in the year. It consisted of 10 detachments located in districts where facilities for housing and training them were comparatively good and its formation according to the Government was necessitated by the experience that a generally disturbed condition even in a few districts created a general situation beyond the scope or capacity of the small district armed force to deal with. The rearmament of the police with 410 muskets and 303 rifles commenced during the year.

The statutory rules for the Madras Police Subordinate Service came into force on 23rd March 1931. According to the Rules direct recruitment of Sub Inspectors had to be made in consultation with the Madras Service Commission and from the list of selected candidates furnished by them. The selection of Sub Inspectors in 1931 and of Sergeants from October 1931 was accordingly made from a list of candidates previously approved by the Commission.

A cat burglar made his appearance in 1930. He specialized in breaking into bungalows of well-to-do people, both Indian and

European, by climbing up the drain-pipe and in taking away the jewellery that found a ready market. He was the forerunner of a criminal called 'Flannelfoot' in England, who was responsible for about 135 burglaries in the year 1937. The cat burglar committed 41 burglaries in the city with impunity. The police were baffled because he left no trace. But they found out that when there was a lull in this type of crime in Madras there was a spate of it at Bangalore. So the co-operation of the Bangalore Police was enlisted. Seven more crimes occurred in Madras before he was arrested. Then it was found that he began his career of crime in 1927 and had operated in many cities of Northern India including Calcutta, Bombay and Asansol. Properties worth Rs. 20,000 stolen from several places in India found their way into the hands of some pseudo-respectable jewellers in Madras City. The Madras Police arrested the accused and recovered the properties. The cat burglar was sentenced to suffer rigorous imprisonment for six years in 4 cases of Madras and for four and a half years in the Bangalore cases.

Ten years after the death of Jambulingam the people saw the like of him again in the person of Kadirvelu Padayachi. His story with its moments of poignancy and pathos is well remembered. But his wanton cruelty in shooting down innocent people evoked general condemnation. His exploits became a troublesome problem to the police of Tanjore and of the neighbouring districts of Trichinopoly and South Arcot for two or three years and it was not solved till death overtook the outlaw in a gun battle with the police.

Kadirvelu was a native of Thirupanandal in Tanjore district. He was working as a bill collector in the estate of the Pandarasannadhi who was the religious head of the Thirupanandal Mutt. Kadirvelu Padayachi had a sister with good looks. The estate manager, as it often happens in some of these feudal holdings, was after the sister of his bailiff. Kadirvelu remonstrated with his manager for his unseemly conduct. This gave extreme offence to the manager who got him dismissed from service. Kadirvelu was occupying a rent-free house in the estate. His wife was in an advanced state of pregnancy but the heartless philanderer of a manager forcibly ejected him from the house and drove the whole family into the street. Kadirvelu was driven out of his senses by this incident and he became an outlaw against the society which had treated him so shabbily. He swore to kill the man who was the cause of his misfortunes.

By lifting cattle he kept the wolf from the door. Now that he had slipped from the path of virtue he did not hesitate to commit more evil acts. He stabbed a Sub Inspector who went to arrest him in a cattle-lifting case and also inflicted injuries on the constable who rushed to the rescue of his superior officer. He murdered one of the informants of the police and grievously injured another. In July 1931 he led a house-dacoity in Mulangudi village, in Tanjore district, and decamped with jewels worth Rs. 8,000 besides other valuables. By this time he had collected a gang around him. He went to Pondicherry which was then a French possession and a safe asylum for criminals. He bought arms and ammunition from this French Colony. He turned a 'motor-bandit' by stealing a car and moving about in it. In August 1931 when his car was stopped by two District Board *maistries* at the Pennar causeway which was under repairs he shot them dead suspecting them to be police informants. In October 1931 he suddenly appeared at Tiruppanandal during the procession connected with the temple festival and fired point blank at his quondam friend, the estate manager. This man was destined to live longer and the bullets missed him. The people of Tanjore, Tiruchi and South Arcot so much dreaded him that nobody gave information about his movements. For a whole year, he defied the police. In October 1931 a special party was organized which traced him to a hut on the banks of the Coleroon. As the police were surrounding the house, Kadirvelu came out brandishing a pistol and a dagger and ran into a hut in the Harijan colony there. The police chased him and surrounded the hut in which he had sought refuge. The outlaw came out in the open and fired at the police party. Two Sub Inspectors courageously advanced and commanded him to surrender but Kadirvelu Padayachi without budging an inch went on firing at them. The Sub Inspectors returned the fire in self-defence, and shot him dead. But the deadman's lieutenant Marimuthu Padayachi and his satellites continued to infest the countryside and they were either shot dead or captured alive by the late Sub Inspector Pulikutty Doraisami whose gallantry was recognized by the award of the King's Police Medal.

Some of the early District Magistrates were very versatile and cultured officers and they took an abiding and kindly interest in the welfare of policemen. While reviewing the work of the South Arcot Police Mr A. R. C. Westlake said, "I take this opportunity of raising a matter of policy which applies to the whole police force, and not to this

district in particular. I consider that much more should be done, than has been done in the past, to raise the moral and intellectual level of the constable. This is not a thing that can be done by a District Superintendent of Police unless definite provision is made for it in the policy of Government and the department. My impression is that once a constable has had his preliminary training, very little is done to improve his intellectual and moral equipment. He is regarded very much as a private soldier whose sole duty is to carry out orders efficiently and not as an officer of the law. If the rank and file of the police in this country are to wield the moral authority that they wield in England or Germany, Government must embark on a policy designed to educate them intellectually and morally to a standard definitely in advance of the average citizen—in fact to make them model citizens as well as efficient policemen. Such a scheme should contain a provision for :

(1) further education and the grant of educational certificates carrying extra pay or opportunity for promotion,

(2) a definite scheme of welfare work and the provision of facilities for recreation. A constable in a rural station has little time for recreation and little opportunities for the profitable use of what he has. There is little wonder if he occasionally gets into bad company with its accompaniments of debt, dishonesty and disease. The small size of rural stations makes it difficult to supply each with an institute but I consider it very desirable that these should be constructed with facilities for reading and recreation. In small stations, the public might be admitted as members. The existence of a small police club in remote towns and villages would not be a bad thing for the town or village.

“Another thing that should be provided for in the scheme would be the encouragement of gardens. There is usually enough room in a country police station for each constable to have a small garden and Government should encourage this by organizing short classes in gardening and by making grants for tools and seeds. There might well be other courses in carpentry, public health, civics, the scout movement, photography (useful for the police), finger-prints etc., and a small portion of the force should always be seconded for some professional, educational or cultural course.

“This may sound Utopian in India as it is, but unless we have a few Utopian ideas and put them into practice we shall stick in the mud

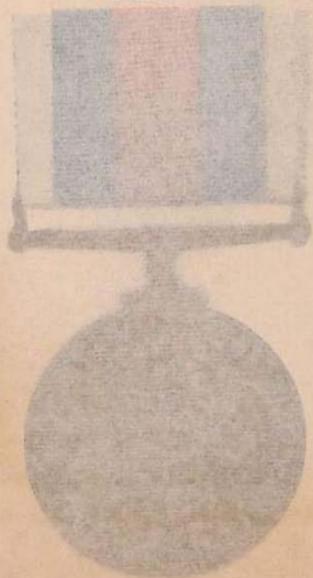


INDIAN POLICE MEDAL

Instituted by a Royal Warrant of H. M. King George V on the 23rd February 1932; awarded to members of the Police Forces in India both for gallantry and meritorious service. The gallantry award carried with it an allowance at half the rate sanctioned for the award of the King's Police Medal on the same conditions of eligibility. This was replaced by the Police Medal on 26-1-1950.

Medal made of bronze with gold gilt.

Riband for gallantry ; A silver line runs down the middle of each of the two blue stripes.





for ever. The financing of the scheme would be assisted by reducing the amount of money rewards to police officers which are wrong in principle and in earmarking the money for general welfare work."

He was in advance of his times so far as Madras was concerned. It has taken three decades to implement some of his suggestions in the important towns and in the City. The maintenance of gardens in police stations has become almost compulsory. In Madras City the Agri-Horticultural Society is awarding prizes for best police gardens. Cultural contingents from Madras have achieved all-India fame in Police Cultural Meets. Recreational facilities are offered in Police Clubs. But the mofussil police are still groaning under the pressure of ennui.

The conditions under which the work of the police force of this Presidency was carried out in the beginning of the third decade of this century were hardly normal. The civil disobedience movement started early in January 1931 was a source of distraction from the ordinary duties of the police. The continued slump in agricultural prices, the return of large numbers of Indian emigrants from abroad and acute unemployment in all parts of the Presidency tended to wide prevalence of crime. To make matters worse, there was acute communal bitterness, riotings resulting from rivalry among candidates for election to local boards and municipal councils and the emergence of new types of crime like motor banditry.

The year 1932 spewed a form of crime that had not been seen in South India before. It had elements of modern motor banditry so characteristic of the American pattern. It was committed in Sowcarpet where a chest containing cash and jewels worth Rs. 8,000 belonging to Gulab Chandik & Co., was snatched from the hands of one of the clerks of the Company by the culprits who made good their escape in a motor car. The occurrence took place at about 7 p.m. Two clerks of the Company were taking two chests to the house of one of the partners. When they were near the house a motor car stopped almost in front of them; three persons alighted from it who assaulted one of the clerks and as he fell, the chest he was carrying was snatched away by two others who were inside the car. As soon as all the culprits had jumped into the car it was driven off at high speed. The police rushed to the scene of the occurrence and combed the City for the car which was found abandoned at Perambur. Investigation revealed that the

crime had been organized by Karalapadi Satyanarayana and three of his associates with the help of Murthi alias Munisami, an old and notorious known depredator of the City. Except Murthi, all the others were traced almost immediately. The former who had left for Bombay soon after the offence was apprehended later. The driver of the car was taken as an approver and the case ended in conviction.

The Suppression of Brothels Act came into force on 1st April 1932. It had been noted that a former Commissioner of Police found it difficult to tackle such illegal activities. The Government was quick to realize the gravity of his complaint and sponsored the legislation. A notorious brothel keeper, Moosa by name, ran a den for drug addicts and also organized burglaries. His brothel was raided. Two minor girls procured by him for purposes of prostitution were rescued and he and his associates were arrested. He was charged under section 368 I. P. C. for wrongfully concealing or keeping in confinement kidnapped or abducted persons and was convicted.

There was a gubernatorial visit to the Crime Branch of the City Police. The Hon'ble Home Minister and the Chief Secretary also visited the branch. These visits inspired the staff and made them realize that the Government was quite aware of the arduous duties performed by them. But public co-operation was lacking. Mr A. C. Woodhouse, Collector of Tinnevely noted in one of his reports:- "In previous reports I deplored the reluctance of the general public to assist the police in the detection and punishment of crime. There is no change in this respect. Recently in a criminal case the evidence of a vakil examined as a witness for the prosecution was flatly contradicted by a vakil examined for the defence, both vakils asserting that they were present at the time of the occurrence. The particular case referred to, was unimportant but I mention it to support the view that it is not only the ignorant, who sometimes attempt to defeat the course of justice by perjury or apathy. It was reported to the Sessions Judge in December that a foreman of a jury, a B. A., B. L., had taken a bribe. A law-tout was murdered because, when acting as an assessor, he did not give the opinion that he had been paid to give. If the public and those who ought to know better will not co-operate in the administration of justice, the statistics of detection cannot possibly improve. It is very creditable to the police that detection is so good as it is." This was typical of the state of public co-operation in other districts also.

A positive attempt was therefore made to improve public co-operation with varying degrees of success.

As a result of the officering by seconded military officers of the Malabar Special Police, the Malabar and Malappuram districts were amalgamated. A new post of Assistant Commissioner of Police, Traffic and Licensing, was created in 1934 for Madras City.

Parcel murder cases came to light in 1934. The murderers packed the bodies of their victims in parcels and consigned them by rail to get rid of them. One such sensational case was the Karunguzhi Parcel Murder, which was the subject matter of multiple proceedings in the High Court. There were allegations that certain influential European and Indian gentlemen were at the back of this crime, the deceased being the concubine of a brahmin cook. The investigation was chiefly in the hands of Inspector Brown who was renowned for his dogged perseverance. The accused appealed to the Privy Council against the sentence of death confirmed by the High Court of Madras without success.

The bane of section 27 of the Indian Evidence Act which makes confession to a police officer not admissible in evidence operated in three cases of murder that year. The Police Commissioner, Mr Happel, noted in his administration report as follows :—" In three of the murder cases the first information was the appearance of the murderer in the police station to confess his deed and surrender himself. An eminent Judge of the Madras High Court in *51 Madras 967* comments on the artificial barriers in the way of evidence, imposed by Section 27 of the Indian Evidence Act, and on the assumption, 'that courts in India could not be trusted to handle police evidence.' In another judgment Criminal Appeal No. 237 of 1931, the same judge remarks " the statute lays down that a judge is incapable of appraising the worth of a confessional statement made to the police, a function which in every civilized country is left to the judiciary. However valuable the provisions might have been in the nineteenth century, the time seems to have long gone by when it is to be supposed that a judge is in such fear of the police that he cannot decide whether their statement can be regarded as true or false in regard to a confessional statement. Rarely have the statutory slur and the difficulty of police work been more strikingly exemplified than on 8th June 1934 when Kannusami Pillai on his own initiative appeared before me within half-an-hour of the crime and detailed to me how he had deliberately driven

his bus over and killed Traffic-Sergeant-Major Williams. A gross failure of justice resulted, the accused being unanimously acquitted of murder but awarded the maximum sentence under section 304-A I.P.C." This invidious position has not changed with the lapse of two and a half decades.

In order to enlist public co-operation on a large scale village officers and respectable villagers were constituted into "Village Vigilance Committees" in 1935. They were given sanads or letters of authority by the District Superintendent of Police. Their function was to collect information about bad characters and transmit it to the nearest police station. When a crime occurred they came to the assistance of the local police by looking for clues and gathering details of the movements of suspicious persons on the date of the offence. One District Superintendent of Police wrote as follows with reference to these committees:— "When we thus sought to create a higher sense of civic responsibility and met with a very encouraging response, we were also benefited by a subjective influence on ourselves. For, whilst we preached the utility of a good police, we took every care to make ourselves *good* and definitely good. This happy feature of district police today is the most noteworthy achievement of the year and the education and the outlook of the very constables had improved considerably."

The following remarks from the Bench by the District and Sessions Judge, South Arcot are of interest in this connexion:—

"In the course of my work as Sessions Judge of the district during the past eight months, I had an occasion to notice two remarkable features in the investigation of criminal cases here. The first and foremost was the healthy co-operation of the public with the police in the investigation of crimes. The second was the active participation and close supervision by the superior grade police officers in the investigation of cases from the very beginning.

"The one which prominently comes to my mind is the Villupuram murder case. Within an hour after the commission of the crime, the Deputy Superintendent of Police Mr P. Srinivasa Ayyangar, the Inspector of Police and the Sub Inspector of Police were all there on the spot. The Chairman of the Municipality and a number of respectable citizens were also there. They sat there till late in the night trying to find out who could have done it. Next morning, also, they were all there. Fortunately, they were able to find a clue. The suspect was

not there. He had gone to Chingleput or Madras. The Circle Inspector had not seen him before. So, three respectable citizens who could identify him accompanied him to Chingleput. The Inspector had to go from there to Conjeevaram. One of them who accompanied him waited at Chingleput. He watched every train. In one of them was the suspect. He immediately boarded the train. Fortunately for him there was a schoolmaster of the High School at Villupuram who was also travelling by the same train. They were both watching the suspect at every station lest he should take scent and get out. The moment they reached Villupuram, they handed him over to the Sub Inspector. Thus the culprit was secured within 24 hours after the crime was noticed. Within another 24 hours properties concerned in the case, worth over Rs. 2,000, were recovered. The offender was brought to book and convicted. Well, I cannot think of a better example of excellent results proceeding from the co-operation of the public and the active participation of senior officers in the investigation.

“You have all heard about the Village Vigilance Committees in this district. They are doing such excellent work that there is no one here who is not aware of them. You have also heard of the Strangers’ Day. Everyone of you must be so familiar with it that I think it is unnecessary for me to describe them to you in detail. The other day in a housebreaking case near Tirukkoyilur, I had occasion to note, during the course of the vigil by the village munsif and his comrades of the Vigilance Committee, they were able to catch red-handed the culprit running from the scene of occurrence and bring him to book. The active co-operation of the public with the police in such investigation must necessarily bring down crime. The policeman gives the criminal an occasional visit. But the villager is by his side, sees him, watches him and his movements every minute. When the criminal gets to know that he is being watched by his own fellow villagers who would give him up, he would certainly think twice before he commits a crime.”

The Strangers’ Day mentioned in this judicial pronouncement, was another method by which the police spotted out itinerant criminals. Certain days in a month were, without any previous notice, fixed by District Superintendents of Police as Strangers’ Day when the stations had to mobilize their strength and send out all the available policemen on beat duty to the weekly market-place, dharmshalas and *chavadis* where strangers generally congregated and ascertain their identities by tactful interrogation. Suspicious persons were to be arrested and

finger-printed. The finger-print slips were to be despatched to the Finger-Print Bureau to find out whether the suspects had any previous convictions while a form called the Bad Character Roll containing details of their parentage and habitation had to be sent to their native stations for expeditious reporting of antecedents. All these enabled the police to keep a look-out for really bad criminals and the checking itself acted as a deterrent on the movements of criminals.

Mr L. B. Gasson, I. P., was deputed as Special Officer to re-organize the Armed Reserves without additional expenditure to the government during this year. His scheme provided for (1) complete units being allocated to the performance of miscellaneous duties at a time, the remaining units being always available at full strength for continuous intervals and (2) for the provision of subordinate officers for sub-units down to half section enabling small parties of men to be deputed for duty under the subordinate officers whom they know and to the exercise of whose authority they are accustomed.

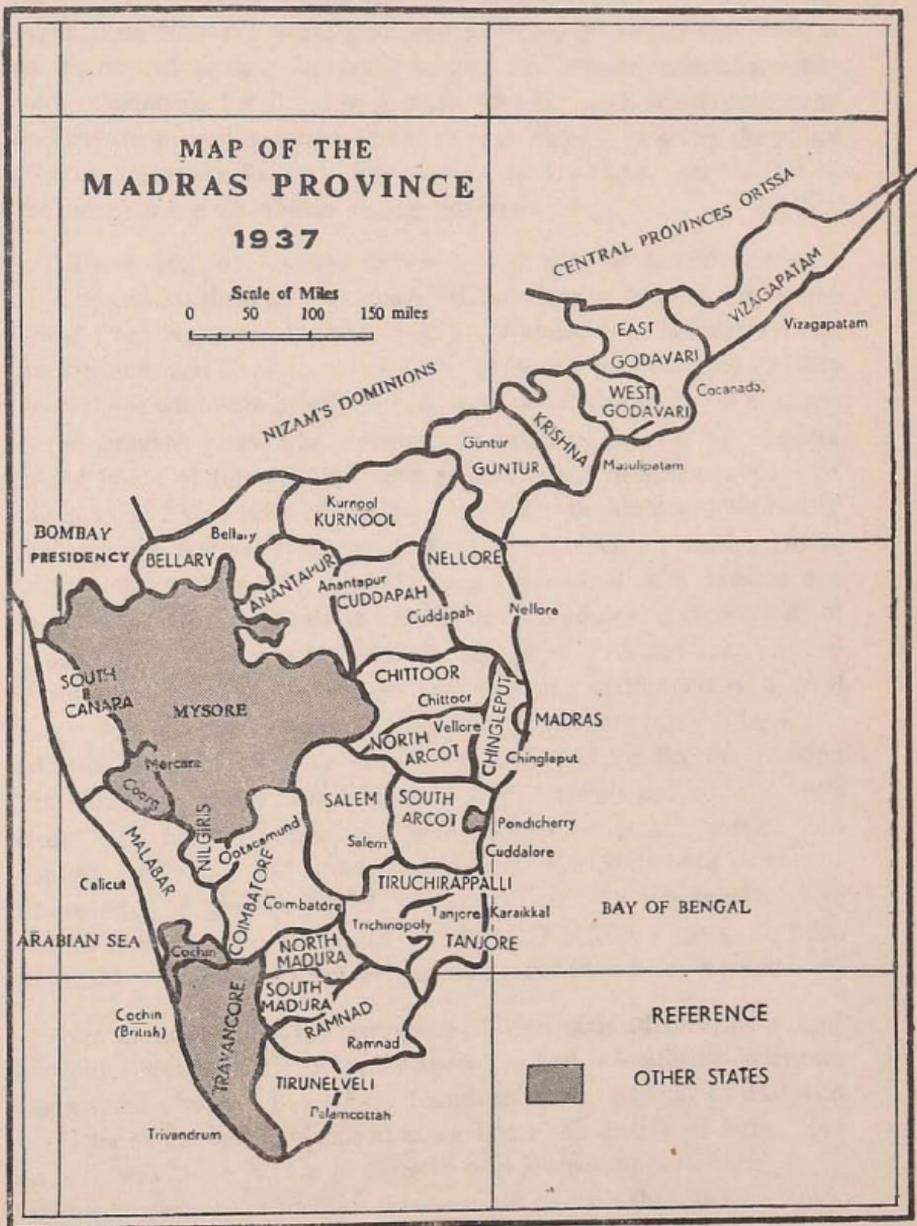
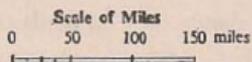
Orissa Province was formed on 1-4-1936. This necessitated the transfer of Ganjam and Jeypore police districts and parts of the old Vizagapatam police districts to the new Province. There was a reshuffling of ranges. Another noteworthy fact during the year was the raising of a special force designated the 'East Coast Special Force' on behalf of the Government of India to assist the customs authorities in preventing smuggling of goods from Pondicherry and Karaikal.

After an interval of seven years the Government were pleased to sanction the revival of the Presidency Police Sports and Annual Conference. These were held at Vellore from 1st January 1937. The sports included not only athletic events but also shooting, marching and other competitions which were definite items of police training. Three Deputy Inspectors General of Police and twenty-one district officers under the presidency of the Inspector General Mr F. Sayers attended the Conference.

A case of some public interest investigated during the year was the Travancore National Bank theft case in which 3 peons in the employ of the Bank committed theft of Rs. 24,900 from a parcel booked to Colombo and insured for Rs. 25,000. The accused abstracted the notes and substituted pieces of glass and waste paper in order to conceal the deficiency in weight. A painstaking and difficult investigation eventually resulted in the conviction of the accused who

MAP OF THE MADRAS PROVINCE

1937



REFERENCE



OTHER STATES

received a sentence of three years' rigorous imprisonment each. Of the Rs. 24,900 stolen a sum of Rs. 24,600 odd was recovered. The Travancore National Bank gratefully offered a reward of Rs. 1,000 to be distributed among the police officers and private informants who were responsible for the detection of the case. As the Government declined to accord sanction to the acceptance of rewards by the police officers concerned Rs. 800 was returned to the Bank, the balance of the money being distributed among informants.

There was serious and prolonged communal trouble between Hindus and Muslims in Vyasarpadi Station limits in Madras City which lasted from April to October in 1937. Thousands of labourers of the Buckingham and Carnatic and Choolai Mills and the Perambur Railway Workshops who were mostly Hindus, and *beedi* workers and butchers of the slaughter house who were mostly Muslims, worked and resided in the limits of this station. The trouble began in Strahans Road on the night of 27th April 1937 during the Hindu Brahmotsava festival of the Anjaneya temple. It started over a trivial incident in which a Hindu 'dummy-horse-dancer' chanced to tread on the foot of a Muslim boy in the crowd. Two separate and hostile groups consisting respectively of about 2,000 Hindus and 500 Muslims immediately formed and began to attack each other with soda-water bottles, stones and brickbats. Several shops were looted by the mob. The local Inspector, the Sub Inspector and the few available men rushed to the scene and handled the situation with courage. From 29th April 1937 shops, schools and cinemas were closed and business came to a standstill. Considerable tension and confusion prevailed and streets were almost deserted as both communities resorted to guerilla tactics. In connexion with this trouble there were 5 murders, two attempted murders, 47 stabbing cases, 20 riots, 314 cases of rioting and disorderly conduct, and 64 cases of incendiarism.

On the traffic side, the emergence of illicit taxis affected the income of regular licensed taxis and the taxi-owners had a legitimate grievance against the pirates. But it was found extremely difficult to deal with the latter as the only evidence to bring home the charge of letting out on hire was those of the passengers who always supported the pirate-taxi-owner since he provided a service much cheaper than the legitimate owner.

The year 1939 was notable for the introduction of the Madras Motor Vehicles Act by means of which new Motor Vehicles Rules and

the Road Traffic Rules were brought into force. The most radical change was the constitution of Road Traffic Boards to take over licensing powers held solely by the police. The changes brought about by the new rules resulted in improving considerably the control of motor traffic.

There was a sensational case of criminal conspiracy and cheating this year in which the cashier of the Calicut Branch of the P & O Bank Ltd., defrauded the Bank to the extent of Rs. 15 lakhs. He recommended advances and loans on gold ornaments on a basis of false appraisalment and exaggerated valuation to many of his friends and relatives. The accused was arrested in London and was brought to India for trial.

World War II broke out in the year 1939. The entry of Japan into the war as a partner of the Axis Powers brought the theatre of war nearer home and air-raid precautions had therefore to be organized. Mr C. R. Charsley, I. P., was appointed Air-Raid-Precautions Officer, Madras, on 15th August 1940. To strengthen internal security a temporary Special Emergency Force consisting of two companies of five platoons each and officered by Assistant Superintendents of Police was formed in 1940. One of the companies was stationed at Vizianagaram and the other at Pallavaram. The Civic Guards were formed in pursuance of G. O. No. 3163 (14-5) Home dated 29th June 1940 and were organized in groups of ten with a commander for each. They were trained in squad drill, lathi drill, first-aid to the injured, elementary law and police regulations. They were employed on routine work such as regulating pedestrian and cart traffic, crowds at festivals, markets, and other places where police bandobust was necessary. In urban areas they assisted the regular police in night patrol.

The progress of the war in 1941 found police officers in several new jobs. Mr H. D. Latham, I. P., became Air-Raid-Precautions Officer, Madras in the place of Mr C. R. Charsley. Mr G. F. Harrison, I. P. was appointed Deputy Commissioner, Madras Fire Service. Two Sub Divisional Officers became Special Air-Raid-Precautions Officers, Vizagapatam and Cocanada while four Deputy Superintendents of Police were appointed Area Rationing Officers. Additional war-time duties which included air-raid-precautions, coastal patrol, the guarding of vulnerable points and important railway bridges, the escort of internees, surveillance of foreigners, the verification of the antecedents of a large number of army recruits, the arrest of army deserters, and numerous other Special Branch duties imposed a heavy strain on all ranks.

A scheme for the replacement of Prosecuting Inspectors and Sub Inspectors by Assistant Public Prosecutors recruited from the bar was under the consideration of the Government from 1938. As an experimental measure this scheme was put into operation in Guntur, Ananthapur, Chingleput, Malabar and Trichinopoly districts by the end of that year. This system was found to be quite successful and by 1941 Assistant Public Prosecutors were appointed in East Godavari, North Arcot, South Arcot, Coimbatore and Ramanathapuram districts. As a result, Prosecuting Inspectors and Sub Inspectors were gradually replaced by Assistant Public Prosecutors, who were classified into two grades of non-gazetted rank. All the Assistant Public Prosecutors are under the administrative control of the Collector of the district. In so far as Madras City is concerned there is a Chief Assistant State Prosecutor who is a gazetted officer. He is in charge of the cases filed before the Chief Presidency Magistrate. He is assisted by nine Assistant State Prosecutors in charge of other Presidency Magistrates' courts. All these City Prosecutors are recruited from the bar, and are under the administrative control of the Commissioner of Police.

The years 1942 and 1943 were characterized by political agitation, which paved the way for the transfer of power to Indian hands. These activities are dealt with in a separate chapter.

The war brought in its train a number of control orders, the Madras Rice and Firewood Rationing Orders being the chief among them. The police had to enforce these Orders and naturally they became somewhat unpopular with the public.

As police administrative work had increased a great deal during the war years, it was found necessary to have a Deputy Inspector General of Police in the office of the Inspector General of Police. The post was sanctioned in G. O. Ms. No. 4364 Home dated 5th December 1945 and Sri T. G. Sanjeevi was the first incumbent. He was the first Indian in this State to be recruited to the Indian Police after the Islington Commission Report. He was also the first Indian to occupy the post of Director of the Intelligence Bureau, Delhi in 1947. He later reverted to Madras State as Inspector General of Police.

The year 1947 will always be remembered as the year in which the transfer of power to Indian hands took place. August 15th is a red-letter day in the annals of Indian History. Twenty-one officers belonging

to the Indian Police proceeded on leave preparatory to retirement among whom were Messrs R. Hume, C. I. E., O. B. E., H. Keene, C. I. E., E. H. Colebrook, C. I. E., M. C., G. H. P. Bailey, J. M. Green, D. Crossley, D. C. T. Cameron, S. W. W. Wright, H. D. Latham, O. B. E., B. W. Lane, A. R. Jakeman, W. F. A. Hamilton, O. B. E., G. F. Harrison, M. B. E., C. E. Lonsdale and E. L. Cox. Two Muslim officers opted for Pakistan. Mr F. L. Underwood, O. B. E., acted as Inspector General of Police from August 15th to November 19th on which date Sri C. K. Vijayaraghavan, I. C. S. took over from him. Thus after several years of stewardship of the department by the Indian Police the post was occupied again by an I. C. S. Officer.

The jurisdiction of Madras City was extended by the inclusion of Saidapet and Sembiam areas from 1st July 1947 bringing the total to about 50 square miles. The post of Deputy Commissioner, Harbour which had been sanctioned during the war was abolished and the administration of the Harbour was transferred back to the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Traffic and Licensing. The sanctioned strength on 31st December 1947 was 22 Inspectors, 5 Sergeants Major, 50 Sergeants, 102 Sub Inspectors, 2 Jemadars, 339 Head Constables, 2,320 Constables, one Duffadar, 3 Lance Duffadars and 19 Sowars.

The brutal murder of the Resident Medical Officer of the General Hospital, Madras, was the sensation of that year. It was organized by the head steward of the Hospital with the aid of a few aggrieved hospital servants whose corrupt practices were about to be exposed by the deceased. His Lordship Mr Justice Bell delivering judgment in the case observed: "The investigation of this case has been done by the City Police with commendable promptitude and skill. The police had to investigate an extremely difficult case and have done their work efficiently."

Another sensational case which shook the whole of Malabar was the slaughter of the whole family of a Muslim convert to Hinduism. The murdered convert was a rich estate owner worth about Rs. 40 to 50 lakhs. He divorced his Muslim wife who belonged to a rich family of Palghat. He believed that in a former existence he was descended of brahmins and that the mosque in his compound was the site of an ancient Hindu temple. He therefore embraced Hinduism and forced his family to do likewise. On conversion he changed his name to Rama Simhan Nambudri. To make the ties of religion strong he

married a Nambudri girl to one of his brothers and the bride's mother along with a brahmin cook took up residence in the house of Rama Simhan Nambudri which was situated in a sparsely populated area. Fanatical Moplahs of the area apparently could not brook this insult to their religion and so a few of them banded themselves together, forced an entry into the house at dead of night with the use of shot guns and swords and hacked the entire family of apostates to death. There were no eye-witnesses to the occurrence. However, the case was investigated carefully and was finally charge-sheeted. The culprits were convicted by the Sessions Court but were set at large by the High Court giving them the benefit of doubt.

The successful termination of the Police Action in Hyderabad necessitated a stiffening of the administrative set-up of that State. Sri A. V. Patro who was the Commissioner of Police, Madras, was therefore posted as Inspector General of Police, Hyderabad in 1948 and the services of one Deputy Inspector General of Police, 12 Superintendents of Police and 16 Deputy Superintendents of Police were placed by the Madras State at the disposal of the Hyderabad Government.

Crime in the State increased by about 16 per cent due to the deterioration of economic conditions. Incursions of criminals from other parts of India were a problem for the police during the year. A criminal gang of Wahgaris of Baroda State operated in Madras City, Coimbatore and Madurai towns. They invariably committed burglaries in bungalows in new townships. Entry was effected into these dwellings by bending the iron bars of windows for which they had a peculiar instrument called Sri Ganesh. Mostly jewels and cash were stolen. While committing one such offence, the gang was surprised and chased by night-patrol constables at Coimbatore. One of the culprits fell into a well while running and was duly arrested. He pretended to be dumb and would not answer any question put to him. Subsequently the investigation in these cases was taken up by the City Police. A party proceeded to Baroda and recovered a large quantity of stolen properties concerned in many cases. Many of the village officials in Baroda were said to be on their side and the investigating officers had a hard time in tracing the offenders and seizing the properties.

In the year 1949 the Inspector-Generalship was restored to a police officer, Sri C. K. Vijayaraghavan, I. C. S. having relinquished the post. Recruitment to the constabulary had been difficult for a number of

years, the pay and allowances of the constables not being attractive. A large number of Harijans and ex-military personnel were employed in these vacancies and sometimes the recruits were not up to the required standard.

There was a change in jurisdiction of Deputy Inspectors General of Police in 1950. The designation of the post of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Northern Range was changed as Special Officer and Deputy Inspector General of Police Northern Range and that of the Special Officer, Special Armed Police, Madras as Deputy Inspector General of Police, Special Armed Police, Madras. The Special Officer and Deputy Inspector General of Police, Northern Range, was put in charge of the four districts of East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur, badly affected by violent communist activities, relieving him of the administrative control over Vizakapatam North, Vizakapatam South and Nellore districts so that he could concentrate on restoring order in those 4 districts. His headquarters was shifted temporarily from Waltair to Masulipatam. The remaining districts of the former Northern Range were administered by the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Special Armed Police.

The epoch-making event of that year was the coming into effect of the new Indian Constitution on 26th January 1950.

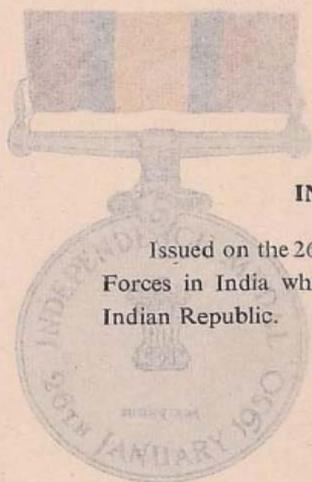
After a preamble solemnly resolving to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic, the Constitution proceeds to set out (1) Fundamental Rights and (2) Directive principles of State Policy. Some of the important fundamental Rights are :—

“The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws.

“The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them.

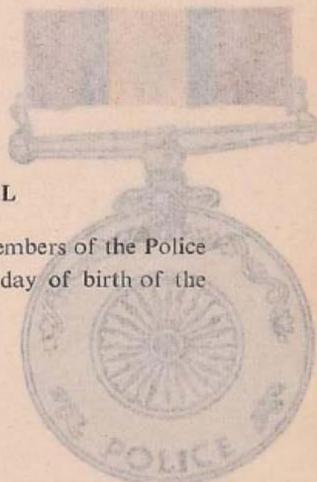
“There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State.

Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law. All citizens shall have the right :



INDEPENDENCE MEDAL

Issued on the 26th January 1950 to all members of the Police Forces in India who were in service on the day of birth of the Indian Republic.





PRESIDENT'S POLICE AND FIRE SERVICES MEDAL

Instituted on the 26th January 1950; awarded to members of a recognized Police Force or Fire Service in India for gallantry and distinguished service. Award for gallantry carries with it a monetary allowance: Rs. 40 p. m. for Inspectors; Rs. 25 p. m. for Sub Inspectors; Rs. 20 p. m. for Assistant Sub Inspectors; Rs. 15 p. m. for Head Constables and Rs. 10 p. m. for Police Constables.

Medal made of silver with gold gilt:

Riband: half blue and half white, an inch and three-eighth in length; awards for gallantry—the blue and white are separated by a vertical red line $\frac{1}{8}$ " in width.



POLICE MEDAL

Instituted on the 26th January 1950; awarded to members of recognized Police Forces and properly organized Fire Services in India for gallantry and meritorious service. Award for gallantry carries with it the same monetary allowance as for the President's Medal.

Medal made of bronze with gold gilt.

Riband: An inch and three-eighth in width of dark blue with a silver stripe on either side and a crimson stripe in the centre; in the case of awards for gallantry each of the blue portions shall contain a silver line down the middle.



- (a) to freedom of speech and expression,
- (b) to assemble peacefully without arms,
- (c) to form association or unions,
- (d) to move freely throughout the territory of India,
- (e) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India,
- (f) to acquire, hold and dispose of property, and
- (g) to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business.

“No person shall be convicted of any offence except for violation of law in force at the time of the commission of the act charged as an offence, nor be subjected to a penalty greater than that which might have been inflicted under the law in force at the time of the commission of the offence.

“No person shall be prosecuted and punished for the same offence more than once.

“No person accused of any offence shall be compelled to be a witness against himself.

“No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law.

“No person who is arrested shall be detained in custody without being informed as soon as may be, of the grounds for such arrest, nor shall be denied the right to consult and to be defended by a legal practitioner of his choice.

“Every person who is arrested and detained in custody shall be produced before the nearest Magistrate within a period of twenty-four hours of such arrest excluding the time necessary for the journey from the place of arrest to the court of the Magistrate and no person shall be detained in custody beyond the said period without the authority of a Magistrate.”

The right to move the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of the rights conferred is guaranteed.

Some of the directive principles are—

“The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which

justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.

“The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

“The State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health as among its primary duties, and in particular the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption, except for medicinal purposes, of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health.

“The State shall take steps to separate the judiciary from the executive in the public services of the State.”

This brings us to the separation of the Executive from the Judiciary. The problem had been exercising the minds of right-thinking men from the time the British transformed themselves from traders into rulers. Tax collection became the important part of the administration and this was facilitated by a combination of magisterial and police powers. The history of the changes in the powers of Collectors from the inception of British rule reveals that more and more power was thrust upon them though experienced European administrators themselves did not approve of it.

Time and again opposition was voiced against the incongruity of mixing up the thief-catcher and the judge in one and the same agency, and though this was agreed to in principle, expediency did not demand the separation. From 1886 onwards, the Indian National Congress had been demanding this division. The question also came to the notice of the Islington Commission. Sir C. Sankara Nair then a Puisne Judge of the Madras High Court condemned the arrangement under which an officer interested in the administration of the police was also responsible for trying cases or having them tried by his subordinates. This system, he pointed out, had fully alienated the confidence of the public in the impartiality of criminal tribunals. Sri S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, the veteran publicist of Madras, observed that he was “in favour of a complete separation of judicial and executive functions in the holder of an office. Purity of the administration of justice, and the confidence of the people in the same, demand the adoption of this measure.”

But separation had to wait long for its fruition and it was left to the Congress Ministry of 1949 to achieve it. The scheme was introduced stage by stage in this State and G. O. No. Ms. 3106 Public (Separation) dated 5th September 1949 enunciated the principles on which it was based. According to the Criminal Procedure Code and other relevant statutes the function of a magistrate fell into three broad categories :

(a) functions which are police in their nature, as for instance, in the handling of unlawful assemblies ;

(b) functions of an administrative character, as for instance, the issue of licence for fire-arms ; and

(c) functions which are essentially judicial, as for instance, the trial of criminal cases.

These functions had been concentrated in the Collector of the district and in a number of Magistrates subordinate to and controlled by him. The essential feature of the new scheme was that purely judicial functions coming under category (c) above were transferred from the Collector and Magistrates subordinate to him, to a new set of officers who would no longer be under their control. Functions under the other two heads were to be discharged by the Collector and the revenue subordinates under him. To indicate this difference, officers in the former category were called ' Judicial Magistrates ' and in the latter were called ' Executive Magistrates '.

A positive effort was made to establish in the Madras City a *modus vivendi* between the police and the public by organizing Station Vigilance Committees. This organization and the Village Vigilance Committees in districts were instrumental in bringing the police and the public together in a co-operative effort for the furtherance of the common good.

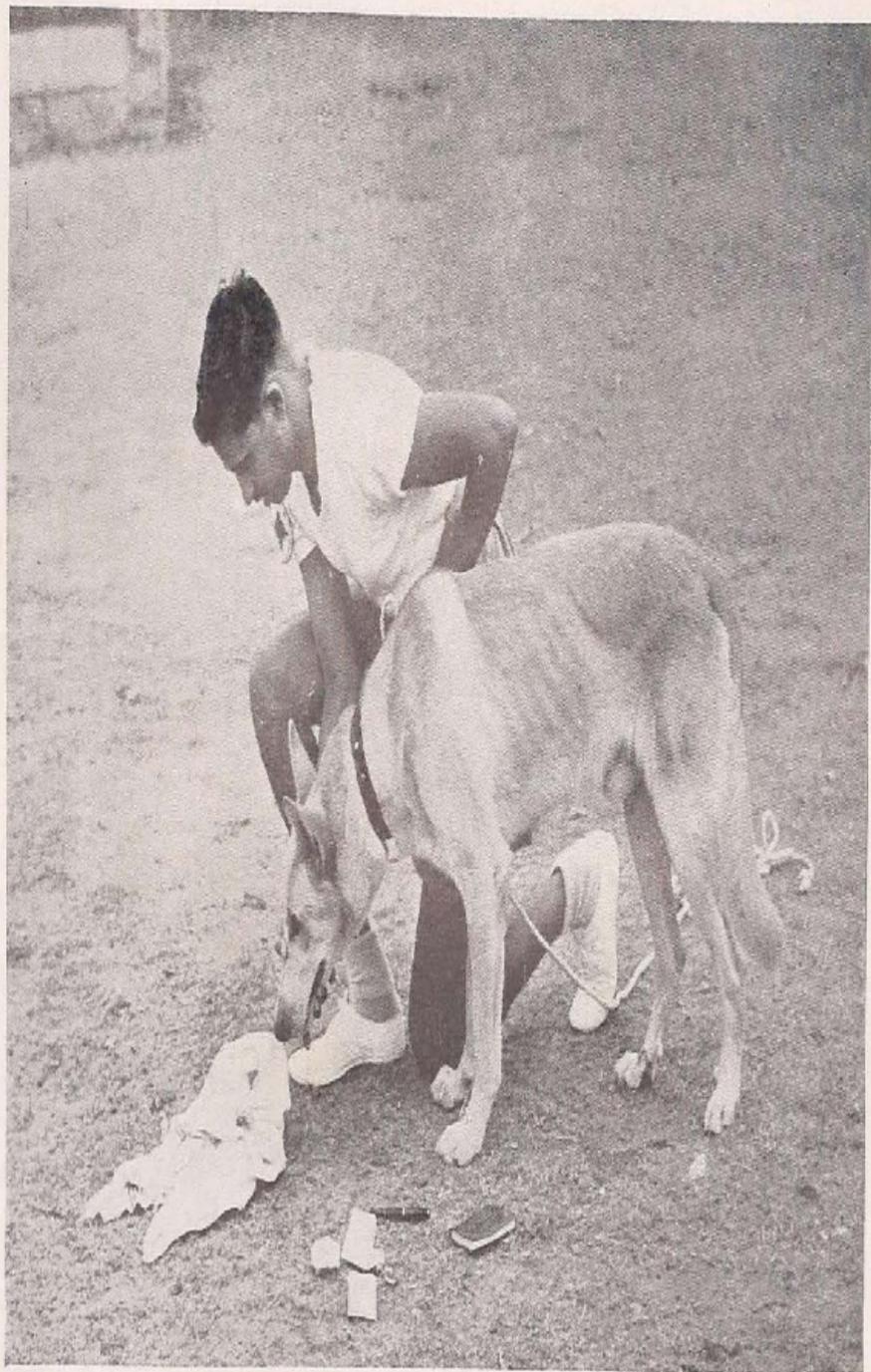
In order to establish that the police are in every sense friends of the public and to improve further the good relations between them, a ' Courtesy Week ' was observed during the year 1951. This was found to be a distinct success as it brought out, perhaps for the first time, in the conscious mind of every constable, the fact that his primary duty is to serve the public. This observance is continued every year.

The Madras Police Dog Squad: It was in the year 1951 that the Madras Police became the pioneers in India after Independence to use dogs in the prevention and detection of crime. Sri T. G. Sanjeevi who was the Inspector General of Police was chiefly responsible for instituting a scheme of training dogs in police work and for the establishment of police kennels. It will be necessary at this stage to focus attention on the age-long companionship of man and dog.

Among the many animals befriended by man, the most faithful friend and companion is the dog. The origin of this relationship is lost in the mists of antiquity. Long before recorded history, the dog was tamed and domesticated. It is even said that his bones were found with those of Stone Age man. Early men trained dogs mainly for protection and hunting purposes. Even today dogs remind us of their wild ancestors by some of their mannerisms. The dog howls sometimes which is his ancestral habit of calling the pack together. He has, of course, learnt to bark after centuries of association with man. He turns round and round before lying down because his ancestors had to do so to prepare a comfortable bed from jungle grass or dried leaves. And even today he buries his bones, even if it be under the door-mat, in imitation of his wild forebears in order to prevent their enemies from stealing them. His wonderfully acute sense of smell has been developed over the centuries while foraging and hunting for food. It is this faculty which has endeared the dog to the hunter in the chase.

The faculties of smell, hearing and physical mobility are developed to a very high degree in certain species of dogs which render them extremely useful for war and police purposes. As a matter of fact, dogs took part in the First and Second World Wars as Red Cross Dogs for feeding and aiding the wounded, as sentinels and messengers and as mine-detectors. These war dogs as they are called are given several months' training at a school where they are taught to scent out mines buried in the ground with a piece of meat beside them. Then they learn to find the mine alone, receiving a tit-bit as a reward. They are still much used for guarding air-fields and depots.

Dogs were first used for police work in India on the North-West Frontier in 1941. After Independence in the year 1951 the Madras Police were the first to form and train a Dog Squad consisting mostly of Alsatians. Fearless and intelligent, the Alsatian is admirably suited to



A police dog taking scent from a scene of Crime

assist policemen and watchmen to patrol large areas at night. It will scent, hear and see an intruder long before a man can do so and will hold him at bay until the handler, its human partner, arrives. Many big department stores in western countries are patrolled by dogs at night and the animals can be trained to ring a bell at certain points so that their position is indicated to a watchman. These dogs are trained to pull down and hold their quarry but not to bite except at the word of command unless their handlers are attacked by the criminal.

Police dogs are trained when they are about five or six months old and will be ready for work at the end of six months. Their proficiency will thereafter increase as they gain more and more experience. Their training covers the following subjects:—

- (a) Obedience.
- (b) Watching on object or person.
- (c) Tracing a hidden article by the sense of smell.
- (d) Tracking.
- (e) Arresting an escaping offender.
- (f) Protecting the handler.
- (g) Refusing food from strangers.
- (h) Jumping obstacles.

Each dog has its own handler and the partnership is never disturbed. The handler will take the dog out for a run in the morning and in the evening, will feed it, bathe it, groom it and look after it continuously thereby establishing mutual confidence of a very high order. Of course only those constables who have a deep affinity for dogs are chosen as handlers.

The Madras Police Dog Squad was housed in improvised kennels in the compound of the office of the Inspector General of Police till May 1957 when it was moved into new kennels built on modern and scientific lines behind the City Police Hospital. This squad was under the control of the Superintendent of Police, Crime Branch, C. I. D. till 21-10-1953 and thereafter it was transferred to the control of the Commissioner of Police.

The Madras Police dogs are becoming increasingly useful in the investigation of crime. They have some sensational successes to their credit. The following statistics gives some idea of their usefulness:—

Nature of offence.	1957		1958	
	Total Calls.	Successful Calls.	Total Calls.	Successful Calls.
Murder for gain	29	19	35	23
Robbery	5	2	8	7
Dacoity	NIL	NIL	3	1
Burglaries	65	9	85	23
Miscellaneous thefts.	17	5	5	1
TOTAL.	116	35	136	55

Adverting to sensational successes one may refer to instances in which the police dogs picked up the scent after a delay of from 4 to 14 days. If this claim is made in western countries it will not be easily believed. The only rational explanation for this phenomenon is that criminals in India usually go bare-feet which means that perspiration exuding from the pores of the feet will be left on the ground the smell of which apparently lingers on for many days. These astonishing successes have had a tremendous impact on the rural population and there have been instances of culprits surrendering themselves or abandoning stolen property merely on hearing that the police dogs are about to arrive. There have even been two cases of criminals committing suicide after having been completely demoralized by the prospect of certain detection by the dogs.

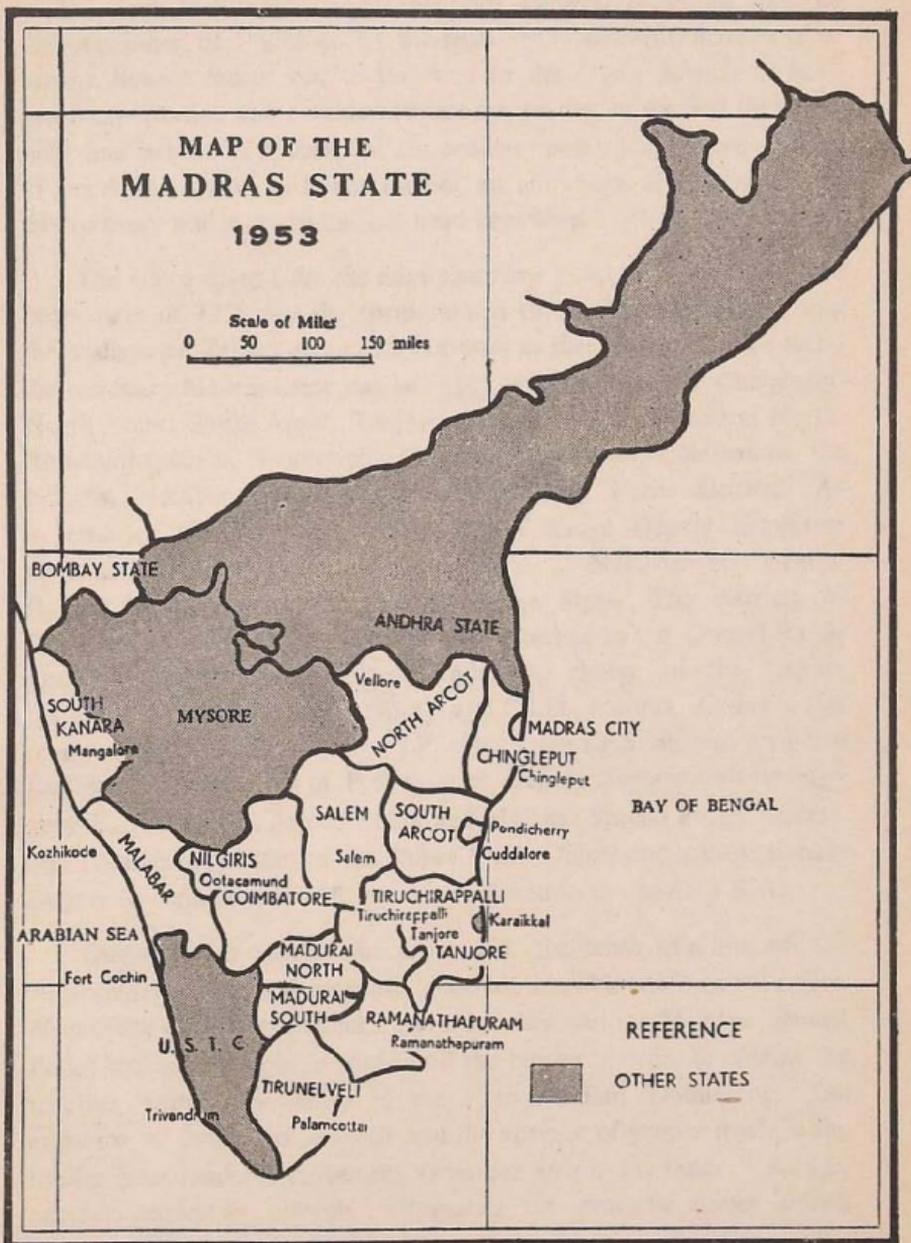
The fame of the Madras-Police dogs has travelled round India with the result that many States have sent their handlers for being trained here. Dogs of the Defence Department, the Railway Protection Force and the Customs Department are also trained by the Madras Police.

The year 1953 commenced with the refusal on the part of the Madras City Police constabulary to draw pay for December 1952 at the instigation of the Secretary of the Madras City Police Constabulary Association who had been charge-sheeted for indiscipline. The Chief Minister personally addressed the Executive Committee members of the Constabulary Association and advised them to receive their pay, assuring them that he would redress their grievances. These appeals were of no avail and firm action had therefore to be taken by arresting and detaining some of the members of the Executive Committee. The pay

MAP OF THE MADRAS STATE

1953

Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150 miles



strike then fizzled out. But the Government gave heed to the complaints of the men and directed the Inspector General of Police and the Commissioner of Police to fix up rents with landlords in respect of private houses rented out to the men to the extent possible so as to avoid exploitation and trouble between the parties, to see that there was only one parade in a week for the ordinary police and to give off-duty of one day in a week or in lieu thereof an allowance of one rupee per day to every police constable and head constable.

The major event from the administrative point of view during the latter part of 1953 was the formation of the Andhra State comprising the undisputed Telugu areas with Kurnool as the capital. Consequently the residuary Madras State was left with Madras City and Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot, Tanjore, Madurai Urban, Madurai North, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli, Tiruchirapalli, Salem, Coimbatore, the Nilgiris, Malabar, South Kanara and Railway Police districts. As a result of this partition the number of Range Deputy Inspectors General of Police was reduced from 4 to 2, Northern and Central Ranges having gone over to the Andhra State. The districts of Chingleput and North Arcot which were attached to the Central Range prior to separation were placed under the charge of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C.I.D., Madras. Owing to this reorganization of the State, five I.P. officers, ten I.P.S. officers, forty-five Deputy Superintendents of Police, three Deputy Superintendents category-II, ten Special Armed Police and Malabar Special Police officers, one Technical Assistant to the Police Radio Officer and a Probationary Deputy Superintendent of Police were allotted to the Andhra State.

During a fair part of the year 1954, the tense situation on the Pondicherry border was responsible for considerable strain on the police. Help of the units of the Special Armed Police and the Malabar Special Police had to be sought to cordon off the border in order to confine the troubles within the limits of the French-Indian Dominions. The existence of numerous enclaves and the absence of proper roads in the border areas rendered movement, from one area in the Indian Union to another, extremely difficult. Ultimately the patriotic forces gained strength and in a democratic convention the representatives of the people voted overwhelmingly for merger with the Indian Union. This happy event took place on 1st November 1954. Though the strain on the police was to a large extent relieved by this re-union, the Madras

State Police had to lend several police officers to handle the administration of the area.

The year 1955 was marked by the holding of the Sixtieth Session of the All India Congress at Avadi near Madras and the visits of His Excellency Marshal Tito, the President of Yugoslavia, Their Excellencies N. A. Bulganin, Prime Minister of the U. S. S. R. at that time and Khrushchev, the First Secretary of the Russian Communist Party and present Prime Minister of Russia, Their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal, the President of India, the Prime Minister of India, the Vice-President of India, the Ministers of the Government of India and other State Governors and Rajapramukhs. The Madras Police were fully extended in maintaining order during these visits.

As a matter of fact a huge force of one Deputy Inspector General of Police, 9 Superintendents of Police, 21 Deputy Superintendents of Police, 84 Inspectors, 324 Sub Inspectors and 3,336 Police Constables was assembled to maintain order at the Avadi Congress.

The year 1955 also witnessed the reorganization of the department consequent on the transfer to the police of the prohibition enforcement work in the districts of Chingleput, South Arcot, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli, Malabar, the Nilgiris, and South Kanara and Madras City. This resulted in the transfer of the following Excise staff to the police department:—

Executive staff:

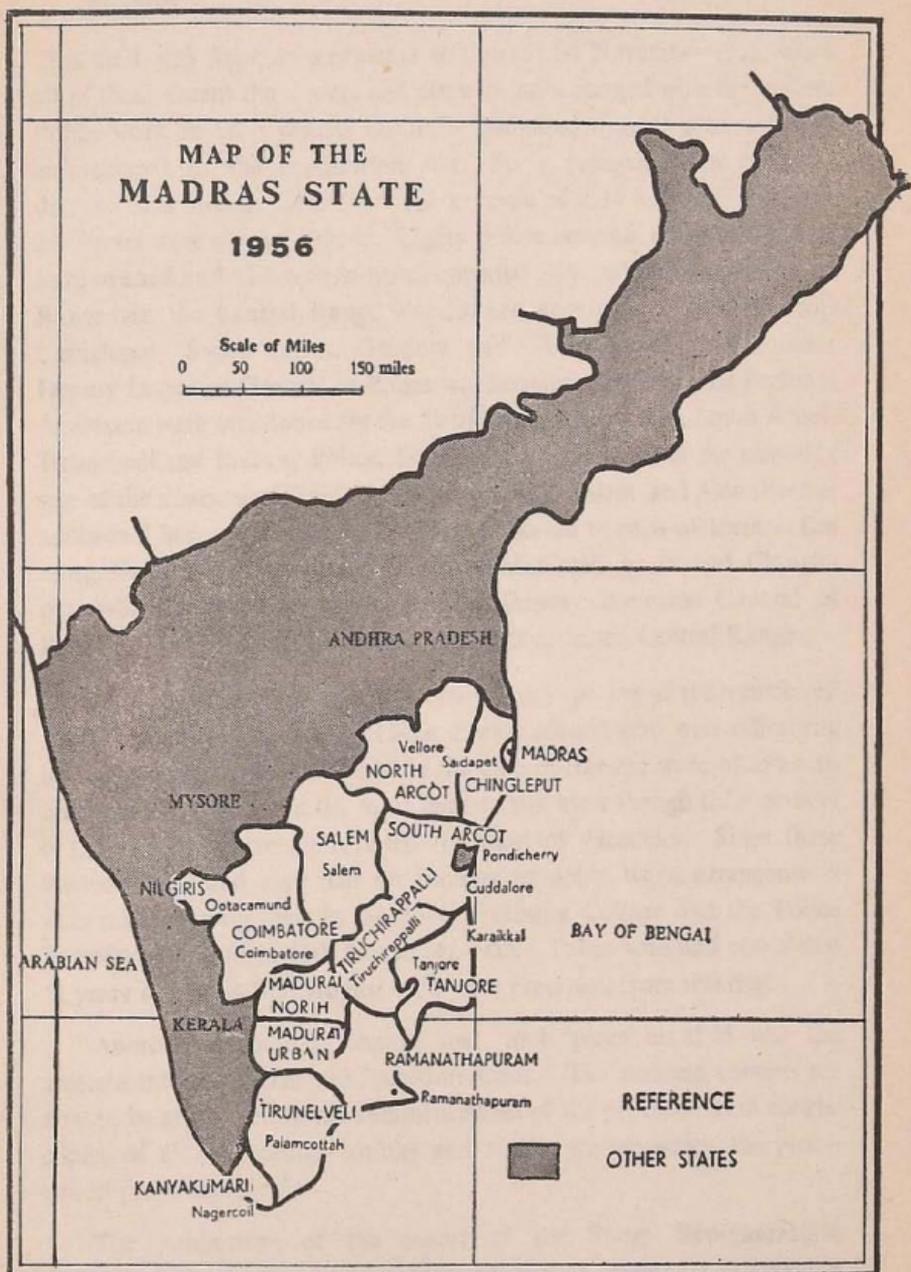
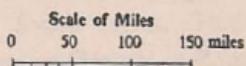
Assistant Commissioner of Excise	...	3
Inspectors of Excise	...	21
Assistant Inspectors of Excise	...	37
Sub Inspectors of Excise	...	201
Petty Officers	...	247
Prohibition Guards	...	2,525
Drivers	...	40
Cleaners	...	22

Ministerial staff:—

Junior Superintendent	...	1
Head Clerks	...	9
Upper Division Clerks	...	17
Lower Division Clerks	...	48

MAP OF THE MADRAS STATE

1956



Typists	...	3
Attender	...	1

This staff was kept as a separate section till 1st November 1955, when all of them except the drivers and cleaners were merged with the police. Police work in each district naturally increased a great deal with the enforcement of the Prohibition Act. So a reorganization of jurisdictions was found necessary. As a result of it 14 Sub Divisions and 24 Circles were newly formed. Eighty police stations and 26 outposts were opened and 42 outposts were converted into stations. An additional Range viz. the Central Range was formed consisting of North Arcot, Chingleput, South Arcot, Tanjore and Tiruchirapalli and another Deputy Inspector General of Police was appointed. Ministerial Personal Assistants were sanctioned for the districts of North Arcot, South Arcot, Tirunelveli and Railway Police, Tiruchirapalli. Because of the unwieldy size of the districts of Tanjore, Tiruchirapalli, Salem and Coimbatore, additional Superintendents of Police were posted to each of them. The reorganization removed the two districts of North Arcot and Chingleput, which were under the control of Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C.I.D., to the newly constituted Central Range.

As a result of the merger not even a single person of the transferred Excise staff was discharged. Those Excise officers who were officiating in higher ranks on the day prior to the date of transfer were allowed to officiate subsequently in the same higher rank even though their seniors in the police department reverted for want of vacancies. Since these Excise officers and men had no training in police work, arrangements were made to train them in the Police Training College and the Police Recruits School from 15th November 1955. Those who had completed 52 years of age on 31st August 1955 were exempted from training.

Another momentous change that took place in 1955 was the amendment to the Criminal Procedure Code. The accused persons are now to be given, before the commencement of the proceedings in courts, copies of all documents, exhibits and statements on which the prosecution proposes to rely.

The publication of the report of the States Reorganization Committee was responsible for some changes in territorial jurisdiction in this State in 1956. The formation of the Mysore and Kerala States on 1st November 1956 led to the transfer of Malabar and South Kanara and the Kollegal taluk of Coimbatore district from this State to the new

States. From the same date the territories comprising the taluks of Agastheswaram, Thovala, Kalkulam and Vilavancode of Trivandrum district and Shencottah taluk of Quilon district were transferred from the former Travancore-Cochin State to the Madras State. The Shencottah taluk was attached to Tirunelveli district and with the four remaining taluks a new district called Kanyakumari was formed with headquarters at Nagercoil.

In the year 1958 a State Promotion Board was formed with a view to assessing the individual merits of the candidates fit for promotion in the department, recommended by similar Promotion Boards at the district level. The Boards in the districts make their recommendations in the case of Sub Inspectors and Inspectors fit for promotion to the next higher rank. The State Promotion Board, which is composed of all Deputy Inspectors General of Police and the Commissioner of Police and presided over by the senior most among them, interviews all candidates sent up by the District Promotion Boards and makes its recommendation to the Inspector General of Police. This new system has helped to a great extent in removing dissatisfaction among the subordinate officers in the matter of promotions.

In the pages that follow a brief account of the special organizations of the Madras Police is given in order that the public may understand the manifold nature of the services rendered by them.

PRIME MINISTER'S LIFE-SAVING MEDAL

Instituted on the 23rd August 1958; awarded to the members of recognized Police Forces in India for life-saving work; made of bronze 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. Riband of one inch and three-eighth in width, with four stripes of red, blue, saffron and green in that order beginning from the left; the blue and saffron stripes will be of equal width, each being half of the width of the red and green stripes.

MISS GEORGIANA KENDALL HUMANITY MEDAL

Miss Georgiana Kendall of New York (U. S. A.) left her valuable estates worth about Rs. 20,00,000 (twenty lakhs) in legacy to various humanitarian societies in the world, of which the Bombay Humanitarian League is one. This League awards every year a medal in the name of the queen among donors, Miss G. Kendall, for notable acts of saving human lives from deaths due to accidents in any part of India. These medals are presented every year on the 8th October, the death-anniversary day of the late Miss Georgiana Kendall.



POLICE UNIFORM TODAY

The uniform, whether it is of the army or of the police, is the outward expression, of a disciplined force. It implies the legal significance of the duties a body of persons perform, besides being a mark of identity denoting that each individual member forms part of a whole, which acts in unison.

The present-day uniform of police officers has been standardized on an all-India basis. The Government of Madras in their G. O. Ms. 3292 Home dated 23-11-1955, have implemented the suggestion of the Government of India to ensure uniformity in the dress regulations of the subordinate police officers serving in the various police forces in India. The uniforms of the different ranks of officers and men of the Madras Police are illustrated.

HEAD DRESS.

Forage Caps.



I.P.

I.P.S.

M.P.S.

M.P.

BADGES OF RANK.

Worn on Shoulder Straps.



Sub-Inspector



Inspector



Dy. Supdt. of Police



Supdt. of Police



Supdt. of Police
15 yrs' Service.



Supdt. of Police
Selection Grade.



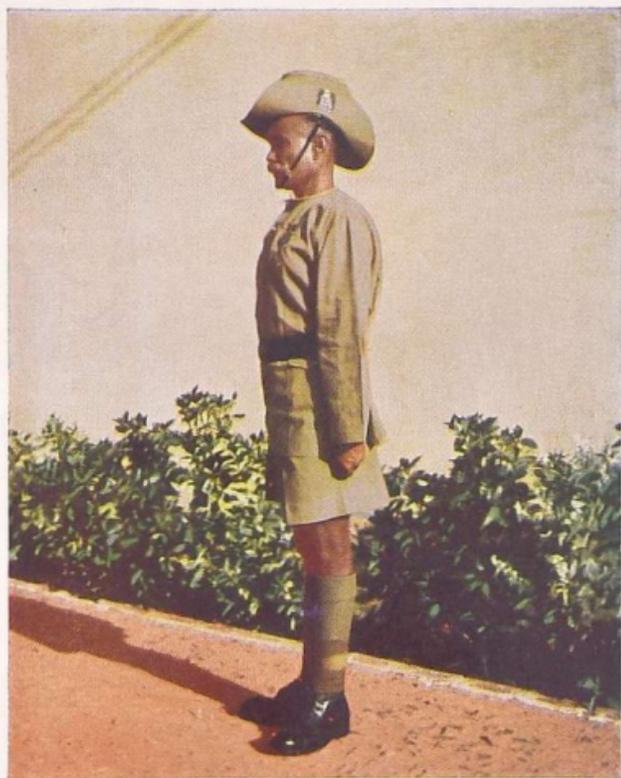
Dy. Inspector General
of Police.



Inspector General
of Police.



A Police Inspector.



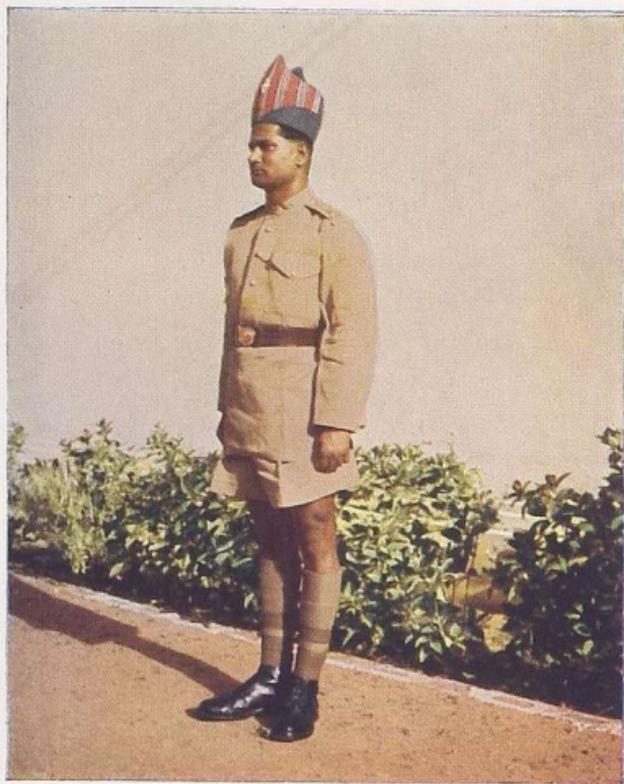
Reserve Head Constable: District Armed Reserve.



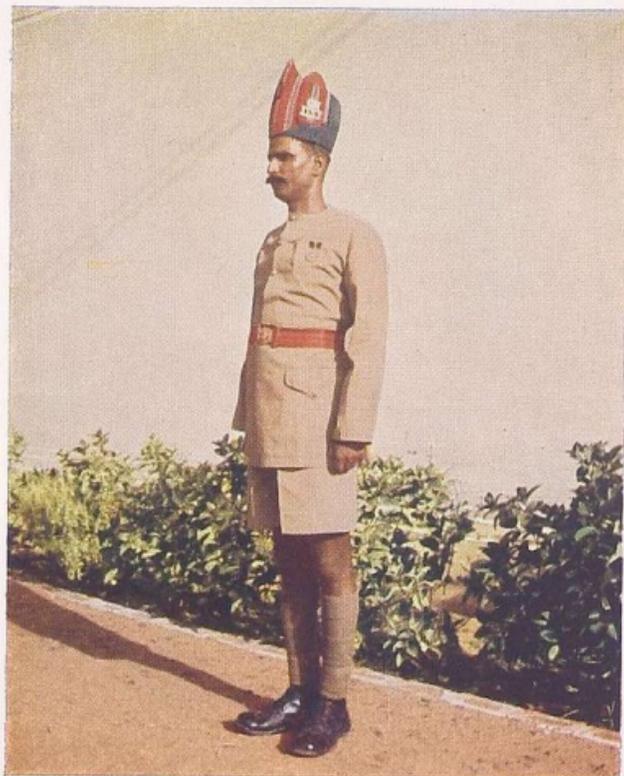
A Sub Inspector with Turban.



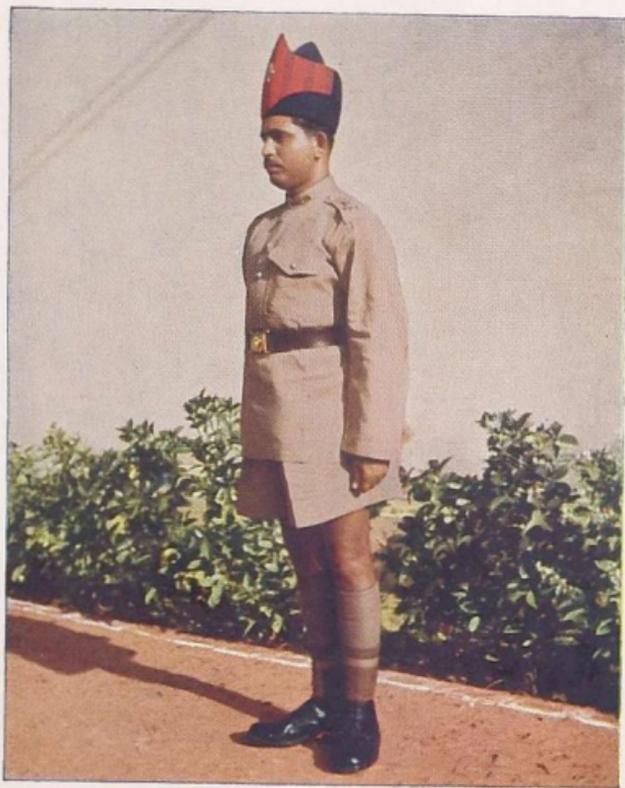
A Sub Inspector with Forage Cap.



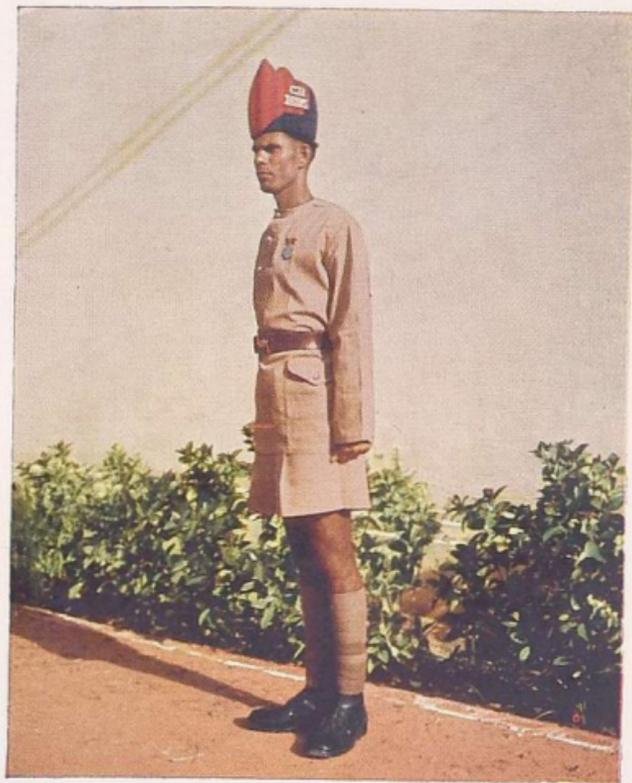
Head Constable : City Police.



Head Constable : Mofussil Police.



A City Constable.



A Mofussil Constable.

CHAPTER XII

THE RAILWAY POLICE

THE FIRST railway line in the country, the twentyone-mile section from Bombay to Tana, was opened in 1823. From that year onwards the railways have never looked back and today they have a total mileage of about 35,000 miles. This railway system is now one of the largest in the world and is the principal mode of transport in this vast country, providing employment to about 11 lakhs of people. With the expansion of the railways, trade and commerce increased, factories sprang up all over the country and people travelled the length and breadth of the land. But economic prosperity brought with it problems of watch and ward arising out of heavy traffic in passengers and goods. This responsibility devolved on the police as the guardians of law and order. The railway police thus came into existence.

It was on the East Indian Railway that a system of Government Police was first established. Prior to 1865, the railways appeared to have employed a force for watch and ward duties, whose performance did not give satisfaction either to the Company or to the travelling public. In 1864, the Bengal Government directed the Inspector General and the Consulting Engineer to submit a joint report about the policing of railways. Towards the end of 1865 the Inspector General drew up a note, in which after explaining that the staff whom the railway employed under the name of 'police' could not legally act as such in the absence of enrolment under the Police Act V of 1861 and after setting forth some of the abuses for which this staff was alleged to be responsible and with which he was unable to deal owing to the exclusion of regular police from railway stations, he proposed that a certain number of regular police should be deputed to every station. He recommended that these should belong to the district force under the supervision of the District Superintendent, an arrangement which he preferred to the employment of a special police force. For the protection of yards and workshops there should be separate *chowkidars* under the control of the railway. This was forwarded by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. In September 1866 the London Board of the East Indian Railway wrote accepting "as an experiment the proposal of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal of adopting for six months

the plan laid down by Colonel Pughe (Inspector General of Police) for placing a body of State Police at the different stations to act under his control and responsibility." In December of the same year Government orders were passed constituting a special railway police force and as it was being organized to meet the joint requirements of Government and the railway company, the maximum contribution of the railway should be three-fourth of the total cost. But this arrangement did not last long. The divided duty and divided cost soon led to differences. A distinction between State and railway, or as they were called 'public and private duties' gradually developed and in September 1870 a separation was sanctioned by Government whereby the railway police were divided into two bodies, the duties of the Government being confined mainly to passenger traffic, and private police being told off to the duty of watching goods-sheds and wagons. But when a new line was formed the railway company failed to provide any private police to the new lines, thereby necessitating the deployment of a large number of State police and thus increasing the share of the Government for its maintenance which worked out only to 19 per cent of the total cost under the previous arrangement. The matter could not be amicably settled and finally the Central Government appointed a Committee in 1872 (1) to consider whether it was desirable to maintain a separate police at all, (2) to define the distinction between the duties required for public purposes of the State and those required for private purposes of the railway company, and (3) to determine the relative proportions in which the cost should fall on the Government and the railway company.

The Committee recommended the amalgamation of the forces maintained by the Government for law and order and by the companies for watch and ward into one force. In the attempt to arrive at a fair division the Committee analysed the duties and divided them into two sections A & B—the former section A being employed on strictly State duties and on such other duties of a mixed nature as required the control and supervision of Government, and the latter section B being employed on watch and ward duties of a private nature in which Government should not be considered to have any administrative interest. The Committee also suggested that the cost of section A should be primarily a charge on the Government, the railway company making a contribution on account of the mixed duties devolving on this section, and that the section B, the strength of which was left to be fixed

and regulated by the company, should be wholly borne by the Company. On the basis of the Committee's report, the Government, in Home Department resolution 354 dated 18th June 1872, fixed the share of the railway company as $\frac{7}{10}$ th of the total expenditure, the remaining to be met by the Government. This condition was subsequently noted in the contracts of the company with the Government. The clause read as follows:- "The Secretary of State shall maintain and provide for the purposes of undertaking such a force of police as the company with the approval of the Secretary of State shall from time to time require; and if the Secretary of State considers any addition to the force is necessary for the preservation of law and order, his decision on that point should be final and such addition should be made accordingly. The cost of defraying and maintaining the force of police required for the purpose aforesaid shall be debited in the following manner i. e. $\frac{3}{10}$ th to be borne by the Secretary of State and the remaining $\frac{7}{10}$ th shall be treated as part of the working expenses of the undertaking."

But the working of the system was found by the railway companies to be unsatisfactory. On the basis of their complaints the Government appointed another committee in 1882 "to enquire into the general working of the police on the principal railways in India in view of the adoption of one uniform system of railway police." This committee reported in June 1882 to the effect that all watch-and-ward duties should be performed by the railway company itself and that for the purposes of law and order including detection and prevention of crime, a specially organized Government police force should be maintained, the strength and disposition of this force being determined by the local Government concerned in communication with the railway authorities; that an Inspector of Government Railway Police with a sufficient staff should be stationed where possible at the headquarters of the different District Traffic Superintendents to be in constant communication with them and he should, without further reference, carry out their instructions as regards enquiries about lost or missing goods; that Inspectors and Sub Inspectors should be constantly travelling over their respective lengths of line with the view to both detection and prevention of crime; that the necessity of identifying themselves with the interests of the railway and its efficient administration should be inculcated upon all the subordinates of the Government Railway Police and that the arrangements for watch and ward of goods sheds, yards, goods train in stations and railway buildings should be left to be carried out by the

railway company—the staff employed for this duty will be mere watchmen who will, however, be required to give immediate information to the Government Railway Police of all complaints made to them by the public.

The Madras Police had to deal with 2 railway systems towards the end of the 19th century. They were the Madras Railway and the South Indian Railway. In an extract from the Railway Committee report of 1882, published in G. O. No. 2210 dated 20th August 1883, it is stated with regard to the Madras Presidency that “the population of the country through which it (the Madras Railway) passes is stated to be settled and peaceable. Gangs of dacoits and robbers use the line occasionally, but it does not seem to be infested by any special criminal classes.” The report goes on to state that the watch-and-ward force was supplemented by 89 constables of the general police attached to the district police who only attended stations at train times, their duties being to keep order, to receive complaints from passengers, watch for any suspicious characters and to receive into custody offenders arrested by railway servants under the Act.

A scheme for a railway police for the Madras Presidency to perform watch-and-ward, law-and-order duties and travelling on all night trains, was put forward in 1892-93. The Madras and South Indian Railways declining to contribute the costs, it was negatived by the Government of India on financial grounds with the remark that watch and ward should be done by the railways and the Madras Railway should be pressed to accept its share of the cost of the scheme. Before a final scheme was sanctioned, the district police for attendance at train times were increased and a special staff appointed for travelling duties. In 1895-96 the railway police were placed under the concerned Deputy Inspectors General of Police. Finally from 1st April 1899, a staff of one Superintendent, one Assistant Superintendent, 6 Inspectors, 69 head constables and 724 constables, was sanctioned. The Madras Railway declined to pay any share of the cost, to allow free passes (but charged two third fares), to allot an inspection-carriage to the Superintendent or to allow free telegrams. This naturally resulted in strained relations between the police and the railway but matters were made easier in later years by small concessions and a better understanding on both sides.

The Police Commission of 1902 went into the question of the railway police also. They said that they were unable to accept the

suggestion that the railway police force should be made an Imperial establishment, since the unit of police administration is the Province and a departure from this principle in case of the railway police, would greatly weaken the co-operation between the railway police and the district police, a co-operation which was admitted by all to be essential for efficiency in police work. For the same reasons the Commission disapproved of the proposal to have it linked with the railway administrative system as that would involve the police force of one local Government working under another. But while advocating the constitution of a railway police for each Province, the Commission recommended that as far as possible there should be a separate railway police district for each railway administration. The Commission noted that the primary duty of the railway police is the preservation of law and order. They should not be expected to undertake the watch and ward of railway property on the well-known principle that the custody of the private property is the duty of the owner and there were no grounds for making any distinction between a railway company and any other private person. The railway police should work under the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C. I. D. in the same way as District Police were subordinate to the Range Deputy Inspectors General of Police. With regard to shortages or missing goods the Commission recommended that the police should not interfere in such cases unless they have reason to suspect the commission of cognizable offences, nor should the duty of examining the seals of wagons be imposed on them, which was clearly the duty of the watch-and-ward staff. The Commission framed some draft instructions with regard to co-operation between the district and the railway police, which according to them was very essential for the prevention and detection of crime.

In 1906, the supervisory staff of the railway police in the Madras Presidency was placed on a more satisfactory footing. In October of that year, another Superintendent with headquarters at Tiruchi in addition to the one at Madras, was appointed to replace an Assistant Superintendent of Police. The length of line under the charge of the new Superintendent was 1881 miles while that under the Madras Superintendent was 1,763 miles. The Police Commission had stated that a Superintendent was required for lines over 1,500 miles in length. The two new Superintendents were placed under the control of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C. I. D. appointed in August

of the same year. The railway police were also entrusted with the work of shadowing convicts released from jails.

An experimental scheme for the interchange of police constables on the frontiers of the Presidency was started in 1907 with the concurrence of the Inspectors General of Police, Bombay, Bengal and Mysore and the First Assistant Resident, Hyderabad for watching and arresting criminals. Men of the Madras Police did some useful work in this direction. The Police Committee, appointed for the purpose of ascertaining how far the distribution of the cost of railway police was in accordance with the principles already laid down and whether the latter require any modification, visited Madras State during the year. This Committee summarized their report to the following effect :—“ Still adhering to the principle of 1872 they have firstly divided the duties in detail required from the State on the one hand and from the Railway on the other and have recommended that the rank and file should be divided off into two branches for the performance of these duties and be paid for accordingly—full weight being given to the considered opinions of the railway authorities in regard to the number and distribution of the staff for their portion of the duties and secondly in the case of the supervising staff, which cannot be allocated, they have recommended what in their opinion is the most equitable division of its cost. Contingencies will be divided in the same proportion as the cost of the supervising staff subject to the condition that the contingent expenses of the rank and file such as clothing, travelling allowances and house rent will, so far as they are divisible, be divided according to actuals.”

In accordance with the instructions of the Police Commission of 1902, arrangements had been made to limit the jurisdiction of each Superintendent to one railway administration. The interchange of constables at border stations was stopped as it was found not very useful. In its place railway-police constables were deputed to the nearest police station in order to become thoroughly acquainted with local bad characters, their places being temporarily taken by district-police constables.

The police had a difficult time in 1909 during the drivers' strike on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway and the expected closure of the railway workshop at Negapatam. The workshop, however, continued to exist. Recruitment was done for the railway police but after

training in the Central Recruits School, these recruits were sent to the district from which they were selected for practical training.

The South Indian Railway suffered severely at the beginning of the Moplah rebellion in 1921. One station was completely wrecked and considerable damage done to four others. Eight railway bridges were damaged. The permanent way was torn up in numerous places and telegraph lines were cut. Traffic on the affected part was suspended for a week. This year also witnessed an unusual train tragedy. Seventy prisoners out of a 100, convicted of offences connected with the rebellion, died enroute from Tirur to Coimbatore in a luggage van. The Government of Madras appointed a Committee to enquire into this tragic event. The Government concurred with the view of the Committee that the use of luggage vans for the conveyance of prisoners in such an emergency was not in itself objectionable or inhuman. But they found fault with the authorities for not bringing the conveyance in such wagons under proper regulations. Sergeant Andrews who was escorting the prisoners with a party of head constables and police constables, was found to be not guilty of deliberate inhumanity but culpable negligence. The Government of Madras instituted a prosecution against Sergeant Andrews and the policemen but they were discharged by the Magistrate before whom they had been arraigned proving thereby that the police had nothing to do with the events that led to the death of several prisoners.

Another Railway Police Committee was appointed by the Central Government on 13th January 1921 to "examine the existing organization and working of the railway-police administration in India which appears to be defective in certain respects, and to make proposals for the improvement (where necessary) of this branch of police administration." Mr J. P. Thompson, C. S. I., Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, was appointed President of this Committee.

An important question that arose for decision by the Committee was the proposal for imperialization of the police on the railways in order to bring it under a unified control for the whole of India. The Committee found this suggestion to be contrary in two respects to the spirit of the times. Provincial autonomy was then in the offing and the time was not far distant when the police would be transferred to popular control. The Committee rightly emphasized that the local Governments might resent the intrusion of an imperial department

within their domains. Secondly it seemed more than necessary to maintain the control of the Provincial Governments over the whole of the police force working within provincial limits in view of the prevalence of strikes at large railway centres.

The Committee recommended that watch and ward should be properly organized as a railway unit under a superior officer at the headquarters of the railway and should be entirely removed from the control of the station staff; a Central Bureau of Information should be created; a special detective and investigating agency for the railway police should be organized in each province where it is not already established and officers in charge of railway police stations should be given power to search within the limits of the district police stations through which their section of railway passes. Mr Williams, one of the police officers of the Madras Presidency was a co-opted member of this Committee. In this year a *Railway-Police Constable's Guide* different from the ordinary *Constable's Guide* was published and distributed to the men.

At the end of 1927, railway labour became agitated over the closure of the workshops at Negapatam in Tanjore district and their transfer to Golden Rock in Trichinopoly district. Two political irresponsibles from Madras and Calcutta attended the Railway Union Conference at Negapatam in January 1928. The delegates to the Conference were more inclined to follow the lead of those who advocated direct action than to adopt the advice of the more moderate elements. The extremists were engaged in propaganda, urging the railwaymen to strike work. The Union refused to agree to any compromise in the matter though the Agent was prepared to have it settled by an arbitration by Government. The strike was declared and commenced on the midnight of 19th July. A majority of the running staff however remained loyal and a skeleton service was maintained. Several serious accidents and riots occurred during the strike, at Villupuram, Mayavaram, Trichinopoly and Tuticorin where the police were unsuccessful in their attempts to disperse the mobs and were eventually compelled to open fire. The arrest of the two irresponsibles on the night of 23rd July followed by that of other prominent agitators combined with the forceful preventive measures taken, resulted in the rapid collapse of the strike. During the strike, the railway lines had to be guarded in almost all the southern districts. The Kallars of Madurai and Ramnad volunteered their services and were employed by

the railway company. The reclamation work among them was bearing fruit. A motor bus and a light engine collided at Camerford level-crossing gate between Trichinopoly Junction and Palakarai and eight passengers in the bus were killed. The strikers joined the local hooligans and roughly handled the driver of the light engine. In order to save the engine-driver and to disperse the mob, the police were obliged to open fire. The strain on the police was very heavy but they did not give in to the anti-social elements and performed their duties conscientiously under great provocation. This strike revealed the necessity for a scheme to deal with such outbursts of violence and so a Railway Strike Scheme was prepared in 1930.

In 1932 trouble began to brew in the Perambur workshops. There was satyagraha on two occasions prior to the declaration of a strike on 24th October 1932 which spread to the workshops at Arkonam and Hubli. The strike lasted for 2 months and a half but the police disposition and arrangements prevented the situation from getting out of control.

One of the tragic events on the electrified section of the South Indian Railway is the electrocution and death of two boys who inserted an umbrella into a hole in the Saidapet railway-station overbridge. The defect which gave room for the occurrence was afterwards rectified and similar defects elsewhere on the electrified lines received attention.

A First Class Bench Magistrate's Court established at Trichinopoly Junction in 1934 for the trial of persons travelling without tickets or committing other petty offences against the Railway Rules, proved useful. So similar courts were sanctioned for Madurai and Erode in 1935. In the same year a combined Railway Intelligence Bureau for both the railway police districts was established in the office of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C.I.D., Madras. After some years these Bureaux were shifted to the respective police offices.

Political agitators found in the railways a favourite hunting ground. Tampering with railway tracks or sabotage on the railways was considered to be the best means of bringing to the Central Government's notice, people's disapprobation of their policies. In the years 1949 and 1950 the communists adopted these tactics in Tiruchi and Tanjore districts. They attempted to set fire to railway sleepers on bridges and on the permanent way; they burnt train-halts and in one

instance the electrical stores in Golden Rock containing articles to the value of Rs. 2½ lakhs was reduced to ashes. The police had a strenuous time in dealing with these offences. Subsequently, there were movements sponsored by the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam for changing the names of certain stations or as a protest against some actions of the Central Government. Potti Sriramalu's death and the Andhra agitation also resulted in large scale damage to railway track and theft of goods from yards. In the early days, the dispute over sharing the cost of the railway police centred mainly round the interpretation given to law-and-order as against watch-and-ward duties. All these hair-splitting legal subtleties appear quite unreal in the context of large scale attacks on the railway lines, when the whole machinery of the Government has to be diverted to protect the permanent way and stations.

The spirit of lawlessness prevailing among extremist trade unions was again responsible for a series of sabotage on the Coimbatore and Pollachi line, where certain temporary labourers who were members of the Labour Union had recourse to them to force the hands of the railway authorities for continuing temporary establishments, providing labour to a number of people. These culprits eluded the police for a long time but an elaborate investigation brought out the complicity of the criminals. The details of the investigation are narrated to provide an idea of the difficulties encountered by the police in the investigation of such cases.

During the years 1952-54 there were about a dozen offences of removal of fish plates on the Southern Railway which smacked of sabotage. In one or two later cases in the series of the offences in South India the removed fish-plates with the bolts were found tied to the rails by means of strands of wire cut from the railway fencing in the neighbourhood. There was no derailment in any of these cases, but that was only providential. The travelling public naturally became panicky. A number of offences were reported from the same area. So the Collector of the district mobilized his revenue subordinates and instructed them to augment the strength of the police and railway patrols posted in the area. However the offenders struck again in the same place. This was too much for official equanimity and the C. I. D. was called in to take up the investigation.

The difficulties encountered by the investigating officer in these cases were several. No police officer had seen the removed fish-plates,

bolts or nuts in the position they were left lying by the culprits, for, as soon as the tampering of the track was discovered, the engineering section of the railway had rushed to the spot and set right the damage to enable the free movement of trains. No finger-prints or foot-prints were observed at the scenes of offences. There was no loss of identifiable property. The railway authorities always held an enquiry into these happenings and unwittingly believed as true the statements of some witnesses, which were taken down in writing. In many cases, these statements were found to be untrue but the true versions obtained by the police were disbelieved as they differed from the earlier signed statements. As if this was not enough a number of agencies like the railway police, the local police and a special party under a Deputy Superintendent of Police, had investigated these cases and had arrived at different conclusions.

So the investigating officer selected a staff who had no mental reservations with regard to the probable culprits in the offences. The first step in the investigation was to chart out all the offences on a map of South India. The chart showed that most of the offences had been committed at places close to important railway junctions. These junctions had been the rendezvous of notorious criminals and several gangs had also operated in the neighbourhood. A section of the public thought that the tampering of the track might be the work of criminals who had conspired to wreck trains for the purpose of looting them. There were reports from cowherds and grass-cutting women on the slopes of hillocks about suspicious characters going about masked and armed with tridents and speaking a weird language. All these reports were verified and in most cases itinerant sadhus or up-country beggars were discovered to be the heroes of these stories.

The railway track and trains have come in for a good deal of attention by political parties which wanted to express their disapproval of the policies of the Central Government. In the South a political party which had embarked on a movement of defacing name boards of railway stations, had also organized a labour movement among the railway workers. It was suspected at this time that this party was setting in motion a subversive movement, and the removing of fish-plates and derailing of trains may be a dress-rehearsal for more violent programmes. There was some basis for such a suspicion. In one instance, the sabotage had been committed on the night of the holding of a meeting of the party addressed by one of its leaders. When another

offence occurred the secretary of the local organization, a fitter in a railway workshop had overstayed his leave, and was, according to him, halting at a place only two miles from the place of sabotage. So the enquiries about this organization had to be very carefully conducted and it was learnt from the inner sources of the party that it had no hand in the cases. The secretary had attended a Bacchanalian party and had perforce to extend his leave to overcome the symptoms of inebriety.

The various acts of sabotage followed a set pattern. They showed expert handling of the tools and that too, the proper ones. As they had been committed even during the period of intensive night patrols, when the interval between the watches was short, it was obvious that persons who generally handled the removing of bolts and nuts and thus attained proficiency in it, had been responsible for the offences. So there was a watch for persons carrying tools at night. Soon after the commission of another act of sabotage, information was received that on the night in question two weavers returning from a shandy saw a person going along the cabin side of a railway station with a canvas bag. A railway ticket was later found on the line of route of the individual. The canvas bag obviously suggested concealed pliers and levers and the man's walking away without surrendering his ticket at the gate, pointed to the purposiveness and secrecy of his errand. So a wide search was made for him.

The two weavers obligingly accompanied the police in scouring the neighbouring villages to locate the man with the bag. The railway ticket gave a clue. Enquiries were pursued at the station where the ticket had been issued. It was learnt that only four such tickets had been sold at the counter on that day and one of the purchasers was a machine-man in a mill, who had taken two or three similar trips within a short time. The Sub Inspector followed up the clue, for this mill worker possessed all the technical qualifications required for carrying out the sabotage. He was ultimately traced. He admitted having made the trips and going away without surrendering his ticket. But it was a case of filial love, prompting a son to go to the bedside of his ailing mother without loss of time. He was taking medicines in the canvas bag. So it turned out to be a wild-goose chase.

After such alarms and excursions, the investigation was focussed on the doings of a clique in one of the trade unions of the railway. The investigating officer had a first-hand knowledge of the activities of this

clique when he was investigating a terrorist conspiracy case two years prior to the sabotages. Documentary proof was then forthcoming to the effect that this union was completely dominated by a terrorist party. When that party embarked on what can be compendiously called an acid-bulb revolution after a party congress, many railway workers were drawn into the vortex of the struggle. When their attempt to seize power had failed, there was an intense heart-searching among the partymen and though violence was never eschewed there were loud affirmations that the party had withdrawn from all illegal activities. The inner core however remained unchanged and was still willing to take to violence, if any opportunity offered itself, in order to rally the working-class to its side.

The opportunity came, when there was some dissatisfaction among temporary labourers in the Engineering Department of the South Indian Railway. These labourers were listed in what was called the approved list of candidates for gangmen. They were stagnating in the list for a number of years. So the investigating officer set about studying the number of gangs in each section of the Railway, the persons who were in the waiting list and the gravamen of their charges against the Railway administration. This was a very laborious task as it involved the interviewing of several hundreds of railway workers, *maistries*, supervisors, permanent way inspectors and engineers and perusing correspondence relating to organized representation by workers. The motive for the offences which began to emerge in a dim form, became clearer when the actions of the representatives of these labourers were studied in the context of the decisions of the conferences preceding them. The motive may be stated as follows :—Each gang-length consisted of four miles, and in the jurisdiction of a permanent way inspector there used to be about a dozen gangs. In each gang there was a *maistri*, a keyman and six or seven gangmen. During the rainy season, between the first of September and 15th of January every year, night patrols used to be instituted and the senior gangmen were detailed for that duty. Their vacancies were filled up by selecting men from the approved list of candidates ; they were also recruited as casual labourers called *khalasis*. But these appointments were for precariously short periods only. While the pay of a gangman was about Rs. 70 per mensem, a khalasi got only about Rs. 37-8-0 per mensem without attendant facilities like free passes and leave. These periodical tamperings with the railway track led to the tightening up of the night patrol measures resulting in employment

of several men from the approved list of candidates. The aim of the union leaders was to queer the pitch for the railway administration so that night patrols would become a permanent feature all the year round. That all the officials fell into this trap was apparent from the fact that as soon as one offence occurred, night patrols were posted on all the sections. After some time, when there was talk of disbandment, another offence was committed which necessitated the continuance of the system. The investigating officer was hard put to it to convince the railway authorities that this detailing of night patrols made them pay the piper but enabled the workers to call the tune.

It was at this time that information reached the investigating officer that certain workers in a section where offences were rampant were often seen going about in trains. Enquiries were commenced about these workers and the Sub Inspectors were able to chart out their movements almost hourly for a period of six months by the entries in various credit accounts in the books of wayside tea shops. This fixed them to the area on the relevant dates. It was also found with regard to the dates of discharges of six persons that the offences had closely preceded their anticipated 'quit' notice. The inference was obvious. The workers wanted to stick on and that could be achieved only if the necessity for recruiting the casual labour persisted. When further inquiries were made, these workers were often found to be meeting a ticket collector who was the Secretary of the Station Committee of the Labour Union and a ticket examiner who was the Assistant Secretary of the main Union. The duty roster of the latter was seen day-to-day for a period of one year and the offences were found to have occurred while he was off duty at places within 20 miles from his headquarters.

All the information thus obtained during the investigation was tabulated and correlated and they pointed to the complicity of these disgruntled labourers and their leaders in the commission of these offences. The first arrest was made 18 months after the offences started occurring in a series. The evidence in the hands of the investigating officer was so overwhelming that the accused made a voluntary confession which showed that he with another person committed four offences while in the last two offences four more workers joined them being compelled by the office-bearers of the Union.

This revelation was too much for the Union to take lying down and a raging campaign was started in party newspapers that violence

had been used to extort the confession. This was proved baseless in a magisterial enquiry. This is mentioned here to draw attention to the hazards which an investigating officer has to face in dealing with offenders backed by a trade union.

Eight accused were charged in these cases and though the assessors unanimously agreed that they were guilty, the Assistant Sessions Judge convicted two of the worst perpetrators. This was only to be expected inasmuch as all these offences had been committed at night. There were no eye witnesses and circumstantial evidence in such cases can lead to a moral certainty only but not supply the legal proof for a conviction.

On the formation of the Andhra State, the Madras railway police district with the exception of Central and Arkonam Circles was included in the new State. An additional sub division with headquarters at Madras was formed and added to the Tiruchi railway police district. The Kerala State formation again brought about a rearrangement in the railway jurisdiction, the limit of the Madras Railway Police extending only up to Podanur. The length of the railway line under the control of the police of this State now is 2,248 miles. There are three sub divisions with headquarters at Madras, Coimbatore and Madurai controlling 7 circles, 25 stations and 31 outposts. As already mentioned constables are recruited separately for the railway police district and deserving ones are promoted as head constables. Sub Inspectors are deputed to the railway police for a period of four years from local police districts. Selections are made from a panel of names kept for this purpose. Inspectors for the railway police are selected in a similar manner but they remain on deputation only for 3 years. The railway police which was for long under the control of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C. I. D. was transferred to the charge of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Training and Welfare in June 1959.

CHAPTER XIII

“ YUDHI VIKRAMA ”

AMONG the armed forces of the Madras Police, the Malabar Special Police ranks supreme. It was born in adversity but by sheer strength of character and discipline it has overcome all limitations and now it is a crack corps in no way inferior to the flower of the military regiments in India. But the pride of place has been won only at the cost of blood, sweat and tears on the fighting line in the many jungles extending from Vizagapatam to Cape Comorin. Nor is this all. Several companies of this force are now grappling with the Naga rebels in the mountainous country of Assam.

The beginnings of this force are to be found in the Nayar Sibbandy Corps raised under native chieftains towards the end of the 18th century, when the Malabar country was being ravaged by bands of marauding Moplahs who found a secure retreat in the jungles of Wynad and Walluvanad. Tippu's brutal methods of conversion had engendered a fierce and abiding hatred in the minds of the Hindus against the Muslims and when the British took over Malabar in 1782, they found it necessary to form the Sibbandy Corps to overawe the Moplahs. In 1801 the irregular and indisciplined Sibbandy Corps were disbanded and their place was taken by a force of 500 armed policemen raised by Captain Watson mainly for the purpose of collecting revenue. It was the same Captain Watson that became the first Conservator of Forests in 1806 in Madras State. In the troublous times of Pychy rebellion already described, this force did conspicuous service. The force ceased to function from 1810, when the Darogah system was introduced in Malabar. The Moplah out-breaks from 1845 onwards soon revealed the inadequacy of that system. In 1854 the establishment of a local police corps consisting of 31 Indian officers, two buglers and 180 men under the command of two military officers was sanctioned by the Government of India “ but the case with which Mr Conolly, the District Magistrate, was murdered by four escapees ” exposed the weakness and inefficiency of the police organization. Act XXIV of 1859 attempted to remove the evils of ineffective and insufficient policing of districts but periodical outbreaks of Muslim fanaticism necessitated the formation of a new unit called the Malappuram Special Police in 1884. Between 1854

and 1884 there had been a dozen instances in which Moplahs had gone on the war path against Hindus and killed a number of them. The special force consisted of 80 constables, 4 head constables, 4 sergeants, a bugler and an European Inspector. It was a fine body of men holding its own with European troops in drill and signalling. As the fortunes of the Malabar Special Police are linked with the out-bursts of Moplah fanaticism, a recital of some of the outbreaks becomes necessary. On 25-2-1896 a gang of Moplahs set out in Chembrasserri village and went about in ever increasing numbers converting Hindus and desecrating temples. The Special Force and troops which had been called out pursued them and found them encamped in a temple. The District Magistrate with the main body of troops occupied a hill overlooking the temple at a distance of about 750 yards across a deep valley. The troops and the police opened fire at once and the fanatics instead of taking shelter, deliberately courted death by offering themselves as a target to the bullets on the open platform of the temple, howling, shouting, waving their arms and firing off their guns. After some time the troops advanced and entered the temple without opposition. A horrible sight met their eyes. Within the narrow precincts were found the bodies of 92 Moplahs. Life was lingering in some but the general majority were dead and at least twenty had their throats cut from ear to ear. They had been murdered by their compatriots to prevent them from being captured alive.

After this the Malappuram Special Force was made permanent in 1897. During each Ramzan, the Special Force and Calicut Reserve were mobilized and deployed in parties at Pandalur, Pandikkad, Tuvvur, Manjeri and Malappuram. They used to keep themselves in touch with one another by means of signalling arrangements.

In 1915 an attempt was made on the life of Mr Innes, the District Magistrate, who had a narrow escape from being shot. The Moplahs concerned in this outrage, and some other fanatics who had joined them, indulged in the usual course of murder and arson. They were shot down by the Special Police Force. This was followed by another rising in 1919 when 4 Malabar brahmins and 2 Nairs were put to death by the rebels.

But in point of magnitude and method of organization, the rising of the Moplah Community in 1921 and the atrocities that followed are unparalleled in the history of Malabar or for that matter, in the

history of the whole of India. Sir William Vincent, the Home Member to the Government of India speaking in the Council of State in September 1921 about the immediate causes for the Moplah rebellion said, "At the beginning of this year there were certain speeches delivered and these had a considerable effect on the fanatical population of Malabar which was singularly prone to outbreaks. In June there were reports of volunteer organizations and these organizations were going on secretly. In July there were provoking speeches on the Khilafat question which with the resolution of the All-India Khilafat Conference held in Karachi produced an impression among the Moplahs that the end of the British rule was at hand. The first instance of lawlessness was in this month. When the police officers went to arrest a man for breaking into the house of a Nambudiri, a large number of Moplahs arrived and there was serious danger of riot which was however averted. The Police at the time were powerless and the Moplahs considered themselves victorious. Under the Moplah Outrages Act, the Government arrested three men and there was no trouble; but a party of Police was left to search for others. In the course of this search certain Moplah Policemen, after taking their shoes, entered a mosque. This information spread around and a large force of Moplahs collected to attack the police."

There was a half company of the Second Leicester Regiment at Calicut. At the request of the Madras Government a few days prior to the rebellion, this had been reinforced by three platoons of the same unit from Madras. Thus the strength was something over 200 rifles. The District Magistrate of Malabar, Mr E. F. Thomas, C. I. E., requisitioned military aid for a search of concealed arms at Tirurangadi. Three platoons of the Leicester Regiment accompanied him, one platoon of which was sent to secure Malappuram and the rest arrived along with the Malappuram Special Police on 20-8-1921 at Tirurangadi. The search for arms resulted in the arrest of 3 persons. At about midday information was received that a crowd of 2,000 Moplahs had come by train to the nearest railway station and was advancing on Tirurangadi. The Collector decided to go at once and meet the mob. The police columns consisted of Mr E. R. Mainwaring, Deputy Inspector General and Mr G. H. Hitchcock, C. I. E., M. B. E., District Superintendent of Police, on the left, and Messrs Lancaster and Amu Sahib, Sub Divisional Officers, on the right, with the Malappuram Special Force in the rear. About a mile and a half

from Tirurangadi the column encountered a mob of Moplahs between 2,000 and 3,000 strong with a Khilafat flag in front. They were ordered to disperse but they continued to advance. The Reserve Police with fixed bayonets charged the mob but the rebels brought down their clubs on the rifles. A fight ensued. A constable had his head cut open. Mr Lancaster received a blow on his head. There was firing without the word of command and nine rebels were killed and 40 were taken prisoners. The column returned to Tirurangadi. At this place a small party consisting of Leicesters and the police had been left to guard the camp with Lieut. W. R. Johnstone and M. Rowley, Assistant Superintendent in charge. A mob estimated at 2,000 advancing from another direction attacked this party. They were dispersed with Lewis gun and rifle fire, but the two officers who had advanced towards the mob for a parley along with two Head Constables, named Mohammad and Govindan Nair as interpreters, were surrounded and murdered by the rebels. Their mutilated corpses were picked up by the District Magistrate's party on their return. The District Magistrate handed over the situation at 7 p.m. to the Officer Commanding as beyond Civil Powers. Next day after burying the dead, the District Magistrate and party marched back to Parapparangadi. They found the telegraph lines cut, the railway lines damaged; and they were harried on their flanks all along the route by Moplah hordes. The attacks were, however, repulsed and they reached Calicut by midnight.

The murder of Inspector Readman, in charge of the Malappuram Special Police, pathetic as it was, evidently brought out the high sense of duty displayed by that officer. On the night of 19th August 1921, Mr Lancaster, Assistant Superintendent of Police with Inspector Readman and a posse of police left Malappuram for Tirurangadi but after going some eight miles, Mr Readman was taken ill and had to be sent back in a cart, his orderly accompanying him. The Inspector reached Malappuram early in the morning of 20th and feeling better after a little rest sought leave to rejoin his men at Tirurangadi but the request was not granted at that time. In the afternoon he was informed that he could go if he was of the same mind. He got ready at once and was put in the Collector's car, the chauffeur being the only other occupant. The car was followed by three lorries, in the leading one of which was his orderly Kunhali. After it had traversed the first eight miles from Malappuram, this lorry was held up by a rebel gang who attacked and killed the occupants. The car conveying Mr Readman

got as far as the ferry, 12 miles from Malappuram and within two miles of Tirurangadi, when it was attacked by the rebels and it was here that Mr Readman was killed.

Col. C. T. Humphreys was appointed Military Commandant by the supreme military authorities. Mr Tottenham, District Superintendent of Police, North Malabar took a detachment of North Malabar Reserve to Ferok Road and Railway bridge on the 21st August 1921 and this party held that important and exposed position for some days. Martial Law was proclaimed on the 24th August. Mr F. B. Evans, I. C. S., joined the Military Commander on the 25th August as Civil Adviser. The severest engagement with the rebels took place on the 26th August 1921 at Pukkottur when a column commanded by Captain McEnvoy, D.S.O., M.C., was attacked by Moplahs on its advance to Malappuram. It was here that Mr C. B. Lancaster, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Malappuram was mortally wounded by a sniper. The rebels were well armed with carbines captured from the police stations they looted, as well as with some sporting rifles, swords, and even knives. They displayed their traditional ferocity and eagerness for death. After five hours of fighting they were beaten off, their casualties being estimated at 400 killed. Mr Lancaster died shortly afterwards and the department lost a promising young officer possessed of reckless bravery.

The rebels soon split up, though considerable bodies maintained cohesion for some time and took to looting and murder, constantly endeavouring to elude the forces in their pursuit. A strong military force had to be employed but the operations were much hampered by the hilly nature of the country and the guerilla tactics adopted by the rebels. From the very onset of the rebellion Mr Hitchcock, the District Superintendent of Police, South Malabar realized the imperative need for a special force "to be raised, organized, armed and equipped on the lines of an Indian Infantry battalion, both for the purpose of assisting in quelling the rebellion and to enable the District Police to carry on in safety as soon as troops are removed." The Malappuram Special Force armed with Martin-Henri Single-Shot rifles were found to be insufficient to cope with an insurrection of that nature though the members of this force had brought lasting fame to their organization and country in many encounters they had with the rebels. The District Magistrate strongly supported the suggestion of Mr Hitchcock and addressed the Government for sanctioning the raising of such a force.

"I cannot forecast the future," he wrote, "all I can say is that the merest prudence requires that one should provide against a relapse on the part of the Mappilas. It seems to me when peace is restored it will be necessary to have armed posts, in addition to a British detachment stationed at Malappuram, situated at a few central places in Wynad and Walluvanad. The rank and file could be recruited from men picked from the large number of Hindu Sepoys demobilized from the Carnatic Regiment and Malabar Infantry. The Headquarters of the force will be Malappuram." The Government accepted the District Magistrate's proposal on the 30th September 1921 and sanctioned a strength of 6 British Officers, 8 Subedars, 16 Jemadars, 60 Havildars and 600 Constables to be formed into 6 companies of Auxiliary Police. This was later called the Malabar Special Police.

The birth pangs of the Malabar Special Police as we have seen were great. Mr Hitchcock took up the task of recruitment. He had been a recruiting officer for the Army during the first World War (1914-1919) and knew the people of Malabar well. Most of the officers and men recruited by him were demobilized army men who had settled down in their farms and fields but when the call from Mr Hitchcock came, all of them vied with one another in joining the new police force, without caring to know even the conditions of service, which were laid down only 2 months after the formation of the force. They had belonged principally to the 2/73rd Regiment. The force was officered by an Indian Civil Service officer, a Probationary Assistant Superintendent of Police and demobilized officers of the British Army, who offered their services and were given appointments as temporary Assistant Superintendents of Police. The recruits were sent to Cannanore for three weeks' training. By the 26th October, the first three companies had taken the field with no equipment except their arms and ammunition. They first drew blood when a detachment was attacked by rebels on 30th October at Chevayoor near Calicut. Twentysix rebels were killed and two fire-arms were captured. The police casualties were an Indian rank killed, and one British Officer and 6 Indian ranks wounded. Detachments visited Tamarasseri and Cherukolathur. While crossing a ferry two miles south of Tamarasseri on 8-11-1921, two detachments of Malabar Special Police were opposed by a party of rebels. In the exchange of fire three rebels were killed while the Special Police escaped unhurt. Three days later while advancing from Tamarasseri to Omasserri via Kondotti, the hotbed of the rebellion, the Malabar

Special Police party was opposed all the way in the dense jungles by the rebels who employed hit-and-run tactics. The Malabar Special Police was equally proficient in these tactics and killed 11 rebels before reaching the road at Chettamangalam. One of the police ranks fell in the battle and one officer and three men were slightly wounded. In the vicinity of Malayamma 6 rebels were killed, besides several others being wounded, by the Special Police. One Indian officer and one Indian other rank were slightly injured. Between 15th and 18th November the Malabar Special Police carried out punitive operations in Manasserri Area. Four rebels were killed and one firearm was captured. On 30th November a Tirurangadi band encountered by the Special Police at Nannambra was given battle and 9 casualties were inflicted. Another detachment operating from Chelambra side accounted for 6 rebels. On the Tirurangadi trunk road, three rebels lost their lives in an encounter. A party of Special Police operating in Kalpakancheri killed four and captured 9 rebels while another company at Chelambara achieved similar results. On the 6th December 4 rebels were shot in a clash at Vennankod. Large scale surrender of rebels began at this period and the Special Police was mentioned along with the Gurkhas and Suffolks as having had successful encounters with the rebels. The leaders of the rebellion were called 'Khilafat Kings'. One of the prominent among these was Varian Kunnath Kunhamed Haji. On 6th January 1922 Kunhamad Haji with 21 followers, one '303 rifle, 10 police rifles and four other breech-loading fire-arms, was captured by the special police force organized for that purpose under the leadership of Subedar Gopala Menon and Sub Inspector Ramanatha Iyer.

While on the topic of the Moplah rebellion it would be pertinent to note down here the other casualties in the police department. One head constable at Mudikod stuck to his post after sending away his men even though he was well aware of the danger to his life. He was brutally killed by the rebels. Two constables of Nilambur were murdered while they were on intelligence duty. On 18th December a party of police consisting of detachments from the Armed Reserves of Salem, Trichinopoly and Coimbatore districts under a sergeant stationed at Pandalur on the Nilgiri-Wynad Road was attacked by a considerable body of rebels. One constable of the Salem Armed Reserve was killed as also two surveyors and three peons of the Madras Revenue Survey who were in the same building as the police. The Gudalur Circle Inspector Mr Seshagiri Rao who was halting in the post-office at

Pandalur was also attacked and murdered. One of the most atrocious acts of the rebels was the murder and decapitation of Khan Bahadur K. V. Chekkutty, a retired Inspector of Police. His head was paraded on a pike for his alleged support of the Government. A similar fate fell on retired Head-Constable Kumara Panicker.

It has already been noted that the Special Police working under the Martial Law Commander gave a very good account of themselves. Its Company Commanders were Messrs C. G. Tottenham, I. M. Fraser, I.C.S., King, Colebrook, Charsley and Bayzand. Messrs Elliot and Bishop also worked with the troops during the martial law period, but the services of Mr Hitchcock stood apart as altogether exceptional. With his unique local knowledge and splendid devotion to duty, he might be truly said to have been the mainspring of the suppression of the rebellion both as the Chief Intelligence Officer of the Martial Law Commander and as the Superintendent of Police after the abrogation of the martial law.

The magnitude of the devastation caused by the rebellion can be seen from the fact that, during its progress, 19 police stations had been sacked, 8 revenue offices including subtreasuries looted, 10 sub-registrars' offices destroyed and 16 post-offices pillaged. The destruction of village offices, travellers' bungalows and bridges was terrific. Railway lines and stations also did not escape the hands of rebels.

The work of the Malabar Special Police can be appreciated only in the context of the holocaust described. Jemadar K. P. Kunhiram Menon, one naik and four constables were killed, and two British officers Messrs Colebrook and Fraser, Subedar Sanjeeva Menon, Jemadar Kunhi Raman Nair, one Havildar and 12 constables were wounded. The military casualties were 24 killed and 103 wounded. The total police casualties were 24 killed and 29 wounded. Mr Evans, Special Civil Officer in Malabar with the troops, wrote, "The Malabar Special Police took the field with little training or organization but did very well. Most units displayed considerable bravery when put to it and all proved their mobility." Mr Colebrook did not turn back after his joining the Malabar Special Police. For several years he was its Assistant Commandant, and then its Commandant and to him largely does this force owe its incomparable efficiency and smartness.

But after the rebellion, the Malabar Special Police was not allowed to rest on its laurels. Its fame as experts in guerilla warfare spread to

the four corners of the land. When a similar rebellion broke out in the Gudem Hills in the Vizagapatam Agency the local reserves could not make any headway and the Government wisely thought of utilizing the Malabar Special Police to put down the insurrection in preference to a martial-law administration. This was called the Fituri operations. It would be appropriate at this stage to refer to the disturbances in this area in the past but before doing so, it is necessary to explain the meaning of the word 'fituri'. Fituri is the local name for the outbreaks which occur time and again in the Agency tracts of Vizagapatam and Fituridar is a person who takes part in such an outbreak. Details of some outbreaks have already been given in the preceding pages.

The event of the official year 1879-80 in the Godavari Agency was the rising in Rampa and neighbouring tracts. Rampa, a hilly and feverish territory containing about 100 square miles, was formerly held on rent-free police tenure by a feudatory (called the *mansubdar*) of the now long since dismembered zemindari of Peddapuram. The first *mansubdar* died in 1835, and his son being an illegitimate minor was expelled from the country by the landholders of the petty tracts (called *muttahs*) into which it was divided. He was however eventually restored in 1847 after protracted negotiations between his retainers and Government; and in an agreement entered into by him at that time he bound himself to levy no other cess from them than a sum of Rs. 1,000 payable in fixed shares and to preserve the peace in Rampa. Certain distinct penalties were laid down, one of which was that if he for the third time proved himself unable to maintain the peace in his estate it was liable to be resumed by the Government. Undisturbed however by these obligations, he began a career of systematic spoliation and usurpation, with the result that although armed risings against his authority took place on various occasions, he contrived to get under his control eight *muttahs* from which he raised rents greatly in excess of the tribute he was entitled to, and was levying a large revenue from various unauthorized cesses; and favoured by the apathy of the local officers, he cleverly contrived to create a general belief that his acts had official countenance. The consequence was a great distrust of the Government among the hill tribes. The exactions of an unsupervised police and oppressive decrees obtained by traders in the low-country courts against their ignorant debtors contributed to the existing dissatisfaction. The toddy tax caused the final outbreak. The privilege enjoyed up to 1872 by the people of this Presidency of drawing toddy for domestic

consumption without a licence was, owing to its abuse, annulled in that year. Only certain hilly parts of Canara, Ganjam and Vizagapatam, but not Rampa, were exempted from this restriction. The new toddy tax was first levied in Rampa in 1875; but no serious discontent was caused by it until 1878, when, the Rajahmundry toddy-farm having been let out for the high sum of Rs. 20,000, the sub-renters set to work to raise a heavy tax in Rampa, and the *mansubdar* gave notice that he intended to levy an additional toddy-cess for himself as superior landlord. The people of the hills thereupon broke out in open insurrection. On the 9th March 1879 the Rampa Division Police Inspector received information of the projected rising and at once communicated with his superior, meanwhile deputing a head constable and nine men into the interior to ascertain the truth of the report. The Superintendent of Police, Major Morris and the Sub Collector, Mr Johnson (the Collector was absent in Badhrachalam), proceeded to Chodavaram and held a parley with a number of *muttahdars* who were found assembled there. The latter stated their grievances and were promised redress; but immediately afterwards began an attack on the police station, continued to fire shots at it throughout the day, and surrounded it at night. No casualty, however, occurred and the besieged party were relieved in a few days by police reinforcements. The 39th Native Infantry was despatched from Madras to Cocanada, the orders of Government being that the troops were to remain in the plains and not to proceed into the hills without sanction or unless the police were overpowered. The bulk of the regiment remained at Cocanada. Rewards were notified for the leading rebels, among whom two *muttahdars* called Sirdar Jangam and Amal Reddi of Bodalur were prominent. During the end of March and the beginning of April several small encounters took place between the rebels and the troops and police. The greatest difficulty was experienced in obtaining information, and the ruggedness and exceeding unhealthiness of the country proved formidable obstacles to capturing the fleet-footed jungle men. There were no casualties on the Government side in fair fight up to April, but of the constables despatched into the northern parts of Rampa on the 8th March, several were captured and two murdered by a rebel called Tamman Dora. About the end of April the disturbance began to extend northwards into the Gudem Hills in Vizagapatam. A party of police marching from Kota in Rampa to Aditeegala Station were fired on and a head constable killed. To replace the lossess caused by fever among the police in Godavari, additional men were brought in from Kistna and Ganjam. Sirdar

Jangam was arrested by a friendly *muttahdar* on the 29th April. The Government directed that, pending consideration whether the full penalty under the *mansubdar's* agreement should not be exacted, he should be prohibited from all communication with Rampa country. The rising had, however, by this time spread further afield and had infected the criminal classes of the surrounding parts. One Chandrayya gained an evil reputation by a number of bold dacoities committed by him in the northern part of Peddapuram taluk and in southern Golconda and by the burning of two police stations. To counteract his movements troops were moved to Narasapatam from Waltair, and he was in May all but captured by Mr Millett, a police officer. He fled to Tamman Dora for assistance. Sickness was at this period exceedingly prevalent. In June the 39th Native Infantry, which had been completely incapacitated for duty by fever, returned to Madras. Chandrayya recovered courage after some easy successes over the demoralized police and local militia; he surrounded Mr Millett at Aditegala station and defeated him when he endeavoured to force his way out. The situation became so serious that troops were at once ordered up from various quarters. Colonel Rammell was placed in command of all the military and police in the disturbed tracts; and the Nizam's Government and the Commissioner of the Central Provinces were requested to take measures to prevent the escape of the rebels over their respective frontiers. Mr Sullivan, the First Member of the Board of Revenue, was ordered to the Godavari district to make a searching inquiry into the causes of the disturbances. Aditegala station was relieved on the 25th June. Fresh troubles, however, arose in Rekapalle taluk, which adjoins Rampa on the west. On the 10th July Rampa insurgents under Amal Reddi aided by a number of Rekapalle people attacked Wudagudem Police Station. They were driven back, but this new outbreak in a fresh quarter demanded reinforcements in that part. A party of police proceeded up river from Rajahmundry in the *Godavari* steamer, preceded by the *Shamrock*, but the latter being attacked was abandoned by her crew and captured by the rebels. The officer in command of the *Godavari* was obliged reluctantly to return, as his vessel had no protection against bullets for the helmsman or engines. The rebels, after this temporary success, burnt one village and threatened another; the *Godavari*, now protected by mantlets and temporary bulwarks, was sent up the river again. Police and sepoys from the Central Provinces reinforced the Madras forces in Bhadrachalam and Rekapalle, and the Godavari and Severi rivers were patrolled by steamers. Up to the middle of August, 70

of Chandrayya's followers were captured. The rising languished during the three following months, and a number of successful raids were made on the rebels and their villages. It being clear that the *mansubdar* had been a principal cause of the disturbances, the Government decided that the time had arrived for enforcing the full penalty of the 1848 agreement. His estate was placed under attachment, and he was arrested and conveyed as a State prisoner to Berhampore. On references made by Mr Sullivan, orders were passed that only the ring leaders should be dealt with for the offence of waging war against the Queen, and that the rank and file should be indicted for the actual crimes which they could be proved to have committed. Instructions were issued to him on the manner in which the *muttahs* were to be settled; and all toddy taxation was, with the exception of a trifling cess, prohibited. The effect of these measures was the restoration of Rampa and Rekapalle to comparative quiet. The leader Amal Reddi was captured by a police officer, and Chandrayya was in February 1880 killed by one of his own lieutenants, his band dispersed and a number of minor leaders were captured. The only important rebel remaining was Tamman Dora. Driven out of Rekapalle, Rampa and Golconda the remnants of the dacoits crossed in the beginning of February into Hill Madgole, plundered a village called Kinlankote, and then appeared near Paderu station, which was deserted at their approach by the force (15 men) holding it. They wrecked the lock-up, and after committing a number of outrages moved away towards Hill Pachipenta, not, however, without the loss of 13 of their number, who were captured by the Superintendent of Police, Jeypore. Celebrating their irruption by a series of murders they attacked Araka station, but were beaten off by a few determined constables and forced to retire into the jungles. This was the last noteworthy event up to the end of the year. In the disturbed tracts there were employed at the time 2,400 troops and 658 police. Sickness was exceedingly prevalent and destructive; and the numbers given do not represent the forces actually available for duty, which was naturally far smaller. Mr Sullivan's settlement with the *muttahdars* was confirmed, and the *mansubdari* tenure of Rampa cancelled. The Local Fund Act IV of 1871 was put in force in Rampa and the funds raised under it directed to be laid out in opening up the country by means of cheap roads. To ensure efficient supervision by the district officers a Sub Magistrate with civil powers was located near the foot of the hills, and the Collector required to make a tour in them once a year.

After this there had been petty skirmishes in these hilly areas, in which the district police always had the upper hand and movements of insurrection fizzled out after a short time. But in the year 1921 Alluri Sri Rama Raju, a native of Kistna district appeared to be exercising a good hold on the tribes inhabiting Gudem Hill. When his activities slowly became subversive, the Government thought of taking action; but Raju left for Nepal on a pilgrimage with the permission of the Deputy Agent of the tract. He had a religious bent of mind and people in the area thought him to possess supernatural powers by which he could tame wild animals or make bullets fired from guns turn into water. After a short absence he came back again. The British records are not clear as to why he went on the war-path but from certain observations made therein he was in touch with non-co-operators. It is apparent that he found the British yoke too heavy and started on his own to overthrow the alien Government. The methods adopted by him had no sanction behind them, for the largest political party bent on achieving freedom had always stressed on non-violence as the only means through which the end should be gained.

The riot broke out on the 22nd August 1922 with the surprising of Chintapalli police station and the removal of arms and ammunition from there. This was followed by the looting of two more police stations, Krishnadevipet and Rajavammaje, on succeeding days. Here also only arms and ammunition were taken. A State prisoner who was under confinement in a subjail was released by the rioters but he returned to the jail as he did not like to hitch his wagon to the caravan of Sri Rama Raju. The conspicuous feature of the activities of Raju was that he did not harm any Indian police officer, so long as the latter did not cross his path. There had been many occasions when constables and Sub Inspectors had fallen into his hands and he had allowed them to go free telling them that his quarrel was with the Europeans and not with his countrymen. This form of a national spirit made him popular and the village folk were always willing to give him and his men shelter and food. All the armed reserves in the neighbourhood were mobilized and taken to the Agency and revenue and police officers made sorties into the mountainous strongholds but Sri Rama Raju was the elusive pimpernel, who always escaped just at the moment when the police thought he was in their grips. A party under Assistant Superintendents of Police, Messrs Scott Coward and Hayter, who were on the chase, was ambushed on the 24th September

and killed by gunshots along with two constables. One head constable and one constable were wounded. One constable was missing and the rest of the party returned stricken by the heavy blow inflicted on them. Raju's men removed the pistol of Scott Coward and took it away. The Government realized that the matter was getting serious and there were suggestions from the Special Officer for the Agency that martial law should be declared and Gurkha regiments which had experience of jungle-warfare should be brought into this area which was similar to the trans-frontier Pathan country. Mr Happel of the Indian Police had been appointed commandant of the combined police forces to deal with the insurrection in the area, and a number of European officers which at one time came to eighteen, were detailed to work under Mr Happel. The concensus of opinion among the officers and the members of the Government was that, if the Malabar Special Police were to lead and display the gallantry they did in the Malabar Rebellion, they were the answer to the *fituri*. The Malabar Special Police after the rebellion, had been stationed at several posts dotted over the rebel area. It was found difficult to remove them without unduly exciting the fears of the local population who had come to look upon them as their saviours. So arrangements were made to post detachments of the army at Malappuram and remove two companies of the Malabar Special Police to the *fituri* area. The Malabar Special Police took up patrol work and they had an engagement with the rebels on 6th December 1922, when Raju's hide-out was attacked with vigour. Several rebels were killed and some of the satellites of Raju were captured. Assistant-Superintendent Mr Keene, Subedar Krishna Panicker and Sergeant Goodsell distinguished themselves in this action. Nine police muskets, two 303 rifles, 768 rounds for muskets and 162 rounds for rifles were seized. Another seizure of tragic interest was the recovery of Scott Coward's automatic pistol. After this encounter the rebels dispersed and did not regain full cohesion until March 1923. At the beginning of the year 1923, 13 Indian officers, 33 non-commissioned officers, 321 constables and 14 followers of the Malabar Special Police were doing duty in the Rampa country. While reviewing the good work done during the *fituri* the Government said in March 1923: "The Malabar Special Police have justified the confidence felt in their ability to deal with situation which before their arrival seemed likely to require an appeal for military assistance." In April, 7 Indian officers, 20 non-commissioned officers, 226 constables and 7 followers were repatriated from Gudem Hills but another contingent of 50 was

despatched in June to the rebel areas. Mr Happel went on leave from April 1923 and Mr John was placed in command of 200 Malabar Special Police, 80 Koraput Reserve and 80 District Reserves to continue the operations. Mr Happel, who later became the Inspector General of Police, said of them: "Their discipline and general behaviour were excellent; they marched admirably, and inspite of frequent attacks of fever and the greatest hardships, there was never any grumbling or shirking. In action they showed splendid dash and a complete disregard for danger. The Indian officers set an excellent example to their men and proved themselves thoroughly reliable and efficient."

It was at this time that the formation of a striking force designated as the East Coast Special Force on the lines of the Malabar Special Police at Vizianagaram was decided upon. Mr Keating, who was a temporary Assistant Superintendent of Police, was in charge of a special force called Pandalur Special Force in the Nilgiris district. This force was sent to Malabar to reinforce the Malabar Special Police in its several posts, while the Commanding Officer Mr Keating was sent to take charge of the East Coast Special Police, which was being formed at that time. The permanent strength of the Force was to be one Assistant Superintendent of Police in charge of 2 companies consisting of 2 Subedars, 5 Jemadars, 2 Havildars Major, 8 Havildars, one Havildar-armourer, 10 naiks and 200 constables. Sanction was later given to recruit two more companies. The first, or 'A', company was raised by Mr Hume from around Guntur, Masulipatam and Bangalore and included 25 men from the Bellary Special Force. The second, or 'B', company was recruited by Mr Colebrook from North and South Malabar. The third, or 'C', company was raised by Mr Keating from Vellore, St. Thomas Mount, Madras and Masulipatam. The composition of 'A' & 'C' Companies was half Muslims and half Hindus while 'B' company consisted of Nairs, Ezhavas and Christians. All the three were trained by Mr Keating at Vizianagaram and were sent out to the Agencies in parties as each party completed its training which took about 5 weeks. The instructions covered marching, squad drill, rifle exercises, bayonet-fighting, physical training, musketry, range-firing, extended-order drill, advance guard, rear guard, flank guards, elementary attacks and retirements with blank ammunition, attack-practice with ball ammunition under service conditions and tactical exercises with route marches for the men, revolver course for officers and fire orders and judging distances for officers and non-commissioned officers.

The general programme was to patrol the affected area with the armed forces and arrest the rebels who were expected to return to the vicinity of their villages. However the rebels again collected and formed a gang which was pursued whenever information was received upon which it was possible to act. The gang eluded all efforts at capture and it became evident that operations must be conducted on a larger scale and that the intelligence system must be reorganized and developed.

Mr Sweeny was therefore put in command of the operations from 3rd June 1923. He set to work with characteristic energy to reorganize the scheme of operations. The locality was divided into seven areas in each of which a post of armed police was established and to each of which an intelligent staff was attached to work in the area. The commandant of the post was in charge of the area and of the intelligence system.

Telephonic communication was established between Narasapatam, the base of the operations, and 6 of the posts.

The strength of the Malabar Special Police had been reinforced and it had been invigorated by the receipt of fresh companies in replacement of older ones. On the night of 17th September 1923 Mr Kearns, one of the commandants, with a force of Malabar Special Police under Jemadars Narayana Kurup effected the arrest of Gam Mallu Dora, one of the chief lieutenants of Raju. Again, on the night of 29th September another detachment came upon some rebels in Katira Goddi, attacked and killed one of them.

The East Coast Special Force built up on the traditions of the Malabar Special Police did not lag behind in acts of heroism. On the 25th October 1923 the police post at Gudem was attacked by Raju and his followers in the absence of the European officers, Messrs Hume and Underwood. The force of 30 under Jemadar Abdul Jaffar Sahib behaved with admirable discipline and in accordance with Camp Standing Orders returned the fire and then charged the enemy who fled. One of the rebels was picked up dead. One Havildar Naik though mortally wounded behaved with heroism by throwing away his rifle bolt, bayonet and bandolier which were thus prevented from falling into the hands of the rebels, who carried off his rifle.

On 1st and 5th of November 1923 parties of the East Coast Special Police under Messrs Hume and Underwood inflicted casualties on the

rebels and recovered a '303 rifle, 2 police muskets, 5 country guns, 184 rounds of police ammunition and one police sword, scabbard and belt. Thirty per cent of the forces working in the area were incapacitated by the toll taken by malaria. Reinforcements in the nature of detachment of Assam Rifles consisting of 4 British officers, 9 Indian officers and 242 non-commissioned officers and men under Major M. Goodall, M.B.E., arrived on 20th January 1924. A section of 30th Mule Corps was also stationed at Narasapatam from the beginning of 1924. The rebels managed to avoid contact with troops. As the drives had been ineffectual, the country was divided into 20 areas and in each area an intelligence officer with an escort to continually patrol it, was posted. Messrs G. S. Bozman, I.C.S., P. W. Dare, I.F.S., and H. A. H. G. Hicks, I.F.S., were working with the police parties at this time. Mr T. G. Rutherford, I.C.S. who had been appointed Special Commissioner for Agency Operations decided to deport influential villagers who were known to have assisted the gang and to intern the relations of the rebels in Narasapatam. When these measures were set on foot, the villagers began to evince better co-operation in this work.

On 4th May Intelligence-Inspector Sriman Upendro Patnaik who was moving with a patrol section of the Malabar Special Police got on the track of the main body of rebels. He followed it up and came upon a party of 50 on 6th May. The rebels opened fire on the police, who returned it. Two rebels were killed while Vegi Raju Satyanarayana Raju commonly known as Aggi Raju, the most important of the rebel leaders next to Sri Rama Raju himself, was captured with a '303 rifle and 12 rounds of ammunition.

Sri Rama Raju had evidently been present on the occasion but escaped. Next morning an East Coast Special Police Party under Jemadar Kunju Menon and Sub Inspector Alwar Naidu fell in with him and captured him in an engagement. Sri Rama Raju was shot dead while attempting to escape.

The Inspector General of Police Mr Armitage, wrote in the administration report of 1924:—"The rebellion, as I pointed out last year, has been a severe strain upon the police department which possessed no organization nor resources designed to deal with operations of such magnitude. Many officers, superior and subordinate, carried out their duty with most praiseworthy devotion and suffered severely in health. No officer contributed more to the success of the operations than

Mr Sweeny. The work and conduct of the Malabar Special Police, East Coast Special Police and Koraput Reserve in the field was excellent. It is most regrettable that the health of the first two forces has been seriously impaired by their service on the operations and I fear that it will be long before they completely recover from it." The death-roll of Malabar Special Police totalled 2 havildars and 9 constables.

The intelligence work in these operations was under the directions of Sri P. Kanakaraju Pantulu Garu, Deputy Superintendent of Police. The legal and judicial part connected with the rebellion such as bringing the rebels to trial on the charge of waging war against the king was in the hands of Mr Ganeswara Rao who after several years became the head of the Crime Branch, C. I. D., Madras.

The thread of the development of the Malabar Special Police can be taken up again. The training of the force in Malabar was carried out under great difficulties. A party of two non-commissioned officers and six men were sent to 3/11th Sikh Regiment at Cannanore in 1923 for a course in visual signalling. For the first time, wireless sets were installed in Malappuram and in the six posts, by the firm of Marconis, one of whose experts examined the operators and trainees. One Ford Motor Ambulance and three Ford one-ton lorries were added to the equipment of the force. In 1924, thirteen officers attended a course in wireless telegraphy conducted by an engineer, Mr Goodwin of the Marconi Company. Three others completed a course in Morse and ' procedure ' under the same instructor. Mr Elliot, District Superintendent of Police, was in charge of the force but the brunt of the work fell on Mr Colebrook. The Pandalur Special Force was abolished and efficient men from it were taken to the Malabar Special Police. The Collector Mr H. R. Pate, I. C. S., writing about the Malabar Special Police in 1926 said, " It is even now not too early to be looking ahead to arrangements which should be made when for any reason Mr Colebrook is no longer available to hold this charge, since it is of the utmost importance to avoid any risk of deterioration in the fabric which he has so largely built up himself. The account, which Mr Colebrook gives of the mechanical working of the wireless installations, is somewhat disquieting and I think that either a qualified engineer with wireless training should be appointed to be in charge of the installations or arrangements should be made by which such an engineer should inspect and advise on the working of the system at regular intervals. I understand that Government

will no longer be entitled to the gratuitous advice of the Marconi Agent." Next year the first Assistant Commandant was designated Adjutant and Assistant Commandant for reasons of discipline. There was some difficulty in getting recruits and the height for the men was reduced from 5'7" to 5'6".

Ill-luck had been dogging the footsteps of the East Coast Special Police. Its Commandant Mr Peterson was shot dead by an assistant armourer who ran amuck killing also the Havildar armourer. Finally he shot himself. The Government ordered a joint enquiry by the District Magistrate, Vizagapatam and the Inspector General of Police, Madras and as a result of the facts disclosed the Government concluded that the East Coast Special Police could no longer remain a separate unit. So it was disbanded.

The Malabar Special Police enlisted some of the men discharged from the East Coast Special Police. The height for recruitment was further reduced to 5'5" and detachments were called for duty outside Malabar twice during the year, first in connexion with the arrival of the Simon Commission and then during the South Indian Railway strike. Inspection by army officers was provided for. Later in 1933 orders were issued to officer the force by military officers seconded from the army. Moplahs had been kept out of the force but a departure was made in 1932 for the first time in enlisting 9 Moplahs. The posts were reduced from 6 to 5 in 1936. In 1937 the Nilambur post was also closed thereby bringing down the number of posts to 4. There was a reorganization of strength which provided for 27 Indian officers and 737 petty officers and men.

The Malabar Special Police was allotted a new wave-length for wireless work and this was the first police organization in the Madras State utilizing wireless for operational purposes. An addition of the 10 Indian officers and 318 non-commissioned officers were sanctioned in 1940 and so the total strength rose to 1,092. Officers from the District Armed Reserve began to be trained in the Malabar Special Police in all branches, viz. instructional courses in small arms, physical training, and signalling. Selected officers from the Malabar Special Police were sent to military establishments for training. The war found the Malabar Special Police relieving the military of some of their duties. They garrisoned West Hill and Malappuram military posts. They also guarded vulnerable points in Madras and the Nilgiris. Companies were

also detailed on patrol duty to put an end to smuggling of food grains on the Cochin-Coimbatore and Travancore borders. Mysore State sent 2 Inspectors for a short term training of 3½ months. Some Malabar Special Police officers were also trained in the Army Signal School, Poona, the Small Arms School, Saugor, and the Army School of Physical Training, Poona.

The Malabar Special Police was put to the severest test during the war owing to constant movements of detachments throughout the length and breadth of the Madras State in suppressing disturbances arising out of the high-handedness of certain political parties. But yet they continued to perform their duties without demur. The food situation was anything but satisfactory in all the districts, particularly in Malabar, and though the Malabar Special Police were following the traditions of the army in their training and nature of work, they were only treated as ordinary citizens in so far as rationing was concerned. Moreover they had rapidly expanded from 4 to 16 companies. The personnel of the 12 companies of the Emergency Additional Force began to be apprehensive of their future on the cessation of war. This fear was fostered and kept alive by the subterranean activities of some of the black sheep who had gained ingress into the force during the period of its phenomenal expansion. The cut in rations and consequent indebtedness in tea-shops to supplement the meagre food fanned the already agitated feelings. Some of the bad hats were discovered and sent out of the force. This gave them an opportunity to get into touch with recalcitrant political elements in the State and obtain the latter's support for redressing the grievances of the men. Further there was general unrest in the Royal Indian Navy, in the Air Force, in the Army and in the Police of Bihar. A spirit of defiance was in the air. The Malabar Special Police fell a victim to this rebellious spirit, because of the ennui caused by their routine duties and lack of facilities for relaxation. These led to what is called the mutiny of the Malabar Special Police. The word mutiny is generally used in relation to the revolt of soldiers against officers. The Malabar Special Police not being eligible to the privileges of the army should not have been branded as mutineers. The strike started on the 16th April 1946 with 'G' company refusing to carry out any duties until their demands for higher pay and better living conditions were met. It ended on the 24th with the summary dismissal of 946 other ranks. The last of the Soldier-Commandants, Lieut. Col. Bryon, made his exit during this period and an Indian Police

officer took charge of the force again. The strike resulted in the disbandment of the 4 Emergency Additional Force companies.

The silver jubilee year of the Malabar Special Police was marred by this blot on its escutcheon but this defection was fully expiated when they refused to join the Pay Strike of the City-Police constables in 1953 and helped in restoring order when the City-Police men were tending to be violent. But even before that, during the year 1947 when the communists in North Malabar embarked on violence and committed many anti-social acts, the loyalty and integrity of the force was never doubted and four companies were deployed in North Malabar. They performed their duties as ably and sincerely as they did in 1941 when the Kayyoor Murder case, in which a police constable was stoned to death by communists, was under investigation in the inaccessible and mountainous areas of Hosdurg in South Canara district. Probably the Malabar Special Police has suffered by the continuous antagonism of the Communist Party towards it which is often publicized by mass propoganda of a type which is the forte of the communists to undermine morale. But the Malabar Special Police continues to thrive. Boredom which had hitherto been the bane of the force was banished by the enforcement of a cumulative and varied training programme and by promoting and invigorating competitive spirit on the playgrounds and in barrack-room life. But the lurking fear of insecurity still continued to dominate the minds of the temporary forces which was further aggravated by the formation of the Special Armed Police units on a permanent basis. Meantime the training of the personnel for increased responsibilities of a military nature was commenced and pioneer training with the object of repairing damaged bridges and culverts was given to the force. Several non-commissioned officers attended Army Schools and Arsenals and were declared qualified. The Police Action in Hyderabad found the Malabar Special Police on the fighting line itself. It had the unique distinction of being the first police force in the history of India to be included in a military operation order. The Malabar Special Police took the field with the 1st Battalion of the Mysore Infantry and one company of the 1st Gurkhas supported by the 3rd Battalion of Special Armed Police at Munirbad against a host of Razakars ably seconded by Hyderabad State Force Regulars. In the battle Constable Appu Nair sacrificed his life by ably stemming the tide of the enemy advance on a post. He was awarded the President's Police Medal posthumously. Three junior officers and three other ranks were also rewarded for their gallant deeds.

Sometimes good fortune does not drip but rains. In the same year the eight temporary companies of the Emergency Additional Force were made permanent in G. O. Ms. 4072 Home dated 20th October 1948. The happy event removed the last vestiges of the uncertainty and suspicion from the minds of the rank and file of the force.

A pioneer platoon similar to the Sappers and Miners was sanctioned in 1949 and the administrative control was transferred from the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Western Range to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Special Armed Police. After the Police Action the Razakars, having had a taste of the organized strength of public opinion, allowed the arms in their possession to fall into the hands of communists who had a programme for overthrowing the Government. This took the form of armed bands raiding police stations and villages and terrorizing people. Nallamalai on the borders of Hyderabad and the former Madras States, was selected by them as a base. The help of the Malabar Special Police had to be sought again to quell those disturbances and by the time peace was restored the force had greatly enhanced its reputation. On the abolition of the post of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Special Armed Police, the control of the Malabar Special Police reverted to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Western Range again. The welfare work done by the Malabar Special Police during floods and other calamities will be narrated in another chapter.

On the eve of the reorganization of States on a linguistic basis, the most significant event in the uninterrupted life of the Malabar Special Police for 32 years, took place: its division into two, one half of 6 companies and half of the headquarters company going over to Kerala and the other half remaining in Madras State. The headquarters of the latter half was shifted to Tiruchirapalli. In 1957 four active companies were formed out of the Tamilian Special Armed Police received on repatriation from Andhra Pradesh. One company of the regular Malabar Special Police was deputed to Pondicherry and the remaining companies were deputed to the Government of India for service in Assam. The debt due to the detachments of Assam Rifles for help in putting down the Rampa disturbances, is probably now being repaid by the Malabar Special Police in their service at Assam.

The encomiums paid to the Malabar Special Police by Governors, Executive Councillors, and top-ranking army officers are an index of

its efficiency. Lieutenant-General Sir Archibald Nye, a former Governor of Madras, reviewing a ceremonial parade was heard to exclaim time and again : "Is this not as good as the Guards?"—the obvious reference being to the British Guardsmen, the cream of the British Army. Recently Major-General Mohite found the parade of the Malabar Special Police to be first class. What is more, for several years, the Malabar Special Police monopolized the Presidency Police Sports and secured all the coveted prizes.

Thus the Malabar Special Police, whether on the playground or in the battle-field has fully justified its motto "**Yudhi Vikrama**"—**gallant in battle.**

The history of the Special Armed Police is equally interesting. The unsettled conditions in the country following the transfer of power to Indian hands, the intention of some of the political parties to fish in troubled waters and the intransigence of the Razakars on the border of Madras State, were responsible for the formation of the Special Armed Police. The Government Order No. 4112 Home dated 7-11-1947 envisaged the formation of 4 units modelled on the Malabar Special Police to be stationed round about Guntakal, Bezwada, Madras City and Tiruchirapalli. The Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C.I.D., was appointed Special Officer in charge of the organization of these units. In consideration of the availability of accommodation, it was decided to raise one unit at Tadepallegudam (West Godavari District), two units (Madras and Tiruchirapalli) at Red Hills, in the Chingleput District, and one at Bellary. The recruitments were made by the District Superintendents of Police. In the beginning of the year 1948, two more units were sanctioned and all the six units were placed under a Special Officer of the rank of a Deputy Inspector General of Police.

As already stated the Malabar Special Police served as a model for this new unit of the Armed Police. The recruits were trained by instructors drafted from the Malabar Special Police and the District Armed Reserves. Each battalion had six active companies and one headquarters wing. The latter comprised specialized branches of Motor Transport, Wireless and Quartermaster's Section. An active company consisted of 4 platoons, each in charge of a Subedar or Subedar Major. Four sections constituted a platoon which was commanded by a Jemadar. The strength of a platoon was about 38 other

ranks. Battalion Commanders were of the rank of District Superintendent of Police who were assisted by 3 Assistant Commandants for each battalion.

Most of the recruits for the Special Armed Police came from the ranks of cultivators and casual labourers, with a sprinkling of educated men among them. Perhaps the real strength of the men lay in their unsophisticated attitude, for in a short time a spirit of *camaraderie* and *esprit de corps* pervaded the entire organization. Even the accelerated system of training evolved for them could not be completed as there was a frantic demand for their services all along the borders between Hyderabad and the former Madras State. The activities of the Razakars increased in volume and the sudden departure of the paramount power, created a temporary vacuum in the control of native States. It was altogether a trying time for the State and Central Governments.

The fears of the people had to be allayed and so the half-trained Special Armed Police companies were pushed on to the border. By about August, sixteen companies had taken their positions on the boundaries and seven had been stationed in Krishna district. In the many skirmishes with the Razakars and unsocial elements, the units acquitted themselves very well indeed.

They had the first baptism of fire during the Police Action and they acted like veterans in facing an unscrupulous enemy. Their names were mentioned in many despatches for conspicuous work. The Police Action exposed Kasim Razvi's bluff but even after the integration of the State, the troubles of the Special Armed Police were not over. The military regime in Hyderabad had to draw heavily on the administrative personnel of the Madras State for running the State-machine. The eight Telengana districts were in a state of anarchy. So sixteen companies of the Special Armed Police were quartered in these districts to maintain law and order. Then a new danger, the communist plan of insurrection, raised its head. The arms and equipments of the Razakars had been taken charge of by them and, under the colour of an agrarian movement on the Chinese model, they wanted to test their strength with the Government. From the very beginning it should be apparent to anybody that the movement was doomed to failure. But the Government of India and the Government of Madras did not like to embark on extreme measures and were willing to give time to the

communists to retrace their steps. This emboldened them. They organized guerilla parties with their hide-outs in the jungles of Nallamalai Hills. They kept a chain of listening-in posts in urban and suburban areas with links on the hills. They suborned the loyalty of the Chenchus and made them act as their spies and, last of all, they used their efficient propaganda machine to portray themselves as the saviours of the poor and the champions of the down-trodden. The infant Special Armed Police was the David forced to take his stand against the Goliath of communist effrontery.

The result was nowhere in doubt but it was a long-drawn-out affair. From 1948 to 1952, several Special Armed Police units were bogged in Nallamalai and its surroundings. The unhealthy surroundings and periodical excitement succeeded by boredom were enough to make any man intemperate. The men did not, however, murmur but bore every suffering with equanimity. Some of the officers who took part in this jungle-fighting have given the palm to the Special Armed Police in this system of warfare. In 1949 two Gurkha companies of the Special Armed Police were disbanded.

The Special Armed Police returned from these operations with a highly enhanced reputation. They had reason to be proud of themselves for the part they had played in suppressing anti-social elements. But for a war-time organization the prospect of peace was beset with trials and tribulations. In 1952 the post of Deputy Inspector General of Police, Special Armed Police, was abolished. Ten companies were stationed at Vizagapatam under the control of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Northern Range. Seven companies stayed at Red Hills under the Commissioner of Police, while an equal number of companies at Palani were placed under the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Southern Range. On the formation of the Andhra State, the Vizagapatam and Palani battalions were allotted to the Andhra State and the Madras State was left with ten companies. This unit did good work during the French-India troubles, when certain Francophiles wanted to retain the colonial rule of the French while the people as a whole wanted to merge with the Indian Union. The Special Armed Police stood guard at the borders and prevented incursions of rowdy elements into the frontiers of the Indian Union, as a reprisal.

The barracks in Red Hills were found to be unsuitable. The Government were able to acquire the Malayan Emigration Camp,

Avadi for housing the Force which moved into it in August 1957. It continued to be under the charge of the Commissioner of Police till March 1959, when a new Deputy Inspector General of Police was specially posted to look after the training and welfare of the men.

The men have been provided with recreational facilities. There are playgrounds and schools for children. There is an open-air theatre with facilities to screen films. In order to generate enthusiasm for social work in the wives and daughters of policemen and to canalize their leisure hours into profitable channels, a *Mathar Sangam* has been started which imparts instruction in useful crafts, spinning, knitting, embroidery and tailoring. A happy home makes a happy man.

It is always the aim of the Department to make the men of these armed wings contented and happy. The newly formed Special Armed Police is growing in stature and strength and shows promise of a high and lasting reputation.

CHAPTER XIV

CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT

THAT BRANCH of the police which most evokes the interest of the public is the Criminal Investigation Department. This curiosity has been excited by the writers of detective stories during the last hundred years, whose heroes unravelled many a complicated case to the readers' entire satisfaction. The prince among these detectives is Sherlock Holmes who was created by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, the centenary of whose birth was celebrated on the 22nd May 1959. Sir Arthur created an intellectual, half-doctor, half-virtuoso with an amazingly retentive memory and perhaps with the best gift of all—the power of unloading the mind of all unnecessary details. Charles Dickens, the famous novelist, described the detective as follows :—

“ For ever on the watch, with their wits stretched to the utmost, these officers have, from day to day and year to year, to set themselves against every novelty of trickery and dexterity that the combined imagination of all the lawless rascals in England can devise and to keep pace with every such invention that comes out. In the Courts of Justice, the materials of thousands of such stories often elevated into the marvellous and romantic by the circumstances of the case—are dryly compressed into the set phrase, *In consequence of information; I received; I did so and so—*

“ Suspicion was to be directed by careful inference and deduction, upon the right person; the right person was to be taken, wherever he had gone or whatever he was doing to avoid detection; he is taken; there he is at the bar; that is enough; and according to the custom in these cases, I say no more.”

All this glamour, however, does not surround the **Special Branch** which was the first unit of the C. I. D. to be formed in this State. The activities of this unit have always been shrouded in secrecy, the year of its inauguration being 1888. The Government of India were at that time exercised over the sudden outbursts of religious disturbances and riots. The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 exposed the hollowness of the intelligence system of the conquerors. The Government of India, therefore



Office of the Deputy Inspector General of Police C.I.D., Madras.

ordered all Provincial Governments to start Special Branches. The Madras Government requested the Central Government to contribute half the expenditure towards its formation. The Special Branch was expected to collect information about (a) all political movements and publication of seditious literature, (b) religious sects and changes in doctrine and practice having a political significance, (c) the arrival, sojourn, departure and proceedings of suspicious characters and foreigners, special attention being paid to foreign emissaries and the movements of notorious gangs of foreign criminals, the presence in any place of notorious criminals and any circumstances regarding their habits that may come to notice, the movements, change of residence etc. of notorious known depredators, (d) rumours or published opinions disturbing the public peace and popular feelings, (e) religious excitement such as caused by kine-killing contrary to rules, and comments by the people on laws and Government's measures, (f) illicit trade in arms and ammunition, special notice being taken of all Arms-Act cases, (g) recruiting for Indian army or native states, (h) affairs in native States and rumours regarding them, (i) constitution, objects and proceedings of native societies whether established for political or ostensibly for other objects, (j) indication of distress or anticipation of famine, scarcity of food or water for man or beast, with statement (in cases of famine or pressure) of number of deaths from starvation, (k) emigration and immigration and the causes thereof, and (i) arrival, sojourn and departure of men of note.

The above recital shows the wide range of subjects on which the ruling power required information about the ruled. No country can afford to be without the Special Branch for certain purposes. Kautilya suggested the institution of spies, for, if a ruler did not receive information about the reactions to his measures among the people, he could never rule very well. He had to be receptive to the hopes, fears and aspirations of the people before setting on foot any measures for the benefit of the subjects and this is true not only of monarchy but also of democracy.

The officer in charge of the new unit was called Assistant, Special Branch with the Government of Madras, and Colonel D. Heming was the first incumbent. He was assisted by an Inspector, and both of them worked in the Chief Secretariat. Their duty was to collect information (1) touching the social and political condition of the people as adumbrated above, through the ordinary channels of police and

magistracy, and (2) to establish a confidential record office where such information could be collected and passed on to the Government. This system continued till the beginning of this century when it was examined along with the matter of crime investigation by the Police Commission of 1902. The members of the Commission were struck with the ignorance of most Superintendents of Police of what was going on outside their own districts and with the want of co-operation between police officers of different districts. Owing to improved systems of communications, criminals often migrated from one district to another and combined action was necessary to deal with them. Moreover, professional offenders and tribes and clans who were specially addicted to crime required constant vigilance. In order to tackle such organized crime, a proper system to secure regular information and to disseminate them to the concerned police authorities was necessary. The Provincial Criminal Investigation Department was expected to meet this deficiency, by organizing a Provincial Bureau for docketing the information collected by them and by furnishing trained detectives to districts on request to investigate cases beyond the competence of local officers either because of the extensive distribution of the offences requiring concentrated attention or on account of the lack of technical facilities. The Commission recommended the appointment of a Deputy Inspector General of Police entrusted with the following duties :—

(1) To be in direct administrative charge of the railway police and to hold to this force the same relation of full administrative control as the Deputy Inspector General of Police of a Range will hold to the ordinary police of the district forming his charge ;

(2) in respect of crime outside the jurisdiction of the railway police, to be the head of an establishment receiving, collecting and distributing information over all districts of the Province, regarding certain classes of crime and advising and assisting (from his detective staff) in local investigations as required ;

(3) to be the head of the Provincial Finger-Print Bureau, which would carry on its work under his supervision and control ; and

(4) to have under his general control the Special Branch at present existing in every Province for the collection of information.

The C.I.D. was not intended to divest the local officers of their responsibilities in controlling crime. On the other hand, it was designed to strengthen their hands by putting at their disposal specialized



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The first Deputy Inspector General of Police, C. I. D. Madras
(1906—1908)

knowledge and technique which the C.I.D. might acquire on account of its provincial character. The Imperial Criminal Investigation Department recommended by the Commission was to keep in touch with the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C.I.D. on all-India matters specially applicable to the State. In view of the special character of the work, the Central Government recommended local allowances in addition to the pay of the rank, which were: Rs. 50 for Inspectors; Rs. 30 for Sub Inspectors; Rs. 7 for head constables; and Rs. 3 for constables besides a conveyance allowance to each rank.

The Criminal Investigation Department in this State was started on 18th August 1906. Mr F. Fawcett was appointed the Deputy Inspector General of Police of the new organization with a staff of six Inspectors, six Sub Inspectors, twelve head constables and twelve constables. Even in the first year it was found to be of great promise. The C.I.D. dealt with a number of bogus Life Assurance Companies which sprang up in the Northern Circars. The articles of association of these companies showed that they had nothing in common with Life Insurance Companies except the payment of premium to keep alive the policies. Anybody could insure the life of any other person with these companies. In fact this was a very reprehensible form of lottery, which led to many murders committed with a view to cashing the policies on the lives of the murdered. In a case reported from Vizagapatam the accused poisoned an old and destitute woman, whose life he had insured in no less than five companies, and when his house was searched by the officers of the C.I.D. there were found eight more policies in his own favour on the lives of other old people and ten others in favour of a near relation of his. It was also discovered that the accused had previously drawn a bonus from one company by means of a false certificate of death of the murdered woman. He was sentenced to transportation for life. In another case from Godavari the accused was sentenced to death. Another organization broken up by the C.I.D. in the same year was the Calcutta Provident Fund, an institution for organizing frauds under the cover of a benevolent character. A triple murder case in Godavari district mishandled by the local police was also successfully dealt with. In 1907 the strength of the staff was increased to nine Inspectors, nine Sub Inspectors, sixteen head constables and twelve constables.

There was an organized crusade by the officers of the department during the year against provident and other funds and bogus lotteries.

Enquiries were also made regarding forgery of currency notes and smuggling of fire-arms and opium. The Special Branch with the Newspaper Section, which had so long been attached to the Chief Secretariat was transferred to the C. I. D. and the Superintendent of Police, Special Branch, was designated the Personal Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C. I. D. relieving the latter of much of the routine correspondence and facilitating his touring freely over the Province. At that time, there were no distinct divisions like the Crime Branch and the Special Branch as they are known today and the staff did both kinds of work. Mr David was appointed Personal Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police.

In 1908 the staff was increased by the appointment of a Deputy Superintendent of Police. Further, a temporary staff of two Deputy Superintendents, two Inspectors, two Sub Inspectors and two constables was also sanctioned. Out-of-view criminal-gang members were traced by the C.I.D. An important case investigated by the C.I.D. in 1909 was one of rioting during the *Sivaratri* festival in Narasapur in Guntur district. Discontent had been simmering among the large concourse of people, about 50,000, gathered at the spot for the festival. Owing to the vigorous enforcement of certain sanitary restrictions and other courses, a drunken quarrel between a ryot and a police constable became the excuse for an exhibition of violence and disorder. A reserve constable who bayoneted one of the rioters who assaulted him, was burnt to death; a peon of the Salt Department was killed; and the District Superintendent of Police and several other police officers were seriously injured. After investigation the C.I.D. charged forty-five persons. A most interesting incident that occurred during the trial was the hoax that god Kotappa, the tutelary deity of the accused, had come down to earth to rescue them. The rumour gained so much currency that every day a huge crowd made an exodus to a nearby hillock to have *dharshan* of the living god. It took nearly two months for these people to realize that they were the victims of false propaganda. Most of the important accused in this case were convicted.

Though there was no compartmentalization of the C.I.D. into Special and Crime Branches as they exist now, a beginning was made in the year 1910 by setting apart a European staff of two Inspectors and one Sergeant to be in charge of the clerical work of the Special Branch which was being done by the Indian staff. The British Government wanted to take all precautions against leakage of political

information from the C.I.D. The European, and later Anglo-Indian supremacy continued in the Special Branch for a number of years but it should be said to the credit of the Anglo-Indians that they have identified themselves with the sons of the soil after the advent of independence.

The office of the Inspector General of Police publishes the *Police Gazette* containing departmental information of interest to police officers. The first *Police Weekly Circular* was issued from the police headquarters on 1st January 1863. This *Weekly Circular* was continued until 1894. On 27th October 1894 the first *Police Gazette* was published. Its range of topics extended from changes in uniform to enunciation of abstruse legal principles which have been laid down by the Bench and which have relation to police work. Part III of the *Police Gazette* was called *Hue and Cry Section* where details about wanted criminals and identifiable properties, stolen or lost were published. Consistent with the position of the C.I.D. as a storehouse of matters relating to crime — the responsibility for publishing this portion was fixed on this department. This was the forerunner of the *Criminal Intelligence Gazette* of today.

The C.I.D. tried many new experiments with the charting of crimes so that it could be of use to investigating officers in the districts; while district-charts had great potentialities for use, as they showed within a small compass certain conspicuous features of particular crimes, a central crime-chart for the C.I.D. comprising the whole State extending from Ganjam to Tirunelveli or Coondapoor to Cuddalore and enclosing many types of vegetation, people, customs and manners, was found to be unhelpful and, after an experiment of two years, it was discontinued.

The first World War and the stepping-up of the activities of the national movement for liberation exposed the limitations of the Special Branch and enlarged its scope of work. To a certain extent specialization in some items of work was necessary as well as continuity in certain types of duties. For instance prosecution of two enemy-trading concerns during the year necessitated a knowledge of mercantile law during the time of war. The examination of coins in subtreasuries and railway cash-offices had to be done by the Coin and Currency Experts of the C.I.D.

The Special Branch was able to unearth a case of treason in 1917. A dismissed revenue inspector named Sitarama Iyer living in

Conjeevaram, Chingleput district, attempted to communicate under a fictitious name with certain high officials in Germany through the consuls of Central European powers at Bombay with a view to subverting British rule in India. The whole correspondence was followed up and the plans became quite apparent with the arrest of the writer. He was charged under the Defence of India Act and the Indian Penal Code. He was given a stiff sentence and his anti-governmental activities were nipped in the bud.

Pondicherry assumed Special-Branch importance after the advent of Sri Aurobindo Ghose. The poet Subramanya Bharathi and Sri V. V. S. Ayyar also found asylum in this French domain. Soon there was a spate of political pamphleteering and inspired songs which filled people's hearts with a burning desire to see a Free India. The written word plays a great part in national struggles, and that is why Pondicherry became a blackspot in British eyes; for the lovers of freedom, it became an oasis in the arid desert of a subject country. A great part of the Special-Branch establishment was deployed to find out the contents of the seditious literature that was being brought out in print as well as to watch the movements of those who believed in violence to achieve freedom from foreign yoke.

Another task of the C.I.D. in 1918 was to help the Ceylon Police in spotting out suspicious persons from India passing through Colombo. A Deputy Superintendent of Police was posted in Colombo for this purpose. The passage of many years has not in anyway lessened the responsibilities of the Madras Police in this regard; even today a special staff is engaged in checking illicit emigration from the coastal districts.

In the meantime, work in the Special Branch continued to increase in volume and importance. The branch had to act as the eyes and ears of the Government and preserve the secrecy of correspondence. In order to vest the control of this branch in a more responsible officer, the post of Manager was gazetted in the year 1920 and denominated as the Special Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C.I.D. For the next three years there was no change.

It has already been seen that after the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, there was an outcry from the representatives of the people that public expenditure was spiralling upwards to the detriment of nation-building activities and that a retrenchment in service was imperative. The first post to be axed was that of the Special Assistant, in March

1923. Consequent on the abolition of the post of a Deputy Inspector General of Police, the Ranges were rearranged. Tanjore, Trichinopoly and South Arcot came under the jurisdiction of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C.I.D. who was consequently designated as the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D. and Eastern Range. This set-up continued for another five years, during which period the question of reviving the abolished post of the Deputy Inspector General of Police was time and again raised with a view to divesting the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D. of his district-jurisdiction. In 1928, Mr F. A. Hamilton, the Inspector General of Police reported to the Government on the advisability of dividing the C.I.D. into Special and Crime Branches with a separate staff for each. The Personal Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police was to be redesignated as Superintendent of Police, Special Branch, while the Crime Branch was to be controlled by another Superintendent. The Crime Branch had too many cases on hand: note forgery, mail robbery and several others of an inter-provincial character. Moreover the branch had embarked on detailed enquiries about the doings of the Thottia Naiks, a criminal tribe, for effectively controlling their activities and rehabilitating them. The sanction of another post of Deputy Inspector General of Police was recommended so that the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D. might pay undivided attention to the work of the C.I.D.

The Government agreed to the formation of a separate Crime Branch as distinct from the Special Branch but directed the charge of both to the Inspector General of Police. At the same time they added two more districts, Chingleput and Nellore, to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways, C.I.D., and Eastern Range. The Superintendents of Police, Crime and Special Branches were designated as Assistant Inspectors General of Police, Crime and Special Branches respectively. During this change, the press work which was being done in the office of the Special Branch was transferred back to the Secretariat. Incidentally it has to be mentioned here that the scrutiny by the Secretariat extended only to a few important English journals while the task of going through all other dailies and periodicals fell on the Intelligence Section of the City Police.

Prior to the bifurcation of the C.I.D. into Crime and Special Branches there were only seven Inspectors and seven Sub Inspectors.

Of these, four Inspectors and four Sub Inspectors attended to the Crime Branch work and the rest to Special Branch work.

The strength of the Special Branch, after bifurcation in accordance with G. O. No. 171 Judicial dated 1st April 1929, was as follows :—

The clerical establishment consisted of one Manager, who was a European Inspector of Police, two Sergeants, three permanent and two temporary clerks while the executive consisted of one Superintendent of Police, one Deputy Superintendent of Police, three Inspectors, six Sub Inspectors, six Head Constables and one Sergeant-Photographer.

The Shorthand Bureau : Before taking leave of the Special Branch, it will be appropriate to refer to the Shorthand Bureau, which is to some extent linked up with the former. The spoken word produces an effect proportional to the force of its delivery. Antony was able to turn the rabble against Brutus by his eloquence. It is said that the pen is mightier than the sword ; but sometimes a peroration is more effective than the written word in exciting passions and inciting people to do acts which in their saner moments they would condemn. Naturally every Government has to take care that its citizenry do not transgress certain limits in their speeches. A man cannot be allowed to canvas for genocide nor can he be permitted to goad people to arm themselves with dangerous weapons and rise against the State. The police have been entrusted with the task of keeping track of persons whose speeches may tend to produce violent upheavals in the body politic leading to chaos and confusion. It is for this purpose that the Shorthand Bureau has been set up. The staff of the Bureau record the speeches of leaders at public meetings. The uses of these recorded speeches are threefold : they vindicate innocent men of the charge of intemperate language against them : secondly, in policy-speeches a correct record of the exact words used with regard to a definite pronouncement, facilitates the refutation of subsequent allegations of intemperance or sedition ; lastly, if a man deliberately flouts the laws of decency and decorum in his speeches and incites people to violence, the courts adjudge his guilt by looking at these records.

The Government ordered the introduction of the teaching of shorthand to the cadets in the Police Training College in the year 1907. They tried to encourage the cadets by the grant of proficiency allowance for those who had passed the shorthand examination. Vernacular shorthand was developed by Sri M. Srinivasa Rao, the Shorthand

Instructor of the School. He first invented Tamil shorthand. Five specially selected Sub Inspectors were formed into a class in 1909 and were given tuition in Tamil shorthand. All of them were successful and won the prizes offered by the Government. The Government appreciated the unflagging interest and keenness displayed by Sri M. Srinivasa Rao and approved of his book *Tamil Shorthand Instructor* as a standard text book; they also commissioned him to write similar books for other languages. He was also granted an honorarium of Rs. 500 for the Tamil book. The Government were also pleased to sanction in G. O. No. 745 Public, dated 18th August 1910, a special Shorthand Allowance of Rs. 5 per mensem to police officers of the rank of Inspectors who qualified to take down speeches in Tamil at 80 words a minute, as an incentive to maintain proficiency in the subject.

Two Sub Inspectors were detailed to assist Sri M. Srinivasa Rao in the compilation of Telugu and Canarese Manuals. The Telugu Manual was completed first and the manuscript copy of this was examined by Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, who informed Government that it was suitable for adoption and that it possessed several improved features when compared with the methods adopted in the Tamil Manual. The publication of this book was undertaken by the Government.

The Tamil Shorthand Allowance was raised to Rs. 10 in 1913. Sri M. Srinivasa Rao continued to work on the Canarese Manual with the assistance of a Sub Inspector. The printing of the *Telugu Shorthand Manual* took some time and it was published only in 1916. The printing of the *Canarese Shorthand Manual* was also delayed owing to lack of types in the press.

The system of recording speeches then in existence was that Sub Inspectors trained in shorthand were expected to do shorthand work required of them either in or out of their own districts and look after a police station as well. Since a shorthand reporter must be a specialist, proposals were put up to the Government in 1918 for the employment of a separate staff under central control.

In October 1919 the formation of a separate Shorthand Bureau of 24 Sub Inspectors was sanctioned by the Government. These Sub Inspectors were to be exclusively employed on shorthand work in different parts of the Presidency as required by district officers and the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C. I. D. and when

not on reporting work they were to be stationed at the School where they would receive instruction under the Shorthand Instructor. The Sub Inspectors were sanctioned a duty allowance of Rs. 50 per mensem for proficiency in shorthand in two languages. Sri Srinivasa Rao became the first chief of this Bureau. In recognition of his labour in compiling the *Canarese Shorthand Manual* he was granted an honorarium of Rs. 500 including a gold watch to the value of Rs. 250 by the Government.

The Shorthand Bureau commenced working in February 1920 and during the course of that year their services were availed of for 1,131 public meetings. Because of the frequent demands for their attendance and heavy strain, Government were compelled to sanction a training reserve of four Sub Inspectors. No longer was every Shorthand Sub Inspector required to acquire high proficiency in two languages because it was impossible; but everyone of them was expected to pass a high proficiency test in one language at the end of eighteen months after joining the Bureau. A knowledge of typewriting was made compulsory for these Sub Inspectors. In the same year owing to the wide prevalence of Khilafat meetings, where Urdu speeches were common, two Sub Inspectors were deputed to the Christian School of Commerce, Lucknow to learn Urdu Shorthand. Six more were sent for training to the same institution next year. At this time Sri Srinivasa Rao was honoured with the title of Rao Sahib. The political agitation in the country necessitated a great increase in the strength of the Bureau which stood at 35 at the end of the year 1924.

After the death of Sri Srinivasa Rao in 1924 two appointments of Inspectors were made for the supervision and instruction of the Sub Inspectors who were placed under them according to the language groups. The *Canarese Shorthand Manual* was posthumously published. The system of posting one or two Sub Inspectors, more or less permanently, in some district headquarters such as Madurai, Coimbatore, Salem, Cocanada, Guntur and Masulipatam was tried for sometime but as this interfered with their training, it was abolished and the Superintendents of Police were asked to requisition the services of these Sub Inspectors whenever necessity arose.

By the year 1930 the strength of the Bureau had risen to two Inspectors and thirty-seven Sub Inspectors. This year was an unprecedentedly busy one for the Bureau. Reporters attended twenty conferences

and 1,543 political and labour meetings. They had to give evidence in numerous cases in courts and their evidence was in no case impugned. During this year Government authorized an allowance of Rs. 25 to each of the Shorthand Sub Inspectors as an incentive to increased efficiency and to compensate for limited prospects of promotion. Periodical tests were held. The Bureau also trained a reporter from Coorg in Canarese Shorthand. Malayalam Shorthand was introduced in the Bureau in 1930. The services of the staff were utilized during the Session of the Legislative Assemblies and also during the sitting of special commissions.

The sanctioned strength of the Bureau in the year 1952 was 5 Inspectors and 40 Sub Inspectors. During this year an important change took place. In order not to waste trained police personnel on clerical duties direct recruitment of a clerical cadre was made. They were styled Senior Reporters (Inspectors) and Junior Reporters (Sub Inspectors). With the formation of the Andhra State the sanctioned strength of the Bureau was reduced to three Inspectors and twenty-two Sub Inspectors. In 1955, this strength was increased to three Inspectors and twenty-eight Sub Inspectors. The Principal, Police Training College at Vellore is in charge of the Bureau which continues to maintain its high standard of efficiency and service.

The Crime Branch : The activities of the newly-formed Crime Branch in 1930 were directed mainly to dealing with Thottia Naiks. Officers were detailed specially to make enquiries about selected wandering detachments and to establish contacts with individual members. The enquiries clearly showed that these detachments were engaged in crime, and secondly, that the members showed an inclination to settle down if given an opportunity. As the main object in dealing with these people was to stop them wandering about, steps were taken to test their professed willingness to settle down. Three detachments were rallied at Tiruverambur. A Sub Inspector from Trichinopoly district was detailed to look after them with one head constable and four police constables. But the attempts of the department to get some land for these members did not meet with success. The Branch also collected facts about the Telaga Pamulas.

The staff of Crime Branch consisted of one District Superintendent of Police, one Manager, one Audit Head Clerk, five Upper Division Clerks, ten Lower Division Clerks and one Attender and an Executive

of four Inspectors, four Sub Inspectors, six head constables and nineteen orderly constables.

In 1931 at the instance of the Government of India, the Madras Government sanctioned an additional police range thereby enabling a Deputy Inspector General of Police to be placed in exclusive charge of the Criminal Investigation Department and the railway police districts while the remaining districts were redistributed among the four Range Deputy Inspectors General of Police. The post of the Assistant Inspector General of Police, Crime Branch, was abolished and the Assistant Inspector General of Police, Special Branch, was replaced by a Personal Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C. I. D.

It has already been noted that district detective staffs were formed at Salem and Anantapur districts in September 1926 as an experimental measure with a strength of one Inspector, one Sub Inspector, two head constables and six constables. Their primary function was the investigation of serious cases of organized crime beyond the scope of the local police and they were also required to maintain a District Information Bureau regarding crime and criminals. Mr C. H. Gasden, the then Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D. found that these isolated units were wholly inadequate to deal with organized crime by criminals who lived in one area and committed crime in one or more distant areas and who had access to receivers in yet other places without absenting themselves from their headquarters for any length of time that might arouse the suspicion of the local authorities. Mr Gasden wanted the police system to expand so that the criminal organizations might be severely dealt with. Citing the example of the army, he said that if the army could not work effectively over as extensive a field as its opponents, it would be outflanked, and, however valiant the units might be, unless there was the necessary co-operation between them, and until their efforts were co-ordinated by efficient staff-work, they would be outgeneralled by an opponent with a better organization and central control, whose individual units might be, each for each, less valiant and efficient. In the normal rural station the Station House Officer's duties were primarily, and almost exclusively, those of controlling crime and criminals. In that respect he was first and foremost an officer of the C. I. D. or the Crime Branch. The fact that he combined the control of all other branches of police work in his person was incidental to the system and really a most valuable feature,

for it ruled out at once all probabilities of clash between different branches and dual control which was to a greater or lesser extent inevitable under any of the systems. So in any system of crime control, the station should be taken as the unit.

But the co-ordination of the work of the units was a difficult problem. It was customary to blame local officers, from Station House Officers upwards, for their parochial attitudes and their inability to look beyond their local jurisdiction but they were hardly to blame for what required a special organization and staff subjected to control directed from above. To co-ordinate the work of the various stations of a district, a central organization was required. The same work with regard to the districts in a State was expected to be performed by the C. I. D. but the links had to be built up from the bottom commencing from the district staff whose primary function would be to collect, record and distribute information regarding inter-station and as far as possible inter-district crime and criminals.

For each district a staff of one Sub Inspector, one clerk and three head constables was proposed. In the Crime Branch of the C. I. D. a similar section was to be organized with reference to districts. Its position in relation to district staff was to be the same as that of the latter to police stations. These proposals resulted in the formation of District Intelligence Bureaux, D. I. B. for short, in districts and the Central Intelligence Bureau (C. I. B.) in the C. I. D.

Nine districts were selected first for the implementation of the scheme. They were Coimbatore, Salem, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, South Arcot, Guntur, Krishna, Godavari West and Godavari East.

The instructions issued to the districts with regard to the organization and functions of these Bureaux were as follows:—

They will deal only with habitual criminals who commit crime against property and whose activities extend over more than one station. For certain selected criminals history sheets will be maintained. The general principle governing the selection of habitual criminals to be registered in the Bureau will be that they should have been convicted within the past three years of professional crimes against property outside the station in which they reside or are reasonably suspected of committing such crimes and of being still active. Persons from other districts convicted in the district should also have history sheets

opened for them under the same conditions. Criminals registered in the Bureau will be given a 'D. C.' (Dossier Criminal) number.

The Bureau will maintain an Alphabetical Name-Index, Modus-Operandi Index, Physical-Peculiarity Index and other indices. In the case of a person whose name is traced to be that of an offender, the name card index will furnish brief but important pieces of information and the coloured signals on it will show at once whether the individual is alive, present, in jail, out of view or wanted by the police.

When a certain kind of crime occurs and information is required about the criminals who might have committed it, the modus-operandi index will facilitate narrowing down the search for offenders on the well-known principle that certain criminals adopt only characteristic methods to commit offences which are a sort of trade mark with them. This was further subdivided to indicate the criminal of a particular modus operandi taking only property of a definite type. The Physical-Peculiarity Index will enable a criminal with specified defects to be located through the cards maintained in the Bureau. Photographs of criminals and lost property index were also maintained by the Bureaux.

The Crime Branch of the City Police stole a march over the mofussil in the proper preparation and maintenance of these records and so the selected Sub Inspectors from districts were deputed for training in the City Record Section which was to be a model for the District Intelligence Bureaux. Mr J. H. Wilkes, who was the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Crime Branch, Madras City and who later became a Deputy Inspector General of Police, can be said to be mainly responsible for giving a practical shape to many of the ideas that were then current for controlling crime through these Intelligence Bureaux and the success achieved in this Branch is in no little measure due to him. The District Intelligence Bureaux were enjoined to print weekly details of crime in their districts and distribute them to all stations within, and to border stations outside, the districts. These are the Weekly Crime and Occurrence Sheets.

The absence of a Gazetted Officer for the Crime Branch to assist the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C. I. D. was found to be a great drawback. The Deputy Inspector General of Police had to tour throughout the Presidency in order to keep himself in touch with the Special-and Crime-Branch work in the districts. He had also to deal directly with all reports, routine papers and records of the Crime

Branch at headquarters as well as those of the Finger-Print Bureau. He had to supervise the preparation of weekly Criminal Intelligence Gazettes and also control the Shorthand Bureau. He had also to direct the work of the Central Crime staff. All these routine duties militated against his paying more attention to important administrative duties both in the Special Branch and the Crime Branch. So the sanction for an additional Deputy Superintendent of Police for the Crime Branch was requested for by the Inspector General of Police. In G. O. Ms. No. 168 Public (Police) Department dated 25th March 1931, the Government sanctioned a Deputy Superintendent of Police as Personal Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C. I. D.

Another subject connected with the reorganization of the C.I.D. and City Police was the formation of Central Crime Branches in important towns where there was a functional division in the matter of crime and law-and-order work. On the model of the City, a separate Crime Branch, with a record section, in charge of an Inspector with the necessary investigating staff was formed for dealing with crime from a central place. A beginning was made in this direction in Madurai in 1932 and the scheme was extended to Trichinopoly in 1934. Coimbatore, Salem and Tirunelveli Towns have also got Crime Branches. The Crime Branches published a Daily Crime and Occurrence Sheet. In order to meet an all-round increase in work, another Deputy Superintendent of Police was sanctioned in G.O. No. 15 Home dated 3-1-1944. But, just at that time the administration of the Criminal Tribes Settlements as well as the responsibility for the Kallar, Koravar and Yenadi reclamation was transferred from the control of the Commissioner of Labour to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D., with the result that the much-wanted relief in the Crime Branch did not materialize. A third Deputy Superintendent of Police was therefore sanctioned in G.O.Ms. No. 1668 Home, dated 29-5-1945.

But, the tremendous increase in work in the Crime Branch necessitated a Superintendent of Police to be in charge of that Branch. The Inspector General of Police while applying to the Government for sanction of the new post said that the Superintendent of Police for Crime Branch, C.I.D. was required to relieve the Deputy Inspector General of Police of a large amount of routine work which his Deputy Superintendents of Police were not empowered to deal with and secondly it was a long-term measure to organize the growth of the Crime Branch, C.I.D. for preparing it to handle post-war crime effectively. The

Superintendent was also expected to organize an Expert's Bureau in charge of a fully qualified expert for giving scientific aids to the investigating officers and also to reorganize the staff in a manner conducive to specialization in the investigation of crime. In G.O. Ms. No. 4169 Home dated 19th November 1945 the Government sanctioned the creation of the post of a Superintendent of Police, Crime Branch. Thus after about fifteen years the Branch came under a Superintendent again.

The unit of police administration is the police station and the responsibility for ordinary work is on the Station House Officer. This is the basis for the formation of the C.I.D. as already discussed in the preceding pages. The C.I.D. is a specialist organization which places its skill at the disposal of the local police when called for. But it does not take up all and sundry cases for investigation. Generally cases falling under the following categories receive the attention of the C.I.D. :—

(1) Note forgery cases; (2) cases of counterfeit coining, when the counterfeit coins are struck from dies and other cognate offences in respect of currency notes; (3) cases of professional poisoning; (4) thefts of government arms and ammunition and illicit trade in arms; (5) important cases in which foreigners are concerned (including cases against international criminals); (6) frauds by means of advertisements, bogus funds and companies, personating public servants, swindling etc.; (7) cases of dacoities or housebreaking of a peculiar nature which indicate the work of an adept gang not previously noticed or accounted for by the local police; (8) cases of fraud, theft or cheating of a peculiar nature which affect more than one district; (9) cases of such a technical nature as in the opinion of the Inspector General of Police, or the district authorities, call for investigations by an officer of the Criminal Investigation Department; (10) important theft of currency notes or important defalcation of public money; (11) cases of smuggling of opium, cocaine etc.; (12) cases of bringing fraudulent civil suits; (13) gang cases; (14) important conspiracy cases whose ramification extend to several districts; (15) pornography; and (16) any serious crimes which appear to have a political motive including all offences connected with arms and explosives which are suspected to be of a political nature.

During the war years, the railways transported huge quantities of food grains from one end of the country to the other. The distribution, sale

and prices of most of these were controlled and they were sold on Government account. Even during normal times there was petty pilfering from goods trains and goods-yards. But this assumed such gigantic proportions that the losses on this account rose to astronomical figures. The Government was on this account compelled to employ a C. I. D. staff to deal with this racket. A Deputy Superintendent of Police with seven Inspectors and necessary subordinate staff, was sanctioned for this purpose. This staff functioned for about two years.

A smaller unit to deal with blackmarketing in textiles was in existence for a short period but all these separate units were merged into the Anti-corruption and Anti-blackmarketing Sections which were formed in the year 1946.

'X' Branch: There were already two branches in the C.I.D.—the Special Branch and the Crime Branch. In the middle of June 1946, the Government discovered that the muddy stream of corruption in Government departments was steadily growing and that it tended to undermine the very foundations of the administrative system. Scarcity of essential commodities and their controlled distribution were the immediate causes for this fall in probity. To counter this growing evil of corruption, the Government organized a special staff in the C. I. D. which is known as the 'X' Branch of the C. I. D.

The staff had very onerous and responsible duties to perform. Illegal gratification took many forms. For instance there was the bribe in return for an official favour as in the case of money paid to a Textile Officer for the issue of a permit. Then there was the kind of extortion where money was taken under duress or by threat or false pretences like a Tahsildar extorting money from a ryot by threatening to search his house for hoarded grains. A third type was exacting bribes for refraining from taking action required by law or departmental orders. A fourth category was *mamools* paid not for any favour but in pursuance of an established custom and usually for the enjoyment of a legitimate right—for example, money paid by ryots to Public Works Department officials on the basis of acreage for the supply of water for irrigation. Another form of corruption was supplies of articles given by subordinate officers to their superiors in camp or headquarters. But the difficulty to prove a charge of corruption is that both the giver and the receiver of a bribe are benefited and the giver is not anxious to expose the receiver so long as the exactions

are not heavy. There are two ways of bringing home the guilt, by direct or circumstantial evidence. A well-known method of getting direct evidence was to employ *agents provocateur*. But this method has been condemned by doctrinaire moralists as improper. The only other course is to make the giver speak the truth but it becomes evidence of an accomplice.

Circumstantial evidence may be obtained in various ways. There may be cases where deserving applicants for a permit were given unnecessary annoyance and inconvenience by repeated references and other methods of procrastination. These will be in contradistinction to other applicants, who had been issued with permits with surprising celerity or to people presenting themselves in person. Permits were sometimes granted to persons who are not entitled to them or to whom it had been refused, the reconsideration not being based on adequate reasons. Thus corruption had to be proved by (1) that evidence of either an official or a person who is probably an aggrieved party or through an *agent provocateur* or (2) circumstantial evidence which may take the form of cumulative evidence indicating corruption without legal proof in any one case or by evidence to show that an officer, his relative or close friend had acquired unexplained wealth or property.

It was apprehended, when proposals were put up for the formation of the 'X' Branch, that it would have a gruelling time if its investigations brought persons prominent in the public eye to adverse notice as they were expected to use their considerable influence to bring the investigating officers and the 'X' Branch into disrepute. But, when such attempts were made the Government stood by the 'X' Branch. By and large, the strain on the officers conducting these delicate enquiries has been great. A staff of one Superintendent of Police, four Deputy Superintendents of Police, sixteen Inspectors, sixteen head constables and twenty-six constables, was sanctioned for this branch in G. O. Ms. No. 2019 Home Department dated 8-7-1946. The whole of the staff were located in Madras.

At this time Government found that blackmarketing in goods had increased to such an extent that people became highly critical of the ineffectiveness of controls and of the lack of a proper machinery to bring erring traders to book. So another organization had to be formed to detect cases of blackmarketing. For this purpose the Presidency was divided into convenient areas under the charge of a Deputy

Superintendent of Police. The new Branch had to deal with more than fifty control-orders relating to cloth and yarn, silk, iron and steel, foodstuffs and sugar. A staff of one Superintendent of Police, six Deputy Superintendents of Police, twenty-seven Inspectors, forty-one head constables and eighty-two constables, was sanctioned and the Anti-corruption branch and the Anti-blackmarketing branch together formed the 'X' Branch of the C. I. D. Both the staff did good work. The blackmarketing staff was disbanded on 1-4-1948. But the food situation necessitated its revival on 17-2-1949. It was again reorganized in 1950 when the posts of Superintendent of Police and Deputy Superintendents of Police were abolished and the non-gazetted staff were placed under the respective Superintendents of Police and the Commissioner of Police, Madras.

After the formation of Andhra Pradesh, the post of Superintendent of Police, 'X' Branch was merged with that of Superintendent of Police, Crime Branch. A skeleton office-establishment with two Deputy Superintendents of Police and eight Inspectors are now working in this Branch. Their achievements have been substantial.

The 'X' Branch is intimately connected with the Tribunal for Disciplinary Proceedings in the same way as the ordinary investigating officer takes his cases to the courts having jurisdiction over his limits. The Government sanctioned the post of a Director of Prosecutions of the rank of a Deputy Superintendent of Police in the year 1949 to conduct prosecutions in 'X' Branch cases before the Tribunal. In the year 1957 the Director of Prosecutions was replaced by another gazetted officer called the Legal Adviser to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C. I. D. The selection of the Legal Adviser is made from among the Assistant State Prosecutors in Madras City and Assistant Public Prosecutors, Grade—I in the mofussil.

The Police Radio Branch : About 50 years ago, a diminutive American doctor, Hawley Harvey Crippen, after killing his wife boarded a steamer with a new-found love in the person of his Secretary, Miss Le Neve, who was dressed in boy's clothes. He was on his way to America before things got too hot for him in England, where Scotland Yard was already probing into the mysterious disappearance of Mrs Crippen. When the cellar of his house was examined, the bricks on the floor were found loose. They were removed and digging began. Not far below the surface human remains were found. The investigating officer had

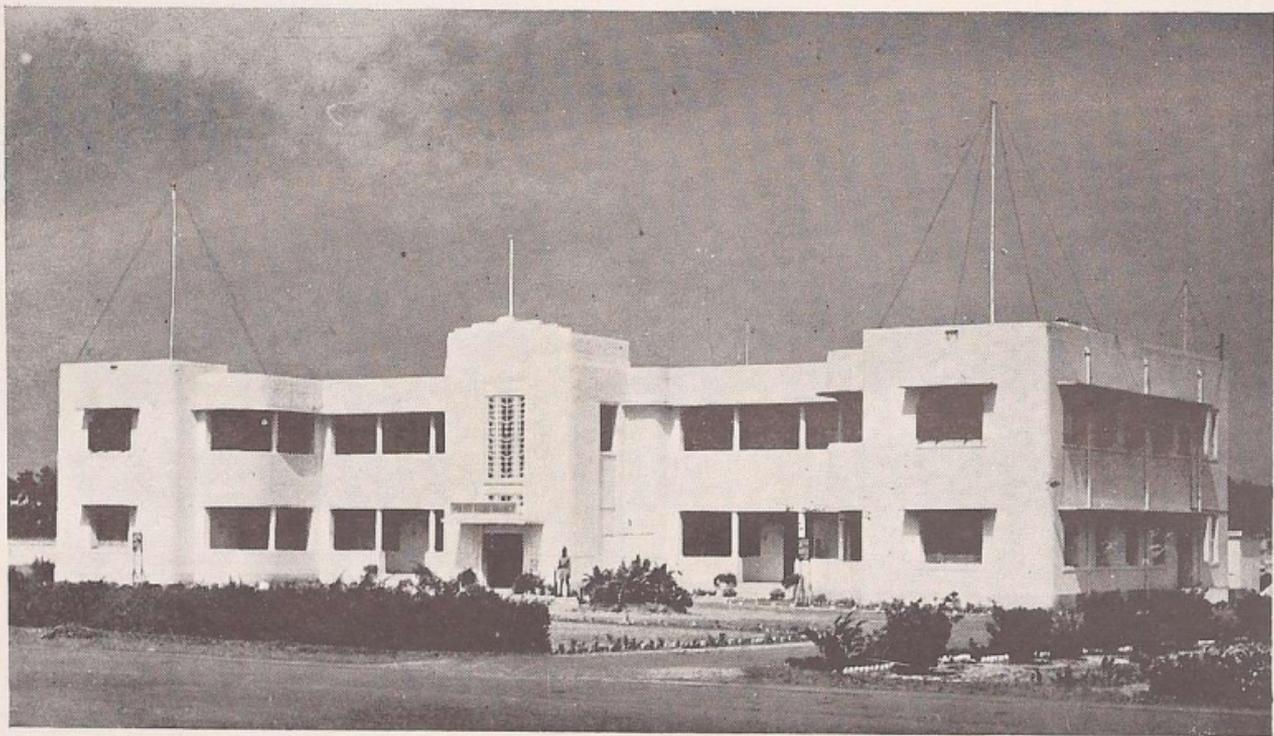
the answer to the riddle. For the first time wireless was used to help the police and messages were flashed over all ships at sea that were equipped with it. The message was picked up by *s. s. Montrose* bound from Antwerp to Montreal. Captain Kendall radioed back that he had already suspected that the son of a self-styled Canadian merchant was not a man and that he was now convinced that the 'Robinsons' were Crippen and Miss Le Neve.

The police embarked on a faster vessel than the *Montrose* and awaited the arrival of the murderer at his destination. Incidentally, it may be mentioned here, that it was Sir Bernard Spilsbury's searching analysis along with a team of pathologists that led to the establishment of the fact that the remains found in the cellar were those of a female who at sometime had an abdominal operation and that she had died from hyoscine hydro-bromide poisoning.

Thus the utility to which the radio could be put is apparent. Actually, every criminal tries to make a quick getaway after committing an offence and the modern means of fast transport offer him the necessary facilities to be far away from the scene of crime before the police could arrive there. The wireless enables the police to disseminate details of the descriptive particulars of the suspect throughout the length and breadth of the land in a matter of a few minutes and every policeman is on the look-out for the fleeing fugitive.

The war may be said to be responsible for the formation of a Police Wireless Grid in the Madras State. It was an extension of the military intelligence system. The connexion with the Army was apparent in the appointment of a Captain as the Police Wireless Officer from 18-1-1946. In the beginning there were only one Special Branch Inspector, trained in wireless operation, and nineteen partly-trained operators. So the training of new recruits was started in earnest in the Army Signal School at Madras and at the Malabar Special Police Training School at Malappuram. The men who underwent training at these places for three months were given a further month's training in the Wireless Office in Madras and two months' operating practice in the district stations. By the close of the year there were eleven fixed stations in districts, two mobile units at Coimbatore and Madras; ten Sub Inspectors, eight Sergeants and eighty men had also been trained.

In 1947 a temporary post of a Technical Assistant to the Police Wireless Officer was created. In the next year the post of a Deputy



Police Radio Office, Madras

Superintendent of Police to be the Personal Assistant to the Police Wireless Officer was sanctioned. By the end of 1948, all the districts except seven had been connected by wireless. Police Wireless did excellent work during the Hyderabad troubles, the communist agitation in Malabar and the prolonged labour strikes in Coimbatore. Also an emergency group of four wireless stations functioned in liaison with the Royal Indian Navy in the detection of smuggling of foodgrains to Ceylon. The Police Wireless Grid of Madras was also linked with the Inter-Provincial Police Network.

The Government sanctioned twenty-four fixed stations (including one inter-provincial and four control stations at Madras) and twenty-eight mobile units in the Provincial Police Radio Network. The network proved to be of great use particularly during the cyclone in Andhra in 1949 when all other communications had been disrupted for several days.

When one All-India Dakota Plane was reported missing in December 1950, the western-group radio stations worked round the clock on 14th, 15th and 16th December for the collection and dissemination of information relating to search and location of the missing aircraft. Separate networks functioned in the Malabar Special Police, Special Armed Police, Madras City, Madurai, Trichinopoly and Coimbatore towns. The Inter-State Police Radio Station which had hitherto been managed by the operators of the State Police was handed over to the operators of the Central Government on 1-8-1952. In the general elections, the wireless was of great use in transmitting information almost hour to hour about the situation in the districts to the authorities, thus enabling them to take timely precautions and safeguards against the occurrence of disturbances and troubles.

The formation of the Andhra State resulted in the partition of the wireless equipment and stores. At the end of the year 1953 there were fourteen static stations and eighteen mobile units in the State. All district headquarters, except Chingleput, were connected by radio and the Chingleput district headquarters was provided with a transportable station. The network continued to maintain liaison with the Army and Navy.

The troubles on the French India border necessitated the opening of a control station in South Arcot district and it enabled the State Police to control anti-social elements on both sides of the border and

thus preserve peace and tranquillity, when feelings were running high against Francophiles.

The cyclone-relief operations in Tanjore and Ramanathapuram districts in 1955 brought fresh renown to this branch. They appeared not only as technicians handling a modern instrument but as the harbingers of hope and comfort to the flood-stricken villagers marooned on house-tops and trees. The operators risked their own lives in swimming through fast-moving currents and wading through swamps in order to establish transmitting stations in the interior of the districts and the people outside came to know about the magnitude of the losses only after messages began pouring in from these transmitting stations. Thus they were responsible for focussing public attention on a catastrophe, and attracting relief work from all enlightened quarters.

The conspicuous event of the year 1956 was the opening of the Police Radio Office on the Marina situated between the C. I. D. Office on one side and the All India Radio on the other.

After the linguistic division of provinces one stationary and another mobile unit were established at Nagercoil in Kanyakumari district.

This recital of the development of police wireless in the Madras State cannot be closed without mentioning the splendid and magnificent work done during the Avadi Session of the Congress, the Mahamakham festival at Kumbakonam and the continuing efficiency of the City Control-room.

The Avadi Session of the Congress was held in an open amphitheatre in front of the Malayan Emigration Camp. It was set up by levelling an open undulating ground by means of bulldozers and preparing a mound at one end of the ground to serve as the dais which accommodated a thousand people and was said to be the largest ever constructed in India. The layout of the police camp itself was carefully thought out so that the police would be available at the shortest notice. The nerve-centre of the camp was the control room which was provided with an excellent network of telephones and a two-way radio communication system. This arrangement was put to the test on the day of the opening session when a crowd of two lakhs had already got into the amphitheatre and more people were attempting to get in despite the lack of space. The Seva Dal volunteers had been detailed to keep order but it was evident that they were wilting under the pressure of the



Sri Jawaharlal Nehru pays a visit to the police wireless unit at work
at the 60th Session of the All-India Congress at Avadi.



The milling crowd in Mahamakham Festival at Kumbakonam

crowds. As the Congress leaders went through the central gangway of the amphitheatre in procession and mounted the dais, the immense crowd surged forward to have a closer view of their national leaders. The attempts by the volunteers to stem the tide were futile. The mass of humanity broke through the barrier in front of the dais and there was imminent danger of the entire dais being swamped by the over-enthusiastic crowd. Actually some damage was caused to the flowerpots and vases kept on the dais. Finding that the crowds could not be controlled without police interference, the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C. I. D., who was in charge of security arrangements, communicated with the control-room to send in a contingent of the Armed Reserve. In two minutes five hundred men made their appearance and in a matter of 15 minutes they restored order. The Prime Minister was so pleased with the arrangements that he paid a visit, amongst his multifarious duties, to the police control-room to get himself acquainted with a system of such trouble-saving potentialities.

Kumbakonam is a famous pilgrim centre in South India in Tanjore district. It has both Siva and Vishnu temples of great antiquity but what gives it a pre-eminent place among religious centres is the occurrence of a festival called Mahamakham every twelve years. Pilgrims from all parts of India throng the town during this period to have a dip in the Mahamakham Tank, a reservoir 200 yards square with 16 picturesque 'mandaps' on the four sides and 19 sacred wells called 'Thirtham' in its bed. Tradition says that on this auspicious day, all the sacred rivers of India invoked by Mantras and songs of the Puranas, converge into this tank. A bath on this occasion is said to wash away one's sins. About 15 to 20 lakhs of people attended this festival in 1956 and there was not a single mishap. Perfect order was maintained by the police and great credit is due to the work of the control-room and walkie-talkie personnel whose periodical reports about concentration of people in particular localities enabled the Superintendent of Police to post additional bandobust as required.

People in the City are now familiar with the telephone number '93' which connects the caller directly with the police control-room. No call to '93' is charged by the Telephone Department. The public expect the police to come to their aid with speed and efficiency. This service is ensured by the police control-room where a police party under a responsible officer is always ready by day and by night to proceed by motor vehicles to the place of the disturbance. The normal time

taken by this police party to arrive at the spot, is about six minutes. In one instance a student residing in the Madras Medical College Hostel found four persons breaking into a shop on Purasawalkam High Road. He rang up '93' and furnished details of the incident. The police car rushed to the spot just as the burglars were emerging from the shop and all of them were arrested. In another case, a jeweller was approached by a youngster with a diamond nose-screw for sale. The jeweller tactfully kept the youth engaged in conversation while an assistant rang up '93'. The police were there in six minutes. Confronted by the police, the youth gave information leading to the recovery of stolen articles worth about Rs. 2,000.

The Police Laboratory : With the advance of science it is but natural that the criminal also makes use of modern techniques and devices to further his ends. Crime detection does not now depend on the exclusive effort of the investigator alone; more clues are found today in the laboratory than from the criminal records of police stations. Forensic Science has made great strides in the last decade and no matter what precautions a felon takes, such as wearing gloves to avoid making fingerprints, he often leaves minute clues which the microscope faithfully reveals. Murderers who come into physical contact with their victims have often been betrayed by fibres found on the finger-nails of the dead person, which matched the colour and texture of the clothes worn by the assailant.

Thus a well-equipped laboratory will be of great use to investigating officers. At present scientific work relating to police investigation is being done in the Chemical Examiner's Office. This office deals with physical, chemical and radiological examination of articles only after they have been sent by the Courts. Results of the examination reach the courts during the preliminary inquiry and sometimes during the trial at the sessions. This does not help the investigating officer in any way except to corroborate what he has already found out by other methods. Therefore it is essential to establish a Forensic Science Laboratory.

Two officers of the Criminal Investigation Department were trained as Coin and Currency Experts for the first time at the Mint at Bombay in 1909. The police usually come across counterfeit coins made out of casts. These are produced by pouring molten metal in moulds. The moulds used for casting are ordinarily made of clay or porcelain powder and the metals used, are tin and lead. Sometimes coins are

made by striking with dies also. Forged currency notes are made by photographically processed blocks. Ordinary paper is used and water mark is poorly imitated. The security thread is invariably absent.

Next comes the science of foot-prints. Here again India can be said to be the home of this science. The Khojas of Rajputana and the Pagis of Gujarat are professional trackers of phenomenal efficiency. Mr G. W. Gayer, I.P. of the Central Provinces was a pioneer in the detection of cases by foot-prints. A few police officers from Madras were trained in the Central Provinces. Later, Mr C. H. Gasden, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C. I. D., Madras published a booklet on this subject in 1934. There are four methods of preserving and recording foot impressions which are: (1) by preserving the original intact, (2) by photography, (3) by taking casts, and (4) by tracing. Before any comparison is practicable, an impression of the suspected person's foot must first be made under conditions similar to those under which the original impression was made. There are 12 features for each foot based on the meta tarsal and phalangeal joints and the size and projection of the foot. Each one of these twelve features has as much character as the features of a face and once a pupil learns to distinguish them at a glance he is able to recognize a person from his foot impression as easily as he can from his face.

In the year 1936 a foot-print in blood found at the scene of a murder in the Coimbatore district was identified as that of one of the murderers by the C. I. D. Expert. In other cases, the expert's evidence proved useful and the importance of the science and technique of the identification of foot-prints forced itself upon the attention of investigating officers. So a proposal was put up to the Government for the training of all Sub Inspectors of the District Intelligence Bureau in the preservation and identification of foot-prints. The Government approved of the scheme. The foot-print expert still plays an important part in the adducing of proof about a suspect's culpability in the commission of an offence.

An expert in ballistics has been working in the C. I. D. from the year 1935. He is a police officer. It is not generally known that the striations caused on a bullet by firing it from a weapon are characteristic of each weapon. They are on the same footing as the finger-prints of a person, infallible and immutable. So it is possible to ascertain with certainty whether a certain bullet which is recovered from a body or

from a scene of offence had been fired from a particular weapon or not. Photography plays a large part in this comparison. A photographic unit is also attached to C. I. D. The ballistic expert works in collaboration with the Police Research Assistant in the Chemical Examiner's Office. Advanced training is provided for these experts at the Small Arms Factory at Ishapore, Calcutta.

The Chemical Examiner's Laboratory is able to revive the defaced numbers on cycle-frames. Comparison of typewritten and handwritten documents is done by the State Examiner of Questioned Documents to ascertain whether they could have been typed in the same machine or written by the same person. In the incident relating to Saint Sundarar, mentioned in Chapter II of this book, details have been given about the method of comparison adopted for two documents purported to have been executed by the same person. It is the comparing of the suspected handwriting with the accepted one. The accepted one may be an old one, about the authorship of which there is no controversy, or one written to dictation by the suspect himself while the case is under investigation. The system is based on the principle that each writing is characteristic of its writer which, in short, means, that it cannot be simulated by any other except by recourse to methods similar to painting which can be easily detected by photography. The Government sanctioned the post of State Examiner of Questioned Documents in G. O. Ms. No. 1709 Home dated 7-5-1948. The Police Research Assistant in the Office of the Chemical Examiner was selected for this post. After undergoing training for a period of six months under Government Examiner of Questioned Documents, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, the State Examiner started his work in March 1951. The Foot-print Expert, the Coin and Currency Expert, and the Firearms Expert have been placed under the administrative control of this officer along with the photographic section. This staff function in the Police Laboratory in the C.I.D.

Prohibition Intelligence Bureau: Another branch which forms part of the Crime Branch, C. I. D. is the Prohibition Intelligence Bureau which superseded the Excise and Prohibition Intelligence Bureau attached to the Revenue Board up to 1955. This Bureau was mainly concerned with the activities of national and international smugglers of narcotics and was in direct contact with the Narcotics Intelligence Bureau, Simla. The latter had been formed in accordance with the instruction contained in the Geneva Convention. India participated

in the second Inter-national Opium Conference in the years 1923 to 1925 at Geneva and the convention adopted in relation to Dangerous Drugs in this Conference is called the Geneva Convention. In order to effectively implement the decisions taken, the Dangerous Drugs Act was enacted in India in the year 1930. So the main work of the Prohibition Intelligence Bureau before the introduction of Prohibition centred round the enforcement of the Indian Opium Act 1878, the Madras Abkari Act and the Dangerous Drugs Act.

It is necessary to advert to prohibition here. The removal of the drink-evil was one of the important planks in the programme of the Congress Party after the leadership of the organization came into Gandhiji's hands. Several people had lost their lives while picketing toddy and arrack shops during the British regime and the Congress had promised that prohibition will be introduced in all the States when it came to power. Moreover Sri C. Rajagopalachari, one of the staunchest believers in prohibition introduced it in the State in 1937 when he headed the Congress Ministry formed in Madras for the first time. The Madras Prohibition Act 1937 was placed on the Statute Book and Salem was selected as the first district for this experiment. With the exception of an Assistant Commissioner of Excise who was posted as the Prohibition Officer and Additional District Superintendent of Salem, the whole of the Excise Department staff was removed from that district and the district police with the aid of the temporary additional staff of one Inspector, 13 Sub Inspectors, 31 head constables and 122 constables were required to enforce the Act. Mr A. F. W. Dixon, I. C. S., the District Magistrate noted in 1937 that a satisfactory feature of the year was the marked fall in crime under the Indian Penal Code which might be attributed in part to the introduction of prohibition. Towards the end of the next year prohibition was extended to Chittoor and Cuddapah districts. The District Magistrate, Cuddapah reported to the Government thus:— "The district-board elections took place on the 15th November 1938. An immediate result of the extension of the Prohibition Act to this district was the noticeable absence of rowdyism at these elections. Evening brawls in villages have also largely disappeared much to the relief of the womenfolk." Mr Dixon from Salem reported again that the Act had been administered well but the police had to a very large extent to rely on themselves and their informers for dealing with prohibition crime. The Act was extended to North Arcot district in 1939.

With the outbreak of World War II and the resignation of Congress Ministries the provisions of the Prohibition Act were suspended in all the four districts where they were in force by Revenue Department Notification No. 448 dated 16th November 1943. But with the cessation of the war and the return of the Congress to power this notification was cancelled, the Act being revived in the same departmental notification, No. 331 dated 29th June 1946. The districts of Coimbatore, Bellary, Kurnool and Anantapur came under the Act from 1st October 1946. During the next year it was extended to the districts of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madurai, the Nilgiris, Guntur, Nellore, Malabar and South Kanara districts. In 1948 the districts of Vizagapatam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Chingleput, South Arcot, Ramnad and Tirunelveli and Madras City were brought under the Act and thus prohibition was introduced throughout Madras State.

Enforcement was in the hands of the police in the districts of Chittoor, North Arcot, Salem, Coimbatore, Tanjore, Tiruchirapalli, Madurai North, Madurai South, Guntur and Nellore districts. In the other districts and in Madras City the Act was enforced by the Excise Department. There was a large volume of opinion that the dual agency in enforcement was not conducive to the best results and that the police should be in entire charge. There was also another suggestion that while the administration of the Act should be with the police there should be a separate Prohibition Branch in the Police Department itself for enforcement. Government decided that the prohibition work in the State should be transferred to the police by stages. A beginning was made in the year 1950 with the then police-prohibition-districts where prohibition work was merged with the regular police work and the entire police staff in these ten districts administered the Act along with other special and local laws. After the separation of the Andhra districts the Government ordered in G. O. Ms. No. 3524, Home dated 1st December 1954, that the work of enforcement in the remaining eight districts and Madras City should be transferred to the Police Department from the Excise with effect from 3rd January 1955. The details of the Excise staff taken into the Police Department and the additional posts created on account of the merger are given in Chapter XI.

As a result of this merger the Prohibition Intelligence Bureau became a unit of the Crime Branch, C. I. D. It has a staff of one Deputy Superintendent of Police, one Inspector, three Sub Inspectors, sixteen head constables and fifteen constables. In the year 1958

special measures were taken to enforce the Prohibition Act. A staff of one Inspector and three Sub Inspectors was specially sanctioned for the Bureau to check up the work of enforcement in districts and to collect information about illicit distillers, sellers and smugglers and pass them on to the concerned quarters for taking necessary action. In exceptional cases the staff was deputed to the districts where the local police either failed to successfully combat prohibition crime or were suspected to be conniving with the offenders.

By and large the functions of the Bureau remain the same in the police set-up also but owing to more rigid enforcement of the Prohibition Act equal importance is given to prohibition and narcotics work by the maintenance of History Sheets for notorious illicit distillers, dope producers and pedlars, purveyors of liquor, carriers, and for black areas.

The Indian Constitution has taken note of the injurious effects of drugs and alcohol and so laid down in Article 47, among the directive principles of State policy that, "the State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and standard of the living of its people and the improvement of public health as among its primary duties and in particular the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption, except for medicinal purposes, of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health." The Prohibition Intelligence Bureau is the central unit in the State which carries out this directive principle. The dealers in dope are a menace to society and adopt fair means and foul to outwit the enforcement agency. Deluxe automobiles with secret chambers, steel trunks with false bottoms, hollow frames of cots, and other places of concealment which human ingenuity can devise, and wrongly declared parcels have all been utilized by the smugglers. The low cost of production and the high market price of the contraband make the trade very lucrative. The Prohibition Intelligence Bureau is doing all that it can to counter this racket.

CHAPTER XV

THE MADRAS FINGER-PRINT BUREAU

THE ADVANCE of science during the last hundred years has been phenomenal and has changed beyond recognition the very face of the earth. During this period new frontiers have been crossed in the field of prevention and detection of crime. The identification of felons by their finger-prints is one of the greatest gifts given by science six decades ago to the law enforcement agencies of the world.

Little is known when man first began to evince a curiosity in the ridges and furrows on his palms and fingers, and much less when exactly he began using finger-prints as a means of identification. The word 'Finger-print' seems to hold an undying fascination for men of all ages and different races. The literary field of dactyloscopy (a pompous word for the science of finger-prints!) has always been the favourite hunting ground for theorists.

Some say that the idea of using finger-prints as a means of identification had its roots in the East, while others like Sir Francis Galton (1822-1911) an eminent anthropologist believe that the Romans were the first in this field. On this subject Sir Francis Galton says:—

“Many impressions of fingers are found on ancient pottery, as on Roman tiles; indeed the Latin word *palmatus* is said to mean an impression in soft clay, such as a mark upon a wall, stamped by a blow with the palm. Nail marks are used ornamentally by potters of various nations. They exist on Assyrian bricks as signatures; for instance, in the Assyrian Room of the British Museum, on the west side of case C. 43, one of these bricks contains a notice of sale and is prefaced by words that were translated for me thus: ‘Nail-mark of Nabu-sum-usur, the seller of the field (used) like his seal.’”

Thousands of years ago the Chinese monarchs used their finger-prints on documents as a sign manual when the people of the British Isles were little more than savages. The Chinese Law Book of YUNG-HWUI a work of the seventh century, while dealing with the subject of divorce, insisted that the husbands seeking divorce should either sign or

affix their finger-prints on the affidavits. This probabalizes the fact that finger-print identification was first conceived of in the East, though later it blossomed as a science on the European continent and in the United States of America.

Patterns formed by papillary ridges might have excited the curiosity even of prehistoric man, long before the dawn of civilization. But the pores in the papillary ridges seem to have escaped any particular attention till the famous physician of the seventeenth century Dr Nehemiah Grew described the pores in the skin of the hands and feet and wrote on their uses. Grew's description of papillary ridges and pores makes interesting reading:—

“For if any one will but take the pains, with an indifferent Glass, to survey the Palm of his Hand very well washed with a Ball; he may perceive (besides those great Lines to which some men have given names, and those of a middle size call'd the Grain of the skin) innumerable little Ridges, of equal bigness and distance, and everywhere running parallel one with another. And especially, upon the ends and first Joints of the Fingers and Thumb, upon the top of the Ball, and near the root of the Thumb a little above the Wrist. In all which places, they are very regularly disposed into spherical Triangles and Ellipticks...Upon these Ridges stand the Pores, all in even Rows, and of that magnitude, as to be visible to a very good Eye without a Glass. But being viewed with one, every Pore looks like a little Fountain, and the sweat may be seen to stand therein, as clear as rock water, and as often as it is wiped off, to spring up within them again.”

Dr Grew would never have dreamt for a while “that those little fountains of sweat would lead to the undoing of malefactors when they left their digital spoors at the scene of a crime.”

The scene now shifted to the East again. Sir William Herschel of the Indian Civil Service was extremely interested in the subject of finger-prints and he attempted to utilize its service for practical purposes. While he was in charge of the Hoogly district in Bengal in 1877, he insisted that executants of documents should authenticate them by affixing their finger impressions. He found this to be extremely reliable in fixing up the identities of people registering their deeds, and he communicated the idea to the heads of other departments for its adoption on an all-India basis. But it did not catch the eye of the authorities at that time and faded away.

Dr Henry Faulds, the Scottish Physician in Tokyo, Japan wrote an article in a British Magazine in 1880 describing in detail his experiments with finger-prints which proved that no two finger-prints were ever alike and that they were unchangeable. Eight years later Sir Francis Saltor, an English Scientist interested in Darwin's theory of evolution, and in Mendelism wanted to know whether the ridge formation gave any clue to heredity in the human species. He failed to find any connexion between the two but discovered the immutable nature of finger-prints and that no two impressions were alike. He devised a classification system on the basis of three patterns, the arch, the loop and the whorl. Later, Bertillon in France formulated a system called Anthropometry in which identification could be effected by body measurements. But this could be done only when the accused was under arrest. Moreover it was found inadequate for extensive records.

But the modern system of classification and use of finger-prints owes its origin to Sir Edward Henry who was Inspector General of Police in the Lower Province (Bengal). He had experience of the use of finger-prints in distinguishing labourers on the plantation and it was he who first worked out a system of classification which with slight modification is still in use today. It is based on the fact that no two persons have ever been known to possess identical prints. Even those of identical twins are different. Sir Edward Henry joined the Metropolitan Police in London as Assistant Commissioner in 1901. A year prior to it a committee had been appointed by the then Home Secretary, Mr A. H. Asquith, (later Lord Asquith and Earl of Oxford) to consider the system developed by Mr Henry as he then was, for the identification of criminals. The Committee reported favourably on the system and it was adopted next year in England and Wales, in place of the Bertillon system of measurements. Henry received a baronetcy for his work and he became the Commissioner of Metropolitan Police in 1903, which he continued to hold for 13 years.

The details of development of the finger-print system in the United Kingdom given here were necessary to show that a Finger-Print Bureau in Madras started functioning even before the English Police thought about it. It was established in Madras on 22-8-1895. Before that, there was a Central Bureau of Anthropometrical Measurements attached to the Jail Department. This was transferred to the control of the Inspector General of Police in 1894. When the superiority of the finger-print classification and the insufficiency of Bertillon system were

established, the Bureau of Anthropometrical Measurements which was then called 'the Central Identification Bureau' was replaced by the Finger-Print Bureau.

The first officer in charge of the Madras State Finger-print Bureau was Sri E. A. Subramania Iyer, an Inspector of Police who was trained along with two clerks of the Police Department, by Sir Edward Henry himself. So it can be said that the Madras Bureau bequeathed to successive generation the tradition or *sampradaya* of the originator himself. In G. O. No. 2500 dated 21-5-1897, the courts in this State were informed that a special officer was available in the office of the Inspector General of Police to give evidence on finger-prints. The Government of India sent a circular dated 12-6-1897 recommending the adoption of the finger-print system throughout India. Madras had already led the way in the matter. The Evidence Act was amended in 1899 to facilitate the acceptance of finger-print evidence.

The principles of the finger-print system can be summarized as follows:—The complicated patterns of loops, whorls, arches or composites that occur on the skin of human fingers vary with each individual and remain unchanged throughout life. There are glands in the fingers. These secrete a waxy substance and also salt which discharge on to the surface of the fingers. The secretions leave a tell-tale mark on any surface touched by the fingers but the suitability for lifting them depends on the nature of the surfaces. The whole edifice of the system was on the point of crumbling down when two finger-prints belonging to a man and a woman were found to be identical but investigation proved that the woman was the man himself masquerading as a member of the fair sex and the system was saved. Sir William Herschel recorded an impression in 1856 and had it compared with a new print in 1914. The pattern was found to be clearly identical.

Even as early as 1893 an eminent lawyer in Missouri (U.S.A.) David Wilson who pursued the hobby of collecting finger-prints, made, while arguing a case, a fervent appeal to the jury on the infallibility of finger-prints. Here follows an excerpt from the address of David Wilson to the Jury:—

“Every human being carries with him from his cradle to his grave certain physical marks which do not change their character, and by which he can always be identified and that without shade of doubt or question. These marks are his signature, his physiological autograph, so

to speak, and this autograph cannot be counterfeited nor can he disguise it or hide it away, nor can it become illegible by the wear and mutations of time. This autograph consists of the delicate lines or corrugations with which nature marks the insides of the hands and the soles of the feet.

“One twin’s patterns are never the same as his fellow-twin’s patterns—you have often heard of twins who were so exactly alike that when dressed alike, their own parents could not tell them apart ; yet there was never a twin born into this world that did not carry from birth to death a sure identifier in this mysterious and marvellous natal autograph.”

The system received early judicial recognition and approbation in India as could be seen from the High Court decision in *Emperor Vs Sahdeo* (in 3 Nagpur L. Rep. 1 (India) 1904) :—

“The process in our system of justice of identifying persons necessarily calls into use the well established fact that, so far as human experience goes, there are no two human beings in the world who exactly resemble one another in every single detail. Our identification evidence has hitherto been of a rough and ready kind. We have for the most part depended on the oral evidence of witnesses speaking from memory ; upon handwriting ; upon photographs ; upon clothes, and so on. The chances of being misled to a wrong judgment by such evidences are not inconsiderable. The weakness of the system was realized many years ago ; and Anthropometry found birth. But the danger of depending on a system of measurements was soon, more or less, realized, owing to the obvious possibility of an approximation in the measurements of two individuals being so great as to make differentiation doubtful, upon the theory that it might be due only to defective measurement ; and this weakness prevented any general adoption of the system until now ; its gradual abandonment in favour of finger-prints may be regarded as certain.

“The papillary ridges presented by the surfaces of the skin on the palms of the hands and soles of the feet, have been ascertained to be the most important of all anthropological data. For identification purposes it has only been found necessary to deal with impressions made by the bulbs of the fingers and thumbs. It has been discovered that systems of parallel ridges sweep in bold curves across the palmar surfaces of the hand, and that wherever the boundaries of two systems

of such ridges diverge, the interspace is filled up by an independent compact little system, variously curved and whorled, having a fictitious resemblance to an eddy between two currents. Such an interspace, with a compact system of its own, is found in the bulb of each human digit. The patterns which are made by the papillary ridges on this bulb, afford the means of identification under discussion. It is from these 'dies' that are taken the prints which serve to fix human personality and give to every human being an individuality differentiating him from all others. The absence of absolute repetition, which seems to be a universal law of nature, is found to be present here...By those who have made a study of the subject, though they have classifications of finger impressions into divisions and subdivisions of types and patterns presenting general features of resemblance there has never yet been found any case in which the pattern made by one finger exactly resembled the pattern made by any other finger of the same or any other hand. On the contrary, the one may readily be differentiated from all others by comparison. Every such pattern has been found to contain numerous 'bifurcations', 'origins', 'islands' and 'enclosures' in the ridges which compose it; and these, while proved to be always beyond change from birth to death are never wholly repeated in the case of any other pattern."

The Madras Finger-Print Bureau continued to be under the direct control of the Inspector General of Police till 1905, when in accordance with the recommendations of the Police Commission of 1902 it was brought under the supervision of the newly appointed Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C.I.D., Madras. Its services were sought after by other departments of the Government like Revenue, Judicial and Registration and also by private parties. So in 1905 Government issued orders for the levying of a fee for such expert consultation and yearly a sum exceeding Rs. 5,000 is generally collected in this way. But its main functions are the classification and recording of finger-print slips of convicted persons, searching for the antecedents of arrested persons who are unidentified, location of absconders and tracing culprits with the chance prints found at the scene of crime.

Any smooth and polished surface is capable of retaining finger-impressions with all the details of the ridges. A housebreaker often leaves his finger-prints on the window-panes or door-knobs in effecting his entrance; a thief betrays himself when he leaves finger impressions on the articles handled by him. Blood-stained fingers of a murderer on

the wooden mantelpiece or teakwood furniture may expose him. An official of a co-operative society or a postman may affix his own prints in the place of a party who was sanctioned a loan, or expecting a money order and thus misappropriate the amounts and establish an infallible proof of his guilt. In many of these cases, the prints will be latent and therefore may not be clear or usually visible. Such prints require treatment with developing materials. Generally powders, liquids or vapours are used to develop latent prints and make them patent for being photographed. Photography plays a large part in finger-print work and comparisons are made of the photographs of prints taken from the objects, with the print taken from suspected persons. A culprit is very often successfully traced by means of his chance impressions left on the scene of crime. This happened in a sensational case of housebreaking in Tiruchi Cantonment, where properties worth about Rs. 30,000 were lost. Seven latent prints were traced on the objects found at the scene of crime. These were developed and photographed. They were compared with other prints of about 500 criminals suggested by the Investigating Officer. The Bureau drew blank in all these instances. There was no other clue to work upon. People who had no knowledge of these prints even suspected whether the offence could be true. But the matter was not allowed to rest. The Bureau pursued the search and it suddenly dawned on one Expert that the photographed prints were identical with those of a criminal from the Kerala State. The comparison proved this to be a fact. On the basis of this information, the suspect was secured and on his own confession a large portion of the stolen goods was recovered.

The Madras Finger-Print Bureau was housed in a building attached to the C. I. D. Office till the year 1942. But after the Pearl Harbour incident and the attempt of Japanese planes to bomb Madras, when there was large scale evacuation of the City, the Bureau was transferred to the famous Vellore Fort where the Provincial Training School had already its office and hostels. The Bureau has been in this safe haven away from the madding crowd for a considerable time now and from a staff of 3 individuals with which it started, it has now a strength of about 50 persons as Searchers, Testers and Experts.

In 1910 the Director of Criminal Intelligence Bureau issued instructions to the effect that the finger-prints of prisoners in jails should be checked with those already on record. This was to ensure that the wrong prints were not kept on record so that the system might become fool-proof.

To give effect to this, two Sub Inspectors from the District Police were deputed to visit jails and take finger-prints of the convicts. In the early years of the Bureau, the Federated Malaya and Mysore States were sending a large number of finger-print references to the Bureau. This was probably because there was an attempt to look into the bonafides of the plantation labour in the estates there and the infant Bureau produced good results. In the year 1911, in Tanjore, the Collector's *tapal* cart and his peons were attacked on the Vallam Road by a gang of dacoits, who were tracked by their foot-prints. The dacoits had handled a number of articles in the *tapal* cart. Those contained latent prints which were developed and compared with those of the suspects. The latent prints agreed with the impression of two persons who were subsequently convicted on this evidence. Another case for the detection of which the Madras Finger-Print Bureau was responsible, was the murder of a rich Sait in Bangalore, by a Muslim who left his index-finger impression in blood on the door of a safe which he had attempted to open. A sieve placed on the safe also contained a left thumb impression. Other evidence was lacking but on the suspect being arrested and his finger impressions tallying with those on the articles, he was convicted. A case of interest in the year 1913 was the theft of a number of watches from the Custom House, Madras. A dealwood box containing watches had been consigned to Messrs Whiteaway Laidlaw & Co., and it was kept in the Custom House. Soon after its arrival one of the planks of the case was found to have been broken, the tin-lining cut and some watches stolen. The Sub Inspector who made the investigation noticed some blood stains on some empty cardboard boxes and on the dealwood case. One of the coolies working in the Custom House, who had a fresh cut on one of his fingers was arrested. The finger-prints of the suspect and the blood-stained cardboard boxes were sent to the Bureau for examination. There was a decipherable finger-print in blood on one of the cardboard boxes which corresponded with the right-thumb print of the suspect. He was arrested and further enquiries resulted in the detection of the case and conviction of the offender.

On the 1st of June 1914 a new cadre of Tester Sub Inspectors came into being in the place of the District Sub Inspectors deputed to take finger-prints in jails. Four were appointed for the purpose. In order to release trained police personnel to their legitimate job, the post of Tester Sub Inspectors was later converted into a clerical cadre. But the

Identification of Prisoners Act provided for the taking of finger-prints only by police officers and the clerks had therefore no power under the Act. This lacuna was noticed and so the Bureau had to revert to the old system. There was a scheme of recording the finger-prints of all railway menials but it was given up in 1925 as it did not yield results commensurate with the labour involved. The Bureau was able to establish the identity of a deceased very convincingly in Salem district in the year 1927. A headless trunk with gaping wounds weighted by stones was found in a well in Dharmapuri. The body could not at first be identified as it was in a largely decomposed state. The corpse was suspected to be that of a village magistrate who was missing for sometime. There were records in existence wherein he had affixed his left-thumb impression but the skin on the fingers of left hand was found to have been peeled off in the corpse. So a search was made in the well which resulted in the recovery of the skin. It was sent to the Bureau with the documents in question. The impressions on the documents tallied with that produced by the skin and the identity of the deceased was conclusively established.

“Murder will out” is a popular saying. This came very true in the case of a murderer whose case was treated as undetected by the police because there was no clue except a chance print in the scene of crime. This was not traced at that time. Subsequently a criminal was arrested in a case of burglary and his finger-prints were sent to the Bureau. One of the prints of the burglar’s finger tallied with the print discovered near the corpse in the murder case. This information was transmitted to the concerned police who reopened the case and conducted further investigation which ultimately ended in the conviction of the murderer.

In a recent case the Bureau itself took the initiative in the investigation of a burglary where properties to the value of Rs. 4,000 had been lost. Some of the articles in the burgled house contained latent finger-prints. The Principal of the Police Training College who is in charge of the Bureau radioed instructions to the Inspector conducting the investigation to send the articles as well as to furnish a list of criminals who were addicted to the modus operandi noticed in that case. The District Intelligence Bureau in the headquarters of the district was also requested by wireless to send their suggestions with reference to their records regarding the probable criminals that might have operated in the offence. The latent finger-prints were developed in the Bureau. Meantime particulars of suspects were also received.

A simultaneous checking of the prints of the suspects and comparing them with the photo of the latent prints found in the scene of crime led to the identification of the criminal in an hour's time. This information was again sent by wireless to the investigating officer. The criminal was immediately arrested and the entire stolen property was recovered. The case proved the efficacy of the modus-operandi system going hand in hand with finger-print search.

We have been so long engrossed in the utility of what are called main collections, where the finger-prints of all the ten digits of persons are taken on a form and the classification worked out on a formula representing the patterns in the fingers and recorded in a specified order. But this system has its own limitations. It is not possible to trace by this method the culprits who have left some stray or chance impressions at the scene of crime unless it be by what is called sight-memory method where one expert is able to retrace his memory and fix upon the criminal who possesses identical finger-prints. This is a rare occurrence and cannot be depended upon in any systematic work. To overcome this difficulty, a system of single finger-prints has been evolved.

This system is confined to criminals addicted to housebreaking and house-thefts because an unduly large collection of single finger-prints will vitiate the very object for which it has been made. The discoverer of this method is Superintendent Battley of Scotland Yard. Here the impression of the ten fingers of an individual are taken separately and classified with reference to the characteristics found in the pattern. A special tripod magnifier with a base glass containing concentric circles is used for working out the classification. The single-digit cards about the size 3"×5" are printed ten in a sheet and perforated for the ten digits of a person. The rolled impressions of each of the fingers are recorded on the respective cards. The single-digit serial numbers and the classification worked out in the main collection are entered for reference. Then the prints are classified according to single-digit classification, the cards cut at the perforation and filed finger-wise in separate drawers in a cabinet. When a chance print is discovered in a scene of crime, it is preserved; and then developed with suitable developers. Photographs of it are taken to the actual size and compared with the finger-prints of the inmates and other persons who have legitimate access to the place in question. After this elimination process, the "unaccounted" print is classified and the search starts in

the single-digit collection. A great deal of practice, patience and perseverance is required for this work. The photographed copies of the imprints which are not identified are kept separately in a collection called the "unidentified scene-of-crime collections". Later when offenders are arrested in similar cases, comparison is effected between their prints and the unaccounted prints in this collection and if they tally, it results in the detection of a number of cases, where the offender had so long remained unlocated.

There was an effort to collect the single digit impressions in the Finger-Print Bureau in the year 1936 but it had to be given up due to the exigencies of the war. It was revived in 1956 and a unit of one Assistant Superintendent and three experts was stationed in Madras City. This section has been doing excellent work and has brought on record the single finger-prints of 2574 burglars and house-thieves. Actually in the year 1958, fifty per cent of the housebreakings in Madras City were detected by this system. Proposals are afoot to set up such units in important towns like Madurai, Tiruchirappalli, Tirunelveli, Salem and Coimbatore.

The Finger-Print Bureau is not in the limelight like some of the other uniformed services and so its work does not win headlines in the press or featuring in Radio. Many cases have been detected by the Bureau and only a few find mention in this book. The colossal nature of the work done by the Bureau can be gauged from the fact, that as many as 43,710 finger-prints were examined during the investigation of 12 cases of Madras City only. This works out to about 3,500 prints for a single case. In another case of safe-cracking in a mill at Salem, where latent finger and palm-prints were noticed, comparisons were made with 12,720 finger-prints and 2,540 palm-prints before the culprit was successfully traced. Another interesting case which the Bureau handled required expert knowledge of finger-print work and photography. A document purported to have been executed by an illiterate old lady and authenticated by her thumb impression using bullock-cart grease was produced as evidence in a civil litigation. The alleged executant denied this strongly and the court requested the Finger-Print Bureau, Madras to come to its help. The impression on the document was very much smudged and the ridges were not visible. But the Experts in the Bureau used a device to pass a beam of light through the impression and found that the ridges then became clear. Thereupon the impression was photographed with light reflected on the back of the

document at an angle of 45°. The impression was found to be of the whorl pattern while the lady's thumb impression was of the loop variety. Thanks to the Finger-Print Bureau, the spuriousness of the document and the veracity of the lady were both established.

Nearly 5,00,000 finger-print slips are on record in the Bureau. About one hundred thousand references relating to finger-prints are handled every year. The figures testify to the magnitude of the work undertaken. The Bureau continued to serve the Andhra State also till 18-5-1959 when relevant records were transferred to the Director, Finger-Print Bureau, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad. In the midst of its multifarious work the Bureau also trains police officers deputed from districts for special courses in crime detection.

The Finger-Print Bureau, Vellore is the first of its kind that was organized in India. It has added another first to its credit by employing women as finger-print technicians in the Bureau. There are now seven of them. These silent yet splendid workers who are modest to a fault, neither seek the limelight nor a niche in the temple of fame. The only honour the public can do them is to leave the articles in the scene of crime severely alone till one of these eagle-eyed experts scans them for the invisible yet infallible clue.

CHAPTER XVI

TRAINING AND DISCIPLINE

DISCIPLINE, it has been defined, is not merely a submission to authority but a continuous and concomitant development of the individual. A well-trained and well-disciplined force will be the *sine qua non* of any machinery designed and devised for the maintenance of order and preservation of the public peace. The members of the police force unlike the armymen have to act singly as well as in a body; initiative and pluck mark out individual decisions taken by police officers in critical situations and the effectiveness of a striking force is judged by the *esprit de corps* displayed by the policemen acting under the command of an officer. Therefore in order that the police organization may function effectively and efficiently, a well-thought-out training programme is necessary. Drawn as they are from different strata of society, the police recruits are of different grains and shades in emotional make-up and intellectual attainment. These raw materials, sifted and winnowed before recruitment, have to pass through the mill where they are moulded and shaped into fine specimens of initiative, drive and courage. The Police Training Institutions strive hard towards this end.

In the early days of the Police Department after the passing of Act XXIV of 1859 District Schools were established in the headquarters of each district to train all ranks in police work. This training was of the most rudimentary kind and many of the difficulties which were then encountered by superior officers in making the department efficient, could be attributed to the insufficiency of this training either to mould the character of the individual or to make them good detectives. Soon after this course, the recruits were posted to their charges and they were left to shift for themselves as best as they could. Here they learnt in a hard school of trial and error but in this process most of them fell easy victims to temptations of all kinds. The officer in charge of the station was called the Station House Officer. He had the rank of the present-day head constable. A constable who passed the Station House Officer's examination was promoted to the post. The constable's post attracted the lowest type of people, for the pay was only Rs. 6 per mensem, much less than what an unskilled labourer earned; and

the constable's wife, unlike the labourer's, never went for work to supplement her husband's earning as it was considered derogatory to her dignity. Above the Station House Officer was the Inspector who had charge of 5 or 6 stations. The post of Inspectors was being filled up in two ways viz. (1) by promoting Station House Officers and (2) by recruiting from outside the Police Department—the officers selected being "Probationary Inspectors" until confirmed. In 1896, the then Inspector General of Police Mr Hammick, I.C.S., noticed the inadequacy of the training received by these Probationary Inspectors. His report to the Government requesting sanction to open a Training School is reproduced below:—

"I venture to submit proposals for improving the preliminary training of Probationary Inspectors. At present an Inspector on first appointment is held to be on probation for two years. He is required before appointment to have passed the Criminal Lower and the Precising-writing Test, and he is required before his two years of probation have elapsed to pass the Inspector's Departmental Test. This test is a test in Police Orders, including the Police Act, and Special and Local Laws affecting the Police. This examination is held in December, and the papers are set generally by one of the Deputy Inspectors General.

"A Probationary Inspector, on being posted to a district, remains at the headquarters of the district, for three months. He is there taught drill with the local Reserve, and trained in the use of the revolver. He attends the headquarters office, where he studies routine work. He examines the papers that come from divisions, learns the work of the Audit Department, and generally studies the duties of a Divisional Inspector. He is then, after three months, sent out to a division to work as a writer to an Inspector, and after two months' work in that position he is examined by his Superintendent and, if thought fit, posted to a division to work as Inspector. Quarterly reports are then submitted of the Inspector's work until he is finally confirmed.

"The above method of instruction looks well enough on paper, and it no doubt works well enough in some districts. But its success depends very much on the very varying factor of the qualification of the Superintendent and the Inspector under whom the probationer works in the first instance. Provided the Superintendent is capable and takes a personal interest in his man, he gets on well enough, but with a

careless Superintendent, or one too heavily worked to have much time to devote to the matter, the Probationary Inspector is neglected, and, as long as he does not come to flagrant grief, he manages to pass his ordeal and goes out to his division, knowing really very little of his work. I may say without exaggeration that I find it the exception to come across a properly trained Inspector.

“I will briefly explain what I mean. I go into a station and find the records all correct, beats done, drill fair, but a lamentable absence of detection and, perhaps, a very heavy map of crime. The Inspector stands by while I ask a few pertinent questions of the constables, the replies to which show that they go about practically with their eyes shut. A man who was on a beat the day before I come, won't, as often as not, be able to tell me what intelligence he gathered on the beat. The Station House Officer will confess that he never examines his constables as to what they see on beat. Then the Inspector, when brought to book, explains that he was never taught to ask these questions. The same thing happens when the Inspector is shown some obvious omission to follow up a clue in a case he has investigated. He will generally plead ignorance.

“To a great extent all this want of intelligence, which is the chief fault I have to find on inspection, is due, I am sure, to want of proper instruction on the part of the Inspectors. There are of course exceptions, and I am glad to say many of them; but the rule is to find that the Inspectors do not know their duties, or if they do know, that they don't use the intelligence they have sufficiently to carry them out.”

The suggestion of the Inspector General found favour with the Government and they in their order No. 773 Judicial dated 27th April 1896, ordered the opening of a Training School at Vellore for Inspectors for a period of three months. The next batch of Probationary Assistant Superintendents of Police expected from England was also required to attend the training. The School threw its portals open to private candidates also, in accordance with order No. 804 Judicial dated 17th November 1896 on their paying Rs. 60 as fees for the whole course. The passed outsiders were to be appointed alternately with a passed head constable. Many of the earliest Assistant Superintendents of Police who had their training in this school like Messrs D. L. Maccarrison, F. A. Hamilton, F. S. S. George, H. R. G. Hasted, E. T. H. Stevenson, G. W. Deane, N. G. Buchanan, G. H. Bernays,

F. S. Jones, J. T. W. Filson and S. F. Chetham later became very successful police officers. Of these Mr Chetham was appointed in India as a result of a local competitive examination. Two I. C. S. probationers Messrs E. A. Davis, and E. Pakenham-Walsh who later became a Judge of the High Court, were appointed Assistant Superintendents and were also trained at Vellore. Among the 44 Probationary Inspectors who passed through the School from 1897 to 1902, eleven failed to pass the examination, two resigned, and the probation of five was ceased. Sri N. H. Jagadesa Ayyar, District Superintendent of Police, who died in 1958 was one of the directly recruited Inspectors of this period. On 25th August 1897 the Inspector General of Police drew attention to the necessity of improving the system under which constables were trained for the post of Station House Officer in the district school and remarked that from what he had seen in most, if not all, of these schools, the teaching was hopelessly inefficient. Agreeing to the suggestion, the Government after some further correspondence sanctioned in their Order No. 1897 Judicial, dated 3-12-1898, the formation of a combined training school at Vellore for Police Inspectors and Station House Officers who were to undergo a six-month course. The Government allowed a teaching staff only for the Station House Officers, considering that no separate staff would be necessary for the Inspectors who would be few in number for sometime to come. Because of language difficulties the District Schools at Malabar and South Kanara, and the Uriya classes at Chatrapur for Ganjam, Jeypore and Vizagapatam were retained. This resulted in the abolition of a number of Court and School-Inspectors' posts.

The sanction for the continuance of the School was extended from time to time. Thus in its order No. 1297 Judicial dated 12th September 1900 the School was authorized to conduct courses from 1st October 1900. The Inspector General of Police reported in April 1901, that there was a marked improvement in the method of instruction in the Vellore School mainly owing to the accent on practical training. On 8th August 1901, Mr H. A. Stuart, I. C. S., the Acting Inspector General of Police submitted proposals to the Government for making the Training School permanent. His proposals which explained the necessity for a permanent institution and which gave details of the staff required, are as follows :—

“I have the honour to submit certain proposals regarding the Police Training School at Vellore and to request that you will

be so good as to lay them before His Excellency the Governor in Council.

2. "The school for the training of Station House Officers owes its origin to the suggestion made by Mr Hammick. It was first started in October 1899 and the second session was held from October 1900 to March 1901. As already reported, the school has proved a marked success. The teaching of the book-subjects is much better than in the old district schools, practical instruction in police work is afforded, drill is taught thoroughly, and strict discipline is insisted upon. The number of men who successfully passed out of it was 98 in 1900, and 88 in 1901, and though the percentage of success was good, these numbers are not sufficient to keep up the requisite supply of Station House Officers. The average annual strength of the old district station-house classes whose place has been taken by the school was 371 and the establishment hitherto employed at Vellore is not sufficient for the instruction of more than about half that number. We must therefore either double the staff or have two sessions of six months each—in other words, make the school permanent. I strongly recommend the adoption of the latter course, as the breaking up of the school every six months causes much inconvenience. The Principal reverts to his ordinary duty as an Assistant Superintendent, remains in charge of a division for six months and then returns again to the school. It is the same with the lecturers who are all Police Inspectors, and in their case the dislocation of work caused by these frequent breaks is even more detrimental to good administration. Again, if we have only one session, nearly 400 men have to be withdrawn from the district-police strength and the force cannot afford to lose so many constables, who are by the nature of the case among the best men in each district. With a permanent school this inconvenience is reduced by one half. It is true that if my proposals for the reorganization of the establishment of Station House Officers are accepted this last objection will no longer exist, but in that case the permanency of the school is even more necessary in order to maintain a steady and gradual supply of the new class of men.

The staff required for a permanent school would be as under:—

Rank	No.	Pay	Cost
		Rs.	Rs.
Assistant Superintendent	1	*400	400
Inspectors (lecturers)	6	*119 $\frac{1}{4}$	715 $\frac{1}{2}$
Drill Instructor (European)	1	50	50
do (Native)	1	16	16
do do	1	20	20
Bugler	1	14	14
Clerk	1	30	30
Survey teachers	2	30	60
Peons	3	7	21
Muchi	1	7	7
Sweepers	3	4	12
Scavengers	4	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	21
Deputation allowance of Principal		100	100
Conveyance allowance of six lecturers		15	90
Batta for pupils 160 at Rs. 2 each			320
Total:—			1876 $\frac{1}{2}$
For twelve months	...	Rs. 22,518	
Travelling allowance	...	3,000	
Books, contingencies etc.	...	500	
Total per annum	...	Rs. 26,018	

* Average—In case of Inspectors, the scale approved by Government in G. O. No. 1114 Judicial dated 16-7-1898, is adopted.

“On the other hand, if we continue the present system of one session a year, we shall have 320 pupils, and we must double the establishment with the exception of the Principal and the European Drill Instructor, but the latter must have more pay as he will have twice as many men to look after. Further, if the employment is temporary only, we must give the Lecturers the deputation allowance of Rs. 30 a month which has been granted hitherto mainly as compensation for the extra expense incurred by the necessary maintenance of two establishments. The saving, therefore, will consist of Rs. 500 a month for the Principal, while there will be an additional expenditure of Rs. 20 for

the Drill Instructor and Rs. 360 a month on deputation allowances for the twelve lecturers. The nett saving is thus only Rs. 120 a month for six months, or Rs. 720 per annum, and it is probable that this would be swallowed up by the travelling allowances payable to the Principal and his staff for their journeys to and from the school. The cost therefore, is practically the same and the advantages of permanency being many, I trust that the Government will sanction the proposal now made. In making this comparison I have included the pay as well as the allowance of the Assistant Superintendent who is appointed as Principal, for it is obviously unfair to charge that to the District Police, which certainly cannot afford to lose for six months every year the services of one of its inadequate staff of Assistant Superintendents. I should add that the cost of the School-Inspectors, whose appointments were abolished when this school was started, was Rs. 16,440 per annum.

3. "An additional argument in favour of making the school a permanent institution is that, if this were done, it would be possible to train most of our recruit constables there instead of in the districts. I have now obtained some experience of these district schools and I believe that every police officer will agree with me that the training given in them is hopelessly bad. The instructor is a head constable, whose qualification is, as a rule, that he is too stupid or too corrupt to be trusted with the charge of a station. The men are taught without intelligence and they learn their lessons like parrots without understanding them. No attempt is made to train the faculty of observation, so important in a policeman, and discipline is disgracefully lax. A constable who has not been taught to use his eyes and ears observes nothing and brings in no useful information. He has never been shown how to obtain it and his predecessors having received the same kind of instruction as himself, he learns little from them when he is posted to duty at a station. He has not been drilled to yield a prompt obedience and he seldom acquires the habit afterwards, with the result that 30 per cent of the men are punished every year, some of them more than once. With a force so trained, or rather untrained, it is not a matter for surprise that we have an inefficient police, distrusted by the public and with little confidence in themselves.

4. "If these recruits were sent to Vellore, all this would be changed. The two Mahals in the fort there, which are about to be made over to us, will afford excellent barrack accommodation and it will be possible

to maintain the strictest discipline. An efficient staff of teachers can be maintained and the instruction will be kept up to a proper standard by constant supervision. Drill will be taught better as it will be in charge of an Inspector specially selected for his capacity in this direction instead of being left to a Reserve Inspector, who has often forgotten what he knew and, owing to other work or want of interest, is constantly absent from the parade ground. Gymnastic exercises will be practised regularly, and the men will be better housed and better fed than they are at their homes where a number of relatives prey on their scanty earnings. The physical and moral atmosphere of such a school will, I am confident, have a most beneficial influence on both the body and the character of the recruits trained there. It is possible that compulsory attendance at the school may have an adverse effect on recruiting, especially in the most backward districts, but the change will be introduced gradually and cautiously, and the willingness with which men come to the Station House Officers' class shows that the objections are not insuperable. Moreover, such a large school would itself be a focus of attraction and it would probably be possible to recruit men on the spot for such districts as Bellary, Cuddapah and Kurnool. If, however, my proposals to raise the pay of constables are not sanctioned, it will be necessary to give an allowance of one rupee a month to each recruit."

In a subsequent letter again the Inspector General of Police wrote to the Government expressing himself as follows, regarding the Vellore School:—

"I visited the School three times during the last session and I can assure the Government that the instruction given is in every department vastly superior to that imparted in the old district schools. In estimating the results, it must be borne in mind that very few of the men who undergo the training have passed any examination at all, for, they have all entered the department as constables on Rs. 7 a month, and for that sum, which is about the wages of a syce and much less than the income of a syce and his wife combined, you cannot get a man of education. This is the material from which we have to evolve a trained Station House Officer with a minute knowledge of a not inconsiderable body of law, and the ability to apply his knowledge on the spur of the moment without hesitation of reference to any superior authority." The matter was kept pending by the Madras Government for the view of the Police Commission which was commencing its labours at that time.

The Police Commission opined that the training received by recruit constables had been very defective owing to lack of competent teachers in district schools and also to their being called to perform police duty before their training had been completed. They added that the great mass of expert opinion was in favour of Central Schools each located in a town, accessible to several districts which would be grouped round it either as belonging to the same division, as speaking the same language or for some other reason of administrative convenience. They suggested that the course of instruction to be imparted at these schools should embrace (a) drill, (b) elementary law and procedure, (c) use of powers of observation, and (d) conduct of police officers towards the public. The course was to extend for six months and the recruits were to be despatched from the districts where recruited, to the schools every month so that the school may run throughout the year. The Principal of these schools was to be an Assistant Superintendent of Police or Deputy Superintendent of Police.

With regard to the training of Sub Inspectors who were to replace the head constables in charge of stations, the Commission noted that it demanded careful attention. The old system of training had failed because the teacher himself was of an inferior type and there was a tendency on the part of the students to emulate only the former's bad qualities. The Commission stated that in every Province there should be a well-equipped Provincial Training School for the training of officers of the rank of Sub Inspector and upwards and the curriculum should provide among other matters for instruction in criminal law and the law of evidence, in police procedure and practice, and in the habits and customs of criminal classes. A suggestion was also made to place some of the police stations under the control of the Principal in order to give practical training in station-house work. They wanted a carefully selected Superintendent of Police to be put in charge of the institution.

The syllabus for the course laid down:—Instruction in (1) law including the Police Act, the Indian Penal Code, the Evidence Act, the Criminal Procedure Code as far as it relates to the action of the police regarding arrest, search and investigation, inquest, dealing with riots, and local and special laws, so far as they concern the police, (2) police rules of the Province, which are now called the Police Standing Orders, and (3) the elements of medical jurisprudence, the training of the powers of observation and instruction regarding precision and accuracy in giving evidence, criminal castes and gangs and their habits, the

conduct of the police towards the public, plan-drawing, the taking of finger-impressions, squad and company drill, manual firing, bayonet and physical exercises and equitation. The practical work was to consist of recording of first information up to the filing of charge sheets, care of arms, kit inspection, beat duties, prosecution of cases and methods of detection as illustrated by actual cases.

The Police Training School, Vellore was already in existence for this Presidency to go ahead with the Commission's recommendations and so, in October 1905 it was made a permanent institution. The classes for Inspectors and Station House Officers were abolished and a new class was opened for the training of probationary Sub Inspectors, the future investigating officers. The first batch consisted of 183 Sub Inspectors out of which 173 sat for the examination, the rest having dropped out of the School. In April 1906 another batch of 61 Sub Inspectors was admitted, followed by a third batch of 117 Sub Inspectors in October 1906. In the latter month His Excellency the Governor visited the School and recorded his impressions in the visiting book: "I find the administration of the Police School to be excellent. The cleanliness and order are very evident. The bearing and physique of the Sub Inspectors is very good. The administration reflects great credit on the commanding officer." Mr H. A. Waring was the Principal whose death in 1906 was a great loss to the School. Mr E. T. H. Stevenson, an equally efficient officer, succeeded him. The post was upgraded to that of a Superintendent of Police in accordance with the instructions of the Police Commission. A riding school with a stud of 24 horses was sanctioned in April 1906. Mr C. J. Stevenson Moore, I. C. S., Acting Director of Criminal Intelligence, visited the school in December 1907 and noted that "the school struck him as being run on thoroughly sound lines and in a high state of efficiency, for which Mr Stevenson deserved to be congratulated". Under the orders of the Government the teaching of shorthand was introduced in October. Though the course was only optional many of the Sub Inspectors availed of the opportunity to learn shorthand. For purposes of practical training the Gudiyatham Division of North Arcot was placed under the control of the Principal. In order to secure for the department a small staff of Sub Inspectors proficient in reporting speeches, three selected Sub Inspectors in each batch were retained in the school for a period of 6 months to undergo a special course of instructions in shorthand.

A training school for recruit constables was opened in Vellore in April 1908. Nine districts (North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput, Salem, Tiruchirapalli, Tanjore, Madurai, Tirunelveli and the Railway Police, Madras) were instructed to send recruits for training. The Principal in communication with Superintendents regulated the number of admission so as to keep the school full. The recruits were divided into six classes according to the month in which they were received in the school. Government also sanctioned the starting of Central Recruit School at Vizianagaram, Coimbatore and Gooty; Anantapur was selected later as a centre in place of Gooty. The Uriya School at Parvathipuram continued to function and trained Station House Officers for the Agency Tracts under the Assistant Superintendent of Police in charge of the Sub Division. To encourage the study of the Uriya language, Government offered proficiency rewards to Sub Inspector at the rate of Rs. 75, and Rs. 20 to constables and head constables who were successful in the examination.

Gudiyatham Division which had been brought under the Principal to give practical training to Sub Inspectors was detached from the school and retransferred to the charge of the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Vellore as it was not found practicable to give practical instructions by that means to a large number of Sub Inspectors and as it entailed an unprofitable interruption in the school curriculum. So the practical training was ordered to be commenced in districts. The curriculum was expanded in 1908 to include the teaching of First Aid to the injured.

The nucleus of a library and reading room was formed the same year. This was placed on a permanent footing by the Government sanctioning a grant of Rs. 750 in 1909 and promising a recurring grant for the same amount for the maintenance of the library. It is named after Mr D. G. Cowie, I. C. S., the then Inspector General of Police. The Central Recruits School, Vizianagaram also began functioning this year.

In the year 1901 the Police Museum had been opened in the office of the Inspector General of Police with a collection of interesting materials, exhibits in criminal cases, and implements and weapons used in the commission of crimes. In the year 1909, this museum was shifted to the premises of the Police Training School and continues to remain there till today. The museum contains a large number of articles such as fire-arms and weapons used by several notorious dacoits and murderers,

counterfeit coins and currency notes; moulds for making counterfeit coins, photographic representations of well known cases, forged documents and other things of interest to policemen.

The half-yearly selection of Sub Inspectors for training was given up, in favour of annual selections. The first selection under the new constitution was held in 1911. These changes resulted in a reduction of the Principal's work and he was therefore given the charge of Central Recruits School also. A new item of training started this year was jiu-jitsu by a Japanese Expert, who taught the Japanese art of wrestling. Illiterate constables were taught the three 'R's in the Recruits School. The fame of the Vellore Training School spread. The first sign of it was the deputation of an Assistant Superintendent of Police from Travancore State for training here in 1912. The same year also saw the birth of a Central Recruits School at Coimbatore. Another Assistant Superintendent of Police from the Straits Settlements joined the School in 1913. The selection of Sub Inspectors was being made by the police officers themselves till 1915. In order to make it more broad-based the Government ordered the constitution of selection committees consisting of the District Magistrate, District Superintendent of Police, Deputy Inspector General of Police of the Range if possible and one or more Indian Gentlemen of local influence and position for making the selection. A fourth Central Recruits School was opened in Anantapur in 1917. The period of training of Sub Inspectors was increased from one to two years. According to this change, those who failed to pass the theoretical part of the final examination held at the end of the first year before being sent out for practical training, were detained in the school till they passed in the failed subjects, in the supplemental examination held every half-year. This change which was effected in 1919 led again to admissions into the School being made half-yearly. The Vizianagaram Central Recruits School had to be closed as the buildings were required for military use. The Police Training School had some difficult times in 1921. The Principals had to be constantly changed, Messrs Mullaly, Elliot and Stanbury having succeeded one after another. Recruitment of Sub Inspectors was suspended owing to the substitution of clerks for Reader-Sub-Inspectors which made the cadre over strength. The number of lecturers was also reduced. But officers from Pudukottai, Bangalore and Madras City were under training in the School along with three probationary Assistant Superintendents of Police and one Deputy Superintendent of Police. In 1922, the post of the Principal

was abolished and the Superintendent of Police, North Arcot held the charge in addition to his own duties. By an order of the Government a pass in First Aid was made compulsory for the successful completion of training in the School. The Federated Malaya States sent an Assistant Commissioner for training in 1925. He had a Deputy Superintendent of Police from Cochin as his colleague. The riding school which fell into disuse at the commencement of the war in 1914 was reopened. The drill instructors drawn from the armed reserves of districts were not found up to the mark in training recruits. Many of them had no teaching abilities and were not in touch with the latest developments in drill. So ex-military men were recruited as instructors. There was a band establishment attached to the School but it was borne on the strength of the Armed Reserve of North Arcot district. This was transferred to the School establishment in April 1927. In the year 1930 an officer from the Hyderabad Civil Service was admitted for training in the School.

Europeans continued to be recruited as sergeants. Generally they were ex-army personnel who had no regular training for the work. The little they had learnt was in the hard school of experience but their probation-period of 6 months was so short that it was found impossible to decide whether they were suitable for employment in the police. After six months a sergeant who was appointed on release from a British regiment forfeited his right to a free passage to England payable by the military authorities. If he was found unfit for the post, he was liable to be stranded in the country. So, a new system of recruiting sergeants for the mofussil police was introduced and their training in the Provincial Police Training School was sanctioned by the Government in G. O. Ms. No. 189 Public (Police) dated 29th March 1930. Under this system every probationary sergeant was sent to the School to undergo training for a period of four months and his suitability for police service was determined within this period. This removed the difficulty of stranded sergeants or of the employment of untrained sergeants who were ignorant of their duties. The sergeants were trained along with Sub Inspectors in parades. Special courses in lathi drill, bayonet-fighting and out-door sports were introduced in 1930 for all trainees. The Principal of the School, Mr Furness, was a martinet on the parade ground. He paid attention to each individual recruit and instilled into them the principle of doing everything according to programme. He would not allow the Sub Inspectors to burn the

midnight oil at the time of examination and with a view to ensuring that they obeyed his orders he would himself go round the Mahal to see that no lights burned after 10 p. m. He supplemented the usual syllabus with some useful innovations. The Sub Inspectors were taught to take foot-prints which would aid them in investigation. The facial-index system by which criminals could be recognized was also taught to them. A Finger-print Expert gave them lectures on the recording and classification of finger-prints. Four members of the criminal tribes were cajoled to exhibit their *modus operandi* to the cadets. Another innovation introduced by him was hill-climbing, after a four-mile route march every Sunday. This famous Principal thus put the Latin maxim "*mens sana in corpore sano*" into practice in letter and spirit.

Coorg and Bangalore continued to send their recruits for training to the Police Training School.

The year 1938 "was marked by the first revolutionary step of bringing the ordinary work of Station House Officer into line with modern progress in the methods of crime investigation." A completely revised curriculum of training which was designed to draw attention from an elaborate study of law and procedure towards practical and scientific investigation of crimes was approved by the Government. The Inspector General of Police in his report for the year 1938 looked forward with confidence towards the full development of this embryo and believed that young officers trained under the system would go out to their stations as a small lump of leaven which would in due course leaven the whole. For the first time Indian sergeants were recruited to the police. It might be remembered that the police sergeants till 1938 were only Europeans or Anglo-Indians who were trained in the Police Training School. But from 1938 onwards the sergeants were sent to Malappuram, the headquarters of the Malabar Special Police where they could be trained fully so that they might handle with firmness any situation affecting law and order.

The administration of the College was growing unwieldy owing to the expansion of the curriculum suited to modern needs. In order to relieve the Principal of a large volume of office work and to enable him to pay more attention to the training of cadets, the post of a Vice-Principal was sanctioned in 1945. During the war, recruitment was at a minimum and many of the permanent vacancies had been reserved for war-service candidates. These military personnel had little schooling

and less knowledge of English and it was found necessary in 1945 to take on loan the services of an officer of the Education Department to work as tutor in English in the Police Training College. The post of tutor was abolished in 1948.

The minimum general educational qualifications for the war-service candidates who were recruited as Sub Inspectors in 1946 was a pass in the S. S. L. C. or an equivalent examination. But the quality of material recruited was so inferior that the Government thought it wise to raise the educational qualification of Sub Inspectors to a degree in Arts or Science of any recognized university, the only exception being made in the case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for whom the minimum general educational qualification was a pass in the School Final Examination. But the Government could not get enough candidates with such high academic qualifications for a post that carried more risk and less remuneration in contrast to similar avocations in other departments. So quality was sacrificed to quantity. Again in 1949 the Police Department reduced the general educational qualification to a pass in the Intermediate Examination of any recognized university, with the usual exception being made in the case of Scheduled Castes and Tribes. They wanted more Sub Inspectors to be recruited direct in preference to those promoted from the ranks. The reason for this large-scale direct recruitment of Sub Inspectors was that the promoted Sub Inspectors were often found unequal to the task of detecting crimes, manning police stations and maintaining law and order. During the three years between 1950 and 1953 such a large number of Sub Inspectors were recruited that there was a corresponding reversion of the promoted Sub Inspectors to their substantive rank of head constable. In order to make room in the cadre of Sub Inspector for those who were reverted, direct recruitment was suspended for over 5 years. Only in 1958 twenty-five Sub Inspectors were again recruited direct. In 1959 also direct recruitment continued. But the educational qualifications have been again raised to a degree in Arts or Science for all other candidates except those from Scheduled Castes or Tribes for whom a pass in the Pre-University Course has been fixed.

But no relaxation in the physical standards were made in respect of any candidate. No candidate should be less than 5 feet 5½ inches in height and 34 inches round the chest with a minimum expansion of 2 inches.

The candidates for appointment as constables should not be less than 5'6" and 34" round the chest &c.

The recruits should have studied up to III Form or E. S. L. C. and be thoroughly conversant with Tamil, the regional language of the State.

The age limit for the direct recruitment of Sub Inspectors was between 20 and 25 while for the constables, 18 and 25.

The control of the institution which was in the hands of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Central Range till 1948 was transferred to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C. I. D., Madras. During the war period several head constables had proved themselves capable of handling crime and managing stations. In order to encourage such deserving head constables and to make them take their place alongside the directly recruited Sub Inspectors, a six-month course of training was introduced for them in 1947. After about half a century of existence as a School, when far-reaching changes were effected in the methods of instruction and drill, the name of the institution was changed into a college in the year 1949. But the recess which is usual in an academic institution was stopped in this college, and cadets were put through the training in unarmed combat, fire-fighting and traffic-control during this period. Plan-drawing was another subject taught in the College.

From the year 1948, the I. P. S. probationers are being sent for training to the Central Police Training College at Mount Abu, established by the Government of India; but the probationers allotted to Madras State have to undergo a four-month course at Vellore, after completing their training at Mount Abu. The daily routine is so arranged that there is an even distribution of physical and intellectual exertion on the part of the cadets. Reveille is at 5 or 5-30 a.m. depending upon the time of the year. The fall-in is at 6 or 6-30 a.m. After half an hour's physical training which includes a half-mile run, parade is held for an hour with a ten-minute break in the middle. This is followed by breakfast. There is a mess attached to the College itself which is supervised by a senior lecturer. Classes begin at 9-15 a.m. and go on up to 1 p.m. with an interval of 15 minutes midway at the end of two periods. This is followed by lunch. There is an hour's parade in the evening again at 4 or 4-30 p.m. on three days in a week and games on other days. After this, the cadets are free. At 8 p.m. dinner is served. There is a roll-call at 9 p.m. Between this and lights-out at 10 p.m. the

cadets get themselves busy with cleaning their uniforms and equipments. There was a marathon obstacle course some years ago to complete which it was necessary to get over a nine-foot wall, do right-arm and left-arm vaults and jump over a pit four feet wide. Mr Furness used to set great store by this obstacle course to make the cadets active and agile. Boxing was another item which was taught in the Police Training College. The rigour of some of these items of training has been minimized in recent years, so as not to unduly strain the physical capabilities of Sub Inspectors. Equitation which formed an important part in the training of Sub Inspectors up to 1940 was abolished as being anachronistic. There is a model police station attached to the College which is made use of for giving practical instruction in the maintenance of records usually to be kept in a rural police station. The lecturers are selected Inspectors who are given a special allowance during their stay in the College. Instruction in drill is given by a Sergeant Major who is called Head Drill Instructor and by 3 non-commissioned officers from the Malabar Special Police.

The senior officers of the Department, the Public Prosecutor, the Examiner of Questioned Documents, the Pathologist, the Ballistics and Foot-print Experts deliver lectures yearly to the cadets under training towards the end of their course. There are quarterly tests. Papers for the final examination are set and valued by experienced officers of the grade of Superintendents of Police and above. The passing-out parade gives the finishing touch to the one-year course but it is with obvious regret that the cadets take leave of this institution which in the short period of one year had unfolded to them a vast store of human knowledge and created a thirst in them to know more. The Government, realizing the importance of this training to step up the efficiency and morale of the force, have recently sanctioned the post of Deputy Inspector General of Police for Training and Welfare. This is in the best tradition of all advanced countries.

CHAPTER XVII

ON THE POLITICAL FRONT

IT IS DIFFICULT to write dispassionately about contemporaneous events, but in narrating the history of an organization it would not be proper to bypass political developments and their impact on the police. Politics has played a large part in the development of the police in all countries for the reason that internal security is dependent on the strength of the force and its deployment. In the following pages an attempt has been made to give a forthright account of the political events which impinged on the police of this State.

The first to raise the banner of revolt against foreign domination was Sri V. O. Chidambaram Pillai, a successful lawyer who sacrificed everything on the altar of freedom. He was ably seconded by Sri Subramanya Siva. Both of them gave vent to their feelings of hatred of the foreign rule in no uncertain terms. They were of the Tilak School of Politics which did not eschew violence as a part of political strategy. The police had a hard time in keeping the peace as the speeches of these leaders released the pent-up feelings of the people resulting in strikes and serious riots in Tirunelveli and Tuticorin. Security proceedings were instituted against them which was an occasion for mass disturbances. On 13th March 1908, at Tuticorin, Mr Ashe, the Divisional Magistrate and the police were assaulted by a mob which did not disperse until the use of fire-arms; in Tirunelveli the mob proceeded from Viraraghavapuram to the bazaar compelling the shopmen to close their shops and assaulting two Europeans on the way. They also invaded the C. M. S. College and the District Munsif's Court, which they forced the Munsif to close, burnt the police station, the municipal office, a kerosene godown and a portion of the post-office and destroyed some furniture in the hospital. The District Magistrate, Mr Wynch and the Superintendent of Police, Mr Sweeting, who arrived on the scene with a police force were hemmed in and assaulted. The police had to open fire to quell the disturbance. On the following day the people of Thachanallur Union, a suburb of Tirunelveli, rose and destroyed public property but dispersed before the police arrived.

Seditious writings and speeches were the order of the day. In Madras, prosecutions were launched against Mr Ethiraj Surendranath

Arya for delivering speeches and against Sri M. Srinivasa Iyengar the printer and publisher of a Tamil weekly *India* and Sri G. Subramanya Ayyar, Editor of *Swadeshmitran* for seditious articles. The first two were sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment each, while the third was dealt with under section 108 Cr. P. C. and bound over for good behaviour for one year. In Krishna district Bodi Narayana Rao and Hari Sarvothama Rao were convicted for publishing seditious articles. The Indian National Congress held its annual session at Madras during this year (1908).

Owing to these agitations, the Government were compelled to introduce the Minto-Morley Reforms in 1909 whereby the Madras Legislative Council which was Composed of the Governor's Executive Council supplemented by additional members for making laws was enlarged from 20 to 42 members, 19 of whom were to be elected. The official majority in the Council was surrendered and the members were bestowed with the right of moving resolutions on the budget as well as on matters of general public importance and of asking supplementary questions in addition to their interpellation. But the resolutions were not binding on the Government. The people were not satisfied with these reforms and the agitation for *Swaraj* increased in volume. Some of the younger hot-heads were impatient apropos the slow pace at which the national movement was proceeding and wanted to give a fillip to the movement by political assassination. Nilakanta Brahmachari was one such patriot who went about South India preaching the boycott of foreign goods and the necessity to throw off the foreign yoke. An associate of his was Shanker Krishna Ayyar. In June 1910 the latter introduced Sri Nilakanta to his brother-in-law Vanchi Ayyar, a clerk in the Travancore Forest Department. On 17th June 1911, Mr Ashe, the District Magistrate of Tirunelveli was shot dead by Vanchi Ayyar in a railway carriage at Maniyachi Junction in broad daylight. The latter immediately committed suicide. The discovery of a paper in his possession clearly indicated that this deed had been prompted by political motives. It stated that every Indian was trying to drive out the English and restore *Swaraj* and *sanathana dharma*. Rama, Sivaji, Krishna, Guru Govind and Arjunan ruled over the land protecting all religions but the English were preparing to crown in India George V a *mlecha* who ate the flesh of cows. Three thousand Madrasis had taken a vow to kill George V as soon as he landed in India. To publicize their intention to others he, Vanchi, the least in

the company had done the deed that day. During the investigation, it was discovered that secret meetings had been held at Tenkasi, Tuticorin and Pondicherry where several people of like-thinking had assembled and taken oaths for the overthrow of the British power. The Sedition Committee of 1918 traced the murder to the instigation contained in the paper *Bande Matharam* by Madame Cama of Paris, where there was an indication in one of the articles that a crime of this nature was in contemplation. The article concluded with the words: "In a meeting or in a bungalow, on the railway or in a carriage, in a shop or in a church, in a fair or in a garden, wherever an opportunity comes Englishmen ought to be killed. No distinction should be made between officers and private people. The great Nana Sahib understood this and our friends in Bengal have also begun to understand. Blest be their efforts, long be their arm; now indeed one may say to the Englishman, 'Don't shout till you are out of the wood'. In a subsequent article after the murder the same paper tried to show that the assassination was in accordance with the teachings of the *Bhagavad Gita*. The article ran thus:—

"When the gilded slaves from Hindustan were parading the streets of London as performers in the royal circus and were prostrating themselves like so many cows at the feet of the king of England, two young and brave countrymen of ours proved by their daring deeds at Tirunelveli and Mymensingh that Hindustan is not sleeping." Even at that time the impression had gained ground among the people that the failure of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company started by Sri V. O. Chidambaram Pillai was brought about by the influence and intrigues of the Government, and one of the causes for the assassination, it was said, was the bitterness arising out of this disappointment. Several searches in the houses of suspects resulted in the recovery of pamphlets purported to have been printed in the Feringhi Destroyer Press, vowing vengeance on the British Government. This case was investigated under the immediate supervision of Mr P. B. Thomas, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C. I. D. Fourteen persons were eventually charged and committed for trial on two counts viz. conspiracy within the meaning of Section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code and abetment of murder by engaging in that conspiracy, before a Special Tribunal presided over by three judges of the Madras High Court, constituted under the provisions of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act XIV of 1908. This was the first occasion in which

this Act was set in motion in this Presidency. The trial commenced on the 11th September 1911 and continued for nearly five months owing to the large number of witnesses to be examined and the huge mass of evidence to be sifted. All the accused were acquitted on the second count as it was not proved that the murder of Mr Ashe was the outcome of the conspiracy in which they had been engaged, but on the first count nine of the fourteen were convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, the organizer of the conspiracy being sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment.

The first World War intervened at this stage. The police had to stem the tide of German propaganda during this period. Two riots in Jeypore district deserve mention as they disclosed a spirit of disaffection among the ignorant converts of German missionaries towards the British Government, suspected to have been brought about by the seditious preaching of German missionaries and their *gurus* or catechists. In one case, two constables returning from duty halted in a village on the 23rd October 1914 when a man came up and accused one of them of having beaten his son some days before. The constable denied this. The man went away only to return in an hour with a party of 15 Christians and a *guru* who assaulted the constables, the *guru* giving out that there need no longer be any fear of the British police as they would soon be ousted by the Germans. In another case which occurred on the 22nd November a Sub Inspector, while investigating a burglary, had to search several houses; and as it grew dark, he sealed them up. When he had finished this, the owner of one of the houses turned up, followed by a few others including a Christian *guru*, all the while saying that the Germans were coming and that the Police were of no account whatever. These events coincided with the return from jail of one Nilakanta Nayak, a notorious extortioner and organizer of dacoities, who tried to make capital out of the bombardment of Madras by the Emden by speaking to the people of an impending invasion of this country by the Germans and promising to protect them if they served him. He, his brother and uncle who were undermining the morale of the people were deported to Vizagapatam under the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Act (XXIV of 1839).

On the night of 22nd September 1914 the German cruiser "Emden" shelled Madras City, firing some forty to fifty shells the majority of which fell in the harbour and the area outside the harbour belonging to the Port Trust. Among the three persons killed, one was a policeman.

Two tanks belonging to Burmah Oil Company were set on fire. As a result of this bombardment there was a mass exodus of people from the City to the mofussil when the police were hard put to it to watch vacant houses to prevent burglaries. There was a sharp rise in prices. This caused unrest among the labouring classes which culminated in an outbreak of rioting and looting which continued for several days. Diwan Bahadur P. Parankusam Naidu, the Deputy Commissioner of Police was responsible for allaying panic and restoring order among the people. Subsequently the police took up the control and distribution of rice. An Emergency Committee with Mr Armitage, Commissioner of Police as Chairman, Khan Bahadur Mooza Abdul Hussain Sahib Bahadur, Persian Consul and Sheriff of Madras, and Diwan Bahadur M. A. Parthasarathy Iyengar, M.B.E. as members, was formed. In about 10 months 7,00,000 bags of rice worth about Rs. 95 lakhs were sold in retail to about 15 million people under police supervision.

During this period, Gandhiji had been slowly making headway in politics. The Champaran Satyagraha and the Kaira No-Tax Campaign had brought him to the front rank of leaders. He induced the Indian National Congress to join hands with Muslims in their agitation against England and her allies when they endangered the suzerainty of the Khalifah, the Sultan of Turkey, and occupied the holy places of the Arabs in Asia Minor and Arabia. He assailed the Government when they curtailed the liberty of the people by arming themselves with the Rowlatt Act with powers of arrest and detention without trial, of persons suspected of anti-governmental activities.

Meanwhile, the awakening of the political consciousness of the country led to the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. By these reforms, the Legislative Council ceased to be the Executive Council supplemented by additional members. It was a separate body of which the members of the Executive Council became ex-officio members. There were to be 98 elected members and not more than 30 nominated members of whom only 15 might be officials. The Governor no longer presided over it. It had the power of discussing and voting the budget and moving adjournment of business to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance. The constitution of the Executive Council was at the same time modified. A system of dyarchy was introduced. Provincial subjects were classified as *Reserved* and *Transferred* and while the former were administered by the Governor in

Council, the latter were administered by the Governor acting with Ministers appointed for and responsible to the Legislative Council.

But these reforms utterly failed to satisfy Indian aspirations and Gandhiji launched in February 1919 the non-co-operation and Khilafat agitation which he called Satyagraha or the civil disobedience movement. This call stirred the hearts of millions of our countrymen and in pursuance of it, national leaders and countless numbers of workers, both men and women, preached non-co-operation with the Government and passive resistance to governmental forces. In August 1920 Gandhiji himself came down on a propaganda-tour to the South accompanied by the two notable Muslim leaders Moulana Shaukat Ali and Mohamed Ali, and delivered a number of speeches exhorting the people to be non-violent in their words and deeds and to implement the policies of the Congress by boycotting the Legislative Council, resigning titles and taking to national education and temperance. All this resulted in hartals, processions and public meetings. Toddy-shops were picketed. Several labour unions were formed and strikes ensued. These were frequent in Madras City and culminated in a riot on 9th December 1920. For sometime previously there had been a lockout of the mill-hands of the Buckingham Mill on account of frequent disturbances. For the mill-work the management arranged to bring labourers from the harbour in motor lorries. These labourers were, on their way to and from the mill, subjected to repeated assault by mill-hands. On December 9th evening the labourers in a lorry were being escorted out of the mills by 5 mounted officers in front and a police lorry in the rear. Large crowds had assembled at the corner of Farrens Road and Perambur Barracks Road and at the open space alongside of the latter and at the first named place, both the lorries were subjected to heavy stone-throwing, several persons being struck and a constable injured. The police under the Deputy Commissioner's order fired three rounds of buckshot and the crowd dispersed. Though pelting of stones continued on the road, both the lorries managed to force their way out and the labourers were safely delivered at their destination. The police lorry then returned to the mill to relieve the men of the guard there and was accompanied this time by the Commissioner of Police. While returning after relieving the guard, the party of the Commissioner, consisting of two Deputy Commissioners, the Assistant Commissioner, one Reserve Inspector and 20 men, were met with a fusillade of stones and the safety of the lorry and men was imperilled. Three rounds were fired on the Commissioner's

orders and both the Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner got out to find if there were any casualties. They could find none on the spot. Subsequently it was ascertained that 16 mill-hands had been injured.

Gandhiji visited Madras twice in 1921 and his lecture-tours gave an impetus to the non-co-operation movement. In the districts of Guntur, Cuddapah, Nellore and Kurnool, exponents of the non-co-operation movement organized resistance to the Forest Laws which led to breaches of the peace noticeably in Guntur, where about 30 villagers attacked the forest subordinates and a small party of police and rescued a prisoner arrested for a forest offence. On the 23rd September in the same district a large crowd of villagers surrounded some forest officials and a party of police and forcibly rescued cattle impounded for illicit grazing. The police had to open fire in self-defence but there was no casualty.

Again in other districts such as Godavari, Krishna, Nellore, Cuddapah, North Arcot, South Arcot, Trichinopoly, Salem and Coimbatore disturbances resulted during picketing of toddy-shops. A mob stoned the court-house at Tiruvannamalai, North Arcot district, to force the release of an accused in a picketing case. Another stoned the police station and court-house at Cuddalore for a similar reason. At Tirupati and Trichinopoly violent crowds, intent on rescuing prisoners were dispersed by the police without recourse to fire-arms. Permission was sought by the Guntur Congress Committee from the All India Congress Committee to withhold payment of taxes. The latter body left it to the discretion of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee who in turn passed on the responsibility to the District Congress Committee who decided on non-payment and actually it was withheld in some places. Gandhiji criticized this decision adversely. A Committee under Sri T. Prakasam decided that the District Committee was not fit for embarking on this movement. The difficulties of police officers and men during these times were forcefully expressed by Mr Armitage in these words:— "They were opposed with violence, threatened, widely abused from platforms, called traitors to their country and the myrmidons of her tyrants, insulted in public, made the butt of ribald songs, sometimes spat on, sometimes boycotted, and sometimes cajoled and appealed to desert their service."

During the period of non-co-operation and Khilafat movements the Justice Party under the leadership of Sri P. Theagaraja Chetty and Dr T. M. Nair began to gather strength and it interested itself in

parochial matters. It was against non-co-operation and the Khilafat movements. The congress split over the question of council-entry. The Muslims beheld with astonishment the abolition of Khalifah by Kamal Pasha. The spirit of *Swaraj* continued to pervade the hearts of the people but Gandhiji cried a halt to the movement and took up constructive work to prepare his non-violent army for a further attack on the bastion of autocratic rule. The removal of untouchability and temple-entry had the prime of place in these programmes. There were attempts by Ezhavas to enter into Kalpathi Agraharam in Palghat Town. This had to be prevented under section 144 Cr. P. C. Taking advantage of a resolution passed at the Non-brahmin Confederation which advocated temple-entry to all classes of Hindus, some non-brahmins contrary to established usage attempted to enter the sacred precincts of the two big temples in Madurai. The temple authorities objected and timely precaution with police assistance averted further trouble. The movement for the social uplift of Nadars in Tirunelveli district and the consequent discarding of the profession of climbing trees as derogatory, continued. Thousands of palmyrah trees remained untapped and this led to the closure of the Kulasekharapatnam Sugar Factory as the East India Distilleries could not get sufficient raw material for the factory. At Turaiyur in Trichinopoly there was friction between Harijans and caste-Hindus. The latter objected to the former conducting their procession along the public streets inhabited by castemen. The Harijans got a decree in their favour and the local Sub Magistrate had to pass an order under Section 144 Cr. P. C. and security proceedings had to be taken against those who openly defied the authorities. General elections were held this year and this caused very great strain on the police. The Swaraj Party, the splinter group of the Congress, defeated the Justice Party; but it refused to form a Ministry. As a result, an independent Ministry headed by Dr P. Subbaroyan, having the support of the Swaraj Party was formed. The Justice Party was piqued and it convened a meeting of the Non-brahmin Federation at Coimbatore in July 1927 and passed three important resolutions. The first of these permitted individual members of the Justice Party to enter the Congress with the object of swamping the Congress and converting non-brahmins to their views. The second condemned dyarchy as being unworkable and demanded full provincial autonomy. The third advocated a vote of no-confidence in the Ministry. The vote of no-confidence failed. The Madras City Police had a most arduous task during the year. "The Neill Statue Satyagraha" movement, frequent labour strikes, and the

42nd session of the Indian National Congress caused an unprecedented influx of visitors into the City. Meantime the extremists in the Congress had formed a ginger-group called the Socialist Party which was the forerunner of the Communist Party of India. This Party received a fillip by the visit of Sri Saklatwala, a prominent labour leader and a member of the British Parliament, which gave rise to several associations of workers. The Party cut away from the Congress which they denounced as "the stronghold of landlordism, capitalism and private ownership." The Congress found it impossible to conciliate the new party and they came to the parting of ways. The British Government found India slowly slipping from their control and in order to bring Indians round to their line of thinking, they appointed a statutory commission called the Simon Commission to visit India and suggest ways and means of advancing the claims of India for self-government. The visit of the Commission itself provoked large-scale disturbances. On 3rd February 1928, the day of the landing of the Commission at Bombay, the leaders of the boycott-movement at Madras proclaimed a hartal. In this connexion disturbed conditions developed in the morning and continued throughout the day. In the forenoon the situation having developed to alarming proportions in the vicinity of the High Court, the police had to open fire. Thereafter with military assistance the position improved; but stray cases of assaults on Europeans and moderate Indians continued till late at night. Reinforcements had to be called from districts when the Commission visited Madras on 26th February 1928.

Though political activities were at a discount in the year 1929 active discontent among the Harijans against the social disabilities imposed by immemorial custom began to make itself felt. The movement against untouchability and for the establishment of the right to enter temples and some of the prohibited streets gained further ground. In Erode a few Harijans attempted to enter the local Siva temple. An organization called the Adi Kerala Hindu Maha Sabha held a conference presided over by Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya on the 4th and 5th of May in Tirunavaya, a village near Tirur, Malabar district. The object of the organization was to remove untouchability, to extend the right of temple-entry to all and to generally elevate the depressed classes. With the avowed object of removing untouchability another association styled "Atma Vidyasangham" led by Vakbadananda in Malabar was also started. Active propoganda by one Swaminathan of Villupuram in villages of South Arcot district against Harijans' holding up their hands in salutation

and their removing carcasses, beating drums and doing any other village work, led to friction between Harijans and caste-Hindus. In November and December there was some panic in Villupuram and Chidambaram towns over Adi-Dravidas entering local Siva temples along with 'self-respecters' who under the leadership of Sri E. V. Ramasami Naicker were slowly coming into their own. The police had to take suitable precautions in all these movements. Added to this, caste-Hindus were agitated over the passing of the Child-marriage Restraint Act 1929 known as the Sarada Act; there were protests throughout the Presidency. But the most important event was the resolution on civil disobedience passed by the Lahore Session of the Congress. The resolution on this movement framed by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and issued on behalf of the working committee charged the British Government with having not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but also "ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually" and gave the clarion call that "India must therefore sever British connexions and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence." The way to achieve this was not through violence but through passive resistance to the foreigners' iniquitous laws, including non-payment of taxes.

The movement was launched on 6th April, 1930. The leaders stressed on non-violence but in a mass movement it cannot be expected that the rank and file would always abide by the directions. The campaign towards subversion of Government, involving as it did, open and public defiance of laws, quickly created conditions of licence and lawlessness which led to serious disorders in some parts of the Province and produced conditions under which there was liability to disturbance everywhere. The creed of the Congress was forgotten and an orgy of violence ensued.

In the City, Messrs Prakasam and Nageswara Rao started the movement. Demonstrations followed by salt-making on the sea shore, attracted large crowds. The attitude of the crowd at these meetings was generally unruly and resulted in stone-throwing and rowdiness endangering the public peace. Several police officers were injured in many of these riots. Orders under section 144 Cr. P. C. were openly defied. Explosives in the shape of small percussion bombs of the cracker-type were used by rowdies to terrify crowds as well as the police. On 19th May a large and infuriated mob attacked a party under a Probationary Assistant Superintendent of Police at Gudivada to rescue certain prisoners but they were kept at bay with admirable restraint for two hours and

dispersed by gun-fire. On the 3rd June in Ellore a mob of 3,000 labourers and others armed with sticks made a most determined attack upon the Reserve Police under Sri T. G. Sanjeevi, the District Superintendent of Police. Threatened with being overwhelmed and annihilated, recourse had to be made to firing but the conduct of the police was again exemplary. In the same month fire had to be opened on a mob who made an attack on a small party at Sholinganallur in Chingleput district. In July a large and turbulent mob attacked the police station and taluk office at Gudiyattam with a view to rescuing 6 prisoners. The Sub Inspector of Police with a small number of men rose to the occasion and saved the situation. At Kumarapalayam during a toddy-shop picketing, a crowd of 3,000 persons were kept at bay by a party of one Sub Inspector and five constables under an Inspector, until reinforcements arrived, in spite of all of them being grievously injured. At Tindivanam the Inspector and a party of police were beaten unmercifully by an excited crowd. At Madurai and Bodinayakkanur also there were similar riots during picketing of liquor-shops.

Except for the violent outbursts detailed above, the movement was characterized by a sullen, persistent and non-violent agitation. People were ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of the motherland and in the common cause all internecine quarrels were forgotten. The greatest success in satyagraha was achieved in Tanjore under the able guidance of Sri C. Rajagopalachari assisted by his able lieutenants Dr T. S. S. Rajan, Srimathi Lakshmi pathi, Sarvashri K. Santanam and Sardar Vedaratnam Pillai. When leaders were arrested, a large number of volunteers came forward to carry on the campaign. Inspector-General Sir Charles Cunningham, while writing about these disturbances remarked: "The brunt of everything was borne by the police force. Continuously overstrained and overworked, abused in the Press and by the public, often under taunts and insults restrained from action, in face of all attempts to seduce them from their duty, they have emerged from a prolonged period of trial with their duty well and truthfully performed, fortified in their loyalty and with their morale unshaken. They showed through everything an example of courage and loyalty and good discipline of which they may well be proud and which I trust will long be remembered. To have commanded such a force through such a time has been a high privilege."

The Gandhi-Irwin Pact led to the calling-off of the civil disobedience movement in March 1931. With the announcement of the

Pact, the strain on the police was reduced but it was clear that the period of apparent calm was being utilized to strengthen the national cause. The position of the police was one of extreme delicacy because the slightest interference with picketing or other activities in order to prevent breaches of the peace was construed as a breach of the Pact and taken to the notice of higher authorities. At Guruvayur in Malabar district, the satyagraha by the lower castes to attain the right of entrance to the local temple, was started in November under the direction of the District Congress Committee. The *satyagrahis* adhered strictly to the principle of non-violence and though a large police force had to be kept in readiness there was no untoward incident. The movement among Harijans in the South for their emancipation was strengthened and consolidated. In most districts, there was evidence of a growing resolve in this direction which provoked the higher castes to the defence of their immemorial privilege of domination and in some districts the clash of interests led to rioting. Two cases of such rioting occurred at Devakottai and another in a village in Arupukottai Taluk. Timely action by the police averted many riots.

But the truce between the Government and the Congress remained in force only for the nonce. The civil-disobedience movement was started again by the Congress early in January 1932 on account of the repressive ordinances passed by the Government to put down agitation in the North-West Frontier Province, in the United Provinces and in Bengal. In connexion with the civil-disobedience movement there was serious rioting at Kodumalur and Kunnur in Ramnad district and Uppanda in South Kanara district where a small party of police was attacked. The temple-entry campaign at Guruvayur continued throughout the year; its leader Sri Kelappan settled down to fast to death at the temple-gate until the Harijans were admitted, and temple-entry was adopted by the Congress as an important item of its programme. This became a matter of all-India interest and attention. Subsequently an assurance was given that temple-entry will have priority in legislative action connected with it. The fast was broken. The police handled the situation impartially and with discretion and no action of theirs gave ground for adverse comments by either party.

The year 1933 was marked by the first determined effort to introduce the cult of violence into this State and to establish therein revolutionary organizations with the programme of murder and political outrage. These movements were born out of the contact between North Indian

revolutionaries and South Indian members of the civil-disobedience movement in the jails of Madras. Revolutionary associations were organized and plans were worked out.

In April accident baulked a political outrage contemplated in Cocanada, when a bomb concealed in a boat unwittingly struck by a boatman exploded and caused injuries to nine persons. Investigation disclosed the existence of a revolutionary association in Andhra districts. Its leader was found to be Bhayankarachari who absconded and took shelter in Hyderabad State where he was traced and arrested with three revolvers in his possession, after a fierce struggle. Nine conspirators were charged in this case and all of them were sentenced to imprisonment ranging up to 14 years. Another terrorist-outrage in 1933 was the sensational Ootacamund Bank raid. A gang of Punjabi and United Province terrorists led by the notorious Sithanath Dey of Amritsar came to Madras in the month of March. Five of them proceeded to Ootacamund with a Madrasi accomplice who afterwards turned approver. On 26th April having bound a taxi-driver hand and foot, they made free with his taxi and armed with revolvers and a syringe of sulphuric acid drove to the Ootacamund branch of the Travancore National Bank during business hours, entered the Bank and at gun-point forced the cashier to disgorge the contents of his till. Having so secured a sum of over Rs. 3,200 they drove off in the taxi. Four of them were spotted that night by the platform-duty constable at Erode railway station and two of them were captured after a gallant struggle. The other two succeeded in escaping but were arrested by people of the villages in which they sought refuge, and were handed over—a very notable instance of public co-operation with the police. In the final outcome, the Madrasi accomplice was tendered pardon and the five other accused got a sentence of ten years' R. I. each.

While investigation into this case was proceeding the accidental explosion of a bomb in Madras with fatal results to an unknown person, led to the discovery of the other members of the same gang. Vigorous enquiries revealed the fact that the gang consisted of youths from Upper India who lived in Royapuram and had shifted to an address in Linghi Chetty Street, George Town, Madras. The house was raided by the City Police who were subjected to bomb-throwing, the terrorists attempting to escape via Thambu Chetty Street by scaling the roofs of houses. On being arrested, one of them attempted to attack an Inspector and was shot dead. The three accused Shambunath, Prem Prakash and

Hiralal were charged and convicted under sections 3, 4 and 6 of the Indian Explosives Act. They were found to be members of an organization called 'The Hindustan Socialist Republican Army.'

The new revolutionary organization was found to have established a branch in Madras with the object of committing armed dacoities and robberies, political assassinations, and collection of fire-arms. In July 1938 some of the members made preparations to start from Madras with revolvers and ammunition to commit a dacoity in Karaikudi, in Ramnad district. While they were in a restaurant in Moore Market, prior to their departure, the police surrounded and arrested the gang. A search of the houses of some of the accused led to the seizure of revolvers, pistols, cartridges, daggers, correspondence, literature and note-books which revealed the existence of a widespread conspiracy. The accused had employed code words, pseudonyms for accommodation and cover addresses to carry on secret correspondence regarding revolutionary activities. Twenty of the conspirators were arrested and prosecuted before the Madras High Court Sessions. Seventeen of them were sentenced to different terms of imprisonment ranging from one to four years.

The two Punjabi terrorists concerned in the Ootacamund Bank raid escaped from Bellary Central Jail on 3rd October 1933 with the connivance of one of the jail warders. With the assistance of private persons, they were re-arrested at Gadiganur Railway Station within 36 hours of their escape. Gandhiji toured Madras State in 1934. Millions of people greeted him at every place and considerable sums were collected for the Harijan Fund. At the end of the tour Gandhiji thanked the Madras Police for the assistance rendered to him in finishing his programme without any hitch. The civil disobedience movement was called off and the Unlawful Association Ordinances were cancelled by the Government.

At the time when the Congress was in the wilderness, the Communist Party of India began to strengthen its hold on the labouring classes. The Government found that the functioning of this Party constituted a danger to public peace, for according to the Government the Party aimed at nothing less than the violent overthrow of the existing order of society and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. So in July 1934 the Government of India banned the Communist Party and allied organizations. Pursuant to this ban the

Madras Government declared unlawful the Young Workers' League which was in touch with the Communist International. But the banning of the Party did not by any means put a stop to activities of the communists in the State. They formed Labour Protection Leagues and steadily spread communist ideas among the workers as well as *kisans*.

In the meantime the Government of India Act of 1935 was passed which gave a further instalment of reform. This abolished dyarchy in Madras State and with certain exceptions granted provincial autonomy. The Legislature was to consist of a Legislative Council of 45 members and Legislative Assembly of 215 members. The Ministers were invested with full powers, subject to certain limitations, over all subjects relating to State administration.

The Congress had given up the ban on council-entry and determined to enter the Legislature. They wanted to utilize this occasion to show to the outside world how deep-rooted was the spirit of nationalism in Indian hearts. The Justice Party on the other hand attempted to show up the Congress as a brahmin organization which did not care for the underdog. The propaganda on the part of the Congress was in the hands of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Sri C. Rajagopalachari and Sri S. Satyamurthi. Sri Nehru's whirlwind tour in the South was a triumphal procession from one place to another and his words carried conviction to the masses who had been suffering all along under poverty and unemployment. The police of this State had again to undertake heavy burdens in preventing hot-heads among the several parties from fighting with each other. Except for minor fracas in two or three places, the elections passed off peacefully and the Congress won a decisive victory over their opponents. But they did not accept office till an assurance was given by the Viceroy that there would be no interference in the day-to-day administration by the use of the Governor's discretionary powers. In July 1937 the Congress accepted office and the first Ministry under Sri C. Rajagopalachari took up the reins of Government. Prohibition was introduced in Salem that year.

The police had no easy time under the Congress regime because the opponents of the Congress, viz. the Self-Respect Party, the Justice Party, the Muslim League and the Scheduled Caste Federation, tried to discredit the ruling party at every turn. Their opportunity came when

the study of Hindi was made compulsory in certain schools. The opposing groups held black-flag demonstrations during the visits of Ministers and successive batches of volunteers from these parties picketed in front of the Chief Minister's residence and before certain schools. More than a thousand arrests were made in the City alone. Sri E. V. Ramasami Naicker, the leader of the movement was himself arrested, convicted and sentenced to one year's R. I. The communists, in the guise of socialists had by this time wormed themselves into the Labour Unions "embracing all branches of industry and husbandry." They organized a large number of strikes in mills, factories and printing-presses in which the strikers used violent methods to put forth their unreasonable demands. They also began to foment trouble among *kisans* during this period.

Within two years of the Congress coming to power in the States the second World War broke out in September 1939. The war opened a new chapter in the history of Indian independence. The Congress having decided not to participate in the war resigned in October. The administration was carried on by the Governor with the help of Advisers who were senior officials of the Indian Civil Service. After the resignation of the Ministries, the Congress embarked on individual satyagraha where a set phraseology was used to shout anti-war slogans and court arrest. If they were not arrested the satyagrahis made anti-war speeches and distributed anti-war pamphlets. Huge crowds assembled to see the leaders court arrest. Thousands of people were arrested and as the movement gained momentum, the Government were compelled to arrest only the leaders and ignore the rest.

The District Magistrate, Malabar, promulgated a ban under section 56 (1) of the Defence of India Act on 15th September prohibiting public meetings and other demonstrations. But the order was disobeyed in fifteen places on the very day of its promulgation which was observed as a Protest Day. The mob resorted to violence in six places resulting in loss of life to three police officers and injury to some others.

In the meanwhile, the Cripps Mission arrived in India to find a way out of the impasse. The satyagraha movement was withdrawn in January 1942 in order to create a proper atmosphere for talks between the leaders of the Congress and the representatives of the Government. But the British Government was in no mood to part with power and the Cripps Mission proved abortive. Gandhiji then started the historic

Quit-India Movement on the 8th August 1942 at Bombay. The Government acted swiftly and arrested all the leaders. The Congress organization was banned, while repression evoked violent uprisings throughout the Country.

In Madras City there were frequent hartals and strikes attended with acts of incendiarism. Students of colleges and schools, both boys and girls, organized mammoth processions shouting. Quit-India slogans. Labourers in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills and the P. W. D. Workshop struck work. Workmen in the Madras Port Trust, Madras Electric Tramway Company and Madras Corporation were restive. They utilized every opportunity to exhibit their solidarity with the forces of nationalism. Toddy-shops in Choolai were set on fire. Several letter pillar-boxes were burnt and there was an attempt to set fire to the High Court Buildings. A bomb was thrown in Muthialpet police station.

The situation was worse in the districts. In North Arcot besides hartals and demonstrations, telephone and telegraph-wires were cut, pillar-boxes were removed, the Public Works Department Inspection Bungalow at Panapakkam and police huts at Vellore were burnt. Forest Rest Houses near Vellore and the village *chavadis* in Panapakkam and Timri were set on fire and a goods train was derailed damaging many wagons between Tandarai and Adichanur railway stations. In South Arcot the students of the Annamalai University were in the forefront of the struggle. Here also telegraph and telephone-wires were cut and a motor car belonging to a police official was burnt. In Chingleput district, the students of the Loyola College, the Christian College and the Engineering College, staged strikes, obstructed electric trains and encountered lathi-charge. An attempt was made to set fire to the post-office at Kalathi. In Coimbatore the mill labourers took a prominent part in acts of sabotage and incendiarism. An ammunition train from Cochin consisting of two engines and forty-four wagons was derailed by sabotage between Podanur and Singanallur Railway stations. A village *chavadi* near Karnalur was attacked and damaged and several toddy-shops were burnt at Singanallur, Parur and Kariyalalayam. All the sheds of the Sular aerodrome were set on fire and 22 motor lorries kept in them were reduced to ashes. Madurai became the storm-centres of the movement and called for frequent interference of the police. Mass meetings were convened in defiance of prohibitory orders. Roads were barricaded and Government servants were assaulted. Crowds damaged a municipal fire-engine and A. R. P. equipment and burnt a

police bus, some post-offices and a sanitary inspector's office. Ram-nathapuram district became the scene of many cases of arson. The Civil Court buildings at Devakottai were burnt. The Sub Treasury, the Sub Magistrate's Office, the Deputy Tahsildar's Office and other Government buildings were attacked, set on fire and destroyed at Tiruvadanaï. The Nattarasankottai railway station and the elementary school at Karaikudi were also burnt. The post-office at Poolankurichi was burgled and the mail bags were burnt to ashes. In Salem, telephone and telegraph-connexions were dislocated by cutting of the wires and in some places fish-plates were removed from the permanent way. Tanjore district was also the scene of many disturbances. At Tiruvayar hundreds of people marched in procession and compelled shopkeepers to close their shops. They cut telephone and telegraph-wires, blockaded roads and forcibly stopped buses and other vehicles. At Tanjore, prohibitory order were defied. At Mannargudi about 1,000 people armed with sticks, knives and swords disrupted all communications and set fire to the local railway station and burnt the public offices. At Kumbakonam 10,000 people who had gathered in the park in contravention of prohibitory orders surrounded the District Magistrate and the police until force was used to disperse them. At Nachiarkoil, an attempt was made to derail a train. At Tirunelveli the disturbances began with a students' strike. The salt factory at Kulasekharapatnam was attacked by a large crowd carrying sticks, *aruvals* and battle-axes and in the struggle that ensued the Assistant Salt-Inspector was killed. At Kadalai, a police party was attacked; at Kurumbur, the railway station was set on fire; at Kadalgudi, a police station was burnt; at Tuticorin some shops were damaged; and near Shermadevi fish-plates were removed from the Railway line. In Tiruchirapalli the students played an active part. A passenger train was derailed between Pugalur and Noyyal railway stations, a goods train was derailed near Tiruchirapalli and fish-plates were removed from the railway line between Lalgudi and Valadi stations.

The communists began to fish in troubled waters. The economic distress caused by the war had slowly eaten into the vitals of the common people. They could not get advice from the national leaders as most of them were behind prison-bars. So the communists found their way clear and they began to work upon the feelings of the people. The ban against their organization was removed in July 1942 on their offering whole-hearted support to Britain's war efforts. They carried on extensive underground propaganda and tried to win over students,

mill and factory workers as well as *kisans* from the Congress to the Communist-fold. Cells were formed and indoctrination commenced in right earnest. Sri E. V. Ramasami Naiker, whose hold on the Justice Party was weakening, formed the Dravida Kazhagam, ably supported by his lieutenant Sri C. N. Annadurai at this time.

The Viceroys played on Hindu-Muslim differences and kept both communities apart. Sri M. A. Jinnah of the Muslim League was intransigent and would not come to any terms with the Congress or Gandhiji, who had been released from jail in 1944. The formation of the Labour Government in England made possible a fresh approach to resolve the tangle. The ban on the Congress was lifted which led to the holding of the general elections in 1946.

After Sri C. Rajagopalachari's retirement from the Congress, the mantle of leadership of the Congress in Madras fell on Sri K. Kamaraj. The Congress swept the polls in the elections held in March 1946. The communists kept the labour situation tense both in the city and in the districts at the time of the elections, and it was with great difficulty that the police prevented them from committing anti-social acts. The Prakasam Ministry which came into office in April 1946 had to face the activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, the Razakars and the Dravida Kazhagam. But the greatest danger came from the communists who were bent upon discrediting the Congress at every step. They opened a parliamentary office in Madras to collect statistics about grievances of the workers. Their speeches and writings tended to incite violence. They organized a strike in the South Indian Railway but the Government were able to break it. The communists formed more and more labour unions, fomented a large number of strikes in mills, factories, dockyards and essential services, and, what is more, incited agricultural labourers against landlords. The maintenance of law and order in widely dispersed areas became a Herculean task. At Alathur, in Mannargudi taluk of Tanjore district, a major clash occurred between communist-controlled Harijans and caste-Hindu labourers imported by a local mirasdar; two caste-Hindu watchmen were killed; and the cattleshed and the barns of the mirasdar were set on fire. When a Sub Inspector of Krishna district was enforcing prohibitory orders issued by the Sub Magistrate, restraining the villagers from entering and fishing in the local tank, 100 communists arrived with sticks and attacked the police party. The mob had to be dispersed by a lathi-charge. A Sub Inspector and three constables who had been to a

village in Tanjore district to make enquiries on a petition, were attacked by local *kisans* and injured. Four rounds were fired by the police, and the crowd dispersed. The workers of the National Tobacco Company, Chilkhampet, Guntur district, and those of the Harvey Mills at Vikramasingapuram, Tirunelveli district resorted to violence and stone-throwing on the police on duty, and fire had to be opened to bring the situation under control. The anarchy let loose by the communists compelled the Government to take stringent measures to preserve public peace and safeguard public interests. Early in 1947 they issued the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance (Ordinance I of 1947), and followed it up by the Maintenance of Public Order Act (Act I of 1947). In this Act provision was made to deal with subversive movements, for preventive detention, imposition of collective fines and censorship, control of meetings, processions, camps, drills and parades, requisition of property, and control of essential services. A number of communists were detained under this Act but the opinion of an Advisory Board was taken with regard to the continued detention of each prisoner. Detenus who gave an undertaking not to take part in underground and anti-national activities were released. In many cases, allowances were paid to the families of detenus. They were also released on parole to attend on their sick relations, to perform obligatory ceremonies and so on. All the actions flowing out of the Maintenance of Public Order Act threw a good deal of work on the police whose doings became the subject matter of endless litigation in the several courts of this land.

Momentous changes took place in the all-India sphere during this period which gave not a little anxiety to the maintenance of peace. Sri M. A. Jinnah was insisting on the partition of India, which many Indians viewed with extreme disfavour and resentment; and at every moment there was the prospect of the two communities' starting a fratricidal strife. Ultimately the independence of India became a reality on 15th August 1947. A serious disturbance was caused at Pathikonda, in Kurnool district, during the Independence Day celebration when the local Muslims threw stones at the procession taken out on the occasion, and damaged the portraits of leaders which were being carried. The police acted with vigour, and brought the situation under control. Again on the same day there was a clash between the Nationalist Muslims and the members of the Muslim League at Melapalayam in Tirunelveli district. The Muslim-League mob numbering over 4,000 threw stones and as a result

three constables and the Sub Inspector of Police were injured. The Sub Inspector who had been struck down had the presence of mind to get up and order the use of fire-arms which saved his force.

On the 30th January 1948 Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated. On account of the false rumour which spread after the assassination that the murderer was a Muslim, communal disturbances broke out in a number of places. At Tiruvannamalai in North Arcot district, houses and shops of Muslims were suddenly attacked and property removed, all thatched structures being burnt down. The Hindus of Edappadi and neighbouring villages in Salem district, set fire to about sixty houses belonging to Muslims, and looted their shops, after cutting telegraph-wires in order to prevent reinforcement from outside reaching the small police party at Edappadi. An Armed Reserve contingent which was sent to the village brought the situation under control. At Erode, in Coimbatore district, Hindus demolished, looted, and burnt Muslim houses, mosques and shops. Fire had to be opened to quell the riot. Over 300 Hindus of Rajapalayam town, Ramanathapuram district, proceeded to Muslim quarters and committed acts of arson and looting. The Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh launched a satyagraha campaign by the end of 1948.

The emergence of a national Government did not deter the Communist Party from embarking on large-scale agitation which took the form of strikes and lockouts in mills and factories, hunger-marches and attacks on Congress leaders. On the 12th April 1948, a party of Congressmen, headed by Sardar Vedaratnam Pillai, M. L. A., was waylaid by a mob of communists of Kalappal and neighbouring villages in Tanjore district and manhandled. Serious injuries were caused to the leaders and their car was badly damaged. A police party which went to the scene was also attacked simultaneously, and when all peaceful methods were exhausted in controlling the rioters, force had to be used on them. Several absconding communists in hiding at Eleri, on the borders of Malabar and South Kanara districts, had to be hunted down, as they used fire-arms on all police parties sent to apprehend them. They had collected a number of fire-arms and fortified themselves in inaccessible hilly regions. A big haul of fire-arms was made. Communists instigated tenants and domestic servants working under Nattukottai Chettis in Tirupattur to boycott their masters when their demands for higher wages were refused. This movement spread to Kandramanickkam, Nachiapuram, Koottagudi,

Velnadu and Thekkur villages in Ramanathapuram district. The offenders had to be dealt with under the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code.

The year 1949 was a very difficult one for the police. Labour unrest resulting in strikes and lockouts, *kisan* agitation in the delta areas of both Tamilnad and Andhra Pradesh, the communist menace which reached particularly dangerous proportions in the Northern Circars, and the unsettled conditions in Hyderabad which had serious repercussions on the bordering districts of the State, threw considerable strain on the force which, however, stood up to its tasks well and handled all situations with tact, vigour and firmness.

The most serious threat to the peace of the State came from the communists and communist-controlled organizations whose objective was to overthrow by violence the Government established by law in this country. The second party-congress of the Communist Party of India was held in Calcutta in March 1949. A reorientation of communist policy followed from this congress; the party embarked on a programme of violence and made systematic and strenuous efforts to bring into contempt the authorities responsible for the maintenance of law and order; the communists engineered labour strikes on all fronts and incited the masses to take to violent revolt in order to do away with what they termed as the 'Congress-Capitalist Regime.' This programme was translated into action by communists in all the various political organizations under their control. Students were organized to go into action on issues like examinations and promotions. In railways, mills and factories, docks and tramways, steps were taken to form militant organizations in order to attack the police and the people who differed from the communists. In the agrarian field agricultural labourers were constantly instigated to demand enhanced wages and to resort to strikes and violent demonstrations, if the demands were not conceded. Congressmen, policemen and their informants were subjected to physical chastisement with a view to overawing and demoralizing the elements opposed to militant communism.

In Andhra districts, particularly in Krishna, incursions by communist hordes from Hyderabad State created panic. These hordes consisted of parties of communists trained in military fashion and equipped with fire-arms seized from or surrendered by Razakars and quondam Razakars. They committed murders and dacoities with the connivance of

local communists and carried away the loot to mountain fortresses. Similar activities spread to Guntur and East and West Godavari districts also.

In consonance with the instructions of the second party-congress, an increase in the tempo of activity was noticed in Tamilnad also. There were several bomb-attacks on non-communists, policemen and Congress workers in Coimbatore, Madurai, Tiruchirapalli, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts. In July 1949 the railway electrical stores at Golden Rock were set on fire and damage to the extent of about Rs. 2½ lakhs was caused to electrical goods. The Madukkarai Cement Factory was gutted in August 1949. The South Indian Railway Labour Union, controlled by the communists, took to the war-path and created many difficult situations for the railway administration. There were constant calls for general strikes. Party members suspected of deviation from party principles were in some cases murdered. These acts of sabotage and arson followed a set pattern and the propaganda pamphlets mixed doctrinaire communism with examples from the Soviet Revolution. Four investigations by the C. I. D. simultaneously in Salem, Tiruchirapalli, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli pointed conclusively to the fact that the marching orders to the communists came from the Polit Bureau of the Party after the second party-congress and they were utilizing all the tactics employed by the Soviets in their successful revolution. Several bundles of propaganda-literature were seized during the investigation of these cases, which revealed the use of pseudonymous cover-addresses, secret halting-places, escort for leaders and other conspiratorial methods. The Communist Party was declared unlawful on 26th September 1949. The French-India situation also began to exhibit dangerous potentiality during this year. All this laid a heavy burden on the police which was borne manfully and successfully.

Four conspiracy-cases were charged in the South in 1950 in which most of the top-ranking communists were implicated. The Andhra communists started a campaign of national liberation in 1950 by having recourse to guerilla warfare. Co-ordinated action by the police of Madras and Hyderabad States, however, resulted in the liquidation of the communist guerillas. But the state of alarm continued throughout the year 1951 also.

The Constitution had been on the anvil for a number of years and finally India decided on a republican form of Government. The first general elections under the new Constitution came off in the closing months of 1951. The elections were unprecedented in several aspects,

in the volume of voters because of adult franchise, in the number of polling-stations and number of polling-days. In the context of the unsettled nature of political parties with different ideologies and programmes and the inexperience of the people in democratic procedure, elaborate *bandobust* arrangements were necessary to give assurance to the voter that he could exercise his franchise without any fear. For this purpose, the entire State was divided into fifteen electoral regions or ranges, each under the charge of a police party, consisting of not less than 1,000 men, formed by pooling the police resources of groups of adjacent districts. The election went off without any major incidents.

Handloom-weavers of Srivilliputtur and Ramanathapuram led by communists came on a hunger-march to Madras in October 1952. They were joined by similar batches from Aruppukottai, Madurai and Salem. They were shown all consideration to ventilate their grievances in an orderly manner but when they attempted to picket the Assembly Hall and defy the order in force prohibiting assemblies and processions in that area, they had to be arrested. Reinforcements of weavers from Saidapet had also to be treated likewise. The movement then died a natural death. Another harmful result of communist indoctrination of students was the protest-strikes organized by them in Vishakapatnam, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, North Arcot, South Arcot and Malabar. Sri Potti Sriramulu's fast also created explosive situations. An unruly mob of about 4,000 looted six railway wagons stationed in the Tadepalligudem railway station in West Godavari district and carried away 1,829 bags of boiled rice. The Dravida Kazhagam and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam organized an anti-Hindi agitation and instructed their members and volunteers to erase Hindi letters on name-boards at railway stations. The police were mobilized. But, the Government let the agitation alone and thus took the wind out of the sails of the campaign.

The major event from the administrative and political point of view during 1953 was the formation of the Andhra State on 1st October. Sri Potti Sriramulu's martyrdom had highlighted the issue of separation and there were several riots closely following his fast and death. The announcement of the Prime Minister of India to form the undisputed Telugu areas into an Andhra Province was welcomed, but Justice Wanchoo's enquiries were indirectly responsible for some tension between Andhras and Tamils. On the 22nd May 1953, the Dravida Kazhagam under instructions from its leader Sri E. V. Ramasami Naicker observed the Ganesh-Idol-Breaking Day. Orthodox opinion was highly incensed

over this matter and some clashes resulted between Kazhagamites and anti-Kazhagamites. A case put up at Tiruchi with regard to this incident had to go up to the Supreme Court to establish the criminality of the perpetrators. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam decided in July 1953 to organize a campaign known as the "Threefold Struggle" (1) to picket in front of the Chief Minister's residence, (2) at Dalmiapuram to change its name into Kallakudi, and (3) to stop railway trains on 14th July 1953 by pulling chains. As a result the leaders of the movement were convicted and imprisoned.

In the succeeding years, most of the disturbances to public peace occurred as a result of movements set in motion by the Dravida Kazhagam and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. These include the erasure of the word 'brahmin' from name-boards of hotels, continuous picketing in front of them, dramatic performances of the Ramayana perverted in such a way as to wound the religious feelings of all pious Hindus, and instigating Kazhagam members to arm themselves and riot during Sri Nehru's visit.

Another political party, which was born during this period of linguistic division of the country, is the Tamil Arasu Kazhagam which agitated for the inclusion of Tiruttani, Devikulam and Peermedu in Madras State and wanted the State to be re-named as Tamilnad. It attracted a large following but its operations were generally peaceful and were conducted with some decorum. Even so the responsibility of the police to see that nothing untoward happened was very great.

In 1957 there was a communal flare-up of considerable magnitude in Ramanathapuram district. After the bye-election to the Mudukulathur Assembly Constituency in July 1957, the feelings between the Maravars and Harijans in East Ramanathapuram became strained, resulting in widespread outbreak of violence, arson, looting and murder. The situation called for deterrent action on the part of the police in the district which was considerably strengthened by stationing additional Malabar Special Police and Special Armed Police companies. Fire had to be opened on seven occasions in Keelathooval, Keerandi, Parambacherri and Ulithamadi, resulting in the death of fourteen persons and injury to one. Sri U. Muthuramalinga Thevar who was chiefly responsible for inciting the Maravars was arrested at Madurai on 28th September 1957 under the Preventive Detention Act. As a result of the prompt and concerted action taken by the police, peace was soon restored.

CHAPTER XVIII

WELFARE WORK BY THE POLICE

THE RECLAMATION and rehabilitation of criminals and criminal communities is one of the functions in the higher reaches of police administration. So a good deal of pioneering work had to be done by the Superintendents of Police. These pioneers made an intensive study of the habits and customs as well as the religious and social practices of criminal tribes and gangs.

The first task of the police was to take a census of the criminal gangs and communities and attempt to make them settle in particular areas. In this task, the Christian missionaries were of great help to the police. Rev A. Robinson of the London Mission in Salem started a settlement for Koravars in 1908 and a considerable area of land was assigned to the Mission for the purpose of turning the Koravars into agriculturists. In the initial stages the scheme was successful and the community, on their own motion, turned out of the settlement one who was suspected of having reverted to criminal ways. The Rudrapad Koracha gang in Bellary who volunteered to settle down were less fortunate in their attempts at reform as there was no incentive to agriculture owing to the failure of the monsoon. Another scheme for Koravars in Pakala, which then formed part of North Arcot district, also failed for the same reason. The Koravars were assigned lands. A well was dug to provide them with drinking-water. Aloes for making ropes were supplied to the settlers by a contractor. The settlers were to live by making ropes, by selling fuel gathered from forests and also by their labours at the two irrigation works in their colony. These early settlements were thus agricultural and prosperity depended on seasonal rains.

The registration of gangs was far from systematic. In 1909, the first set of regulations was issued for the registration and surveillance of gangs. The salient points of the system were that only those criminal gangs which had no fixed abode and which kept on the move should be brought on to the gang-registers and the settled communities should be reckoned in the registers of known depredators. These arrangements were in force prior to the introduction of the Criminal Tribes Act in 1911.

The London Mission Society opened another settlement at Muttampatti in Valappadi station limits in 1909. The District Magistrate, North Arcot, found the inmates of the Pakala Settlement uninterested in manual labour while the Bellary Settlement drew inspiration from the affluence of their compatriots, the unattached Korachas. A year later the District Magistrate, Bellary, discovered that despite the sincere efforts of the Superintendent of Police the reclamation of these Korachas had not been accomplished to such an extent as to produce any material effect inasmuch as they were still suspected to be active on the Bombay frontier.

One of the methods of reclamation was to provide employment to idle hands. At Nellore, a dangerous criminal gang of Kathiras consisting of 300 members to whom innumerable crimes were traced, was induced to accept employment in the mica mines at Kalichedu. The Manager of the mines Mr Ludwig was prevailed upon by the Superintendent of Police to evince personal interest in the matter. In Guntur also steps were taken for the formation of a settlement for Yerrukulas.

In 1912 the Kalichedu Settlement was expanded to make room for Donga Dasaris, Yerrukulas, Dommaras and a few unregistered gangs of Jogulas and Yenadis. The settlement which started with 391 members in 1911 had a population of 930 by the end of 1912. A school was opened for the children and Mr Ludwig, the Manager of Messrs Brandt & Co., working the mines bestowed much attention on their reclamation. Actually one of the settlers arrested his own son, an absconding delinquent, and gave him up for punishment. In the same year, another settlement was established at Kavali, in the same district, under the management of Rev Bullard of the American Baptist Mission. Yerrukulas settled here and the members with their families numbered 152. The missionary's wife and daughter attended to teaching women and children. The male members were taught weaving and fibre-cleaning. The Rudrapadu Koracha Settlers were reported to have desisted from taking an active part in the commission of crime but they were a great hindrance to the surveillance of the remaining unattached members whom they assisted and aided, taking advantage of the fact that they were under semi-official protection and would not be interfered with by the police. But the Pakala Settlement was a great disappointment in that seven of the settlers were found concerned in the murder of a receiver of stolen properties and also suspected in a number of undetected burglaries.

In the year 1913 rules were framed under the Criminal Tribes Act of 1911 by the Madras Government who declared the following to be criminal tribes: Donga Yerrukulas, Vayalpad or Nawabpeta Korachas, Donga Dasaris, Veppur Pariahs, Donga Woddars, Togamalai Koravas, Rudrapad Korachas, Dommaras, Salem Melnad Koravas, Athur Kilnad Koravas, Nakkalas and Gandarvakottai Koravas. The Government further ordered that under section 10 (b) of the Act every registered member of the tribe, should notify his place of residence, any change and any absence therefrom. 5,462 members were registered during that year. Some of them were also restricted in their movements to certain specified areas. The Kalichedu Settlement continued to function well. The Kavali Settlement was given an initial grant of Rs. 5,000 and a recurring grant of Rs. 200 for maintaining the settlers. They were taught fibre-cleaning, weaving, stone-quarrying and mat and basket-making but progress was slow as the Yerrukulas were unaccustomed to any kind of systematic labour. The Salvation Army undertook the management of three Settlements. One was the industrial settlement at Sitanagaram to which an initial grant of Rs. 6,500 and a yearly recurring grant of Rs. 220 were made by the Government. The chief work provided besides rope and basket-making was quarrying to which the settlers did not take kindly. Sidhapuram in Kurnool district was chosen as the place for another Settlement for Donga Woddars. They were given employment on tank restoration work. A school was opened for the children who made remarkable progress. There were, however, occasional lapses. One of the settlers assaulted a police constable maiming him for life. The man was arrested and sent to jail for seven years. Later the whole gang refused to work and left Sidhapuram in a body. They were brought back and the leaders were punished. This had a good effect on the members.

Veppur Pariahs were confined in a settlement at Kannapuram in South Arcot district.

One of those who blazed the trail in the matter of rehabilitating criminal groups was Mr L. E. Saunders, Assistant Superintendent of Police. He got his first taste of this work while dealing with Nawabpet Korachas in the Bhumannagedda Settlement of Chittoor District, and was appointed Special Officer for Chenchus in December 1916. The Chenchus are a forest tribe living in small groups or *gudems* on the eastern and western slopes of Nallamalais, which run from North to South in Kurnool district. They considered the forest

produce to be their property and set at nought Governmental authority. They blackmailed the neighbouring ryots. They robbed pilgrims going to Srisailam temple or others passing by the ghat-roads. They distilled arrack from Ippa flowers. They were armed with bows and arrows which they wielded with deadly effect. By the year 1914 their depredations had assumed such alarming proportions that Government thought it best to appoint a Special Officer, who was to get into touch with the Chenchus, gain their confidence and wean them from their evil habits. This was more easily said than done. As already stated, Mr Saunders was appointed Special Officer and he lived in Nallamalais in the midst of Chenchus from 1917 to 1919 observing their good and bad points and attempting to reform them. His reports about the Chenchus make fascinating reading. A few excerpts are given below:—

“While there was no work, the Chenchus, as was inevitable, became more troublesome. I spent much of my time in Bairluti and the neighbourhood, trying to keep them quiet. It was an eventful experience largely concerned with suppressing drunken brawls and efforts to prevent more serious misdemeanours. April 1917 was one of the worst months. The Chenchus were drunk almost continuously from beginning to end, and I had to go to the *gudem* at all hours of the day and night to stop fights and quarrels. They generally recognized me but were often far too drunk to understand or to take any notice of what I said. On one occasion at about 1 a.m. two of them were having a particularly discordant quarrel; fearing bloodshed I left my bed albeit most reluctantly and went into the *gudem*. I shouted to them to stop, but they took no notice of me. I tripped up one and left him on the ground groping for his antagonist; the other I picked up and carried off to his hut where I put him to bed and left him to the tender mercies of his wife. I then went back to the first man and found him with his bow and arrow looking for the other Chenchu and uttering most lurid sanguinary threats of vengeance for having been knocked down by him. I took him back to the bungalow with me and put him to sleep on the veranda near my cot so that he might not carry his threats into execution. This sobered him somewhat and he proceeded to tell me in the orthodox way that he was ‘quite all right.’ I assured him that I was quite satisfied on this point, but he remained unconvinced; and as he dropped off to sleep, I heard him murmur ‘Abba, ba, suppose he gets angry in the morning’. This particular individual, by name Topidhigadu, is a fairly common type of Chenchu.

“ He can work quite well. When led to work and looked after, he is not really vicious; but has no will of his own and follows anyone else whether for good or evil. He has taken part in a number of dacoities mostly under the influence of arrack and bad companions. He is by nature born lazy and will not lift a little finger if he can avoid it. To this end he has two wives who are made to dig roots for him or otherwise support him by their earning on coolie work. As long as there is arrack available he cannot keep away from it, and, while under its influence he is quite irresponsible for his actions; he is capable of carrying out the lurid threats I referred to, and in fact I regret to have to record that he has recently killed another Chenchu at night in the jungle under very similar conditions.

“ Another instance is worthy of note. A Chenchu, Mandlabaigadu of Bairluti *gudem* is one of the steadiest, quietest Chenchus in the *gudem*. For a number of years he has been in Government employment as a bungalow watcher or shop-lascar or fire-patrol. For reasons of economy his services had to be dispensed with. The day the order was communicated, he filled himself up with arrack and at about 8 p.m. appeared at the bungalow and depot with a sword in one hand and his bow and arrows in the other. He progressed around the depot flourishing these and shouting at the top of his voice that he would kill the ranger and that the blood of one Ramayya, the ranger's peon, must flow. He dashed into the veranda of the depot and made a cut at the ranger's clerk who was sleeping there. The clerk fortunately rolled away in time and escaped. I had been out in the jungle and arrived on the scene at this juncture. I tried to catch him, but he ran away from me with an extraordinary hop skip-and-a-jump action, all the time flourishing the sword and shouting these threats. He disappeared for a while and then turned up from nowhere in particular, threw the sword at one of my servants and came and surrendered himself to me. He sat down and told me that the ranger had dispensed with his services and that Ramayya had called him a blind-man (*guddiwadu*) because he had once accidentally brushed against Ramayya while the latter was cooking his food and that there was nothing for it but to kill them. I intimated that he had better leave the matter in my hands and I would make necessary arrangements in the morning. Under persuasion he gave me his bow and arrows and told me in full, the lurid details of a crowded day's debauchery. Having done that, he signified his readiness to go to bed and I led him home to the bosom of his family. I apologise for

giving these incidents at length. They are far from edifying, but are illustrative of the difficulties of dealing with the Chenchus and will explain why the Deputy Rangers and our subordinates are unable to make much headway with them.

“A frequent cause of the quarrels in this *gudem* was a girl about fifteen years old called Atchi but always addressed by the nick-name of Komati. She had been duly betrothed to a man called Bodigadu. He was in appearance a loose-lipped and weak-kneed wretch, and generally admitted even among the Chenchus to be a waster. Komati refused to go and live with him. This was a great grievance and there was open war between Bodigadu and the girl's relations. Whenever Bodigadu and his companions were sufficiently primed with arrack, they would make raid upon the relations and try to carry off the girl. I had frustrated a number of these attempts and determined to put an end to it, if possible. About midday on the 4th of May, there was an uproar in the *gudem* and I found another of these incidents in progress. I stopped it as usual and then called all the *gudem* together and suggested that they should hold a panchayat and settle the matter. Either the girl had to go to her husband, or he had to be repaid the expenses he had incurred at the time of betrothal and the girl's parents declared free to marry her to someone else. My proposal met with general approval and we all sat down under the big tamarind tree to thrash the matter out. The girl was brought before the panchayat and asked if she would go to her husband. She refused to go. The husband was then asked to divorce her on payment of the betrothal expenses. This led to a fearful argument as to what the expenses had been and it was as much as I could do to stop the quarrels and fights incidental to the discussion. At one stage the girl was asked what her objection was to Bodigadu. It was admitted that he was not pretty to look at, but his supporters urged that he was no worse than many of the *panchayatdars*. This untimely personal allusion deeply offended the *panchayatdars* and a sort of general melee ensued. It was in due course, but with no little difficulty, suppressed and business was resumed. One of the elders of the *gudem* undertook to offer the required explanation. He turned to me with an engaging twinkle in his eye and said: ‘you remember, swami, when you were riding your bicycle the other day, the tyre punctured and went all soft? Well, Bodigadu is just like that.’ This was received with uproarious approval by all except the individual referred to, and eventually he was paid Rs. 20 plus Rs. 5 for the

panchayatdars. This was supposed to represent the cost of three *chiras* and three *ravikas* and the arrack consumed at the time of betrothal. He agreed to leave Komati severely alone and not to interfere with her parents or relations, and in token of this a blaze was made upon the tamarind tree."

In February Mr J. C. Molony, I. C. S., reviewing the work of Mr Saunders wrote:—"I have only had a few days with the Chenchus, and have not visited many *gudems*. But from reading the reports of the Special Chenchu Officer (Mr Saunders) and the ordinary police reports of crime, and from conversations with the people of the Nandikotkur taluk, I cannot avoid the impression that the Chenchus have been 'coddled' far too much in the past year or two.

"Mr Saunders was devoted to his work; he sacrificed his health, his comfort, and (I believe) a great deal of his money to the Chenchus. His reports are interesting to the point of fascination, and I have the highest admiration for his zeal. But the practical end, if not the result, is that the Chenchus are a greater nuisance now than they have ever been. In fact they have established a reign of terror in Nandikotkur taluk. From what I have seen of them I should say that they are a singularly low class of humanity; they have nothing in them of the good-humoured joviality of the only other 'wild people' that I know, the Khonds of the Ganjam Maliahs. I have no wish to advocate brutality, but I am convinced that these people cannot appreciate kindness unless it is preceded by a wholesome respect for the bestowers of kindness. The Chenchus have lost any respect that they ever had for Government authority, and that authority must be reasserted sharply before any further steps can be taken.

"The condition of things is really serious and decided action is necessary. That action will necessitate a certain amount of expenditure: cheese-paring will be fatal to success. Just at present one forester is attached to a *gudem*, and the ordinary police staff, when a Chenchu crime is reported, are supposed to deal with it. This is ineffective; in fact the people tell me that any number of Chenchu crimes go unreported, because the victims see no results follow from making reports.

"The ringleaders of Chenchu crime are perfectly well-known, Nagalutigadu and B. Iddigadu. These two men are outside the pale of civilization; a reward offered for them alive or dead would be the most practical method of dealing with them.

“In fact the question now is whether the Government or the Chenchus are ‘to have the say’ in the east of Nandikotkur taluk. The impression of the countryside seems to be that ‘the say’ is with the latter. To remove this impression we need a certain number of police specially selected to deal only with the Chenchus, and, for a time at least, a vigorous and entirely unceremonious use of this force.

“A Special Chenchu Officer is to be appointed. It is proposed to make his headquarters at Pecheruvu. Though I speak with diffidence I doubt if this is expedient. Pecheruvu is up in the hills, and is not an easy place to get to or from. The Chenchus are raiding out westward from the forests; therefore, subject to consultation with the District Superintendent of Police, I should be inclined to think that the Special Chenchu Officer should be somewhere about Atmakur or Velgode.

“He should have a special force under him, and these men should be specially chosen, and armed, preferably with shot-guns.

“The Chenchus’ bow and arrow is a formidable weapon. I have today read the report of a case in which some Chenchus were caught in the act of robbery. They withdrew to the forest covered by a rearguard of bowmen; it is quite impossible to ask policemen or any other men to charge uselessly on sudden death. Guns and the ready use of them would have made a difference. And I suggest for consideration the possibility of disarming the Chenchus.

“The stock excuse of a *gudem* now is that crimes are committed by a few wild spirits whom the well-disposed cannot keep in check. It is practically impossible to trace a particular offender in the forest. It is generally known well enough which *gudem* is concerned. On the occurrence of a crime that *gudem* should be raided and burned; and the special force of police should understand that no questions will be asked about the persuasive use of a stick. I expect that in a very short time the *gudems*’ power of control will develop vastly.

“The Chenchus have no business outside the forest. They should be put under the Criminal Tribes Act, and every Chenchu found outside a border line without a pass should at once be arrested and sent to prison. A special police force will be able to exercise constant, not casual, supervision.

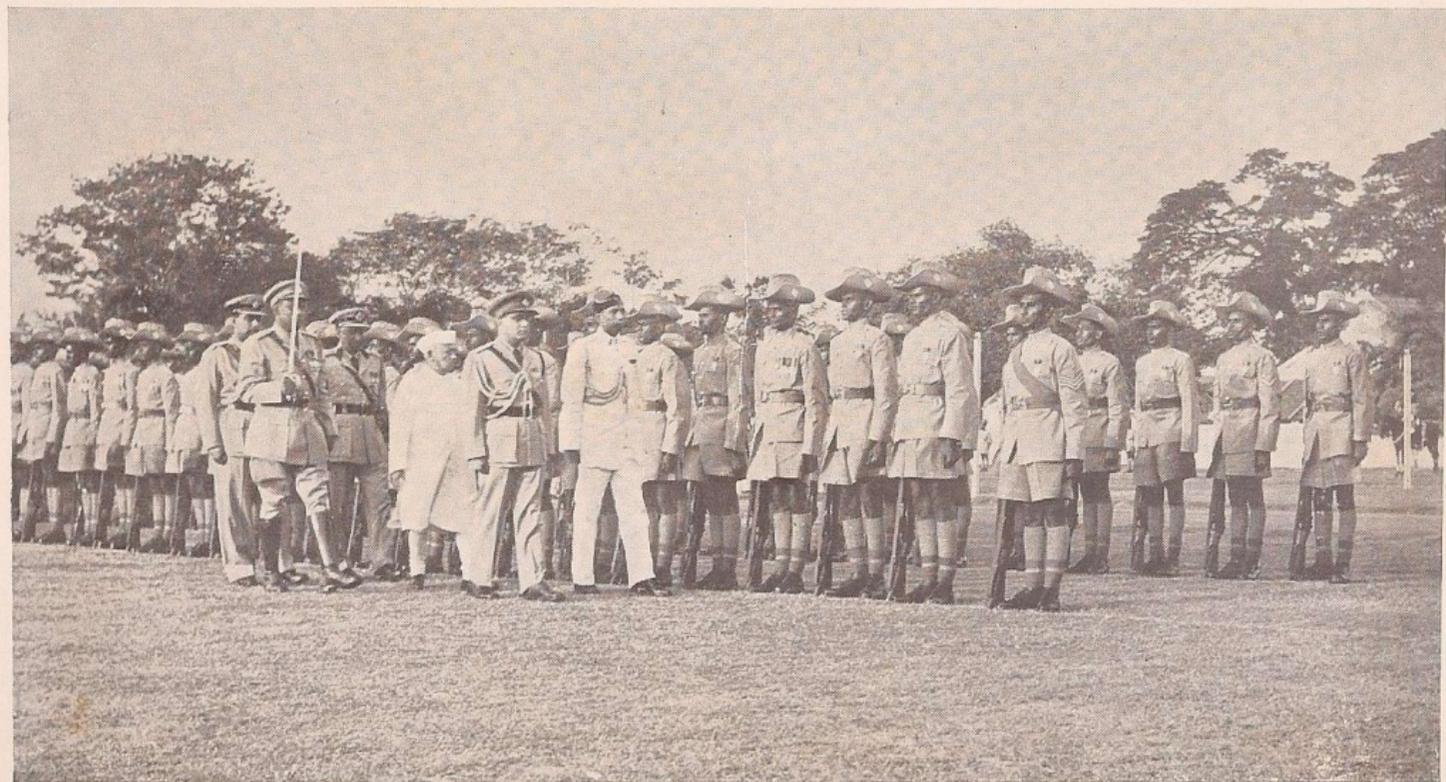
“The Chenchus have rendered the road from Nandyal to Atmakur practically impossible for travellers. Just north of Velgode the road

runs through jungle, which forms an ideal jumping-off ground for plundering gangs. This jungle should be cut back for about half a mile on each side of the road so as to afford a 'field of fire'. There is a police outpost not far from Velgode; but, from what I saw of it, the accommodation for the men is so uncomfortable that it knocks all the heart out of them. Decent temporary quarters should be made here for the outpost, which should be constantly inspected, either by the Special Chenchu Officer, or by an Inspector, who should have and should ride a bicycle. The 'Inspector's pony' as a means of getting along a road is out of date.

"The sale of liquor to the Chenchus should be prohibited. The Atmakur people complained bitterly that the Chenchus hang about the toddy-shops, find a market there for stolen goods, and induce the 'young bloods' of the village who drink at the shops to join them in their depredations.

"In fact, if I may be permitted to speak plainly, the question is whether Government or the Chenchus are to be the masters in Nandikotkur taluk. I believe that for six or twelve months Government must 'get down to it', and show these people who is going to be the master. I do not pretend that my suggestions are complete or infallible, but I believe that action on some such lines is urgently needed, and that six or twelve months' vigorous action will bring the Chenchus to a state of mind in which they will appreciate kindness and efforts for their moral reclamation. 'Schools', 'Co-operation', etc. etc., are for the present, about as useful as would be chicken bones offered to a tiger.

"The two worst Chenchus are Nagalutigadu and B. Iddigadu. Information about them may be found in Mr Saunders' report. A reward should be offered for their apprehension, and the special police should be authorized, in these cases, to 'shoot on sight'. Mr Saunders meeting Nagalutigadu had a few shots at him, but the ordinary policeman, without authorization, would be afraid to take the responsibility. The Assistant Chenchu Officer, a Mohammedan, told me that he met B. Iddigadu not long ago. Iddigadu covered him with his bow and arrow from about 30 yards; and under these circumstances they had quite an interesting chat. Had the Assistant Chenchu Officer carried a shot-gun, and had he felt sure that use of it would not result in his being tried for murder, a terror to the countryside might have been removed."



Sri Bishnuram Medhi, Governor of Madras, inspects the Police Medal Parade held on 5-9-1959.

In this case the District Officer had not the patience to probe into the reasons for the Chenchus' taking to crime. His predecessor Mr Brackenbury had given the clue to this outbreak but it had not been followed up. The latter had stated that arrangements for keeping the Chenchus employed on agriculture and in bamboo-work failed because the rains held off in one case and in the other the bamboo-contractor repudiated his contract, being unable to obtain wagons to convey his produce to market. In addition to all this, a severe outbreak of cholera among the Chenchus in the early part of the year and of influenza in the latter part, had effectually scattered them from their villages and set them wandering with disastrous results in respect of their tendency to crime. Actually a gazetted police officer placed on special duty in 1950 to deal with the communist uprising in the Nallamalais, found the Chenchus extremely useful in tracking and tracing political agitators taking refuge in impenetrable jungles.

Other names prominent in the field of reclamation work are Messrs P. B. Thomas, Hannyngton, Mullaly and Dene. In the year 1916, the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C. I. D. was entrusted with the general supervision and control of all the settlements in the Presidency. The following settlements were in existence in the year 1917.

Sitanagaram	}	...	...	Guntur district.
Stuartpuram				
Guntur				
Kalechedu	}	...	...	Nellore district.
Kavali				
Aziznagar	}	...	...	South Arcot district.
Stuartpet				
Bhumannagadda	...	...	...	Chittoor district.
Pallavaram	...	...	...	Chingleput district.
Perambur	...	...	...	Madras City
Pillaiyarpatti	...	...	...	Tanjore district.
Kulasekharapatnam	...	...	...	Tirunelveli district.
and				
Voluntary settlements				
of Siddapuram	...	...	...	Kurnool district.
The Kallar settlement...	...	...	...	Madurai district.

The Deputy Inspector General of Police, C. I. D. found that reclamation should be undertaken in a more systematic manner and

that it required the services of a wholetime officer. The Government for their part were unwilling to invest more money in this work. They ordered the District Magistrate to have direct control of finances of the settlements, with the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C. I. D., functioning in an advisory capacity. The Kallar Settlement at Gudalur, Madurai, was based on agriculture. Because of its unhealthy location and unsatisfactory working it was closed down in 1918. In G. O. No. 338 Judicial dated 6th February 1920 the general control and management of settlements was transferred from the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C. I. D. to the Labour Commissioner. The conduct of other operations under the Criminal Tribes Act continued to be with the magistracy and police, while the scrutiny of accounts and the preparation of budget remained with the District Magistrate.

In the South, the reclamation of Kallars and Maravars proved to be a difficult problem. Both the communities had acquired a notoriety for reckless violence in the commission of crime. A story goes that even Lord Clive's horses were stolen by a Kalla criminal from the midst of his military encampment. There are various legends about the origin of Kallars. One is that they were the offspring of illicit intercourse between Indra and Ahalya, the wife of Gautama. Another is that they are descended from one of the three brothers who avoided rendering help to Sri Rama by concealing himself when the latter was crossing over to Ceylon, while the second brother behaved arrogantly and the third assisted the God. The first was called Kallar (concealer) the second, Agamudayar (arrogant) and the third, *maravar* since Sri Rama promised him that he would not forget his help. The story is interesting, for it illustrates the fact that these three castes are ethnically connected. Another legend about the Madurai Kallars is that their earliest forefathers were a band of hunters who started from Kancheepuram and came to Madurai where they found a peacock fighting a dog. They were astounded at the fighting-spirit displayed by the peacock. They settled down in this place which they thought was ideal for valiant hunters. These were the ancestors of the Kilnad branch of the Kallars while another band which occupied the north and the western areas of the district were said to be the forefathers of the Melnad branch.

These are the fierce 'Colleries' of Orme's history who had always a reputation for independence amounting to truculence. They

disowned the suzerainty of the Nayakas of the Madurai country. When pressed for tribute to the overlord, they retorted that the heavens supplied the necessary rain, their own cattle did the ploughing so much so the crop was a result of their exertions and therefore they could not understand how they could be indebted to anyone for their living.

The Pudukottai ruler is regarded as the head of the Kallars. But before the beginning of this dynasty, a royal family called Pallava Raya appears to have been ruling Pudukottai and owing allegiance to the Sethupati of Ramnad. The former attempted to throw off his allegiance to Ramnad and to place himself under the protection of the Rajah of Tanjore with the result that he was removed by Sethupati. The latter then placed Raghunatha Thondaiman, his brother-in-law on the throne. Raghunatha Thondaiman thus became the progenitor of the Pudukottai rulers.

The Sethupatis were a match for the Kallars and they always wielded the big stick and massacred them ruthlessly when the latter indulged in their predatory habits. But the Kallars were refractory and even the British found them to be a nuisance. In 1755 the Kallars ambushed Colonel Heron's expedition in the Nattam pass and cut off his men. Detachments of British armies passing that way were harried so much that the company had to send five battalions of sepoy and 1,500 cavalry under Captain Rumley in 1764 to Madurai to subdue the Kallars. As a preliminary step, the captain sent for the headman to appear before him but the Kallars instead of obeying the command treated the detachment with contempt using insulting language. Brandishing their weapons they prepared for attack. Captain Rumley surrounded the village and set fire to the encircling hedge. The village was soon in flames and the escaping Kallars were set upon by the soldiers, who slew about 3,000 of them. The Kallars surrendered to superior force. Hero-worshippers as they are by nature, Rumley became Rumley Swami in their eyes. At the same time they were highly suspicious of the incursions of foreigners into their territory and when a survey party came there, they murdered 10 survey peons. Captain Rumley ordered reprisals and as a result 2,000 more Kallars were slaughtered.

Open rebellion thereafter ceased but dacoities and thefts continued. The Kallars were also adepts at cattle-theft. The stolen cattle are driven long distances, say 20 to 30 miles, by night and hidden for the day either in a friend's house or in the jungle. When pursued by the victim

becomes hopeless, a Kallar go-between comes forward and offers restitution at a certain price which may be almost half the price of the stolen animal. This is what is called *tuppu cooly* (clue-hire) and when it is paid, the cattle are found in some out-of-the-way place in accordance with the instructions of the middleman. Another important source of income to the Kallars was the *kudi kaval* fees which they levied on other castes. The fees thus demanded were tantamount to blackmail. If any one dared to refuse payment, he would be visited with lawless acts such as burning his haystack or stealing his best pair of bullocks.

The Kallars were therefore brought under the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act but their registration was not an easy matter. There were frequent clashes between them and the police. The most serious riot occurred on 3rd April 1920, at Perungamanalloor in Madurai district. The Kallars of the village who had been proclaimed under the Criminal Tribes Act refused to appear for registration before the Special Magistrate appointed for the purpose, in spite of persuasion and warning. Warrants were therefore issued against them and with a view to facilitating arrest, a party of 50 men of the reserve police with a sergeant was sent to the village. The Kallars who had been instigated by political agitators were determined to resist arrest and about a thousand of them armed with deadly weapons assembled in fields near the village. On the arrival of the police they fired a rocket as a signal for other Kallars to join the fray. The Sub Magistrate and the Special Deputy Magistrate exhorted the Kallars to submit to registration, the warrants being shown and the names read out. Prolonged discussions followed and, with a view to completing the work as peacefully as possible, the reserve police were ordered to withdraw and pile arms. But the Kallars resolutely refused to submit to registration or produce the men wanted. The police thereupon arrested one man who was immediately rescued by the mob. The crowd then adopted a menacing attitude and began to surround the magistrate and the police on three sides. The authorities stood in imminent danger of being overwhelmed by the mob, which had been reinforced by a number of Kallars from nearby villages. The police were therefore ordered to open fire which resulted in the death of 11 Kallars.

This incident changed the attitude of the Kallars towards the Government and paved the way for the introduction of measures for their reformation. Out of evil cometh good. Propaganda was also carried on explaining to the Kallars the advantages of refraining from

crime and the conditions under which they would be exempted from the operations of the Act. The principles were explained at a mass meeting of four to five thousand Kallars by the District Magistrate and the Inspector General of Police. A striking innovation was the establishment of caste panchayats. It was first thought of by Mr Loveluck, the District Superintendent of Police, and later, Mr A. K. Raja Ayyar who was then a Deputy Superintendent of Police put this scheme into execution, achieving striking success due to his indefatigable zeal and sincerity of purpose. The panchayats were made responsible for reporting crime and handing up criminals in their villages, the stoppage of levy of *kaval* fees and *tuppu cooly*, sending children to school, encouraging emigration of Kallars to Tea Estates, ostracizing criminals and refusing to allow girls to be married to bad characters. But every cause demands martyrs. A leading Kallar who espoused the cause of reformation was ambushed and killed by the unruly Kallar elements. But these difficulties did not deter Mr Rajah Ayyar from trying to win the confidence of the elders of the community. In less than two months, he established panchayats in 103 out of 845 Kallar villages, started 28 new schools and introduced cottage-industries such as tape-making, rope-making and weaving in a number of villages. This resulted in the surrender of a large number of absconders. At the end of the year, Mr MacIver, the District Magistrate, wrote that the work of reforming the criminal Kallars had begun on correct lines and if there was continuity of policy there was reason to hope that these Kallars would become law-abiding within a reasonable time. He praised the work of Mr Raja Ayyar and suggested to the Government his retention even if he was due for promotion. Mr Raja Ayyar introduced a system of exempting villages from the restrictions of the Act on the condition that the Kallars formed panchayats which undertook to be responsible for the good conduct of the members of the community and to help the authorities in arresting offenders. By 1921 panchayats were established in 501 Kallar villages and with their assistance 100 warrants, many of them long-standing, were executed. Not a single warrant was pending execution in 1922. Mr J. F. Hall, I.C.S., the District Magistrate wrote in 1922: "Mr Raja Ayyar's work as Kallar Special Officer was little short of wonderful and I could not speak too highly of it. This scheme for reclamation of Kallars has passed beyond that outlined by Mr Loveluck in 1920. The expansion of work was on sound lines. In fact it was the essence of the real scheme of reclamation. The expansion was Mr Raja Ayyar's work and was very

largely bound up with his own personality. He had acquired an extraordinary hold over the Kallars and it was essential that for a considerable time he should remain in personal charge of the work."

Apart from the police staff of 1 Inspector, 7 Sub Inspectors, 15 head constables and 39 constables there were one Deputy Tahsildar and 3 Revenue Inspectors, 6 Supervisors of Schools, 1 Scout Master and 4 Co-operative Inspectors working under the Kallar Special Officer whose rank was raised to that of a Superintendent of Police. New methods were adopted in the matter of reformation and amelioration of the condition of the people. In cases where a village as a whole could be reasonably held responsible for ignoring the decree of the caste panchayat, communal responsibility was dispensed with and Section 10 of the Criminal Tribes Act was enforced against individual members in order that the stigma of having to report themselves at night to the police, while other members of the village enjoyed exemption, might coerce them to reformation. In other cases small sums of money were taken as security for their good behaviour for periods ranging from six months to one year. One warrantee who had stabbed a Sub Inspector and absconded was produced by one of the Panchayats.

Ninety Co-operative Societies and 2 Co-operative Stores were started. With the help of a loan obtained through these Societies a village was built in the centre of the Piramalai Nad, called Paddisapuram after the Commissioner of Labour Mr Paddison. About Rs. 40,000 were disbursed in loans for sinking wells and for buying bulls and seeds. Several contracts of the District Board and Minor Irrigation Departments were given to the Kallars. For about 5,000 Kallars, employment was found in Tea Estates. Weaving, blacksmithy and tailoring were taught in 24 centres; 92 new schools were opened. Attention was paid to the training of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. Taking advantage of the position occupied by women in the social life of the Kallars, the Kallar Special Officer issued loans jointly to a husband and his wife or to a son and his mother with gratifying results. Unlike the men who went out of view, the women always remained in their villages and the recognition of them as important entities in the home life made them exercise a steadying effect on the men. Harijans, the communal servants of the Kallars, were also benefited by these measures. About the last measure, Mr J. F. Hall, I. C. S. remarked, "this work was very important indeed from the point of view of educating the Kallar in the performance of the social duties and bringing home to him the fact that

there are people worse off than himself whom it is his duty to assist, if possible, and giving him a practical illustration of the policy that the servant is entitled to consideration equally with his master." About the originality of Mr Raja Ayyar's work he wrote "I have no desire to belittle the work which Mr Loveluck did. Nor have I done so. The original scheme was outlined by him for which he deserves and received credit. To say, however, that progress has been mainly on the lines originally suggested by Mr Loveluck, would appear to misappreciate the situation. The scheme which is being worked out today is only a distant relation of that outlined by Mr Loveluck in 1920."

The Poolam Maravars of Tinnevely district and the Valayas of Coimbatore were also brought under the Criminal Tribes Act. Maravars, as we have already seen, were lawless as a rule. One of the Tamil poets giving a fine picture of the Maravars some eighteen hundred years ago describes them as men "of strong limbs and hardy frames, and fierce-looking as tigers, wearing long and curled locks of hair, the blood-thirsty Maravars, armed with bow bound with leather, ever ready to injure others, shoot their arrows at poor and defenceless travellers from whom they can steal nothing, only to feast their eyes on the quivering limbs of their victims." The District Superintendent of Police was able to report in 1920 that the behaviour of the Poolam Maravars in Tinnevely had considerably improved after registration and no offence was traced to them. A meeting of the members was called and the rules were explained to them. The Marava women were informed that the removal of their names from the register depended on the good behaviour of the males and they thereupon vowed that they would themselves hand up the criminals and that no unregistered Marava would marry a registered female. A private individual was then induced to take some land on lease and the land was distributed among the Maravars for cultivation.

The operation of the Criminal Tribes Act resulted in a large reduction of organized crime by habitual offenders and criminal tribes. The Act also enabled villagers in some instances to free themselves from the tyranny exercised over them by criminal communities. At Kula-sekharapatnam a settlement for Koravars under the management of Mr Orrell of Parry & Co., was started in 1923. In 1924 the staff for reclamation was increased by 2 Deputy Superintendents of Police, 3 Sub Inspectors and a Revenue Inspector. By this year 1,445 acres of *darkhast* land had been assigned to Kallars. An inamdar of Sivaganga

and a lessee of Ayakudi Zamin were prevailed upon to lease about 350 acres of land to Kallars for cultivation. Dyeing was started as a new industry.

Similar reclamation work among Kallars was taken up in Tanjore district. The Staff consisted only of one Inspector, one Sub Inspector and two head constables. About 122 panchayats were formed. The panchayatdars brought to notice 30 cases of cattle theft, one burglary and 28 ordinary thefts which had remained unreported. Thirty-five persons against whom warrants were pending were surrendered by them. Mr Mullaly, the District Superintendent of Police addressed mass meetings and at one of these, two warrantees surrendered themselves of their own accord and a Kallar admitted the theft (not reported to the police) of four bulls which he produced subsequently.

But adverse seasonal conditions and agitation by political reactionaries gave a setback to reclamation. After the first flush of excitement, it was realized that this was a long-term problem and conspicuous results could be obtained only when the younger generation grew up under the new influences and conditions. Sri K. P. Janardhana Rao succeeded Mr Raja Ayyar as Kallar Special Officer and continued the same efficient administration. A brass metal industry was established but Mr Ellis, I. C. S., the Collector wrote to the Government that the Kallars must always remain primarily agriculturists and industrial development can only be in the direction of establishing subsidiary cottage industries.

The functioning of the Kallar Special Officer in Madurai district in addition to the local District Superintendent of Police caused some friction in the lower ranks. The Special Officer, it should be stated, was prejudiced in favour of reclamation whereas the District Superintendent of Police laid more stress on repression. Naturally the investigating branch upset many of the pet notions of the reformers. The Kallars took advantage of this rift and by 1926 grave crime rose by 8 per cent over the figures for 1921 in Madurai district whereas the figures for the whole State registered a decrease of 23.5 per cent. Corrective measures were tried by reorganizing the forces and converting 7 circles, 38 stations and 9 outposts into 8 circles, 41 stations and 7 outposts. This had not the desired effect and another remedy of bifurcating the district into 2 was tried in 1929. The Superintendent of Police of Madurai South district, a predominantly Kallar area, was entrusted with the reclamation work

for both the districts, while in other branches they remained independent. Even this arrangement was not satisfactory as reclamation work was mixed up with the affairs of several other departments who looked to the officer on the spot for any assistance or instruction which could not be rendered by the District Superintendent of Police, Madurai North. So in the year 1932 Sir Charles Cunningham, the Inspector General of Police prevailed on the Government to effect a further change, which made each District Superintendent of Police responsible for reclamation work within his limits.

A scheme called the Abeyance System was introduced in 1929. Under this, the criminal tribe members who were not particularly dangerous or active and who had been reporting for a fairly long time at the check-posts were exempted from reporting on condition that if at any time thereafter their conduct gave room for suspicion, or was unsatisfactory in any way, they would again have to report attendance twice every night at the police station. This system enabled the police to concentrate their attention on the really bad criminals.

A Kallar Employment Bureau was opened under police auspices in 1937 and it did excellent work in finding employment for 36 educated and 500 uneducated Kallars. The police themselves took the initiative in forming a non-official supervising agency to assist the authorities in ensuring that the liberties and convenience of individual Kallar were interfered with only when, and to the extent, necessary.

For efficient supervision and for taking a broader perspective of reclamation work the administrative control of the settlements was again transferred to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C. I. D. in 1944.

With the advent of freedom the Criminal Tribes Act vanished from the statute book. So sufficient precautions had to be taken and as the Habitual Offenders Act of 1943 did not meet fully the reformatory and penal needs, another Act was passed in 1948 which repealed the Criminal Tribes Act and the previous Habitual Offenders Act. The supervision of settlements was transferred to the Commissioner of Labour. Subsequently, Kallar reclamation work was taken over by the Director of Harijan Welfare. A little later the Central Government enacted the All India Habitual Offenders Act. But even this Act was not sufficiently comprehensive as habitual criminals addicted to cattle-lifting, cycle-thefts or pocket-picking could not be brought under the

Act, for the offences under Sections 379 and 380 of the I. P. C. were not included in the schedule of offences in the Act.

The Ramakrishna Mission has made a name for itself for selfless service to suffering humanity in time of floods, fire, pestilence and famine. The saffron-clad sanyasis with a number of volunteers rush to the afflicted area, minister to the sick and injured without caring for personal comfort or safety, despite the risks inherent in such situations. The Madras Police certainly emulated these missionaries during the floods that occurred in Tanjore and Ramanathapuram districts on 30-11-1955 when a cyclone struck the east coast from Arantangi to Keelakarai. To make matters worse, a tidal wave struck Vedaranyam and Topputturai on the coast of Tiruthurai poondi taluk and took at one stroke the lives of about 400 persons. The magnitude of the devastation can be gauged from the fact that 15,884 head of cattle and 25,558 sheep and goats perished while 2,11,604 houses were either destroyed or damaged in Tanjore district alone. In Ramanathapuram district, the destruction was on a larger scale. The district had on that day a rainfall of 22", which is its annual average under normal conditions, and for miles around there was a vast expanse of water submerging several villages.

The immediate task was the restoration of communications. In Tanjore district, the portable radio set of the District Superintendent of Police which had been sent to Negapatam relayed the first news of the catastrophe. Immediately armed reserve parties with their mobile radio stations were sent to the worst affected areas. Six stations were established and then a stream of messages began pouring in about the abject condition of the victims of a ruthless fate. These radio sets had to be carried on the head by the policemen themselves as the roads had been washed away and there was neck-deep water in some places. There was not even a piece of dry land in the whole area to bury the dead. With the help of the radio network, communication was established with other districts and Madras, and relief measures in the shape of bamboos, *cadjan* (palm) leaves, food-stuffs and cloth were rushed to the affected areas.

A police constable of Vedaranyam left his own parents behind to render assistance to his neighbours. He returned only to find his hut collapsed over his dead parents. Two companies of Special Armed Police sent from Madras rendered magnificent service in re-laying roads, disposing of dead bodies, clearing the debris, salvaging property and assisting the poor in rebuilding and re-thatching their houses. The

people, discovered in the policeman, their friend, philosopher and guide. The work done by the police was not something forced on them by their superiors; it was a labour of love.

In Ramanathapuram district, the tale was more harrowing. People had been marooned for more than 48 hours without food or warm clothing, before news could reach Madurai. Elathangudi was one such village. A party of 60 men under a Sergeant Major was despatched in a police lorry with rice and other provisions to that place. The party took picks and spades for clearing debris and a radio set to keep in touch with the headquarters. They could proceed for about 13 miles only stopping often on the way to remove fallen trees; their progress was finally barred by floods. The party debussed, filled their haversacks with food-stuffs and provisions and waded through the water for a distance of 9 miles.

A few more detachments of the Armed Reserve were sent in other directions and the people were rescued from the jaws of death. Communication between the isolated centres was established by wireless sets. The ties of friendship between the police and the people grew stronger when the men of one company of the Malabar Special Police laid roads for them, built huts, drained swamps and worked shoulder to shoulder with social workers from Gandhigram, and with the ordained Sanyasis and the lay disciples of the Ramakrishna Mission.

Relief work undertaken by the police during this calamity clearly indicated the scope of social service even during normal times. So in 1956 a scheme of village development by the police was taken up.

The Chingleput Armed Reserve and the Poonamallee Police undertook the laying of a two-mile road and building of 20 Harijan quarters and a school in Viriambakkam village in Chingleput district. Similar village schemes have been undertaken by the Madras City Police, the most important of them being the Nazarethpet Development Project which was opened by Sri Govind Ballabh Pant in 1958. The Kalaspeth Scheme of Madurai was another noteworthy achievement which attracted the Community-Project trainees and social workers. Coimbatore and Tiruchi have also forged ahead in these directions and this *Shramdhan* (gift of labour) has an ennobling effect on policemen.

The problem of tackling beggars had been engaging the attention of the Government for a long time. The Madras Prevention of Begging

Act (Madras Act III of 1945) provides for the sending of persons begging in public places to a special home or workhouse under the orders of a Magistrate. Infirm and diseased beggars who are not physically capable of ordinary manual labour are sent to special homes while able-bodied beggars are consigned to workhouses. One such institution is run by the Madras City Police with effect from 1-3-1954, at Melpakkam on the outskirts of Madras City. It had an initial staff of one Deputy Superintendent of Police, one Sub Inspector, 2 head constables and 12 constables. The authorized strength of inmates was 350 males and 150 females. The first step towards rehabilitation was to make the beggar conscious of his duties to the State and to society and to make him realize the fact that idleness is one of the worst vices. The second was to teach him self-reliance and to make him feel the dignity of labour. The third was to highlight the benefits of community-living. Sympathy and understanding are the key-notes of the whole organization. These make the beggar shed his complexes and develop confidence in himself.

The camp was built by the inmates themselves. They are thatched-structures which consist of dormitories for living, and workshops for weaving, tailoring, carpentry and book-binding. A dispensary with a part-time physician, a male nurse, a compounder and a female nursing orderly, is attached to the camp. The female wing of the camp is supervised by one female head warder and 6 female warders.

Police records are bound in volumes in the binding section. The carpentry workshop executes orders from Government Departments for tables and chairs. The looms for weaving are also made here. The weaving section makes shirting cloth, khaki cloth for trousers, blankets, blue dungarees for pillows, sarees and jackets. The products are used in the camp itself for making required articles of dress for inmates by the tailoring-section. There is also a pottery-branch which makes flowerpots, water-jars, and fancy articles for sale. A school for adults and children is also in existence.

The police of this State have also paid considerable attention to the problem of juvenile delinquency and have opened Boys Clubs for poor children in several places. A competitive spirit is instilled into the boys by games and sports. They are taught cleanliness and a love of art. Their spare hours are thus spent usefully and they are kept from harm's way.



S. A. P. men rebuilding huts for villagers



Garment-making Section at the Chingleput Armed-Reserve Welfare Centre

It is now generally accepted that if a policeman is to give his best to the community he should in turn be cared for. The welfare of policemen and their families is therefore a matter needing systematic attention.

As early as 1871, a fund called the Carr Compassionate Fund was started with the very laudable object of giving succour to the destitute families of deceased members of the police force. But the number of persons receiving help from this fund is very few. With a view to widen the scope of relief another fund called the Gasson Police Benevolent Fund was started in 1944. "The sole object of the fund is to relieve distress among non-gazetted officers and their families, caused by death, disease or any other emergency which in the opinion of the Central Committee requires that assistance shall be given."

But there are other amenities the provision of which will help the policemen to live a happy and contented life, such as medical facilities for families, educational concessions, recreation clubs, reading-rooms, elementary schools, parks and playgrounds, maternity centres, and cottage-industries. But the execution of all these schemes requires finance. With a view to facilitate the provision of these amenities for policemen all over the State a 'Benevolent Fund' was created in the year 1957.

The pattern of welfare work in Madras City and the districts is distribution of milk and multivitamin food received from welfare agencies, teaching handicrafts and cottage-industries, setting up recreation centres with radios, magazines and indoor games, laying out children's playgrounds, improving sanitary facilities, growing vegetable-gardens, promoting literacy and organizing Maternity and Child-Welfare Centres, in short, services which afford both financial and physical relief to policemen's families.

CHAPTER XIX

CONCLUSION

SUCH THEN is the history of the Madras Police. Born in 1859, nursed and brought up by a foster-mother, it has in the course of a hundred years grown in strength and stature. It is now an efficient instrument of tempered steel, unbreakable in its resolve to serve the Government and the people, though that service entails every day the scorning of delights and the living of laborious days. To strive and to serve will continue to be its motto in the days to come. And in so striving and serving it will seek the hand of friendship of the public and fortified with such support, will march fearlessly on into the future.

It is further fortified by the tribute paid to the police by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru who said :—

“The police perform an essential duty in the modern State. It is not always a pleasant duty. In India there is a hangover of the old days when the police was distrusted and considered something apart from the ordinary citizen.

“That, of course, is wrong and this feeling must be made to disappear.

“The policeman is as much a citizen as anyone else and he has to function as a citizen, with the rights and obligations of citizenship. He has also a particular duty which is difficult. He is among the many connecting links which the Administration has with the mass of the people of the country. That link must be a good one, otherwise there is misunderstanding and mistrust. The policeman comes in daily and intimate touch with the people. It is essential that this contact should be one of mutual trust and co-operation. No policeman can do his work adequately without the co-operation of the public. The public must also realize that it is for their benefit that the police function and therefore they should give their co-operation and friendliness to the police.

“I have found that the relations between the police and the public have been progressively improving and I have been happy to note

this. The old distrust is going and the public are beginning to realize the importance of the work that the police do."

The Union Home Minister Sri G. B. Pant, while addressing the officers of the Madras Police at the Raj Bhavan in December 1958, stated as follows :—

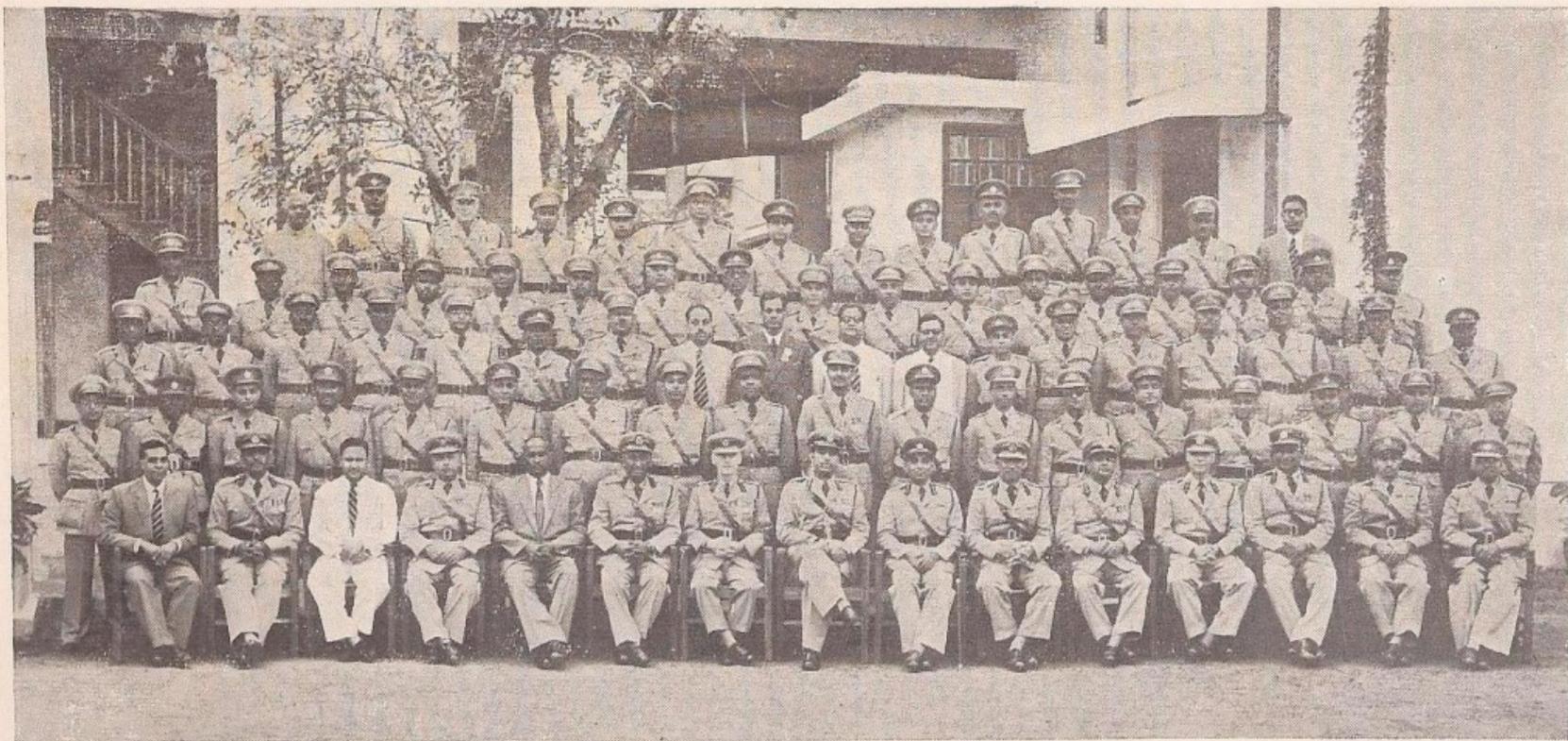
"We are now living in a free country with rights guaranteed by the Constitution. The Police has now the positive and constructive role of safeguarding the enjoyment of these rights. There is now a sense of partnership in a common endeavour. Every citizen, regardless of the position that he may be occupying has a contribution to make and to give his best to the country and the State. The gulf that there was in the days gone by between the people and the police has been bridged by greater understanding, and the public is more responsive and less unfriendly, if not completely friendly, than what it used to be in those unnatural conditions.

"You have referred to criticism that is sometimes made of the Police Force. Well, I can only say that you should not on that count be deterred from discharging your duties in a dignified and impartial manner. In a democratic State where the Press is free and freedom of speech and association is guaranteed under the Constitution, everyone of us has to be prepared for some sort of review of his actions and activities. Sometimes the remarks made or the criticisms that are offered may not be justified, and it is also conceivable, on some occasions, that the motives may not be unmixd. We need not attach undue significance to these deviations, but adhere to the path of rectitude. If we do that and if we are always actuated by a true spirit of service, we should be able to win over even our opponents.

"The Madras Police have earned a good reputation. We have given you as Captain of your team a very fine Inspector General and can look forward to better and better results."

During the Police Superintendents' Conference held in Ootacamund in May 1959, Sri K. Kamaraj, Chief Minister of Madras stated that the Government are aware of the difficulties experienced by the police in the discharge of their duties but that the police should always act in a fair and impartial manner taking the people into their confidence. Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam, the Home Minister, for his part, stated that inasmuch as the public do look to the police for protection, the

police in turn should serve the people earning their good-will at the same time. Sri C. Subramaniam, the Finance Minister, who has been good enough to provide amenities for the Force, advocated the implementation of welfare schemes for policemen and their families and stated that adequate funds would be made available for this purpose. Service of the public in as efficient and friendly a manner as possible will therefore be the aim of the Madras Police in the years to come.



Group Photograph of Gazetted Officers of the Madras Police taken on 6-9-1959.

APPENDIX I

INSPECTORS GENERAL OF POLICE
MADRAS STATE

1.	W. Robinson, (Madras Civil Service)	1858—1867.
2.	Col. C. S. Hearn	1867—1881.
3.	Col. H. D. Cloete	1881—1885.
4.	Col. T. K. Guthrie	1885—1890.
5.	Col. C. A. Porteous	1890—1894.
6.	M. Hammick, I. C. S.	1894—1900.
7.	H. A. Stuart, I. C. S.	1900—1902.
8.	W. O. Horne, I. C. S.	1902—1908.
9.	D. W. G. Cowie, I. C. S.	1908—1912.
10.	H. F. W. Gillman, I.C.S.	1912—1914.
11.	P. L. Moore, I. C. S.	1914—1919.
12.	P. B. Thomas, C. I. E.	1919—1921.
13.	F. Armitage, C. I. E.	1921—1926.
14.	F. A. Hamilton, C. I. E.	1926—1930.
15.	Sir Charles B. Cunningham, C. S. I.	1930—1938.
16.	F. Sayers, C. I. E.	1938—1940.
17.	Sir Alexander Happel, O. B. E.	1940—1942.
18.	Sir Lionel Gasson	1942—1944.
19.	L. A. Bishop, C. S. I., O. B. E.	1944—1947.
20.	C. K. Vijayaraghavan, I. C. S.	1947—1949.
21.	T. G. Sanjevi	1949—1953.
22.	J. Devasahayam	1953—1954.
23.	V. R. Rajaratnam	1954—1957.
24.	S. Balakrishna Shetty	1957

ANNEX I

INSPECTORS GENERAL OF POLICE
MADRAS STATE

1957-1958	1. W. Robinson, Madras (1st branch)
1956-1957	2. Col. C. S. Henry
1955-1956	3. Col. H. D. Linge
1954-1955	4. Col. T. K. Gubbay
1953-1954	5. Col. C. A. Parsons
1952-1953	6. M. Hanuak, I.C.S.
1951-1952	7. H. A. Srinivas, I.C.S.
1950-1951	8. W. O. Brown, I.C.S.
1949-1950	9. D. W. G. Coyle, I.C.S.
1948-1949	10. H. F. W. Gillman, I.C.S.
1947-1948	11. S. E. Moore, I.C.S.
1946-1947	12. P. B. Thomas, I.C.S.
1945-1946	13. F. Langley, I.C.S.
1944-1945	14. E. A. Hamilton, I.C.S.
1943-1944	15. S. Charles B. Cunningham, I.C.S.
1942-1943	16. E. Zaveri, I.C.S.
1941-1942	17. S. Alexander Hoggel, I.C.S.
1940-1941	18. St. Lionel Cotton
1939-1940	19. L. A. Nelson, I.C.S. (1st branch)
1938-1939	20. E. K. Vasanthan, I.C.S.
1937-1938	21. T. O. Sankar
1936-1937	22. I. Dasgupta
1935-1936	23. V. R. Rajaram
1934	24. E. Balakrishna Sanyal

APPENDIX II

COMMISSIONERS OF POLICE
MADRAS CITY

Lt. Col. J. C. Boulderson	1856—61
„ W. J. Wilson	1861—66
Major C. S. Hearn	1866—67
„ W. S. Drever	1867—68
Capt. T. E. Tennant	1868—69
Major W. S. Drever	1869—70
„ G. B. Bowen	1870—72
„ W. S. Drever	1872—72
„ G. B. Bowen	1872—73
Capt. A. Balmer	1873—74
Col. W. S. Drever	1874—75
Col. W. D. Swanston	1875—76
„ W. S. Drever	1876—78
Capt. A. Balmer	1878—78
Major F. J. Hicks	1878—79
Col. W. S. Drever	1879—80
Col. W. S. Drever	1880—80
Col. W. D. Swanston	1880—81
Col. F. J. Hicks	1881—82
Col. W. S. Drever	1882—83
Col. T. K. Guthrie	1883—83
Col. H. W. H. Cox	1883—85
Col. T. Weldon	1885—89
Col. A. T. Rolland	1889—89
Col. T. Weldon	1889—91
Col. H. W. H. Cox	1891—95
Mr F. T. Bogshawe	1895—96
Mr L. G. Arbuthnot	1896—97
Mr J. Meredith	1897—97
Mr F. J. Bogshawe	1897—97
Mr J. Meredith	1897—97
Mr A. P. Agar	1897—1900
Mr O. R. Jones	1900—02

Mr C. H. Trevers	1902—04
Mr O. R. Jones	1904—07
Mr H. F. Wilkieson	1907—10
Mr F. Armitage	1910—11
Mr P. Hannyngton	1911—13
Mr F. Armitage	1913—15
Mr P. Hannyngton	1915—17
Mr F. Armitage	1918—19
Mr P. Parangusam Naidu	1919—19
Mr C. B. N. Pelly	1920—22
Mr P. Hannyngton	1922—24
Mr H. F. Travers Philips	1925—27
Mr C. B. Cunningham	1928—29
Mr E. J. Rollandson	1930—33
Mr A. J. Happel	1934—36
Mr F. Sayers	1937—37
Mr J. Elliot	1937—38
Mr L. B. Gasson	1939—41
Mr R. Hume	1942—46
Mr E. H. Colebrook	1946—46
Mr S. W. W. Wright	1947—47
Mr A. V. Patro	1947—47
Mr V. R. Rajaratnam	1948—48
Mr A. V. Patro	1949—49
Mr V. R. Rajaratnam	1950—50
Mr J. Devasahayam	1950—53
Mr S. Parthasarathy	1953—56
Mr F. V. Arul	1956—59
Mr R. M. Mahadevan	1959—

GLOSSARY

A

- Adikari** - one who fills an office or performs duty; village headman in Malabar.
- Agraharam** - rent-free village held by brahmins.
- Ameen** - inspector, arbitrator in financial or judicial affairs.
- Amir-i-daad** - a judge of high rank.
- Amuldar** - an agent; officer; native collector of revenue.
- Aram** - dharma, virtue.
- Arasu** - royal; kingship.
- Ayagars** - principal members of a village.

B

- Batty** - rice in the husk, given as allowance; also used for *batta* which means allowance to troops &c.
- Beedi** - tobacco enclosed in leaf for smoking; a kind of Indian cigarette.

C

- Cash** - (Skrt-*Karsha*) a small coin, eighty of which make one *fanam*; now not in use.
- Catty** - a weight equal to 625 grammes.
- Cauriacarer** - principal man in the village.
- Cavelly** - what relates to guarding and watching.
- Chavadi** - wayside rest-house.
- Chira** - sari.
- Chobdar** - gate-keeper; mace-bearer.
- Chombu** - a small brass or bronze pot.
- Chowki** - the station of a guard or watchman.
- Circar** - Government; of government.
- Coballa** - a deed of sale.
- Colleries** - a tribe of people who live by thieving; Kallars.
- Conicopoly** - a village accountant; writer; clerk.
- Coopum** - a suburb occupied by working classes.
- Cowle** - agreement; a contract; engagement.
- Cumbly** - a woollen blanket.

Curnum - village accountant.

Cutwal(1) - chief officer of police in large towns and cities and the superintendent of markets. Also **Cotwal**; **Kotwal**.

D

- Darkhast** - petition; petitioning.
- Darogah** - a police inspector or superintendent.
- Deivam** - divine; superhuman.
- Desavazhi** - old chief of a *desam* (village) in Malabar.
- Dharmakartha** - trustee of religious endowments.
- Dharmasastra** - code of law; jurisprudence; Holy Writ.
- Dharshan** - interview; audience.
- Diwan-i-Mazalim** - civil court of judicature.
- Diwan-i-Qader** - civil court of judicature.
- Drona** - ancient unit of weight prevalent in 300 B.C.; four *adhakas* make one *drona*; four *prasthas* make one *adhaka*; 4 *kudumbhas* make one *prastha*; 16 *dronas* make one *vari*; 20 *dronas* make one *kumbha*; one *kumbha* is equal to 1,064 palas.
- Duffadar** - the commander of a party of horse; of peons.

E

Enam - grants of lands partially or totally rent-free.

F

- Fanam** - the denomination of a small coin long in use in South India; 42 fanams make one star pagoda; a Madras fanam was worth about 2 d or 1½ anna or 8 naye paise.
- Fasli (Fussly)** agricultural year; two of these *fasli* years are still in use, as regards revenue matters: the *fasli* of upper India under which the *fasli* year 1286 began 2nd April 1878; and that of Madras under which *fasli* year 1286 began 1st July, 1877.

Feringy - a Frank; the name by which the Portuguese were known in India; and which is generally applied to Europeans.

Follah - an yellow silk garment.

Foujdar - a magistrate of the police of a large district.

Foujdari Adalat - criminal court of law.

Futwah - decree, sentence or judgement.

G

Gaballa - see coballa.

Gentoo - people of Andhra Pradesh and their language.

Goomastha - a clerk or writer.

Goyendahs - an emissary, a spy; informer.

Gudem - an encampment; a tribal settlement.

Guru - teacher; preceptor.

H

Havildar - a native non-commissioned officer in the Indian army and, later, also in the police.

Herrenvolk - the nobles; the land ruled by the nobles.

Hirracarah - a messenger; a member of the Intelligence Department of the old Police.

I

Idam - place; position.

J

Jemadar - a native officer in the East India Company's army, and, later in the Police Department.

K

Kalam - time; opportunity.

Karuvi - tool; instrument.

Kariakarar - agent; the principal land owner of a village appointed by the rest to act as their common agent.

Kavalgar, Kavilgar, Kawilgar, Kawiligar } watchman.

Kaveli - see cavelly.

Kazi - a Mohammedan judge.

Ketti Cole - a staff of office used by kolkars in Malabar district.

Khatasbundy - a peculiar assessment of district estates for equalization of good and bad lands.

Kiratas - a hunting tribe; a hill tribe.

Kisan - farmer.

Kolkara - peons and private soldiers in Malabar.

Koori kanum - a lease on favourable terms for improvement of lands.

Kshatra dharma - chivalry.

Kudumbha - see drona.

Kumbha - see drona.

M

Madisum - mediation-fee demanded by poligars protecting circar lands.

Mahamakham - a Hindu religious festival which occurs once in twelve years.

Mahatasib - superintendent of police, during the Mohammedan rule in India.

Mamlutdar - an officer appointed by Government to the charge of a revenue division or district.

Mamool - custom; customary fee &c.,

Mandiram - incantation.

Maniyakarar - village headman.

Mansubdar - a military officer under the Mughals.

Marundhu - drugs; drugging.

Masalchi - torch-bearer; lamp-lighter.

Masha - goldsmith's weight equivalent to 17 grains.

Mathar sangham - women's association, club &c.

Men kaval } watching fees paid to

Mer padi kaval } Kavalgars.

Mochalka (-u-) - a solemn engagement; a declaration in writing.

Moochi - shoemaker.

Moonshie - a clerk or writer; a learned men.

Muttadars - individuals who hold the hereditary privileges of management in villages.

Muttsuddie - writer; accountant; clerk in public office.

N

Nadu Vazhi - a chief of a *Nad* in Malabar district.

Nagaram - a town or city; also City Council.

Naigue, Naik - a title held by the chiefs of inferior tribes; originally, the guardian of a village; a leader; chief; also a petty military officer, corporal.
Namaz - Mohammedan form of prayer.
Nayakkan - see Naigue.
Nimitham - cause, causation.
Nirk - price list.
Nizamut-Adalat - The Chief Court of Criminal Justice.

P

Padikappar - village watchers in Chola Kingdom.
Padikavalkuli - cavelly fees.
Pagoda - a gold coin formerly current in South India, called *Varaha* by Hindus, and *Hun* or *Hoon* by Mohammedans equivalent to Rs. 3.50 naye paise.
Palayam - the domain of a poligar.
Pana - a small coin in use in 300 B. C.
Panacaracheys - female slaves of husbandmen.
Panacaras - male slaves of husbandmen.
Panam - see fanam.
Panchayatdhars - members of a panchayat.
Pattanam - town or city.
Peishcush - a present from an inferior to a prince—gifts paid by local potentates to the British East India Company; tribute.
Peishkar - a court official.
Perumbadikaval - a kind of cavelly fees in Chola Kingdom.
Perwannah - royal command; decree.
Pials - raised platform of masonry under the pent roof of an Indian house.
Pollam - see palayam.
Prastha - see drona.
Purgunnah - a small district comprising several villages, e. g. Twentyfour Purgannahs.
Pygust - overseer.

R

Ravikas - woman's blouse.
Roy(a)sum - a native writer.

Russom, Russum, Russoom - customs; customary commissions; gratuities, fees, perquisites; shares of crops and ready money received by public officers as perquisites attached to their situations.

S

Sabha - Sadr Adalat, Chief Court.
Sanatanadharm - Holy Writ forming the foundation of law.
Sar-i-khel - chamberlain.
Satyagrahi - one who resorts to satyagraha.
Shastraic - according to religion.
Sibbundi - irregular native soldiers employed chiefly in service of the revenue and police departments.
Sivaratri - a Hindu festival.
Sonti-soru - illicit country arrack made by fermenting rice.
Sunkum - see coballa.

T

Talliar, Tal(I)iar(y) - a village policeman.
Tanah - police station.
Tanahdar - station house officer, subordinate to the darogah.
Tapal - post.
Tarboot - a pageant or a bier in the Moharram Procession on the ninth night of the festival.
Tengalai - a sect of Vaishnavite brahmins.
Thandhiram - trick, trickery.
Thangal - a Moplah high priest.
Tullum kaval - village watching.

U

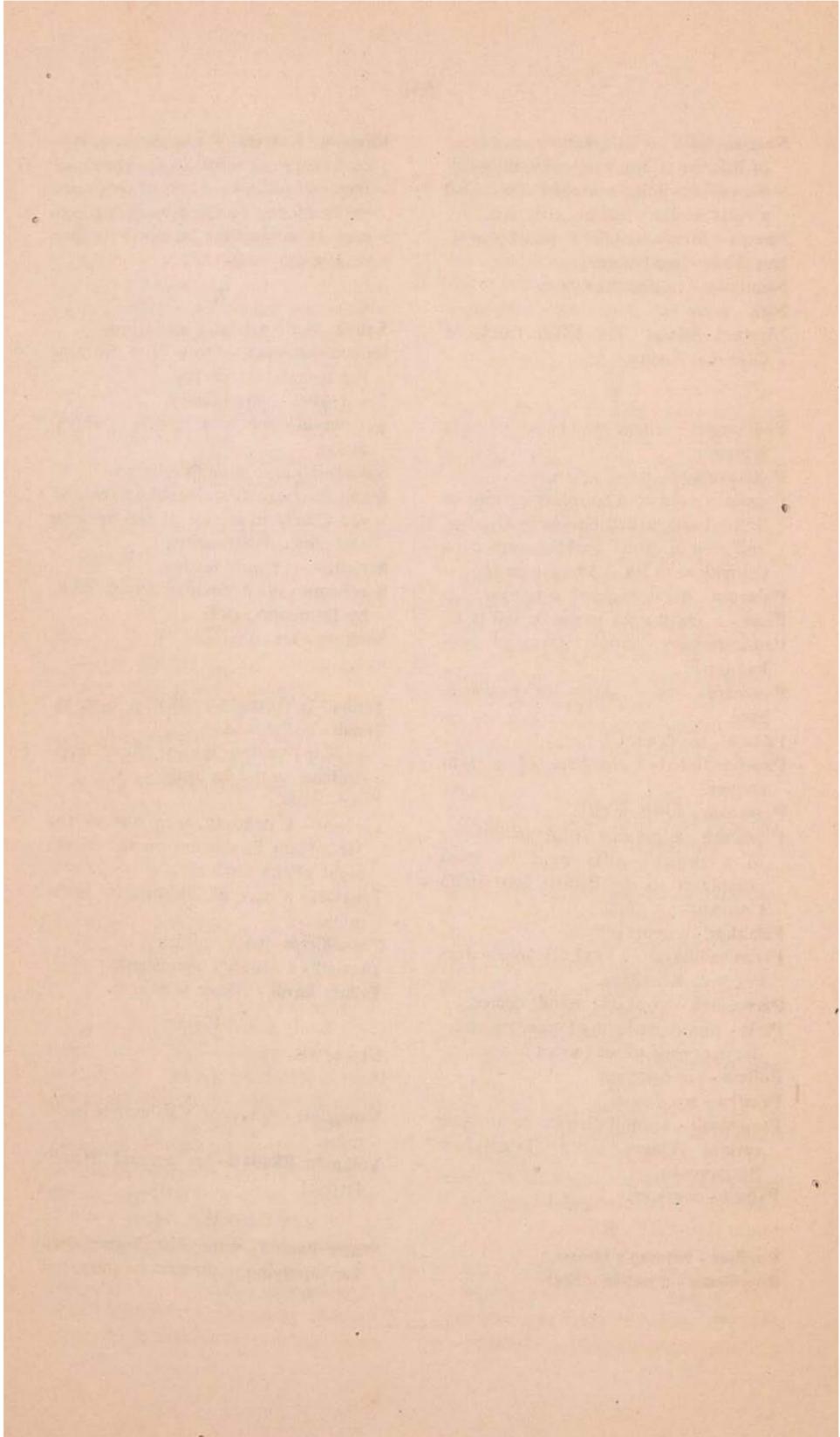
Ur - town.

V

Vadagalai - A sect of Vaishnavite brahmins.
Vaikunta Ekadasi - an annual Hindu festival.

W

Water Pandal - water distributing shed for supplying water to wayfarers.



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128	3	riotus	riotous
131	18	where apprehended	were apprehended
133	28	to the Magistrate being	to the Magistrates' being
135	6	sending them with	sending them to
136	24	drunkness	drunkenness
136	35	has been	had been
141	28 & 29	summon cases	summons cases
155	38	Interpreter to the Clerk	Interpreter and Clerk
161	7	smuggling of foods	smuggling of foodstuffs
167	25	occupying	housed in
182	24	House-feed	Horse-feed
202	22	until 1880	until 1800
208	34	boundry	boundary
213	20	a monsters	as monsters
220	22	are so	more so
221	5	again after in	again in
232	25	Phausigar,	Phausigars,
233	15	the district	the districts
237	31	puprose	purpose
239	10	now	nor
246	18	distinct	district
248	2	charges	changes
249	30	commute	commit
250	7	establishments	establishment
254	12	to do	to go
255	33	display of	display or
259	35	is nine	in nine
269	24	dealings	dealing
271	35	and Judge of	and the Judges of
274	21	serious a nature	so serious a nature
278	10	22,00,000	22,000,000
278	11	2,200	22,000
280	3	crimes offenders,	crimes ; of offenders
284	32	serious offence,	serious offence ;
350	7	Lady Wellington	Lady Willingdon
354	3	retrenchment on	retrenchment in
355	21	The substitute of	The substitution of
358	1	Mr L. Witainshaw	Mr L. Withinshaw
361	38	Mr Thorme	Mr Thorne
362	38	extended	intended
395	2	in 1823	in 1853
431	26	for 32 years,	for 35 years,