

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PROCEEDINGS



OF THE

UNITED PROVINCES:

JANUARY 1917.

	Page.
Rereais. .. .. .	1
The Proceedings of Order .. .. .	1
The Machinery of Order: .. .. .	3
The Machinery of Order: United and Provinces Police British India .. .. .	12
Preseedors of Fecmintors .. .. .	13

# The Machinery of Order: United Provinces Police Proceedings

A synthesis of administrative, social, and structural reforms in British India

CRIMINOLOGICAL INSIGHTS BY DR. MRIDUL SRIVASTAVA

Trade and Resurues: .. .. .	41
Prottiace os of eiotriltbriuos .. .. .	43
The Peticed of Order .. .. .	45
The Simulation of Ehesiants, Direolimrs, and structural	

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PROCEEDINGS FOR  
JANUARY, 1917.

POLICE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
UNITED PROVINCES:  
JANUARY 1917

# The Machinery of Order: United Provinces Police Proceedings

- I.—Abolition of ...  
Provin ...
- II.—Proclamation of a gang of burglars in the Lakhimpur dist.  
Kheri district, under the Crim. Act.
- III.—Revision of the pay of constables  
United Provinces ...
- IV.—Proclamation of a gang of railway ...  
under the Criminal Tribes Act
- V.—Substitution of cash paid  
pur district
- VI.—Proclamation of the Bada  
criminal tribe
- VII.—Remunerative and deputation allowances to count towards leave  
and pension allowances

A synthesis of administrative, social,  
and structural reforms in British India

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# Police Proceedings: Administrative & Criminal Reforms (January 1917)

## ADMINISTRATIVE & FINANCIAL REFORMS



### Systematic Pay Revision for Constables

Foot constables' pay restructured to start at 8 Rupees per month upon recruitment.



### Rs. 25 Kotwal Allowance Controversy

Debate focused on whether city Kotwal allowances were "remunerative" or "compensatory" local allowances.



### Abolition of Road Chaukidari

Government sanctioned the reduction and eventual abolition of the road chaukidari establishment.

## Rural Police Reallocation Scale (Gorakhpur)

 3,074,035  
Rural Population

 8,448  
Total Villages

 5,630  
Required Chaukidars

Illustrating the massive scale of rural police reallocation in the Gorakhpur district.

## LAW ENFORCEMENT & CRIMINAL CLASSIFICATION



### Criminal Tribes Act Proclamations

The Badak tribe and specific gangs legally declared "criminal tribes" for monitoring.

### Suppression of the "Gutti Gang"

Nine specific members of a Lakhimpur burglary gang were proclaimed under the Act.



### Targeted Railway Thief Suppression

Formal proceedings initiated against a gang of railway thieves operating in Agra.



# Decoding the Administrative Ledger

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

### A

PROCEEDINGS FOR  
JANUARY, 1917.

### POLICE DEPARTMENT.

	Page.
I.—Abolition of the road chaukidari establishment in the United Provinces...	1
II.—Proclamation of a gang of burglars in the Lakhimpur city, Kheri district, under the Criminal Tribes Act...	3—10
III.—Revision of the pay of constables and head constables in the United Provinces...	11
IV.—Proclamation of a gang of railway thieves of the Agra district under the Criminal Tribes Act...	19—17
V.—Substitution of cash paid chaukidars for goraitis in the Gorakhpur district...	19—30
VI.—Proclamation of the Badak tribe of certain districts to be a criminal tribe...	31—22
VII.—Remunerative and deputation allowances to count towards leave and pension allowances...	33—36

The official January 1917 proceedings present a scattered list of seven isolated actions. Analyzed together, they reveal the three operational pillars of the colonial police state:

## 1. Social Surveillance

The expansion of the Criminal Tribes Act to target both itemspansious both specified gangs and entire communities. (Synthesizing Items II, IV, VI, VI).

## 2. Rural Restructuring

The massive, mathematically driven overhaul of village watchmen in Gorakhpur. (Item V).

## 3. Force Administration

Internal battles over pay scales, provincial deficits, and the social standing of officers. (Items III, VII).

# The Broad Net of “Criminality”

In January 1917, the Lieutenant-Governor utilized Sections 3, 4, and 10(b) of the Criminal Tribes Act (III of 1911) across three completely distinct groups, demonstrating the law’s fluid utility for social control:

## Urban Gangs

Lakhimpur City. Nine specific men categorized as a “gang of burglars” based on their past shared convictions.

**PROCLAIMED**

## Industrial Thieves

Agra District. A targeted proclamation against a “gang of railway thieves” exploiting colonial infrastructure.

**PROCLAIMED**

## Entire Communities

A blanket proclamation against the entire “Badak tribe of certain districts,” branding an ethnographic group as inherently criminal.

**PROCLAIMED**

# Profiling the Lakhimpur Burglars

How does a group of men become a 'Criminal Tribe'? The state relied on 'Statement B: Association by conviction in batches.' By tracking who went to prison together under Section 110, the police manufactured a formal, permanent gang identity.

Target 1: Khair-ud-din alias Gutti (Pathan, age 40). Convicted 1901, 1904, 1905, 1908.

Target 2: Wafati Khan (Pathan, age 40). Frequently jailed alongside Gutti.

Target 5: Sakka (Sheikh, age 30).

Target 9: Sukhai (Chamar, age 48).

	Khair-ud-din alias Gutti	Wafati no. 2	Husain Ali no. 3	Pahalwan no. 4	Sakka no. 5	Shakur no. 6	Ghulam Husain no. 7	Rangai no. 8	Nizam-ud-din no. 9	Parmeshwar Din no. 10	Baldeogir no. 11	Ramratan no. 12	Sukhai no. 13
16th December, 1901	✓	✓			✓						✓		
5th July, 1904	✓	✓	Yes	Yes	✓								
2nd October, 1905	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Yes	Yes	Yes					
17th October, 1908	✓	✓	Yes	✓	✓	✓	Yes		✓	Yes			
2nd March, 1910					✓	✓	Yes	Yes	✓	✓	Yes	Yes	
19th September, 1914									✓	✓			✓
19th February, 1916									✓				✓
18th January, 1913													✓

Notice the cross-caste, cross-religious composition. The "tribe" was not genetic, but a bureaucratic grouping of repeat offenders.

# The Mechanics of Inescapable Registration

Applying Section 10(b) and Rules 1 and 6 created a legally binding dragnet. Secretary S. P. O'Donnell issued strict instructions to ensure no member of a targeted group could slip through the cracks.

## (The "Misunderstood" Rules)

In Jail? "Registered even though they are absent in jail." Notices served directly to prison cells via the Government Press.

Proclamation

Step 1: Notification.  
Mandatory registration of residence.

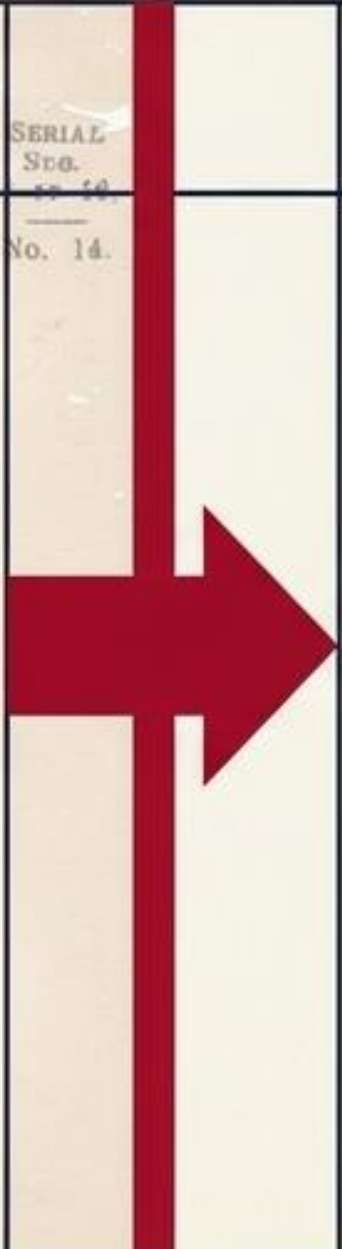
Step 2: Movement Tracking.  
Any intended absence or change of residence must be legally notified to the authorities.

## (The "Misunderstood" Rules)

Missing? "Untraced at their residences... shall be registered." Notices served via Criminal Procedure Code summons, triggering immediate penalties upon discovery.

# Re-engineering the Watchmen of Gorakhpur

In 1915-1917, Mr. Wahl, Officer on Special Duty, oversaw a massive transition in rural policing. The traditional system was replaced by a rigid, heavily calculated colonial apparatus.

The Old System: Goraitis		The New System: Chaukidars
<p><small>PROB. NOS. 29, 30, 31</small></p> <p><small>1917.</small></p> <p><small>Serial No. 14.</small></p> <p>No. 35. No. 1164/XX-30, dated the 8th July, 1915. From—P. U. ALLEN, Esq., OffBelating Commissioner, Gorakhpur division.</p> <p><b>Traditional village watchmen.</b></p> <p><small>1914, I have the honour to submit the proposals for the replacement of goraitas by chaukidars in the Gorakhpur district.</small></p> <p><small>2. It will be seen that these proposals have been made by Mr. Wahl, I.C.S.,</small></p> <p><b>Often remunerated through rent-free land (jagirs).</b></p> <p><small>it was stated that an estimate was made in 1900 that 2,500 chaukidars would be required in addition to the existing force of 2,386 when the goraitas were abolished, and that the annual cost should be Rs. 1,17,433.</small></p> <p><b>Uncalculated allocation leading to “a large number of small villages” without uniform protection.</b></p> <p><small>order of reference no. 1009/XX-20, dated the 5th March, 1914, to prepare a joint magistrate should be put on special duty, and that he should not only deal with the allocation but be entrusted with the responsible and</small></p>		<p><b>Cash-paid rural police.</b></p> <p><b>Geographically mapped into precise circles by station officers.</b></p> <p><b>Total force required: 5,630 men.</b></p> <p><b>Total annual cost: Rs. 1,17,433.</b></p>

# Calculating the 'Limit of Safety'

How does an empire decide how many police a district needs? The administration explicitly rejected earlier 1896 estimates, declaring them unsafe. Mr. Wahl calculated the "irreducible minimum" required to maintain colonial order.

**Total Rural Population (1911 Census): 3,074,000**

**Total Proposed Force: 5,630 Chaukidars**

**=**

**An average of 546 persons per Chaukidar**

$$\frac{3,074,000}{5,630} = 546.003$$

Basti avg: 568 ✓  
Azamgarh avg: 637 ✓

Waterlogged conditions

$$\frac{3,074,000}{5,630} = 546.003 \quad \checkmark$$

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{sum } 50 \\ + 15,944 \\ - 2,590 \\ \hline 3,631 \end{array} \quad \checkmark$$

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Gorakhpur: } 3,075,035 \\ \hline 2,590 \end{array}$$

Difference:

Irreducible minimum ✓

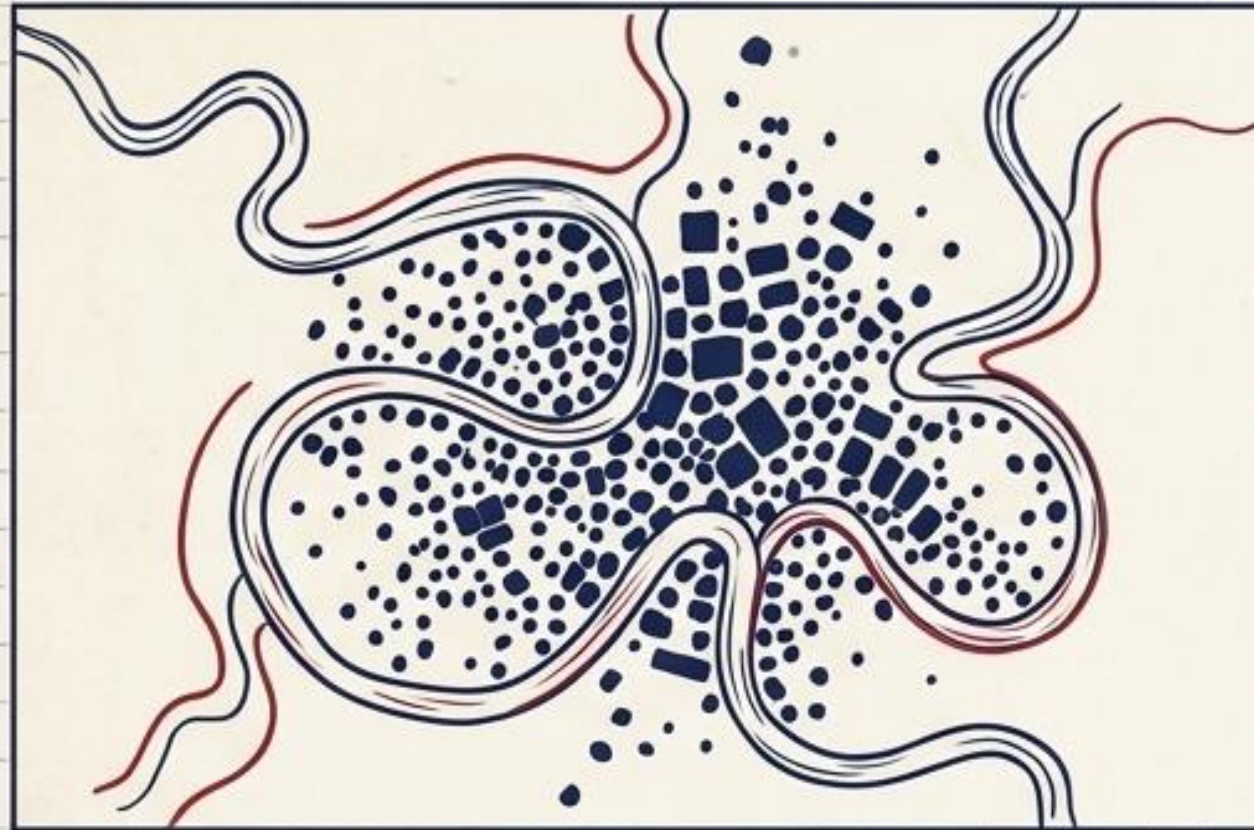
Basti avg: 568 ✓  
Azamgarh:  $\frac{637}{637}$  ✓

District Magistrate C. A. Silberrad and Mr. Wahl firmly agreed: pushing the ratio any higher would breach the threshold of safety, especially given the rapidly increasing population in the northern tracts.

# Geographic Friction against the Formula

The 546-person average was an illusion of uniformity. Ground-level realities forced the administration to heavily adapt the mathematics to local geography.

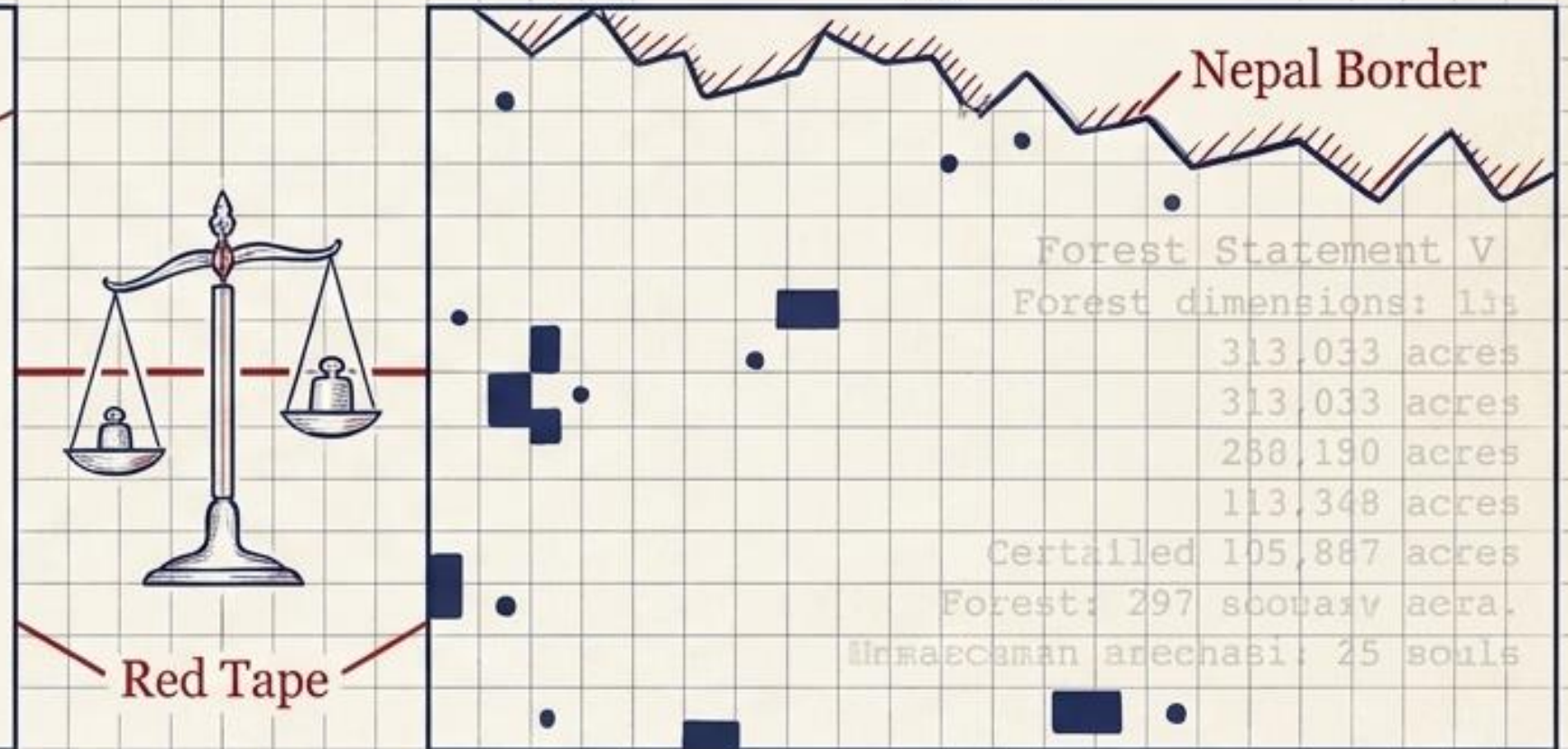
## Bansgaon Tahsil



Only 540 persons per chaukidar.

Why? Affected by the Sarju, Rapti, and Kuano rivers creating impassable loops. Packed with small villages. The population is 'notoriously quarrelsome,' requiring tighter surveillance. Each watchman averages 2.5 villages.

## Maharajganj Tahsil



665 acres per chaukidar (over a square mile), averaging 494 souls.

The opposite extreme. A large, thinly populated forest area bordering Nepal.

# The Illusion of Legibility

Mapping 8,448 villages onto 5,630 chaukidars revealed the limits of colonial data collection. The 1911 Census was deeply flawed, forcing police to build custom "composite circles" through localized guesswork.

4. The population figures are those of the 1911 census so far as they ascertained. The confusion of names in the district is so great that it was a difficulty that the correct figures were ascertained for many villages; while in some cases the census records did not show villages at all and the figures of the census had to be taken. The population figures therefore as shown in the detailed lists do not agree with the actual population. I have corrected the figures for thanas (so far as accuracy is obtainable). In statement no. III I have grouped together whole thanas whose area coincide approximately with the table

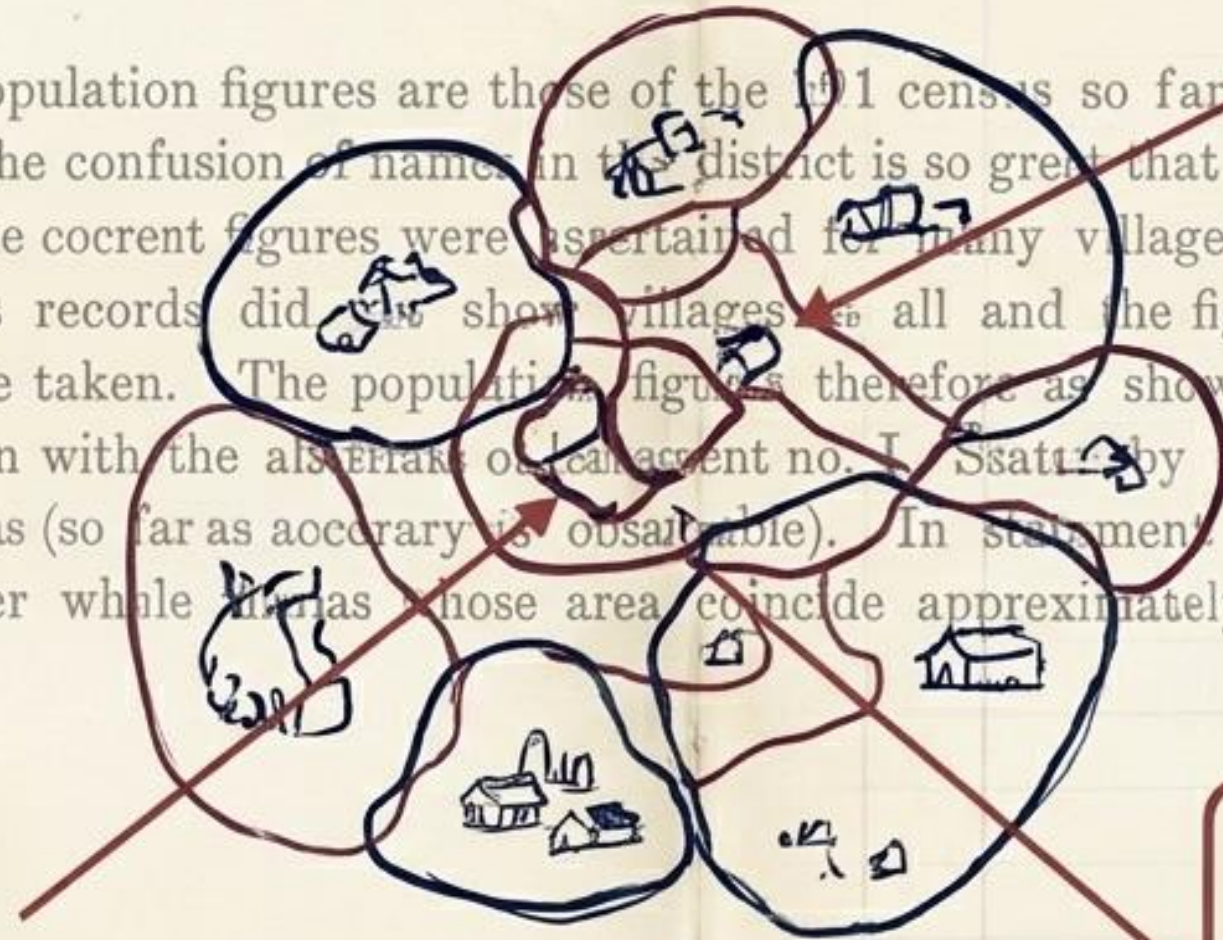
**Name Confusion:** Villages shared identical names just miles apart (e.g., three "Munderas" in thana Tarkulwa alone). Locals used entirely different names than the survey maps.

## Red Tape

**The Extremes:** Khukhundu consisted of 29 fragmented hamlets averaging just 87 acres each. Meanwhile, Amwa (Bishunpura) was a massive single entity covering 5,366 acres with 9,595 inhabitants.

## Red Tape

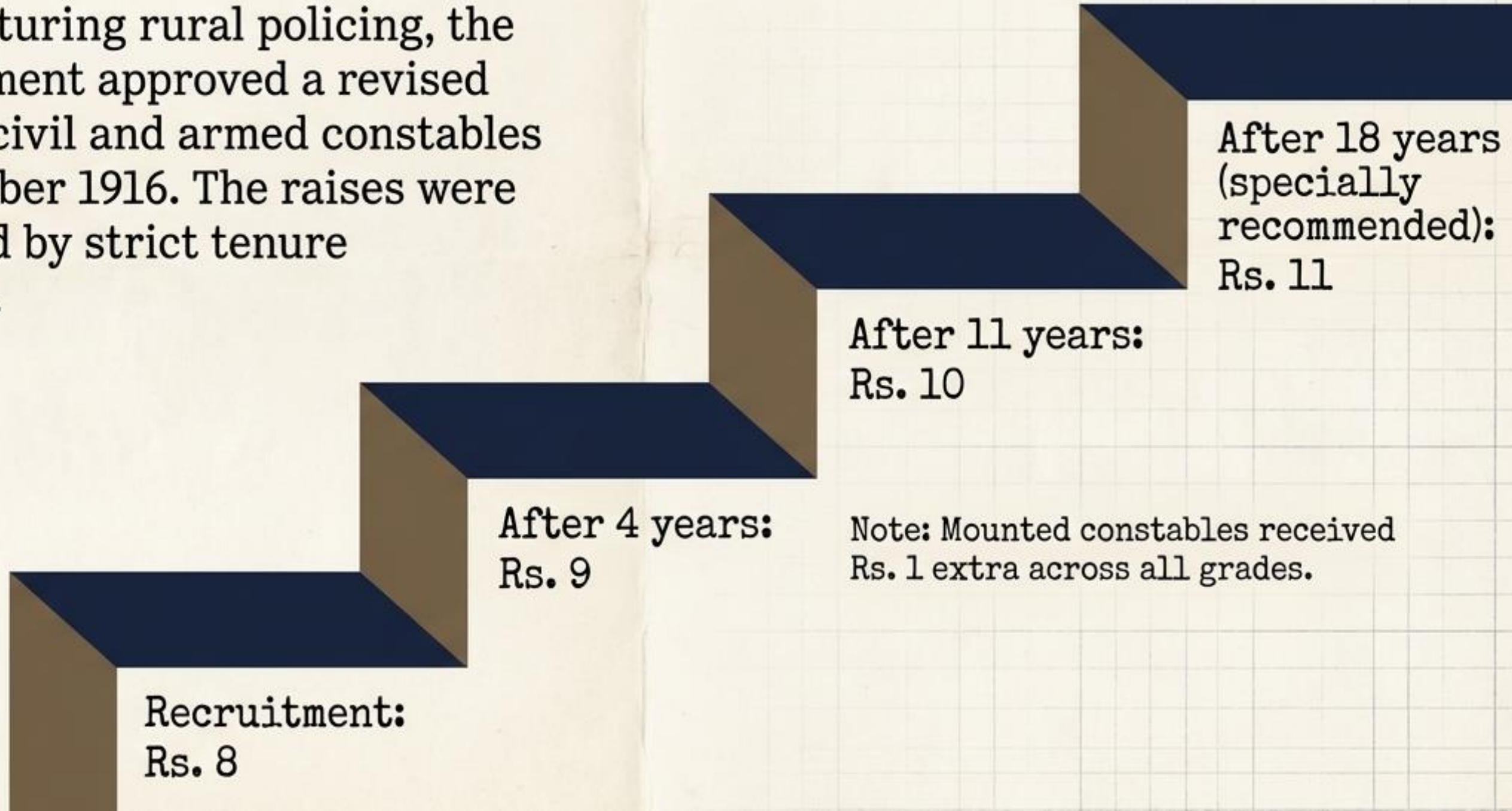
**The Fix:** Keeping permanent records at each thana listing every specific 'tola' (hamlet) to remove all doubt of a chaukidar's jurisdiction.



# The Value of a Constable

**The Deficit Anxiety:** The Government of India explicitly warned Sir James Meston that this revision could not be used as an excuse to budget for a "provincial deficit" in future years.

While restructuring rural policing, the Home Department approved a revised pay scale for civil and armed constables effective October 1916. The raises were meager, bound by strict tenure requirements.



Note: Mounted constables received Rs. 1 extra across all grades.

# The Kotwal's Allowance Dispute

A fierce bureaucratic debate erupted over a Rs. 25 monthly allowance granted to the Kotwals (city police inspectors) of six major cities: Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Agra, and Bareilly.

## The Accountant-General's View

classification as 'remunerative' or 'duty' allowances.

Strict interpretation. It is a 'conveyance allowance' meant strictly to cover the physical cost of travel and transport within large cities.

... duty still used in the allowances of police inspectors or navel, such cities as must allowance for conveyance or 'good travel' is a allowance for maintenance."

... appendix 26 to the Civil Service Regulations



Rs. 25

## The Inspector-General's View

originated in the former 'good conduct allowances' granted for 'long and satisfactory service'... (G. O. no. 1229, dated the 23rd August, 1892, paragraph 7).

It must be classed as

'remunerative' or 'duty' pay.

It originated in 1892 as a good conduct allowance for long, satisfactory service, not just for maintaining transport.

... not the expensiveness of living or the need for maintaining transport but the additional dignity and responsibility

# Funding 'Social Dignity'

The Government of India intervened, determining that the Rs. 25 allowance was fundamentally tied to maintaining the colonial hierarchy, not just paying for a horse or carriage.

The allowance was retained specifically to compensate for the "additional dignity and responsibility imposed on an inspector by the charge of a large city."



It was deemed necessary for “keeping up a proper social position” in major urban centers.

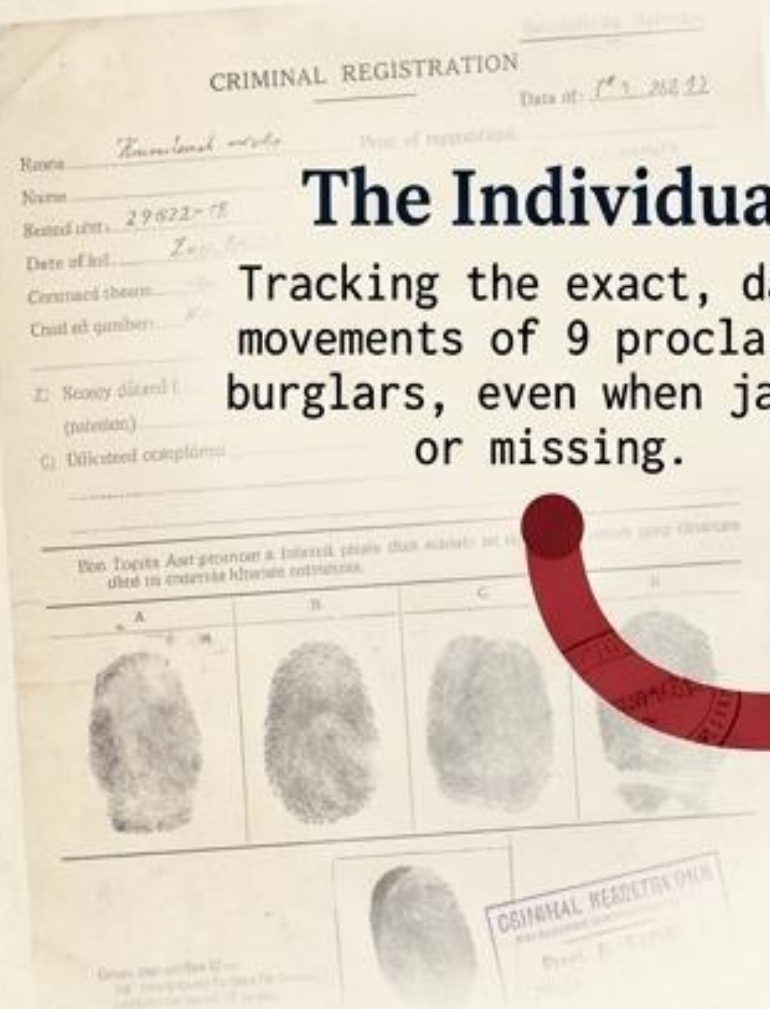
**Outcome: Classified officially as a ‘local allowance’ rather than strict duty pay, acknowledging the inherent political cost of maintaining authority.**

Commission's report, the  
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18th July, 1900, and to  
department) resolution  
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purposes of the letter  
department no. 394-E.Z  
2. In paragraph B  
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the ground that the of  
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# The Anatomy of Calculable Control

The January 1917 proceedings are not isolated bureaucratic chores. Read together, they reveal a colonial administration obsessed with rendering the Indian landscape entirely legible and calculable.



## The Individual

Tracking the exact, daily movements of 9 proclaimed burglars, even when jailed or missing.

STATISTICAL LEDGERS.  
(Population & calculation of the Gorakhpur restructure)

Class	Non	Wak	Total	Population
...	500,000	350,000	100,000	...
...	30	30	10	...
...	18,200	15,590	38,830	...
...	3,300	8,320	36,606	...
...	13,200	18,900	10,600	...
...	4,000	3,650	3,096	...
...	4,500	4,880	3,003	...
...	1,300	3,150	5,650	...
...	300	158	210	...
...	1,300	1,000	3,030	...
...	13,000	50,000	31,130	...
...	30,400	38,260	53,140	...
...	20,000	15,560	36,360	...
...	11,000	15,900	56,430	...
...	2,000	8,540	6,857	...
...	5,000	3,000	3,900	...
...	360	468	510	...
...	565,806	835,870	1323,800	...

## The Landscape

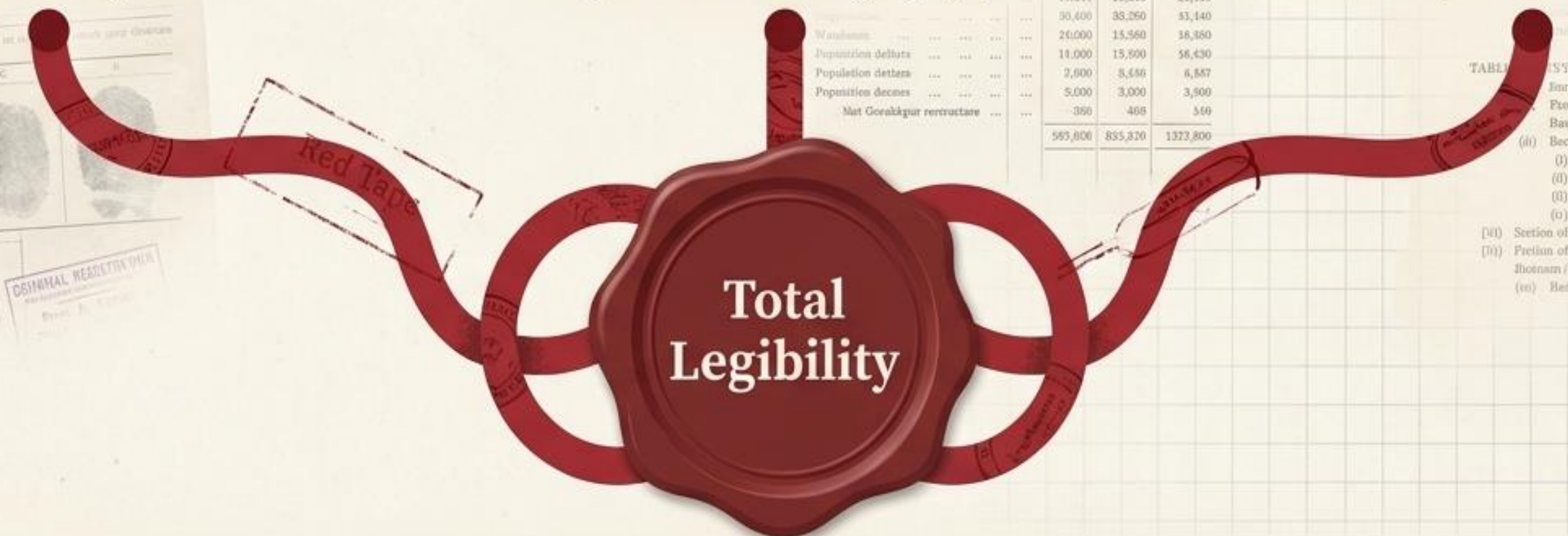
Plotting a mathematical grid of watchmen, mandating exactly one guard for every 546 villagers regardless of the geography.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

## The Hierarchy

Precisely calibrating the "social dignity" of a city Kotwal for exactly 25 Rupees a month.

	Page
...	1
...	7
...	8
...	15
...	14
...	16
...	30
...	28
...	33
...	37
TABLE OF CONTENTS	95
Section of Cefarens	96
Section of ...	101
Section of ...	102
(ii) Section of ...	181
(i) ...	110
(ii) ...	142
(iii) ...	109
(iv) ...	100
(vi) ...	180
(vii) ...	200
...	329
(viii) ...	101



Whether managing rural populations, urban crime, or their own officers, the British colonial state relied on a relentless application of categorization, mathematics, and red tape to maintain order.