

# COLLECTION OF PAPERS

RELATING TO

## THE SELECTION AND TRAINING OF CANDIDATES

FOR

### THE CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA.

VOLUME III.



CALCUTTA

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**XII.**

Examination and training in England of candidates for the Indian Civil Service, and the question of the limit of age.

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PUBLIC PROCEEDINGS, JUNE 1875, Nos 202 & 202A.

I.

From Her Majesty's SECRETARY OF STATE for India, to His Excellency the Right Honourable the GOVERNOR GENERAL of India in Council,—No 47, dated India Office, London, the 8th April 1875, No 202 .

The subject of the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India has been for some months under my consideration I have received communications relative to the present system from the Very Reverend the Dean of Christ Church and from the Reverend the Master of Balliol in the University of Oxford, and from the present Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge I have addressed a letter to the Civil Service Commissioners inviting their attention to the general subject, and I have received from them in reply an elaborate report .

2 Copies of these documents I now forward for the consideration of Your Excellency in Council, and I desire to be furnished, at as early a date as possible, with an expression of your opinion, both as to the method in which candidates shall, in the first instance, be selected, and as to the manner in which those who are selected shall be trained for service in India, together with any observations which a perusal of the correspondence may suggest to Your Lordship in Council .

3 I have forwarded copies of these papers to the Governments of Madras and Bombay for consideration .

4 In the meantime I propose to enter into correspondence with the universities for the purpose of ascertaining whether the difficulty of committing the training of the selected candidates to those or similar institutions which the Commissioners apprehend has any existence or can be overcome.

II

Correspondence between the India Office and the Civil Service Commission, respecting the Selection and No 202A Training of Candidates for the Civil Service of India,—July 1874 to March 1875 \*

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1

From Sir LOUIS MALLET, C B, Under Secretary of State for India, to T WALBROND, Esq, C B, Secretary, Civil Service Commissioners,—dated India Office, the 31st July 1874

I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to ask the attention of the Civil Service Commissioners to the following observations.

\* Referred to in Public letter\* to India, No 47, dated 8th April 1875, paragraph 2

\* *Vide Supra.*

2 The system of competitive examinations under which appointments are No 202A. made to the Covenanted Civil Service of India has existed for not much less than twenty years, and the more recent system under which candidates successful in the competitive examination are trained in certain special branches of study under the supervision of the Civil Service Commissioners has now been ten years in operation. During this period, as the Commissioners are doubtless themselves aware, various objections have been taken to one or other or both of these systems, and the Marquis of Salisbury considers that the time has now arrived at which it is his duty to form a distinct judgment on the weight which should be attached to a certain number of these objections. Lord Salisbury has no doubt that, among the materials for an opinion, some of the most valuable will be derived from the experience of the Civil Service Commissioners, to whom, he is well aware, the Indian Government is greatly indebted for the pains and thought which they have bestowed on the conduct and improvement of the various examinations which candidates for the Indian Civil Service are called upon to pass. In stating the objections to which he has referred, Lord Salisbury wishes it to be clearly understood that he is not giving or suggesting any opinion as to their value, and that at present he is merely seeking to avail himself of that "advice and assistance" which he is required by law to obtain from the Civil Service Commissioners when dealing with this most important subject.

3 The Secretary of State does not think that there would be any advantage in asking the Commissioners to consider that class of objections which are aimed at the principle itself of selection for the public service by competition. To this class, however, the objection does not necessarily belong which is founded on the alleged tendency of the existing system to encourage methods of special preparation for these examinations, neither intended nor calculated to impart sound and well-digested knowledge, but directed solely to obtaining the largest possible number of marks from the examiners. Lord Salisbury believes that the Commissioners agree with him that this is a real danger attending competitive examinations, and he supposes that certain changes which have been made from time to time by the Commissioners themselves in the examinations for the Indian Civil Service have been designed to obviate it. He would now be glad to learn whether, in the opinion of the Commissioners, this objectionable system of preparation prevails to any mischievous extent, and in particular he would wish to know whether the Commissioners see any evidence of its prevalence in the advertisements repeatedly published by particular teachers of the large number of successful candidates trained in their establishments. If the Commissioners are of opinion that it prevails to a greater extent than could be wished, they will, perhaps, be good enough to say whether they think it could be prevented or defeated by further changes in the examination. Certain peculiarities of the examination have, in fact, been described as encouraging it. It has been said that the range of subjects is too wide, that some of them are not regularly taught or studied in English schools or not in the best of them, that some raise questions or controversies not yet settled, that on some of them all the knowledge practically accessible to young students is contained in books of moderate compass which can be mastered by a comparatively slight effort of the memory. It has further been alleged that the system of spreading the marks over all the subjects tends to promote superficial study of all or several of them, and it has been suggested that no candidate should be permitted to take up more than a limited number of subjects, or, again, that a certain number of appointments should be appropriated to each branch of knowledge, and should be obtainable by high proficiency in that alone. These are among the objections and suggestions on which the Secretary of State hopes to have the opinion of the Civil Service Commissioners.

4 Lord Salisbury further finds that some persons, who do not advance fundamental objections to the competitive system, have doubted whether its success, as applied to the Indian Civil Service, has been more than partial. It has been alleged that a certain number, at all events, of the selected candidates are not of the intellectual calibre which might be naturally expected from the greatness of the prize competed for. Lord Salisbury would be glad of the opinion of the Commissioners on this point, and desires to know whether, if they allow the fact, they concur in the reason assigned for the comparative unattractiveness of the Indian Civil Service to young men of high ability as well as studious habits. It has been said that such young men are unwilling to forego the advantages of a university education, and that under the present arrangements of the Commissioners it is, if not impossible, at any rate extremely difficult, to combine study at Oxford or Cambridge or any other university of great reputation, with the course of preparation required for success in the competition, or with the subsequent training in more technical subjects to which the rules now in force oblige the successful candidates to submit themselves. Several expedients have been suggested for attracting to the Indian Civil Service a certain number of the young men alleged to be at present kept from it by their preference for a university career, and among other things, it has been proposed to diminish the

number of appointments given away by general competition in London, and to No 202A distribute a certain number of appointments among such universities in Great Britain as are known to apply searching competitive tests to their own students. These last appointments would then become prizes open to all students of the selected Universities who had not reached a certain limit of age, the Universities nominating their own examiners, and conducting the examinations on the principles which they are in the habit of applying to similar competitions. The successful candidates would then, together with those selected by the general competition in London, pass under whatever system of subsequent training might be ultimately determined upon. Lord Salisbury has no doubt that the Commissioners will favour him with their views on this scheme, whether, if attempted to be carried out, it would require any change in the law, is not a question which he will at present enter upon.

5 The foregoing observations have reference to the original selection of candidates for the Indian Civil Service by competition, but it has further been strongly pressed on the Secretary of State that there are objections to the system under which the candidates are brought in the interval between the competitive examination and their departure for India. It is not questioned that the progressive examinations which they are required to pass are well calculated to test their advance in knowledge, or that the acquaintance which they obtain with the practical administration of justice is likely to be of value to them, but it is alleged that these advantages are gained at the expense of all moral securities, the candidates being practically left to conduct their own studies in a great city without supervision of any kind. It is also said that the present system sacrifices, and not of necessity inevitably, some important advantages possessed by that which it supersedes. The period of life passed by the older generation of Indian civilians at Haileybury may not exactly correspond with that passed under the Civil Service Commissioners by the young men now entering the Covenanted Service, but it is alleged that the community of tastes and interests, the common traditions, and the knowledge of the habits and characters of contemporaries which were produced by common collegiate life, were of the greatest importance to the civilians educated at Haileybury in their subsequent Indian service, and that they would be of equal importance to the present civilians, if they could be obtained. Among several suggested remedies for this alleged drawback on the value of the existing system, it has been proposed that a college, having a general resemblance to that recently founded by the Secretary of State in Council at Cooper's Hill, should be established for the reception of young civilians during the two years devoted to technical preparation in England. Another suggestion has been that this college should be placed at Oxford or Cambridge, under whatever arrangements should be agreed upon between the Secretary of State and one or other of these universities, and a third is that the pecuniary allowance now made by the Secretary of State in Council to each successful candidate should be converted into a sort of scholarship, tenable by residence during two years at some college at Oxford or Cambridge or elsewhere, at which moral responsibility for the conduct of the students is undertaken, and rules of discipline are enforced. In order further to facilitate this change of arrangement, it has been proposed to require candidates to pass the competitive examination at or about the age of 18, and this proposal is also defended on the ground that competitive tests of general education are better adapted to an earlier period of life than to a later, and that the age at which the young civilians now proceed to India is too advanced. Lord Salisbury hopes for the opinion of the Commissioners on these alleged objections and suggested remedies, and in regard to the latter he would be glad to know which of them is most consistent with the preservation of the advantages obtained through the system now in force. It is hardly necessary for him to add that any suggestion of improvement, not herein indicated, which the Commissioners may themselves think fit to make, will receive his most careful attention.

6 The pecuniary allowances now made to the successful candidates during two years previous to their departure for India have been referred to in the last paragraph, but I am to state that arguments against these allowances have been submitted to the Secretary of State. It has been pointed out that the appointments reserved by Statute to the Covenanted Civil Service in India are much more lucrative, and on the whole more dignified, than those open to the officers of the Indian Public Works Department, yet the Secretary of State in Council allows a sum amounting to 150/ a year to young men successful in the competition for the Civil Service, while young men who have obtained admission to the Indian Engineer's College at Cooper's Hill themselves pay precisely the same amount, or 150/ a year, towards the expenses of their training. There is no more reason, it is urged, why the Indian Government shall be put to expense in educating one class of its servants than in educating another, and no more reason why it should pay for the technical training of young civilians than for the general education which enabled them to succeed in the competition. I am to ask in what light the objections to these payments strike the Civil Service

Commissioners, and also whether they have any reason for believing in the No 202A correctness of a report which has reached the India Office, that the persons who undertake to give special preparation for the competitive examination enter into bargains to train young men, without payment in case of failure, but on condition of themselves receiving these allowances in the event of success.

2

From T WALBOND, Esq., C.B., Secretary, Civil Service Commissioners, to SIR LOUIS MALLETT, C.B., Under Secretary of State for India,—dated India Office, London, the 5th August 1874.

I am directed by the Civil Service Commissioners to acknowledge the receipt of your letter\* of the 31st ultimo, on the subject of the selection and subsequent training of candidates destined for the Civil Service of India.

2. In reply I am to request that you will state to the Secretary of State for India in Council that the Commissioners will at all times gladly lend any assistance in their power towards improving the system under which civilians are appointed, and that with this view they will give their best consideration to the important questions raised in your letter. They desire me, however, to observe that it would materially assist them in suggesting remedies for any defects which may exist in the system, if they were in possession of information showing in what manner the civilians hitherto appointed have acquitted themselves when brought to the test of actual work. It may be remembered that some years ago an inquiry was instituted on this point, the results of which, as stated in a despatch† of the Government of India, dated 5th May 1866, were, on the whole, favourable to the present system, so far as it had then been developed, and if any similar statement exists, or can be obtained, of the experience which has been gained since that time, the Commissioners would be glad if they might be made acquainted with the substance of it.

3

From SIR LOUIS MALLETT, C.B., Under Secretary of State for India, to T WALBOND, Esq., C.B., Secretary, Civil Service Commissioners,—dated India Office, London, the 7th September 1874.

I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter‡ of the 5th ultimo, asking whether any statement exists in the India Office of a later date than 1866, showing the manner in which the civilians appointed under the competitive system have acquitted themselves when brought to the test of actual work.

In reply I am directed to state, for the information of the Civil Service Commissioners, that the Secretary of State in Council would gladly communicate to the Civil Service Commissioners any information in his possession upon the question to which they advert, but that no such reports exist.

4

From LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, Under Secretary of State for India, to T WALBOND, Esq., C.B., Secretary, Civil Service Commissioners,—dated India Office, London, the 11th December 1874.

With reference to my letter\* of the 31st of July last, I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to forward, for the consideration of the Civil Service Commissioners, copy of a letter from the Very Reverend the Dean of Christ Church on the subject of the competition for the Civil Service of India.

The Marquis of Salisbury will be glad to be favoured with an expression of the opinion of the Commissioners on the subject of this letter.

ENCLOSURE.

From H G LIDDELL, Esq., Chairman of the Committee of Council for reporting on Indian Education, to His Grace the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, Secretary of State for India,—dated Christ Church, Oxford, the 17th November 1874.

The University of Oxford has felt it to be a grievance that the age at which young men are now selected as candidates for the Indian Civil Service practically prevents aspirants from coming to the university. Our Council would have addressed Your Lordship at an earlier date on this subject, but they felt that the terrible question of the famine must have required all your attention. At the beginning of this term this objection had passed away, and a committee was appointed to report upon the matter, of which I have the honour to be chairman.

2 We have just learned that Your Lordship has already brought before the Civil Service Commissioners some points in the examinations for India which

\* See page 1.

† Not printed.

‡ *Vide Supra.*



seemed to require attention We hope that the question of age above-mentioned No 202A may be one of them

3 If not, we venture to ask you to consider whether 18, or at latest 19, might not be fixed as the latest age at which candidates might offer themselves for selection

4. Were this allowed, selected candidates would be able to come to the university and obtain a degree The first public examination (commonly called moderations) may now be passed in the 4th or (under certain circumstances) in the 5th term from matriculation, so that a candidate would be free to study special subjects connected with his Indian examinations about the close of his first year of residence He might obtain a degree in *literæ humaniores*, or in jurisprudence, or in modern history On one or other of these schools might be engrafted the study of Sanskrit or Persian, with any modern Indian language that he might be required to know, as also political economy Or a candidate might obtain honours in the law school, after obtaining his degree in *literæ humaniores* Or, if Your Lordship should think it more desirable, it would doubtless be possible to construct a new final school embracing prominently special Indian subjects, together with the principles of political economy, and the principles of jurisprudence which could not be learned by attendance on the courts of law

5 In these matters, the Council of the University would, I believe, be willing to recommend to Convocation such alterations as might, on deliberation, be deemed expedient. If Your Lordship is favourably disposed, and would be willing to offer any suggestions on these heads, your opinion would (I am sure) be received with the utmost deference

Some years ago we founded readerships in Hindustani and in Indian law, and were only prevented from doing more by the belief that our exertions in this direction were useless.

6 I may add that, by the present regulations, the Indian Service is almost refused to the scholars of the various colleges, who may be considered the ablest of our young men It cannot be for the interest of India that she should not be able to obtain the services of some of these young men

7 We are aware that objections have been raised to what we propose on the ground that our students cannot attend the courts of law, &c We feel little doubt that we could meet, or at least materially modify, these objections But I do not wish to trouble Your Lordship with these details until we hear from you that we should not, in so doing, be giving you needless trouble

5

From SIR LOUIS MALLETT, C B, Under Secretary of State for India, to T WALBROND, Esq, C B, Secretary, Civil Service Commissioners,—dated India Office, London, the 19th December 1874.

I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter\* of the 15th instant, and to state that His Lordship will await with interest the expression of the views of the Civil Service Commissioners regarding the selection and training of candidates selected for the Civil Service of India

I am desired by the Marquis of Salisbury to forward, for the consideration of the Commissioners, copy of another letter on the same subject, which he has received from the Reverend the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge

ENCLOSURE.

From REVEREND GEORGE PHEAR, Vice Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, to His Grace the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, Secretary of State for India,—dated Emmanuel College Lodge, Cambridge, the 15th December 1874

I am requested by the Council of the Senate of the University of Cambridge to address Your Lordship on the subject of the conditions now attending candidature for the Civil Service of India We are informed by the Dean of Christ Church that a communication has been already made to Your Lordship on this question from Oxford, and we think it may assist your estimate of the value of the objections which are entertained to the existing rules and instructions to candidates if we take the present occasion to represent the opinion of the Council and others in Cambridge who have given attention to the subject

As we believe that the service referred to would be greatly benefited if the successful candidates could enjoy the advantages of moral and mental training afforded by university residence, provided that this involved no sacrifice of any important condition of special preparation, we observe with much regret that the instructions to the selected candidates offer direct discouragement to such residence

\* Not printed.

In evidence of this, I venture to bring to Your Lordship's notice the following No 202A passage in the general instructions, issued 11th May 1874 —

“Each candidate in choosing his place of residence should carefully consider what facilities will be afforded him for the prosecution of his studies, and in this respect it should be remembered that London offers advantages for the study of law and also perhaps of some of the vernacular languages which can be obtained in no other part of the United Kingdom”

To us it does not appear that residence at the Universities would be otherwise than favourable to the pursuit of that special knowledge which these instructions enforce. To speak of Cambridge alone, the first University Examinations may be passed by a well-prepared student, such as these candidates may be assumed to be at the end of the first term. It ought to be passed by all before the completion of the third term, after which, in the case of candidates for Honours (and here the consideration of other students may be disregarded), there is no other public examination to interfere with continuous study before that by which Honours are finally obtained. The historical tripos, the triposes of Indian languages, of law, of moral sciences, would any of them give ample opportunity for courses of study suitable for the students in question. Moreover, facilities for assistance in each of the several departments, including the principal vernacular languages, are supplied by able professors and teachers, and by access to the public libraries. (Herewith I send a copy of the University Ordinations, where, at pages 45, 64, 68, and 76, will be found the regulation and range of subjects of the above-named triposes, and at page 254 a grace especially contemplating the Indian Civil Service in the duties assigned to the Lord Almoner's Reader in Arabic.) As to the opportunities of taking notes of proceedings in English courts of justice, as the instructions direct, these, if not available in sufficient variety during actual residence, could be readily and perhaps more advantageously obtained in the university vacations.

We have difficulty, therefore, in understanding what sufficient ground exists for preferring London to Cambridge as a place for the special preparation desired.

In other respects we think it must at once be generally admitted that the residence of these young men in London is wanting in many favourable conditions which our college life can supply. It has been represented to us that the Civil Service in India suffers some disadvantage from the circumstance that its officers, under the present system of appointment, have no opportunity, before entering on their duties, of forming habits of mutual confidence and good-will. This disadvantage would probably be removed if a body of young men were to prepare themselves for their future life in India under the discipline and moral control of residence at the old universities.

Practically, then, what is desired by us is that all official discouragement to the residence elsewhere than in London of selected candidates for this service should be discontinued, and that the periodical examinations required of them (if those of the university be not accepted as equivalent) should be fixed otherwise than in full university term. Under such free conditions we are confident that the advantages which the universities offer would sufficiently approve themselves, but we should, I need not add, welcome with much satisfaction any positive encouragement in this direction which those who are in authority may be disposed to give.

I trust that Your Lordship will consider that the great public interest of this question of selection for the Indian Service fully warrants this application from us. We make it because we hold it to be of high importance that those to whom are to be entrusted the grave responsibilities of Indian official life should be assisted in their educational training by all those advantages of discipline, association, and instruction which, as we believe, our resident students possess.

From SIR LOUIS MALLET, C B, Under Secretary of State for India, to T WALBROND Esq, C B, Secretary, Civil Service Commissioners,—dated India Office, London, the 8th January 1875

In continuation of the letters from this Department, transmitting communications from the Dean of Christ Church and the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to forward, for the consideration of the Civil Service Commissioners, copy of a letter from the Reverend Professor Jowett, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, offering observations regarding the mode of selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India.

## ENCLOSURE.

No 202A

From REVEREND DR JOWETT, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, to his Grace the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, Secretary of State for India,—dated Balliol College, the 27th December 1874.

Having heard that the mode of selection and training of candidates for the Indian Civil Service is again under consideration, I venture to trouble you with a few remarks on a subject in which I naturally take an interest, having been one of those who were engaged in drawing up the original regulations.

The remarks which I have to offer fall under three heads—

1st —The examinations for first appointments

2ndly —The limits of age

3rdly —The training of the selected candidates

I Under this head the evil which is at present complained of by the head masters of public schools and others is chiefly that the system is too favourable to the “crammers” I am far from saying anything against the gentlemen who are thus described, they are admirable teachers, who make a study of the papers, and appear to possess the power of communicating a great variety of knowledge in a short time. But still it seems undesirable that a youth should be taken away from Harrow or Rugby and sent for six months or a twelve-month to a tutor in London. He is interrupted in his studies, and at the age of 18 or 19 he is exposed to a good deal of danger from the temptations of a London life, specially when not under the care of his parents. There is another objection. The masters of public schools are set against the service, and are naturally indisposed to send up their best pupils as candidates, because, besides other reasons, they gain no credit from them. They complain that the youth who knows a little of many things which are learned at the “crammers” will beat another who is far superior to him in ability and solid attainments, but has confined his attention to a few subjects only. They remark that no such previous preparation is required in order to enable their pupils to obtain scholarships at the universities, and hence they infer some defect in the arrangements of the examination.

I have stated their objections as far as I have been able to gather them from conversations which I have had with some of the most eminent of them. The objections appear to me to be well founded, and I think that they might be met—

1 By limiting the number of subjects which a candidate is allowed to offer to four. This is as many as a boy at school or an undergraduate at college ordinarily studies

2 By diminishing the number of marks allowed for English literature and history to 500, or (including English composition) giving to English subjects altogether 1,000 marks. This again would more than represent the proportion which the study of English bears to the study of other branches of knowledge at schools and universities

In respect to the subjects of the first examination, I would offer another suggestion, *viz*, that political economy and the general principles of jurisprudence should be included in them. Since the report of Lord Macaulay's Committee was framed, they have been added to the University course both at Oxford and Cambridge, and they are taught at the Scotch Universities. If it be objected that they form no part of the usual curriculum of schools, it may be answered neither do the moral sciences nor Sanscrit and Arabic. Admitting fully the principle on which the original report was founded, I see no reason for excluding from the first examination subjects which form a part of general education, because they are specially required of the selected candidates

II Respecting the age of candidates, I would argue strongly that we should have the widest limits consistent with the requirements of the Indian Service. At present the number who offer themselves is smaller than might be expected. The fears of parents, the terrors of an Indian climate, the hope of getting some employment in England, are strong deterrents. But if the age were reduced from 21 to 18 or 19, I should expect that the number of well-qualified candidates would be diminished by at least one-half. Fathers and mothers do not make up their minds “to part with their children” at that age. The selected candidates would be all school boys, and it is much more difficult to form an estimate of their real capacity at 17 or 18 than at 19 or 20. The comparison of Woolwich or Sandhurst is out of place here.

During the first 10 years of the present system the age was fixed at 22, and about two-fifths of the competing candidates were selected from Oxford and Cambridge. Since the limit of age was reduced (in 1866) to 21, the number of university candidates has proportionably diminished. I am inclined to think that this is a loss which has not been compensated by the arrival of the candidates in India a few months sooner. The service has probably been deprived of some of the best men who would have offered themselves

As the Government of India desire that the candidates should not be more than 24 years of age on their arrival in India, I would propose that the limits of age remain as at present (17-21). But with the view (chiefly) of including as many university men as possible, I would allow candidates to compete up to 22 who had previously passed an examination in law, political economy, and some Indian language, such candidates being required only to undergo a year of special study. In every case they should proceed to India before attaining the age of 24.

The problem is, how to attract the greatest number of highly educated and able young men. Any unnecessary restriction diminishes the number. The lowering of the age to 18 or 19 would probably give about as many candidates as now present themselves who are below those ages, and a very few more.

III The scheme of 1854 was defective in leaving the selected candidates too much to themselves. The Commissioners were right, I think, in proposing to abolish Haileybury which had not the social and educational advantages of a university, and which could not supply the necessary instruction in law. They wanted to make the service as open as possible. Of the English universities at that time no use could be made, because they were confined to members of the Church of England, and because, at least at Oxford, students would have been obliged to reside within the walls of a college at an expense which, to many of them, might have been inconvenient. At that time there was no regular training in law and political economy such as is given now, not only in the university but at some colleges.

The change which has been made in these respects naturally leads to a re-consideration of the subject. If the selected candidates could be brought to Oxford and Cambridge, the service would greatly gain in popularity and in prestige. It would be much more attractive both to young men and to their parents. The name of a university degree and education would counterbalance the objections to India which are generally felt by those who have no Indian connections. The candidates would also have the more solid advantages of society and increased knowledge of the world. Without becoming a clique they would make the acquaintance of one another. Many of them at present are rather friendless and isolated, their college would be a home to them to which they might look for help and support when needed. There could be no difficulty in some college tutor superintending their studies, or in their finding the requisite instruction in law, political economy, and the principal Indian language from university teachers.

In making this proposal I would remark —

- i.—That the best colleges would be quite willing to receive them and make arrangements for them, and would be proud to take part in training the future governors of India.
- ii.—That the proposal involves no risk or expense, and if found to be a failure, can be easily given up.
- iii.—That there would be nothing invidious in it if a similar proposal were made to all colleges and universities which were willing,—  
to provide the requisite instruction in law, political economy, and oriental languages,  
to undertake the superintendence of the students and make reports of them,  
to give them a degree on passing an examination in their own subjects.

Most of the candidates would probably come to Oxford and Cambridge. A few would attach themselves to King's College or to University College, London. Their residence at some college or university might be made, not absolutely compulsory, but only the condition of their receiving the usual allowances.

I am aware that several objections may be made to this proposal —

1. It will be said that clever young men having the temptation of scholarships and fellowships before them will easily be seduced into another career. I do not agree in this. The appointments in the Indian Civil Service can compete with scholarships and fellowships, leading in most cases only to college tutorships and under-masterships of public schools. Among university men the strongest motive for throwing up their appointments is the desire to finish their university course. But as they are public servants I strongly agree in thinking that they should be held to their engagement, and, in addition to refunding their allowance in case of withdrawal, be required to give a bond of 5000, which they should forfeit if they failed to pass their examinations and proceed to India.

2. It will be argued that, if the greater number of them are located at Oxford and Cambridge, they cannot attend the law courts. But they can be taught law, and the university terms only last during about 24 weeks in the year, so that

28 weeks would remain for attendance in London at the courts They might be No 202A placed under the superintendence of a professor or teacher of law, who could also direct their studies in London

The same remark applies to the study of some oriental languages, such as Tamil and Telegoo, in which it might be impossible to give instruction at the universities For all such exceptional acquirements the vacations would give ample opportunity

3. A more serious objection in the case of students whose time is short is the length of the vacations both at Oxford and Cambridge and at the Scotch universities To meet this objection it might be made a condition with the colleges which receive them that they should allow them to reside and provide for their instruction during the vacation

4 It will be objected that as they can only reside two years, and a degree at Oxford cannot be obtained in less than about two years and eight months (in Cambridge, I believe, that the time is somewhat longer), and as some of them will be unacquainted with Latin and Greek, which are at present required in the first public (or previous) examination, they could not according to the regulations which at present prevail in the university, receive a degree

This is true, but the Secretary of State for India, if he wished, could probably make an arrangement with the university (I am speaking of Oxford), that they should be admitted to a degree, if they resided for two years and passed with honours in law, political economy, and in Indian subjects.

None of these objections are serious On the other hand, the gain of a university life to them would be very great They would be better cared for than at present, they would have the pleasure and advantage of mingling with their contemporaries in every rank of life, they would have college recollections and interests, and the opportunity of forming friends and connections In most of these respects and in some others the plan of bringing them to the university appears to be far superior to that of collecting them in a single college which would have no "*genius loci*," and to which they must be compelled to go if such an institution were called into existence I believe that a university education would greatly help to meet an invidious objection which is sometimes made against "Competitionwallahs," that they are not always "gentlemen" It is not in the interest of the universities that I urge this view of the subject, but in the interest of India, which should also be considered

Annexed is a short summary of the changes which have been suggested —

- 1 That in the first examination no candidate should offer more than four subjects
- 2 That the number of marks assigned to English literature and history should be reduced to 500
- 3 That law and political economy should be included in the first examination
- 4 That the limits of age should remain 17 to 21, but should be extended to 22 for candidates who previously to competing had passed in some of their special subjects
- 5 That as a condition of receiving an allowance every candidate should be required to reside at some college or university to be approved by the Secretary of State for India, or the Civil Service Commissioners
- 6 That only such colleges or universities should be approved as offered the advantages of instruction and superintendence, and (perhaps) of a degree

I hope that Your Lordship will excuse the freedom with which I have submitted these suggestions to your better judgment I have not spoken of them to any one in Oxford

From T WALBOND, Esq, C B, Secretary, Civil Service Commissioners, to SIR LOUIS MALLETT, C B, Under Secretary of State for India,—dated Civil Service Commission, the 16th March 1875

The Civil Service Commissioners have given their most careful consideration to the important questions brought to their notice by your letter\* of the 31st of July last, respecting the method of selecting and training candidates for appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service of India, and referred to in subsequent communications, the latest† of which was received on the 9th of January

Sensible of the grave nature of these questions, and feeling that no suggestions which could be offered upon them would be of any value unless based upon the results of experience, the Commissioners have been most desirous to obtain from every quarter such information as might throw light on the objects to be attained, or the means of attaining them, and with this view they at once directed me to address to you the request contained in my letter‡ of the 5th August, that they

might be informed of the substance of any returns which might have been received, No 202A or which might be procurable, respecting the merits and defects of the present system, as exhibited in the actual work of administration in India

It was with regret that they learned from your reply\* that no returns of the nature indicated were accessible to them

Twelve years ago, when engaged in the discussions which resulted in the institution of the present system, the Commissioners were furnished in the most unreserved manner with a variety of information collected for the purpose in different parts of India. The papers which were then communicated to them, officially and unofficially, are too voluminous to be reproduced on this occasion, but this is the less to be regretted, as the statements which they contained, including strong expressions of opinion by persons of the highest position as to the merits of civilians appointed by competition, must be within the knowledge of the India Office.

It is enough here to observe that the general results of the inquiry were in favour of the system so far as it had been then developed, and that this favourable judgment was adopted and confirmed somewhat later by the Government of India in a despatch† dated 5th May 1866

No similar inquiry has ever been instituted, so far as the Commissioners are aware, as to the effect of the changes introduced in 1865, and the manner in which the civilians trained according to the present plan have been found to perform their duties. In the absence of all authoritative information as to the working of this plan, the Commissioners feel no confidence in their ability to offer any suggestions for its improvement

They have, however, collected and carefully weighed such facts as were within their reach, and they now desire to submit to the Secretary of State for India in Council the following observations as the results of the best consideration they could give to the subject

These observations will fall naturally under two heads —(I) The method of selecting candidates in the first instance (II) The manner in which the persons selected should be trained for service in India

I The principle of selecting civil servants in the first instance by open competition was laid down in the 36th and 37th clauses of the India Act, 1853, which provided that "all powers, rights, or privileges of the Court of Directors of the said [India] Company to nominate or appoint persons to be admitted as students" should cease, and that, subject to such regulations as might be made, "any person being a natural-born subject of Her Majesty," who might be desirous of presenting himself, should be admitted to be examined as a candidate. The regulations necessary for carrying out this provision were framed in the following year by a Committee composed of persons unusually well qualified, individually and collectively, to speak with authority upon the questions referred to them, viz, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, Lord Ashburton, Dr Melvill, the Principal of Haileybury College, the present Master of Balliol College, the Reverend B Jowett, and Mr (now Sir John) Shaw Lefevre. Their report contains an exhaustive statement on the whole subject, and as it will be necessary to make frequent reference to it, a copy of it is appended to this letter. It may be convenient to follow the order in which the several branches of the subject are there treated, noticing under each head the particular points to which the attention of the Commissioners has been especially invited

The first question dealt with in the report is that of the age at which candidates should be admitted. Under the old system the limits within which persons were eligible for admission as students in Haileybury College were 17 and 21, but it appears that in fact the great majority were admitted at about 18, and proceeded to India at little more than 20. Under the regulations framed by the Committee the superior limit was raised by two years, and the inferior limit by one, and the actual age of selection rose from about 18 to an average of 21½ for the first 50 who were selected, but as, in the case of many of the candidates selected in the years 1855, 1856, and 1857, circumstances made it necessary to dispense with any further training in this country, the average age of proceeding to India was probably not increased by much more than two years, viz, to about 22½

In the year 1859 the maximum limit of age for admissions was lowered to 22, but at the same time a year's probation in England was prescribed, so that the average age of actual entrance into the service probably remained nearly as before, viz, about 22½

\* See page 4

† Not printed

The effect of the increase in the age of civilians appears from the first to No 202A have been thought beneficial in this respect, that it supplied the service with persons of "more matured judgment" and "wider experience of life"

Before long, however, apprehensions were expressed that the extension was being carried too far. In a despatch\* from the Government of India, dated 21st March 1864, it was stated that the objection urged with most force against the new system of selection was "that the men come out at too great an age". Though no attempt was made at the time to lower this age, it was strongly urged that it should not be increased, and accordingly, to counterbalance the addition, then first introduced, of a second year's probationary training, the maximum age for admission to probation was lowered to 21, the minimum limit being at the same time fixed at 17 instead of 18

These being the rules now in force, the Commissioners are informed by your letter that it has been proposed to alter them completely, and to require candidates to pass the competitive examination at or about the age of 18, in order to facilitate an arrangement whereby those who were successful should be sent to pursue their special studies at Oxford and Cambridge. And this proposal is in fact contained in a letter† from the Dean of Christ Church, of which a copy was forwarded by you to the Commissioners, expressing a hope that, with a view to the same arrangement, 18, or at the most 19, might be fixed as the latest age at which candidates might offer themselves for selection. On the other hand, the Master of Balliol, in a letter‡ to Lord Salisbury, of which a copy has likewise been transmitted to this Department, while strongly recommending that the special training of the selected candidates should be carried on at the universities, argues equally strongly against any lowering of the limit of age for selection, and would even raise it in certain cases to 22.

In a similar letter§ from the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, written with a view to the removal of all obstacles to the residence of the selected candidates at that University, no mention is made of the subject of age, and it may therefore be assumed that in his opinion the present limits are not liable to objection on that score.

From the foregoing statement it will be seen that the views entertained on this question are very various. Nor can this be a matter of surprise; for it is obvious that either an early or a late age of admission must be attended with some advantages and with some disadvantages. "It is undoubtedly desirable," to use the language of the Committee in their report, "that the civil servant should enter upon his duties while still young, but it is also desirable," as they proceed to point out, "that he should receive the best, the most liberal, the most finished education that his Native country affords." And as it has never been suggested, so far as the Commissioners are aware, that candidates after selection should be kept in England for the purpose of continuing their general education, a low limit of age must necessarily involve sending out young men with an imperfect education to a country in which it could never be completed. On the other hand, it may be argued by those who are disposed to look to natural ability only, and not to acquirements, that a youth of great natural ability is more likely to devote himself to service in India at the age of 18, before he is fully conscious of his own powers, than at the age of 21, when in the full career of university distinction, while against this is to be set the remark, unquestionably just, of Professor Jowett, that it is much more difficult to form an estimate of the real capacity of candidates at 17 or 18 than at 19 or 20.

Amid these various views and conflicting considerations, it appears to the Commissioners that the question at issue cannot be determined satisfactorily except with reference to the experience of those who have seen the practical working of the system in India, and in the absence of any evidence that the Government of India is desirous to disturb the settlement which was effected in pursuance of the opinion of Sir John Lawrence and his colleagues in 1864, they are not prepared on their part to suggest any departure from it.

Coming next to the question of the subjects in which the candidates admitted to the open competition for the Civil Service of India should be examined, the Committee of 1854 had no difficulty in determining at the outset that the examination "should not extend to branches of knowledge which, though useful to a civil servant in India, are useless, or almost useless, to a person whose life is to be passed in Europe," but should be "confined to those branches of knowledge to which it is desirable that English gentlemen, who mean to remain at home, should pay some attention." They thought it important, on the one hand, in the interest of the many young men who might be expected to compete, "that no candidate who might fail should, to whatever calling he might betake himself, have any

\* Not printed

† See page 4.

‡ See page 7

§ See page 5

reason to regret the time and labour which he had spent in preparing himself to be examined," and even more important in the interest of the service, that in the case of every civil servant "an excellent general education, such as might enlarge and strengthen his understanding, should precede the special education which must qualify him to despatch the business of his cutcherry" Starting from this principle, they named, as subjects proper for the purpose which they had in view, English, in the first place, the two classical languages, Greek and Latin, the three most important modern languages, French, German, and Italian, mathematics, pure and mixed, natural sciences, moral sciences, and the two classical languages of India, Sanskrit and Arabic, which were included, though not without "much distrust of their own judgment," partly on the ground that they afford a key respectively to two great branches of Indian thought and speech, and partly because "they were already studied by a few young men at the great English seats of learning, they could be learned as well here as in the East, and they were not likely to be studied in the East unless some attention had been paid to them here"

These being the subjects on which the examination was to turn, it was necessary, they said, "that a certain number of marks should be assigned to each subject, and that the place of a candidate should be determined by the sum total of the marks which he gained" The marks ought, they conceived, "to be distributed among the subjects of examination in such a manner that no part of the kingdom and no class of schools should exclusively furnish" civil servants to India, and with "an anxious desire to deal fairly by all parts of the United Kingdom, and all places of liberal education," they framed a scale which, when embodied in regulations, assumed the following shape, in which it remains, with a few modifications, at the present time —

	Marks
English Composition	500
English Literature and History, including that of the Laws and Constitution	1,000
Language, Literature, and History of Greece	750
"    "    "    Rome	750
"    "    "    France	375
"    "    "    Germany	375
"    "    "    Italy	375`
Mathematics (pure and mixed)	1,000
Natural Sciences—that is, Chemistry, Electricity and Magnetism, Natural History, Geology and Mineralogy	500
Moral Sciences—that is, Logic, Mental, Moral, and Political Philosophy	500
Sanskrit Language and Literature	375
Arabic Language and Literature	375

While recommending that proficiency in any subjects included in this list should have weight in the competition, the Committee expressly disclaimed alike the expectation as to discouragement of smattering that any one candidate would be proficient in all, and the wish to hold out premiums for knowledge of wide surface and of small depth "We are of opinion," they said, "that a candidate ought to be allowed no credit at all for taking up a subject in which he is a mere smatterer" And they described the results to which they looked forward in the following terms "A candidate who is at once a distinguished classical scholar and a distinguished mathematician, will be, as he ought to be, certain of success A classical scholar who is no mathematician, or a mathematician who is no classical scholar will be certain of success if he is well read in the history and literature of his own country A young man who has scarcely any knowledge of mathematics, little Latin, and no Greek, may pass such an examination in English, French, Italian, German, geology and chemistry that he may stand at the head of the list"

It may be noticed in passing how well the results have corresponded with these anticipations On a review of the yearly tables of marks it appears, on the one hand, that no candidate who was at once a distinguished scholar and a distinguished mathematician—if only a very moderate standard of "distinction" be taken—and no distinguished mathematician or scholar who was well acquainted with English literature and history has ever failed of success On the other hand, the possibility of obtaining a high, if not the highest, place without any knowledge either of classics or of mathematics by means of proficiency in a wider range of slighter subjects has been exemplified in a few instances, while the small number of the candidates who have won appointments at all by means of this method of preparation shows that its success has been, as it was expected to be, exceptional only Out of a total of 894 candidates selected by open competition, there are 11, and not more than 11, who have achieved the success without showing any knowledge of Latin or Greek or mathematics



Two remarks are here necessary in order to explain the method of proceeding No 202A under the rules laid down by the Committee

First, as regards the maximum number of marks assigned to each subject.

Practice of the Civil Service Commissioners as to assigning marks,      The Commissioners have always understood this maximum as intended to correspond not to the highest conceivable degree of proficiency, *e g*, as regards a modern language, not to the perfect knowledge of the language and its literature, which might be possessed by a highly educated Native, but to the highest degree of proficiency that candidates might reasonably be expected to have attained, having regard to the age at which they are examined and to the conditions of education as actually existing in England. And they have assumed that in framing the scale of maxima, the Committee were not actuated by the desire, which indeed they expressly disclaimed, of encouraging or discouraging any particular methods of education, but aimed at assigning to the several subjects such relative values as might represent approximately the relative amounts of ability and industry which their experience led them to think likely to be bestowed on those subjects respectively, the object being that a given amount of combined ability and industry should receive, as nearly as possible, the same recognition in the shape of marks in whatever branch of knowledge it might be displayed

Secondly, as regards the provision against giving weight to superficial knowledge and as to disallowing marks

It has been the practice from the first to disallow all marks that fell below a certain minimum, but for the last nine years the Commissioners have adopted, as at once more just and more conducive to the desired object, the plan of deducting from the marks of every candidate in each subject a number of marks corresponding to the lowest amount of proficiency for which any credit should be allowed. Some remarks explanatory of this method of the deductions, the reasons on which it is based, and the results of its adoption are contained in a memorandum drawn up in 1866, and now appended to this letter

The Commissioners have thought it desirable to describe at some length the system of examination now in force, in order to facilitate the consideration of the changes which have been suggested respecting it. To these they now proceed to address themselves

It is mentioned in your letter as one of the objections alleged against the existing system that it tends "to encourage methods of special preparation for these examinations neither intended nor calculated to impart sound and well digested knowledge, but directed solely to obtaining the largest possible number of marks from the examiners"

Objections urged against the existing system in respect of—  
 (a) range of examination,  
 (b) nature of some subjects,  
 (c) stimulus to 'cramming'

Certain peculiarities of the examination, it is remarked, have been described as encouraging this tendency "It has been said that the range of subjects is too wide, that some of them are not regularly thought or studied in English schools, or not in the best of them, that some raise questions or controversies not yet settled, that in some of them all the knowledge practically accessible to young students is contained in books of moderate compass which can be mastered by a comparatively slight effort of the memory"

The Commissioners are asked to express their opinion upon these objections, as well as upon the suggestions which have been made with a view to their removal, *viz*, "that no candidate should be permitted to take up more than a limited number of subjects, or that a certain number of appointments should be appropriated to each branch of knowledge"

Remedies proposed

That many of the candidates who compete at these examinations, and a large proportion of those who complete successfully, are "specially prepared" for them is a fact of which the Commissioners have no doubt, for it is proved, independently of the evidence of advertisements to which you refer them, by the statements of the candidates themselves

Comments on these objections and proposals

But unless they are greatly misinformed, there are few competitive examinations held within the universities themselves for which the greater part of the successful candidates are not specially prepared by means of teaching not provided for them either by university or college, and the Commissioners know of no facts which would lead them to believe that the special preparation of the competitors, at least of the successful competitors, at the examinations which they conduct, any more than the special preparation of students for Oxford and Cambridge degrees, is of the kind described in your letter as "neither intended nor calculated to impart sound and well digested knowledge"

Character of the "special preparation"

The allegation has been publicly repudiated in the strongest manner by the No 202A gentlemen to whom your remark appears especially to point, and it is not borne out by the records of the examinations themselves, which show, as set forth in detail in a paper hereto appended, that if there is any difference between the pupils of the establishment referred to and the candidates who come straight from the universities; it is that the former while they bring up fewer subjects, obtain higher marks than the university candidates in the very subjects which are most studied at the universities, *viz*, classics and mathematics. And if any one should be disposed to account for by saying that these higher marks are not really a proof of superior knowledge, but only of superior skill in deluding the Examiners, the Commissioners must be content to point to the list, hereto annexed, of the eminent university scholars and mathematicians who have acted as examiners in these subjects during the last five years, and to avow their own concurrence in the conviction emphatically expressed by Lord Macaulay and his colleagues, that with examiners of this high standing "it is utterly impossible that the delusive show of knowledge which is the effect of the process popularly called cramming can ever be successful against real learning and ability."

It appears to the Commissioners that the prevalence of the practice of special preparation may be accounted for more naturally by supposing that in many cases the parents of a boy of good abilities and quite capable of succeeding without such aid, being desirous that he should omit nothing that could help towards his attaining the object on which their hopes for him are centred, and conscious that he cannot be trusted to withstand the temptations to idleness which are inseparable from school and college life, prefer to place him in one of these establishments, in some of which, as it is understood, no pupil can remain except on condition of unremitting diligence and devotion to his work. In such an atmosphere, if under able tutors, a youth such as has been supposed is tolerably certain to be successful, this success being attributed entirely to his special preparation, acts as an advertisement of the establishment, and thus the system propagates itself until an impression is created that success is not to be hoped for without such preparation. How erroneous is this impression is shown by the fact that during the last five years as many as 44 candidates have succeeded coming straight from school or from a university. And as these were not generally students who had obtained any high honours, it may reasonably be inferred that if other students of greater distinction did not come forward, it was not because they dreaded failure but because they did not covet success.

Some further statistics on the subject of what is commonly called "cramming" will be found in a memorandum included in the Appendix. Originally collected in the year 1866, they have now been brought down to the present date, and they combine to prove, so far as such a fact can be proved by statistics at all, that "cramming," in the bad sense of the word, is not encouraged by the examinations for the Civil Service of India.

If this is so, it may seem superfluous to discuss certain peculiarities of these examinations to which a supposed tendency in this direction has been attributed; but it may be well still to inquire (1) whether the list of subjects from which candidates are allowed to select is too extensive, (2) whether any of them are ill-adapted for the purpose, and (3) whether it is desirable to put any restriction upon the number which each candidate should be permitted to take up.

As regards the first point, it will probably be admitted that so long as each subject, taken separately, is well fitted to form a subject of examination, the mere length of the list from which candidates may choose cannot do any harm except so far as it creates a difficulty in arranging the examination, and as no such difficulty has been found, the objection in this score may be dismissed.

As regards the second point, if there is to be a general examination embracing those branches of knowledge to which it is desirable that highly educated Englishmen should pay some attention, and framed on the principle of "dealing fairly by all parts of the United Kingdom, and all places of liberal education," it is difficult to see which of the present subjects could properly be omitted. No one probably would propose to omit any of the six which stand first on the list, English, Greek, Latin, Mathematics, French, or German. About Italian there might be more doubt, for it is comparatively little studied at English schools and colleges, but this is no reason why those who are led by their own taste, or by other circumstances, to study it, should be refused all credit for the culture which this language is so admirably calculated to convey. And if it be objected that the inclusion of three modern foreign tongues, in addition to Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, and Arabic, gives a preponderating weight to proficiency in the study of language, it may be answered that the one faculty to which, considering the future duties of

the young civilians, some preponderance may properly be given in selecting them, No 202A is the faculty of readily mastering foreign forms of speech

Under the head of "moral science" it is no doubt true that some questions have to be treated which are not yet, and perhaps may never be, thoroughly settled; but if such questions are treated according to the intention of the Committee,—and, it may be added, of the Commissioners,—in such a manner as "rather to put to the test the candidate's powers of mind than to ascertain the extent of his metaphysical reading," any objections to this head of examination on the ground of the indefinite character of the study are reduced within very narrow limits

But even if the objections were stronger than they are, it would be impossible, in the opinion of the Commissioners, to exclude this subject from the list, so long as it forms an important part of the education of all persons brought up at Scottish Universities, of all who take a degree in classical honours at Oxford, and of many at least of the ablest students at Cambridge, as well as other places. Nor should it be forgotten that if it is desirable that any of the civil servants should have studied philosophy at all, it is desirable that they should lay the foundations of such study before entering on their career, as they will have little opportunity of doing so at a later period

It would be equally impossible, the Commissioners think, to exclude altogether the natural science, especially at the present time, when they have begun to be studied in our schools and colleges so much more widely than at any former period. The value of sound scientific knowledge will be questioned, probably, by no one; nor can it be doubted that if such knowledge is to be possessed by our civil servants in India, it is in the museums and laboratories of Europe that the groundwork of it should be laid. And though it may be true that in this subject there is a peculiar temptation to the use of popular manuals, and that it is possible, by means of a little knowledge thus acquired, to make a great show in the eyes of persons who are themselves imperfectly acquainted with science, it is different when the pretensions of a candidate are sifted both orally and on paper by examiners of the highest attainments in science and much experience in examinations—when one who professes chemistry is called upon to analyse substances in the presence of Professor Williamson, and another who takes up electricity and magnetism is tested, both as to the theory of the subject and the manipulation of instruments by Sir William Thomson

The remaining subjects on the list are Sanskrit and Arabic, of which it may be enough to say that if they had not been named by the Committee in 1854, they must, almost inevitably, have been introduced in 1859, when the Covenanted Civil Service was thrown open to natives of India. But if it could be stated in 1854, as a reason for including them in the scheme, that they were "already studied by a few young men at the great English seats of learning," the remarkable development which the study has received of late years, in the case of Sanskrit at least, and the importance which it has assumed as bearing on the study of language generally, leave no doubt as to its claim to maintain a place in these examinations

For the reasons which have been stated, the Commissioners do not think it Undesirability of adding others, would be well to narrow the range of the competition by excluding any of the subjects from which candidates are now permitted to choose. On the other hand, they cannot concur in the suggestion of the Master of Balliol that it should be extended by the addition of jurisprudence and political economy. Jurisprudence appears to them to be eminently a study which should be reserved until the general education is completed. The same remark may be applied, with almost equal force, to political science, and the Commissioners are satisfied of the wisdom of the arrangement, made by desire of the present Earl of Derby in 1858, whereby political philosophy was removed from the place which it had previously occupied in the open competition, under the head of moral sciences, and political economy was made an obligatory part of the further examination undergone by selected candidates at the end of their probation

Supposing the list of subjects to be settled, there follows the question whether any limit should be put to the number in which a candidate should be permitted to present himself for examination

On this point it may perhaps be taken as an axiom that limitation is not in itself desirable, unless it is proved to be necessary, and there is no doubt that it would be contrary to the spirit of the scheme framed by Lord Macaulay and his colleagues. The object aimed at in this scheme is, so far as education is concerned, to stimulate but not to direct; to encourage every candidate to pursue with diligence the course of study which individual taste or capacity or other circumstances may have pointed out to him, but in no way to prescribe what that course should be. Any rule of the kind proposed would not only interfere with

this liberty by limiting the extent of a candidate's studies, but would also, so long No. 202A as different maxima are assigned to different subjects, exercise a pressure upon him to turn his attention to those subjects for which most marks could be got, and thus would necessarily arise among intending candidates the very mischievous system which it is desired to thwart, *viz*, that of arranging their studies with a view to obtaining marks in these examinations, rather than with a view to the cultivation of their own minds

The question to be determined, therefore, is whether the number of subjects now taken up by the candidates is so excessive as to require that it should be restricted by the enforcement of a rule liable in itself to so much objection

A collection of facts and figures bearing on this question will be found among the papers appended to this letter They show, as the Commissioners think, conclusively—(1) that the number of subjects ordinarily taken up is not excessive as compared with the number which students at many of our chief seats of learning are encouraged, if not required to study, (2) that it has not increased under the influence of the present system, being in fact now somewhat smaller than it was in 1855, (3) that in the opinion, as evidenced by the practice, of the teacher who has been most successful in preparing for these examinations, they are more favourable to the thorough study of few subjects than to the superficial study of many, (4) that the few and exceptional cases of success won by means of many subjects appear to justify themselves—the individuals in question having obtained on the average a somewhat exceptional degree of distinction in their subsequent career It appears to follow from what has been said that the proposed rule of limitation is not required and would only be injurious.

Still more objectionable, in the opinion of the Commissioners, would be the plan, mentioned in your letter as having been suggested, according to which a certain number of appointments would be appropriated to each branch of knowledge, for the effect of this would be to disturb even more violently and more generally—on rather universally—the ordinary course of candidates' studies Any young man who wished to succeed in such an examination would find himself almost obliged, by the pressure of competition, to cast aside every study except the one on which all his hopes would be staked In choosing this one he would have to speculate on the chances of its being selected by a larger or smaller number of his rivals, and he would be greatly tempted to devote himself to one lying out of the ordinary line, on the very ground of its being out of the line, and therefore likely to attract comparatively few competitors And it is to be observed that if actuated by motives of this kind, a candidate, of fair but not first-rate proficiency in classics and mathematics, were to leave his school or college in order to devote himself exclusively to the study of German (it might be) or Italian, or natural science, the results would be equally unfortunate whether he were successful or unsuccessful in his speculation In the latter case he would undoubtedly have reason, in the language of the Report of 1854, "to regret the time and labour which he had spent in preparing himself to be examined," and in the other case he would, it may safely be asserted, prove less useful as a civil servant of India than if he had pursued his education in the usual way

There is still another method of selection which the Commissioners are invited by your letter to consider, *viz*, that of distributing a certain number of appointments annually among certain universities, to be filled up in such manner as the authorities thereof might prescribe in conformity with their own usages

On this proposal the Commissioners have only to observe that, apart from the objections which might be urged against it, not only on the ground of principle, but also on the ground of the extreme difficulty in determining to what universities and in what proportions the privilege should be conceded, they see grave reason to doubt whether the plan would be successful in attaining the object which appears to be desired, namely, that of attracting into the service young men of higher calibre than those who now enter it

In the first place, whatever may be said as to the calibre of the young men who now enter the service, there is the best evidence to prove that it is on the whole higher than it was under the system of nomination The results of an inquiry upon this point instituted by the Government of India were thus summarised by the Governor General Lord Lawrence in a despatch\* dated May 5th, 1866 —

"We would observe that, as the civil servants who were first appointed under the system of competitive examination have not yet been ten years in India, and as consequently the great majority of the servants so appointed are still holding very subordinate positions in the public service, it would, in our opinion, be premature to

\* Not printed

pronounce conclusively whether or not the Civil Service has, on the whole, been No 202A improved by the present system

“ We are inclined, however, to believe that it has, for it may at least, we think, be confidently affirmed that the present system is effective to exclude great inefficiency, which undoubtedly was not excluded under the old system, and also that the young men who enter the service under the present system are, as a rule, more highly educated than those who found admittance under the former system. Even if there should be some defects in the present system—and we are not now prepared to point to any—we are disposed to think that they would be more than counterbalanced by the results above-mentioned ”

But admitting, as it must be admitted, that the most distinguished students from our greatest universities do not now come forward as competitors, it is difficult to believe that they are deterred to any serious degree by reluctance to engage in a competition in which, as has been shown above, they could hardly fail to succeed. What deters them is the consciousness that, if successful, they must at once give up all hope of distinction and emolument at home in order to fit themselves for service in India—a necessity which existed not less in the days of Haileybury than at present, and which cannot be got rid of by any change, either of the manner of selection or of the locality in which the special training is carried on

Nor indeed is it to be expected that, as a general rule, students of the highest distinction will be willing, either at 21, when anticipating, or at 23, after achieving a great academical success, to devote themselves to service abroad, when so many lucrative appointments are open to them at home. If the experience of the year 1855 be quoted as an instance to the contrary, it is to be remembered that the circumstances are no longer the same. The brilliant pictures, then recently drawn, of the attractions of an Indian career have since lost something of their brightness by the events of the year 1857. The monopoly of openness which these examinations for a time enjoyed has long ceased. The number of fellowships now annually thrown open to competition at Oxford and Cambridge is said to fall little short of the number of well qualified candidates, and for many of them celibacy is no longer a condition. Looking beyond these there has been, in the scholastic field alone, a vast increase in the number of appointments to which a good university degree is a direct passport, such as professorships in universities, tutorships and lectureships at colleges, school-masterships, inspectorships and examinerships in the Department of Education, while there has grown up a great and ever-increasing demand for men of high education to fill posts of importance in other spheres, including those which are connected with the Press. At the same time the pecuniary value of an Indian appointment has been sensibly diminished, if it be true that while the salaries of civilians have remained the same, the price of commodities has greatly increased, and that the period at which a pension can be claimed has been put off by the two years during which they remain in England as probationers

Under these circumstances it is greatly to be feared that if the proposed plan were put in force, though the best of the candidates selected by the universities might be young men of superior ability, the worst of them would be below the level of those who now receive appointments. Nor is this entirely a matter of conjecture, for the experience of the Army Entrance Examinations in which candidates from the universities are privileged to compete among themselves, apart from the ordinary competitors, for a certain number of vacancies, shows that the minimum standard of proficiency among the privileged candidates is very far lower than among the others. And it is to be remembered that this deficiency in intellectual acquirements is not necessarily compensated by any superiority in moral training derived from academical discipline, for in some of the institutions to which the privilege extends, such as the London University, no academical discipline is enforced

It may not be out of place to add, as an additional argument against the proposal, that it would interfere with the natural process by which a large proportion of the appointments now fall into the hands of youths connected with India by birth or parentage—a result which all will admit to be desirable so long as it is not produced by artificial means, but follows naturally from the fact that such youths, having more reasons than others for wishing to go to India, make greater exertions to attain their wish

Before leaving this part of the subject it is necessary to notice the scheme recently put forth in the Report of the Civil Service Inquiry Commission, according to which vacant clerkships in the Home Civil Service would be filled on the principle of selection by the Heads of Departments, exercised freely within the limits of a list resulting from open competition. But the Commissioners only notice this recommendation in order to point out that whatever

might be its merits as applied to the Home Service, it would obviously be inapplicable to the Civil Service of India, where the original selection, made on the ground of general knowledge and ability, is only preparatory to a two years' course of training in special subjects, and where no person or persons can be said to stand to the candidates selected in the same relation in which the Head of a Department stands to the clerks who form its establishment

From the foregoing observations it will appear that the Commissioners have not found, in such facts as they have been able to collect, any reason for abandoning the present system of selecting civilians for service in India, which appears to them to be founded on the only principle that can properly be applied in such a case and to have been framed as a whole with admirable judgment. On the other hand, they are far from denying that it may be susceptible from time to time of improvement in points of detail, and still less can they hope that in their own administration of it, they have at all times successfully contended with the difficulties which it presents, more especially with the difficulty dwelt on by Mr Playfair's Commission of estimating with strict numerical accuracy the relative values of different kinds of knowledge and ability when displayed in widely different branches of study. It may be proper here to state that, with the view of diminishing this difficulty, they have it in contemplation to submit, for the consideration of the Secretary of State in Council, in their draft of regulations for next year, some alterations in the maxima now assigned to certain of the subjects of examination.

II Passing to the second head of your inquiry, which concerns the training of probationers during the interval between their selection and their departure for India, the Commissioners find special reason for the regret, already expressed, that there is no authentic information within their reach as to the manner in which the civilians trained under the present system have performed their duties, and the specific deficiencies, if any, which they have exhibited, a regret which is tempered by the reflection that in a case of this kind, where criticism is likely to be so keen and publicity is so great, the absence of unfavourable reports is itself a proof that no ground for serious dissatisfaction has been found. As it is, having before them no data which were not carefully considered at the time when the present system was instituted, the Commissioners think that they may be permitted to refer, for an exposition of their opinions on the subject, to the letter, of which a copy is herewith enclosed, dated August 3rd, 1864, in which the Commissioners of that date, Sir Edward Ryan, the late Sir Edmund Head, and the late Mr Edward Twisleton, discussed with great fullness the whole question, and submitted their views upon it to the Secretary of State (Sir Charles Wood) in Council, by whom they were deliberately adopted, and embodied in the system now in force. On that letter the present Commissioners would only now desire to observe that the opinions therein set forth appear to them to be supported by all the statistics which they have been able to collect, whether as to the results, intellectual, moral, and physical, of the probation now passed by selected candidates in this country, or as to the positions for which they have been found qualified in actual service in India. The papers hereto appended show, that while very few of the candidates fail in the final qualifying examination, a great amount of industry and of zeal is displayed by those who pass, in the voluntary study of Oriental languages, both classical and vernacular, over and above what is required of them. In no case has a certificate been refused owing to doubts respecting a candidate's character, and though a few have failed in health, the testimony of Sir William Gull is emphatic and conclusive, not only as to the physical vigour of those who pass out to India, but also as to the tendency of the system to produce this result.

II TRAINING OF PROBATIONERS

Views of the Civil Service Commissioners in 1864

confirmed by subsequent experience

It may be added that further reflection and observation have tended to confirm the Commissioners in the belief, 1st, that with young men who have already given the best possible proof of steadiness and self-control by success in an arduous competition, a system under which they are left free to choose for themselves the place and the manner of their studies is a better preparation for the perfect liberty which they are so soon to enjoy in India than any supervision that the discipline of a college could supply, and 2ndly, that in any system of training which may be laid down, the most important point to consider

Paramount importance of training in law so far as intellectual qualifications are concerned, is the training in the theory and practice of law.

An imperfect knowledge of the history and geography of India, or of political economy, may be made good by study in India. In the vernacular languages if a sound foundation has been laid here as regards the grammar and vocabulary, residence in the country will do the rest. But a young civilian who does not carry with him to India a considerable familiarity not only with the principles of

law, but with the manner in which laws should be administered, can never remedy No 202A the defect, except at a serious expense to the cause of justice and to the service

It was no doubt on this ground that the Committee of 1854, whose Chairman knew India so well, insisted so strongly on this point as an argument against maintaining Haileybury College. "As respects law," they said, "we doubt whether the most skilful instructor will be able at Haileybury to impart to his pupils that kind of knowledge which it is most desirable that they should acquire. Some at least of the probationers ought, we conceive, not merely to attend lectures and to read well-chosen books on jurisprudence, but to see the actual working of the machinery by which justice is administered. They ought to hear legal questions in which great principles are involved, argued by the ablest counsel and decided by the highest courts in the realm. They ought to draw up reports of the arguments both of the advocates and of the Judges. They ought to attend both civil and criminal trials, and to take notes of the evidence and of the discussions and decisions respecting the evidence. It might be particularly desirable that they should attend the sittings of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council when important appeals from India are under consideration of that tribunal. A probationer while thus employed should regularly submit his notes of arguments and of evidence to his legal instructor for correction. Such a training as this would, we are inclined to think, be an excellent preparation for official life in India, and we must leave it to the Board of Control to consider whether any plan can be devised by which such a training can be made compatible with residence at Haileybury."

The Commissioners must avow themselves equally unable to suggest any plan by which such training can be made compatible, as a rule, with residence anywhere but in London or its neighbourhood

At the same time, while they are themselves convinced of the soundness of the views above expressed, the Commissioners are not insensible to the fact that many persons whose opinions are entitled to respect, are in favour of requiring the selected candidates to pursue their studies at some institution where collegiate discipline is enforced. The desire therefore to state that if a change were to be made in this direction, it would appear to them that the most feasible of the schemes which have been put forth is that which is suggested in the letter of the Master of Balliol, viz,—“That as a condition of receiving an allowance, every candidate should be required to reside at some college or university to be approved by the Secretary of State for India, and that only such colleges or universities should be approved as offered the advantages of instruction and superintendence and (perhaps) of a degree,—it being understood that the periodical examinations at which the progress of the selected candidates is tested during their period of probation and the final examination at the close of it would be maintained as at present. They will only add that before any scheme could be framed on this basis, many points of detail would have to be carefully considered, and that they are themselves not sanguine that the difficult problems involved in it could ever be satisfactorily solved

An essential feature of any such scheme would be that the probationer should be made distinctly to understand that having, to use the language of the Report of 1854, “been set apart as persons who will in all probability have to bear a part in the government of India, they should give their whole minds to the duties of their new position. They must now be considered as having finished their general education and as having finished it with honour. Their serious studies must henceforth be such as have a special tendency to fit them for their calling.”

It remains to state, with reference to the concluding paragraph of your letter, that whatever arrangement may be made respecting the training of young civilians, the Commissioners would strongly deprecate the withdrawal of the allowance now granted during the period of probation in England. It may be remembered that this allowance was substituted for the pay and allowances formerly enjoyed by civilians while under instruction at the Presidency Colleges, amounting annually to a much larger sum. There can be no reasonable doubt that any further reduction of the pecuniary advantages of the Covenanted Civil Service would have the effect of lowering rather than of raising the calibre of the civil servants, and if this be so, no argument drawn from another service, such as that of the Public Works Department, could avail to prove that such reduction was desirable. But no argument could probably be drawn unless it were shown that the two cases are parallel, whereas it must be obvious that the kind of general ability and education which it is desired to secure in the men who are to administer the Government of India is of a higher order and commands a wider market in this country than that which is necessary for the comparatively subordinate, though important, duties connected with the carrying out of public works, while, on the other hand, the technical training of an Engineer has a higher pecuniary



value, independent of the service, than the specially training of a Civil Servant No 202A Moreover, it is not asserted that the annual payment made by the students of the Civil Engineering College covers all its expenses, and if the principle is conceded that in such cases part of the cost of a public servant's training may properly be borne by the Government, the question of the proportion is obviously one of policy to be determined in each case by separate considerations.

Of the nature of any pecuniary arrangements which candidates may make with their teachers, whether before or after the competitive examinations, the Civil Service Commissioners have no knowledge

The remarks which had to be made on the various points raised in your letter, and the papers necessary to substantiate them, have extended to a length greater than the Commissioners could have wished. But it seemed to them to be due alike to the importance of the questions referred to them and to the quarter from which the reference came that they should place unreservedly before the Secretary of State in Council not only their opinions on the several matters under discussion, but also the grounds of those opinions, and, as far as possible, the data on which they were formed

#### ENCLOSURES

- 1 Memoranda and Statistics relating to the system of selecting and training Candidates for the Civil Service of India
- 2 Regulations for the Open Competition of 1875
- 3 General instructions respecting the periodical examinations of the Candidates selected in 1874

Memoranda and Statistics relating to the system of selecting and training Candidates for the Civil Service of India

- A Lord Macaulay's Report (1854), and Sir C Wood's letter to the Chairman of the East India Company
- B The Civil Service Commissioners' letter to the Right Hon'ble Sir C Wood, dated 3rd August 1864
- C Numbers of Covenanted Civil Servants in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay distinguishing between (a) those appointed before competition was introduced and (b) those selected by competition
- D Birthplaces of Successful Competitors
- E Social position of Successful Competitors
- F Ages of Successful Competitors
- G Particulars respecting those of the Successful Competitors of the last five years (1870-1874) who were connected by birth or parentage with India, not being of Indian race
- H Physical qualifications of Successful Competitors—(Report by Sir W Gull)
- K As to the number of Subjects taken up by Candidates at the Open Competitive Examinations
- L Examples of subsequent success of Candidates who took up a large number of Subjects
- M Inclusion in the Open Competitive Examination of Subjects not usually taught in Public Schools
- N Memorandum as to Deductions
- O Observations on "Cramming"
- P Number of Successful Competitors of the last five years (1870-1874) who came direct from School or College without special preparation
- Q Proposed appropriation of Appointments to the best Candidates in particular Subjects of Examination
- R Number of Selected Candidates who, under the two years' system of Probation, failed to qualify for the Service
- S Number of Candidates who, in addition to passing the prescribed course of Study satisfactorily, obtained marks in Extra Languages
- T Note on University Candidates at Army Examinations
- U List of Examiners in Classics and Mathematics

#### (A)

Copy of the Report dated November 1854, from the Committee who were requested to take into consideration the subject of the EXAMINATION of CANDIDATES for the CIVIL SERVICE of the EAST INDIA COMPANY, and copy of the letter addressed on the 20th November 1854 by the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company as to the Company's COLLEGE at HAILEYBURY,

#### REPORT ON THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

To the Right Honourable Sir CHARLES WOOD, Bart, M P.

• &c, &c, &c

We have attentively considered the subject about which you have done us the honour to consult us, and we now venture to submit to you the result of our deliberations

We do not think that we can more conveniently arrange the suggestions which we wish to offer than by following the order which is observed in the 39th and 40th clauses of the Indian Act of 1853



The first matter concerning which the Board of Control is empowered by No 202A the 39th clause to make regulations is, the age of the persons who are to be admitted into the College at Haileybury

The present rule is, that no person can be admitted under 17, and that no person can go out to India after 23. Every student must pass four terms, that is to say, two years at the College. Consequently, none can be admitted after 21.

It seems to us that it would be a great improvement to allow students to be admitted to the College up to the age of 23, and to fix 25 as the latest age at which they can go out to India in the Civil Service. It is undoubtedly desirable that the civil servant of the Company should enter on his duties while still young, but it is also desirable that he should have received the best, the most liberal, the most finished education that his native country affords. Such an education has been proved by experience to be the best preparation for every calling which requires the exercise of the higher powers of the mind, nor will it be easy to show that such preparation is less desirable in the case of a civil servant of the East India Company than in the case of a professional man who remains in England. Indeed, in the case of the civil servant of the Company a good general education is even more desirable than in the case of the English professional man, for the duties even of a very young servant of the Company are more important than those which ordinarily fall to the lot of a professional man in England. In England, too, a professional man may, while engaged in active business, continue to improve his mind by means of reading and of conversation. But the servant of the Company is often stationed during a large part of his life at a great distance from libraries and from European society, and will therefore find it peculiarly difficult to supply by study in his mature years the deficiencies of his early training.

The change which we propose will have one practical effect, to which we attach much importance. We think it desirable that a considerable number of the civil servants of the Company should be men who have taken the First degree in Arts at Oxford or Cambridge. At present the line is drawn as if it had been expressly meant to exclude bachelors of those universities. It will, we believe, be found that the great majority of our academic youth graduate too late by a few months, and only by a few months, for admission into Haileybury.

We propose to fix 18 as the lowest age at which a candidate can be admitted into the College. We are indeed of opinion that, except in very rare and extraordinary cases, it is not desirable that a lad should be admitted so early as 18. But we are convinced that, except in very rare and extraordinary cases, no lad of 18 will have any chance of being admitted. Hitherto the admissions have been given by favour. They are henceforward to be gained by superiority in an intellectual competition. While they were given by favour, they were frequently, indeed generally, given to persons whose age was not much above the minimum. A Director would naturally wish his son or his nephew to be handsomely provided for at 19 rather than at 23, and to be able to return to England with a competence at 44 rather than at 48. A majority of the students have therefore been admitted before they were 19, and have gone out before they were 21. But it is plain that in any intellectual competition boys of 18 must be borne down by men of 21 and 22. We may, therefore, we believe, safely predict that nine-tenths of those who are admitted to the College under the new system will be older than nine-tenths of those who quit it under the present system. We hope and believe that among the successful competitors will frequently be young men who have obtained the highest honours of Oxford and Cambridge. To many such young men a fellowship or a tutorship, which must be held on condition of celibacy, will appear less attractive than a situation which enables the person who holds it to marry at an early age.

The India Act next empowers the Board of Control to determine the qualifications of the candidates for admission to Haileybury. It seems to us to be proper that every person who intends to be a candidate should, at least six weeks before the examination, notify his intention to the Board of Control, and should at the same time transmit a list of the subjects in which he proposes to be examined in order that there may be time to provide a sufficient number of examiners in each department. He should at the same time lay before the Board testimonial certifying that his moral character is good. Whether the testimonials be or be not satisfactory is a point which we conceive may safely be left to the determination of the Board.

The Board is then authorized by the Act to make regulations prescribing the branches of knowledge in which the candidates for admission to Haileybury shall be examined. Here arises at once a question of the gravest importance. Ought the examination to be confined to those branches of knowledge to which it is desirable that English gentlemen who mean to remain at home should pay some attention?—or ought it to extend to branches of knowledge which are useful

to a servant of the East India Company, but useless, or almost useless, to a No 202A person whose life is to be passed in Europe?

Our opinion is, that the examination ought to be confined to those branches of knowledge to which it is desirable that English gentlemen who mean to remain at home should pay some attention.

It is with much diffidence that we venture to predict the effect of the new system but we think that we can hardly be mistaken in believing that the introduction of that system will be an event scarcely less important to this country than to India. The educated youth of the United Kingdom are henceforth to be invited to engage in a competition in which about 40 prizes will on an average be gained every year. Every one of these prizes is nothing less than an honourable social position and a comfortable independence for life. It is difficult to estimate the effect which the prospect of prizes so numerous and so attractive will produce. We are, however, familiar with some facts which may assist our conjectures. At Trinity College, the largest and wealthiest of the Colleges of Cambridge, about four fellowships are given annually by competition. These fellowships can be held only on condition of celibacy, and the income derived from them is a very moderate one for a single man. It is notorious that the examinations for Trinity fellowships have, directly and indirectly, done much to give a direction to the studies of Cambridge and of all the numerous schools which are the feeders of Cambridge. What then is likely to be the effect of a competition for prizes which will be ten times as numerous as the Trinity fellowships, and of which each will be more valuable than a Trinity fellowship? We are inclined to think that the examinations for situations in the Civil Service of the East India Company will produce an effect which will be felt in every seat of learning throughout the realm, at Oxford and Cambridge, at the University of London and the University of Durham, at Edinburgh and Glasgow, at Dublin, at Cork and at Belfast. The number of candidates will doubtless be much greater than the number of vacancies. It will not surprise us if the ordinary number examined should be three or four hundred. The great majority, and among them many young men of excellent abilities and laudable industry, must be unsuccessful. If therefore branches of knowledge, specially Oriental, should be among the subjects of examination, it is probable that a considerable number of the most hopeful youths in the country will be induced to waste much time at that period of life at which time is most precious in studies which will never in any conceivable case be of the smallest use to them. We think it most desirable that the examination should be of such a nature that no candidate who may fail shall, to whatever calling he may betake himself, have any reason to regret the time and labour which he spent in preparing himself to be examined.

Nor do we think that we should render any service to India by inducing her future rulers to neglect in their earlier years European literature and science for studies specially Indian. We believe that men who have been engaged up to one or two and twenty in studies which have no immediate connection with the business of any profession, and of which the effect is merely to open, to invigorate and to enrich the mind, will generally be found in the business of every profession superior to men who have at 18 or 19 devoted themselves to the special studies of their calling. The most illustrious English jurists have been men who have never opened a law book till after the close of a distinguished academical career, nor is there any reason to believe that they would have been greater lawyers if they had passed in drawing pleas and conveyances the time which they gave to Thucydides, to Cicero, and to Newton. The duties of a civil servant of the East India Company are of so high a nature that in his case it is peculiarly desirable that an excellent general education, such as may enlarge and strengthen his understanding, should precede the special education which must qualify him to despatch the business of his catcherry.

It therefore seems to us quite clear that those vernacular Indian languages which are of no value except for the purpose of communicating with natives of India ought not to be subjects of examination. But we are inclined, though with much distrust of our own judgment, to think that a distinction may properly be made between the vernacular languages and two languages which may be called the classical languages of India, the Sanskrit and the Arabic. These classical languages are by no means without intrinsic value in the eyes both of philologists and of men of taste. The Sanskrit is the great parent stock from which most of the vernacular languages of India are derived, and stands to them in a relation similar to that in which the Latin stands to the French, the Italian, the Spanish and the Portuguese. The Arabic has contributed, though not in the same degree with the Sanskrit, to the formation of the vocabularies of India, and it is the source from which all the Mahomedan nations draw their religion, their jurisprudence, and their science. These two languages are already studied by a few young men at the great English seats of learning. They can be learned as well here as in the East, and they are not likely to be studied in the East unless some

attention has been paid to them here. It will, we apprehend, very seldom happen No 2/2A that a candidate will offer himself for examination in Sanskrit, or in Arabic, but as such instances may occur, we think it expedient to include those languages in the list of subjects.

As to the other subjects we speak with more confidence. Foremost among those subjects we place our own language and literature. One or more themes for English composition ought to be proposed. Two papers of questions ought to be set. One of those papers should be so framed as to enable the candidates to show their knowledge of the history and constitution of our country, the other ought to be so framed as to enable them to show the extent of their knowledge of our poets, wits, and philosophers.

In the two great ancient languages there ought to be an examination not less severe than those examinations by which the highest classical distinctions are awarded at Oxford and Cambridge. At least three passages from Latin writers ought to be set, to be translated into English. Subjects should be proposed for original composition both in Latin verse and in Latin prose, and passages of English verse and prose should be set to be turned into Latin. At least six passages from Greek writers should be set to be translated into English. Of these passages, one should be taken from the Homeric poems, one from some historian of the best age, one from some philosopher of the best age, one from some Attic orator, and at least one from the Attic drama. The candidates ought to have a full opportunity of exhibiting their skill in translating both English prose and English verse into Greek, and there should be a paper of questions which would enable them to show their knowledge of ancient history, both political and literary.

We think that three of the modern languages of the Continent,—the French, the Italian, and the German,—ought to be among the subjects of examination. Several passages in every one of those languages should be set to be turned into English, passages taken from English writers should be set to be turned into French, Italian, and German, and papers of questions should be framed which would enable a candidate to show his knowledge of the civil and literary history of France, Italy, and Germany.

The examination in pure and mixed mathematics ought to be of such a nature as to enable the judges to place in proper order all the candidates, from those who have never gone beyond Euclid's Elements, and the first part of Algebra up to those who possess the highest acquirements. We think it important, however, that not only the acquirements, but also the mental powers and resources of the competitors should be brought to the test. With this view the examination papers should contain a due proportion of original problems, and of questions calculated to ascertain whether the principles of mathematical science are thoroughly understood. The details will probably be best arranged by some of those eminent men who have lately been moderators in the University of Cambridge, and who know by experience how to conduct the examinations of large numbers of persons simultaneously. It must, however, be borne in mind that the extent and direction of mathematical reading, especially in the higher branches, differ greatly at the different universities of the United Kingdom. The mathematical examination for the Indian service must, therefore, in order to do justice to all candidates, embrace a wider range of questions than is usual at Cambridge, Oxford, or Dublin.

Of late years some natural sciences, which do not fall under the head of mixed mathematics, and especially chemistry, geology, mineralogy, botany, and zoology, have been introduced as a part of general education into several of our universities and colleges. There may be some practical difficulty in arranging the details of an examination in these sciences, but it is a difficulty which has, we believe, been at some seats of learning already overcome. We have no hesitation in recommending that there should be at least one paper of questions relating to these branches of knowledge.

We propose to include the moral sciences in the scheme of examination. Those sciences are, it is well known, much studied both at Oxford and at the Scottish universities. Whether this study shall have to do with mere words or with things, whether it shall degenerate into a formal and scholastic pedantry, or shall train the mind for the highest purposes of active life, will depend, to great extent, on the way in which the examination is conducted. We are of opinion that the examination should be conducted in the freest manner, that mere technicalities should be avoided, and that the candidate should not be confined to any particular system. The subjects which fall under this head are the elements of moral and political philosophy, the history of the ancient and modern schools of moral and political philosophy, the science of logic, and the inductive method, of which the *Novum Organum* is the great text-book. The object of the examiners should be rather to put to the test the candidate's powers of mind than to ascertain the extent of his metaphysical reading.

The whole examination ought, we think, to be carried on by means of written No 202A papers. The candidates ought not to be allowed the help of any book, nor ought they, after once a subject for composition has been proposed to them, or a paper of questions placed before them, to leave the place of examination till they have finished their work.

It is, of course, not to be expected, that any man of 22 will have made considerable proficiency in all the subjects of examination. An excellent mathematician will often have little Greek, and an excellent Greek scholar will be entirely ignorant of French and Italian. Nothing can be further from our wish than to hold out premiums for knowledge of wide surface and of small depth. We are of opinion that a candidate ought to be allowed no credit at all for taking up a subject in which he is a mere smatterer. Profound and accurate acquaintance with a single language ought to tell more than bad translations and themes in six languages. A single paper which shows that the writer thoroughly understands the principles of the differential calculus ought to tell more than 20 superficial and incorrect answers to questions about chemistry, botany, mineralogy, metaphysics, logic, and English history.

It will be necessary that a certain number of marks should be assigned to each subject, and that the place of a candidate should be determined by the sum total of the marks which he has gained. The marks ought, we conceive, to be distributed among the subjects of examination, in such a manner that no part of the kingdom, and no class of schools, shall exclusively furnish servants to the East India Company. It would be grossly unjust, for example, to the great academical institutions of England, not to allow skill in Greek and Latin versification to have a considerable share in determining the issue of the competition. Skill in Greek and Latin versification has indeed no direct tendency to form a judge, a financier, or a diplomatist. But the youth who does best what all the ablest and most ambitious youths about him are trying to do well will generally prove a superior man, nor can we doubt that an accomplishment by which Fox and Canning, Grenville and Wellesley, Mansfield and Tenterden, first distinguished themselves above their fellows, indicates powers of mind, which, properly trained and directed, may do great service to the State. On the other hand, we must remember that in the north of this island the art of metrical composition in the ancient languages is very little cultivated, and that men so eminent as Dugald Stewart, Horner, Jeffrey, and Mackintosh, would probably have been quite unable to write a good copy of Latin elegies, or to translate ten lines of Shakspeare into Greek iambs. We wish to see such a system of examination established as shall not exclude from the service of the East India Company either a Mackintosh or a Tenterden, either a Canning or a Horner. We have, with an anxious desire to deal fairly by all parts of the United Kingdom, and by all places of liberal education, framed the following scale which we venture to submit for your consideration —

English language and literature— .

Composition	...	500
History	. . .	500
General literature	... .	500
		—
		1,500
		—
Greek	. . .	750
Latin	... .	750
French	. . .	375
German	... .	375
Italian	. . .	375
Mathematics, pure and mixed		1,000
Natural sciences	...	500
Moral sciences		500
Sanskrit	. . .	375
Arabic		375
		—
		6,875
		—

It seems to us probable, that of the 6,875 marks, which are the maximum, no candidate will ever obtain half. A candidate who is at once a distinguished classical scholar and a distinguished mathematician will be, as he ought to be,

certain of success. A classical scholar who is no mathematician, or a mathematician who is no classical scholar, will be certain of success, if he is well read in the history and literature of his own country. A young man who has scarcely any knowledge of mathematics, little Latin, and no Greek may pass such an examination in English, French, Italian, German, Geology, and Chemistry, that he may stand at the head of the list.

It can scarcely be necessary for us to add, that no expense ought to be grudged which may be necessary to secure the services of the ablest examiners in every branch of learning. Experience justifies us in pronouncing with entire confidence that, if the examiners be well chosen, it is utterly impossible that the delusive show of knowledge which is the effect of the process, popularly called cramming, can ever be successful against real learning and ability.

Whether the examinations ought to be held half-yearly or annually is a question which cannot, we think, be satisfactorily determined till after the first experiment has been made.

When the result of the examination has been declared, the successful candidates will not yet be civil servants of the East India Company, but only civil servants elect. It appears from the 40th clause of the Act to be the intention of the Legislature that before they proceed to the East, there should be a period of probation and second examination.

In what studies, then, ought the period of probation to be passed? And what ought to be the nature of the second examination?

It seems to us that, from the moment at which the successful candidates, whom we will now call probationers, have been set apart as persons who will, in all probability, have to bear a part in the Government of India, they should give their whole minds to the duties of their new position. They must now be considered as having finished their general education, and as having finished it with honour. Their serious studies must henceforth be such as have a special tendency to fit them for their calling.

Of the special knowledge which a civil servant of the Company ought to possess, much can be acquired only in India, and much may be acquired far more easily in India than in England. It would evidently be a mere waste of time to employ a month here in learning what may be better learned in a week at Calcutta or Madras. But there are some kinds of knowledge which are not considered as essential parts of the liberal education of our youth, but which it is most important that a civil servant of the Company should possess, and which he may acquire in England not less easily, indeed more easily, than in India. We conceive that every probationer ought, during the interval between his first and his second examination, to apply himself vigorously to the acquiring of these kinds of knowledge.

The subjects of his new studies will, we apprehend, be found to range themselves under four heads.

He should, in the first place, make himself well acquainted with the History of India, in the largest sense of the word history. He should study that history not merely in the works of Orme, of Wilks, and of Mill, but also in the travels of Bernier, in the odes of Sir William Jones, and in the journals of Heber. He should be well informed about the geography of the country, about its natural productions, about its manufactures, about the physical and moral qualities of the different races which inhabit it, and about the doctrines and rites of those religions which have so powerful an influence on the population. He should trace with peculiar care the progress of the British power. He should understand the constitution of our Government, and the nature of the relations between that Government and its vassals, Mussulmans, Maharatta, and Rajpoot. He should consult the most important parliamentary reports and debates on Indian affairs. All this may be done with very much greater facility in England than in any part of India, except at the three seats of Government, if indeed the three seats of Government ought to be excepted.

Secondly, it seems to us to be desirable that every probationer should bestow some attention on the general principles of jurisprudence. That great majority of the civil servants of the East India Company are employed in the administration of justice. A large proportion of them are Judges, and some of the most important functions of the Collectors are strictly judicial. That the general principles of jurisprudence may be studied here with more advantage than in India will be universally acknowledged.

Thirdly, we think that every probationer ought to prepare himself for the discharge of his duties by paying some attention to financial and commercial science. He should understand the mode of keeping and checking accounts, the principles of banking, the laws which regulate the exchanges, the nature of public

debts, funded and unfunded, and the effect produced by different systems of taxation on the prosperity of nations. We would by no means require him to subscribe any article of faith touching any controverted point in the science of political economy, but it is not too much to expect that he will make himself acquainted with those treatises on political economy which have become standard works. These studies can undoubtedly be prosecuted with more advantage in England than in India.

Fourthly, we think that the study of the vernacular languages of India may with great advantage be begun in England. It is indeed only by intercourse with the Native population that an Englishman can acquire the power of talking Bengalee or Telugu with fluency. But familiarity with the Bengalee or Telugu alphabet, skill in tracing the Bengalee or Telugu character, and knowledge of the Bengalee or Telugu grammar, may be acquired as quickly in this country as in the East. Nay, we are inclined to believe that an English student will, at his first introduction to an Indian language, make more rapid progress under good English teachers than under pundits, to whom he is often unable to explain his difficulties. We are, therefore, of opinion that every probationer should acquire in this country an elementary knowledge of at least one Indian language.

If this recommendation be adopted, it will be desirable that the probationers should immediately after the first examination be distributed among the Presidencies. It will indeed be desirable that the division of the Bengal Civil Service into two parts, one destined for the Upper and the other for the Lower Provinces, should be made here at the earliest possible moment, instead of being made, as it now is, at Calcutta.

In what manner the distribution of civil servants among the Presidencies ought henceforth to be made is a question which, though it has not been referred to us, is yet so closely connected with the questions which have been referred to us, that we have been forced to take it into consideration. We are disposed to think that it might be advisable to allow the probationers, according to the order in which they stand at the first examination, to choose their Presidencies. The only objection to this arrangement is, that, as the Presidency of Bengal is generally supposed to be the theatre on which the abilities of a civil servant may be most advantageously displayed, all the most distinguished young men would choose Bengal, and would leave Madras and Bombay to those who stood at the bottom of the list. We admit that this would be an evil, but it would be an evil which must, we conceive, speedily cure itself, for as soon as it becomes notorious that the ablest men in the Civil Service are all collected in one part of India, and are there stopping each other's way, a probationer who is free to make his choice will prefer some other part of India, where, though the prizes may be a little less attractive, the competition will be much less formidable. If, however, it should be thought inexpedient to allow the probationers to choose their own Presidencies in the manner which we have suggested, it seems to us that the best course would be to make the distribution by lot. We are satisfied that, if the distribution be made arbitrarily, either by the Directors or by Her Majesty's Ministers for Indian Affairs, it will be viewed with much suspicion, and will excite much murmuring. At present nobody complains of the distribution. A gentleman who has obtained a Bombay writership for his son is delighted and thankful. It may not be quite so acceptable as a Bengal writership would have been, but it is a free gift, it is a most valuable favour, and it would be the most odious ingratitude to repine because it is not more valuable still. Henceforth an appointment to the Civil Service of the Company will be not matter of favour, but matter of right. He who obtains such an appointment will owe it solely to his own abilities and industry. If therefore the Court of Directors or the Board of Control should send him to Bombay when he wishes to be sent to Bengal, and should send to Bengal young men who in the examination stood far below him, he will naturally think himself injured. His family and friends will espouse his quarrel. A cry will be raised, that one man is favoured because he is related to the Chairman, and another because he is befriended by a Member of Parliament who votes with the Government. It seems to us, therefore, advisable that the distribution of the civil servants among the Presidencies, if it cannot be made the means of rewarding merit, should be left to chance. After the allotment, of course, any two probationers should be at liberty to make an exchange by consent.

But in whatever manner the distribution may be made, it ought to be made as soon as the issue of the first examination is decided, for, till the distribution is made, it will be impossible for any probationer to know what vernacular language of India it would be most expedient for him to study. The Hindoostanee indeed it will be valuable to him, wherever he may be stationed, but no other living language is spoken over one-third of India. Tamul would be as useless in Bengal, and Bengalee would be as useless at Agra, as Welsh in Portugal.

We should recommend that every probationer, for whatever Presidency he may be destined, should be permitted to choose Hindoostanee as the language in

which he will pass. A probationer who is to reside in the Lower Provinces of the No 202A Bengal Presidency should be allowed to choose either Hindoostanee or Bengalee. A probationer who is to go to the Upper Provinces should be allowed to choose among Hindoostanee, Hindee, and Persian. A probationer who is to go to Madras should be allowed to choose among Hindoostanee, Telugu, and Tamul. A probationer who is to go to Bombay should be allowed to choose among Hindoostanee, Mahrattee, and Guzeratee.

It is probable that some probationers who have a peculiar talent for learning languages will study more than one of the dialects among which they are allowed to make their choice. Indeed it is not improbable that some who take an interest in philology will apply themselves voluntarily to the Sanskrit and the Arabic. It will hereafter be seen that, though we require as the indispensable condition of passing only an elementary knowledge of one of the vernacular tongues of India, we propose to give encouragement to those students who aspire to be eminent Orientalists.

The four studies, then, to which, in our opinion, the probationers ought to devote themselves during the period of probation, are, first, Indian history, secondly, the science of jurisprudence, thirdly, commercial and financial science, and fourthly, the Oriental tongues.

The time of probation ought not, we think, to be less than one year, nor more than two years.

There should be periodical examinations, at which a probationer of a year's standing may pass, if he can, and at which every probationer of two years' standing must pass, on pain of forfeiting his appointment. This examination should of course be in the four branches of knowledge already mentioned as those to which the attention of the probationers ought to be specially directed. Marks should be assigned to the different subjects, as at the first examination, and it seems to us reasonable that an equal number of marks should be assigned to all the four subjects, on the supposition that each probationer is examined in only one of the vernacular languages of India. Sometimes, however, as we have said, a probationer may study more than one of these vernacular languages of India among which he is at liberty to make his choice, or may, in addition to one or more of the vernacular languages of India, learn Sanskrit or Arabic. We think it reasonable that to every language in which he offers himself for examination an equal number of marks should be assigned.

When the marks have been cast up, the probationers who have been examined should be arranged in order of merit. All those who have been two years probationers, and who have, in the opinion of the examiners, used their time well, and made a respectable proficiency, should be declared civil servants of the Company. Every probationer who, having been a probationer only one year, has obtained a higher place than some of the two-year men who have passed, should also be declared a civil servant of the Company. All the civil servants who pass in one year should take rank in the service according to their places in the final examination. Thus a salutary emulation will be kept up to the last moment. It ought to be observed, that the precedency which we propose to give to merit will not be merely honorary, but will be attended by very solid advantages. It is in order of seniority that the members of the Civil Service succeed to those annuities to which they are all looking forward, and it may depend on the manner in which a young man acquits himself at his final examination, whether he shall remain in India till he is past 50, or shall be able to return to England at 47 or 48.

The instance in which persons who have been successful in the first examination will fail in the final examination, will, we hope and believe, be very few. We hope and believe, also, that it will very rarely be necessary to expel any probationer from the service on account of grossly profligate habits, or of any action unbecoming a man of honour. The probationers will be young men superior to their fellows in science and literature, and it is not among young men superior to their fellows in science and literature that scandalous immorality is generally found to prevail. It is notoriously not once in 20 years that a student who has attained high academical distinction is expelled from Oxford or Cambridge. Indeed, early superiority in science and literature generally indicates the existence of some qualities which are securities against vice,—industry, self-denial, a taste for pleasures not sensual, a laudable desire of honourable distinction, a still more laudable desire to obtain the approbation of friends and relations. We, therefore, believe that the intellectual test which is about to be established will be found in practice to be also the best moral test that can be devised.

One important question still remains to be considered. Where are the probationers to study? Are they all to study at Haileybury? Is it to be left to themselves to decide whether they will study at Haileybury or elsewhere? Or will the Board of Control reserve to itself the power of determining which of them shall study at Haileybury, and which of them shall be at liberty to study elsewhere?



That the College at Haileybury is to be kept up is clearly implied in the terms No 202 A. of the 37th and 39th clauses of the India Act That the Board of Control may make regulations which would admit into the Civil Service persons who have not studied at Haileybury is as clearly implied in the terms of the 40th and 41st clauses Whether the law ought to be altered is a question on which we do not presume to give any opinion On the supposition that the law is to remain unaltered, we venture to offer some suggestions which appear to us to be important

There must be, we apprehend, a complete change in the discipline of the college Almost all the present students are under 20, almost all the new students will be above 21 The present students have gone to Haileybury from schools where they have been treated as boys The new students will generally go thither from universities, where they have been accustomed to enjoy the liberty of men It will therefore be absolutely necessary that the regulations of the college should be altered, and that the probationers should be subject to no more severe restraint than is imposed on a Bachelor of Arts at Cambridge or Oxford

There must be an extensive change even in the buildings of the college At present, each student has a single small chamber, which is at once his parlour and bedroom It will be impossible to expect men of two or three and twenty, who have long been accustomed to be lodged in a very different manner, to be content with such accommodation

There must be a great change in the system of study At present, the students generally go to Haileybury before they have completed their general education Their general education and their special education, therefore, go on together Henceforth, the students must be considered as men whose general education has been finished, and finished with great success Greek, Latin, and Mathematics will no longer be parts of the course of study The whole education will be special, and ought, in some departments, to be of a different kind from that which has hitherto been given

We are far, indeed, from wishing to detract from the merit of those professors, all of them highly respectable and some of them most eminent, who have taught law and political economy at Haileybury But it is evident that a course of lectures on law or political economy given to boys of 18, who have been selected merely by favour, must be a very different thing from a course of lectures on law or political economy given to men of 23 who have been selected on account of their superior abilities and attainments As respects law, indeed, we doubt whether the most skilful instructor will be able at Haileybury to impart to his pupils that kind of knowledge which it is most desirable that they should acquire Some at least of the probationers ought, we conceive, not merely to attend lectures, and to read well-chosen books on jurisprudence, but to see the actual working of the machinery by which justice is administered They ought to hear legal questions, in which great principles are involved, argued by the ablest counsel, and decided by the highest courts in the realm They ought to draw up reports of the arguments both of the advocates and of the judges They ought to attend both civil and criminal trials, and to take notes of the evidence, and of the discussions and decisions respecting the evidence It might be particularly desirable that they should attend the sittings of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council when important appeals from India are under the consideration of that tribunal A probationer, while thus employed, should regularly submit his notes of arguments and of evidence to his legal instructor for correction Such a training as this would, we are inclined to think, be an excellent preparation for official life in India, and we must leave it to the Board of Control to consider whether any plan can be devised by which such a training can be made compatible with residence at Haileybury

We have, &c ,  
 T B MACAULAY  
 ASHBURTON  
 HENRY MELVILL  
 BENJAMIN JOWETT  
 JOHN GEORGE SHAW LEFEVRE

*November 1854*

From the Right Honourable Sir C WOOD, BART, M P, &c, &c, to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company,—dated India Board, the 20th November 1854

I have the honour to enclose to you, for the information of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, a copy of the report which has been drawn up by the gentlemen who at my request have been kind enough to give me their valuable assistance in the consideration of the best mode of carrying into effect that part of the Act of 1853 for the government of India which provides that the public admission to the Civil Service of the East India Company shall be by competition



I concur in the general tenor of their Report, I propose that twenty candidates shall be selected at an examination to be held in the course of the ensuing year, and as soon as the necessary regulations, which require very careful consideration, have been framed, notice will be given of the time when it will be held

I have also had to consider what course should be adopted with regard to the successful candidates at such examination, and the best means of imparting to them such further instruction as may be thought necessary before their final appointment to India. In this question is involved the continued maintenance of the College of Haileybury.

Upon the best consideration which I have been able to give to the subject this College as it is now constituted for the education of youth from the age of 17, appears to me to be altogether unsuited to the instruction of gentlemen, many of whom may have passed through the full course of education at one or other of the Universities, and some of whom may perhaps have entered upon their studies for the Bar.

Nor does it appear to me that any change in the constitution of Haileybury would render it possible that gentlemen residing there would have the opportunity of acquiring the knowledge which it is most desirable that all the civil servants of the East India Company should possess.

No qualification is so necessary to them, whether they be employed in the Judicial Branch of the Service or in the combined duties of Collectors and Magistrates in India, as a thorough knowledge of the principles of law, combined with practical acquaintance with the mode of conducting civil and criminal suits. Nothing, in my opinion, can conduce so much to the acquisition of this practical knowledge as attendance during the progress of trials in Courts of Justice, and the opportunity of doing this is so much greater in the metropolis than elsewhere, that this circumstance alone would render London by far the most convenient place for their residence. It seems to me also that arrangements may be made in London more easily than elsewhere for their instruction in the other branches of knowledge, of which they ought to have some acquaintance, in order to enable them to discharge with efficiency the multifarious duties which are so often thrown upon the Civil Service in India.

I have come to the conclusion therefore that it is inexpedient permanently to maintain Haileybury College. It will be necessary, however, that it should continue in a state of efficiency so long as is requisite in order to educate those gentlemen who have been nominated to vacancies which occurred previous to the 30th of April last. I see by the number of appointments not yet taken up that if the College is kept full, they will be exhausted by the admissions of January 1856.

After that period therefore no admissions ought to be permitted, and the College will be maintained only so long as to enable those gentlemen to complete their education there.

I propose to introduce a Bill into Parliament for the purpose of relieving the East India Company from the obligation under which they now are to maintain the College of Haileybury, and due provision will of course be made for those officers of the establishment who remain upon it at the time of the closing of the College as have a claim to such a position.

(B)

From the Civil Service Commissioners, to the Right Honourable Sir C. WOOD, BART, G. C. B., M. P.,  
—dated the 3rd August 1864.

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a letter\* dated the 20th of June, addressed to our Secretary by the Under Secretary of State for India, forwarding copy of a despatch,\* with its enclosures, from the Government of India, relative to the training of young civil servants for the performance of their public duties in that country.

We are informed by this letter that the discussion embodied in the correspondence referred to originated in proposals having for their object the advancement of the young civil servants after their arrival in India in a knowledge of law, that in the course of the discussions the question gradually expanded so as to embrace the subject of the preparation of the young civilians for public duties in the Native languages as well as in law, and that it was the ultimate conclusion of the Government of India that in both those branches the preliminary training of the civil servants can be best carried out in this country. They accordingly recommended that the Board of Examiners at the Presidency towns should be abolished, and that young civil servants should be appointed to definite duties immediately on their arrival in India. It is also stated that the Secretary of State for India in Council is disposed to give his sanction to these recommendations, but as they will

\* Not printed

render it necessary to make important changes in the existing arrangements of the No 202A Civil Service Commissioners for the training and examination of candidates for the Indian Civil Service, the Commissioners are requested to take the subject into their consideration to report their opinion thereon, and to suggest such regulations as they may consider to be necessary in order to meet the altered circumstances under which the members of the Civil Service would, if the proposals of the Government be sanctioned, proceed to India. In compliance with the request made to us, we have given our careful consideration to the questions to which it relates, and we submit to the Secretary of State in Council the following observations.

We do not venture to offer any opinion upon the important questions whether the preliminary training of selected candidates should be wholly transferred to this country, the examinations in India be abolished, and the civil servants on their arrival there be at once appointed to definite duties. We have but imperfect means of arriving at any conclusion as to the policy of these contemplated changes, and we are, we conceive, called upon only to express our views on the supposition that these recommendations of the Government of India will receive the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council.

Assuming then the adoption of these recommendations, we have in the first place to express our entire concurrence in the view which appears to be taken by the Secretary of State in Council, *viz*, that "it will be found necessary to extend the term at present spent by the selected candidates in preparing for their further examination in this country." In the regulations as they were originally framed for the first open competition for the Civil Service of the East India Company it was provided that the candidates who might be selected should undergo further examinations in the two years succeeding the date of their selection. Owing to the exigencies of the service, it was found impossible at that time to carry out these provisions, and the gentlemen who were selected in the years 1855, 1856, and 1857 proceeded at once to India without having been submitted to any further test. In 1858, when the conduct of these examinations was placed in the hands of the Civil Service Commissioners, circumstances had somewhat altered, and it was thought desirable to revive the plan which had been temporarily abandoned. But it has hitherto been only partially carried out, the time of special training in this country having been limited to one year.

When the original regulations were framed, a still further examination in the Native languages after the arrival of the candidates in India was considered necessary before they were regarded as qualified for public employment, and if this further examination in India is now to be abandoned, it cannot be a matter of doubt that two years, as originally contemplated, must be allowed for reaching the required standard of qualification. It should, however, be observed that it might be a question for consideration whether it would be necessary in all cases to insist on the completion of a two years' course, as there might be candidates whose superior ability and industry would enable them to reach the qualifying standard within a shorter period. Provisions for cases of this description could easily be framed.

If the period of probationary training is, subject to special exceptions, to be extended to two years, there arises the important question—"Whether the candidates selected at the open competitive examinations should be left, as at present, to pursue their studies at such place and in such manner as they themselves may choose, or whether the place and mode, as well as the subjects, of study should be prescribed by authority."

\* \* \* \* \*

On the first of these points suggestions are offered in the papers before us, and a plan has been proposed for the reception and training of the selected candidates at Oxford and Cambridge. We have given full consideration to this proposal, which is entitled to so much respect, but we think it would be most difficult to frame a scheme by which the education of candidates selected by open competition should be completed at these Universities, either by incorporating them as students in the existing colleges or by the foundation of a college specially destined for the Indian Service. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the inevitable jealousy on the part of the Scottish and Irish Universities and other places of education which would be excited by such a plan. It may be sufficient for us to express our opinion that the best colleges at either University would be reluctant to admit students who would profess their intention of not completing the university course or taking a degree, and whose studies would be necessarily alien from the ordinary studies of the place.

With regard to a single college specially appropriated to the Indian Service, the students in such an establishment, not sharing in the pursuits or interests of those around them, would be in great measure isolated from the general body of the university, and although such a college might foster an *esprit de corps*, as Haileybury did, this result would not arise from its connection with one of the

Universities But apart from these and other obstacles to plan, is the con- No 202A  
 clusive objection stated in the letter now under reply, *viz*, the absence of opportunity for obtaining by attendance at the Courts of Justice that instruction in the practice of law which has formed so important a part of the legal training enjoyed by the candidates under the existing system.

Entirely agreeing, therefore, in the view that efficient legal instruction can only be received on condition of access to the principal Courts of Law, we have no doubt that the selected candidates or probationers should be required to reside either in London or in such proximity to it as would allow of their regular attendance at such Courts. Indeed, the necessity of living in or near the metropolis during that period of training appears to be already recognised by the candidates themselves, for out of 59 of those selected in 1863, as many as 37 by their own choice received the greater part of their subsequent training in London.

There being then, in our opinion, no doubt as to the place at which selected candidates should reside, as to the maximum limit of age, and as to the time that should be allowed for preparation in the prescribed subjects of special training, it remains to be considered whether any restriction should be placed on the freedom now enjoyed by the candidates in choosing their own teachers and their own methods and times of study, and if any restriction should be imposed, whether any establishments should be created, and of what character, at which the selected candidates might have the advantage of lectures and training for their future duties.

In approaching this subject, the first questions which present themselves are, whether the present system, as far as it has extended, has been successful, and if successful so far, whether it should be extended for the further period of another year with the view of attaining a more complete knowledge of the subjects now studied.

Judging from the best evidence we can procure, we believe that this system, though as yet imperfectly developed, has been in all material respects decidedly successful. Mr Maine, in the papers which accompanied the letter now under consideration, bears testimony to the soundness of the training which selected candidates have received in the important subject of law. In discussing a plan for continuing in India their education in this branch, Mr Maine speaks of the difficulty of securing for them instruction "worthy of their already acquired knowledge," and adds that "not a few of those gentlemen bring out a considerable stock of elementary legal knowledge, and have received instruction from some of the best legal teachers in England," that "the young civilian before he comes out attains no contemptible acquaintance with the principles of law," and that he is himself aware, from having seen the papers, that "several of the gentlemen examined showed remarkable knowledge and capacity." So, too, with regard to the equally important subjects of Oriental languages, recent accounts show that a similar amount of proficiency has been attained, that the average period within which candidates have qualified themselves for active duty has been reduced by several months, and that it is not very uncommon for civil servants, trained under the present system, to pass in two languages within the short space of two months after their arrival in India.

It must be remembered also that the experiment has been made under disadvantageous circumstances on account of the extraordinary demand for civil servants during a portion of the time. The result of this demand has been that, at the very period when the recent mutiny had occasioned many to regard a career in India with disfavour, the number of men called for in one year has been greater than the normal conditions of the service will probably require.

It is indeed sometimes objected to the present plan that it does not tend to produce that peculiar community of thoughts, feelings, and interests which existed under the system which it superseded. And it may be conceded that the community of feeling or, as it is called *esprit de corps*, which attaches to a close foundation, such as Haileybury was, is not to be looked for in an open service. But we may be allowed to observe that this obvious fact cannot have been overlooked by the Government, which proposed that Haileybury should be abolished, or by the Parliament which sanctioned its abolition. It was probably held that such an *esprit de corps*, though productive of much that is good, may also be productive of considerable evil.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that an open service may have an *esprit de corps* of its own, not less strong, though probably less narrow, than that of a close foundation. A body of men selected by merit alone, and whose lives are to be devoted to the same objects, though they may not have been trained at the same college, are not likely to be deficient, either in pride in their service or in reliance on each other. It must not be forgotten either, in relation to this point, that one effect of a compulsory residence in London would be to increase

materially the amount of intercourse, already considerable, among the candidates, No 202A at the colleges and other institutions to which they would resort for the common purpose of instruction

On the whole, therefore, we incline to the opinion that a scheme which has thus far succeeded, though tried under circumstances of considerable disadvantage, offers at least a fair prospect of continued success, if employed, with certain modifications, for the longer period of training now contemplated

Another consideration which leads us to recommend the retention, for the present at least, of the existing system, is the fact that the transition from the present to a more elaborate scheme could at any time be easily made without involving any sacrifice of existing establishment, whereas the abandonment of a college or similar institution, if ultimately found to be unsuitable for the purpose, would no doubt be attended by considerable difficulty and loss

In the event of this recommendation being approved, we should have to submit various modifications of the existing scheme for the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council. Some of the more important of these may now be briefly indicated —

1 In the first place, we are of opinion that the pecuniary allowance to be made to the successful candidates during the second year of their special training should be greater than is now made to them during their one year in England. This point is one of considerable importance, as affecting the probable supply of competitors. Hitherto the parents of a youth who entered the Civil Service of India have been able to feel that, after one year from the date of his selection, he would be in receipt of an income sufficient for his own support, and would thus wholly cease to be any pecuniary burden to them. We do not doubt that this consideration is an important element in now inducing parents to send their sons as competitors to the Indian Civil Service examinations. Even with this inducement, the number of candidates who have offered themselves, though considerable in itself, has hitherto been less than was anticipated when the present system was introduced, and less, we think, than in proportion to the dignity and responsibility of the service—the total number of competitors from 1855 to 1864 having been 1,310, and the total number of appointments offered to competition during the same interval, 452. But if the time of probation is lengthened, and the period of salaried service thus deferred, the attractions of an Indian career will be proportionally diminished, and many young men of great promise may be deterred from the competitions by the difficulty of supporting themselves for a second year, more especially, if the foregoing recommendations are adopted, according to which the whole expense of their training, increased in many cases by the necessity of residing in London, will be thrown, upon the candidates. We would therefore submit, for the consideration of the Secretary of State in Council, whether the allowance of £100 which is now granted to selected candidates who pass a satisfactory examination at the end of one year should not be increased for the second year (under similar conditions) to such an amount as would cover all necessary expenses. We have the less scruple in offering this suggestion, because if the sum were fixed, say at 250*l*, it would still be very much less than is now paid during the corresponding year as salary for nominal service in India.

In making this recommendation we have not overlooked the fact that, in the despatch from the Government of India, the expectation appears to be entertained of a considerable financial saving as one of the results of the change therein proposed. But on this head, we would observe, in the first place, that if the sum of 250*l* was allowed during the second year to each of the selected candidates, there would still, as has been already stated, be a saving as compared with the expenses of the system now in operation, and, secondly, that it would be a very unwise policy to allow the small additional saving which might result from a further reduction of those expenses to interfere with the paramount object of inducing parents to let their sons who have ability select India as the field of their future career. Parents are now frequently so unwilling to submit to a long separation from their sons, and they are apt to entertain such exaggerated apprehensions of the danger to health likely to arise from the climate of India, that the early pecuniary independence of a successful candidate should be jealously maintained as a peculiarly powerful counteracting consideration. For it need hardly be pointed out that it is a matter of vital necessity to ensure an ample and constant supply of able and cultivated candidates at the open competitive examinations. Compared with this object, even that of providing the best kind of training for those who may be selected, must, we think, be regarded as of secondary importance, since the results of any training must, of course, be mainly dependent upon the quality of the young men who may be subjected to its influence.

2 With the object of securing, on the part of the students, sustained exertion, we would propose that for each set of selected candidates four examinations

should be held at intervals of half a year, that the marks obtained at each No. 202A examination should be added to those obtained at the others, that payment of the allowance due at the time of each examination should be dependent upon the candidate's progress in each case, and that prizes, of such nature and value as might be thought fit, should be awarded to the most proficient of the candidates in certain subjects at each examination.

3 If the foregoing suggestions should not be approved, it may be worthy of consideration whether the candidates should not be required, as soon as they have passed the second of their four examinations, to enter into covenants and procure sureties not only for their good behaviour, but also, under certain circumstances, for refunding the amount of allowances received, in case they should not proceed to India.

If, however, it should be thought desirable to substitute a compulsory system for that which has hitherto existed, two forms of such a system have suggested themselves to us —

1 The candidates might be required to reside together in a common college to be erected for that purpose in London, or its immediate vicinity, and might there receive instruction from professors attached to the institution, being at the same time subject to the rules of discipline usually enforced in such establishments. The advantages of a common and systematic training, especially if it be continued for a second year, are no doubt considerable, but we cannot forget that a college differing but little from that which has been described was in existence in the year 1854, and was then, after mature consideration both of the Government and of Parliament, deliberately abolished, and that at a time when the contemplated period of training was two years. We are not prepared to recommend that a decision so recently and deliberately pronounced, and under circumstances so similar to the present, should be rescinded.

2 Another course has been suggested, which, while preserving some of the features of the scheme just described, would be attended with less difficulty and considerably less expense. It has been proposed that the selected candidates, though not living in a common college, should be required to attend a prescribed course of lectures, to be given by professors paid out of the funds at the disposal of the Secretary of State in Council. Much may be said in favour of this plan, but, considering the ample provision which has been made in London, at King's College and University College (as shown by the appended prospectuses), and at various other institutions, both public and private, for training candidates for the Indian service, and considering the results of this freer system, which become each year more satisfactory, we can only repeat that we do not regard it as either necessary or desirable to have recourse to such a plan until the present scheme, with such modifications as may be agreed upon, shall have been tested by a more prolonged experience.

Holding these views, we have not thought it necessary to set forth here all the details, which we have had before us, of various arrangements for carrying out the two plans which we have been discussing. But we shall of course be prepared to give our best assistance in framing such arrangements in case either of these plans should be approved by the Secretary of State for India in Council.

We have, &c,

E RYAN

E W HEAD.

E T. B TWISTLETON

(C)

*Numbers of Covenanted Civil Servants in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, distinguishing those who were selected by competition from those who were appointed without competition*

(Compiled from Allen's Indian Army and Civil Service List of January 1875)

	Non-competitive	Competitive
Bengal	186	443
Madras	51	105
Bombay	59	112
	—	—
	296	660
	—	—

(D)

*Birthplaces of the 741 Successful Competitors for the Indian Civil Service who proceeded to India between 1855 and 1874* pro- No 202A

England	350
Scotland	89
Ireland	156
Guernsey	3
France (3), Belgium (1), Germany (3), Austria (1), Russia (1)	9
Gibraltar, St Helena, Ascension	3
India and Ceylon (7 of Indian races included)	102
Mauritius (4), Penang, China	6
Canada, New Brunswick, Red River Settlement	4
West Indies	11
United States, Brazil	2
Tasmania (3), Polynesia (2)	5
At Sea	1
	<hr/>
	741
	<hr/>

(E)

## SOCIAL POSITION OF SUCCESSFUL COMPETITORS

What was the social standing of Haileybury students there are no accessible records to show. As nominees of the members of a commercial corporation, it is not very likely that they were all of aristocratic parentage or connection.

As to the men recently selected under the system of open competition, we have accurate information, and it is certain that, of the 668 civilians sent out to India between 1860 and 1874, as large a proportion as 78 per cent were the sons of parents belonging to the aristocracy, gentry, army, navy, Indian Civil Service, or one of the learned professions. The remaining 22 per cent would include the sons of merchants, bankers, farmers, and tradesmen, the proportion from the last-mentioned class being 4 per cent of the entire number. The details are shown in the following table.

*Professions and occupations of the Fathers of the Candidates who passed their "Further" or "Final" Examinations, and were certified for the Civil Service of India during the 15 years, 1860—1874*

Honourable, Baronet, Gentleman, J P and D L, Landed Proprietor, of no profession	67, or about 10 0 per cent
Officers of the Army (44), Navy (3), French Army (1), Civil Service (16), Ambassador (1)	65 „ 9 8 „
Clergymen (Church of England and Ireland) (145), other Ministers of Religion and Missionaries (39)	184 „ 27 5 „
India Civil Service (47), Colonial Civil Service (7), Zemindar, Planter, Irish J P residing in Natal	57 „ 8 5 „
Law — Barristers, Magistrates, County Court Judges (20), Solicitor, Notary, Clerk to the Peace, &c, (29)	49 „ 7 4 „
Medicine — Physicians; Surgeons	65 „ 9 7 „
Merchant (38), Banker (4), Manufacturer (2), Ship owner (1), Stock broker (1), Wine Merchant (2)	48 „ 7 2 „
Architect and Engineer	11 „ 1 7 „
President of College, Professor, School master	27 „ 4 0 „
Secretary, Agent, Manager, Librarian (1), Cashier of Steam Packet Company (1), Accountant (2), Officer in the Merchant Service (1), Commission Agent (1)	20 „ 3 0 „
Farmer (17), Land Agent (7), Miller (2), Woolstapler (1), Assistant to County Surveyor (1)	28 „ 4 2 „
Baker (1), Butcher (1), Chemist and Druggist (2), Bookseller, Printer, Printseller, Stationer (6), Tailor, Draper (7), Shoemaker (1), Iron monger, "Wright" (3), Upholsterer, Undertaker (3), Cheese Factor (1), Confectioner (1), Licensed Victualler (1)	27 „ 4 0 „
Organist (1), Merchant's Clerk, Railway Clerk (2), Steward, Game-keeper (2), Station Master (1)	6 „ 0 9 „
Not specified	14 „ 2 1 „
	<hr/>
TOTAL	668 „ 100 „
	<hr/>

The social position of the competitioners may also be inferred from the schools or other places of education which they have attended. Taking as the best evidence on this point the facts of the most recent examination, it appears that, of the first 40 candidates in order of merit at the competition of 1874, the number educated at public schools was 30, of whom 14 proceeded to some university. Of the residue, 4 attended at some University or College who had not previously been at any public school.

YEAR	Limits of age in force	NUMBER OF CANDIDATES SELECTED WHO WERE						Total number of Candidates selected
		Over 17	Over 18	Over 19	Over 20	Over 21	Over 22	
1859	18—23*		1	3	9	13	14	40
1860	18—22		8	16	29	27		80
1861	18—22		11	15	32	22		80
1862	18—22		13	15	23	29		80
1863	18—22		20	9	12	19		60
1864	18—21		10	11	8	11		40
1865	17—22		4	8	26	12		50
1866	17—21	2	4	20	24			50
1867	17—21	1	8	14	27			50
1868	17—21	2	8	16	25			51
1869	17—21	2	3	13	32			50
1870	17—21	1	4	14	21			40
1871	17—21		4	6	25			35
1872	17—21	2	5	9	20			36
1873	17—21		6	8	21			35
1874	17—21	3	7	10	20			40
TOTAL		13	116	187	354	133	14	817

\* e, "above 18 and under 23"

## (G)

*Successful Anglo-Indian Competitors—Particulars respecting those of the Successful Competitors of the last five years (1870-74) who were connected by birth or parentage with India, not being of Indian race*

The total number of successful competitors in the years 1870-74 was 186

Of these, 44 were either born in India, or were the sons of Indian civilians, officers of the army, clergymen, or others who had served in India

## (H)

*Report from Sir WILLIAM GULL, Bart, M.D., as to the physical qualifications of Selected Candidates*

DEAR SIR EDWARD RYAN,—

In accordance with your request that I should make a further report to you on the physical condition of the candidates who have appeared before me for medical examination in the open competition for the Civil Service of India, I have to state that since I reported in the year 1868, I have examined 289 candidates, and have arranged them in my note-books in three divisions, as I had done during the previous seven years. Thus, if I found the physical condition altogether unexceptionable, I marked the candidate 100, if of mean or moderate strength, 85, if inclined to weakness, 75. Below this standard, no candidate was accepted. As stated in the previous report, though these numbers have no rigidly exact value, they fairly expressed the character of the men in respect of their general vigour.

Of the number of men *passed* in the last seven years —

I find in the first division	163
„ „ second division	97
„ „ third division	14

I shall continue to be impressed with the fact that a sound physical constitution is a necessary element of success in these competitive examinations. The men who have been rejected have not failed from mere weakness of constitution, but

(with only a solitary exception or two) from a mechanical defect in the valves of No 202A the heart in otherwise strong men, and for the most part traceable to over muscular exercises in gymnastics, &c

After 14 years' observation, I am able to state that the physical development of the candidates for the Indian Civil Service is decidedly higher than the mean I do not refer to height, but to robustness of frame, though as height may be an element of some though slight importance, I may add that the average height of the men examined was nearly 5 feet 10 inches

It is a further fact worthy of record, that the men who came of large families are generally the strongest

As the candidates are medically examined on two occasions, after the first and after the final competition I have been able to form an opinion as to their condition at the second, as compared with the first examination, and have almost invariably found that where the candidates had been placed in the second or third list at the first examination, their health had improved by the course of study

There is a somewhat prevalent opinion, that the courses of study now required for the public service are calculated to weaken the physical strength of candidates Experience does not only not confirm this, but abundantly proves that the course of life which conduces to sound intellectual training, is equally favourable to the physical health of the student

## (K)

*Number of Subjects taken up by Candidates at the Open Competitive Examination*

It is not easy to ascertain, by means of statistics, what is the normal number of subjects which candidates between the ages of 17 and 21 may be expected to have studied with advantage, but the following facts may throw some light on the question —

In the London University, at the matriculation examination, which may be passed at the age of 16, *six* subjects are required

Two more subjects are required for the B A degree (which may be obtained at the age of 18)

At the Universities of Aberdeen and St Andrews *six* subjects are required for the M A degree, at Edinburgh and Glasgow, *five* subjects Candidates for these Universities frequently graduate M A before coming up for the India Civil Service competition

\* On the other hand, at Oxford and Cambridge *three or four* subjects only are required for graduation

At Trinity College, Dublin, *four* subjects are prescribed for the entrance examination, whilst for a degree, there is a choice out of some nine or more subjects

At the Queen's University in Ireland *four* subjects are prescribed for the entrance examination The degree of B A or M A may be obtained by a choice of two or three subjects from a list of seven subjects

The number of subjects offered by the successful candidates at the first examination for the Civil Service of India in 1855, before the ordinary range of study could have been affected by the introduction of open competition, varied from three to eight, the average being 5.25 The limits of age at that time were 18 and 23

Passing now to the number of subjects actually taken up in recent times by candidates for the Civil Service of India, the following table shows the average number offered for examination by the first forty candidates in each of the last eleven years —

Year	Average number of subjects offered
1864	6.50*
1865	6.05
1866	5.55
1867	5.45
1868	5.27
1869	5.27
1870	5.12
1871	4.80
1872	4.80
1873	5.12
1874	5.10

\* In this, as in succeeding tables classics are taken as two subjects (Greek and Latin) English (composition, History and Literature) is regarded as *one* subject Mathematics (pure and mixed) as *one* subject Natural Science as *one* subject



The diminution in the number of subjects taken, which is observable in the No 202A years following 1864, is due, doubtless, to the rule, first introduced by the Civil Service Commissioners in 1865, of deducting a fixed number of marks from the number gained in each subject

Taking five subjects as the average, the number of candidates out of the first 40 who offered more than five subjects in 1864 was 33, in 1874 it was 11

It may be asked, supposing the candidates *limited to five subjects*, what effect would this limitation have had upon the examination of 1874? It appears that 38 out of the 40 winners would still have been successful, and the only change would have been the substitution of Nos 41 and 42 for Nos, 30 and 35

## (L)

*Examples of the subsequent Success of Candidates who have taken up a large number of subjects*

Many of the civilians selected by competition who took up more than five subjects are known to have distinguished themselves in India. Take, for example, the following list —

NAME	Position in 1874	No of subjects taken
T H Thornton	Secretary to Government, Punjab	8
J Geoghegan	Under Secretary to Government of Bengal	6
H Le Poer Wynne	Agent to Governor General, Moorshedabad	6
H S Beadon	Under Secretary to Government of Bengal	6
D Fitzpatrick	Deputy Secretary to Government of India, Legislative Department	6
H M Birdwood	Judge and Sessional Judge, Sholapore	7
W Wedderburn	Under-Secretary to Government in Judicial and Political Departments, Bombay	7
B H Powell	Conservator of Forests, Punjab	8
P Whalley	Under Secretary to Government, North Western Provinces	6
J R Naylor	Assistant Judge and Sessional Judge, Khandeish	8
J Westland	Accountant General, Central Provinces	8
C E E Girdlestone	Resident in Nepal	6
L H Griffin	Under-Secretary to Government of Punjab	8
A Mackenzie	Junior Secretary to Government of Bengal	6
C J Lyall	Under Secretary to Government of India, (Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce)	6

## (M)

*Admission of Subjects not taught in Public Schools*

It must be admitted that the present scheme of examination embraces subjects "not regularly taught or studied in English schools, or not in the best of them" But the question is whether the subjects which *are* taught or may be supposed to be taught in such schools have sufficient weight in the scheme. If so, there does not appear to be any reason why other subjects should be excluded

The maximum of marks allotted to all the subjects of the scheme is 7,875

As no candidate, however, brings up all the subjects, the available maximum is considerably less than this. Thus, of the first 40 candidates in 1874, there was only *one* whose subjects had as large a maximum as 6,625. Several were content with a maximum of 3,500, and the average of the whole 40 was 4,579

What is the maximum available for a candidate who has studied public school subjects? This depends of course upon the number taught. If only *four* are taught, these, we may assume, would be English, Greek, Latin, and Mathematics, and the maximum for these is 4,250. Supposing a fifth subject to be taught, this would probably be either a modern language or natural science, and the maximum would be increased, in the former case to 4,625, and in the latter case to 5,250

At the last examination eleven of the first forty candidates won their places with a maximum not exceeding 4,250, twenty-three of them won with a maximum not exceeding 4,625, and thirty-eight (i.e., all but two) won with a maximum not exceeding 5,250

If the Public Schools Commissioners may be accepted as sufficient authority on the point, as many as *five* subjects should be taught in public schools. It is, therefore, within the power of the managers of such schools, without unduly extending the school course, to ensure that every pupil competing for the India Civil Service shall, even in the matter of the maximum of marks, be in as good a position as 38 out of 40 candidates

The foregoing observations proceed on the assumption that a candidate whose No 202A subjects have a larger maximum than have those of another candidate obtains an advantage over his rival

But (if marks are fairly awarded by the examiners) this assumption is, for all practical purposes, fallacious. So long as the maximum of each is considerably above the number of marks which would ensure success, the chances of two candidates would be practically equal, although one of them were to have a maximum of 10,000 and the other a maximum of only 3,000

At the last examination, the number of marks sufficient to ensure success was 1,050, so that a public school candidate who brought up only English, classics, and mathematics, had a maximum (4,250) to draw upon, more than four times as great as the required number

In 1873, four candidates coming directly from Cheltenham College were successful. They all won their places by English and classics alone

Even as regards position on the list of winners (which is undoubtedly important, as governing choice of presidency) there is no reason why a public school candidate should not come out No 1, for the first man at the examination of 1874 won his place with only 1,873 marks,—less than half the maximum of the four chief public school subjects. In fact, he won by means of these very subjects, with the addition of moral science, and he might have omitted this last subject, and yet have stood *fourth* upon the list, with English, classics and mathematics

(N)

*Memorandum as to Deductions (1866)*

When the system of examination for the India Civil Service was first established, it was laid down as a principle that superficial acquaintance with a number of subjects should not be allowed to tell. "Nothing can be further from our wish," said Lord Macaulay's Committee in 1854, "than to hold out premiums for knowledge of wide surface and of small depth. We are of opinion that a candidate ought to be allowed no credit at all for taking up a subject in which he is a mere smatterer." And from the first this principle was acted upon, partially at least, i.e., all marks which fell below a certain *minimum* in any subject were struck out, but all marks which exceed that *minimum* were allowed to count

When the examinations were placed under the control of the Civil Service Commissioners in 1858, they adopted the plan which they found in operation, and continued to act upon it for several years. But when the matter came to be carefully considered, it was obvious that this method of discouraging superficial study did not act either evenly or effectually. It did not act evenly, because it allowed A, to whom an examiner assigned 101 marks (supposing 100 to be the pass mark), to count all his marks, while B to whom 99 were assigned counted 0. Thus of two performances hardly distinguishable in point of merit, one would be treated as absolutely worthless, the other as worth 101 marks. And it did not act effectually, because it left it still possible for a candidate to accumulate a great amount of marks in a number of subjects, while possessing hardly more than the barest "smattering" of any one of them

Justice seemed, therefore, to require that, if one man's marks were struck out because they did not reach the minimum, another man's marks should only count so far as they exceeded it, in other words, that this *minimum* should be deducted from all marks alike, so that while A (in the case put above) got 0, B should get 1. At the same time, it was clear that this plan would effectually deter candidates from taking up a great number of subjects, for every man would feel that he must start, as it were, weighted in respect of each new subject he took up

Accordingly, when, in November 1864, the India Office drew the attention of the Commissioners to the desirableness of "making the examination still more distinctly what it had always been wished to make it, a test of general scholarship and intelligence," the Commissioners, in answer, expressed their confidence that this object would be attained "by a careful system of marking," having in view the method of deduction above described

On the 16th of May 1865 the question became the subject of a debate in the House of Commons, on a motion brought in by Mr A Mills. In the course of that debate Lord Stanley spoke as follows —

"Where a multitude of subjects are admitted, no doubt those, who have a facility for learning a little of a great many things enjoy advantages over those who, with greater powers of concentration, do not possess the same power of familiarizing themselves with a variety of topics. But the evils complained of may be easily met in either of two ways. One would be by limiting the number of the subjects themselves, and the other, which I think would be equally effective, and would not involve such a large change in the character of the examination,

would be to require a rudimentary knowledge of any subject in which the candidate No 202A intends to pass, but not to allow that rudimentary knowledge up to a certain point to count for marks. The effect of such a rule would be that while those studying a subject with a view of obtaining high marks would be in no way discouraged, those who were getting up the beginnings of half a dozen different subjects, with no intention of going on with any of them, would find that calculation was rendered useless. I believe in that way, without any considerable change of the general scheme, the evil complained of might be rectified."

Sir C Wood afterwards spoke in favour of this plan of marking, and stated his belief that it would have the effect that was desired.

Finding their own views supported by such authority, the Civil Service Commissioners determined to carry them out at the examination then ensuing.

Accordingly a fixed number corresponding to the "rudimentary knowledge" of which Lord Stanley spoke, viz, 125, was deducted from the marks of each candidate in each subject. At the same time the examiners were informed that they were at liberty to assign marks exceeding the *maxima* allotted to their several subjects to any candidates who might show unusual and remarkable proficiency, the object being to make it possible for a candidate who deserved it to obtain the *maximum* notwithstanding the deduction.

In one subject no deduction was made, viz, in mathematics, on the ground (as stated by the Commissioners in their 10th Report) that it is a subject "in which, regarded from one point of view, there is, strictly speaking, no such thing as smattering, inasmuch as in it even meagre elementary knowledge is valuable, and cannot be acquired without positive benefit to the powers of the mind." It may be added that the standard in this subject had previously been somewhat higher than in others, and did not need to be raised, and the method of deduction is, of course, only one way of raising the standard.

After the examination, some letters appeared in the newspapers on a question of detail, viz, whether the deduction, instead of being the same throughout, ought not to have been proportioned to the *maxima* allotted to the several subjects. It need hardly be stated that this point had not escaped the Commissioners, and that they had not decided on a uniform deduction without full consideration of all the arguments against it. The reasons which led them to adopt it can hardly be more clearly stated than they were, in one of the letters above referred to by Dr Temple of Rugby.

"I hope," wrote Dr Temple, "the Commissioners will not be misled into a departure from their rule of subtracting an equal number of marks in each subject. The notion that the *minimum* should bear a certain proportion to the *maximum* has a specious appearance of fairness which vanishes on closer examination. For, suppose that this plan were adopted, and one-fifth deducted in each subject, the candidate who was examined in Latin would lose 150, the candidate who was examined in French 75. But it is undeniably twice (nay, more than twice) as easy to get 75 in French, as to get 150 in Latin, so that every French scholar would have a distinct advantage over every Latin scholar, the French scholar would only have thrown away so much labour as is represented by 75 marks, the Latin scholar as much as is represented by 150. The Commissioners are right. The *minimum* has nothing whatever to do with the *maximum*. The only fair rule in comparing subject with subject is to deduct that which will represent the same amount of labour and ability, and that ought to be, if the examination be tolerably uniform, the same number of marks all round."

The results of the measure, so far as there has been time to test them, have been very satisfactory, for whereas in 1865, before the alteration, 50.3 per cent of the candidates took up more than five subjects, and 15.2 more than six subjects this year (1866) the respective percentages are only 28.3 and 6.6.

(O)

Observations on "Cramming"

There is no doubt that—if by "cramming" is meant preparation, little or much, at establishments other than schools or Universities—there is an increasing tendency on the part of candidates to avail themselves of this kind of assistance. More of the candidates attend such establishments, and the attendance is more prolonged than formerly. Thus, the percentage of successful candidates specially prepared was—

In 1865	32.7
In 1874	84.2

while the average time spent in such preparation was—

In 1865	6 or 7 months
In 1874	15 or 16 "

Two questions, however, remain (1) whether this preparation is substituted No 202A for, or additional to, that of public schools and Universities, and (2) whether it is different in its character from that obtained at these institutions

(1) Upon the first point, statistics show that, of the first 40 candidates selected in 1874, there had been (prior to any special preparation)—

At public schools (exclusively)	16
At public schools, and afterwards at Universities or colleges	14
At private schools,* and afterwards at Universities or colleges	4
At private schools* (exclusively)	6
	—
	40
	—

The average time spent at these institutions, compared with the time subsequently spent at special establishments, was—

At public schools (exclusively)	5 years
At public schools and Universities, &c	8 "
At special establishments	1½ "

(2) On the second question some light may be thrown by the following facts relating to one of the establishments pointedly referred to in the India Office letter

It appears that the average number of subjects offered at the examination of 1874 by the 18 successful pupils of this establishment was smaller than the number offered by the six successful candidates who came direct from Universities, being, on the average, 4.5 in the former case, and 5.8 in the latter

It is noticeable also that Mr ———'s pupils obtained a larger proportion of the maximum in the most solid subjects, *viz*, classics and mathematics, than the candidates from the Universities, the actual figures being—

	PERCENTAGE OF MAXIMUM SCORED IN		
	Greek	Latin	Mathematics
Mr ———'s pupils	37	44	50
University candidates	23	35	28

As further showing the degree in which the subjects taken up are studied thoroughly or superficially, it may be stated that *all* the 18 successful candidates prepared by Mr ——— obtained marks enough in *five* subjects to ensure success, that 15 of them would have succeeded with only *four* subjects, that 10 would have succeeded with only *three* subjects, and that 2 have succeeded with only *two* subjects

The subjects taken up by these 18 candidates were as follows —

English	by 17
Greek	" 12
Latin	" 13
Mathematics	" 9
Natural Science	" 9
Moral Science	" 7
French	" 5
Italian	" 2
Sanskrit	" 2
German	" 1

*Memorandum (1866) by the Secretary to the Civil Service Commission on the comparative Examinations for the Civil Service of India.*

N B — Figures referring to the year 1874 are included in brackets[]

These examinations are accused of encouraging "cramming"

If the term is used as applicable to (1) all special preparation for examinations, (2) all work done with the view of passing examinations, and with the intention of discontinuing it when they are passed, (3) all reading with private tutors, (4) all study carried on at places where different tutors teach in different branches, (5) all study of subjects not commonly taught at school and college

\* Some of these "private" schools are large establishments, hardly distinguishable from public schools

If the term is used in this sense, there is nothing very formidable in the charge. No 202A For (1) boys at school and men at college almost invariably furnish up their knowledge before going in for an examination, (2) a very large proportion of the work at Oxford or Cambridge is done solely with a view to the schools, and discontinued as soon as they are over, (3) private tuition is often the only system under which a boy of good abilities, but sociable and fond of games, can be got to read at all, (4) study three or four subjects, each under a teacher specially conversant with it, is not necessarily a less liberal method of education than studying all the three or four under one master, (5) the most ardent admirer of the public school system will hardly maintain that it embraces everything which it is desirable for man to know

But if "cramming" means the process whereby a man endeavours to acquire a superficial appearance of knowing subjects of which he is really ignorant, by committing to memory a number of disconnected facts of which he does not see the bearing, by learning by rote the answers to expected questions, by studying manuals and analyses of a country's history or literature, and reproducing the information there collected as if it were of his own gathering—can it be said with truth that "cramming" in this sense is encouraged by the Indian examinations?

A complete answer to this inquiry could not be given without a searching analysis—(1) of the questions, (2) of the answers, (3) of the marks given to a large number of candidates in a great variety of subjects. Short of this, however, it may be possible to throw some light on the question

I It will hardly be asserted that such 'cramming' can have any appreciable effect on the marks given for the subject which is taken up by the largest number of candidates, and exercises in some respects the greatest influence on the examinations, *viz*, English composition

II Neither can it affect the marks in mathematics, nor is it indeed ever pretended that marks are too easily obtained in this subject

III. Let us turn to Latin and Greek. Here the examination is divided into four heads—(1) Translation from the language (2) Translation into the language (3) *Vivá voce*, consisting almost entirely of *ex-tempore* translation from the language (4) Questions on the language, history, and literature. Probably no one would contend that cramming can have anything to do with the marks obtained under the three first heads. If it is alleged that marks are got in classics by cramming, the meaning must be that—(1) A large proportion of the maximum is allotted to the fourth branch (2) A large proportion of what is thus allotted is obtained by the successful candidates. (3) A large proportion of the questions asked are of a "cram" character

No one of these assertions would be correct. In the open competition of 1865 the number of marks obtainable in classics by that part of the examination on which "cramming" may be thought to tell was 300, the number obtainable by the other parts was 1,200, that is, four times as much.

The marks obtained by successful candidates in the first-mentioned part averaged 138, in the last-mentioned they averaged 803, that is, nearly six times as many

It appears, therefore, that not only is the supposed domain of "cram" comparatively small, but it is positively more difficult, in the proportion of nearly 6 to 4, to obtain marks within that domain than without it

This would not be the case if cramming were rife and the questions were such as to reward it. But in truth any one who looks at the questions will see that the great majority of them are such as could not be answered without substantial knowledge

IV The case is the same with the modern languages. In these the marks obtained by the successful candidates, under the head of "*Translation, &c*" were 63.1 per cent of the marks obtainable, while, under the head of "*Questions*" in history, &c, they were 46.5 per cent

V Of the two Oriental languages, Sanskrit and Arabic, it is unnecessary to speak, for here there can be no cram. It may, indeed, be a question whether elementary knowledge of these languages has or has not been too highly rewarded, but elementary knowledge is not crammed knowledge, it is, in fact, the very reverse. The essence of cramming is that it seeks to raise a showy superstructure *without* laying the necessary foundation. It is simply inconceivable that any one by a mere effort of memory, and without understanding what he was saying, should be able to answer a number of searching questions on Sanskrit grammar, or translate an Arabic passage which he had never seen before. Whatever objections may be urged on other grounds against the introduction of these languages into the competition, no one can say that marks gained in them are gained by cramming

VI There remain, then, three subjects English history and literature, the No 202A moral sciences, and the natural sciences Let it be conceded, for the sake of argument, that in these subjects it is not easy even for an experienced examiner to distinguish between sound knowledge and superficial knowledge on paper, *vivā voce*, at any rate, it is not so A crammed man may get high marks for his paper work, but he will get low marks for oral examination What, then, are the facts disclosed by the recent examination? Even in these three subjects, taken together, the successful candidates obtained rather higher marks *vivā voce* than on paper, the percentage being in the one case 57.5, in the other 51.6

The inference is irresistible In individual cases cramming (in the bad sense of the word) may be successful, but as a system it does not "pay," whatever candidates and their friends may think on the subject

Apprehensions are sometimes expressed that, owing to the encouragement offered in these examinations to the study of new and out-of-the-way subjects, the old subjects which form the staple of an English education are being neglected How far are these apprehensions borne out by facts?

First, as to the encouragement offered The studies embraced in an ordinary English education may be taken to be classics, mathematics, English and French Can it be said that other studies are encouraged at the expense of these, when the maximum which a candidate may obtain for these is 4,625, for the others 2,500?

Still, if the aggregate amount of marks obtained bore a greater ratio to what is obtainable in the new subjects than in the old, it might fairly be said that they were cultivated with a greater proportionate degree of diligence and success But what are the facts? Of the aggregate 240,500 [175,750] obtainable at the recent examination by the 52 [38] successful candidates in the ordinary subjects, nearly one-half, 103,165 [66,207, or three-eighths] was actually obtained by them, whereas of the aggregate obtainable by the other studies, 130,000 [123,500], little more than one-sixth, 22,344 [16,259, or one-eighth] was obtained

January 1866

T WALROND

(P)

*Number of Successful Competitors of the last five years (1870-74) who came direct from School or College without special preparation*

The total number of successful competitors in the years 1870-74 was 186

Of these 44 came up without special preparation, *viz* —

From Oxford	7
Cambridge	8
London University —	
<i>University and King's Colleges</i>	5*
<i>Wesley College, Sheffield</i>	1†
Edinburgh	3
Aberdeen	1
Trinity College, Dublin	4
Queen's University in Ireland	6
	—
	35
From Cheltenham College	6
Liverpool Institute	2
Blackheath Proprietary School	1
	—
	44
	—

In many of the other cases the amount of special preparation was comparatively trifling

(Q)

*Proposed Appropriation of Appointments to each Subject of Examination*

It has been suggested "that a certain number of appointments should be appropriated to each branch of knowledge, and should be obtainable by high proficiency in that alone"

\* One of these was M.A. of the University of Calcutta

† B.A., London

It is not clear what is meant by this suggestion. Let us assume, however, No 202A, that, there being 40 vacancies, it is intended to secure the selection of a certain number of the best men in each branch as follows —

The six best in English  
 The six best in Greek.  
 The six best in Latin  
 The six best in Mathematics  
 The four best in Natural Science  
 The four best in Moral Science  
 The two best in French,  
 The two best in German.  
 The two best in Italian  
 The one best in Sanskrit  
 The one best in Arabic.

The effect of such a rule may, to some extent, be inferred from the following statement of the effect which it would have produced at the last examination had it then been in force —

In *English*, the six highest candidates were Nos 27, 36, 18, 7, 1, and 50, in order of merit, all but the last being already successful.

In *Greek*, the six highest were Nos 1, 65, 17, 36, 74, and 81, three being in the selected list and three outside.

In *Latin*, the six highest were Nos. 42, 17, 1, 21, 2, and 36, all but one being in the selected list.

In *Mathematics*, the six highest were Nos 5, 8, 3, 10, 54 and 14, all but one being in the selected list.

In *Natural Science*, the highest four were Nos 14, 16, 6 and 85, all but one being in the selected list.

In *Moral Science*, the highest four were Nos. 9, 55, 5 and  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 11 \\ 21 \end{array} \right\}$ , all but one being in the selected list.

In *French*, the first two were Nos 15 and 45, one successful and one unsuccessful.

In *German*, the first two were Nos 39 and 105, one successful and one unsuccessful.

In *Italian*, the first two were Nos 45, and 15, one successful and one unsuccessful.

In *Sanskrit*, the first man was No 52. He was unsuccessful.

In *Arabic*, the first man was No 132. He was unsuccessful.

If Greek and Latin were taken together and eight appointments reserved for the eight highest men in "*Classics*," the selection would have fallen on Nos 1, 17, 42, 36, 21, 65, 7 and 74, five out of eight being in the selected list as it now stands.

If French, German, and Italian were to be grouped together under the head of "*Modern Languages*," and six appointments reserved for the six highest candidates in this group, the selection would have fallen upon Nos. 15, 45, 26, 4, 39 and 28, all but one being successful upon the existing plan.

It will be seen from the above that the list of successful candidates, as made up upon the existing system, includes the absolutely best man in English, Classics, Mathematics, Natural Science, Moral Science and Modern Languages (taken as one group). It is only in Sanskrit and Arabic (with Latin and Italian taken separately) that the best man was not amongst the winners.

From the figures given above it will be seen that the men who under the plan proposed would be substituted for some of the present winners are Nos 42, 45, 50, 52, 54, 55, 65, 74, 81, 85, 105, and 132.

Three of the candidates who would thus be substituted are natives of India, and two of these would have succeeded by means of the two Oriental languages. One of the others would have gained his place by means of a knowledge of German acquired during residence in Hanover.

( R )

*Number of Selected Candidates who under the two-years' system of Probation have No 202A failed on Examination in Health or on Character*

Year of Selection	Number of Candidates selected	NUMBER WHO FAILED		
		on Examination	in Health	on Character
1865	50	None	None	None
1866	50	6	2	None
1867	50	None	None	None
1868	51	6	1	None
1869	50	1	2	None
1870	40	None	None	None
1871	35	1	None	None
1872	36	2	None	None

( S )

*Number of Candidates certificated for the Indian Civil Service between 1858 and 1874 who obtained Marks in Extra Languages at their "Further" or "Final" Examinations*

The regulations as to the "Further" or "Final" Examination have been so different at different times, that it is necessary to divide the period from 1858 to 1874 into four —

(I) *The year 1858*—In this year the candidates selected were required to proceed to India as soon as possible. The open competition was held in July, and the "Further Examination" (limited to English Composition, the History and Geography of India, and the Elements of Hindustani or Bengali) was passed by three candidates in the following October, and by the remainder in November or December. No opportunity was given to the candidates to take extra languages.

(II) *From 1859 to 1864*—The selected candidates were allowed one year to prepare for their Further Examination, and the regulation was that "each candidate may name one or two languages." The following table shews how many candidates availed themselves of the permission to take up a second language —

Year in which the Candidates were selected	Total number of Candidates who passed the subsequent Further Examination	Total number who obtained Marks in a Second Language
1859	32	17
1860	68	40
1861	60	42
1862	91	60
1863	52	47
1864	36	31
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>339</b>	<b>237</b>

(III) *From 1865 to 1871*—The regulations required each candidate to pass in *two vernacular languages*, the probationary period in England being at the same time extended to *two years*. No restriction was laid upon the number of additional languages which might be taken up.

The following table shows the extent to which the candidates selected from 1865 to 1871 obtained marks in extra languages at their "Final Examinations"—

Year in which the Candidates were selected.	Total number who passed the subsequent "Final" Examination	Total number who obtained Marks in extra Languages	OF WHOM THERE OBTAINED MARKS				
			In one extra Language	In two extra Languages	In three extra Languages	In four extra Languages	In five extra Languages
1865	45	27	16	7	3	1	
1866	39	20	10	5	5		
1867	47	22	9	8	4		1
1868	41	8	3	5			
1869	48	13	7	3	3		
1870	38	18	7	8	3		
1871	34	12	7	4	1		
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>292</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>



(iv) Since 1872 selected candidates have only been required to pass in *one* No 202A vernacular language, all other languages taken up being treated as *extra*. The following table shows the result of the "Final" Examination of the candidates of 1872 —

Total number who passed the "Final" Examination	Total number who obtained marks in extra Languages	OF WHOM THERE OBTAINED MARKS			
		In <i>one</i> extra Language	In <i>two</i> extra Languages	In <i>three</i> extra Languages	In <i>five</i> extra Languages
33	18	10	5	2	1

( T )

NOTE ON UNIVERSITY CANDIDATES AT EXAMINATIONS FOR THE ARMY  
EXAMINATION FOR FIRST APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY, DECEMBER 1874

Comparison of the Marks obtained in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics by the 24 successful University candidates with those of the first 24 candidates on the General List —

	AGGREGATE MARKS OBTAINED IN		
	Latin	Greek	Mathematics
University candidates (24)	21,912	3,823	14,260
Ordinary candidates (first 24)	30,266	4,605	20,386

Analysis of the total number of marks obtained by the University candidates (32) and by the candidates on the General List —

Number of candidates who obtained a total of	University candidates	Ordinary candidates
Over 5,000 marks	2	12
„ 4,000 „	9	40
„ 3,000 „	7	86
„ 2,000 „	5	101
„ 1,000 „	6	67
Less than 1,000 marks	3	23
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>329</b>

( U. )

*Names of the Examiners in Classics and Mathematics during the last five years*

The following are the names of the Examiners in Classics and Mathematics at the open competitions, 1870 to 1874, inclusive, viz —

Classics  
Benson, Rev Dr  
Bradley, Rev Dr  
Campbell, Rev Lewis  
Evans, Rev Prof  
Gordon, Rev Osborne  
Hessey, Rev Dr  
Jebb, R C, Esq  
Kennedy, Rev Dr  
Marshall, Rev G  
Mayor, Rev J B  
Merivale, Very Rev Dr  
Merry, Rev W W  
Paley, F A, Esq.  
Papillon, Rev T L  
Rawlinson, Rev Prof  
Wickham, Rev E C

Mathematics  
Besant, W H., Esq  
Price, Rev B  
Pritchard, Rev Prof  
South, E J, Esq  
Smith, Prof., H J S  
Sylvester, Prof  
Todhunter, I, Esq  
Townsend, Rev Prof

## EXAMINATIONS FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA

No 202A

## REGULATIONS FOR THE OPEN COMPETITION OF 1875

N B —*The Regulations are liable to be altered in future years.*

1 On Tuesday, March 16th, 1875, and following days, an examination of candidates will be held in London. At this examination not fewer than candidates will be selected, if so many shall be found duly qualified. Of these, will be selected for the Presidency of Bengal [ for the Upper Provinces, and for the Lower Provinces], for that of Madras, and for that of Bombay \*—Notice will hereafter be given of the days, and place of examination.

2 Any person desirous of competing at this examination must produce to the Civil Service Commissioners, before the 1st February 1875, evidence showing—

- (a) That he is a natural-born subject of Her Majesty
- (b) That his age on the 1st March 1875 will be above seventeen years and under twenty-one years [N B —*In the case of natives of India this must be certified by the Government of India, or of the Presidency or Province in which the candidate may have resided*
- (c) That he has no disease, constitutional affection, or bodily infirmity unfitting him, or likely to unfit him, for the Civil Service of India †
- (d) That he is of good moral character, he must also pay such fee as the Secretary of State for India may prescribe ‡

3 Should the evidence upon the above points be *prima facie* satisfactory to the Civil Service Commissioners, the candidate will, upon payment of the prescribed fee, be admitted to the examination. The Commissioners may, however, in their discretion at any time prior to the grant of the certificate of qualification hereinafter referred to institute such further inquiries as they may deem necessary, and if the result of such inquiries in the case of any candidate should be unsatisfactory to them in any of the above respects, he will be ineligible for admission to the Civil Service of India, and, if already selected, will be removed from the position of a probationer.

4 The examination will take place only in the following branches of knowledge —

	Marks
English composition	500
History of England, including that of the Laws and Constitution	500
English language and literature	500
Language, Literature, and History of Greece	750
Ditto do do of Rome	750
Ditto do do of France	375
Ditto do do of Germany	375
Ditto do do of Italy	375
Mathematics (pure and mixed)	1,250
Natural Science that is (1) Chemistry, including Heat, (2) Electricity and Magnetism, (3) Geology and Mineralogy, (4) Zoology (5) Botany	1,000
* * The total (1,000) marks may be obtained by adequate proficiency in any two or more of the five branches of Science included under this head	
Moral Sciences that is, Logic, Mental and Moral Philosophy	500
Sanskrit language and literature	500
Arabic language and literature	500

Candidates are at liberty to name before February 1, 1875, any or all of these branches of knowledge. No subjects are *obligatory*.

5 The merit of the persons examined will be estimated by marks, and the number set opposite to each branch in the preceding regulation denotes the greatest number of marks that can be obtained in respect of it.

6 No candidate will be allowed any marks in respect of any subject of examination unless he shall be considered to possess a *competent knowledge* of that subject §

\* The number of appointments to be made and the number in each Presidency, &c., will be announced hereafter.

† Evidence of health and character must bear date not earlier than the 1st January 1875.

‡ The fee for this examination will be £5 payable by means of a special stamp according to instructions which will be communicated to candidates.

§ "Nothing can be further from our wish than to hold out premiums for knowledge of wide surface and of small depth. We are of opinion that a candidate ought to be allowed no credit at all for taking up a subject in which he is a mere smatterer."—Report of Committee of 1874. A deduction of marks will be made under each subject, including *Mathematics*.

7 The examination will be conducted by means of printed questions and No 202A. written answers and by *vivā voce* examination as may be deemed necessary

8 The marks obtained by each candidate in respect of each of the subjects in which he shall have been examined will be added up, and the names of the candidates who shall have obtained a greater aggregate number of marks than any of the remaining candidates will be set forth in order of merit, and such candidates shall be deemed to be selected candidates for the Civil Service of India, provided they appear to be in other respects duly qualified. Should any of the selected candidates become disqualified, the Secretary of State for India will determine whether the vacancy thus created shall be filled up or not. In the former case the candidate next in order of merit and in other respects duly qualified shall be deemed to be a select candidate. A selected candidate declining to accept the appointment which may be offered to him will be disqualified for any subsequent competition.

9 Selected candidates before proceeding to India will be on probation for two years, during which time they will be examined periodically with a view of testing their progress in the following subjects\* —

	Marks
(1) Oriental languages —	
Sanskrit	500
Vernacular† languages of India (each)	400
(2) The History and Geography of India	350
(3) Law	1,250
(4) Political Economy	350

In these examinations, as in the open competition, the merit of the candidates examined will be estimated by marks, and the number set opposite to each subject denotes the greatest number of marks that can be obtained in respect of it at any one examination. The examination will be conducted by means of printed questions and written answers and by *vivā voce* examination as may be deemed necessary. The last of these examinations will be held at the close of the second year of probation, and will be called the "Final Examination," at which it will be decided whether a selected candidate is qualified for the Civil Service of India.

10 Any candidate who at any of the periodical examinations shall appear to have wilfully neglected his studies, or to be physically incapacitated for pursuing the prescribed course of training, will be liable to have his name removed from the list of selected candidates.

11 The selected candidates who at the Final Examination shall be found to have a competent knowledge of the subjects specified in Regulation 9, and who shall have satisfied the Civil Service Commissioners of their eligibility in respect of age, health, and character, shall be certified by the said Commissioners to be entitled to be appointed to the Civil Service of India, provided they shall comply with the regulations in force at the time for that Service.

12 Applications from persons desirous to be admitted as candidates are to be addressed to the Secretary to the Civil Service Commissioners, London, S W., from whom the proper form for the purpose may be obtained.

29th July 1874.

The Civil Service Commissioners are authorised by the Secretary of State for India in Council to make the following announcements —

- (1) *Selected candidates will be permitted to choose,‡ according to the order in which they stand in the list resulting from the open competition as long as a choice remains, the Presidency (and in Bengal the Division of the Presidency) to which they shall be appointed, but this choice will be subject to a different arrangement should the Secretary of State or Government of India deem it necessary.*
- (2) *No candidate will be permitted to proceed to India before he shall have passed the Final Examination, and received a certificate of qualification from the Civil Service Commissioners, or after he shall have attained the age of twenty-four years.*
- (3) *The seniority in Civil Service of India of the selected candidates shall be determined according to the order in which they stand on the list resulting from the Final Examination.*

\* Full instructions as to the course of study to be pursued will be issued to the successful candidates as soon as possible after the result of the open competition is declared.

† Including, besides the languages prescribed for the several presidencies, such other languages as may, with the approval of the Commissioners, be taken up as subjects of examination.

‡ This choice must be exercised immediately after the result of the open competition is announced on such day as may be fixed by the Civil Service Commissioners.

- (4) *It is the intention of the Secretary of State to allow the sum of £50 after No 202A each of the three first half years of probation, and £150 after the last half years, to each selected candidate who shall have passed the required examinations to the satisfaction of the Commissioners, and shall have complied with such rules as may be laid down for the guidance of selected candidates*
- (5) *All selected candidates will be required, after having passed the second periodical examination, to attend at the India Office for the purpose of entering into an agreement binding themselves, amongst other things to refund in certain cases the amount of their allowances in the event of their failing to proceed to India For a candidate under age a surety will be required*
- (6) *After passing a Final Examination each candidate will be required to attend again at the India Office, with the view of entering into covenants and giving a bond for £1,000, jointly with two sureties, for the due fulfilment of the same The stamps payable on these documents amount to £1-10*
- (7) *Candidates rejected at the Final Examination of 1877 will in no case be allowed to present themselves for re-examination*

### CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA

#### FORM OF APPLICATION, TO BE FILLED UP BY CANDIDATES

*This Form must be sent so as to be received at the Office of the Civil Service Commission before the 1st of February 1875*

*Date\_\_\_\_\_.*

S I R ,

I beg to inform you that I desire to be a candidate at the forthcoming Examination for the Civil Service of India

As required by the Regulations, I transmit herewith—

(1) If a General Register Office certificate cannot be obtained, the instructions printed on the other side will show what evidence should be supplied. If evidence is already in the hands of the Commissioners, strike out "A certificate of my birth," and insert "Evidence is already in the possession of the Commissioners"

(2) The terms indicated by the marks of quotation must appear in the certificate, which must be given after personal examination, and bear date not earlier than 1st January 1875

(3) Two testimonials must be sent bearing date not earlier than 1st January 1875. One of them should be given by an intimate acquaintance (not a relative) of not less than three or four years' standing, the other, if the candidate has recently left school, should be given by his late schoolmaster, or if he has had employment of any kind, by his late employer. If the candidate has been at any University, he should send a certificate of good conduct from his College tutor

(1) A certificate of my birth, showing that I was born on the day of \_\_\_\_\_ 18 \_\_\_\_\_, and that therefore my age on March 1, 1875, will be above 17 years (complete) and under 21 years

(2) A certificate signed by \_\_\_\_\_ of my having "no disease, constitutional affection, or bodily infirmity unfitting me for the Civil Service of India"

(3) Proof of my moral character, viz -  
(1) A testimonial from \_\_\_\_\_  
(2) A testimonial from \_\_\_\_\_

(4) If Mathematics be named, state whether pure or mixed or both are intended, if Natural Science be mentioned, state which branches

(4) A statement of the branches of knowledge in No 202A which I desire to be examined, viz —

I have also to state, with reference to Section 2, Clause (a), of the Regulations, that I am a natural-born subject of Her Majesty

I am, SIR, .

Your obedient Servant,

Name in full \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

To the Secretary,

Civil Service Commission

*Evidence of age to be required from candidates for the Civil Service of India*

- I Every candidate born in England or Wales should produce a Certificate from the Registrar General of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, or from one of his provincial Officers. This Certificate may be obtained at Somerset House, or from the Superintendent Registrar of the District in which the birth took place
- II A candidate who is a native of India must have his age certified by the Government of India, or of the Presidency or Province in which he may have resided
- III. Every other candidate *not producing the Certificate* mentioned in Clause I must prove his age by Statutory Declaration, and should also, if possible, produce a record of Birth or Baptism from some official Register, under which term may be included the Parochial Registers of Baptisms, the non-Parochial Registers of Baptisms and Births deposited at Somerset House under Acts of Parliament, the Register kept at the India Office of persons born in India, &c, &c. This Regulation applies—
  - (1) To all Candidates not born in England or Wales
  - (2) To Candidates who, though born in England or Wales, cannot produce the Registrar General's Certificate

The Civil Service Commissioners reserve to themselves the right of deciding in each case upon the sufficiency of the evidence produced, but they subjoin the following general rules for the guidance of Candidates —

- (a) The Declaration should specify precisely the date and place of birth, and should, if possible, be made by the father or mother of the Candidate. If made by any other person, it should state the circumstances which enable the Declarant to speak to the fact. If an entry in a Bible or other family record be referred to, the Bible or other record must be produced, at the time of making the Declaration, and must be mentioned in the Declaration as having been so produced
- (b) If the Candidate was born in England or Wales, the Declaration must contain a statement, that after due enquiry no entry has been found in the books of the Registrar General, or a separate Declaration must be made to that effect
- (c) If no extract from any Register is produced, the Declaration must contain a statement, that after due enquiry no such record is believed to exist, or a separate Declaration must be made to that effect
- (d) Statutory Declarations must be exactly in the form prescribed by the Act of 5 and 6 William IV, C 62. A printed Form, if required, will be supplied on application to the Civil Service Commissioners

N B — *Clergymen, as such, are not qualified to take Declarations*

General Instructions respecting the Periodical Examinations of the Candidates selected in 1874.

11th May 1874

It is necessary that the Selected Candidates should at once commence their special preparation. They will remember that they have been selected on the ground of superior proficiency in subjects which (with perhaps the exception of Arabic and Sanskrit) are included within the ordinary range of English education. The Civil Service Commissioners believe that no better presumptive evidence of fitness can be obtained, but it must rest with the candidates themselves to give more conclusive evidence, by showing aptitude in acquiring the special knowledge necessary for them in the positions which they hope to gain. They will be expected and required to devote their whole time to the pursuit of this special knowledge. They must bear in mind that, at the several examinations which they have to pass, the requirements of Universities or Colleges will not be regarded as affording any excuse for imperfect preparation, and further, that any one who should accept the position of a Selected Candidate without the intention of using all diligence to qualify himself for the service would be acting unfairly alike to the Government of India and to the candidate who might have been selected in his place. Each candidate, in choosing his place of residence, should carefully consider what facilities will be afforded him for the prosecution of his studies, and in this respect it should be remembered that London offers advantages for the study of law, and also perhaps of some of the vernacular languages, which can be obtained in no other part of the United Kingdom.

The Regulations relating to the Periodical Examinations to be undergone during the period of probation have already been communicated to every candidate. That there may be no misapprehension on the subject, a second copy of those Regulations is herewith enclosed. After each examination the half-yearly allowances\* will be paid to those candidates who shall have passed to the satisfaction of the Commissioners. Deductions may be made from this allowance in the case of the candidates whose examination is unsatisfactory in proportion to the degree of their deficiency. After each examination prizes will be awarded.

The following instructions will suffice to indicate generally the course of study to be pursued in the several subjects, but special instructions with reference to the preparation required for each of the Periodical Examinations will be given at the proper time —

#### I — LANGUAGES

Every candidate will be required to pass to the satisfaction of the Commissioners in the language prescribed for his presidency, *viz*, for—

Bengal	Hindustani
Madras	Telugu
Bombay	Hindustani

The final test of qualification in each of these languages will be as nearly as possible that which was formerly imposed on civil servants in India before they were appointed to active duties, it will include a sound knowledge of the grammar, facility in translating from and into the language, familiarity with the written character, and some proficiency in speaking the language †

In addition to the prescribed language, candidates may take up any one or more of the following, *viz*, Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. Languages other than these can only be taken up by special permission of the Commissioners ‡. Proficiency in additional languages will not be accepted as compensating for deficiency in those which are prescribed, and no candidate who in any of the prescribed subjects shall fail to show satisfactory proficiency will receive marks in respect of an additional language.

#### II — LAW

Examinations will be held under the following heads —

1. General Jurisprudence
2. (A) Proceedings in English Courts of Justice (B) Law of Evidence
3. Laws of India

\* *i. e.*, £50 after the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and £150 after the Final Examination

† Extract from 13th Report of the Civil Service Commissioners as to the necessity of acquiring a competent knowledge of the vernacular languages. "We consider that at the Final Examinations no amount of proficiency in other subjects should be accepted as compensating for deficiency in this essential qualification."

‡ Candidates desiring this permission should make early application for it on occasion of each examination.

1 Under the head of *General Jurisprudence* candidates will be expected to No 202A have mastered the contents of the following books, or such portions of them as may be indicated by special instructions —

*Blackstone's Commentaries*, edited by R. M. Kerr, LL D, Volume I (containing the "Introduction" and the "Rights of Persons")

*Austin's Jurisprudence*, Volume I

*The Institutes of Justinians*, edited by Sandars

"*Maine's Ancient Law*"

*Studies in Roman Law*, with comparative views of the Laws of France, England and Scotland By Lord Mackenzie.

*Bentham's Theory of Legislation* By Dumont \*

2 Under the second head Mr Pitt Taylor's *Treatise on the Law of Evidence* is recommended for reading and reference

(A) *Proceedings in English Courts of Justice*—Every candidate is required to send in at least six weeks before each half-yearly examination reports of a specified number of cases heard by himself in Courts of Justice† in accordance with the regulations set forth below. Should, however, the set of reports sent in by a candidate in any half-year fall below a reasonable standard, either in the choice of subject-matter or in the manner of treating it, or should the *viva voce* examination show that no sufficient knowledge of the meaning and conduct of the proceedings reported has been gained, the candidate may be required to attend and report a further number of cases from such Courts as the Civil Service Commissioners may prescribe

The object aimed at in this course of reporting is, that the candidate should acquire clear ideas as to the conduct of a judicial inquiry into such facts as form the ordinary staple of business in the Civil and Criminal Courts of this country, and some familiarity with the principles on which the rules of evidence and procedure enforced in those Courts are founded. Candidates will, therefore, do well to avoid (for the first year at least) cases involving abstruse legal questions or difficult technicalities

Candidates are advised, before commencing their attendance in Court, to read either in *Blackstone's Commentaries* or in some other elementary work an account of the proceedings in a civil action and a criminal trial, and they are required to attend to the following points in the preparation, &c, of the reports.—

(a) Each report should contain the title of the Court, the names of the Judge and the parties, the time and place of trial, and the matter of the charge, cause of action, &c. The reports should state fully, and methodically the substance of the evidence given (reporting it in the first person, and marking whether it was elicited in chief, cross or re-examination)—the objections made to evidence, whether oral or documentary—the points, if any, on which a conflict of evidence has arisen—the arguments of counsel—the view taken by the Judge—and the ultimate result, besides noting the course of procedure, and any other details which may appear worthy of observation.

(b) The candidate is to underline in the body of his report such portions of the evidence as appear to him specially cogent and material, and to state in the margin opposite in the shortest possible note the reason why.

(c) In addition to the more extended report, a very short analytical statement of each case is to be given, showing in criminal cases the facts necessary to constitute the offence charged, and in civil cases the exact points in issue, with the bearing of the evidence upon them. In working out this summary clearness and precision should be steadily kept in view

(d) Each candidate is to append to his reports a declaration that they have been obtained by his personal attendance in Court, and are *bona fide* his own composition, without revision or help given by another person or derived from another report

(e) The reports are to be written on detached sheets of *white* foolscap paper of the ordinary size. One side only of the paper is to be used, and attention must be paid to hand-writing, which should be clear and large

(B) *Law of Evidence*—Candidates will be expected to acquire a general knowledge of the main principles and rules of the English Law of Evidence, as set down in Mr Pitt Taylor's *Treatise*, and at the same time to master more particularly the provisions of the "Indian Evidence Act, 1872"‡

\* An English translation is published by Trubner and Co, Ludgate Hill

† The Commissioners will, if applied to, endeavour to facilitate the admission of candidates to those Courts of Justice in which any special arrangement for their accommodation can be made

‡ Copies of this Act will be given to candidates on application

At each periodical examination a paper will be set and *viva voce* questions will No 202A be asked to test both the familiarity of the candidates with the Law of Evidence as limited above, and the practical knowledge which they have gained by following the procedure of Courts of Justice in their course of reporting

3 The examination in the *Laws of India* will include papers and *viva voce* examination in the following branches —

- (a) The Code of Civil Procedure \*
- (b) The Indian Penal Code †
- (c) The Code of Criminal Procedure, 1872 ‡
- (d) The Indian Law of Contracts, 1872 §
- (e) The Intestate and Testamentary Succession (British India) Act, 1865 §
- (f) Hindu Law ||
- (g) Muhammadan Law ||

*Candidates are requested to acknowledge at once all communications from this office and to inform the Secretary of any change in their address*

### III — HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA

The following books may be studied with advantage —

Elphinstone's History of India  
Marshman's History of India  
Mills' History of British India, edited and continued by Professor Wilson.  
Kaye's Afghan War  
Kaye's Life of Lord Metcalfe.  
Maine's Village Communities  
Geography of India (Allen's Series, or Duncan's)  
Thoinston's Gazetteer

### IV — POLITICAL ECONOMY

The works recommended are—

M'Culloch's Edition of Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations, last edition (1863)  
J S Mills' Principles of Political Economy.  
Ricardo's Political Economy  
Northcote's Twenty Years of Financial Policy  
Goschen on Foreign Exchanges

Endorsement by the Home Department,—Nos 16—1031 to 1041, dated Simla, the 23rd June 1875

Copy forwarded to Local Governments and Administrations, with a request for an opinion on the points noted in paragraph 2 of the Secretary of State's despatch, and that in each Province a few specially selected officers may also be asked for their opinions on these points.

The Government of India would be glad of as early a reply to this reference as practicable.

\* The book recommended is the work by Wm Macpherson Esq, published by R C Lepage and Co, 1 White Friars Street, Fleet Street By the favour of the author, candidates will be permitted to purchase this work at the trade price on making direct application to the publishers

† Candidates are recommended to read the Indian Penal Code, illustrated by Mr Mayne, or the work by Messrs Morgan and Macpherson, of which the former may be obtained from Mr Bain, 1, Haymarket, and the latter, on the terms mentioned in the preceding note from Hay and Co, 31, Essex Street, Strand

‡ Copies will be given to Candidates on application

§ Copies will be given to Candidates at the proper time The Succession Act has been published with a Commentary and Notes by Mr W Stokes

|| The Tagore Law Lectures (1870, 1871, 1872 and 1873) and Rumsey's Charts of Hindu and Muhammadan Inheritance may be consulted with advantage



PUBLIC PROCEEDINGS, JULY 1875, Nos. 9 to 12

III

From Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, to His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council,—No 63 (Public), dated India Office, London, the 27th May 1875 No 9

I forward herewith, in continuation of my despatch\* of the 8th of April, No 47 of 1875, copy of a letter<sup>1</sup> which I have received from the Reverend the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, containing the resolutions approved by the congregation of the University on the subject of the training of selected candidates for the Civil Service of India

<sup>1</sup> Dated 13th May 1875

From the Reverend J E SEWELL, Vice Chancellor of the University of Oxford, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India,—dated Oxford, the 13th May 1875 No 10.

I am authorised by a decree of convocation to communicate to Your Lordship the following resolutions which have to-day been approved by the congregation of the University —

- 1 — “That it is desirable to make arrangements enabling selected candidates for the Indian Civil Service to reside at the University
- 2 — “That it is desirable to provide University teaching in certain branches of study specially required by the selected candidates
- 3 — “That it is desirable to make arrangements which may bring the degree of B A within the reach of such candidates before they proceed to India ”

IV.

From Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, to the Government of India,—No. 64, dated India Office, the 27th May 1875 No. 11.

In continuation of my despatch\* dated the 8th of April last, No 47, I transmit, for the information of Your Excellency in Council, copy of a Note<sup>2</sup> explanatory of one of the documents which accompanied the letter<sup>†</sup> from the Civil Service Commissioners dated the 16th of March last, respecting the method of selecting and training candidates for the Civil Service of India

<sup>2</sup> Three copies

2 This Note is to be regarded as forming part of the 3rd enclosure of the above letter.

CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA

Note to the General Instructions respecting the Periodical Examinations of the Candidates selected in 1874 No. 12.

§ II LAW 2 (A) Proceedings in English Courts of Justice

The following extracts from the special Instructions issued before the several examinations show what has been required under this head —

1ST EXAMINATION

Not fewer than twelve reports<sup>‡</sup> must be supplied by each candidate, drawn up as required by the “General Instructions,”<sup>§</sup> and consisting exclusively of cases decided by a single judge or magistrate without the aid of a jury. Four of these reports must relate to civil cases decided by the judge of a County Court (or in Scotland, of a Sheriff's Court) where both parties are represented by counsel or attorney. Seven must relate to proceedings in the Police Courts of London, Edinburgh, or Dublin, presided over by stipendiary magistrates, embracing (a) cases in which the magistrate exercises final jurisdiction, (b) cases in which the magistrate commits for trial by a jury. One must consist of a separate report of the whole of the business, of whatever kind, transacted in a Police Court during any one day.

The Law of Evidence is to be studied in the manner indicated in the “General Instructions”

\* See page 1

† See page 9

‡ Six of these (including at least one report of a County Court case, and at least one of a Police Court case) must be sent in before July 1st. The remainder (including the report of the business of a day in a Police Court) must be sent in before October 1st.

§ Candidates will be allowed to inspect at the office of the Civil Service Commission specimens of reports drawn up in the manner desired.

## 2ND EXAMINATION

Not fewer than ten reports\* must be supplied by each candidate, drawn up as required by the General Instructions, and consisting exclusively of cases decided in the Courts of Assize, in the Central Criminal Court, or in the Superior Courts of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin. Five of these reports must relate to civil actions, and five to criminal trials. No case should be taken in which the defendant or prisoner is unrepresented by counsel. No 12.

The Law of Evidence is to be studied more especially under the heads mentioned in the "General Instructions"

## 3RD EXAMINATION

Not fewer than six reports† must be supplied by each candidate, drawn up as required by the General Instructions, and referring exclusively to cases of importance tried before juries in the Courts of Assize, in the Central Criminal Court, or in the Superior Courts of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin. Three of these reports must relate to civil actions and three to criminal trials. The civil cases must consist entirely of actions tried before special juries. The criminal cases must be selected for some special quality, such as the gravity of the offence charged (*e.g.*, varieties of homicide, perjury, forgery, aggravated assaults, &c), the nature of the evidence produced, the number of prisoner, &c

No case should be taken in which either party is unrepresented by counsel

Particular attention should be paid to clearness of language and method in the analytical summaries

The Law of Evidence is to be studied in the manner indicated in the "General Instructions"

## FINAL EXAMINATION

Each candidate will be required to furnish five reports,‡ drawn up as described in the "General Instructions," with particular attention to clearness of language and method in the analytical summaries. The subjects of these reports are to be as follows§ —

- \* 1 The investigation before a London police magistrate of a grave criminal charge, ending in committal for trial by jury. The attendance for this report may commence on the first remand, || but in such case the purport of the evidence taken before the first remand must be clearly and fully given in the report
- 2 The whole business, of whatever kind, transacted in a London Police Court in any one day. (No separate summary required)
- 3-4 Two important civil causes tried by a special jury in London or Westminster, or at Kingston
- 5 A case heard in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on appeal from India ¶. If this cannot be obtained, the cases argued and decided in any one day in the Court for the consideration of appeals in criminal cases, or a case heard in one of the Courts in Banc at Westminster, in the Exchequer Chamber, or in the House of Lords will be received as equivalent

Besides continuing the general study of the leading rules of evidence and procedure, as laid down in Pitt Taylor's Treatise, candidates will be required to master more particularly the provisions of the Indian Evidence Act (1872) \*\*

Endorsed by the Home Department, Nos 17—1091 to 1101, dated Simla, the 3rd July 1875

COPY, with copy of the despatch†† marginally noted, forwarded to Local Governments and Administrations, in continuation of endorsement‡‡ Nos 16—1031 to 1041, dated 23rd ultimo

From Secretary of State No 64 (Public), dated 27th May 1875

\* Five of these reports must be sent in on or before January 27th, and the remainder on or before March 30th. They should be *legibly* written on half sheets of foolscap paper, on one side only

† Three reports of *civil* cases should be sent in before August 1st, and the remainder before September 1st.

An early opportunity of reporting special jury cases will occur at the sittings after term at Guildhall and Westminster about the middle of June

‡ These reports must be sent in on or before March 31st. They should be *legibly* written on half sheets of foolscap paper, and on one side only

§ It is expected that candidates will, by their own enquiries, ascertain at what places and times they should attend for the purpose of taking their notes. In case of difficulty, however, application may be made to this office for such information as the Commissioners may be able to afford.

|| The days of such remands may be ascertained by enquiry from the clerks of the several Police Courts

¶ All candidates for the prize will be expected to report an Indian Appeal case

\*\* An edition of this Act, by J Fitzjames Stephen, Q C, has been published by Macmillan & Co.

†† See page 53

‡ See page 52

## PUBLIC PROCEEDINGS, SEPTEMBER 1875, Nos 275 to 321.

## V.

From the Honourable D F CARMICHAEL, Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St George, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,— No 275  
No 998, dated Ootacamund, the 7th August 1875

With reference to your docket\* No 16—1031 of 23rd June last, I have the honour, by desire of His Excellency in Council, to transmit, for the information of the Government of India, copy of the letter,<sup>1</sup> with its enclosures, addressed by the Government of Fort St George to the Secretary of State, in reply to the Marquis of Salisbury's despatches<sup>2</sup> on the subject of the selection and training of candidates for the Indian Civil Service

\* No 22, dated 7th August 1875

<sup>2</sup> Public Nos 6 and 10 of 1875

## VI

From the Government of Madras, to the Right Honourable the SECRETARY OF STATE for India,— No 276  
No 22, dated Ootacamund, the 7th August 1875

Adverting to your despatches Nos 6 and 10 of 1875 in this Department, we have now the honour to submit the minutes which have been recorded by the President and the two Civil Members of Council on the subject of the selection and training of candidates for the Indian Civil Service We also submit the memoranda furnished to us by twelve junior civilians whose opinions we called for

2 Copy of these papers will be transmitted to the Government of India for their information

*Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of Madras in the Public Department,—dated Fort St George, the 7th August 1875* No 277.

READ the following papers —

From Her Majesty's SECRETARY OF STATE for India, to His Excellency the Right Honourable the GOVERNOR in Council, Fort St George,—No 6 (Public), dated India Office, London, the 8th April 1875

The subject of the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India has been, for some months, under my consideration I have received communications relative to the present system from the Very Reverend the Dean of Christ Church and from the Reverend the Master of Balliol, in the University of Oxford, and from the present Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge I have addressed a letter to the Civil Service Commissioners inviting their attention to the general subject, and I have received from them in reply an elaborate report

2 Copies of these documents I now forward for the consideration of Your Excellency in Council, and I desire to be furnished, at as early a date as possible, with an expression of your opinion, both as to the method in which candidates shall, in the first instance, be selected, and as to the manner in which those who are selected shall be trained for service in India, together with any observations which a perusal of the correspondence may suggest to Your Lordship in Council

*Correspondence between the India Office and the Civil Service Commission respecting the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India, from July 1874 to March 1875*

[ See pages 1 to 52 ]

From the Right Honourable the SECRETARY OF STATE for India, to His Excellency the Honourable the GOVERNOR in Council, Madras,—No 10 (Public), dated India Office, London, the 27th May 1875

In continuation of my despatch† dated the 8th of April last, No 6, I transmit for the information of Your Excellency in Council, copy of a note explanatory of one of the documents which accompanied the letter‡ from the Civil Service Commissioners, dated the 16th of March last, respecting the method of selecting and training candidates for the Civil Service of India

2 This note is to be regarded as forming part of the third enclosure of the above letter

## CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA

*Note to the General Instructions respecting the Periodical Examinations of the Candidates selected in 1874 § II Law 2 (A) Proceedings in English Courts of Justice*

[ See page 53 ]

From the Right Honourable the SECRETARY OF STATE for India, to His Excellency the Right Honourable the GOVERNOR GENERAL of India in Council,—No 47 (Public), dated India Office, London, the 8th April 1875

[ See page 1 ]

Endorsed by the Home Department, No 16—1031, dated Simla, the 23rd June 1875

[ See page 52 ]

\* See page 52

† Vide Supra

‡ See page 9

From the Right Honourable the SECRETARY OF STATE for India, to His Excellency the Right Honourable the GOVERNOR GENERAL of India in Council,—No 63 (Public), dated India Office, London, the 27th May 1875

[ See page 53 ]

From the Reverend J E SEWELL, Vice Chancellor of the University of Oxford, to the Right Honourable the SECRETARY OF STATE for India,—Dated New College, Oxford, the 13th May 1875

[ See page 53 ]

Endorsed by the Home Department, No 17—1091, dated Simla, the 3rd July 1875

[ See page 54 ]

*Minute by the Honourable W HUDLESTON, dated the 26th May 1875*

This paper has been sent to me first in ordinary course I presume, but I feel some hesitation in recording my opinion before His Excellency the Governor and the Honourable Mr Ellis, considering my merely temporary position in Council. However, to obviate delay, I make my remarks

2 The Secretary of State requests this Government to express their opinion, as early as possible, both on "the method in which candidates for the Civil Service shall, in the first instance, be selected, and as to the manner in which those who are selected shall be trained for service in India" Preliminary to expressing my opinion, I think it well to analyse the present system and its results in some degree

3 Theoretically, the competitive system may be said to guarantee the exclusion from the service of men of inferior mental calibre, and to secure a high average of attainments in certain subjects; but it affords no guarantee against moral or physical defects, or that the successful candidates are at all suited by previous associations or acquired habits for the position and duties which they will have to fill and discharge in India

4 Now, as regards observed results in this Presidency, I have no hesitation in saying—while recognising the distinguished ability of some of the members of the service who have come to Madras under this system, and the unquestionably good average of all—that, notwithstanding Sir W Gull's opinion to the contrary, a considerable proportion of the "competitive men" are mentally and physically prematurely aged when they come to India, and that there is consequently a want of vivid interest in their work and surroundings, and a deficiency generally of elasticity, mental and physical, in many of them, which appears to me in marked contrast to the average of those who joined the service under the old system, and to be detrimental to efficiency of administration

5 I have been much struck, in my experience as Chief Secretary to Government, with the frequent applications I have from quite young men for employment in the Judicial branch of the service, notwithstanding its sedentary nature and monotonous circumstances, rather than in the revenue and magisterial branch, which entails so much more active a life and provides so much more varied interest. I am quite sure, too, that there has been a marked falling off in the physical health of the service under the new system

6 As regards the "morale" of the service, while desiring to acknowledge in the fullest manner the unexceptionable character and tone of the great majority, it cannot be denied that we have had instances of gross disregard of social delicacy which have stamped the individual as of bad extraction, and have outraged the feelings and prejudices of the Natives in a way of which we had formerly no experience

7 These cases are, I am sure, as strongly and indignantly condemned by the great majority of the "competitive" men as by any of their seniors. I consider, however, that even these isolated cases indicate a new and serious, not to say dangerous, defect in the method of manning the Civil Service, which tends to create a great gulf between the natives of the country and the representatives of the governing race.

8 I must, however, add that I think there is generally a marked decrease of sympathy and kindly consideration between the governors and the governed under the new system, as compared with what formerly existed, nor is this to be wondered at when the whole tendency of the present system is to exclude those from the Indian service who have any family connection with the service or the country, the tendency of the former service having been precisely the reverse

9 Of course, I am aware that it is as competent for the sons of Indian officers, civil or military, to compete for Indian appointments as for any others to do so, but all of us, who are fathers of families, know well how impossible it is, notwithstanding lavish expenditure, to secure for our sons those advantages of training and education which are enjoyed by boys who have home influences brought to bear on them all through their school career, and therefore at what a disadvantage our sons compete

10 That this is a real and not an imaginary difficulty is, I think, proved by noting the extreme rarity of the admission of any Indian officer's son to the service under the present system, and also, what is not so apparent but not less certain, the small number of them who compete

11 I note from Appendix E of the papers sent to us that in fourteen years and out of 663 successful competitors only 47 were sons of former civilians.

12 Another very marked result of the change from the old system and the loss of its associations which I remark is, that members of the service now regard themselves in many, I think I may say the majority of instances, as the paid servants of a Government, rather than as being members of a governing service. I trace this feeling in the novel and marked jealousy of any unusual demand on their services, and the unaccustomed craving for special remuneration for the performance of any duty, the least degree out of the common. There is also, I think, a marked anxiety to secure the means of terminating the connection with India and the service at the earliest possible date.

13 As regards the relations of the members of the service to one another, it is a very serious defect that all *esprit de corps* has been, if not entirely destroyed, certainly sensibly diminished, by the present system. The men know nothing of one another as a rule. Neither before nor after examination in England, as a rule, are they associated together, and immediately on arrival in India they are scattered far and wide,—an arrangement which has the further and serious disadvantage of precluding the Government, or the higher members of the service at the Presidency, from acquiring any knowledge whatever of them as individuals.

14 If the foregoing is a fairly correct statement of observed results, I think they point unmistakably to the following conclusions —

That the present system insists on an injuriously high standard of attainments

That it results in securing older recruits for the service than is desirable

That it sacrifices the advantages both to individuals and the public service which resulted from the association and mutual acquaintance existing under the old system of training in England

That it exposes the successful competitors most unfairly to the disadvantages of an isolated life in London for two years before their appointments are finally secured to them

That it deprives the Government of all means of judging of the personal character of the members of the service whom they are obliged, immediately on their arrival, to place in position of real responsibility.

That it lessens the safeguards against the admission of objectionable individuals

That it tends to lower the prestige of the governing class in India in some degree

That it tends positively to weaken the administrative efficiency of the service and induces an absence of sympathy between the governed and the governing class

15 I believe myself that the remedy for most of these evils would be to secure the services of younger men after less severe mental training, and after a period of associated study in England for the final pass examination

16 I would reduce the number of subjects for the competitive examination, and thus lessen the temptation to over-work in preparatory training for it

17 I would reduce the maximum age for admission by competition to twenty years of age, so that twenty-two should be the maximum for actual admission to the service

I would associate the successful competitors either with one another, or with their fellows in age, circumstances, social position or prospects, and studies in collegiate institutions. I incline to think that a system of Indian scholarships at the universities might be devised which should secure all that can be desired, the scholarships to be tenable at any college there

*P S* —I am glad now that I recorded my opinion on the subject of the Secretary of State's reference when I did, for, after perusing the very interesting remarks since obtained from selected gentlemen in the service who obtained their appointments by competition, I find that I am very generally in accord with them, both as to the results obtained, the defects perceptible, and the course approved for future adoption

2 I only desire to add that I am opposed to the plan of a separate special college, as calculated to induce somewhat of cliquism and to lessen the advantages derivable from a university residence

*The 5th August 1875*

W H

*Minute by His Excellency the GOVERNOR,—dated the 3rd June 1875.*

Our opinion is sought as to the best method (1) of first selection of recruits for the Indian Civil Service, and (2) of subsequent special training preparatory to coming to India. I would look at both matters in the light of the experience we have had and without futile comparison with the past

2 No material modification of the law, as respects a system of unrestricted competition for first selection, is to be looked for, and I for one am not dissatisfied

with the practical results so far. Possibly, a theoretically more perfect system No 277 might have been devised, more competition might have been attracted from the universities and great public schools, where the sons of the higher classes are educated, less facility might have been afforded for low-bred men to get into a specially honourable service, less room might have been afforded (and necessity created) for the professional clamour, and I miss the sons of Indian officers who would bring a kind of hereditary sympathy with the people of the country into the exercise of their future functions. But I doubt whether it could practically have been carried out with equal popular satisfaction.

3. More or less 100 men selected under this system are now on the rolls of the Junior Madras Civil Service, and, as a body, they are men of decided mental capacity and above the average in vigour and originality of intellect. I have examined the list carefully, and find that we have a very considerable number of really good and promising officers, and several of high distinction, while the decided failures may be counted perhaps on one hand. A smaller number of men are doing a largely increased mass of work with, on the whole, greater precision, equal acumen, and not less ability than was the case when I belonged to the Junior Civil Service. And I hold that, in point of intellectual capacity, Her Majesty's Civil Service in India has practically been very fairly recruited hitherto. But it may perhaps be asked,—is the standard being maintained and improved?

	1860-64, 51 men	1864-74 54 men	
Oxford	8	2	anxious attention, viz, the gradual falling off in the supply of graduates of known universities and colleges, and especially of the old English universities. I have classified in the margin the graduates of the different universities, &c, amongst the first fifty (1860-64) and last sixty (1864-74) men who have come to Madras. It will be seen that nearly one half of the first fifty were graduates of some university or college, and more than
Cambridge	5	2	
London	0	1	
Edinburgh	1	0	
Aberdeen	3	1	
Dublin University and Trinity College	3	9	
Belfast	1	1	
Queen's University	2	1	
Total	23	17	

one-half of these were graduates of great English universities. It is only necessary to look at the names of these last mentioned, to see that, on the whole, we have drawn thence the *elite* of our junior service. During the last decade we have only received seventeen graduates, of whom Dublin sent nine

Cambridge	1
Aberdeen	1
Dublin	5
Total	7

and amongst the last twenty-five of the above we have but seven graduates in all.

5. I cannot but consider this gradual falling off in number and quality of university graduates so serious a matter, that I would recommend considerable sacrifices to arrest it and to attract graduates of the best universities to the Government of India, bearing in mind that the Native Civil Service is being fast filled up by graduates of our own universities and colleges. If in this interest it be necessary to raise either the minimum or maximum age for competition, or both, it would be well worth while to do so for the end in view. I consider that too much weight is attached to the arguments in favour of sending young civilians at an early age to India. No other professional immigrant (lawyer, &c) hastens to India as soon as he has passed his teens, and all the conditions of Indian life, service, and tone of administration have changed since the time when earliest youth was necessary to reconcile men to the exile and isolation of an Indian career. I think that in many respects the maturer judgment, more fixed principles, and wider observation of life, which attach to longer residence in England, will prove of advantage both to the individual and to the country, should the concessions suggested be necessary in order to obtain that decided superiority of candidature, from an intellectual, moral, and social point of view, and that so-called *esprit de corps* which fuller connection with university life at Home will secure to the service. It would probably be impracticable at present to make a college or university degree a *sine qua non* for candidature for the Indian Civil Service, but I am satisfied that India would not lose by such a restriction, could it now be enforced or gradually worked up to.

6. Apart from this consideration, I have observed little in the general tone of the young men who have been sent out to Madras, which would lead me to deprecate its continuance as likely to retard the steady improvement in all respects which society is undergoing in India. There are men amongst our junior civilians who give way to sensual temptations, and have shown low habits and perhaps there are fewer men of liberal and generous mind than might be desired. But, on the whole, the private life and moral tone of our Junior Civil Service is generally quite above the average, if not entirely exemplary. I do not think, that in this respect, the existing system is open to serious disparagement.

7. It is true that in the small circles of society in India, and amongst its observant native populations, a vulgar person in high places attracts perhaps exaggerated attention, and there is no doubt that a system which admits, on the strength of mere intellectual superiority, the youth of any grade of society indis-

criminally to the prominent position which even a young civilian must occupy, becomes open to remark in respect to the social standing and qualities of some of the individuals which it has introduced into high places in the country. As respects several men now in our junior service, unfavourable remarks are just, and it must be borne in mind that none so readily observes and resents the absence of gentleman-like qualities and feelings as the natives of this country. As a rule, the failures are notoriously associated with inferior birth and breeding, and I confess that it is of great importance to obviate, as far as possible, this unavoidable consequence of the system. It is then all the more incumbent on us to bring men of low origin under the best influence—such as would be secured by sending them to the old English universities—in the interval between their selection and final departure for India.

8 I am quite sensible that, from whatever cause arising, the natives of the country draw a disparaging contrast between the men who have come out under the old and under the new systems, they find, they say, less sympathy and consideration at the hands of the latter, a harder and sterner rule of administration, and less liberality in many ways. There may be, and I believe there is, a certain foundation for this feeling in the increasing strictness and precision of our rule, in the sharpness of manner of some of the clever men who now administer it, and in a greater prevalence of saving habits. But, on the other hand, the Native is essentially a *laudator temporis acti*, and no one who has been long in the country can fail to observe an increasing want of sympathy and subordination amongst the natives of the country towards their foreign rulers. Its increasing intensity dates, as I think, from about the time the new class of men began to come out, and I am inclined to think that, if any falling off in sympathy and mutual understanding has taken place, the change is almost more marked on the side of the Natives as a body than on that of their European superiors as a class. But the growing tendency towards estrangement requires that special attention be paid to the moral, intellectual, and more especially social, training of the gentlemen who are sent to this country.

9 As a matter of course, the standard of general education is high amongst our competitive men. Whatever may be alleged of the "system of cram, &c.," supposed to prevail, the service is certainly not burdened by uneducated men—a consideration of great importance with reference to the extraordinary advance which higher education, now largely represented in the Native Civil Service, is making in the country. The English work of the country is, as a rule, admirably done, the Native languages are quickly and fairly mastered, and those sciences which are required for the administration of the country in its varied forms are acquired in no mean degree by the men of the Junior Civil Service.

10 Nor do I agree altogether with those who think that there has been a marked deterioration in the physical fitness of the men who have come out under the new conditions, but the absence of health statistics makes an authoritative decision on this point impossible. There is no doubt that studious dispositions and previous habits of application have imparted to a somewhat large proportion a preference for the more sedentary duties and callings of our profession, fewer come from homes where horses were kept and out-door life encouraged, and possibly, in some few cases early mental exertion has permanently lowered physical energy. These things are to be regretted if they exist, but on the whole I think that the average of physical fitness amongst the junior officers is neither low nor unequal to the existing requirements of the service. For, in many respects, these latter differ widely from what they once were. The Department Public Works has relieved the Civil Service of all executive engineering. The Police pursues dacoits and prepares cases for trial by the Magistracy, and jamabundy, in its old sense (of examining crops, &c., &c.) is a thing of the past. I am inclined, therefore, to attribute, in part at least, any change there may be in activity of habit amongst the Junior Civil Service to these causes, rather than to their want of ability and energy for out-door duty if it were required of them in the same degree as formerly.

11 On the whole, with the reservation noticed in respect to university graduates, I think that the system has worked well so far as regards the supply of young men for selection for work in India. Indeed, so well do I think of the class of young men whom the competition for civil appointments brings together that I hold that much might be made of the failures even in respect to the supply of young men for the various other branches of the administration, which formerly drew their recruits from the junior ranks of the Army—an unvalued reserve under former conditions, which is no longer available. No experienced administrator, with the good of his department at heart, can look at the country-casuals who have found, and are still finding, their way through patronage, accident, and the like, into places of command in the Police, Survey, and Forest Departments, without acknowledging that serious embarrassment is imminent, unless a sound system of obtaining a steady supply of young English gentlemen of education (in the best sense) for the several branches of the administration can be inaugurated. Competition for Cooper's Hill College is supplying an admirable class of young men for the Department of Public Works, and I feel satisfied that, if each of the other Departments—Police, Survey, Forest, &c.—could be recruited by selected men from amongst the high-marked failures at the Civil Service Examination, a most valuable body of men for all purposes could be supplied by the Secretary of State for all departments needing this class of men.

12 The second point to which our attention is invited is the technical No 277 instruction and general training of successful candidates during the interval between first selection and final departure for India

13 I believe that the curriculum of study and instruction is, on the whole, as complete as time and circumstances admit of I have heard very few suggestions for its improvement from the men who have passed through it, and it comprises, so far as my observation goes, all those matters which, both before and since the change, have been found needful to start a young man usefully and creditably in the career of duty in this country

14 I think that perhaps too much importance has been attached to the study of the technical administration of law, to attending Police and Magistrate's courts, and to playing the roll of the briefless barristers about the courts of law in London I have seen a good deal of this while studying police and criminal law and administration in London and reading in chambers in the Temple while at home on furlough, and I am satisfied that this sort of thing may be carried too far, and not only cause waste of time, but really have a mischievous effect on the young minds which are subjected to it To errors in this direction I attribute that development of the attorney-mind and that preference for playing the "Sitting Magistrates," that hair-splitting and argumentativeness which so many of us regret to meet with occasionally amongst the new class of young men Ten years at least elapse before these young men get charge of courts, or are engaged in any serious judicial work, and there is no mistake greater than that of substituting the judicialty of the "Sitting Magistrates" for the freer and less technical administration of justice which we require from our district officers In subordination to other conditions, the attendance at courts, &c, has of course its value, and I would require it in moderation and under useful guidance as to the courts to attend from time to time and cases to which to pay attention, but it is not worthy of great sacrifice at the time and under the conditions under which these young men are studying

15 As regards the general and moral training of the young men in question, I think—and I believe that the better class of the men themselves have felt—that there is a good deal to regret in the present want of system, and a good deal to be desired for its improvement It is not necessary to dwell on the moral dangers, &c, of a London life for young men brought together as our first selections are, except to observe that, if they can be avoided without loss of opportunity or efficient instruction, and our young men can be placed where, on the whole, the best moral and intellectual training, which our native country provides, can be secured amongst elevating traditions and influences, and in the quietude of university conditions, it is well worth while to suit our arrangements to secure such advantages And I confess that I attach the utmost importance to the suggestions contained in these papers that one or other of our great English universities should invariably become the *alma mater* of the future rulers and administrators of India, should impart that homogeneousness of principle and manner, that intellectual and social finish, that mutual sympathy and good feeling, which so many of us desire to see more prevalent amongst our friends in the Junior Civil Service And if to this can be added the distinction of a degree or of honours gained at one of our great universities, a solid advantage will be secured, which neither the recipient himself nor the service in general will ever see cause to regret I would, therefore, if possible, carry out the suggestions which come from the heads of both our universities in this respect, and send all selected young men to Oxford or Cambridge with, if necessary, a slightly increased stipend

16 I should strongly deprecate the establishment of an exclusively India College at any university Each young man should be at liberty to choose his own university or college, for community of study and object in life will certainly bring those who select the same university sufficiently together, and the general tone of university life would unite, in some degree, those who may select different universities throughout their future life in India

17 So far as I can gather from these papers, the chief obstacle to such an arrangement lies in the loss of opportunity of attending Magistrates' civil and criminal courts of law in London I attach little importance to this disadvantage under any circumstances, but there can be no practical difficulty in overcoming it in the manner suggested in more than one of these papers

W ROBINSON

*Minute by the Honourable R. S ELLIS, C.B.,—dated the 3rd August 1875*

If it was possible to begin *de novo* to select men for employment in the Indian Civil Service, and I were asked to describe the kind of men we require, I would unhesitatingly say we want young Englishmen of gentle birth and of exceptionally good physique, who have until their eighteenth or nineteenth year of their lives received the ordinary school education of the sons of English gentlemen, and whose intellectual capacity has been at that age thoroughly tested by competent examiners These young men should pursue the special studies required for their future career in India at either Oxford or Cambridge, and be required to take a degree in these subjects



2 This is in fact advocating a close return to the old system, merely substituting Oxford and Cambridge for Haileybury. I venture thus frankly to give my individual opinion because I earnestly believe that the nearer we approach to this standard the more exactly shall we obtain the men we require for carrying on the administration of India.

3 Accepting, however, the competitive system as a present necessity, I believe that what can now best be done in the interest of India and of the men selected by competition is—

*1st*, to reduce the age at which candidates can present themselves for examination from the present ages 17 to 21 to from 17 to 19,

*2nd*, to reduce the number of subjects for examination,

*3rd*, to make the examination itself such as will enable boys of good intellectual capacity, who have received the education afforded by our public and best high-class private schools, to compete with a fair prospect of success without undergoing the expensive and questionable process of "cramming", and

*4th*, to require those selected to pursue the special studies now prescribed at Oxford or Cambridge with the obligation of obtaining a degree in these subjects within three years

4 I do not know that it is necessary that I should go into any detail on the merits or faults of the men who have come to India under the existing system. This question has been fully discussed by my honourable colleagues. I will merely state that I fully agree with the honourable Mr Hudleston in the description he has given of the results hitherto obtained in this Presidency. He has justly recognised the abilities and high character of a considerable proportion of the competition men, and he has not hesitated to point out the defects which have also been apparent in some of them.

5 Most of these defects are what might naturally be expected when men of humble origin and of considerable ability with habits already formed and without any refining process are brought into contact with a society of which the large majority is drawn from a higher class than themselves. These faults of manner are often the cause of these men isolating themselves from a society in which they are conscious that they appear to disadvantage, and this isolation is itself not unfrequently the origin of disastrous habits and association. They would, in most instances, disappear after a residence of two or three years at the university. The competition man who had not hitherto had the advantage of society would there speedily acquire the tone and the manners of the men of his college. He would have the opportunity of forming lasting friendships with men of his own age, and especially with those who, having been selected for an Indian career, were engaged in the same studies.

6 In this way an *esprit de corps* in its best sense would be created, and the competition men, on arrival in India, would no longer be oppressed with the feeling of isolation which, in many instances, injuriously affects them at present. As a minor, but not unimportant, advantage, they would also, during their residence at college, have benefited physically by acquiring a taste for athletic pursuits, and be prepared for the active out-door life which is so essential during a considerable portion of their official life in India.

*Memorandum by C. MACLEAN, Esq, M C S, B A, Oxford,—dated Ootacamund, the 9th July 1875*

There seems to be so much consentaneity of opinion in India on this subject, at any rate regarding the main points of the case, that I cannot suppose that I have any remarks to make which will not have already occurred to every one who has had the subject before him. I beg, however, as directed, to offer a few observations.

2 As regards the method of selecting candidates in the first instance, I presume that unlimited intellectual competition, which is the present system, is a political necessity. How could it otherwise maintain its ground? Until it is shown that intellectuality is the sole requirement for public life in India, one may reasonably hold that a purely intellectual test applied at the beginning must be an artificial one. Its artificiality will, I suppose, be conceded, but it will be defended on the ground that it approximately selects fit persons, while it combines with this a greater degree of fairness to the people at large, whose heritage and property the public appointments are, than did the old system of nomination. The public buy the Government appointments now with an expensive outlay on education, whereas formerly they had to beg for them, still the present system doubtless gives opportunities to a greater number. I should hope, however, that, if it is demonstrated, as I believe it soon will be, that the public service itself is being injuriously affected by the new system, that the necessity will have shifted its ground, and that it will be found to be as much a duty to protect the public from unlimited competition, as it was formerly to protect them from a too exclusive nomination system.

3 I can imagine that there are many points of view from which the competition system may be adversely criticised, especially as regards its application to the Indian service. I will only venture myself, however, on pointing out its more material and physical effects. Is it not certain that by abandoning ourselves to a system of unrestrained mental competition, we are encouraging in candidates the development of physical weakness? I observe that Dr Gull, who has seen Indian candidates pass before him in a room at Somerest House or at Dean's Yard, has a high opinion of their physical qualities, in India, where the strength of candidates is brought to a practical test, I believe the prevalent opinion to be an opposite one. For my part, I would rather form a judgment on the qualities of a courser after seeing him run a race, than by taking the opinion of a critic at the start. The competition for the public service is a race, and, what is more, the pace is yearly increasing. Just as race horses are not found the most fit for draught and heavy service, so I believe it to be a mistake to make mental racing the means of selection for Indian public service, and the mental powers of a man are more delicate than the muscles of a horse. How it can be otherwise I am unable to perceive. Where there is no check imposed, there can be no inducement to moderation. Dr Gull remarks that a course of life which conduces to sound intellectual training favours also the physical health, but he omits to say anything of those checks which I am sure he must assume. That a well-balanced exercise of the mental and bodily powers alike is the due training for a man all will allow, but a system which encourages one, and has nothing to say to the other, cannot be held to answer these conditions, and even, if it shows commendable results for short periods, will not be found equally successful when judged from the point of view of life-time. Education in its literal sense, or the powers of working on passive material, should be able to show nothing but healthy results, but it is different when those being educated are entirely conscious agents and are themselves fired with the ambition of life. Here restraints and conditions are necessary to preserve equilibrium, and such are not likely to be found among youths. But an *a priori* argument is scarcely necessary when we see, in spite of the healthier India of the present day, so many shattered nerves and weakly bodies before us as practical results of the competition system.

4 As regards the training of Indian candidates after selection, I think there are equal grounds here for being dissatisfied with the present arrangements. It is a point hardly noticed by the Commissioners,—but one I should think of fundamental importance,—that nothing is done for selected candidates regarding them in the light of moral and social beings. A candidate at present lives almost of necessity in London. There he is either at home,—in which case none of the advantages connected with the public life are offered to him,—or he is alone in a great metropolis with no restraints whatever on his conduct or his pursuits. When he has appeared at certain distant intervals for his examination, he has completed his duty. I happen to know of a case which has occurred quite recently. A candidate had succeeded in examination in obtaining a prize. The prize was withheld, and the candidate summoned before the Commissioners. The candidate went in trepidation, and was charged with an offence. His name had frequently appeared at the end of columns in a distinguished literary London newspaper. Had the Commissioners said, "we approve of this so far, but should like also to know something of your private life," their action might be held to have been reasonable. But their method was the converse one, the candidate was told that the Commissioners had nothing to do with his private life, but it was their duty to see that he properly applied his studies and confined his attention to preparing for his examinations. It appears, then, that the Civil Service Commissioners act only in the direction of spurring on the studious candidate. I think that candidates should be rescued from this system. The Commissioners say that candidates are scarcely ever rejected on account of any defect of a moral nature. They are probably not so foolish as to render themselves liable to such a chastisement, but it does not follow that they are wise enough to know how to make the most of themselves, or to train to the best advantage their dispositions and characters in the two important years which are their last in England.

5 I hope that statesmen will ere long devise a system to supersede unlimited competition. As long as it continues I should be in favour of getting over the competition at as early an age as practicable. As regards the candidates, I believe the mind is then more elastic, as regards the service, I believe it to be an advantage that men should not come out to India too late in life. I would not, therefore, have a plan of encouraging men to take degrees before they competed. I would have the limits of age as at present, from 17 to 21, or, perhaps with one year deducted, from 17 to 20.

6 As regards Native candidates, I would close the door to them by competition, but I would open it to them at the other end by appointing them direct under the new Act. With every feeling of respect and affection for my fellow subjects in India, I cannot suppose that they are to be treated politically as if their character were the same as those of Europeans. If the Civil Service Commissioners can, for

the present, afford to gauge only the intellect of English youths, and to take other No 277 qualities for granted, they surely cannot do this in the case of Orientals. The English character has served a long apprenticeship in administration, the Hindu character has not. I should myself work with complete confidence by the side of a native of this country selected by the judgment of the Governor General, but I should not have the same confidence in the companionship of an Oriental selected in London by the Civil Service Commissioners.

7 I think that the question of subjects for examination may safely be left in the hands of the Commissioners, whose speciality this is. Professor Jowett has suggested certain alterations with a view to fitting the examination better to the public school curriculum. But I think that, as far as studies are concerned, the Commissioners are no less competent than the scholastic profession to choose a course, and if one must yield, why not the schools?

8 I think that the criticism generally bestowed on the tutors, who specially prepare, is of an exaggerated nature. They appear to be excellent private tutors, and, if the system drives nearly all the candidates to their doors, are not to be blamed. What is called "cram" is an objectionable kind of learning, but is nevertheless universally practised by all students who find themselves under a super-examinatory system. The way to get rid of this description of learning is to trust more to education and less to examinations. Given the competition as it now is, I think the private tutors must be left to pursue their course.

9 There would seem to be three schemes available in the disposal of candidates after the first selection, if the present system is to be altered. They might be sent to a college like Cooper's Hill,—a renewed Huleybury, or they might be sent to a particular college at a university, or the choice of various colleges and various universities might be given to them. One would hesitate about playing into the hands of any exclusive set of institutions, but, on the other hand, no other institutions have yet appeared which can rival the universities in their claims to give a high class education. Looking to their traditions, their magnitude, and their opportunities, I think the universities would be preferable to a separate college like Cooper's Hill, and a dispersion of candidates among various colleges, or even among various universities, would, I think, be better than putting them together into one college at one university. To send selected candidates to the universities is to give them opportunities of seeing the world of their fellows, which implies the benefit of mutual contact among men of an age, and also of acquiring an *esprit de corps* among those who are going into the same profession as themselves, which is a gain not only to the men, but to the public. There are two conceptions of *esprit de corps*—one, a vulgar one, that it means the encouragement of facilities for combining against employers,—this I am not speaking of, the true *esprit de corps* is that which gives a professional man increased confidence in meeting his fellows, and therefore increased efficiency in doing his work. It has been said that men who go to the university will be seduced from the Civil Service, I do not think so. Neither will their studies tend that way, nor are the inducements of the service so small. The Commissioners say that law cannot be learnt at the universities. I am doubtful how much candidates gain by attending the law courts, but however much that may be, they would have abundant opportunities in the university vacations. As to the further examinations, these might stay in the hands of the Commissioners and be held in London. The universities would prepare the men for them, and be called upon to give a degree to all who did not fail. But the question of a title is a small matter. The opposite plan would be for the Commissioners to have nothing to do with the candidates after the competitive examination. The settlement of these details, however, is one of obvious facility when once the general policy of the India Office or the Legislature is decided.

Memorandum by H E STOKES, Esq, M C S, B A, Dublin,—dated the 12th July 1875

As to the first point in Mr Howell's letter,\* *viz*, the training of selected candidates, I am of opinion that, so far as the special instruction is concerned, there should be no change in the present system of testing the candidate's progress by means of periodical examinations and no relaxation whatever in the requirements of those examinations, in the direction of accepting university tests in lieu of them. But I would make it obligatory upon all selected candidates to reside at a large college either at Oxford or Cambridge—the latter for choice. I should not care what they did there in the way of going through the university course, nor whether they got a degree under special regulations or otherwise. I attach no importance whatever to the ordinary university instruction, or to an ordinary degree, which is a test that any moderately well instructed school-boy ought to be able to pass. What I think of importance is that candidates for the Indian service should be exposed to the influences, and acquire the tone of feeling and cast of ideas which prevail at the English universities, and which are pre-eminently characteristic of English gentlemen. As to instruction in the vernaculars, which it is said would be thus impeded, I think it probable that the univer-

\* Not printed

sities would make special provision, or that the very competent teachers, who now instruct the candidates in London, would follow them to the university town. As to attendance in the courts of justice and noting cases, I regard it as a mere waste of time and trouble. In my day this part of the examination was a mere farce.

2 I am of opinion that no man ought to be more than 22 years of age on arrival in this country, and I would, therefore, lower the maximum age for open competition to 20. The men of 24 who have come out are too old to receive vivid impressions, or to take kindly to the country, they are generally married, have no mind to knock about their districts, cannot live on their pay, and get into pecuniary difficulties from which they cannot extricate themselves for years, they are put to serve under men perhaps younger than themselves, and they become discontented and useless.

3 I do not think it at all likely that any candidates, not already university men would go and reside at a university, even though special facilities were given them to obtain degrees within the two years, unless they were compelled to do so. Men already belonging to a university would no doubt be glad to finish their course, and to reside at the university in preference to living in London, which the exigencies of the present system almost compel them to do.

*Memorandum by C A GALTON, Esq, M C S, M A, Oxford,—dated the 12th July 1875*

I understand that my opinion is required on the points named by Mr Howell only.

First, as regards the training at home after the first examination is over, I am strongly in favour of requiring selected candidates to pursue their studies at one of the leading universities. Their residence at the university town, however, will be of little advantage, it is essential that the probationers should be enrolled on the books of some college, and avail themselves of the opportunities of mixing with the members which residence within its walls affords. It is not so much from the college discipline as from contact and intercourse with the class of associates met with at our universities, and from the elevating influence of the surroundings, that beneficial results may be expected. The system of unattached students recently introduced at Oxford deprives the student of one of the greatest advantages of the university course. His intercourse with his contemporaries is very limited, and consequently the influence on his character and manners is materially diminished. He may acquire as much book-learning as he would were he living within the walls of a college, but narrowness of mind, uncouthness of manners, and such like defects, will not be corrected. For these reasons I prefer Oxford and Cambridge to Dublin and London, where students do not, as a rule, live within the college walls. Nor do I regard as undeserving of consideration the facilities afforded at the universities for manly exercises. Competition-wallahs have been reproached with effeminacy, as well as with deficiency, in the characteristics of a gentleman, and a taste for field sports and athletic exercises is more likely to be engendered by a residence at Oxford and Cambridge than in London. I do not think sufficient weight has been given to these considerations by the Commissioners. They observe that in no case has a certificate been refused owing to doubts respecting a candidate's character. Narrowness of mind and a want of polish are quite compatible, however, with a high standard of morality.

The objections of the Civil Service Commissioners appear to be based on the fact that Oxford and Cambridge do not afford the requisite facilities for studying the vernaculars and attending the courts of law. If residence at one or other of the universities be made compulsory, however, teachers will soon be forthcoming to meet the demand, and as regards attendance at the law courts, I think the advantages supposed to be derived therefrom are over-rated, and that, at any rate, a sufficient number of opportunities could be secured during the vacations. The principles of law could be studied just as well at the universities as in London.

Secondly, as regards the age up to which it is desirable that candidates for the first examination should be admitted, this depends, in a great measure, upon the question whether it is sought to induce graduates of the university to compete at the open examination, or whether it is intended to require selected candidates to go through the university course afterwards. If the former be the object, the limit of 21 years is almost too restricted, as, in the majority of cases, the university course has not been completed by that age, especially in the case of those who go in for honors, and the most promising men are unwilling to relinquish their chances of distinction for an Indian career. Nor is it to be expected that they will do so, even were the limit of age extended. The reasons assigned by the Civil Service Commissioners are, I think, convincing on this point. The proposal to restrict the limit of age to 18 or 19 years is put forward apparently with the view of enabling selected candidates to complete the ordinary university course, which generally takes three years, and yet to proceed to India at no

later age than is customary under present conditions Hence the difference No 277 between the views of the Dean of Christ Church and Head of Balliol as regards the limit of age It is urged by the former that by the present regulations the Indian service is almost refused to the scholars of the various colleges who may be considered the ablest of the young men I do not, however, see how the proposed restriction as to age will remedy this objection, as those who have obtained scholarships are not likely to select an Indian career, and relinquish the chances of obtaining distinction at the university thus early in their course It is, perhaps, thought that they could after selection for India read for honors in the ordinary schools, simultaneously with the preparation of the special subjects prescribed for the Indian examination But this is not probable, as they would thereby run the risk of succeeding in neither aim, and would not be able to concentrate all their energies on one object Neither would the two years of probation be sufficient for the purpose, three years being the shortest time within which honors can be obtained in the final schools, and to secure high honors in this time would require the closest attention, and leave no time for the special Indian subjects The present limit of age affords to university men the opportunity of competing at the open examination, and, though it is not to be expected that the most promising men will come forward, men of fair abilities, who have nearly completed their course, and find that they cannot attain to the foremost rank and carry off the prizes, may be induced to turn their thoughts to an Indian career, whilst, were the limit restricted to 18 or 19, such men would be altogether excluded For these reasons, no alteration of the rule, as regards age, appears advisable I do not consider that the age at which some civilians, more especially the university men, come out under the present system is any drawback

As to the third question, it does not appear to have been definitely settled what is to be required of selected candidates for a degree From the letters of the Dean of Christ Church and the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, it appears to be intended that the selected candidates should pass the ordinary university examination, but the former also suggests the construction of a new final school embracing prominently special Indian subjects as a substitute, I presume, for one of the ordinary final schools Dr Jowett, on the other hand, would apparently dispense with the requirements for a degree in Arts, and confer a degree for proficiency in special Indian subjects

I am of opinion that few, if any, of those who have obtained a place amongst the selected candidates, will care to pursue the ordinary university course, even were the authorities willing to curtail the number of terms to be kept, so as to admit of a degree being obtained within the two years' probation Having deliberately chosen an Indian career, they will not be likely to study subjects which will in no way conduce to their success in the examinations for India Although a pass degree in Arts might be obtained by most of the selected candidates without much trouble, it is more probable that their energies will be concentrated on the examinations by which their future position in the service will be determined and their prospects so vitally affected, seniority being regulated by the place obtained at the examinations in England The best plan will be for the universities to establish a special school for Indian subjects, and to confer some mark of distinction for pre-eminent success, a degree being given to all who qualify by passing a satisfactory examination The usual periodical examinations must still be maintained to secure uniformity of test for the purpose of determining the relative positions of candidates on the list, as they will not all be at the same university

*Memorandum by L. R. BURROWS Esq, M.C.S., B.A., Cambridge,—dated Madras, the 13th July 1875*

First, as regards the training at home after the first examination

I learn from the letter\* of Sir Charles Wood, printed with these papers, that the principal ground on which Haileybury College was condemned to discontinuance was that it afforded no opportunities to its residents of acquiring "a practical acquaintance with the mode of conducting civil and criminal suits" It was considered that nothing could conduce so much to the acquisition of this practical knowledge as attendance during the progress of trials in court, and that London was by far the most convenient place of residence, because it furnished greater opportunities of attending trials than any other place London was accordingly recommended to selected candidates as the most suitable place of residence during the period of preparation for the examination in the special subjects Now speaking for myself, I must confess that I failed to acquire a practical acquaintance with the mode of conducting civil and criminal suits by attending at the law courts during the progress of trials, and I dare say that there are others in the service, besides myself, who would freely make the same confession

As a rule, the first court over which the young civilian has to preside is held in his own tent, where familiarity with the procedure observed at Westminster

\* See page 28

Hall or the Old Bailey (even if acquired) would be quite superfluous. A good No 277. general knowledge of the Indian Codes of Procedure is all that need or can be acquired in England. Practical acquaintance with the mode of conducting civil and criminal suits soon follows on arrival in India. There can be no doubt, I think, but that the importance of attending the English Law Courts and taking notes of cases has been much over-rated.

But while the advantage, for the sake of which London was preferred to Haileybury, has turned out to be illusory, other advantages, which Haileybury did, and London does not, possess, and which are consequently lost to the services, are now generally admitted to be essential. At Haileybury all the young civilians became acquainted with each other, and had opportunities of forming lasting and useful friendships. In Haileybury, as the common starting-point of their career in life, they possessed a bond of association which has now been lost. Familiar intercourse with their equals in age, education, and standing in life, gave the students means of self-improvement which can be gained in no other way. It appears to me that all these advantages can be secured for the service by making it compulsory for selected candidates to reside, during the two years of their preparation in the special subjects, at either Oxford or Cambridge University. I consider it very desirable that all the successful candidates should go to the same place, and I would select that university which offered the best facilities for obtaining instruction in the special subjects, and which conformed most closely to the requirements of the Civil Service Commissioners in all other respects. In order to induce the men to give their undivided attention to the studies prescribed by the Commissioners, they should be exempted from all the ordinary college and university lectures and examinations. The importance of obtaining as high a place as possible in the list, which determines their place in the service as regards seniority, should be fully explained to them. The university might perhaps be induced to confer the B.A. degree in their passing the open competition and going into residence. This would entitle them to somewhat greater privileges than ordinary under-graduates, and would exempt them to a certain extent from supervision, which, in their case, would be unnecessary. No inducement should be given them to pursue the ordinary course of university studies, or to compete for academical honors. To offer such inducements would be to tempt the best men to leave the service. I do not think the bond for £500, which Dr Jowett proposes to take from each student, would be an effectual deterrent in the case of the best men.

Second, as to the age at which candidates should be allowed to appear for the open competition.

I observe that the Secretary of State proposes to the Civil Service Commissioners to consider whether 18 or 19 would not be a proper limit as regards age, and that the Commissioners reply that, in the absence of any statistics showing how candidates selected under the conditions now in force as regards age have acquitted themselves, they decline to recommend any change in the present rule. It occurred to me that the best means of ascertaining whether the present maximum (21) was too high would be, to classify all the members of the service who came out under the competition system under the three heads of "good," "bad," and "indifferent," and to ascertain in respect of those classed as "bad" and "indifferent," whether a lowering of the maximum age would have excluded them, and, if so, at what sacrifice of those classed as "good." Being unable to accomplish this process, I have confined my attention to those members of the service whom I know personally, or about whose reputation there is not much difference of opinion. I have discovered that the men who have entered the service young, *i.e.*, at 20 or under, have, without exception, turned out well, whilst the failures (if I may be pardoned the presumption of holding the opinion that there are failures in the service) are among those who entered the service when they were 22 or more. I presume that this is the reason which induces many to join in the cry for younger men, and for lowering the maximum age. I do not, however, think that the service would be benefited by a lowering of the maximum. In the first place, many very good men would be swept away along with the failures, and though their places would be taken by younger men, we have no guarantee that these younger men would, on the whole, be better. The youth of 17, who is successful in a competition with men of 21, must necessarily be possessed of superior natural abilities, and therefore it is no matter for surprise that he is, as a rule, successful in his career in India.

If the age of candidates be reduced, the standard of excellence necessary for success will be reduced, and, though the men will be younger when they enter the service, they will be inferior in general attainments without this inferiority being compensated by superior natural abilities. On the whole, therefore, I am of opinion that the rule as regards the age of candidates for the open competition should remain as it is.

The third point proposed for my opinion has been discussed and settled along with the first.

*Memorandum by T WEIR, Esq, M C S, B A, Queen's University, Ireland,—dated No 277  
the 18th July 1875*

As regards the training at home after the first examination is passed

The object of this training is to fit the selected candidate as thoroughly as may be for the duties of an Indian civilian. To this end he is required to study law, political economy, Indian history, languages. Of these subjects, law is incomparably the more important.

Proficiency in the other subjects might, if necessary, be deferred until after the commencement of an Indian career, but, as observed\* in the Commissioners' Report, a young civilian, who does not carry with him to India a considerable familiarity, not only with the principles of law but with the manner in which laws should be administered, can never remedy the defect, except at a serious expense to the cause of justice and to the service.

Now the question arises where is this familiarity with law, more especially with the manner in which law should be administered most readily, to be obtained? Undoubtedly in London. London, with its courts ranging from the Court of the Police Magistrate and County Court Judge to the Court of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and the House of Lords, offers unequalled advantage for the practical study of the law.

An enforced residence at either of the universities after selection would remove the selected candidate from the enjoyment of these advantages. This circumstance alone is, to my mind, a strong argument against the selection of any place other than London for the residence of selected candidates. Arrangements might, no doubt, be made to allow candidates residing at the universities to visit London for the purpose of attending the law courts. These arrangements would, however, be difficult. The university terms would clash with the law terms. The college discipline and association, which are justly assumed to be of so much value, would be temporarily suspended during visits to the metropolis. I do not say that these difficulties are insuperable, I merely wish to indicate a few of the obstacles that present themselves to my mind.

Apart from the difficulties indicated, I can see no objections to the selection of Oxford or Cambridge as the residence of the selected candidates. On the contrary, I can see much to recommend such a selection.

The principles of law, political economy, Indian history, the classical and vernacular languages of the East, could probably be studied with at least as great success at the universities as in the metropolis.

The intercourse between, first, the selected candidates themselves, and, second, the larger circle of the university students, could not fail to be of the highest benefit. On this point it is unnecessary to enlarge. The importance of mixing in a cultivated and intellectual society at the most critical period of life cannot be over-rated.

As regards the limit of age up to which it is desirable that candidates for the first examination should be admitted, I would make no change in the existing rule. There is undoubtedly much to be said both for and against an alteration of the existing limit.

On the one hand, it is desirable that the young civilian should not come to India with ideas and habits so fixed on European models and principles as to be unable to adapt himself to the very different circumstances of the East. On the other hand, it is undesirable that the selected candidate should land in India with little more knowledge of the world and of life than is possessed by an advanced school-boy. If the limit of age is reduced, you will have men of more adaptability, more reconciled perhaps to the isolation of an Indian career, but of comparatively narrow views and little experience of the world.

If the limit of age is extended, you will incur the danger of having the service officered by men who have conceived a dislike for Indian life and ways,—men wanting in flexibility of mind and in the capacity for adapting themselves to the circumstances of a new life.

The present limit of age from 17 to 21 seems to me to avoid, as far as possible, these two evils, and I would recommend that no change be made.

As to the last question, whether successful candidates would be likely to take advantage of being able to complete the university course, if this advantage were open to them, I have no very decided opinion. The point does not appear to me to be one of much importance. The completion of the university course means, I take it, the attaining of a degree at the university. It seems to me of the very smallest importance whether a man, who has gone through a portion of this university career, and has succeeded in passing the Indian Civil Service examination, should be able to attach the letters B A to his name or not. For an Indian civilian who has to pass at least 25 years of the best period of his life in the East, a university degree is of little advantage. His career is in the East. He is not about to enter

\* See page 18



one of the learned professions, his work lies in the court, the catcherry or the No 277 camp, and a university degree will not, it appears to me, render him one whit more efficient in any one of these situations

*Memorandum by W LOGAN, Esq, M C S, —dated 20th July 1875*

As regards the three questions on which our opinions are asked, it will be more convenient to consider the second and third of them before the first

*2nd and 3rd questions*—As to the age up to which it is desirable that candidates for the first examination should be admitted, and whether successful candidates would be likely to take advantage of being able to complete the university course if this advantage were open to them, I am very decidedly of opinion that men at present come out too young. I am not aware of any particular advantage gained by sending out men so young as at present. Some Doctors might say it is better for the men's own health, but I have no doubt that would be as stoutly denied by another party. For my own part, I am inclined to the opinion, from personal observation, that the health of men who come out to the country, at a comparatively advanced age, is quite as good as that enjoyed by civilians, and, on the other hand, it is notorious that the ordinary period of service in India might be extended, without prejudice to health, to the 50 years of age. The great bulk of civilians at present come out to this country at 21 or 22 years of age, their ordinary studies having been interrupted at a time (19 or 20 years) when their previous training ought to have just begun to be matured. For myself, I see little force in the Civil Service Commissioners' arguments as regards "cram" being otherwise than an evil. The foundations of a matured understanding can, to my thinking, be only substantially laid by long and painstaking work. I myself believe that any subject can be more or less crammed, that is to say, that a very large amount of knowledge may be put on for a short time as one puts on one's great coat, and it is of the essence of such knowledge that it can be got rid of quite as easily and as quickly. I say this from my own experience, and I believe every one who has undergone the same process of "special preparation," as the Commissioners call it, would bear me out in this. On the other hand, I don't mean to say that any system of open competition could be devised in which "crammed" knowledge would not be used for the gaining of marks, but what I do urge is that such knowledge would be less delusive than at present to the examiners, whose task, be it remembered, is to select well-educated men if a later age were fixed for the open competition. The Commissioners assert that such examiners, as they select, cannot possibly be deluded, but the fact that they are so deluded would, I fancy, not be denied by any candid man who had been specially prepared. Nor is this to be wondered at, for, in my estimation, the only persons who are in a position to say what improving effect study has had on a man's mental faculties, are those who have watched him throughout his career, that is to say, the master of his class or his private tutor. I therefore maintain that the Commissioners would have a better chance than at present of selecting a higher average of better educated men, if the preliminary examination were postponed till the men were of such an age that they had been able to complete their university careers. If the gentlemen who now earn their livelihood by "specially preparing" men during periods which seem to average about one and a half years, were to spread the same amount of instruction over a period of three years (*i e*, during the time lads are developing into men from 18 to 21 years), I don't think that they would be doing harm, though they might be doing the work which properly belongs to the universities. To my mind, the great benefit which a judicious tutor confers on his pupil is that he helps him only where the difficulties confronted are found, on trial, to be greater than his pupil's mental faculties can overcome. When such obstacles are met, a tutor, if he has the training of his pupil's mind in view, and not merely the gaining of a certain number of marks in a certain examination, will allow the pupil sufficient time to do his best to overcome them, when he has failed, he should then and then only come to his rescue and assist him in finding the way onwards. The rate of progress *must* be comparatively slow if it is to be sure, and it is obvious that a gentleman who devotes his time to the "special preparation" of as large a number of pupils as he can conveniently manage, *cannot afford* to allow his pupil to spend much time at each such obstacle. His whole energy must be devoted to clearing away the obstacles in front and making the road smooth and easy for him. The present age for selection seems to have been fixed with a special view to enable mere boys, after passing through a course of "special preparation," to compete on terms of comparative equality with university men. There was no sounder wisdom than that of Lord Macaulay's Committee, when they said that the education of men selected for the Indian Civil Service should be "the best, the most liberal, the most finished education which their native country affords," and the fact that such an education is almost solely attainable in a university career seems to me to have been too much overlooked hitherto. I would fix the minimum age for competitors at 21, and the maximum at 23, as the ages when men after passing through the university, are brought face to face with the fact that they must now finally decide what their



career is to be, and are most liable to be tempted by the prospects of the Indian service. That the Indian service will ever succeed in attracting to its rank a large number of first-rate university men, I very much doubt, but, on the other hand, I have no doubt at all that, fixing the age as I propose, will secure for the service the highest average of men of matured understanding which the prizes offered are likely to attract.

My answers to the two questions, therefore, are that above 21 and under 23 should be the age fixed for candidates, and that sufficient inducement would, by so fixing the age, be held out to men to complete their university careers.

*1st question*—As regards the after-training of selected candidates, I think there might be some advantages in throwing the men together into a college which would have to be placed in London. Considering the age of the men whom I propose to select, I fancy that such a college should be conducted more on the principles of a club than of an ordinary college. Residence would be compulsory during certain terms, and the Civil Service Commissioners would appoint lecturers on subjects, to be remunerated, however, only by the fees of such of the candidates as chose to attend them. The affairs of such a college might, I am quite sure, be left with perfect safety to be managed by a Committee of the candidates themselves assisted by a paid Secretary. I feel certain that, if such an institution were started in London, and residence at it was not insisted on, most of those men, who now spend tedious hours in dismal London lodgings during their two years of probation, would still flock to it of their own accord. I shall only further add, as this paper is a longer one than I anticipated, that, in my opinion, it is a mistake not to give selected candidates some training in accounts and finance during their two years of home training.

*Memorandum by A. J. STUART, Esq., M.C.S.,—dated the 21st July 1875.*

*Question I*—As regards training at home after the first examination is passed.

1 It would be a great benefit to them in every way, but especially in respect (1) of discipline and supervision, and (2) of social advantages, if young men after passing were required to spend their two years' probation at one of the universities. These general advantages, in my opinion, far outweigh the special advantages secured by residence in London.

2 The only points in the training that would require to be made secure at all the universities where young men are required to attend would be (1) law and (2) political economy. I attach at least as much importance to the latter as the former, it is at the foundation of all administrative skill and knowledge, and at least half of the civilians in India require a knowledge of administration as much as a knowledge of jurisprudence. The actual practice of the courts in England may be observed, and this should also be required, to some small extent, by attendance in the courts during the vacations. I do not think this a matter of great importance, being one of detail rather than of principle. Indian vernaculars, of which the grammar only need be studied at home, may also be left to the vacations, and the standard of proficiency required at the final examination considerably lowered. The place to acquire the vernacular is India, not England. In fact, little good is gained by much study in England, and two months in India are worth twelve in England.

*Question II*—As to the age up to which it is desirable that candidates for the first examination should be admitted.

1 Everything depends upon the system to be followed.

I see no objection on this side of the water to officers coming out as late as 25, after 25 years' service they would still be no more than 50 years of age, and I decidedly think that it is useless to think of men after they arrive in India as boys to be taught their work, in which case only is there any advantage in bringing them out young. As a question of health, I do not think experience shows that it is better to come out at 20 or 23 than at 25 or even later. I see no reason, therefore, against taking as maximum any age that is most convenient in other respects, and the question of age must be made to turn on the minimum most advantageous.

2 In fixing the minimum, the chief points, I think, are—

(1) At what age can you best test what the man will afterwards turn out to be?

(2) At what age can you select a body of men for this purpose with least injury to those whom you reject?

As to the first point, young men vary so much that no hard-and-fast line can be laid down, but other things equal, it is safe to say, so far as my experience goes, that the later the better.

The second point is one which has not, I think, received the attention it deserves. Under the present system there is a large number of young men who, by choosing to try for India, are obliged, or think themselves so, to abandon the

ordinary roads which lead to preferment in after-life for the special training No 277 grounds of the London teachers. The greater part of them fail to pass, and there are no statistics to show what becomes of *them*. After making a false start in life, and receiving a serious discouragement at so important a time of life, it would require the vigour and determination of a man rather than of a disappointed lad to turn his energies into quite another channel and succeed in it,—not to speak of the fact that the ordinary openings for educated men of the upper and middle classes are by that time practically closed to the failing candidate. He cannot, and he probably has neither time nor inclination, after failing, to go to a university and spend three years more in study for a degree without which no field is open to him but the commercial. Considering the proportionate numbers of failures, and looking at the whole question as one affecting English society generally, I think that this side of the question of Indian Civil Service Examination is at least as important as the other.

3 If, by any means, these can be secured, an average standard all through of men well above mediocrity in ability and in acquirements, there is no occasion on behalf of India to seek to secure the occasional presence of unusual talent—that will come of itself, and no arrangements will certainly secure more than what I have above described.

The question then is how can such a standard be secured with least injury done to parties rejected. There are thousands of young men who came up to this standard, and there is no reason for preferring one above another, because he gets a few more marks in an examination at an age when he cannot be more than half ripe in knowledge. Any one who knows Indian Civilians knows that there are thousands of men as good in every respect at home.

4 I think it can be done in several ways.

*1st*—By choosing for the examination time the period just before the average age at which it is found young men end their school and begin their university career, a failure then will not prevent the young men going to the university or into the army, or to any other profession, but in this case the standard of examination must be lowered so as to correspond with the acquirements of lads at that stage of their education, though of lads who are above mediocrity at that stage. I should put this at the latest age experience shows possible, I think 19.

*2ndly*—By taking for the time of examination the age at which young men have usually finished their university career and taken their degrees,—and this I would put at 23.

These ages, whichever is taken, ought, I think, to be rigidly adhered to, and no one allowed to come up more than once. One failure does less harm than two, and two trials involve such a length of special preparation as to throw the candidate failing out of gear for resuming his general education. One trial secures good men as well as two, and after all *it is not wanted that young men should specially train to pass a certain examination, so much as that the examination should test the average young men of the period, and sift out those above mediocrity from those below it*.

5 In case No 1 A university career must follow, into which general Indian subjects, as law and Political Economy, would be introduced.

Indian languages, vernaculars of provinces I mean, of which only the grammar need be learnt at home, and practical experience of law courts, could be acquired during the very long vacations allowed at universities.

In case No 2 A further year's probation for special study might be required to be spent in the same way as in case No. 1. In this case it would be necessary to require a degree at a university as a condition previous to competing at an examination.

6 We should have a perfectly fair distribution of patronage over Great Britain if all universities now or hereafter entitled to grant degrees were able to send up those on whom they have conferred degrees.

7 With either of these limits of age, or perhaps both together, there would be a system under which a practically reasonable selection of the young men of England would be secured, and that without serious injury to the failing candidates.

The greatest of all possible advantages to a future civilian in India would be secured by either in a university career.

8. As regards the age to which the candidates under the present system should be admitted, consideration of failing candidates apart, and supposing two years' probation afterwards required, I should say 23, because the later the age the better the test and I see no reason why a man should arrive in India at an earlier age than 25. On the other hand, knowledge of the world and a character formed in England, as far as may be, are very great advantages, youth and inexperience, considerable disadvantages in any official position anywhere, and in India especially.

as men are there more left to their own unaided judgment than in England Local No. 277 knowledge is nearly as easily acquired at 25 as at 20, indeed, habits of observation and reflection are more likely, and a superficial way of observing native habits, character, &c, less likely, at 25 than at 20 It is well known that Indian civilians when they retire don't know what to do with themselves, it would be, I think, no disadvantage to them that the end of their service should be deferred to their fiftieth year instead of coming five years sooner

*Question III*—Whether successful candidates would be likely to take advantage of being able to complete their university course if this advantage were open to them

1 I think they would in any case.

2 I am sure they would in nearly all cases if the Government paid their expenses

3 I think, whether they like it or no, they should be required to take this advantage

*Memorandum by H M WINTERBOTHAM, Esq, M C S,—dated Malapuram, the 23rd July 1875.*

I presume my opinion on the three points in question is of no value except in so far as it is based on experience, and it appears necessary then to state the facts of my own case

After the competition in 1867, I took lodgings in London and read Tamil and Telugu twice a week with Professor Howley at King's College Beyond this I sought and obtained no instruction whatever, except from books, and attending at the various Law Courts

*A priori* reasoners would infer disastrous results, but at the final examination in 1869, four men passed above me, and all four had, I believe, been as free from supervision as myself Three of them had headed the list in the open competition, and I know that two of them (Jenkinson and Daukes) have obtained exceptionally rapid promotion since their arrival in India That I should have taken a higher place if I had submitted to tuition I cannot, therefore, venture to believe, and I incline to think that too much importance is attached to the objection that "candidates are left to conduct their own studies in a great city without supervision of any kind"

It is difficult to undertake the moral responsibility of men of twenty-two, and if the university authorities profess to do this, it cannot be said that their efforts are altogether successful Both at Oxford and Cambridge there is, by all accounts, sufficient scope for indulging in immorality, and many men find a pleasure, *ipso facto*, in breaking college rules of discipline

2 If it be admitted that candidates cannot satisfactorily be relieved of their "moral responsibility," the fact that they "conduct their own studies" need not in itself occasion anxiety

The Commissioners tell them what books to study, and the man who buckles to and reads for himself will learn more than the man who saves himself that labour by listening to the "elegant extracts" of a lecturer Whatever the lecturer may tell him, he can learn better from the books themselves, and so far as I have seen, students attend to and value lectures only in so far as they are thereby saved the trouble of reading

I speak, of course, of lectures that are not intended, and do not profess, to break any new ground

3 The one thing needful is to induce the candidates to work, and to this end the system in force in 1867-69 was admirably adopted

If the candidates were kept together as a body, there would be great danger of their combining to be idle

The struggle of the competition is followed by a strong desire for relaxation, which is fostered by the fact that one's acquired skill in "dead vocables" and formulæ of sorts, is no longer of any avail, and that a fresh start has to be made with new tools The candidates know or, at any rate, believe, that the examiners must perforce regulate their standard of excellence by the general tone of the answer papers If the candidates combine to be idle, the standard must be low, and there is no need for exertion The working men would continue to follow the studies in which they were already strong, and the rest, encouraged by mutual example, would give way to the desire for ease and make a jubilee of their term of probation When living apart, each man's laziness is overcome by his apprehension that his fellow-candidates are somewhere or other hard at work Shielded from the example of the idle, he is stimulated to exertion by the periodical examinations which reward industry, punish indolence, and keep alive a powerful spirit of emulation

4 I look back on the two years spent in England after the competitive examination as the two best spent years of my life, and give the praise entirely to the Civil Service Commissioners No 277

I do not see how greater encouragement could be given to study, or how better subjects for study could be selected. I have had no cause to regret the time spent in reading the vernaculars at Home. I was transferred to Malabar in May 1870, and passed the higher standard in Malayalam, with what Government were pleased to call distinguished success, in the following December. It would have been impossible to do this if I had not studied the language in England.

5 Regarding the question of the age up to which candidates should be allowed to compete, I think the present limits should not be altered. Many men of 18 give little promise of the ability that they discover two or three years later, and it is not desirable that these men of late development should be shut out from the Civil Service.

On the other hand, to extend the limit beyond 21 would greatly increase the risk of candidates marrying in England, which is to be deprecated as leading to pecuniary and other embarrassments.

Regarding the third point, selected candidates know that the special subjects they have to master are such as to fully tax the abilities of the ablest, and, if they have their heart in the profession they have chosen, they will devote their whole time and energy to those subjects.

Any system that encourages them to do otherwise must, I think, be injurious.

If a university degree were obtainable by proficiency in those special subjects, I make no doubt that every candidate who could afford to live at Oxford or Cambridge would avail himself of the opportunity to earn it.

*Memorandum by A. T. ARUNDEL, Esq, M C S., B A, London,—dated Ootacamund, the 29th July 1875*

I "As regards the training at home after the first examination has been passed"

The alternatives are—

- (a) the present system in which the candidates are encouraged to reside and study in London,
- (b) a special college such as Haileybury or Cooper's Hill,
- (c) residence at one of the universities

(a) The present system of residence and study in London is attended with very grave disadvantages. The candidates, in many instances, live an isolated and solitary life in lodgings subject to little or no control, and exposed to temptations destructive both to their physique and their morale at an age when the restraints of school have been removed, but have not yet been replaced by any fixed habits of thought and conduct. The Commissioners consider that "success in an arduous competition" gives the "best possible proof of steadiness and self-control," and therefore warrants the uncontrolled personal liberty which the present system allows. It may, however, be doubted whether success in the competitive examination gives evidence of anything more than good abilities and sound instruction. "Steadiness and self-control" are qualities which the subsequent two years of study should contribute to form. In connection with this topical remark seems necessary on the statement of the Commissioners that "in no case has a certificate been refused owing to doubts respecting a candidate's character." Without any clue as to the qualities regarded by the Commissioners as essential to sound character, it is difficult to dissent from the inference they draw in favour of the present system. It may, however, be affirmed that in some cases the certificates of good character submitted by the candidates are worthless, and that occasionally gross laxity of conduct, intemperance, and debt must have escaped the Commissioners' knowledge altogether. Great stress is laid upon the advantages available in London for the study of law, and the instructions for the guidance of candidates prescribe a prolonged attendance on the various Courts of Law, both civil and criminal. It is possible that the very careful attention now given to English Courts and their procedure may be excessive, and may produce a result, the reverse of beneficial to the candidates. It must be remembered that for at least seven or eight years, or one third of his whole service in India,—speaking of the Madras Presidency—a civilian's legal work is confined for the most part to his duties as a Magistrate, for the proper discharge of which he must often act as prosecutor, detective, counsel for the prisoner, and judge all at one and the same time, and his aim in such a capacity should be to discountenance rather than to encourage the verbal niceties and extreme formality of procedure, which may be beneficial in England, but which, indiscriminately applied in India,

undoubtedly tend to miscarriage of justice. But whatever attendance at the Law Courts may be necessary or desirable, could be obtained in the university towns or during the vacations, and special arrangements for visiting the courts in London could easily be made by the university authorities

(b) A special college, such as Haileybury or Cooper's Hill, would be preferable to the present system, but would be inferior to (c) a residence at Oxford or Cambridge, through the absence of the special advantages which a university affords. In the first place, the *tone* of such a college, where half the residents would leave for India every year after completing their two years' course, and their places be taken by an equal number of strangers, would be liable to constant change, and would possess no high traditional standard to be aimed at. The discipline would tend either to laxity or to strictness according to the character of the Principal. While at Oxford or Cambridge the young men, instead of resenting salutary restraint, would think it no hardship to comply with regulations to which the whole resident university had at all times given a cheerful assent.

The other advantages of a university life, in a social and intellectual point of view, are of the utmost importance, but are so universally acknowledged that it is needless to dwell on them. Serious misconduct, involving a removal from the university should, of course, involve a removal from the list of selected candidates.

II "As to the age up to which candidates for the first examination should be admitted"

The *minimum* age for competition should be limited with reference to the fact that it is detrimental to the public interests for a man to reach India at an age when he is still unfit for the position of responsibility he must at once assume. For this reason the minimum should hardly be lower than 18 or 19. The *maximum* age should be fixed so as to allow the competitors to include men who might have taken a degree at any of the universities, and with this object the limit might be fixed as formerly at 22.

III "Whether successful candidates would be likely to take advantage of being able to compete for the university course if this advantage were open to them"

There can be little doubt that candidates would gladly avail themselves of such an advantage, but it would be necessary for the university to modify its regulations for taking a degree so as to prevent them from clashing with the course of study prescribed by the Commissioners for the selected candidates. With this object the university might (i) expect success at the competitive examination in lieu of all minor examinations, (ii) grant a pass degree to all candidates who, after two years' residence at the university, passed creditably an examination in the subjects prescribed by the Commissioners, and (iii) grant an honour degree for success in an examination (a) in Law and History on the subjects required by the Commissioners, or (b) in Oriental languages and literature. These examinations would be independent of the final examination held by the Commissioners, and might take place soon after it.

*Memorandum by F BRANDT, Esq, M C S., B A., Oxford,—dated Chingleput, the 30th July 1875*

I take it for granted that there is no intention of reconsidering the present system (adopted subsequent to the time when I passed the examinations in England) under which selected candidates remain *two* years in England, passing periodical examinations in the special subjects. No doubt those who come out under this system have opportunities for acquiring a more extensive knowledge of the principles and practice of law, and I am by no means in a position to say that even in respect of the Native languages they may not have advantages. I only refer to this system in comparison with the one year in England, after the entrance examination, as bearing upon a point of considerable importance connected with the training of junior civilians after their selection, I mean the opportunities and means of acquiring knowledge, of forming connections and friendship with their contemporaries, of establishing and keeping up *esprit de corps*. Under the two-year system junior civilians do not remain in the presidency towns at all on their arrival, but go straight up-country. Under the one-year system we remained at the presidencies for some months at least, for a year or more in some cases. Being thrown together in a strange country, with men of our own age, engaged in a common service, with like interests we were, I think, much more likely to cultivate the acquaintance of one another, and in some cases to renew, or make friendships with those a year or two our seniors who still remained (perhaps to take honours in college) than we had been in England, where we had other friends, other diversions, other interests. We had also opportunities of knowing and being known to our seniors, including those in the highest positions. Our tastes, our inclinations and capacities for special lines of the service, were known to those at head-quarters. Now a junior civilian is known only to a very few at the head-quarters of his district, he sees nothing whatever of his own contemporaries. And in this respect the two-year system has, it seems to me, no slight disadvantages in that very particular respect in which, on

all hands, it is agreed that it is desirable to effect improvement I think, then, No 277 that it is most important to keep in view the creation of a feeling of common interest and intimacy between members of our service in every way which may not interfere with the special training which is essential after the selection examination has been passed

I do not see any grave objection to the present system on the score of its exposing young men to temptation by the inducements held out to them to resort to London A man will find temptations anywhere, and will find means to gratify his inclinations in any place if so disposed, the exposure to such temptations is no bad test and training

I look upon the present system with disfavour, more on the score of its leaving young men, often without friends and acquaintances in London, friendless and isolated, and therefore think the proposals held out by the authorities at Oxford and Cambridge as deserving of the best attention

Of the schemes which have been proposed, that which recommends itself least to me is the foundation of a special college, whether at one of the older universities or elsewhere Such a college in a university town would not, I think, supply the social and educational advantages of a university as Professor Jowett puts it It would not, I think, be held in high estimation by the members of other colleges I also agree with the Master of Balliol that, "if selected candidates could be brought to Oxford and Cambridge, the service would gain greatly in popularity and prestige"

At the same time I agree with the Civil Service Commissioners that attendance at the law courts in London is very desirable

I therefore incline to the adoption of Professor Jowett's proposals requiring residence at some college or university to be approved on certain conditions, by the Secretary of State or the Commissioners, coupled with attendance in the law courts, and, if necessary, of lectures also in London

No doubt there will be considerable difficulty in arranging the details of the system, but I do not see that difficulty is insurmountable I am not asked, and have not the time, even if I had the ability, to discuss the details

2. As to the age at which it is desirable that candidates for the first examination should be admitted The plan above approved does not necessitate the lowering of the ages now prescribed To reduce the limit would certainly further diminish the number of ordinary university candidates I think the average age at which men now come out is not too great, that "it is more difficult to estimate the real capacities of candidates at 17 or 18 than it is at 19 or 20", that a man of the more advanced age will be better able to form a true estimate of his abilities and of his relative chances in a home or Indian career, and not less likely to throw himself into his profession with good will when he has come to his decision

3 Whether successful candidates would be likely to take advantage of being able to complete the university course if this advantage were open to them

If residence at a college or university were required as is now suggested, I have little doubt that most, if not all, would take advantage of the special opportunities to be provided to enable them to take a degree, which would very slightly, if at all, interfere with their special studies

So, too, those who might already have joined a university This was so even under the state of things existing ten, twelve, or fifteen years ago, when not only were no special facilities given, but when the Indian Civil Service was looked upon, as I think, almost with disfavour by the college, if not by the university authorities

But if residence were not required, then I see no reason to suppose that many selected candidates not previously nor otherwise connected with a university would put themselves out of the way simply to take a degree

*Memorandum by L A CAMPBELL, Esq, M C S, and H B GRIGG, Esq, M C S, B A, Oxford,—dated Ootacamund, the 30th July 1875*

We, the undersigned, having found after discussion that our views on the topics mooted in Mr. Howell's letter\* of the 23rd ultimo coincided in all material points, have recorded the following joint opinion —

We would preface our remarks by stating that, while one of us is a graduate of the University of Oxford, and the other was nearly two years at Trinity College, Cambridge; we also know, by personal experience, something of the life passed by candidates in London

In the matter of the training of candidates at home after the first examination is passed, the alternatives seem to be a special college, compulsory residence at some college or

The alternative propositions noticed.

\* Not printed

university, or the existing state of things under which candidates are encouraged No 277 to reside and study in London

We do not suppose that the idea of a special college is likely to find approval, nor do we support it At Haileybury, with little nominal liberty, there was much of license, and with able teachers and theoretically an admirable system, there was practically but a small acquisition of knowledge It may be contended that in the new institution these blots which marked the decadence of one of which the days were numbered would be avoided, but were it so, we fail to see any peculiar advantages obtained by such a college, for we have not observed as its result any marked "community of tests and interests," and we are not convinced that "the knowledge of the habits and characters of contemporaries" produced by a common collegiate life, such as that at Haileybury, is of unmixed advantage We are therefore wholly opposed to a special college wherever placed, and would particularly deprecate its location at Oxford or Cambridge

The students of such a college at either university would be marked men, and might have as unreasonable a stigma attached to them as that which, in our days, attended Sizars and Bible Clerks and the men of colleges fed for certain districts The advantage of being a portion of the university would thus be greatly marred, if not wholly neutralised

What we would seek to secure in those coming to this country as civilians is, that they should not be mere scholars, but men fully alive to all the questions of the day, social, political, and religious,—men who have mixed with other men, not of one peculiar school or college, but with representative men of their own time, both elders and contemporaries

We would have them acquire that independence of thought, that wide sense of the responsibilities of life, that power of holding their own in society, that *comradeship* which men educated at home or in small schools but seldom have, and which under the conditions of the young civilians's life in India, as we know it, is rarely obtainable out there Relegated at once on arrival to an up-country station with half a dozen officials, strangers in every sense, promoted to higher offices which entail a residence at head-quarters with, at the best, a solitary European official, varied by constant tours where no white face is seen for weeks, and subsequently a return, after years of such life, to a huzur station, what chance has such a man of acquiring in this country those qualities so useful in his dealings with other men, those habits and modes of thought so essential to his own happiness and moral and intellectual progress?

Now, for the acquisition of a knowledge of the world of certain kind, and for the cultivation of manners and the highest social accomplishments, no place is of necessity so well adapted as London; but a young man may gain the former at a risk to health of mind and body far more than commensurate with any advantages attending it, while for the latter are necessary leisure, which the student cannot have, and a social position, from which birth or other accident may have debarred him We are, therefore, strongly in favour of a residence at one of the older English universities, Oxford or Cambridge, being made compulsory on those who have passed the first or competitive examination, and for the object we have in view, Oxford, with its small colleges, would seem the better adapted We are fully alive to the dangers attending a university career,—the temptations to idleness and extravagance,—but we believe that the responsibility attending the position of the passed candidate would go far to counteract these dangers, and, if there be failure, it is better that it should occur there than here.

Civil Service Commissioners' mode of obtaining evidence as to character condemned. The Civil Service Commissioners lay considerable stress on the fact that in no case has a certificate been refused owing to doubts respecting a candidate's character

We should have thought that this statement carried with it the condemnation of the system which gave rise to it Six hundred and sixty men, it appears, have been selected, and all were reported to be of unexceptionable character We consider the present testimony as to character to be of small value, but the officials of a

College authorities could give really valuable testimony man's college have the means of forming a useful and sound estimate of his character, and this is no small element in the advantage we hold

to attend a university residence

We are also unable to consider the opinion of Sir W Gull conclusive as to the system producing physical vigour Young men naturally grow more vigorous and when first examined by Sir W Gull they are but now recovering from the severe exertion attendant on preparing for, and undergoing, the competitive examination with its anxieties as to the future

Any way, our experience leads us to feel certain that life in London, in the case of the selected candidate, is not ordinarily so conducive to bodily or mental vigour as life at the university with its enforced social intercourse and recreations Nor do we see any serious obstacles to such a scheme. We lay but little stress on attendance at the law courts Things have much altered since the report of the Committee in 1854, and the India of to-day, with its Codes, its "Evidence" and its "Contract" Acts, is very different from the India with which Lord Macaulay was acquainted The candidates would, however, be able to attend the local Assizes, and anything further wanted could be obtained in the vacations or during term-time by special arrangement on the part of the university authorities

The universities must, however, be prepared to meet the Civil Service Commissioners half way, and to make some such concession as the following —

University to make concessions They might, we think, accept the Civil Service examination in lieu of all the minor university examinations, and grant—

To grant a degree for attendance on lectures and a creditable examination in Civil Service subjects (1)—A pass degree to those who are certified—

- (a) to have attended a certain number of lectures in the special subjects of their courses of study, and
(b) to have passed creditably in the final examination held by the Commissioners

They might further grant—

To found an Oriental school and grant honours in it (2)—An honour degree for success in a university examination—

- (a) in law and history, embracing mainly the subjects required by the Civil Service Commissioners, and
(b) in Oriental languages and literature, &c

The examinations would have to be held in October

We anticipate that the holding out of such a degree on the liberal terms above suggested would lead the majority of men to join the university of their own accord, if only the Civil Service Commissioners removed the difficulties regarding attendance at law courts

In conclusion we have only to remark on the other two points referred to us that we see no particular reason for any alteration in the age at which candidates should be allowed to compete, except so far as such alteration may be necessary to enable a candidate who has passed direct from the university to take an honour degree, if he wishes it, and for this purpose it might be desirable to extend the age for admission to 22

The uncertainty as to health in India may make some desirous to have a recognised degree to fall back upon, but we would particularly encourage candidates to compete for the honour degree we have suggested above

We also fully endorse Dr Jowett's opinion that a man is better able to form a just conception of himself and his future at 22 than at an earlier age The examination at an early age tests well brilliancy of intellect, but affords no criterion of the possession of other qualities The Government needs rather a strong and wise man than a brilliant and clever one.

We have said nothing about facilities for studying Eastern languages, because, if the university founded an Oriental school, it would of necessity have to appoint Professors and if their cost were borne in part by the Indian Government, it would be entitled to a voice in their selection The expense would be but trifling when compared with that of a special college, while such a school would be of



general utility, and would affect other branches of the Government service in No 277  
 Educational and other departments India, especially the educational It might also  
 might be thus benefited. lead to Missionary Societies sending their protégés  
 to the university, and when the number and unquestionable influence of Mission-  
 aries in India is borne in mind, it must be conceded that such an innovation in  
 their training would probably prove of considerable political import

ORDER THEREON, No 997

Resolved that the foregoing Minutes and opinions be submitted  
 to Her Majesty's Government, and that copy of the correspondence  
 be furnished for the information of the Government of India, Home  
 Department

(True Extract)

D F CARMICHAEL,

Offg Chief Secretary to the Govt of Madras

VII

From W G PEDDER, Esq, Acting Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department No 278  
 to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,—No 2438, dated  
 Bombay Castle, the 16th August 1875

I am directed to forward the accompanying papers upon the  
 subject of the selection, examination, and training of candidates for  
 the Indian Civil Service

2 The opinions of the following officers were asked for upon  
 the despatch received from the Secretary of State and its accompani-  
 ments —

- \* The Honourable the Chief Justice of Bombay
- \* The Honourable Sir Charles Sargent, Barrister Judge of the High Court
- The Honourable L. H Bayley, " "
- \* The Honourable J. P Green, " "
- \* The Honourable Nanabhai Haridas, Judge of the High Court
- The Honourable C G Kembball, Civilian }  
 Judge of the High Court } Educated at Hailey-  
 \* The Honourable R H Pinhey, Civilian } bury College  
 Judge of the High Court }
- L. R Ashburner, Esq, c s i, Revenue }  
 Commissioner, N D }  
 J E Oliphant, Esq, Acting Revenue }  
 Commissioner, S D }  
 Honourable E W Ravenscroft, Acting }  
 Chief Secretary to Government }  
 E P Robertson, Esq, Collector of } Educated at Hailey-  
 Dharwar } bury College  
 A E D Grey, Esq, " }  
 Belgaum }  
- \* Honourable T C. Hope, " }  
 Surat }  
 A K Nairne, Esq, First Assistant Col- }  
 lector, Tanua }
- J B Peile, Esq, Political Agent, Kat- }  
 tywar } Oriel College, }  
 W G Pedder, Esq, Acting Secretary } Oxford } Selected by com-  
 to Government } Exeter College, } petition, 1856  
 Oxford }
- W Wedderburn, Esq, Acting Judicial }  
 Commissioner in Sind } Edinburgh Uni- }  
 C B Izon, Esq., Joint Judge . . . } King's College, }  
 London } Selected by com-  
 \* A Lyon, Esq, Acting District Judge . } Ayr Academy, } petition, 1859 to  
 Edinburgh } 1864  
 University }
- H E M James, Esq, Acting Under }  
 Secretary, Revenue, General, and } Durham School . }
- Financial Departments . . . . . }

W Lee-Warner, Esq, Acting Under Secretary, Political, Judicial, and Educational Departments, and Acting Secretary to the Council of His Excellency the Governor for making Laws and Regulations	Rugby School, St John's College, Cambridge.	} Selected by competition, 1867	No 278
E Mc G H Fulton, Esq, Assistant Collector and Magistrate in Sind, and Educational Inspector in that Province.	Private School, Rugby School		
J M Campbell, Esq., Special Duty of compiling the Bombay Gazetteer	Glasgow Academy, University of Glasgow	} Selected by competition, 1870-72	
G G Turner, Esq, Supernumerary Assistant Collector and Magistrate, Surat	Rossall School .		
C. B Winchester, Esq, Supernumerary Assistant Collector and Magistrate, Ratnagiri	Blundell's School, Tiverton		
A Cumine, Esq, Supernumerary Assistant Collector and Magistrate, Tanna.	Trinity College, Glenalmond		

The opinions of the gentlemen marked \* have not been received  
Copies of the remainder are forwarded

3 I am also directed to enclose Minutes by His Excellency the President and the Honourable Members of Council

*Minute by the Honourable A ROGERS,—dated the 30th July 1875.*

No 279

Our opinion is asked, first, as to the method in which candidates for the Indian Civil Service should in the first instance be selected, and, secondly, as to the manner in which those who are selected should be trained for service in India. We are also invited to make any observations which a perusal of the correspondence may suggest to us

With regard to the first point, I do not suppose that the abolition of the principle of selection by open competition in some form or other will in these days be seriously proposed by any one. The only ground, with a show of reason in it, on which it seems to me that such a proposal could be based, is that it is essential the members of the Indian Civil Service should be by education, if not by birth, gentlemen, and that there is no security under the present system that such will be the case. That there is reason in it is a fact patent to all who have for any time had to govern the natives of this country—they are undoubtedly keen judges of character, and none more clearly appreciate the truth of the old maxim "*noblesse oblige*" I have had it said to me by one independent Native gentleman, and as far as I can remember by only one, that this is not the characteristic of the modern as much as it was of the old style of civilian. The same remark has been made to me much more frequently by Europeans themselves. Having myself for over ten years held offices which have not brought me much into contact with junior members of the service in their daily official and private life, I have not had much opportunity of judging whether any marked change has taken place in this respect, but I see from some of the answers of the officers whom we have consulted that the idea that such is the case is somewhat prevalent in the service. The statistics given by the Civil Service Commissioners in the Appendix E show that fully 86 per cent of those who have entered the service in the fifteen years from 1860 to 1874 have been drawn from classes of society ordinarily included among the gentry, nearly two-thirds of this number having been the sons of clergymen. They do not, however, show whether the proportion drawn from the odd 14 per cent has or has not increased of late years.

But admitting that to some extent it is true that the sons of men who are not gentlemen have under the new system entered the service, is the defect so great as to call for a return to the old one, of nomination in some form or other? I think not. The increase, of late years, in the number of large public schools and collegiate institutions in which a liberal education, at a cost suited to the means of even the lower middle classes of society, is obtainable, has a tendency to diminish constantly the number of candidates who will come up direct from private schools not possessing the advantage derivable from the association of large numbers of boys in rubbing off the rough edges of manner, if not of disposition, apparently inseparable from bringing up in uneducated homes. Many of these asperities, too, may be worn off by contact in mature years with civilized society. (I have no doubt that instances of this will occur to my colleagues which we can ourselves bear witness to)

On the whole, then, I consider that the principle of open competition as now established commends itself to our ideas of fairness to all classes so conclusively as to require far stronger grounds than that of the one defect imputed to it to warrant a recommendation that it should be done away with; and that of nomination in any shape be reverted to

Taking it for granted this view of the case will prevail, the next point for consideration is as to whether any modification in the form of competitive examination would be advisable for the purpose of procuring for the service men of really sound general education, and protecting it from the intrusion of others possessed of mere temporary and superficial knowledge installed into them by cramming. In this respect I am almost entirely in accord with the opinion of the Civil Service Commissioners, whose analysis of the results of the existing system in the appendices to their report seems to me to refute unanswerably the objections that have been made to it, and to give ample reason for the rejection of the alternative proposal made, that a certain number of appointments should be appropriated to each branch of knowledge. With regard to the latter, the analysis in Appendix Q is to my mind conclusive in showing that, had that system been in force, we should not have got the best men for the service, but that, on the contrary, it would have been burdened with the presence of several whose, as it were, accidental attainments in particular branches of study gave no guarantee whatever of the possession, by them, of that general training of the reasoning faculties which can alone be termed education in its proper sense. On the point of not reducing the range of optional subjects to be taken up, I agree that they should remain generally as they stand now with the exception that I would exclude Italian. There is no more reason why that language should be allowed than Spanish, and even less reason than there would be for the admittance of Portuguese, a knowledge of which might be of great use to members of our own Bombay Service. I also fully concur with the Commissioners in their opinion as to the undesirability of the addition of jurisprudence and political economy, which should continue to form obligatory parts of the final examination of candidates. I think, too, that any tendency to take up too many subjects for the mere purpose of gaining extra marks—one that I am aware has to some extent prevailed, but the result of which appears from the Commissioners' statistics to have been a general failure—is one to be checked, not by limitation in number, but by the principles on which the examination is conducted being made widely known, and the result shown by the Commissioners being furnished to the heads of all public institutions from which candidates are likely to compete, and to all private schools devoted to the preparation of candidates as far as these may be known.

To descend to the question of marks as indications of the degree of proficiency of candidates in the various subjects of examination, it seems to me that the relative values to be assigned to different branches of knowledge should depend a good deal on the age at which candidates may be admitted to the competitive examination. For instance, it can hardly be expected that any great acquaintance with even English Literature can be acquired by an English lad of eighteen. Up to that age a boy is usually at school, and engaged in his leisure hours in manly sports, and not in literary pursuits. I should myself not think a youth who had read a great deal at that age very likely to turn out a practical administrator. At 22, on the other hand, a much better acquaintance with the best writers of his own country might fairly be expected of him. In this respect I am inclined to agree with Professor Jowett in proposing that the number of marks to be given for English History and Literature should be reduced to 500 in place of 1,000,—that is to say, that a premium, as it were, should not be offered for the premature devotion of too much time, which might be otherwise usefully employed, to their study. This would not be unfair to the student of more advanced age, who from the nature of things would have more time for much study, and to whom, therefore, a better acquaintance with the subject would not do so much credit. I see that the Commissioners propose to revise the maxima now assigned to certain of the subjects of examination in the draft of regulations they are about to propose for next year, and have no doubt the point now alluded to will be one of those considered.

The question of the age up to which candidates should be admitted to compete is a difficult one. In favour of extending it is the argument that it would admit of a youth's education being more complete, and that more time would be afforded him for the study of objects tending to render him more efficient for his Indian career. On the other hand is the fear that the longer a youth's arrival in a tropical climate is delayed after he is grown up, the less likely will it be that he will become easily acclimatized, as well as that, having become accustomed to the ways of an English life and of English society, the less kindly he will take to the separation from friends the solitude and the drudgery inseparable from the commencement of an Indian Civilian's career. The prizes of the Service are daily becoming more scarce

and salaries that in former days were magnificent now yield but a bare competency No 27<sup>a</sup> in the lower grades, and in the higher, hardly admit of a man's laying by more than a trifle to add to his pension, owing to the increased cost of living. Consequently the inducements to men of mature age to enter the Service are much less attractive than they formerly were, and there is less likelihood of our getting the best men if we leave them too long at home. In the case of men who have actually passed the competitive examination, and thus entered the portals of the Service, it would be practicable to oblige them to fulfil their contract to continue in it by enforcing the penalties that might be agreed upon in their covenant, and the prospect of time being allowed them to take a university degree might induce some to enter its ranks, who otherwise would prefer the chances of success at home. The advantage to India, however, of having for its administration men of complete education and matured powers, is so immense as entirely to outweigh the disadvantages of work not being taken kindly to in the first instance, and probably of failure of constitution on the part of a few, and I would certainly recommend the extension

of the maximum age up to which a candidate may compete to 22,—at all events by way of experiment for a few years. The result could be watched, and the present limit reverted to if the anticipated evils of the proposed change should be found to arise. There remains to be noticed the advisability or otherwise of associating passed candidates during their two years of probation at home in a college to be founded for the purpose, or of allowing them to attend the different universities for the purpose of taking degrees, in place of the present plan of inducing them to pass their time of probation in preparing for their final examination in London.

To the idea of associating them together in a separate college for the purpose of establishing an *esprit de corps* and of enabling them to form the acquaintance of others with whom they may have to work in after life, I attach but little weight. Men after arrival at this country are thrown so widely apart that there is but little chance of the same set that happen to belong to the same year often having to work together, and I think the friendships they would frequently form with a far wider circle at a university would probably turn out of more value than those of the limited number of men they would meet in an Indian Civil Service College. *Esprit de corps* is quite sufficiently engendered, after arrival in India, by the mere fact of men belonging to a close Service, and with regard to the sons of men in the lower grades of society who enter the Service under the competitive system, I think that the larger the number of well-bred men they have to associate with, as would be the case at a university, the greater would be the probability of their acquiring the liberal habits of thought their home associations might have debarred them from. I have no doubt, from the communications that have been addressed to the Secretary of State on the subject, that, at all events, Oxford and Cambridge are prepared to offer degrees to the members of the Indian Service for proficiency in the special subjects in which they may be required to prepare themselves, and where

and subsequent residence at a university preferable to a separate college such arrangements can be made and of opinion that, on the whole, attendance at a university would be preferable for intended members of the Service to residence in a special college.

I am quite clear that either one or the other is preferable to a lad being thrown loose upon London to shift for himself during his two years of probation, and I

Present residence in London is to be deprecated. would not allow attendance at the London University to qualify, except in the case of those whose parents lived there, or who had a permanent house in the city. The advantage of a

Little good obtained from attendance at law courts, and residence in town, in enabling a student to attend the courts of law, has, I think, been much exaggerated. The courts at home are so utterly different in procedure and practice from those in this country, and especially Native witnesses are so different from English ones, that but little practical benefit can accrue to the Indian student of law from attendance at trials in England. Far more good will be done by forcing him thoroughly to master the great leading principles of all jurisprudence, and abandon the attempt to get up case-made law which will be utterly useless to him in India.

One word as to the course of study to be pursued during the two years of probation. As far as Oriental languages are concerned, I would strictly confine it to the two classical

Indian vernacular should not studied in England. languages of Sanskrit and Persian, and leave all vernaculars to be acquired in this country. If the teaching in the latter in England can rarely be depended on for accuracy, much less can the examination, and the tendency of learning them there is simply to give a smattering of a language which probably has mostly to be unlearned after arrival in India. Even in Sanskrit and Persian I would recommend more attention being made to principles and structure than to extensive acquaintance with their literature. The latter would only afford amusement in a man's after career, and the former would be really useful in affording a foundation for the study of the various vernaculars. As regards other subjects, I do not think too great encouragement can be given to the study of all branches of a modern liberal education, and there are many of

these—as Geology for instance—in which it is impossible to lay a good foundation without the facilities, entirely wanting in India, of access to museums and collections, and the teaching of competent professors. Apart from the sources of amusement contained in such studies to the individual, who must in the early part of his service be condemned to many solitary days, it must be remembered that India as a whole in such respects has not advanced out of complete barbarism, and that such knowledge may at any time be turned to the great advantage of the people as well as the Government.

In conclusion, I have no hesitation in saying that, as far as my experience of the new system on the whole a success nearly 30 years under the old as well as under the new régime goes, the latter has, on the whole, been a success. If the average administrative abilities of those who have entered the Service under the competitive system are not superior to those of the old nominees of the Court of Directors who entered through Haileybury, there are now fewer “bad bargains” than there were, and I think that, if a man in the present day is wanted for any particular kind of duty requiring special acquirements, he can more easily be found than was possible when I first entered the Service.

I should have liked to notice a rather remarkable proposal by Mr Wedderburn for the regulation of promotion in the Service, but refrain from doing so, as it is not one of the points on which our opinion is required.

*Minute by the Honourable J GIBBS,—dated the 1st August 1875.*

I received these papers from the Secretary yesterday morning, and at the same time the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor forwarded to me the telegram of the Government of India requesting an early reply. I have read through the reports received, and as I shall not have time to place my views on paper at length, I have looked carefully at the opinions expressed by the various officers consulted to see if I could agree with any one or more, and I have, as I expected from previous conversation with him, found that Mr Pedder’s opinion is

Agrees with Mr Pedder’s Minute that which most coincides with my own views on the subject, and therefore in lieu of detaining the papers, which may prevent the valuable opinions recorded from reaching the Secretary of State in time, I will content myself with subscribing to Mr Pedder’s minute my general concurrence.

*Minute by His Excellency the Governor P E WODEHOUSE,—dated the 6th August 1875*

The communications received from the officers who were invited by this Government to express their views on the present mode of selecting candidates for the Indian Civil Service and the special training of the successful competitors manifest considerable diversity of opinion, both as to the urgency of the need for change and as to the direction in which change should be made.

For my own part, I am inclined to think that the present system bears good fruit, and that there is no imperative demand for alterations. The choice of subjects in which examination papers are set, and the allotment of marks of various branches of learning, have been, in the main, adequately indicated by the Civil Service Commissioners, and the “crammer” does not appear to me to be deserving of all the obloquy to which he has been subjected. That the withdrawal of a youth from a public school or college, for the purpose of study under a “crammer” in London, is attended by the loss of many influences which contribute to education in its wider sense, cannot be disputed, but, as a mere instrument for imparting knowledge, the “crammer” is probably more efficient than the majority of tutors in schools and colleges. Being, we may assume, a clever man, keenly alive to the circumstances that his fortunes are made or marred by the direct and palpable results of examinations, he gives a more undivided attention to each pupil than the tutors of schools and colleges can give, and he is able—which they are not—to eliminate from his classes the pupils whose idleness or incapacity predestines them to failure, and upon whom time is wasted. With most youths the gregarious life of a school or college, however beneficial in other respects, is not conducive to habits of close application, and hence the crammer has an advantage over the tutor, in that he teaches youths who are leading lives of comparative solitude, and whose attention is, therefore, the less distracted from their studies.

To the young civilians also who are the product of the present system, a harder measure has, I think, been meted than they deserve. Deficiencies in birth, breeding, and manners have been freely imputed to them, and they are unfavourably contrasted with the young civilians of a bygone day. But the “*laudator temporis acti*” is common in every generation, and exists among Natives no less than Europeans. And it may well be that among those elder civilians of

the present time who now manifest the qualities of cultured men of the world there No 279. were some who to the elders of their earlier days seemed to be awkward youths, without polish and without knowledge of the world. From a return, which will be found in the correspondence accompanying the Secretary of State's despatch, it appears that an overwhelming majority of the civilians selected by competition during the last fifteen years have been the sons of the poorer, but cultivated gentry of the United Kingdom, and there is no better class from which India could recruit her services. To the sound "physique" of the selected candidates Sir W. Gull bears testimony, and as far as my own observation goes, I see no symptoms of an inclination on the part of the younger civilians to abstain from those athletic exercises which do so much to reconcile men to an Indian life, and to enhance the efficiency of all executive officers.

Though not disposed to find much fault with existing methods and regulations, I will nevertheless indicate the kind of change that I would counsel, if change there is to be. I would, in a word, again establish a college resembling Haileybury, to which, however, there should be no entrance except by success in open competition. The command of the services of competent professors and lecturers is best secured by proximity to the metropolis, and the college should, therefore, be located in some convenient spot easily accessible from London. With the view of drawing candidates from the public schools, 17 and 19 years of age should be fixed as the minimum and maximum limits of age for competitors. That the "crammer" would still continue to flourish under this new arrangement is probable, but in order to adapt the examination of original selection to the ordinary

Candidates should be from 17 to 19, "curricula" of study in public schools, and to diminish, as far as possible, the inducements to parents to withdraw their sons from schools for the purpose of special training under a crammer, the examination should be confined to Classics and Mathematics, and subjects confined to Classics Mathematics and one other option of each candidate, either English History

and Literature, or Modern Languages, and Natural Science. The candidates successful in this examination should pass at once into the college, where they would remain for a period not exceeding two years. In the college they should continue to study either Classics or Mathematics (but not both), with which should be combined the obligatory study of Arabic or Sanskrit or Persian, of the History and Geography of India, of Political Economy and of general Jurisprudence. So much doubt has been cast by competent judges upon the value of the acquirement in England, of some knowledge of Indian vernaculars, that probably no evil would accrue if those vernaculars were omitted from the subjects of learning in the college.

Indian vernaculars and law should not be studied in England. Similarly, the study of Indian Law Codes might be deferred till after the civilian had arrived in this country. To test the progress of the students in the college, and to sustain their industry, there might be minor examinations at the end of each term, but towards the close of the period of two years from their admission into the college they would be subjected to a final examination, embracing all the studies they had pursued, and by the order of merit in this last examination their position in the Civil Service would be determined. The finally approved candidates would then proceed to India at an age not exceeding 21 years.

The scheme thus sketched obviously excludes from the Indian Civil Service men who have taken university degrees in the United Kingdom, and many doubtless are reluctant to abandon the hope of again attracting to India such men as came from the universities in the first batches of candidates selected by competition.

Men like those who came out in the first years of the competition will not now be attracted. But I greatly doubt whether any alteration in the limits of age or other conditions attached to candidature for the Civil Service would now induce men of that stamp to come out to India, except in very rare instances, and for as it were, accidental reasons. In 1855 and 1856 bright pictures, drawn by Lord Macaulay and others, of the advantages of an Indian career were still fresh, and much has since happened to lessen, in English eyes, the attractions of India. The mutiny is not forgotten, the general rise of prices has made public employment in India considerably less lucrative than it used to be, and discussions in Parliament and the Press at home on the slow rate of promotion, and alleged breaches of faith by Government, have made it notorious that disappointment has succeeded to the hopes with which many entered the service.

It will also be urged as an objection to the proposal that candidates should be selected between the ages of 17 and 19, that the real intellectual capacities of youths can be better estimated at a rather more advanced age. Some minds, it is true, ripen more slowly than others, and the promise of school-boy days is not unfrequently belied, but taking the average (and averages must determine regulations), boys who excel their fellows at school maintain their superiority at the universities. And by the selection of candidates at the age when they are quitting school it may well

happen that the Indian Service will secure, from time to time, some youth of pre- eminent capacity who, had he gone to a university, would have become more con- scious of his own powers in relation to his contemporaries, and would have elected to remain in England

But there are other considerations which, in my view of the subject, may go and a civilian should commence his far to counterbalance the benefits to be derived career young from the introduction of men educated at the uni- versities It will greatly conduce to the success of an Indian career if the civilian enters upon it free from all regrets for what he may have left behind, looking hope- fully to the future, disposed to think lightly of any trials or discomforts to which he may be unexpectedly exposed, and accepting them rather as incentives to addi- tional exertion than as serious drawbacks Such a disposition, it will be admitted, is the general accompaniment of early youth, and it is not too much to say that each additional year passed at home after arrival at manhood will in most cases diminish its influence

It is necessary also to bear in mind the present position and prospects of the Civil Service in respect of promotion The com- Complaints regarding promotion would be aggravated by increasing the limit of age plaints on that score are general and enduring, and there is little ground to hope for material im- provement, if, indeed, the stagnation does not become greater. Civil servants who have served for fifteen or twenty years, who are in the prime of life, and who are as efficient as they can ever be expected to be, are still filling subordinate offices, while others, junior to them, have before them the prospect of completing their Indian service in the same position

The influence of such circumstances must be very disheartening, and Govern- ment may well pause before, by increasing the age for admission into Service, they aggravate the evil

Notwithstanding these considerations, which appear to me so weighty, Her Majesty's Government may determine that change If university graduates are wanted, the age should be raised to 22, or even 23, should rather take the direction opposite to that which I have indicated, and that the effort should be made to induce a larger number of graduates of the principal universities to enter the Indian Civil Service If the latter view be adopted, I would certainly raise the maximum limit of age to 22, and would even prefer its being raised to 23, if the period of special training at home were simultaneously reduced to one year, so that no civilian should leave England at a later age than 24 If the maxi- mum limit of age were thus raised, men who had taken university degrees would still be young enough to compete for the Indian Service after they had passed through the schools of the university to which they belonged, and graduates who had taken high honours would doubtless succeed in the Indian competition without the aid of a "crammer" Under such a system there would not, in my opinion, be and a special college would not then any necessity for the establishment, at one of the be required, universities or elsewhere, of a special college for selected candidates To the universities which will offer (as Oxford and Cambridge now seem ready to do) facilities for the study of Indian subjects, the students who contemplate an Indian career will presumably be attracted, but I would strongly deprecate the establishment of an Indian college at one university, or the imposition upon selected candidates of such conditions as would seem to imply a preference, on the part of Government, of one or two universities over the other universities of the United Kingdom It is alike for the good of India and of the whole Empire that graduates of the London University and of the Irish and Scotch universities should be no less willing than the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge to take service in India

From L. H. BAYLEY, Esq, Puisne Judge of the High Court, Bombay, to the Acting Secretary to the Government of Bombay,—dated Bombay, the 17th June 1875

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter,\* No 1555, dated the 24th May 1874, in which you state that you are directed by His Excellency the Governor in Council to forward a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India, No 4 (Public), dated the 8th April last, and of its accompanying correspondence between the India Office and the Civil Service Commissioners respecting the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India, July 1874 to March 1875, and requesting me to favour Govern- ment with my views on the following points in connection therewith

1st —The opinion I have formed from experience on the qualifications of the civilians appointed within the last ten years as compared with those of the civilians appointed in the earlier years of the competi- tive system

\* Not printed.



2nd —In the event of the comparison being in any respect unfavourable to No. 279 the former, how far the inferiority is attributed to (a) the mode of original admission, (b) the training which the selected candidates undergo after admission, and (c) the present limits of age

2 I have perused the whole of the correspondence and papers accompanying your letter, and have read with interest the facts and the views therein set forth

3 In reply to your first question, I have the honour to state that the opinion I have formed from experience on the qualifications of the civilians appointed within the last ten years as compared with those of the civilians appointed in the earlier years of the competitive system is a very clear one, and it is this, *viz*, that with perhaps a few exceptions, those appointed during the first few years of the system were far superior in every respect to those who have been subsequently appointed to the Civil Service of India I have never heard that disputed All persons, both European and Native, with whom I have conversed on the subject, have, so far as I could see, arrived at the same conclusion as myself, that the gentlemen who came out in the first two or three years of the competitive system have, as a rule, never been equalled by any who have since joined the Service

4 In reply to your second question, I have the honour to submit the following remarks

1st —As to (a) the mode of original admission I do not know whether my views are shared by many others, they are so, I think, by some I consider the mode of original admission now existing, *viz*, by open competition, an entirely unsound one Whether a less objectionable mode of selection can be devised I do not gather that I am asked to express an opinion, but I have for several years felt that, under the present system of examination, England does not, on the whole, procure the best or ablest of those men who would be willing to take service under the Crown in India.

5 Lord Macaulay and his colleagues, in their Report\* to Sir Charles Wood, as the original scheme contemplated dated November 1854, evidently contemplated the election of university and well educated men, that most of the successful candidates would be young men at the universities at home They say†—“It is undoubtedly desirable that the civil servant of the Company should enter upon his duties while still young, but it is also desirable that he should have received the best, the most liberal, the most finished education that his Native country afford \* \* \* Indeed, in the case of the civil servant of the Company a good general education is even more desirable than in the case of the English professional man, for the duties, even of a very young servant of the Company, are more important than those which ordinarily fall to the lot of a professional man in England

Lord Macaulay and his colleagues say‡—“The present students have gone to Haileybury from schools where they have been treated as boys The new students will generally go thither from universities where they have been accustomed to enjoy the liberty of men It will therefore be absolutely necessary that the regulations of the college should be altered, and that the probationers should be subject to no more severe restraint than is imposed on a Bachelor of Arts at Cambridge or Oxford”

6 The most important passage, as it appears to me in that remarkably able and interesting letter, in the composition of which Lord Macaulay no doubt took a leading part, is the following§ I need scarcely say that I entirely concur in it “Nor do we think that we should render any service to India by inducing her future rulers to neglect in their earlier years European literature and science for studies, especially Indian We believe that men who have been engaged, up to one or two and twenty, in studies which have no immediate connection with the business of any profession, and of which the effect is merely to open, to invigorate, and to enrich the mind, will generally be found in the business of every profession superior to men who have at eighteen or nineteen devoted themselves to special studies of their calling The most illustrious English jurists have been men who have never opened a law book till after the close of a distinguished academical career, nor is there any reason to believe that they would have been greater lawyers if they had passed in drawing pleas and conveyances the time which they gave to Thucydides, to Cicero and to Newton The duties of a civil servant of the East India Company are of so high a nature that in his case it is peculiarly desirable that an excellent general education such as may enlarge and strengthen his understanding should precede the special education which must qualify him to despatch the business of the cutcherry”

\* See page 20

† See page 21

‡ See page 23

§ See page 22



7 Now I believe that the best education which England affords, and the one No 279 the most calculated to knock a boy's nonsense and conceit out of him, and eventually to turn him out a thoroughly well educated gentleman, and to make him courteous and considerate to others, is that given in the old public schools and in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge

8 It appears from two passages in the papers you have sent me—one headed which the present system does not secure (E), "Social position of successful competitors" the other headed (O), "Observations on cramming"—that of the first 40 candidates in order of merit at the competition of 1874, the number educated at public schools was 30, of whom fourteen proceeded to some university, and that of the residue, four attended at some university or college who had not previously been at any public school. The fact that 30 out of the 50 were public school-men may, perhaps, be a little misleading. Had the return showed from what public schools they came, it would, I think, have been more satisfactory

9 An old Eton man myself, having left it at election 1844 when nearly at the top of the fifth form after a six years' residence there, I must be permitted to doubt whether all the schools which are now called public have anything like such a humanising influence on or give each a healthy tone to a boy's mind as the older public schools, such as Winchester, Eton, Harrow, Rugby, and Westminster. I confess that I know little of any of the numerous public schools which have sprung into existence in recent years. I think it probable that of the 30 persons in the examination of 1874 many, possibly the majority of them, may have come from the new public schools. We have, however, this fact, *viz*, that out of the 40 candidates selected in 1874, only eighteen had been to a university or college.

10 I have heard it remarked more than once that it has for some years been the express object of the Civil Service Commissioners to prevent the selected candidates taking their degrees at the universities, but whether such remark was well founded or not I have no means of judging

11 The fact of a young man at the age of 17, 18, or 19, passing the Indian competitive examination as it now is conducted, Present age is too early does not, in my opinion, prove that he is a good man for Indian work. The early age at which the first examination may be held is, in my humble judgment, erroneous. The paper (F—"Ages of candidates selected during the sixteen years 1859 to 1874"—shows that out of 817 selected candidates 316 were under 20, whilst 354 were over 20, 123 over 21, and 14 over 22. A boy's success in early examinations, depending mainly upon a quick memory, is no sure test of success in the battle of life. Every public school-man knows that many of his former school-fellows, who were considered clever, and who got many prizes when between 16 and 18, have been far distanced in after-life by those who by masters and boys alike were considered to have little or nothing in them

12 It may be not without interest to consider how the present system would have affected a man like the late Lord Canning. Lord Canning's education. That distinguished nobleman, to whose memory Mr Kaye inscribed his "History of the Sepoy War in India," was born on the 14th December 1812. Mr Kaye records (volume 1, page 363, 2nd edition) that while at Mr Carmalt's School at Putney, one of the largest and best private schools, he says, perhaps in the whole kingdom "The impression which Charles Canning made upon the minds of his school-fellows was, on the whole, a favourable one. He was not a boy of brilliant parts, or of any large popularity, but he was remembered long afterwards as one who, in a quiet, unostentatious way, made it manifest to ordinary observers that there was, in school-boy language, "something in him." One whose letter is now before me, and who was with him for nearly two years in the same room at the Putney School, remembered after the lapse of more than a third part of a century the admiration with which he then regarded young Canning's "youthful indications of talent and amiable and attractive manners"

13 On the 4th September 1824 he was declared to be fit for the 4th form and commenced his career at Eton. The Eton school lists for 1826 (page 127) tell us that Charles Canning was at election (July) in that year in the lower division of the 5th form, but only 27th in his remove, one numbering, so far as I can discover, 62 boys. The same lists show that the Earl of Elgin, his successor in the Viceroyalty of India, was last but one, *i e*, at the very bottom of the remove above Canning's, whilst the somewhat inglorious position of the lowest of all in Lord Elgin's remove was James Robert Hope Scott of Abbotesford, afterwards Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, Queen's Counsel, and the distinguished leader of the Parliamentary Bar

14 I need scarcely remind His Excellency in Council that the late Mr Justice Mr Justice Cresswell's, instanced Cresswell, who for years led the Northern Circuit in England when in the height of its greatness, and who was afterwards admitted on all hands to be one of the most able Judges

that ever sat on the English Bench, was at Cambridge what is called a "wooden No 279 spoon"

15 Mr Kaye states (p 364) that it is on record that Canning was "sent up for good" for his proficiency in Latin Verse, and "that it is traditional that the avenging hand of Dr Keate was sometimes stayed by a tender reluctance to apply the birch to the person of Secretary Canning's son" On the whole perhaps it is historically true that at Eton he had no very marked reputation of any kind He was good-looking and a gentleman, which goes for something, but I do not know that he was a great rower, a great cricketer, or a great swimmer, or was in any sense an athlete of the first water, and the admiration of his companions, and scholastically, it is remembered of him that he had "a reputation rather for intelligence, accuracy and painstaking, than for refined scholarship" or any "remarkable powers of composition"

Mr Kaye states that on passing way from Eton, the stature of Canning's mind was soon greatly enlarged In December 1828 he was entered on the roll as a student of Christ Church, Oxford In 1831 he wrote a Latin Prize Poem on the Captivity of Caractacus, and recited it in the Great Hall of Christ Church standing beneath his father's picture And in Easter Term of 1833, then being in his 21st year, he took his degree with high honours, a first class in Classic and a second in Mathematics In the same year the former lag of his remove, Lord Elgin, also took a first class at Oxford

16 Would these two distinguished statesmen, educated at the most celebrated school and college in England, have been sure of success had they competed for the Indian Civil Service as the examinations for it are now conducted? I confess I doubt if they would

17 In the letter\* from the Civil Service Commissioners, dated the 16th March 1875, the following passage† from Lord Macaulay's letter is quoted

"A candidate who is at once a distinguished classical scholar and a distinguished mathematician will be as he ought to be certain of success A classical scholar who is no mathematician or a mathematician who is no classical scholar, will be certain of success if he is well read in the history and literature of his own country A young man who has scarcely any knowledge of mathematics, little Latin, and no Greek, may pass such an examination in English, French, Italian, German, Geology, and Chemistry, that he may stand at the head of the list"

18 Just so Lords Canning and Elgin might have been surpassed in number of marks by candidates strong in modern languages and natural science, but who could not have matriculated at Oxford or Cambridge, as well as by others better than themselves in classics and mathematics from Scotland, Ireland or the principal private Cramming Establishments in London But on what principle can the Civil Service Commissioners tolerate and seek to justify examinations which may and do shut out those who, in the language of Lord Macaulay and his colleagues, have received the best, the most liberal, the most finished education that their native country affords

19 The present system seems to me to be a forced and unnatural one, obliging a young man who wishes to make certain of success to leave his university and to spend more than a year at Cramming Establishments in London

20 The following important evidence on this point is given in (O) "Observations on Cramming"

"More of the candidates attend such establishments, and the attendance is more prolonged than formerly Thus the percentage of successful candidates specially prepared was—

" In 1865 . . . . .	32 7
" In 1874 . . . . .	84 2

" while the average time spent in such preparation was—

" In 1865 . . . . .	6 or 7 months
" In 1864 . . . . .	15 or 16 "

" It is also noticeable that Mr ———'s pupils obtain a larger proportion of the maximum in the most solid subjects, viz, classics and mathematics, than the candidates from the universities, the actual figures being (speaking of 1874)—

	Greek.	Latin.	Mathematics.
" Mr ———'s pupils	37	44	50
" University candidates	23	35	28

so that the aggregate percentages of maximum scored in these subjects were—  
Mr ———'s pupils 131, university candidates 86

\* See page 9

† See page 12

21 I think that if Charles Canning and Mr Bruce had gone up for the No 279  
 Indian Civil Service in 1874, they would have  
 Lords Canning and Elgin would not have passed the competitive examination found themselves much where they had been in their respective removes at Eton, viz, a very considerable way from the top, notwithstanding their brilliant success at Oxford Had they left Oxford and availed themselves for 12 or 16 months of the important services of Mr ———, probably they would have succeeded in passing

22 The studies at Oxford and, I believe, also of Cambridge have been much altered and extended of late years From the letter\* from the Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, dated the 17th November 1874 paragraph 4, it appears that the first public examination called Moderations may now be passed in the 4th term from matriculation, "so that a candidate would be free to study special subjects connected with his Indian examinations about the close of his first year of residence"

23 The statement† in paragraph 6 of that letter is to my mind fatal to the continuance of the present system—

"Para 6 I may add that, by the present regulations, the Indian Service is almost refused to the scholars of the various colleges who may be considered to be the ablest of our young men, It cannot be for the interest of India that she should not be able to obtain the services of some of these young men"

24 I have read with much interest the letter‡ from the Secretary of the Civil Service Commissioners to the Under Secretary of State, India Office, dated the 16th March 1875 The Commissioners might of course be expected to have a difficulty in seeing any faults in the system they are working I do not agree, however, in the conclusions at which they have arrived

25. The above remarks as to the radical defects which appear to me to exist in the mode of original admission to the Civil Service of India have reference only to British aspirants to that service

26 The competition, however, is open to natives of India The tests which The competition is unfair to in my opinion are fallacious as regards our own Natives, countrymen are, I think, most unfair towards the Hindu, Mahomedan, and Parsee candidates, who leave India to try their chance at the examination in London

27 The natives of India have frequently very remarkable memories, and a wonderful faculty for picking up knowledge The present system has almost entirely excluded Indian candidates from success, and even when such a person does succeed, you have no certainty that he is a person fitted for the Service

28 I for one would gladly see the natives of India offered more opportunities than they at present possess of holding office in their own land One great object of most of those who now take degrees in the University of Bombay is to get into the service of Government England, it has been stated, professes to govern India for the benefit of the people of India, but Natives in the upper or even middle ranks of Indian official life are few indeed I believe one great cause, though not the only one, why the English rule is so disliked I believe, I may say not unfrequently detested by numbers of those Natives to whom we have given an almost gratuitous education, is the inability they possess of finding any employment under Government suitable to their intellectual acquirements

29 In Native States there is a greater field for Natives of talent and enterprise, and notwithstanding the uncertainty and insecurity which are to be found in most of them, they are, I believe, and apart from mere sympathy of race, looked to with favour by the Hindus

30 I believe that the Natives, those at least of this Presidency, feel that, having regard to the Queen's Proclamation, they have not been fairly dealt with in being forced to send their sons to England, across the Kalapanee which they dread so much, to compete with others in London, and I confess I think their objection on that point is not wholly without foundation

31 I think that His Excellency the Governor in Council of Madras or who should be selected, in India by Bombay, or the Lieutenant-Governor or Chief the Executive Commissioner of a Province, would be much better persons to select, after careful inquiry, Natives for the Indian Civil Service than the Examiners in London, and if it were thought proper to allot each year or each alternate year a certain number of places to be filled up in India, the Natives would have less cause of complaint than they have at present

32 With reference to (b) the training which the selected candidates undergo after admission, I venture to make the following remarks

\* See page 4

† See page 5.

‡ See page 9.

33 It is objected in the papers you have sent me that the proposed two years' No 279 sojourn at Oxford or Cambridge will interfere with the attendance of the selected candidates at the courts of law in London

The Master of Balliol College, Oxford, points out\* that "The university terms only last during about 24 weeks in the year, so that 28 weeks would remain for attendance in London at the courts"

34 No doubt Lord Macaulay and his colleagues in their letter are in favour of an attendance in the courts in London They say† "they ought to hear legal questions in which great principles are involved, argued by the ablest counsel and decided by the highest courts in the realm They ought to attend both civil and criminal trials and to take notes of the evidence It might be particularly desirable that they should attend the sittings of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council when important appeals from India are under the consideration of that tribunal A probationer while thus employed should regularly submit his notes of argument and of evidence to his legal instructor for correction Such a training as this would, we are inclined to think, be an excellent preparation for official life in India"

The above suggestions appear to have been followed, and the selected candidates attend, note, and report proceedings in courts accordingly

35 I think, with all deference to Lord Macaulay and his colleagues, that the time so occupied by the selected candidates, if not wholly useless, is at all events partially so, and that a far better disposition of their time might be devised

Time spent in law courts by candidates almost useless

36 The suggestions I have just quoted appear to me to be those of theorists, and not such as would have been made by any one practically acquainted with the courts in London I am not aware that Lord Macaulay, after he was called to the bar on the 10th February 1826, either before his appointment to India, or after his return from it, held a brief in any court in England, or even that he ever once put his wig and gown on and appeared in court If he did so, I should think he must soon have retired, considering the singularly dry, uninteresting and technical character of most of the questions argued at the bar of the superior courts at Westminster during the earlier years of his barrister life With a tolerably familiar knowledge of the Common Law Reports and with those of the cases decided in the Privy Council, I do not remember to have once come across his name as counsel in any case however unimportant

37 Between May 1850 when I was called to the bar, and 1858 when I left England, I rarely missed attending the courts sitting in Banc at Westminster passing from one to the other if nothing especially interesting was being argued I heard all the cases "in which great principles are involved," argued, but they were few indeed, not half a dozen during those eight years I had too peculiar facilities of hearing what cases were coming on, as I was on terms of friendship with the leading counsel then at the bar, under the soundest of whom, the late Mr Hugh Hill, afterwards a Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench, I had studied during the year previous to my being called to the bar Mr Hugh Hill, who, when I was with him, had certainly the heaviest work on the Northern Circuit, and who shared with the late Mr Justice Willes and the late Chief Justice Bovill, both then at the bar, the most important business at Guildhall and Westminster, advised me not to attend the courts to hear legal points argued unless I had previously read the papers, as he said that it is almost impossible to follow the arguments without a previous knowledge of the facts or of the points to be argued. I acted upon this suggestion while with him, and consider his advice was sound

38 In the Indian appeals argued before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the litigation has frequently extended over many years in the Indian courts The facts are, as a rule, extremely complicated The law applied by the courts in India and by the Privy Council differs as the appeal may happen to be from one part of India or from another The law of inheritance applicable to Bengal is different from that in the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras I think an attendance of a selected candidate at the Privy Council is more calculated to confuse him than anything else, and the time there spent may, I think, be far better employed elsewhere. A careful perusal of the numerous volumes containing the decisions of the Privy Council would, in my judgment, do him infinitely more good than if he listened to and took notes of the arguments or judgments in that court

39 He might attend the *nisi prius* sittings at London or Westminster, and watch attentively the trials and the speeches of counsel, and specially the summings of such of the Judges as have the reputation of dealing well with evidence, a power not possessed in the same degree by all Judges I have myself never derived so much benefit as from listening to the summings up in civil causes

\* See page 30

† See page 28

and criminal cases by the late Mr Justice Cresswell, the late Chief Justice Jervis No 279 (the marvellous powers of lucid arrangement possessed by both of those distinguished Judges were often the admiration of the bar who were listening to them) and by the late Lord Campbell I would not require the selected candidate to take any notes of such cases

40 I would prefer that he should go, say one summer circuit, or to some of the towns while the summer assizes were going on, and attend constantly in the assize courts Those assizes begin throughout England in the latter part of July after the close of the Oxford and Cambridge Trinity Terms, and would not therefore clash with them The Bar might perhaps elect such persons as Honorary Members of the Bar Mess, where they would meet most of the Bar and often hear the proceedings in the court that day criticised with that freedom and ability which form such pleasing characteristics of an English Circuit Mess

41 Here again I would not pester the select candidates by requiring them to take notes If they cannot be trusted on their honour to attend regularly and get all the benefit they can from their attendances, they would not, in my opinion, be proper persons to come to India in Her Majesty's Civil Service at all

42 I am, however, in favour of curtailing the attendances in the English courts to some extent and for the following reasons

When Lord Macaulay's letter was written in 1854, laws in force in British India had not attained anything like the systematized form or the symmetry they have since acquired

43 Her Majesty the Queen had no sooner in 1858 taken India under her direct charge than in 1859, the Code of Civil Procedure (Act VIII of 1859) was passed to be repealed and re-enacted with improvements in 1876 Then in 1860 the Indian Penal Code (Act XLV of 1860) was passed, in 1861 the Code of Criminal Procedure (Act XXV of 1861) (repealed and re-enacted with improvements in 1872 by Act X of 1872) In 1862 the old Supreme and Sudder Courts of Bengal, Madras and Bombay were abolished, and the High Courts established on their ruins In 1865 the Indian Succession Act (Act X of 1865) was passed In 1872 the Indian Evidence Act, 1872 (Act I of 1872) was passed, being mainly Mr Pitt Taylor's work (a costly one) on evidence, with the former Indian Evidence Acts turned with certain improvements into an Act of the Legislative Council The work by Mr C D Field, of the Bengal Civil Service, and recently Judge of Hughli, on the Indian Evidence Act, 1872, is, in my opinion, the best that has been published I always use it in court, and it gives so much of Mr Pitt Taylor's work as it is necessary for an Indian practitioner to know In 1872 also the Indian Contract Act, 1872 (Act IX, of 1872), was passed

44 Lord Macaulay's letter said\* and said truly that "The great majority of the civil servants of the East India Company are employed in the administration of justice A large proportion of them are Judges, and some of the most important functions of the Collectors are strictly Judicial.

45 I think it desirable that a young civilian when posted to a presidency or province in India should, if he intends to elect the Judicial Branch of the Service attend for a certain time the sittings of the High Court, or in the Punjab those of the Chief Court Why this has not been required I do not understand

46 The English law of evidence, which under the present regulations he is obliged to study and report upon after witnessing the application in courts in London, differs in many material points from the law as contained in the Indian Evidence Act of 1872 The civil causes he hears tried in England are very different from the majority of those he will himself have to try, and in the presidency towns and, I believe, also in the mofussil a large proportion of the contested suits tried are cases in which equitable relief is prayed more analogous to cases tried in the Courts of Chancery in England than to those decided at *visu prius* or at Westminster In the presidency towns he will see Judges trying civil suits as he himself will have to try them, *viz*, alone and without the assistance of a jury He would see also the mode in which Native witnesses, who, as a rule, are much more untrustworthy than those he sees in Courts in England, are dealt with by an able bar and by the Judges, and he might to some extent, though perhaps not entirely be prevented acquiring that jealousy with which some young civilians occasionally appear to regard the chief court of their presidency—a fault which, if possible, might as well be corrected, seeing that such court is the tribunal which will ultimately confirm, revise, or reverse, their own rulings and decisions

\* See page 25

47 With reference to (c) the present limits of age, the remarks I have No 279 already made have exhausted what I have to say on this point

48 In conclusion I have only to remark that I should be extremely glad to see the system now in force of open competition Selection by competition deprecated. entirely abolished, and the mode of selecting persons for the Indian Civil Service placed on an entirely different basis. Indeed, with such distinguished officers holding high civil employ as Colonel Keatinge, Sir Richard Meade, and Sir Lewis Pelly (none of whom were set to work at the competitive examination treadmill), and looking at the large number of efficient military officers and of able uncovenanted servants in the revenue and other surveys, and in other departments of the Crown in this Presidency, in the North-West Provinces, in Oudh, and in the Punjab, doing to England and to India thorough good service, I feel at times almost constrained to ask myself whether a separate covenanted service, whose privileges, formerly exclusive, have been unquestionably invaded of late years, is really wanted for the due administration of British India by the Crown of England?

49 I regret that my observations upon some of the points on which my opinion has been invited have run to such length. I confess, however, that I am greatly interested in the matter under consideration, and I feel much honoured at having been consulted by His Excellency the Governor in Council upon the subject. I have stated my views openly and without reserve, feeling that by so doing I should the better place them for the consideration of His Excellency in Council.

From C G KEMBALL, Esq., Puisne Judge, High Court of Judicature, Bombay, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay,—dated Bombay, the 26th July 1875

With reference to your letters\* Nos 1555 and 1819 of the 24th May and 18th June last, respectively, I have the honour to make the following observations

As regards the comparison between the civilians appointed within the last ten years and those appointed in the earlier years of the competitive examinations, I am of opinion that taking each of these two classes as a body, the latter are decidedly superior, and this opinion is, I may mention, shared by those members of the Civil Services of Bengal and Madras of about my own standing with whom I have from time to time had the opportunity of discussing the question. It is of course impossible for me with the time at my disposal to enter at length into the reasons for this opinion, but I may observe generally that the first competitors were all good without exception—men in fact not only of intellectual ability, but with formed characters and fitted to deal with men.

On the general question referred to in the 2nd paragraph of the Secretary of State's letter, I am of opinion that, having regard to the special qualifications requisite for the Civil Service of this country, it would be a great gain were such

changes made as would enable public school-boys to compete on a more equal footing with those educated privately. For this end I would discard the following subjects, which studied by the

young merely for the purposes of examination, prove, I think of very little practical use—"Natural Science," "Moral Sciences," "Sanskrit language and literature," and "Arabic language and literature," and I would increase the marks for English in its various branches, European languages, Latin, and Greek. Those who know the isolated position and the many and various duties of civil servants in this country will readily acknowledge that something over and above intellectual ability is required, and these requisites are, I think, hardly to be looked for from the training at those establishments, however ably superintended, to which the open competition system has given rise. I appreciate equally strongly the advantages

to be gained from an university education, and I would compel all selected candidates to take degrees at any college they may choose at either

Oxford or Cambridge. It might be urged that Irish or Scotch candidates should be allowed to take their degrees at any Irish or Scotch University, and no doubt they would there have equal means of obtaining the highest degree of intellectual culture, but if this were allowed, the object of bringing the men into familiar contact and creating that *esprit de corps* which is eminently essential for such a service as ours would be lost, and I apprehend that as the Government provide for the support of the candidates they may reasonably expect to be allowed to make their own conditions. As regards the age of candidates for the open competition, I would alter it

Age should be from nineteen to twenty one to "from nineteen to twenty-one." I believe young men do not enter the universities before the age of nineteen, and allowing three years as the period required for taking a degree, civilians would ordinarily come out to this country between the age of 22 and 24, but in the event of a selected candidate on probation desiring to go up for honours (for which I think every encouragement should be given), I would

\* Not printed.

extend the time for which the subsistence allowance is given to four and half years No 279. which is the time I believe ordinarily required With regard to the special subjects of study for selected candidates, I would certainly retain Law, Political Economy

and the History and Geography of India. I would, however, do away entirely with the Study of Oriental languages in England objectionable, Oriental languages, the study of which in England is, I think, a waste of much valuable time, and in their place I would substitute Moral Sciences, that is, Logic, Mental and Moral Philosophy The present system of attendance for a certain number of times at the law courts in London is, I believe, productive of no good, and in this opinion and attendance at Law Courts useless I am supported by some of the ablest of the junior civilians in this Presidency, but I would strongly recommend selected candidates being encouraged to enter at one or other of the Inns of Court—a course which I think would in no way interfere with their university studies

I do not agree with those who fear that candidates who have distinguished themselves at the universities are likely to be seduced into another career Naturally the idea of long years of exile is distasteful to most men, but I believe there is no career, from first to last, open to Englishmen, which offers so many and great advantages as the Civil Service of India, though I may be allowed to observe that, to enable it to regain and maintain its attractiveness, some remedy is urgently needed in its present stagnant state of promotion at least in the Bombay and Bengal services

In conclusion, I must apologise for these somewhat hastily written remarks due to want of time, not to an insufficient appreciation of the importance of the subject.

From L R ASHBURNER, Esq, Revenue Commissioner, Northern Division, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department,—No 2942, dated Poona, the 26th July 1875.

With reference to your No 2132\* of July 17th, 1875, I have the honour to reply that in my experience the character and qualifications of civilians appointed to the Government Civil Service in the last ten years are fully equal to those of men appointed prior to that period

2 It is true that some men of a very high standard entered the service in the first few years of the competitive system, but Junior civilians equal as a body to competitive civilians of over ten years' service. dividing the competitive men into two classes, (1) those of ten years' and (2) those of over ten years' service, and bearing in mind that the senior men have had so many more opportunities of distinguishing themselves, I cannot discover that they show any marked superiority over their juniors

It is hardly fair to compare men who are still in a subordinate position with those who have for some years been serving at the heads of departments We must look back to the period when the senior men had served, say five or seven years, and compare them with men of the same standing on the junior list, the latter can show quite as many promising men as could have been selected from the senior men fifteen years ago

From J E OLIPHANT, Esq, Acting Revenue Commissioner, Southern Division, to the Acting Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department,—No 2219, dated Poona, the 22nd July 1875

I have the honour to reply to your No 1555\* of 1875, dated 24th May last

2 I am of opinion that the qualifications of civilians appointed in the earlier years of the competitive system were of a higher standard than those of the civilians appointed within the last ten years First batches of competitive civilians superior to their successors

3 I am further of opinion that this result is attributable to different causes working together, viz

- (a) The mode of admission of the candidates, and the training which those selected have to undergo
- (b) The obstacles which the existing regulations oppose to candidates studying and taking degrees at the universities
- (c) The Indian Civil Service has from the causes become comparatively unattractive to young men of marked ability
- (d) This unattractiveness has been increased by the undoubted fact (whatever the cause may be) that the prospects of the younger civilians are not now so good as they were formerly

\* Not printed.



4. It appears to me that the competitive system has been pushed to an extreme, No 279  
 hence its failure to secure the best men, and the  
 reasonable objections urged against it Its great  
 blot is the obstacles put in the way of students and  
 scholars of the universities, which debar them from competing I have read with  
 much interest the observations of Professor Jowett, the Master of Balliol College,  
 Oxford, in his letter\* dated 27th December 1874, to the Secretary of State for India,  
 and I consider that the changes therein suggested  
 are calculated to remove the objections to the  
 present system, and to again attract young men  
 of high ability to our Indian Civil Service, always  
 provided that the Secretary of State and the Indian Government co-operate stead-  
 fastly to secure to them the emoluments and advantages originally held out as an  
 inducement to compete, which in common justice they have every right to expect

From the Honourable E W RAVENSCROFT, Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
 to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department,—No 4246, dated Bombay,  
 the 29th June, 1874

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letters† No 1555, dated 24th May  
 1875, and No 1819, dated 18th June of 1875, with reference to the despatch of  
 the Secretary of State, respecting the selection and training of candidates for the  
 Civil Service of India

2 As regards the first question contained in your letter No 1555, wherein  
 you ask “the opinion I have formed from experience on the qualifications of the  
 civilians appointed within the last ten years as compared with those of the civilians  
 appointed in the earlier years of the competitive system ”

I beg to state my opinion as follows

The first batch of competition civilians who came out to this Presidency in 1856

Four or five of the first batch of  
 competition men were superior to their  
 predecessors or successors

contained, as far as I am able to judge,  
 four or five men of ability and educa-  
 tion, superior to the average of their  
 predecessors or successors Since that

time I have seen no difference in the mental qualifications of the civilians  
 of this Presidency, if I compare them with the mental qualifications of the  
 old Haileybury men, or the men who have, within the last five or ten  
 years, come out to this country under the competitive system Whether  
 there is now that spirit of unanimity and reliance on one another, which  
 is, in my opinion, the result of a collegiate education, such as the old  
 Haileybury men enjoyed, I much doubt

3 The next point on which His Excellency the Governor General in Council  
 desires my opinion refers—“to the method in which candidates shall, in the first  
 instance, be selected, and as to the manner in which those who are selected shall  
 be trained for service in India ”

4 This is a question which, as an old Haileybury man, I may be led into  
 discussing with a certain amount of bias For it is difficult for me to avoid feeling  
 that a system which produced the class of men who settled the Government of this  
 enormous country when it was in a state of chaos, and who were as ready as their  
 brother officers of the Army to sacrifice their lives and every thing that belonged  
 to them in fighting through the disasters and glories of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-58,  
 was not a system which admitted of much improvement. In any change, therefore,

Training selected candidates in a  
 College like Haileybury advocated

that may be in contemplation, I would suggest a  
 return to some scheme similar to that of Haileybury  
 Competitive examination being the rage, candidates

of course must be selected by a competitive examination, and in my opinion pro-  
 perly so, but, as regards the details of the examination, I do not feel competent to  
 offer an opinion of any value I feel however very strongly the advantage that  
 would result from placing the successful candidates in some college where they  
 would spend two years together before coming to this country They would then  
 acquire that discipline, reliance on, and acquaintance with one another, which in  
 troublous times are most valuable, and which are not common now, and they would  
 feel that interest in each other's career which is felt by the surviving Haileybury  
 men, and which I am sure is very useful

5 One error, which I think it is advisable to avoid, is the error of sending men

Indian career should commence at  
 an early age,

to India at too advanced an age The Indian  
 civilian ought, in my opinion, to commence his  
 career here at an age when he will be satisfied

with what will be for some years a life of unimportant and subordinate work  
 Promotion, in this Presidency at least, has been very slow of late years, and men  
 of 15, 16, 17 and 18 years' service now hold, and for some time have held, very  
 subordinate posts If a man comes out at 25 years of age, and finds himself at  
 40 years of age a First Assistant Collector, he naturally gets disheartened, and not

\* See page 7

† Not printed.



nearly so good a public servant as he would have been, had he entered the service No. 279 in India at 20

6 In conclusion, what I would in brief suggest, is—

(1) That the competitive examination should be so arranged that general superiority and education should win the prize rather than knowledge acquired by cramming

(2) That successful candidates, instead of passing two years in London, should pass two years at a college instituted and regulated as Haileybury College was in old days

(3) That no civilian should be allowed to come to India after he had completed his 22nd year

7 I may add that the physical qualifications of some of the civilians, who have come out under the new system, are not, in my opinion, such as are suited for the trying climate and severe work which they have repeatedly to endure.

From E P ROBERTSON, Esq (Collector of Dharwar), Acting Revenue Commissioner of Northern Division, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department,—No 2395, dated Puna, the 28th June 1875

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Government-No. 1555,\* dated 24th ultimo

2 I regret that my experience during the past ten years does not admit of my submitting any detailed opinion to Government on the points brought forward For the first two years out of the last ten I was on furlough, and since my return to this country I have been at a remote out-station, and have had but few opportunities of seeing young civilians of less than ten years' standing

3 During this period my first assistants have been men of old standing—  
Mr C H Cameron                      The other young civilians who have served under  
Mr Waddington                      me were Messrs. Middleton, Ebden, Steward,  
Mr Stewart                              McCallum, Opmaney and Cunningham. The  
latter has been out some time, but has as yet not qualified for active employment,  
and, therefore, I have been unable to form any particular opinion regarding him.  
Civilians below ten years' standing      Messrs Middleton and Cunningham, I believe,  
are men of a high class,                      came from one of the Scotch Universities, either  
Aberdeen or Edinburgh, and Mr Stewart from  
Oxford University, Mr Ebden from Cambridge University, and Mr Opmaney  
from Cheltenham School As far as my own practical experience goes, I have been  
most fortunate in having young civilians placed under me who are certainly of a  
high class, and who have already given promise of being valuable servants to the  
State

4 I consider, however, I may fairly remark that the general opinion expressed is, that the civilians appointed within the last ten years are not equal to those who first entered the service but inferior to the first batch on the introduction of the competition system The first batch of civilians under that system contained men of acknowledged mark and ability—men who had distinguished themselves at the universities, and who appeared for the competitive examination long before the present highly perfected system of cramming had come into force

5 That we do not now obtain the same class of men is, in my opinion, due (a) to the present limit of age, (b) to the nature of the examination, (c) the action of the Civil Service Commissioners, (d) to the training which select-  
ed candidates undergo after admission

(a) *The limit of age.*  
Limit of age too confined,                      The limit of age is such as debars, except in a few special cases, men at a university aiming career.

(b) *The nature of the examination.*  
and too many subjects for examina-                      Here the number of subjects and high marks  
tion allowed                                      allowed are greatly in favour of cram.

There appears to be no advantage to be gained from giving marks in French, German and Italian The two first languages now ordinarily form part of a boy's education, and it may be reasonably presumed that all well educated young men will possess a fair knowledge of French and German.

\* Not printed

Again, I am of opinion that Sanskrit and Arabic should not be admitted as subjects At best these two languages, and as well as Sanskrit and Arabic French, German and Italian, are the crammers' great friends The knowledge gained of Sanskrit and Arabic is little or none These subjects are in 99 out of 100 cases dropped immediately on arrival in India If the study of the Sanskrit and Arabic languages is desirable, then by all means by extra inducements encourage the study of them in India when real substantial progress can be made, but take them away from the list of competitive examination subjects

(c) *The action of the Civil Service Commissioners*

The little experience I have had has led me to the opinion that the Civil Service Commissioners look with favour on the present system of 'cram' and discourage university men marks, and are averse to encouraging the entry of university men into the Service On this point I will give one illustration

In 1864 or 1865 I persuaded a nephew of my wife's to go up for the examination He (Mr T H Ward) was an Oxford man, he went at only a few days' notice, and without any previous training He passed at the head of the list He was anxious about his university career. He found that the times for the Civil Service recurring examinations were so inconveniently selected that they interfered with the university examinations, he therefore applied to the Commissioners, and suggested such alterations of dates as would enable university men to meet the Commissioners' examinations, and yet to maintain their university career with credit The Commissioners refused any such concession, and I believe clearly stated that they did not want men who aimed at a university career Mr Ward in consequence threw up the Civil Service and stuck to the university, took his first class, became Fellow of his college, and is now, as reference to the university will prove, a successful man.

I mentioned this case as one simple case like this is worth volumes of paper, and proves at once whether the action of the Commissioners is calculated to give us the best men

(d) *To the training which selected candidates undergo after admission*

The question is what training do they now receive, and reply must be, next to none

They go where they like, they live where they like, no one cares for them, no one looks after them They attended a few lectures, and occasionally the police courts, they are cast quite neglected on their own resources in London, they do not know one another, and they care not for one another, they meet occasionally at the examinations, that is all they know of one another, and there is no bond of union amongst them Thus *esprit de corps* is at once prevented Where they however, once they are admitted to the service, obliged to attend one college at one of the universities, and, while studying certain particular subjects, obliged to pass through the university course, and allowed to aim at a distinguished place therein, then the evils of the present system would be reduced to a minimum, and the character of the service would be raised in a manner that all who have its honour, name, and welfare at heart would be proud to acknowledge.

From A E D GREY, Esq, Collector, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department,—No 1340, dated Belgaum, the 3rd July 1875

With reference to your letter\* No 1818, dated 18th ultimo, forwarding for opinion the correspondence respecting the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India, I have the honour to offer the following remarks

The Civil Service Commissioners, in their letter† of the 16th March last, have made such able and exhaustive defence of advance of the advantages of the system as it at present exists, and have stated in such clear and forcible terms the objections to the various proposals for modifying or altering the rules under which candidates are at present selected and trained for the Civil Service of this country, that it would appear somewhat presumptuous to dissent from the views of these gentlemen who have for many years been observing the qualities, both social and intellectual, of the young men who have presented themselves periodically for examination It is, however, quite possible to imagine that the Civil Service Commissioners, with every desire of giving an independent opinion on the subject, have very naturally been looking at the question from a somewhat narrow point of

\* Not printed

† See page 9

view The object which these gentlemen have before them is to procure, for the Civil Service of the Crown, the most highly qualified candidates it is possible to obtain. It is hardly possible for them to judge of their social or moral qualities in the short interviews the candidates have with them, and the only possible standard by which they can estimate them is by the proficiency each man has attained in the various subjects which are prescribed for examination. Those, however, who have had opportunities of observing how the system has worked in India, although sensible of the very superior attainments and advantages which are possessed by many of the gentlemen who have entered the service under the existing rules, have long thought that these rules are susceptible of considerable improvements.

No point is of more importance, or requires more serious consideration, than the limit of age. In determining the period at which men have to proceed to India, it is necessary to guard, on the one hand, against admitting untrained and imperfectly educated youths into the service, and, on the other, against extending the limit to an age when the men are too old readily to adapt themselves to the comparatively subordinate duties and drudgery which is unavoidable in the first few years of the service.

Lord Macaulay's Committee in discussing the question of age reported\* that "it was undoubtedly desirable that the civil servant should enter upon his duties while still young," but added "it is also desirable that he should receive the best, the most liberal, the most finished education that his Native country affords." There is no doubt that both these objects are desirable, and the only question is, where the education is to stop, for it cannot be supposed that even a man of 23 years of age is perfect in knowledge or attainments, or that if his entrance to the

No civilian should come to India after 21, service was deferred till 25, he would not be a

greater scholar or of higher culture. My own opinion is that 21 years should be the extreme limit of age at which a young civilian should be admitted to the service, and that men should be allowed to go up or compete after 18, as young men take more kindly to their work and to the Natives, for the open competition after completing their eighteenth year. A man of 20 or 21, selected from a number of others of the same age, who has given

much of his time to study, ought to be sufficiently well educated to enable him to fulfil the ordinary duties of a member of the Civil Service with credit and efficiency. My experience has led me to think that those young men who have come to me as Assistants of about the age of 21 to 22, have taken to their work more kindly, and have shewn a greater desire to acquire a knowledge of their duties and of the Natives about them, than those more advanced in years. The two years which men gain in the service in advance of those who enter later in life are most valuable to them, they receive more favourable impressions of the duties which are before them, and more easily muster the tedious and distasteful details of their profession. The result of limiting the age may be that the standard of the open competitive examination will be lowered, but I think the advantages of men entering the service young are so great that the objection is of comparatively minor importance.

Another great advantage in securing the services of men, as young as possible, and are less discontented with slow promotion is that the present rate of promotion is so extremely slow, that it is very desirable to arrange, if possible, that the subordinate offices in the public service are not held by men who are far advanced in life, and that the prospect which was originally held out to candidates of retiring from the service at the age of 45 should be fulfilled.

With regard to the subjects for examinations, and the manner in which the marks are awarded, I am of opinion that the Civil Service Commissioners have satisfactorily succeeded in shewing that the present system of examination is hardly susceptible of improvement, and that it would be undesirable to narrow the range of the competition by excluding any of the subjects from which candidates are now permitted to choose, or to limit the number which candidates may offer for examination.

I have no means of forming an opinion whether the proposal to distribute a certain number of appointments among certain universities would answer, but I imagine that the difficulties in arranging the details of the scheme would be as great as the Civil Service Commissioners anticipate, and that it is doubtful whether men of higher calibre would be attracted to the service.

In fact, although I would wish to see the limit of age lowered, I cannot see that it is either desirable or possible to make any other change in the system by which candidates are selected, in the first instance, for the service. A return to the system of nomination is impossible, and any of the alternative plans that have been proposed in substitution of open competition are open to objections which appear difficult to remove.

\* See page 21.

With respect to the training of probationers during the interval between their selection and their departure for India, I am very decidedly of opinion that it is most desirable that the selected candidates should be required to pursue their studies at some institution where collegiate discipline is enforced. It has always been regretted, I believe, even by many of the gentlemen who have entered the service since 1855, that there has not been that community of tastes and interests, and knowledge of the habits and characters of their contemporaries, which were so much appreciated by the civilians of a former generation. Association with each other at an early period of life is invaluable to men who are to pass their lives together in the same service, and the result of the system at Woolwich where young men enter by competition and leave after a certain period of residence in the society of their contemporaries shews how successful the experiment might be. Whether the college should be a separate institution like Cooper's Hill, or whether it should be placed under one of the universities is a question which can best be determined by those better acquainted with the characteristics of such institutions. The objection to an isolated college is, that it is difficult for men removed from external criticisms to establish and maintain a tone of manners and morals similar to what prevails in a large university, but I think it very probable that the members of a college attached to a university, and established for a special purpose, might be inclined to associate with their own immediate body with whom they would at once have interests in common in preference to mixing in general society. The advantages of attaching an Indian college to a university might, therefore, in a great measure, be lost.

Whatever plan may be adopted, I do not think that the present system of law reporting, which is now required from the selected candidates, and on which so much stress is laid by the Civil Service Commissioners, should be allowed to interfere with it. The importance of this branch of the examination seems to have been greatly exaggerated. Men have informed me that it is perfectly useless as a foundation for magisterial work in India, and I consider that the perusal of a few Dufturs of an experienced Magistrate would teach an assistant more than he would acquire from several months reporting in England.

From A K NAIR, Esq., C S, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay,—dated Surat the—July 1875

In answer to your letter\* No 1818 of 8th ultimo, I have the honour to state my opinion that there is no need to make any alteration in the rules for the admission of young men into the Civil Service. I hold this opinion not only because I doubt whether any other system would secure a better average of men, but also because I think the present average a very good one. I should also state that I take into consideration not only the average of all the men of the last few years that I know—and I happen to know a very considerable proportion of those belonging to this presidency—but also the average of all the qualifications of individuals, mental, social, moral, and physical. And I take it for granted that it is by the average goodness of the selected candidates, and not by cases of exceptional ability, that the system must be judged, and also that the best judges of that average are not examiners in England but officials in India. As to myself being a Haileybury man, I may claim to be impartial, but that perhaps makes me give greater weight to the advantages of getting into the service (as has been more and more of late years) the sons of those who have in one capacity or another served in India.

2 I am, as stated above, of opinion that there is practically no necessity for altering the present rules, but theoretically I should prefer the age for admission to be lowered, and if any alteration is to be made, I trust that it will be in that direction. I have always believed that the age and other conditions should be fixed so as to get most of those boys to compete who, having just completed their education at a large school, and got nearly to the top of it, are not decided as to their future career. Under the present system of cramming, it appears that these cannot successfully compete in any considerable number, and it is certain that they can never compete successfully if the limit of age is not so fixed as to exclude university men as a rule. Thus also the limitation of the subjects taken up to four would, in my opinion, be a great advantage, by making the examination such as the best school boys could pass without cramming. But these things all hang together, if it is determined to select the best school boys, then the subjects must be limited, and period of training spent not in London but either at one of the universities or in a separate college such as Haileybury. If, on the other hand, university men or men of that age from Crammer's Establishments are preferred, there is no objection that I see to a larger number of subjects being allowed, and less objection to the probationary period being spent in London.

3 I have said that I believe we in India are far better judges of the competency of the men for the work to be done than the examiners at Home are, and I readily acknowledge that they are better judges of what the examination ought to be than we are. I do not therefore propose to say anything on the subject of the examination or the marks given, but I think it necessary to notice one point—that is Sir W Gull's statement that the average height of the selected candidates is nearly 5 feet 10 inches. This would make a service of grandiers, and if those who come to this Presidency are to be taken as the proof, I should say that there must either be a misprint in the report, or the system of measurement must be different from that obtaining elsewhere

From J B PHILLS, Esq., to the Acting Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department,—dated Rajkot, the 29th June 1875

I have the honour to reply to your letter\* No 1818 of 18th June

2 The grounds on which a change is proposed in the present method of selecting and training candidates for the Indian Civil Service appear to be (1) that the limit of age precludes them for completing the university course and taking a degree, and (2) the old objection that, not being educated in the same college, the candidates lack the *esprit de corps* of the Haileybury service

3 There are, no doubt, advantages to be gained either from having candidates who have gone through the whole university course before election or from having candidates who have been carefully trained together in one college, and the present system and limit of age does not secure either advantage. A change may be therefore expedient, but I do not see how both advantages can be secured by the same system

4 The limit of age may be either lowered or raised. If it is lowered in order to obtain the candidates young and put them through a course of special training in a resuscitated Haileybury, then the plan which occurs to me is that a list of schools should be framed from which candidates may come up, that the maximum age should be sixteen, and that the special training should continue up to twenty, when the men should go to India. The entrance might be by a modified form of competition, a sound physique being also made essential. The course might include, besides the ordinary subjects of a liberal education and law, a thorough knowledge of Hindustani and such physical training as would ensure hardihood and weed out unsound constitutions, and some knowledge of civil engineering, medicine, and perhaps botany

5 The proposal may be condemned as retrograde and unsuited to the day, but I think there is much to be said for it. The civilization of the chief towns of India should not lead us to forget that the rural masses are in a state of barbarous ignorance and superstition, and are better got at by sympathy than intellect. There are very many appointments in the service in which the qualities most likely to make an officer useful are a mind solid and practical rather than brilliant, fresh and not jaded with over-training, sympathetic rather than critical, a thorough command of the language, and a good grounding in the principles of law and of medicine, civil engineering, or botany

6 I think there is this much truth in the assertion that the present civilians are over-educated for the ordinary routine of Indian official life, that a man who has gone through Oxford is less fresh, less easily impressed, and less disposed to identify his sympathies with those of the people about him than a man who comes to his work less matured in thought and experience

7 If, on the other hand, it is proposed to allow men to complete their university course before competing, that can be done by raising the maximum limit to 22. Does this make the men too old when they come to India? I think not. Two years' special training after entry will send the men out before they are 24. To take my own case, I took my degree at Oxford and came out at 23½. I have now 4½ years to serve in India, and can practically retire at 46

8 There seems much to be said for raising the maximum from 21 to 22, so as to allow men to complete their university course. If this were done, the universities appear disposed to institute an "Indian school" in which degrees may be taken. This would, I think, be a good thing if the selection of it is optional

9 If the maximum limit is raised to 22, and B A's of the universities are enabled to compete, the next question is, what is the best way of giving the selected men a special training between 22 and 24?

\* Not printed

10 There seem great difficulties in the way of bringing all the selected men together in one college, and there are one or two desiderata which can only be secured in London. If Oxford makes special provision for training the men after selection, it must be remembered that this provision will have to be maintained for only such part of the men as choose to go to Oxford for it, and if similar provision is made at several universities, there will be a waste of means and money.

11 This, however, is perhaps the affair of the universities, and probably their wishes would be met by raising the age to 22, and by naming Oxford and Cambridge among other places at which the selected men may reside and draw their allowances during the two years of training.

12 I would not recommend that the maximum age should be made 18 to meet the views of the universities, because although Cambridge and Oxford might provide adequately for the further training of the selected men, it would not be possible to require all the selected men to go to Oxford or Cambridge, and a residence in London, for instance, between 18 and 20 would be more dangerous than between 22 and 24.

13 It seems worthy of consideration whether something more might be done in London itself to keep the men together and infuse *esprit de corps* during the two years of special training. I do not know what is done now, but in 1855-56 the guidance given to the selected men was insufficient, and they found it difficult to order themselves judiciously as to their further training. It may easily be supposed that a youth who has come up from a school or tutor in the country to lodgings in London feels much astray in the selection of his special teachers. Ought not the India Office to be the centre to which the selected men under training should gather? It is the only place where the course of instruction in current Asiatic politics, recommended by, I think, Sir F. Goldsmid in Macmillan,\* could be well given, and rooms there in which important official papers might be placed, and a library of Indian blue books and standard authors maintained and possibly notes or essays invited, would infuse a little practical interest into the theoretical studies of the future Indian official.

14 To sum up, I would not propose to lower the maximum age to 18 to suit the universities. If the age is to be lowered, I would lower it to 16, and give a special training up to 20. But I am of opinion that, if the age is raised to 22, so as to allow men to take an ordinary degree, and the men are then specially trained for two years, they will not be too old when they come out at 24. As to the special course, I think that the Secretary of State might name London and certain colleges and universities at one or other of which men must reside as a condition of getting an allowance, and that, if the facilities of the India Office were used, London might be the most profitable and most popular place of residence.

15. Other members of the service who have seen more than I of the junior men in the service will no doubt give their opinion of them. My experience of them is small, but I am under the impression that many very good men have come out in the last ten years.

16. I venture to add that nothing can be more dangerous to the competitive system than the Acts of 1861 and 1871, whereby natives of India may be admitted direct to the prizes offered for competition. I do not presume to question the reasons which lead to these enactments, but it is clear that good men will only compete for certainty, and if the bond is broken in even a small degree, the alarm will spread, and men will be deterred from competing.

*Memorandum by the Acting Revenue Secretary, in reply to Government letters† No 1555, dated the 24th May, and No 1819, dated the 18th June 1875*

It is a little indivious for me to express an opinion on the comparative qualifications of the civilians appointed in the earlier years of the competition system and of those who have more recently entered the service, because I myself am an Oxford man, and was elected to the service at the first competitive examination in 1855.

But I may say generally that, as far as I can judge from my own observation, and from what I can gather of the opinions of other officers, there is little difference in point of ability and efficiency between the men who have come out in the last eight years and those who joined the service in the preceding decade. In one respect, indeed, the latter men are, I think, superior. They become useful for ordinary work sooner after arrival than we did who had to be grounded in our profession possibly not so thoroughly, in India instead of in England.

\* May 1875

† Not printed

On the other hand, there are points in which, without drawing any comparison between the earlier and later competitioners, I decidedly think that some of the latter might be better. Government will understand that I speak quite generally, it is impossible to tabulate opinions of this kind, to report that such a percentage of the service are not gentlemen, such a percentage physically below the mark, &c

It is complained—First,—that some of the men who now come out are wanting in the manners and habits of good society. Some lack good manners, I look on this defect as of great consequence, because Natives are keenly observant and severely critical of faults of manner, because it is essential that the Civil Service shall not be inferior in social standing to the army in India, and more than all, because good manners are the outward note and sign of the inward grace of gentlemanly principles, tone and feeling.

Secondly, that some are deficient, not exactly in physique, but in the physical energy, energy which comes from early training to active habits, and which is so necessary for a man who has to do trying work in a trying climate.

Thirdly, that some are wanting in knowledge of the world and of men, have a great idea of their own position and abilities, in and are prigs. Some, it is said, never get beyond the technical details of their work, and instead of being good Indian civil servants, are bad copies of English lawyers, others are crotchety, shallow and unsound, and import all manner of newfangled theories. Such men are about the worst we get. Positivists, universalists, communists, &c, may be very useful people in their places, but their place is not India.

II So far as these defects are peculiar to competitioners, I decidedly think that all three of the causes mentioned in the last paragraph of the Government letter\* of 24th May contribute to produce them.

To take the third cause first, the present limit of age, as I shall show, prevents university, and therefore public school men, from competing, and I may point out that not one, so far as I am aware, of the men of 1855 and 1856, whom the Indian Governments look on as their most useful servants of those years, would have entered the service had the then limit of age been 21.

As regards the other two points, I may ask—do the present Civil Service Commissioners really think that the acquisition of a certain amount of Latin and Greek, or mathematics, or English composition, or whatever it may be, will alone make a man a good Indian civilian? If they do, they differ very widely from the Commissioners of 1854. “It is desirable,” those eminent men laid down,† “that the future civilian shall receive the best, the most liberal, the most finished education” (that is, I take it, the education given by the great public schools and universities, another paragraph of the report shows that the Commissioners anticipated that the majority of successful candidates would be from the universities) “that the country can give him.” Does he, under the present system receive this education? Certainly not. The usual course of education, if it may by courtesy be so called, of the young civilian, now appears to be that till 16 he stays at home or goes to a private school, then he goes to a tutor or he is under no control or discipline, and all his instruction is meant not to strengthen his mind or form his character, but simply and solely to enable him to pass the examination then, if successful, he lives by himself, in such society as he can get in London, and studies specially for his profession.

It is argued, I see in the papers, that the crammers teach well. I do not doubt it. What I say is not that the crammers teach, universities both in the least doubt it. What I say is not that the pupil is not well taught, but that he is not educated at all. The Commissioners observe that honour men at the universities are specially prepared. Of course they are. The university gives the education, the “coach” the special instructions, without which, perhaps, unfortunately, a candidate is at a disadvantage in an examination. The young civilian gets the instruction, but not the education.

What, I may ask, did the founders of the competitive system expect of it? Certainly not to get exceptional men of rare talent. Such men are not to be got into or kept out of the service by almost any system, they were found in it before Haileybury was founded, and since, and will, I hope, be found in it, though not in greater numbers, in the future. I think that the object was twofold. First, to secure a high average of intelligence, to keep out of the service what used to be present system secures high intelligence known as the “bad bargain.” In this the system has succeeded. A man who can pass the competitive examination, whatever other defects he may have, is intellectually not a fool. Secondly, to secure a high average of other qualities equally desirable,—manliness, nerve, energy, candour, common sense, high feeling. Not that any one ever supposed

\* Not printed.

† See page 21



that a competitive examination could test these qualities, but that it was thought that No 279 they would be secured by a system attractive to the alumni of those institutions

But is inferior to Haileybury as regards manliness and other good qualities which foster them—the great public schools and universities. In this object the present system is, I believe, inferior to that of Haileybury, which had many of the advantages of a public school or university, and it is so because the intention of its founders have not been observed

I may add that causes which tend to prevent university men from competing tend also to keep public school men out of the service. For the education given at a public school is meant to be completed at a university, and is not, therefore, that which gives a young man the best prospect of success at the Indian Civil Service examination. Hence it is not only cheaper for his friends not to send to a public school a boy meant for the service, but to do so would lessen his chance of entering it.

I say then that the present mode of original admission to the service is faulty, because it does not require, and indeed discourages, general education of the highest class in the candidates, and that the training after admission is so far faulty that it does not attempt to remedy this defect.

III The alteration of system which, from these papers and from the discussions I have lately seen in the newspapers, Suggestion to lower limit of age and educate candidates at college has merits, seems now to be most in favour, is directed to the latter of the two points noted in the last paragraph. It appears to be proposed to fix the maximum limit of age for original admission at seventeen or at most eighteen, to make the examination therefore of the class which school boys pass to obtain scholarships at the university, and either to require the selected candidates to go through the ordinary university course before proceeding to India, or to found a separate college preferably at one of the great English universities in which they may complete their education.

That this scheme is far superior to the present system I do not doubt. It amounts to the re-introduction of the Haileybury system with two important improvements, that a higher average of ability would be assured in the candidates provisionally admitted to the service, and that the training subsequent to admissions would be in some respects superior to that given at Haileybury.

Yet I think there are objections to the scheme. It is generally admitted that clever boys do not always grow into practically useful men, and that a competitive examination at sixteen or seventeen is still less likely than one at 21 or 22 to test the real worth of the candidates. At 22 also a young man has learnt what his powers and tests are, and will compete for the service because he thinks it likely to suit him, at sixteen his friends induce a boy to go in for the examination rather because he is likely to succeed in it than because he is well fitted for the service, of which indeed they can then scarcely judge, and this is one of the defects of the present system under which boys are trained for the examination from a very early age. During the most important period of life too, seventeen to twenty, the selected candidate will be receiving rather professional instruction than general education, and this the original Commissioners at least thought undesirable. And for this reason I doubt if the proposed practice of sending the selected candidates to a university will long be encouraged by the universities themselves, whose system it is not to give special training for any profession.

IV The reform which I myself should prefer is a simpler one and involves no essential alteration of the present system. It is simply that, instead of discouraging public school and university candidates, the rules of the examination for admission shall encourage them. It is not, it appears to me, desirable that the service shall be recruited exclusively from public school and university men, any more than as at present from men who have received a private education. But it should be admitted in practice that, *ceteris paribus* the education which the university man has received makes him preferable for the service, and the rules should, therefore, give him an advantage in competing, so that the other candidate should be able to beat him only if distinctly his superior in natural and acquired ability.

To effect this object two changes, I think, only are necessary.

The first is that the examination for admission to the service shall be as nearly as possible the Oxford and Cambridge Honour Examination. I do not mean, of course, in classics and mathematics alone, but in all the schools. It is evident that on this system the university or public schools man will need no special course of study for the Civil Service examination, and that his reading will not have been thrown away if he fails in it, and also that he will have an advantage in competing against the man privately educated, though not sufficient to enable him to beat the latter if distinctly his superior.



It would make this note too long if I were to show in detail the difference No 279 between the two examinations. But I may point out that English literature and composition would be excluded as a special subject. There is, I believe, more cramming of a bad kind in this subject than in almost any other, and I venture to say that a man who takes good honours in the final classical school at Oxford is likely to write English better and to have a larger and better knowledge of English literature than the candidate for the Civil Service who now studies this special subject with a tutor.

Secondly, the maximum limit of age for admission to the service must be raised and raising the limit of age to 22. This, I think, is essential, for the usual age for a degree at Oxford and Cambridge is about 22, and a man's course of university education is not complete till he has taken or he is ready to take his degree, while men, especially of the stamp it is desirable to secure for the service, usually enjoy their university career so much that they are very unwilling to cut it short.

I know that there is something to be said against men coming to India at an age so late as 24, chiefly because it is easier to acquire the languages at an earlier age\*. But, on the other hand, the most junior civilian's work is of an important and responsible kind, and not such as should be entrusted to a raw boy. I believe that the clamour against "boy magistrates," of which so much was heard 20 years ago, has ceased, chiefly because for a good many years the competitioners came out later than the Haileybury men, and I think that enquiry will show that as I have noticed above, the most useful officers are generally those who arrived in the country at an age not under 23.

If it is considered necessary that no civilians should arrive in India at a later age than 23, then I would reduce the training subsequent to admission to one year. This, I am humbly of opinion, is long enough for the special study likely to be really useful. And it should chiefly consist of one Oriental classical language, either Persian or Sanscrit, and one Vernacular, preferably Urdu, only; and of Indian law, especially the codes. A study of English law practice in the police and county courts is very useful, but time spent in the superior courts, in my opinion, is wasted.

If, however, a two years' training subsequent to admission is considered essential, I think that a hall solely for the reception of the successful candidates might with advantage be founded at one of the universities. The number of university men among the successful candidates would give a tone to the place and the academical discipline and academical influences to which the other candidates would be subject, would, I am sure, be useful to them.

I think that the universities might with advantage, and would, encourage competition for the Civil Service among undergraduates, by granting his degree without further examination to any man who had passed the competitive examination, and who had resided a certain number of terms, to include residence at the Civil Service Hall, if one is founded.

I may, in conclusion, notice one argument I see constantly used, that the Indian Civil Service will never attract the best university men. If the regular reading men who go in for the highest honours with a view to an academical career are meant, this is true, but they are not necessarily the best men for India. The man who gets a second or a double third and who rows in his college boat, plays in the eleven, has made his mark at the union, and is favourably known among under-graduates, generally is better fitted for India than the man who gets a double first and nothing else, and he is just the man who is likely to be attracted by an Indian career and who would be successful at the examination.

From W WEDDERBURN, Esq., Bombay Civil Service, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department,—dated Karachi, the 13th July 1875

In reply to your letter† No 1818 of the 18th June last, requesting my opinion regarding the selection and training of Indian civil servants, I have the honour to state that I think the present system should be remodelled in one important particular

\* The theory that the older man is likely to be discontented I do not believe. I can say from experience that it is not the man who has tested his own powers, and who knows how hard it is to succeed in England, who is discontented with this service, but the clever boy who fancies that because successful in the competitive examination nothing is above his merits.

† Not printed.

2 The present system is that the Civil Service appointments in India form a No 279

Recommends personal "staff" pay for different grades of civilians independent of their appointments monopoly, and that persons are admitted to a share in this monopoly through competition I propose to retain the competition, but to do away with the monopoly, granting instead to each successful candidate a certain rate of pay varying according to his length of service This personal allowance would be the "pay of his rank," and would be the sort of retaining fee in consideration of which the civilian would hold himself at the orders of the Indian Government All appointments might then be thrown open, the only difference being that when one of these appointments was held by civilian, he would draw the pay of his rank in addition to that of the appointment

3 A similar system exists already, I believe, with regard to the Public Works Department A certain salary is fixed for, say, an Executive Engineer If a Civil Engineer or a Native is appointed to this post, he will draw his salary, which corresponds with the value of the work to be done If a royal engineer is appointed, he will, in addition to the salary, draw the pay of his rank

4 In order to judge of any scheme, it is necessary to understand clearly the objects to be gained It seems therefore proper in the first instance to enquire what is the essential purpose for which a Covenanted Civil Service is maintained for India To this question I would reply, the object is to keep the Government of India supplied from England with good raw material from which public servants may be made If this answer be accepted as correct, I think it will be admitted that three conditions are essential for the success of any system designed to carry out this object, *viz*, that the European agency thus indented for should be the best obtainable, that no more should be indented for than is absolutely requisite, and that (except for special reasons) no other means of obtaining similar agency should be had recourse to It would evidently be simple waste, and would stultify the whole proceeding if, after obtaining the most approved material through the Home Government, the Local Administrations were to provide themselves on the spot It would be as though this Government, after indenting for Henry Martini rifles were to serve out to the troops weapons bought in Bombay.

5 Taking these conditions for granted, I now proceed to show in what way the proposed scheme, in preference to the system now existing will tend to carry out the objects for which a Covenanted Civil Service is maintained For the sake of convenience I propose to deal with the various considerations under the headings of (1) Financial, (2) Administrative, and (3) Political

(1) *Financial* —There can be no doubt that one chief cause of India's financial difficulties is the necessity of supporting Government by foreigners To use a homely simile it is as though the ryot were obliged to buy his goods at the "Europe shop" instead of supplying himself in the country bazaar And unfortunately not only has foreign labour to be paid for at a high rate, but that high rate has become the standard for all salaries throughout the country, so that the Indian tax-payer has to pay wages in excess of market rates for labour obtainable on the spot, whether European or Native An illustration will make this more clear Some years ago Government decided to establish Small Cause Courts in the mofussil, and the salaries of the Judges were fixed at rates (Rs 800 to Rs 1,200 per mensem) sufficient to secure the services of civilians of the requisite standing and experience These appointments (not being reserved by the Act of Parliament) have now all passed out of the hands of the Civil Service, but the rates continue the same, and thus we find a Native gentleman drawing Rs 1,200 as Judge of the Court at Puna Now I believe that county court Judges in England and Sheriff substitutes in Scotland receive about £500 per annum for doing this work And I do not think that any one will deny that a Native gentleman living in his own country and among his friends would be amply paid for such work by a salary of Rs 600 per mensem With the offer of such a salary Government would be able to command the services of the best men obtainable in the Presidency To pay more therefore is, *in a financial point of view*, wasteful and unfair to the tax-payer Such being the result under the present arrangement, I will take the same instance to show the working of the proposed system. Suppose, by way of illustration, that a civilian as personal allowance, or pay of his rank, drew Rs 400 on first arrival, Rs 500 after five years, and Rs 600 after ten years It might be held that a civilian of ten years' standing was a proper person to appoint Judge of a Small Cause Court, and that Rs 1,200 was a proper total salary for him In that case the pay of the appointment would be fixed at Rs 600, and whenever an outsider was appointed, a saving of Rs 600 per mensem would accrue to the State If this principle were adopted, there might be a general revision of salaries in order to make them correspond with the real value of the services rendered

6 (2) *Administrative* —Government are necessarily hampered at present by employing a close service There are a certain number of appointments and a certain number of men to fill them, but it can hardly be hoped that there will

be an occupant found specially suited for each appointment, that round men will No 279 always be found for the round holes, and square men for the square holes. Also, if the monopoly had really been maintained, Government would have been now precluded from employing any outsiders, however capable they might be and however urgent the necessity of employing them. But as a matter of fact, administrative necessities have caused Government for many years to infringe the monopoly both in practice and by legislation in spite of the repeated protests of those whose rights were thus invaded. It cannot therefore, I think, be doubted that the administration would be rendered more vigorous and elastic if the monopoly were done away with altogether, and the Government made free to select the best agency it could find.

7 But as it is, I believe, intended that for some years at least the Covenanted Civil Service should form the backbone of the administration, it is under this heading most important to consider what measures Government can take to make this service popular, and, if possible, remove what Lord Salisbury has referred to as "the comparative unattractiveness of the Indian Civil Service to young men of high ability as well as studious habits." According to the usual law of supply and demand, if Government offer good terms, they will get good men. When therefore they go into the English market and offer an Indian career as the prize for competition they should be careful to remove any unnecessary drawbacks to that career, such as would deter the better class of men from coming forward. There are certain drawbacks which cannot be got over, such as the labour in preparing for the competitive examination, with the chance of failure,—the sacrifice of all chances of success at home, the climate, and the separation from family and friends. These will keep away many from competing. But besides these there attach to the service certain serious disadvantages which the system I propose would in great measure remove. Under the existing system the two main causes of complaint are (a) *the insecurity of the monopoly*, and (b) *the discouragements of a seniority service*. (a) When I entered the service in 1860 the law in force with regard to the Civil Service was that contained in Section 57 of 33 Geo III, Cap 52, which provided that "all vacancies happening in any of the offices, places or employments in the civil line of the Company's service in India (being under the degree of Counsellor) shall be from time to time filled up and supplied from amongst the civil servants of the said Company." When, therefore, I was appointed (through competition) to the service I became entitled, by covenant with the Secretary of State, to a share in this monopoly which embraced all civil appointments in India. But by the "Civil Service Act" these appointments were thrown open to outsiders, only a limited number of specified appointments being reserved by the schedule. And more recently the "East India Laws and Regulations Act" has provided that natives of India may be nominated even to the reserved appointments without entering the service through competition. From this it will be seen that the share of monopoly assigned to me as a prize in 1860 is not now of great legal value. And unfortunately experience shows that to withdraw a class of appointments from the monopoly has not the effect of throwing them open to all alike, but in practice excludes civilians altogether. The reason of this is simple: civilians, since the introduction of competition, being as a class without interest, while outside candidates for Government appointments rarely come to India without strong support from influential friends. Moreover, the educated Natives have shown themselves well fitted for responsible posts, and when one of them is placed in one of these higher appointments he continues there for a long term of years, the appointment being thus practically lost to the Civil Service. The six mofussil Small Cause Courts above referred to are an example of what is here stated. They were originally filled by civilians, but are now all held by outsiders, and probably will continue to be so. But a perusal of the Civil List will show how far this exclusion has been carried in all departments. Thus there can be no doubt that the hope of a political career is one of the main inducements to the better style of men to compete for the Indian Civil Service. But it is quite the exception for a civilian to get a political appointment. Again, competition men have often been taunted with being pedants and book-worms, but they are, as a rule, excluded from the Educational Department.

8 I now proceed to consider (b), *the discouragements of a seniority service*, as being a main cause why the service, as at present constituted, favours mediocrity and is not attractive to the more ambitious men. With regard to this point it is to be observed that seniority has been abolished by law (24 and 25 Vic, C 54, S 7), but it continues to prevail in practice, nor could it well be otherwise in a close corps where the names are arranged as in the Army, on a seniority list, and are divided into classes according to the date of joining the service. Vacancies only occur by death or retirement, so that the promotion is slow, and a civilian has to serve in subordinate and low paid appointments for some twelve or fifteen years—a period during which he may see his friends in open professions—lawyers, merchants, and doctors, retire from India with a competency. But the depressing effect of seniority is most strikingly shown in respect of appointments, such as

those of the High Court, which are open alike to civilians and outsiders No No 279  
 civilian can hope to act as a Judge of the High Court in Bombay until he has served eighteen or twenty years. If he has served some ten years it would be presumption in him to be a candidate, however great his attainments. But, on the other hand, a Barrister of about the same standing in the Presidency Towns is very likely to have the offer of an Acting Judgeship. I believe an example of this kind occurred in the High Court of the North-Western Provinces, where A, of the Civil Service, served as Registrar under B, a Barrister Judge, who had failed at the competitive examination when A was a successful candidate. Such a state of things cannot raise the service in popular estimation. And Government cannot expect good men to compete if they put a premium on failure and disqualify\* those who pass the tests.

9 Reverting to paragraph 7, I think I have shown that (a) the insecurity of the monopoly, and (b) the discouragements of a seniority service are at present serious drawbacks to the advantage of the Indian Civil Service as a career. But both these drawbacks would be removed by the proposed scheme. For if the prize for competition consisted of certain definite payments, all feeling of insecurity would disappear. The position of the service would also be improved, in that it would no longer appear to the public as a monopoly antagonistic to outside merit, while an end would be put to the standing controversy with Government in which the service complains that its privileges have been invaded, and that good faith has not been kept with it. And with regard to the second point, I think that seniority would operate less oppressively if the service were not wedged into so narrow a groove, but were allowed to take its fair share of civil appointments throughout the country.

10 We now come to (3) the *political* advantages which will accrue to Government from the proposed system. It seems hardly necessary to enlarge on the general effect of so liberal a measure on the Native community, opening up to them, as it would a real career in the public service of their own country. At present there exists a real political grievance with regard to the whole class of educated Natives, in that all the higher grades of appointments are filled by foreigners, and however capable and however trustworthy a Native may be, an artificial barrier prevents his rising to any post of real distinction. But when that artificial barrier is removed, the ambitious Native will cease to have any reason to desire the downfall of the British Government. The whole fund of Native energy and talent will be thrown into the balance in our favour, and our administration will tend to acquire the stability of a national Government. I do not of course overlook the instances in which Natives have forced their way into the Covenanted Service through competition. But these cases are exceptional ones, and the men who thus find entrance to the service have by their education and habits generally separated themselves from the mass of their countrymen. The residence in England tends to denationalize them, and, in regard to the people they have to rule over, they are often nearly as much foreigners as the English themselves.

11 And this consideration brings me back to a very important point in the proposed scheme which has not yet been sufficiently dwelt on, *viz*, that the competitive test, as now enforced in England, ought to be restricted to the selection of European agency only. A certain quantity of European agency is indispensable for the administration of the country, and the competitive system appears at present the best mode of obtaining what is wanted. But it would be mere waste to employ the funds assigned for this purpose in paying fancy prices for Native agency which is obtainable of the best quality on the spot at market rates. The case is quite analogous to that of the Indian Army. A certain minimum of European troops is necessary. What that minimum should be is a question which must be determined by political, financial, and other considerations. But when it has been decided how many European regiments must be maintained, it would be absurd to fill up their ranks with natives of India recruited in London. In this respect the present system is a mere blind. For no one doubts that a certain number of Europeans are annually required as recruits for the civil administration, so that if any large proportion of the Indian Civil Service appointments in any one year were gained by Natives, the difficulty would have to be met by putting up an increased number of nominations for competition in the following year. Or, to argue the case *ad absurdum*, if all the successful candidates proved to be Natives, it would be clear that for present purposes the system had broken down. If the historical origin of the Covenanted Civil Service be traced, it will be found that it was the means by which the old Company supplied the European element in their administration, and this distinction should, I think, be maintained. I am anxious not to be misunderstood in this matter. So long as high office is obtainable only through the Civil Service, it would no doubt be illiberal to exclude Natives from the competition. But the whole character of the situation would be

\*The Chief Justiceships are not given to civilians, though they may have been called to the Bar

altered if, as proposed, the monopoly were broken up and all artificial barriers removed. And no one would have a grievance if Government supplied itself with agency, whether Native or foreign, in the way most beneficial and least burdensome to the community.

12 Viewing the scheme from a political point of view, there is one more point to which I would draw special attention, and that is the damage which is caused to our position in India by the employment of unqualified Europeans. Every European official of high aims and ability is a source of real strength to Government through his example and influence. But unqualified men of low character are worse than useless, they are the cause of scandal and race antipathy. The original proposition stated in paragraph 4 thus becomes applicable. Have as little European agency as possible in this country, but let that be of the highest class. So that with regard to the Civil Service, if India cannot afford to indent for 40 good recruits in the year, let her spend what she can afford in getting 20 good ones, rather than 30 indifferent or 40 bad. But the covenanted civilians are not the class to which I am specially referring in this paragraph. The competitive system and the series of tests which they have subsequently to undergo, weed out most of those who would turn out "hard bargains"\* as civilians. The "unqualified Europeans" to whom I refer are the men who, without passing any tests, are put direct into appointments through the interest of

\* Any who without misconduct turned out "hard bargains" might be sent home, being allowed to draw (say) half the pay of their rank

relations and friends. There are in every department a number of appointments of, say, from Rs 300 to Rs. 600 per mensem. These appointments should, as a rule, be either filled by junior civilians, or reserved as prizes for the subordinate Native service. But an examination of the Civil List will show that they are generally filled by young European gentlemen who have passed no test, and who often, for want of education and special training, are unfit to rise to the higher grades. Now, the proposed scheme will tend to check this practice. For when salaries of this class are reduced in the manner contemplated in paragraph 5, they will offer little temptation to European outsiders, and therefore will either be given to Natives, or, if a European is required, will be filled by civilians whose personal pay would supplement what would otherwise be an insufficient salary. The working of such a system is shown by a case (an exceptional one) which now exists. The pay of the Educational Inspector in Sind is Rs 250 per mensem. No outside European would care to take up the appointment on these terms, so that the choice lies between a Native trained in the department and a civilian drawing personal pay. At present the post is filled by Mr. Fulton, who draws Rs 500 per mensem as a junior civilian, in addition to the pay of the appointment, and I believe that any one who knows Sind will consider that the arrangement is a most advantageous one for the public service.

13 I think I have now shown some of the advantages—financial, administrative and political—which may be expected from the proposed reform. I have turned over the scheme in my mind for a good many years, and have mentioned it to many persons acquainted with India. As a general rule the persons whom I have consulted have approved of the suggestions. But it has been objected that to throw open all civil appointments will lead to jobbery, by leaving too much patronage in the hands of Local Administrations. There is no doubt some force in this objection. And the working of the system would have to be narrowly watched by the Home Government. The late Secretary of State gave, I believe, instructions intended to limit the employment of outside Europeans. And I think some check might be put upon abuse of patronage if Local Administrations were required, in the case of each appointment and promotion, to record fully, for the information of the Secretary of State, the reasons for their selection, it being understood that, except for very special reasons, no European outsider should be appointed so long as a competent civilian or Native was available.

14 With reference to paragraph 7 I would add that the popularity of Indian service would be much increased by any arrangement which would connect an ordinary Indian career with public life in England. A suggestion tending in this direction was made some two years ago by Mr Lepel Griffin in the *Fortnightly Review* where he proposed an occasional interchange between officials serving in India and at the India Office in London. It appears to me that this idea might be developed by making temporary appointments to the Indian Council from among men holding high office in India. It would give to the latter a healthful change of work and climate, while the Home Government would gain important knowledge regarding current events and the tone of public feeling in India from officials fresh from the duties of administration.

15 In conclusion, I trust that I may be excused for the form in which I have replied to this reference. I felt anxious to lay before Government these proposals for a reform in the existing system, and, having done so, I find that my letter has attained such a length that it seems better to refrain from special comment on the printed correspondence which accompanied your letter.

From C B IZON, CS., to the Acting Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department, No 279  
ment,—No 108, dated Nassick, the 29th June 1875

In accordance with your letter\* No 1818 of 1875 (General Department), dated 18th June 1875, I have the honour to submit a few remarks on the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service

As to selection, I have a strong belief that the system at present followed is the best possible, and that no changes are required other than changes of detail, such as the Civil Service Commissioners may, from time to time, find it necessary to make in the examinations

I cannot suppose it possible that any one acquainted with the facts should wish to give up the general principle of competition, and any modification of the practice now followed would, in all probability, involve this

The statistics show that a large majority of the successful candidates have been educated at public schools, and a fair proportion at one of the universities, and that, with rare exceptions, they belong to the same classes of society from which nominees under a patronage system would also be drawn.

The reports of the Civil Service Commissioners and the papers annexed [especially (O) (P)] show also how vain is the outcry against the private teachers (stigmatized as "crammers") of which we have heard so much. The fact is that young men who have been at even an excellent school or at a university often require special training for a few months before going up to the examination, and all the evidence goes to show that that training is beneficial to them

I have no personal feeling in favour of the private teachers as I never had any private instruction, except in Sanskrit while preparing myself for the examinations

I know that it has been suggested to give up competition in the case of natives of India, but this would have an appearance of injustice, and would be impolitic, because unpopular and unnecessary

A nomination system would in a little time probably lead to the appointment of men quite unsuited for the posts which they would fill and only recommended by a little interest

As to the training of selected candidates, I would strongly protest against the proposed establishment of a Civil Service College at Oxford or elsewhere

Except where a technical training is required (as in medicine and engineering), it is not necessary and is always injurious to collect together young men all destined for one profession. They fall into a narrow way of thinking and feeling, and, both morally and intellectually, are likely to be inferior to those who mix habitually with men whose hopes point to various careers, and who are consequently training themselves in various studies

A special college would also, I fear, be a means of shutting out a few poor men who now succeed in passing the examination.

I believe that only one change is required, and that is to give one year more in age, so as to permit a larger number of men taking their degrees at the universities

I do not think that the age should be extended to 25, unless a shorter period of service in India be at the same time conceded.

A service of 25 years looks much more formidable to a man at 25 than to a man at 22

From H E M JAMES, Esq, Acting Under Secretary to the Government of Bombay, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department.

In reply to your letter\* No 1818, dated the 18th instant, I have the honour to state my opinion as follows

2 The first consideration of all is the age at which Indian civilians should be elected, for on this depend the subjects and mode of examination. I am strongly of opinion that candidates should be under 19, as of examination. The advantage of this is that India would have the best chance of securing the stamp of men it wants, the public school-men who

\* Not printed

failed to obtain good scholarships at the universities The objections to raising the No. 279 limit to 21 or 22, as proposed by the Reverend the Master of Balliol are these

First, that young men coming out at the age of 24 or 25 would be less inclined than younger men to undergo they will have less distaste for the preliminary drudgery of the service, cheerfully the drudgery which all civil servants have to undergo for the first year or two of their career in studying for the examination in languages and departmental subjects, and in carrying out the variety of miscellaneous and not too inviting work which is often assigned to the newly-joined man Besides in days of slow promotion, a man who came out too old would find himself at 35 or 40 still in a subordinate post, which he could not be expected to hold contentedly

Secondly, the younger the age at which men land in India the more easily do they acclimatize, and the more they will be more easily acclimatized, readily do they learn to like the country in which their lot is cast.

Thirdly, at the age of 24 or 25 a great many men would come out married, and fewer men will come out married which I consider a great disadvantage both to Government and the men themselves Married men are not so easily sent from place to place, and cannot themselves be so ready to ride any distance at a moment's notice as young bachelors are The pay in these days is not sufficient for a married man to live comfortably upon at first, and finally great additional liabilities would be cast upon the Provident Fund of the Civil Service, which would necessitate either larger subscriptions to them, involving a decrease of pay, or a diminution of the present scale of benefits

3 Having thus stated why I think the limit of age should be 19, I come to the next question—the examination for first appointment I quite concur in the opinion of the Reverend the Master of Balliol that the subjects taken up should be limited to the number which an ordinary boy at school has a chance of being proficient in I would limit the number to four

The number of subjects at the examination should be limited to four, For instance, English, which should be compulsory, Classics, Mathematics and French For any and some at present allowed should be abolished. of the last three subjects others might be substituted, such as German and Moral Science, but not more than four allowed altogether Some subjects which are at present taken up I would abolish altogether, *viz*, Natural Philosophy, Sanskrit and Arabic These are purely 'cram' subjects And here I would remark that the real force of the word 'cram' seems to me to have been completely misunderstood in some of the papers on the subjects which I have read As the Secretary to the Civil Service Commissioners observes, 'cram' in the sense of 'the superficial appearance of knowing subjects of which a man is fully ignorant' is in a great measure discouraged by the Indian examination No one can 'cram' classics or mathematics The real evil is hit by Mr Walrond in his second definition of the term, *viz*, 'work done with the view of passing examinations, and with the intention of discontinuing it when the man is passed' Mr Walrond passes this objection by with the remark that a large proportion of the work done at Oxford and Cambridge is done solely with a view to the schools, and discontinued directly afterwards But this does not seem to me a sufficient argument. The work done for the schools is of a kind which necessitates hard work and thought, and leaves an impression ever afterwards, but that which is 'crammed' for the Indian examination is of another kind For instance, a friend of mine who passed, I think, in 1865, told me that in six weeks

Examples of 'cram' subjects obtaining 100 marks.

he learnt every thing that was known on the subject of electricity and magnetism and obtained marks The year I passed, 1864, 28 out of 40 passed men took up Sanskrit, eight men also took up Arabic These men had the simple advantage of unusually good memories, and their subjects were purely 'cram' subjects They obtained for men marks without leaving any permanent impression,\* and the time devoted to them would have been much better spent in the study of classics or mathematics I would therefore exclude Sanskrit, Arabic, and Natural Science altogether Any one wishing to study Arabic or Sanskrit would have ample opportunities after passing his examination, and special prizes might be given to stimulate their study † If it be said that it would be hard that a man who has a special taste for and has studied these subjects for their own sake should not have the benefit of his studies, I reply in the words of Mr. Lowe that

\* One or two of the Sanskrit scholars may have studied that language since with advantage, but I have never heard of any one of them being distinguished for it

† I would allow Sanskrit and Arabic in the case of natives of India I do not understand that we are called on for opinion as to whether any modifications in the examination are required to meet the case of Natives, but this modification I would allow



you cannot obtain more out of an institution than it will yield. Perfection is impossible, and it is much better that the examination should be framed for the 99 lads who have had an ordinary good English education, than to include 'cram' subjects nominally for the sake of the one genius who has studied them, but really to enable a number of inferior men to supplement their attainments with a small evanescent knowledge of an additional subject.

For mathematics 1,250 marks are given, for classics 1,500, and for English 1,500. The last is, I am sure, too high. I can, Marks for English too high, example of the undue advantage given to English. at the risk of appearing egotistical, instance my own case. I went up to the examination straight from an old-fashioned cathedral school where the teaching of English was almost unknown. The three last months at school I studied out of hours. The Student's Hume, Hallam's History, Macaulay's Essays, and Creyke's English Literature. I answered all the questions but one in history with ease, and I think almost all in English literature. There was a paper on English language of which I could hardly answer one question, nor could a first class man and Fellow of University College, Oxford, to whom I showed the paper, answer more. Numbers of men, however, who had studied the text books in English language, as I had studied Creyke, answered every question. My essay obtained me good marks, so the three out of four papers in English brought me sufficient marks in that subject. Indeed I obtained many more marks\* in it than in either Latin or Greek, both of which had been my study all my life. I would therefore certainly reduce the marks for English to 400 for the essay and 600 for history and literature at the outside.

I would not include law and political economy in the first examination. Boys of 18 ought to know nothing about them.

One objection to cram, which I have above noticed, would be very much obviated, I believe, if these views were adopted. Evil of taking boys prematurely from school. I mean the tendency which leads parents to take their boys at 16 or 17 from their schools, turn them into premature young men, and send them for six months or a year to a tutor's in London where they undoubtedly have very great opportunities for getting into all kinds of mischief. Boys would remain in school, working specially hard at their ordinary studies, as they do before competing for college scholarships, and go up direct to the examination. Some London tutors no doubt are excellent teachers and crammers in the least objectionable sense, and I believe some look after the discipline of their pupils far better than the tutors of ten years ago. But their establishments can never be so good as a school to boys of seventeen.

4. Next as regards the training of selected candidates. There can be no doubt whatever that the present system of allowing them to run wild in London lodgings is unredeemed by any single feature of good, not even the advantage, which the Civil Service Commissioners urge, of having their legal studies advanced thereby. It is imperatively necessary that the candidates should be as much under control as university students until they come out to India. In the first place they will be still accustomed to habits of subordination when they arrive, and more readily acquiesce in that system of obedience and order which is at the root of good administration in India. Next, they will escape all the temptations of a London life, which rightly receive prominent notice in the Secretary of State's letter. The question then arises—where should the candidates receive their training? There can, I think, be no doubt it should be at one college, which might be, if necessary, at either Oxford or Cambridge, but all should be trained within the same walls. Next to subordination the habit of *esprit de corps* and of dependence one upon another is essential to members of the Indian Civil Service. A small body of men ruling over millions, yet separated by great distances one from another, ought to have some common antecedent tie, proud of the success of any of their number and eager to uphold a comrade in difficulty. I believe all members of the Bombay Service will uphold me when I say that this *esprit de corps* still flourishes in that service, owing to the cordial way in which the senior men received the new-comers, and to the fact that the numbers of the service are, comparatively speaking, small, and the men have better opportunities for knowing each other than in Northern India. But every day reduces the number of those who uphold the old traditions of the service, and increases the body of new men who know not each other, and have never heard of the men who preceded them to the country, and it is to be feared the want of a firm bond of union will in time materially sap the good feeling which at present prevails. It will be an evil day for Government if a want of concord ever grows to a head, and any one who has the prosperity of our Indian possessions at heart cannot too soon take all the measures in his power for extinguishing a tendency of the kind before it is too late. On the one hand, we may have a body

\* I got 770 marks in English, only 464 in Latin, and 341 in Greek.



of men working with one heart and soul to carry out the policy of the Govern- No 279  
ment, looking on their superiors as friends and comrades, and cheerfully carrying out  
all the orders they receive, and, on the other, an aggregate of individuals working  
each by, if not for, himself, undisciplined, and with a tendency to criticize rather

than obey I would therefore strongly advise the  
Revival of Haileybury recom- revival of Haileybury College The Reverend  
mended, Dr Jowett advocates residence at any college in

any university, arguing, first, that a new and separate college would have no *gensus loci* and the men would become a clique, secondly, that at a university the manners of those rough individuals who are at times chosen would be mollified and all would gain friends, thirdly, that many men who now decline to compete would do so if they and their parents knew that they would have the pleasure and honour of a university career and of taking a degree at the end of it The last is to me the principal argument, and there is no doubt it is a very powerful one indeed But I believe by selecting lads under 19 the right stratum of men will be tapped, and I do not think that the service will ever attract many men who could take respectable honours at Oxford or Cambridge Then I believe that those who dislike the present system most will acknowledge that even in the present day the majority at least of competitionwallahs are gentlemen, so if all were placed at one college a gentlemanly standard of manners would be adopted In my humble opinion the great, the incurable, defect in Dr Jowett's plan is that a residence at different colleges in different universities, while immeasurably superior to existing arrangements, would still leave the men personally unacquainted with one another, which is the radical effect in the present system I would rather run the risk of losing a few good university men than continue a course which prevents men of the service knowing one another intimately. And there is no reason why as much law as is wanted should not be learnt at a new Haileybury as at a university We know what the results of Haileybury were, and, as a practical measure, can we too soon recur to a plan which has been tried and has yielded such incomparable fruit? I may mention that I myself had no antecedent connection with India before I passed, and have no relation in any of the services My sympathies would therefore naturally be with the new order of things But I am convinced that never under the competitive system will a race of men be raised up better or, indeed, equal to the old members of the service who are now dying out The new men may be better informed or better read, but as regards sound administrative ability they are, I consider, inferior as a body for want of training and discipline and mutual companionship while in England, and return to a system which provided for these is very greatly to be desired.

If, however, the Secretary of State will not revive Haileybury, then by all means let the Master of Balliol's plan be adopted.  
or else compulsory residence at a university Failing a special college, a university course ought to have been made compulsory upon selected candidates from the first. I can say for myself that I look upon it as a serious wrong which the Civil Service Commissioners inflicted upon me in dissuading me from going to Oxford I had made arrangements for going there, but when I passed I was asked by one of the Commissioners where I intended to study, and he advised me strongly not to go to the university, saying that I could not learn law there, and that I should endanger my chance of passing the second examination successfully He recommended London as the best place I do not suppose I should have allowed the prize I had won to escape me even if I had gone to Oxford, but I of course supposed the Commissioner knew better than I did On his advice I stayed a wretched year in London. At the university I should have enjoyed the society of most of my school friends who were there I should have made other friends, and last, but not least, I should have gained the title of a "university man," the prestige of which it is useless to pretend to undervalue

The Civil Service Commissioners seem to have adopted it as an article of faith, from which it would be heresy for the department to swerve, that the law studies of a civilian are all-important, and can only be pursued in London. But as the Reverend the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge points out, the work in the courts would be done in London during the vacation, while the theory of law could be learnt at college I believe myself that an exaggerated importance is attached to these law studies It is my humble opinion that the present strong tendency of some of the courts in India (which they have learnt partly from their legal training at home and partly from their subordination to the High Courts, and from the separation of the judicial and executive branches of the service) to look at everything from an English instead of an Indian lawyer's point of view, is objectionable The strenuous endeavours of our Judges to introduce English case law into their decisions in a country where, beyond codes and common sense, Indian case law alone should be allowed is an instance of what I mean

5 I cannot conclude without submitting two final observations. The first No. 279 is that the Secretary of State in Council should now definitely make up his mind to reduce the number of civilians sent out annually to that which the Local Government may say they actually require. Next, that, as far as in him lies, the supplies each year should be regular and even. The greatest hardship is caused by neglect of these simple rules. Good appointments are comparatively few, and an undue excess of men in any one year may destroy the prospects of dozens of men below. The competition men in this Presidency as yet have had nothing to complain of, though they see the last batch of Haileybury men who came out in 1857 still on appointments of Rs 800 a month, which they have held for the past ten years and more. But the time will shortly arrive when some of the competition men will feel the same pinch as the Haileybury men are now doing, owing to the immoderate numbers who were sent out in 1867, 1868, and 1869. Between Mr Crowe, No 100, and Mr Unwin, No 137, there are only two years' difference, yet, as there are only 40 appointments in the Presidency over Rs 1,800 a month, Mr Crowe must be at the top of the tree before Mr Unwin, only two years his junior, gets the lowest of the good appointments of the service, and Mr MacCorkell, only three years junior to Mr Unwin and 25 below him, will have to wait still longer. There are many men in the service who, as far as one can at present judge, will have served 25 years, *à e*, their whole service, before they become Collectors, unless an extraordinary rate of casualties occurs in the meantime. It cannot, therefore, be too strongly impressed on the Secretary of State that nominations to the service in future should be both very moderate and regular. The block of promotion in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces is already so great that I believe it will be found necessary to take special measures to relieve it. It is of the greatest importance that the halo which, though greatly dimmed, still surrounds the Indian service appointments should not be wholly extinguished. The emoluments now are much less profitable than they were even 15 years ago, and there is a tendency to curtail them every day. If young men learn in England that the hopes held out to them of getting good appointments in a reasonable time are delusive, and that a successful candidate has to wait on many weary years drawing a mere pittance, the standard of candidates will rapidly and unmistakably decline. And of what use then will be the most elaborate rules as to age, subjects of examination, and training at home?

In 1854, 21 years ago, Lord Macaulay's committee were of opinion\* that the "competition for prizes ten times as numerous as Trinity Fellowships and each more valuable than a Trinity Fellowship would produce an effect which would be felt in every seat of learning throughout the realm." What is the fact? Far from obtaining such men as compete for Trinity Fellowships the lowest prizes in the universities are preferred to the Indian Civil Service, and it is only the pressure of population which has induced so many good men to join it of late. Great care should, therefore, be taken to prevent anything being done which may tend still further to lower the estimation in which these prizes are held, and measures should be promptly taken to revise all causes of just complaint.

From W LEE-WARREN, Esq, Acting Under Secretary to the Government of Bombay, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department,—dated Puna, the 28th June 1875

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter† No 1818, dated 18th June 1875, requesting me to express my views on the subjects referred to in paragraph 2 of Her Majesty's Secretary of State's Despatch† No 4 (Public), dated 8th April last, on the subjects of—

- 1st, the original selection of candidates for the Indian Civil Service, and
- 2nd, the further training of probationers selected for that service

On the first point—the original selection of candidates for the Indian Civil Service—I venture to submit the following remarks

2 The percentage of successful candidates specially trained in 1874 was 84.2, in 1866 it was 32.7. It is further evident, from the advertisements in the English papers, that a large supply of special training colleges for the Indian Civil Service has sprung up in the last ten years, and it is not denied by the Commissioners for Civil Service Examinations that a system of cram, or special preparation for the Indian appointments, has grown up since open competition was established. The question is whether such a system is objectionable. In the letter‡ of the Secretary, Civil Service Commission, dated 16th March last, the existence of the extension of special preparation is admitted, but it is added that the same preparation of successful competitors for Oxford and Cambridge degrees exists, and that the allegation of unsound teaching is repudiated by the gentlemen who train candidates for the open

\* See page 22

† Not printed.

‡ See page 9

competition. Admit the fact for the sake of argument, but it will not touch the No 279

Present system does not promote real education

objections entertained to the so-called cramming system, that it severs a boy at the age of seventeen, and even earlier, from those social, moral, and physical advantages which may be derived from a public school. The education of a boy is not secured by imparting to him book knowledge. The moral discipline of school, the traditions of a public school, association with other boys of all classes, and not merely with a narrow set of students who are engaged in the same course as himself, the influence of tutors and masters out of school, and the teaching of the play-ground, omitting altogether its physical advantages, go to educate a man, and all these are lost to the boy who, at sixteen, is sent to live in lodgings in London, and who attends a series of lectures for some six or eight hours a day. If the popularity of public schools, and the success of public school men in England, are any proof of the advantages of a public school education, the boy sent to a crammer in London, is, in the general sense of the term, a less educated or developed machine than the boy who is sent forth from Rugby, or Marlborough, or any other public school at nineteen to the university or to his profession. I do not venture to offer any suggestion of my own as to the best means to check the system which the competitive examinations have called into life, but I believe that the proposals of Professor Jowett, in his letter\* dated 27th December 1874, viz,—

Only four subjects should be allowed at the first examination and the marks for English should be reduced. The limitation of the number of subjects which a candidate may take up to 4,

The reduction of marks allowed for English, from 1,500 to 1,000,

will secure the subjects to be aimed at. It appears to me that the question of the selection of candidates is one which can best be dealt with at home, where the state of the competition market can best be gauged. It is certain that an Indian career tempts the best educated boys of England less in 1875 than it did in 1856, but it is for the home authorities to decide whether the disappointed expectations of promotion formed by civilians selected in past years, or better openings for talent at home, or the system of selection, is answerable for any falling off in the quantity or quality of candidates for the Indian Civil Service.

3 On the second question—the further training of probationers under the present system which was commenced in 1865—Experience shows university training desirable for selected candidates. I think that the experience obtained in India will be a better guide than any *à priori* conclusions drawn in England. So far as the Bombay Civil Service is concerned, and the experience of the sister services is the same, the most highly reputed and efficient officers are admitted to be those who first came out in 1856, when the limitation of age was higher than at present, and most of the particular officers who have won for that year the reputation it has acquired were university men. The question of further training will be seen from the enclosures to Her Majesty's Secretary of State's despatch to resolve itself into a question whether a university course would not be preferable to the present system. The present system is accurately described by Mr Vice-Chancellor Phear as an "official discouragement of the residence elsewhere than in London of selected candidates." In the letter† of the Secretary to the Commission of 16th March last, the proposal of collegiate training is not altogether disfavoured. It is thus spoken of "The Commissioners are not insensible to the fact that many persons, whose opinions are entitled to respect, are in favour of the scheme, but many points of detail would have to be considered, and they themselves are not sanguine that the difficult problems involved in it could ever be solved." To the advocates of the change to a collegiate system this language is most hopeful, and indicates that the time has arrived when the Commissioners are willing to discuss the arguments brought forward. In 1868 a selected candidate for the North-Western Provinces—and exhibitioner of St John's College, Cambridge—addressed the Secretary to the Commissioners on this subject, and received in reply the following expression of their views, dated February 24th —

"The Commissioners have always endeavoured to impress upon candidates, at the time of their selection, that it was at once their duty and their interest to give up all honours except those of the Indian Service"

Four grounds of objection to a university residence were then adduced—

- (1)—"The attractions of the university might lead some men to withdraw from the Civil Service
- (2)—"Others in attempting to combine two incompatible careers have run serious risk of losing their appointments,

\* See page 7

† See page 9

(3)—“The arrangements of the Civil Service Examinations already completed must be made to depend on the wish of any one of fifty candidates to attend any of the numerous examinations held at any of the universities of England, Scotland, and Ireland

(4)—“No facilities for the study of the vernacular languages of India are offered at the universities ”

4 An exhibitioner and scholar of St John's College, Cambridge, now in the Bombay Civil Service, was written to in the same strain, and when he made a request that an arrangement in the order of certain papers for the third periodical examination in 1868 might be made to enable him complete the honour examination for the law Tripos, the request was refused. The same candidate took honours accordingly in the only Tripos, the Moral Science Tripos, with which the Indian examinations did not clash, and passed seventh in the final examination of the candidates selected in 1867. It was thus clear that his Indian work did not suffer from application to his university studies, whilst the fact that, after passing his open competition for the Civil Service, he obtained a scholarship at Cambridge, and took honours in the Moral Science Tripos, is a distinct denial to the alleged incompatibility of a university career with success in the final Indian Civil Service examinations. On the other hand, a selected candidate of the same year who gave up a scholarship at Brasenose, Oxford, failed to pass the final examination in 1869. But the opposition of the Civil Service Commissioners was not the only discouragement to a continued residence at the university. Mr Henvey, the Acting Under Secretary, Foreign Department, to the Government of India, was a scholar of C C C Oxford, and the College authorities requested him to resign his scholarship on obtaining an Indian Civil Service appointment. The fact that the two universities are now anxious to receive and educate Englishmen who are intended to serve the State in India, and the willingness of the Commissioners to discuss the advantages of a university training render it desirable to enquire carefully—

1st, whether the system of training prescribed by the Commissioners for selected candidates is not compatible with a university residence?

2nd, whether in other respects university course would not be preferable to the present system of preparation in London?

I venture to assert that the answer to both these inquiries will be in the affirmative, and that the proposals of Professor Jowett, if carried out, would ensure the better education of probationers and increase their future efficiency, whether they happened to have obtained their selection from the public schools direct or through a course of special training.

5. Is the system of training now prescribed for probationers compatible with a university course?

The present system provides for training in (a), Languages, (b), Law, (c), History and Geography of India, (d), Political Economy

(a) *Languages*—In part 2 of the letter\*, dated 16th March, the Secretary writes—“The papers appended show that, while few of the candidates fail in the

“Cramming” in useless vernacular languages encouraged by the Civil Service Commissioners

final examination, a great amount of industry and zeal is displayed by those who pass in the voluntary study of Oriental languages over and above what is required of them.” The Secretary does not appear to be aware that this voluntary labour is nothing more than an extension of the cramming system, and that the knowledge so acquired is the merest smattering in languages which can serve no possible use. So far was cramming developed by this system, that in 1867 the Commissioners added a language called Braj Bhakha to their curriculum, which was introduced to their notice by a Mr Syed Abdoola, as far as my recollection serves me, and which is not spoken, and never was spoken, in any part of India. From the fourteenth report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, Appendix 4, page 463, I find that, out of forty-seven successful candidates, ten took up Braj Bhakha. Of seventeen candidates for Bombay five took up four languages, and one took up five, and the extra languages selected were not Sindhi or Kanarese, which would be useful to a Bombay official, but Hindi, Hindustani, and Braj Bhakha. It is true that this system was subsequently altered, but its existence shows what facilities are afforded by a residence in London to crammers to impose on the Commissioners, and teach candidates the art of obtaining marks by useless dodges. My own opinion is that,

Instruction in England in vernaculars should be almost wholly discouraged

Classical Indian languages can be learnt at universities,

except a grounding in the grammars of the two chief vernaculars for each presidency, all attempts to learn the *vernaculars* should be discouraged in England. On the other hand, Sanskrit or Persian should be insisted upon, and, as regards these

\* See page 9

classical languages, a supply of instruction would follow its demand to the universities if it were required. I say "if it were required," because in my time at Cambridge the two able Professors, Professor Cowell and Professor Palmer, were ready to give lectures to any one who choose to attend them, and at Oxford there were Professors Monier Williams and Max Muller, besides others competent to teach. No 279.

(b) *Law* — Perhaps no such facilities for the study of *General Jurisprudence* are offered anywhere as at the universities where and so can law chances are endowed for the study of this subject, and the Law Tripos and the Law Schools examination embrace the very books prescribed by the Civil Service Commissioners. For *Indian Law* the Acts themselves and the recognized commentaries are sufficient, but I believe that a lectureship on Indian Law has been founded at C C C, Oxford, and it is clear that the governing bodies are prepared to found as many readerships and lectureships as may be required. It is within my recollection that Mr Vice-Chancellor Cartmell in 1868 offered to provide a Lecturer in any Indian vernacular language if five men would attend the lectures and the readiness of the university authorities to assist the studies of Indian candidates has advanced several steps since 1868. It is with reference to *Proceedings in English Courts of Justice* that the Commissioners are most apprehensive of the difficulties which will beset a residence at the university. On this point I can speak from experience that the Cambridge or Oxford Assizes and the vacations enable any candidate to comply with the requisitions made by the Commissioners. But I venture to think that their requirements need revision. The rule requiring the report of a case heard in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on appeal from India, or a case in one of the courts in Banco, entailed much trouble and waste of time, inasmuch as the difficulty of getting a seat was considerable, and any one acquainted with the ordinary duties of a Magistrate or Judge in India knows how little information was derived from hearing one or two of such cases. An attendance at the police courts and at the civil courts in London when special jury cases are being tried can always be acquired in the vacation, whilst the rest of the reports required can be obtained by attendance at the Assizes, which are held at Cambridge or Oxford.

(c) *History and Geography of India* — If any lectures on this subject are required, the names of Mr. Sidney Owen, Reader in Indian Law and History at Oxford, and of Professor Cowell at Cambridge suggest the feasibility of obtaining instruction at the universities.

(d) *Political Economy* — There are professorships both at Cambridge and Oxford, and independently of these there are competent lecturers in every college. With reference to all these facilities for acquiring information at the universities, the excessive cheapness of instruction must not be lost sight of. The fees for attending lectures are moderate, and the lectures are almost delivered at the under-graduate's door, whilst in London, in addition to the much larger fees to be paid, there is the expense of carriage, which adds no small sum to the cost of obtaining tuition in London.

6 It would seem, therefore, that so far from the existence of incompatibility between a residence at the university and application to the course of study prescribed by the Commissioners, unusual facilities for the latter are afforded by the former. As regards a study of the vernaculars, it appears to me, as remarked above, that a study only of the classical languages should be prescribed, whilst nothing but the rudiments of Hindustani and one vernacular should be learnt in England. In the despatch\* of the Bombay Government, No 1, 9th January 1869, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, the Government of Bombay communicated to His Grace the Duke of Argyll the opinion of the Oriental Translator that "none of the gentlemen who have come out since June last were qualified on arrival to carry on work in the two vernacular languages without further study. The reply of ten senior young civilians educated under the two years' system was that the knowledge acquired by them was insufficient to enable them to transact business in Gujarati or Marathi on arrival. The Hindustani learnt from a study of the Tota Kahani Ikhwan-us-Sofa or Khirad Afroz is unintelligible to the Mahomedan population of Western India, and all the civilians who joined the service from 1868 to 1874 with whom I have spoken have confirmed my own impression that the time spent in learning vernaculars in England was mostly time wasted, and they have explained their voluntary study of extra languages by the answer that they were forced to maintain their position on the list by omitting no means of securing marks which were open to them. I would respectfully draw attention to the difference of position in the open competition and in the final examination of candidates selected in the last six years. A comparison will show

\* Not printed

that probationers at the top of the open competition have in no few cases come out to India in the lower ranks of their year, and the places at the top of the year are obtained by those who take up the most additional subjects and not by those who pass the best examinations in the course prescribed for all No 279

7 The second question is whether in other respects a university course is preferable to the present system of preparation in London?

The general theory of a Covenanted Civil Service is the formation of a corporation so bound together as to secure the maintenance of a tradition of honour and public spirit, and the abolition of Haileybury College was regretted as likely to diminish the common *esprit de corps* of the service. A residence at the universities might do something to restore this common feeling and common interest. The existence of any inter-presidential jealousy cannot be an advantage to the Indian service as a whole, and under the present system of residence in lodgings in London the candidates who are destined for service in even the same presidency never meet except in the examination room. But the restoration of a common feeling between the members of the service is the least advantage which a common residence at the universities would secure. If the cultivation of a healthy tone of body is part of education, the recreation supplied by the river and the cricket field must not be overlooked. The Debating Society and the university and college libraries are further advantages beyond the reach of probationers living in London. I have heard it remarked that civilians of the present day have no interests beyond their kutcheries, that their views are narrow and their ideas isolated, and that they have no sympathy with anything beyond their work. If the training of the 84.2 per cent. of civilians is considered, the result is not to be wondered at. The specially trained candidate leaves school at seventeen, and after two years' cramming passes his examination successfully. For more than two years more he lives in lodgings in London, and then comes out to India, when he is sent off to an up-country station, and six months afterwards begins his revenue career with its absolute solitude of six or seven months in the cold and hot weather when he is travelling. A residence at Oxford would bring him into contact with men of other professions, other schools, and other views than his own. Quite apart from the social education which the Indian probationer would gain, he could not fail to be intellectually benefited by contact with others specially if they were his superiors in ability and attainments.

8. On these grounds I respectfully submit to the better judgment of Government my conclusion that a residence at the universities would not be incompatible with the special course of instruction, prescribed for probationers for the Indian Civil Service, and that such residence, besides offering facilities for their intellectual training not to be obtained elsewhere, would, in other respects, educate them to a higher level of efficiency than that attained under the existing system.

9 The alterations which I advocate in the present system are as follow. The open competition to continue as at present, but with a view to enable public school men to compete on equal terms with those especially trained, no candidate should be allowed to take up more than four subjects, and the maximum for English should be reduced from 1,500 to 1,000 marks. The limitation of age should be from

Age should be from 17 to 20

17 to under 20 years of age, and the examination should take place in February or March of each year, so as not to interfere with the school examinations at the end of the summer term. The successful candidates, if physically fit for an Indian service, should receive scholarships, attached to Oxford or Cambridge, of the value of £100 per annum. Residence at the university selected by the candidate should commence

Residence at university should last three years

with the Michaelmas term, and should last for three years, the final examination taking place at the end of the Easter term. Residence should be permitted at any colleges of either university willing to take probationers under the rules agreed upon between the Commissioners and the university authorities.

Half of the selected candidates should go to Oxford and half to Cambridge

Half the probationers should go to Oxford and half to Cambridge. It may be objected that the London, Scotch, and Irish universities should not be omitted, but as the Indian Government has a perfect right to attach its scholarships to the universities which it chooses to select, and as it is desirable not to scatter the probationers too much, the objection need not be entertained. The probationers will select according to seniority the university to which they are to

Course of study there recommended go. After their entrance they should be required to attend chapels and conform to the ordinary regulations of their college. They might attend a limited number of college lectures, and should pass the previous examination at Cambridge and the first schools at Oxford. They should attend the public lectures in law, one Indian classical language, and political economy, and at the end of their fourth term should pass the first examination corresponding with Moderations at Oxford, the

final examination being passed in the ninth term of residence. Into the details of No 279. these examinations it is unnecessary to enter. But the results of the final examination should alone determine seniority, and the same set of papers might be given at each university and the papers examined by the same examiners. In the event of failure to pass, the probationer should forfeit the scholarship which has been paid to him. It might be necessary to provide for college examinations at the end of each term, and the probationers might be required to pass half-yearly examinations in London during the vacations. All these are, however, matters of detail, which could be arranged without difficulty at home.

10 In submitting the above remarks I must apologise for the length of my letter, but the subject is one in which I have always taken much interest, and I trust that I have rendered clear the grounds of my conviction that an alteration of the present system in the direction shown would be conducive to the interests of the service, and not involve those difficult problems which the Commissioners fear "could never be satisfactorily solved."

From E. Mc G H FULTON, Esq., to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department,—dated Kurrachee, the 8th July 1875.

In reply to your letter\* No. 1818, dated the 18th June 1875, I have the honour to state that, for the last four or five years, I have almost lost sight of the system under which men are selected for the Indian Civil Service, and so far as I can judge there have been some alterations, and apparently improvements, in the method of "cramming" since I passed the examination. Special preparation for the competitive examination seems to have fallen almost entirely into the hands of one gentleman, whose pupils are, it appears from the report of Civil Service Commissioners, superior to most other candidates in Latin, Greek and Mathematics,—the ordinary subjects of school education.

At the time when I passed there were a number of "crammers," and the system at that period was, I think, fairly open to most of the objections that have been raised against it.

One of the reasons of this, I thought, was that the proportion of marks given for classics was far too low compared with that given for other subjects; and besides the standard of examination in Latin and Greek was much higher than in other subjects, and specially than in English and Natural Science. This last subject is, I know, a good deal taught now at the large English schools, but still Latin, Greek, and in a less degree Mathematics are for boys the great objects of study in England. Modern languages are taught a little, and English even less.

If the object to be desired is to secure a considerable number of men from the chief English schools, or from among men who have been a short time up at Oxford or Cambridge, I think that, without excluding all other subjects from the

Decided preference in examination should be given to classics and mathematics

competitive examination, a decided preference should be given to Latin, Greek and Mathematics. It seems to me that this preference is sufficiently given in the case of mathematics, and a really good mathematician can secure a very large number of marks. Good mathematicians, however, are rather scarce, and I fancy that the greater number of candidates do not place very much reliance on this subject. In Latin and Greek, however, the marks might be doubled, and the standard of examination in many other subjects might be raised.

In my own case, I know that, after a very slight study of electricity and magnetism at school, and after attending lectures in London for three months, I was able to get 203 marks, and this, I suppose, was due simply to the fact that the examination was too easy to test properly the amount of labour that had been devoted to the subject.

In English, too, a large number of marks can be gained with very little work, and though of course it is most essential that men who come out to India should be acquainted with the history and literature of England, and should be able to write their own language grammatically, still I question whether this object might not be secured if English were one of the subjects studied in the two years of special preparation subsequently to the selection of candidates at the competitive examination.

I do not wish in any way to appear to underrate the importance of natural science. Very likely it is much to be regretted that it is not more studied in English schools. Still, I think, the object of the competitive examination is to secure the best men under the system of general education at present most common, not to point out the course which general education should take.

I see that the Civil Service Commissioners show that facts prove that even at present Latin and Greek contribute more generally to the success of candidates than any other subjects, but, nevertheless, I should fancy that a great many marks must be gained in other subjects with comparatively less work, and that if Latin

\* Not printed.



and Greek, notwithstanding this, maintain their ascendancy, it shows merely how No 279. universally they are studied, and raises a presumption that the men who pass without their aid must cut out men quite equal to them in ability, who fail simply because their studies have been misdirected (so far as the competitive examination is concerned) by being devoted to classics instead of to easier subjects

If some modification of marks were introduced, whereby more advantage were given to Latin and Greek, I should be very sorry to see the system of open competition abolished. If appointments were given to Oxford and Cambridge, an invidious distinction between the competitors and the nominees would almost certainly be raised. Men would come out with the impression that they were members of a chosen class, and there would be a division in the service. Besides, if nominations were given to Oxford and Cambridge, the Scotch and Irish universities and the university of London would certainly claim, and eventually obtain, the same privilege. Would all these men be socially, or in any other respect, superior to the men who now come out? It appears to me rather probable that they would just be of the same class as at present. I do not suppose many of the first class classical men or wranglers would come out here. In the first place they would, under existing rules, have to be selected at an age at which they could hardly have attained any high honours at their university, and those who had a good prospect of honours would probably refuse, and secondly, if the age of admission were raised, those who had taken honours would probably prefer remaining at home where they could secure an honourable career. A good many Oxford and Cambridge men do come out here, and the very same class of men who now go in for the competitive examination would most likely endeavour to get nominations at their universities.

Similarly, with regard to the University of London and the Scotch and Irish Universities, I believe that they all send up a good many candidates for the competitive examination, and I doubt whether there would be any good in giving them nominations besides.

As regards the age of admission, I think it would be inexpedient to increase it. If men came out much older than they do at present, they would find it difficult to accustom themselves to the country. At present Anglo-Indians are accused of want of sympathy with the people, and of thinking continually of going home. If they come out older than they do at present, this tendency would probably be even more marked than it is now. Besides, if men came out here at 27, when their opinions were formed, I think there would be danger that they would be less willing to subordinate their views to those of their official superiors than men who had become accustomed to the discipline of Government service at an earlier age.

Next in reference to the system of training pursued after the selection of candidates at the competitive examination, it appears to me that there are a great many objections to the present system of allowing men to live in London where and how they please.

It is said that a man who cannot take care of himself is not the kind of man wanted in India, but because he fails at the age of eighteen or nineteen when he has just left school, and is suddenly freed from the control of the opinion not only of his masters but of his companions, I do not think it follows that he must be utterly useless in after-life.

I see from the report of the Civil Service Commissioners that very few men do fail at the final examination, but I knew of one instance where a clever man, a very good classic, and if I remember right, a scholar of one of the colleges at Oxford, failed simply because he was lazy, and who, had he been looked after in the least, would probably have come out to India, and would, I have no doubt, have done very well, as soon as he was set down to some work a little more interesting than the preparation for periodical examinations.

I think, too, it is a great disadvantage that civilians do not know more of each other before coming out to India. Under the present system one hardly knows the names of men in either presidencies, and one's acquaintance with men in one's own presidency and one's own year is frequently formed not in England but in India.

At the same time I do not think much good would be got by sending men up to Oxford or Cambridge or any other university. The men could not all go to the same university, and, so far from coming out here with feelings in common, their association would be different according to the university to which they had belonged, and there would certainly be a prejudice in favour of the two older universities, which would most likely be painfully felt by men who had resided elsewhere. I believe too that the men who went up to Oxford and



Cambridge would not derive much good from it. They would always feel that No 279 they were aliens in the place, that their work and their prospects in life had nothing in common with those of the great majority of under-graduates, and they would probably not make many acquaintances besides their old school friends. They would have to work during vacations and at other inconvenient times, and if they attempted to live like other men of their own standing, they would probably fail at their final examination. At the university they would be numerically so weak that they would never establish a position for themselves.

I think it would be most satisfactory if a college were established on the model of Haileybury, and if all selected candidates were obliged to go to it for two years. It might be near some railway which would connect it with London, and enable the men to go up for the day to report cases. Professors of Indian languages and other subjects would doubtless be engaged by Government, and their attendance could easily be secured, if the college were in the neighbourhood of London. In such an institution there would be always 90 or 100 students, and I believe their habitual intercourse with each other would do more to rub off inequalities in manners than the comparative isolation, which would, I believe, be the lot of Indian candidates at Oxford and Cambridge.

If residence at Oxford and Cambridge were left optional (and to render it compulsory would probably be impossible), it seems likely that the men to whom it would be most useful would not be those who would go there.

I know that some men have gone up to Oxford and Cambridge during the two years of probation, and that they managed to get through their work, but then they were men of decidedly good abilities, who were able to subordinate their Civil Service work to the ordinary university studies. Most men could not do this successfully.

If a college on the model of Haileybury were established, it would not be necessary for men to give up all games for two years as the majority have to do at present.

I do not see what effect the withdrawal of the pecuniary allowance to selected candidates would have, except to take away one of the inducements to competition. If it had any effect at all, it would prevent a few men from competing, and might thereby slightly lower the standard, and the class whom it would keep out would, I think, be not the lowest socially which could live very cheaply, but the sons of gentlemen, who had some appearance to keep up, and were too poor to do this, and send their sons out to India in the manner in which they would like them to go.

It is with the utmost deference that I submit the above views.

From J M CAMPBELL, Esq, Special Duty, Secretariat, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department,—No 611, dated Bombay, the 20th July 1875

I do myself the honour to reply to your letter\* calling for an expression of opinion as to the selection and training of candidates for service in India, together with observations upon the correspondence on that subject which accompanied your letter No 1818, dated 18th June 1875

From a perusal of these papers it appears to me that the wishes of Government will be best carried out by dividing the subject into two parts—  
Subject consists of two parts

- (I) —Some examination of the results of the different systems under which the present members of the Bombay Civil Service have been appointed
- (II) —Suggestions as to the method—(a) of selecting and (b) of training candidates for the Covenanted Civil Service of India

With regard to the first question, it appears from an examination of the Civil List that the Bombay Service contains 167 members, of whom 6\* are at present serving under the Governments of other Provinces. The remainder, 161 in number, belong to three classes—  
Part 1.—Information supplied by a study of the Bombay Civil Lists as to the result of the different systems of preparation

- (1).—Haileybury nominees 55 in all, with appointments extending over 15 years—from 1842 to 1857
- (2) —Candidates selected under the original rules of competition, admitted as late as 23 years of age and passing one year of probation in England, 42 in all, with appointments extending over ten years, from 1856 to 1866

\* Nos 22, 104, 136, 142, 148, 151 These numbers are given as they will appear in the next Civil List

(3) —Candidates selected under the existing system of 21, as the limit of No 279. age, and two years' special training before their arrival in this country, 64 in all, with appointments dating from 1867 to 1873.

Without going beyond such information as is supplied by the Civil List and by current opinion, a comparison of the members belonging to each of these periods under the three heads of—(1) Health, (2) Prevailing Habits, and (3) General Reputation, may perhaps supply some of the information desired by the Civil Service Commissioners to aid them in forming a judgment as to the relative success of the different systems in producing men fitted for the "actual work of administration in India."

With reference to the question of health, it will be seen from the state-

(1) Health

Statement showing the proportion of members in each of three classes of the Service who have taken leave on medical certificate before serving five years in India

Class	Total strength	Number who have taken leave on medical certificate	Proportion.
1st Period (1842—1856)	55	2	3.6
2nd Period (1856—1866)	42	3	7.1
3rd Period (1867—1873)	64	11	17.1

ment given in the margin that, while of the Haileybury nominees only 2, or 3.6 per cent, were forced to take leave on medical certificate before serving five years in India, the corresponding percentage rose to 7.1 in the case of candidates belonging to the second period, and within the last six years it has advanced to 17.1 per cent of the members selected according to the present system

(2) Prevailing Habits

Statement showing for each of the three periods the number of members of active and of sedentary habits

Period	Total number of members	Active	Sedentary	Not known	Proportion of active
1st Period (1842—1856)	55	34	20	1	61.7
2nd Period (1856—1866)	42	20	21	1	49.0
3rd Period (1867—1873)	64	37	26	1	57.8

N B—This table is probably in some cases inaccurate, as the information obtained was not in every instance satisfactory

Again, from a comparison of the habits of the members of the different classes, it would seem that, as compared with the Haileybury standard members of the second period show a marked falling off in general activity, while those belonging to the third period are on the whole not only more vigorous, but would seem to come to India with a better knowledge of English sports than those selected during the earlier years of competition

The third head of comparison—the general reputation earned by the different classes of the service—cannot well, in the present

(3) General Reputation

letter at least, be made the subject of any detailed treatment. Speaking of the service, as a whole, I think the remark\* is correct, that competition has failed to secure men of so much literary talent as Mr Forbes and other civilians of the past generation. Among the members of the present service, it is, I think, admitted that in men like Mr Ellis, Mr Hope, and Mr Crawford, the Haileybury training has produced administrators of the first class, while as linguists Mr. Hope and Mr Pinhey are, I believe, unrivalled by the junior members of the service. Again, selecting for comparison that portion of the service list, from Nos 43 to 64, in which the two systems of nomination and competition are interlaced, I think that, taken as a whole, the men composing either set of groups can hardly be said to have shown themselves superior to the other "in real and permanent capacity for the practical business of life"†

The members of the third class have not yet had the opportunity of earning distinction, but it will be seen from the accompanying table that, in spite of the absence of any sufficient incentive to exertion, they have, with a few exceptions, used diligence in passing the practical tests required of Assistant Collector-Magistrates after their arrival in India

\* Dr Birdwood, Competition and the Indian Civil Service, page 9.

† Home C S Commission, *Frazer's Magazine*, June 1875, page 722

Statement showing the number of months taken by the junior members of the Service No 279.  
in passing the First and Second Department Examinations

	1867.		1868		1869		1870		1871		1872.		1873	
	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.		II.	I.	II.	I.	II.	
10	16	10	16	10	17	11	20	26	33	41	0	9	15	
10	22	12	18	*44	62	11	20	14	40	14	0	*0	0	
10	16	12	18	10	17	11	20	20	38	14	20	9	15	
16	22	12	18	10	17	20	25	14	20	19	0	15	15	
10	16	12	18	10	17	20	25			14	0		15	
16	22	16	22	10	17	11	20			19	0			
10	16	30	51	17	22	20	33			*0	0			
16	22	11	23	10	17	*3	39							
10	22	17	35	17	22	*0	0							
16	22	11	17	10	19	27	33*							
10	22			17	23	11	20							
10	28			*38	50	11	20							
				17	22	11	39							
				32	45									
				17	38									
				†22	0									
Average														
12	20	14	23	14	22	14	25	20	30	15	20	11	15	

\* In England on Medical Certificates

† Serving under other Governments

None of the three members of the Service who arrived in 1874 have yet passed either examination

On the whole, it appears to me that, though there have been few of the failures spoken of in other parts of India, the system of selection and training introduced in 1856 has not on the whole, as far as the Bombay Presidency is concerned, in the practical work of administration shown itself superior to the original method of selection by nomination. As compared with what was expected of it by its advocates, the principle of competition has, I think, failed in three ways—(1) it has failed to attract first-rate men from the universities, (2) it has failed to place

any of the better class of appointments within the reach of the poorer classes in England, (3) it has failed to send out men fitted on their arrival in India for actual employment. The truth of the second and third points will probably be unquestioned. As to the first, it would seem to be sufficient to notice—

(1) "that of the six or seven first class graduates who have passed the preliminary examination, all have resigned their appointments before proceeding to India;"\* (2) that the university men who have passed have not generally been students who had obtained any high honours † For the future it seems to me that the Civil Service Commissioners have satisfactorily proved that by no change of age or of

subjects is it probable that first class university men will be induced to compete for Indian appointments. And this for two reasons the inducements to come to India are becoming less and less, † while the opportunities of finding suitable employment in England are increasing. † The conclusion of the matter would seem to be that attempts to secure the "formed man of 23" should be given up, and that the arrangements for selection and training should have as their object to provide a class of active young men, with habits of subordination and industry.

The accompanying papers appear to me to show that to a great extent the present system attains this object. By birth three-fourths of the candidates belong to the same class of youths as those who in former years were nominated to Haileybury, or who now compete for admission into the Royal Academy at Woolwich. Many of them have been as boys at one of the public schools, and the special training which so large a number of them have received in Chambers in London seems to me to have been proved to own its success not to unscholarly devices, but to its excellent method and to its call for strenuous effort

\* Mr Lepel Griffin's article in the *Fortnightly*, April 1875, page 525

† Letter from the Secretary to the Civil Service Commission, dated 16th March 1875, page 9

‡ Papers under reply Compare also Mr Lepel Griffin as above, page 526 "Nor does the Indian Civil Service of to-day appear as attractive as it was depicted in 1855. Promotion is at a standstill, and the discontent which is thus not unreasonably occasioned re-acts upon England, and disinclines the most desirable class of men to compete for appointment." Compare also the recent petition of the members of the Bombay Civil Service, in which the prospects of members of the service of six years' standing are said to be "hopeless."

To this extent the present system seems a success, it provides active men No 279

In what points a failure with habits of industry Beyond this it would seem, in some points at least, to have proved a failure As compared with men of our standing in other services we are said to be wanting in knowledge of men, to be deficient in address, to have no keen sense of duty, and to be without habits of obedience or of command. The process by which we have been trained has ended, it would seem, in producing minds<sup>1</sup> "tightly packed rather than well trained, full rather than strong" At present, it has been said, the younger members of the Civil Service belong to one of two classes, the recluse, shy, worked out, without knowledge of the world, and wanting in strength of character, and the man of vigour and energy, but self-asserting and without subordination These types of character of which "competition" gets the credit are surely due not so much to a faulty principle of selection as to the present system of training which allows each man, uncontrolled and unadvised, to follow the bent of his own inclinations In support of the success of the present system of training the Civil Service Commissioners refer to a statement showing that though, during the last ten years, candidates have failed to pass the test for book knowledge and for health, the test for character has been satisfied by all Such figures are, however, susceptible of another reading In actual work failures in personal character have been found to be not infrequent The true inference would, therefore, seem to be, not that the selected candidates are without exception men of satisfactory character, but rather that they are men chosen and trained under a system in which character has practically counted for nothing

If it is the case, as has been triumphantly asserted by Dr Birdwood,<sup>2</sup> admitted by Mr Scoone,<sup>3</sup> and hinted at by the Government of Bombay in 1867,<sup>4</sup> that failures in character are not unknown, it would seem to be advisable to adopt such measures as might for the future lessen the chance of such failures

This might be attempted either by altering the existing method of selection or by amending the present mode of training the probationers

It would seem to be this same question of "character" that induced the recent Commission of Enquiry into the state of the Home Civil Service to decide that as regards furnishing men fitted for the higher kinds of work, open competition had failed,<sup>5</sup> and to suggest a course almost the same as that sketched by Mr Scoone for the Indian Civil Service,<sup>6</sup>—that a list should be obtained by open competition, and that from this list choice should be made by the permanent chiefs of departments However well suited these proposals may be to the wants of the Home Civil Service, I do not see how such a system of selection could, with advantage, be introduced in the case of the Indian Civil Service, still less do I think that any such scheme,<sup>7</sup> as giving marks for pedigree and personal appearance could in any way be an improvement upon the present simple principle of selection by competition

Under the circumstances, it would, I think, be wise to admit that no arrangement has as yet been devised by which, in a competitive examination, the personal character of the candidate carries its due weight, to confess that the present training or no training is specially defective in this particular of weight for character and to determine, if possible, that if no equitable plan can be hit on for excluding altogether a probationer deficient in this respect, that, at any rate, he will during his term of probation be subjected to such influences as are likely to brace and develop what character he may possess

Two sets of proposals are before the Commissioners which have this as their object First, that the probationers should spend their period of preparation at one of the universities, and, second, that they should be placed in a special college, a revived Haileybury or developed Cooper's Hill

The objection to the first proposal, which is, I think, a valid objection, is that the whole number of probationers, on an average not likely to be more than 40, would have to be divided into 4 or 5 groups according as they elected to study at Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, or London, and that, while remaining apart from the ordinary interests and studies of the university at which they were placed, they would fail to gain any acquaintance with more than a very small portion of their fellow probationers

First proposal

<sup>1</sup> Lord Stanhope quoted by Dr Birdwood

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh Review, April 1874, page 335

<sup>3</sup> Macmillan's Magazine, August 1874, page 373

<sup>4</sup> Government of Bombay despatch No 11 of 1867, dated 13th April 1867 \*

<sup>5</sup> Fraser's Magazine, June 1875, page 722

<sup>6</sup> Macmillan's Magazine, August 1874

<sup>7</sup> Dr Birdwood's lecture, page 15

Against the proposal that the probationers should be placed at a special college, No 279.

Second proposal two arguments are used The first, a general reason,—that such special college would foster\* " caste prejudice" and " feelings of clique " The second, a special objection, that such an arrangement would stand in the way of the probationer's acquiring a practical knowledge of the procedure of the English Courts of law

As to the first objection, the general tone of the passages on this subject in the papers under reply would seem to show that the Home authorities are alive to the advantages of supplanting the selfish feeling of individual interest by an enlarged sympathy among the members of the service In Bombay, it is, I think, the general opinion that it is a matter for regret that the service feeling has of late years been allowed so much to die out, and that any change likely to restore among its members a larger measure of mutual reliance and a keener feeling of common interest, would be a gain to the service

The second objection to placing the probationers in a college is that it would interfere with the present arrangements for their obtaining a knowledge of the practical working of the courts of law in England

There is, perhaps, no other point discussed in the papers under reply on which so uniform an agreement of opinion prevails " as that ignorance on the part of a selected candidate of the manner in which law should be administered is a defect not to be remedied except at a serious expense to the cause of justice and to the service " Still I am respectfully of opinion that, in spite of the practical wisdom with which, in their instructions to probationers, the Civil Service Commissioners have worked out the general plan sketched by Lord Macaulay's Committee in 1854, the present practice of requiring " notes of cases" is, at least as far as my own experience goes, of little practical help to an Assistant Collector-Magistrate in deciding criminal cases or hearing revenue disputes The reporting of civil cases at least might surely be given up In the revenue† branch of the service, which comprises over 70 per cent of the whole number of appointments, such suits as occupy the attention of the courts at Westminster are never heard, while,

Reports on Mr Fitz James Stephen's Minute on the administration of justice in India

according to the almost unanimous opinion of the judicial officers of this service, no one should become an Assistant Judge till after he has passed five years in the duties of an Assistant Collector-

Magistrate It follows, therefore, that with hardly an exception such knowledge as the probationers acquire of the India Civil Procedure Code and of the conduct of a civil suit in England remains for at least five years entirely unused Again, in the trial of criminal cases the surroundings in district life are so incongruous with his memories of Bow Street, that to a young civilian his experience is, I have found, of little practical use to him In his efforts to follow the patois of the witnesses he is apt, I think, to forget even his surface knowledge of the Criminal Procedure Code, and as the case goes on each succeeding step in the proceedings has to be shown to him Such words as summons, warrant, or charge, become only by degrees more than signs, and it is not till after some months of practical work that he feels the meaning and the use of the procedure laid down for him This blundering of his own and the opportunity of observing from time to time the singleness of purpose with which a Magistrate of experience gets at the facts of a case with the least possible delay seem to me, as far as procedure goes, to be the only useful training for the judicial duties of an Assistant Collector-Magistrate

Assuming, then, that both of these objections can be overcome, and that

Part II—Suggestions as to training of probationers  
Constitution of the College

it is possible to give probationers for the Covenanted Civil Service the benefit of a college training, I would venture to make the following suggestions as to the constitution of the college,

the subjects of study, and the length of the period of probation As to the constitution of the college, it would, I think, be advisable to have one college for the training of probationers for the different departments of the service in India rather than a special college for the preparation of covenanted civilians,—to make the institution a developed Cooper's Hill rather than a revived Haileybury The advantages of this course would, I think, be twofold—(1) Association with probationers for other State employment would tend to remove what is objectionable in the " caste" or " clique" spirit which a special college is supposed to be likely to develop, and (2) the opportunity for providing appointments for the least successful in the further college examinations might be used to raise the average of work performed by the probationers for the Covenanted Civil Service As to the first point, it would, I think, be of advantage to the State in the practical

\* "Fortnightly Review," page 536, April 1875

† Including appointments in the Forest and Educational Departments

work of administration in India to have the members of Covenanted Civil Service and of the other civil departments of the State acquainted with one another, with, to a certain extent, common memories and a common training

The second point might, I think, in part at least, be gained by adopting Mr Secone's suggestions<sup>a</sup> of admitting in the first instance a number of probationers in excess of the vacancies for the Covenanted Civil Service

<sup>a</sup> Macmillan's Magazine, August 1874, page 374

I would suggest this course for two reasons—(1) because it has been shown that under the present system of selection "there is little or no difference in the intellectual calibre of the last twenty who succeed and the next thirty who fail," and (2) because in my experience the offer of prizes and the threat of fines fail to stimulate the greater number of probationers to such hard work as is undergone at the universities by an under-graduate reading for a first class honour degree, or at Woolwich, by a cadet anxious to gain a place among the Engineers

I think that at the end of the first year, a second competitive examination might be held when those who gained the largest total of marks should, according to the number of vacancies, be selected as probationers for the Covenanted Civil Service. For such of the remaining candidates as satisfied the examiners, a provision shall be made either in the Forest, Telegraph, or Public Works Departments. After this first year of probation those selected for the Covenanted Civil Service might enter on a further period of preparation, extending over eighteen months. As an incentive to probationers to make the most of their time, I would, in addition to a system of fines and prizes, revive the inducement originally proposed by Lord Macaulay's Committee,\* and at the end of the first year, a probationer who shows more acquaintance with his subjects than one of the term above him, should obtain the position he has earned in the list, and be declared a member of the Covenanted Civil Service. Seniority in the service should, I think, as at present, in the first instance, be the reward of a high position in the list at the final examination in England. At the same time it would, I am of opinion, be an advantage to make it clear to all who are admitted into the service that they have after arriving in India to pass two severe tests in their practical acquaintance with the official duties of an Assistant Collector-Magistrate, and that their seniority in the service will finally be fixed by their position in the higher practical test,—the second departmental examination. Such a provision would, I am respectfully of opinion, be a gain in two ways—(1) it would stir up a useful rivalry among the younger members of the service during their two years of apprenticeship in India, (2) by confining the departmental examinations in each presidency to such subjects as are of use to a civilian of that province, the abuse by which seniority is obtained by offering without preparation to pass an examination in the vernacular languages of more than one presidency would be put a stop to

The only change I would suggest in the course of studies at present laid down for the probationer would be to secure his acquiring some knowledge of financial and commercial science. This was one of the heads originally proposed by Lord Macaulay's Committee in 1854, and when it is remembered that under the present system, without any acquaintance with the English mode of keeping and checking accounts, the young civilian has during his first two years in the country to master two systems of book keeping, and that the duties of a treasury officer are the first he is entrusted with, it seems to me that a member of the service would come to India better fitted than he is at present for the actual duties of his position if he had an accurate knowledge of the principles of English book-keeping. The only other change I would suggest is that noticed in a former part of this letter, the removal of "reports of cases" from among the heads of studies laid down for probationers. If entire removal is not possible, this subject, I am respectfully of opinion, might with advantage be considered of less than primary importance, and some arrangement introduced under which the attending of courts of law might be considered an exercise for probationers during their two last vacations at the college

To summarise these observations and suggestions, I would agree with those who hold that the present system of preparations fail from a want of social training—that to supply this want probationers for the Covenanted Civil Service should have the advantage of college discipline, that this college should be entered only by passing a competitive examination, and that in the case of candidates for the Covenanted Civil Service the limits of age should be from 17 to 19 years, that this college should not be a special institution, but should prepare probationers of all civil departments of the Indian State Service, that in the case of candidates of the Covenanted Service a number in excess of the vacancies should be allowed to enter the college,

\* See page 27

and that after a year spent in the college, according to the number of vacancies, No 279 the candidates who passed the best examination should become probationers for the Covenanted Service, that these probationers should after a further period of, in ordinary cases, eighteen months, though in special instances twelve months might suffice, be appointed members of the Covenanted Service, that they should then come to India, and that their position in the service should be determined by their order of passing the higher "departmental" examination. Finally, that, with regard to the subjects of study at the college, less weight should be set on the reporting of cases and more importance attached to a knowledge of book-keeping.

From G G TURNER, Esq, C S, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department,—dated Surat, the — July 1875

In reply to your No \* 1818 of 1875, dated 18th June, covering No 4 Public despatch\* from Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India, which only reached me on the 10th of July, and your No 2125\* of 17th July 1875, expediting the above, I have the honour to state that as I am confined to my bed by rheumatic fever, I was unable to answer with the celerity I should have wished, and to respectfully request that any errors which may have crept into this letter, owing to this fact, may be viewed with indulgence

2 There appear to be two points on which my opinion is requested,—(a) method of selection, and (b) manner of training. I would propose, first, to treat of method of selection

3 *Method of Selection* —I am respectfully of opinion that selection by competitive examination is by far the best. The old system of nepotism, notwithstanding the great men it produced, resulted in a restricted choice, and has, it is generally agreed nothing that can be said in its favour. It therefore only remains to consider whether the present system of competition is the best system, or whether an alteration of some of the rules might not improve it. On the whole, I would propose the following modifications —

(1) *Candidates* —The civilian in India would appear to require all the attributes and accomplishments which go to make up the average military officer, in addition to a higher standard of mental cultivation. Now it is unfortunately too true that amongst the 40 or 50 men who come out each year, there are at least one or two who, except as far as intellect may go, are in nowise fit for the service. For I hold it indispensably necessary that the civilian should have the manners, habits and feelings of a gentleman, even if he had not the birth. The Native mind is peculiarly apt to recognise and to appreciate those points of characters which mark the English gentleman. This difficulty might be met, I would humbly suggest, by a selection of five or six men in excess of the places vacant at the open competition, and a final selection made after a training at such a college as I have the honour to treat of below

(2) *Examination* —Professor Jowett's suggestion as to the limitation of the number of subjects allowed to a candidate to four appears to me, with submission, to be a very valuable one. Four subjects are certainly as much as any man can thoroughly study, and such a rule would enable examiners to decide with much greater facility on a candidate's mental powers which are now made somewhat subservient to his "breadth of reading," while it would at the same time work in favour of candidates from public schools and the universities

(3) *Age* —The age might, with advantage, I would submit, be changed to between 19 to 23, which would enable men, if so inclined, to take their degrees at college, &c, or to complete their terms for the bar

I have purposely avoided the subject of cramming, for I believe that its evils are much exaggerated. No doubt, every year one or two men pass who without cramming would have failed, but, as a rule, the men who pass from crammers are men who would pass under any circumstances, and all the crammer does for such men is to formulate and collate their previously, perhaps desultory, English reading, and to instruct them in the grooves in which all competitive examinations seem destined to run sooner or later

(4) *Manner of Training* —With regard to the manner of training of candidates after passing the first examination, I would respectfully submit that the present system, while providing fully for the training of the mind, utterly neglects that equally important part of education, the training of the body. The present course of study makes residence in London necessary for a considerable portion of the year. The result to a number of young lads fresh from school may be guessed. Again, the present system does not encourage that *esprit de corps* which is so desirable in any service. There are many other objections which I need hardly touch

\* Not printed

on here, as they have been frequently fully developed in the newspapers and No 279 elsewhere

The manner of training which I would respectfully propose as the best is a college similar to that of Cooper's Hill, at which every student should pass two years before coming to India, and in the curriculum of which riding, fencing and gymnastics should be included This college should be a separate institution not connected with any university, for I do not think the Oxford scheme at all an advantageous one

5 The above few remarks are offered with great diffidence, as my present state of health does not permit me to treat the matter as fully as I could wish

From C B WINCHESTER, Esq, Supernumerary Assistant Collector, Ratnagiri, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department,—No 47, dated Ratnagiri, the 1st July 1875

I have the honour, as requested, in your No \* 1818 of 18th ultimo, to state my views on the subject mentioned in paragraph 2 of the Marquis of Salisbury's despatch\* No 4 (Public) of the 8th April last

2 I am of opinion that no material change of principle is advisable in the present method, either of selecting or of training candidates for the Civil Service of India I will endeavour to state my reasons as shortly as possible

Present system of selection and training requires no alteration

3 First, with regard to the method of selecting candidates Two charges—and, so far as I am aware, two only—have been definitely brought against the men who have of late years entered the service by open competition They are (1) that many of the successful competitors are crammed, (2) that many of them are not gentlemen

The first charge has been so much discussed at home that it is hardly possible to say anything new on the point But I am quite sure that, though individual men may here and there be crammed, still cramming is not in the least necessary for success No doubt, it is well for a man of only average abilities to have a good teacher I had one, and I do not now remember anything done on his part that could fairly be called cramming, in any bad sense of the word (which is certainly used, in five or six different meanings, by the opponents of competition)

Cram discussed,

I read all my books fairly, and never touched a manual, or hand-book, or epitome If it were known, as it sometimes was, that, for instance a man who had edited Aristotle with notes and dissertations was to examine in moral science, my tutor would at once give me the notes and dissertations to read Beyond this I remember no cramming I am not prepared to say that pure cram does not sometimes succeed, but I am sure it is very rarely the case The second charge is ambiguous If it means that the selected candidates are not usually gentlemen by birth, then it is clearly proved false by the statistics given by the Civil Service Commissioners and appended to their report If the charge means that the manners and feelings of gentlemen are wanting, I can only say that, so far as my own observation goes, it is quite untrue

and the accusation that candidates are not gentlemen

4 The advantages of bringing candidates who have been successful in the open competitions to Oxford and Cambridge are set out in the fullest manner in Professor Jowett's letter† to the Marquis of Salisbury, and I cannot do better than take them in detail First, it is said, the service would gain in prestige here in India It may be so, but I am inclined to think that Professor Jowett attaches undue importance to a university degree, which, considering the ease with which a pass can be obtained, does not prove its possessor to be a man of more than very ordinary ability Next come the advantages of "society and increased knowledge of the world" I frankly confess that it seems to me impossible to argue this point at all It is a question of opening one's eyes If Professor Jowett really believes that there is more society and more knowledge of the world in Oxford than in London, nothing will ever change his opinion, which to my thinking is wrong. Then there is moral discipline As it is stated by the Civil Service Commissioners that no candidate has been rejected on account of bad moral character, there is nothing to show that the moral discipline of the university (such as it is) is needed The advocates of university training say also that by their method *esprit de corps* would be fostered I need say no more than that I do not think it is a good thing to foster *esprit de corps* too

Prestige of university education over rated.

More knowledge of the world is gained in London than Oxford

Shows selected candidates bear good characters, *esprit de corps* may be over rated, and law cannot be studied at a university

candidate has been rejected on account of bad moral character, there is nothing to show that the moral discipline of the university (such as it is) is needed The advocates of university training say also that by their method *esprit de corps* would be fostered I need say no more than that I do not think it is a good thing to foster *esprit de corps* too

\* Not printed

† See page 7



much, for the feeling is merely a force capable of either good or evil, and not an unmitigated virtue as some appear to think. Finally, I think the objection that law cannot be properly studied at the universities fatal, even if the advantages offered by Professor Jowett were substantial

5 I would have only two periodical examinations at intervals of a year, and would increase the compulsory attendance at the law courts.

From A. CUMINE, Esq, to the Acting Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department,—dated Tanna, the 12th July 1875

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter\* No 1818 of 1875 (dated 18th June last, but only received on Friday), forwarding a copy of a despatch\* from Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India, No 4, Public I have now, in obedience to the orders of His Excellency the Governor in Council, to humbly submit my views on the subjects referred to in paragraph 2 of the despatch

And first—

A—As to the method in which candidates shall, in the first instance, be selected. I am wholly in favour of the present one—open competition. None of the objections brought against it seem to me to deserve much weight—

(1) The very common one,—viz, that it encourages 'cramming,' and superficial study of many subjects is not applicable to the system, but to the questions occasionally set by particular examiners. If at one examination, a paper of questions is set, which a knowledge of a manual will enable the candidates to answer; so much impetus is given to cramming by means of manuals, for the next year's examination. But this is clearly due to the carelessness of the individual examiner, and not to any defect in the system.

That the latter in no way encourages the superficial study of many subjects is proved by the fact that the most successful of crammers always advises his pupils to confine their attention to three or at the most four.

The whole cry against 'cramming' has, I am sure, no solid foundation. I have never known anybody pass who was crammed. In fact, it is utterly impossible that any mind could go on for a whole year receiving and retaining a mass of undigested facts, not understood, but simply learnt by rote. And even were this possible, detection must immediately follow when the candidate was brought face to face with the examiner in the *vivá voce* examination.

I read for two years with Mr Wren, the most successful of all 'crammers,' and I can safely say that I was never asked to learn anything I did not understand. On the contrary, we were always told that whatever we professed we must know thoroughly. "Little and good" was the watchword of his system. We were periodically examined to ascertain whether we were really working or not, and anybody who was palpably idle was requested to go, for his own sake, and for the 'crammer's'

So far from the removal of a boy from school to a crammer's being an interruption to his studies (as Professor Jowett says), the boy really from that date begins to work as he never worked before. He is kept reading, and directed in his reading by a man whose whole heart is in his pupil's success. He has a definite object clear before him, and, with thorough confidence in his tutor, he gives up his whole time to the attainment of that object; and the consequence is success. And herein lies the origin for the whole outcry against 'cramming' and 'crammer'. A crammer is really a very efficient school-master called into existence by the inefficiency of ordinary school-masters and the term cramming is an offensive misnomer "applied by those who do their work badly, to those who do theirs well". Boys taught by ordinary school-masters win scholarships at Oxford as Professor Jowett says, but then at Oxford, they have only to contend with other boys taught by ordinary school-masters. When they come to contend with boys taught by the superior school-master, the 'crammer,' they cannot stand.

As I do not believe that the system encourages cramming, or that men with only a superficial knowledge of a great many subjects ever succeed in passing, it is almost unnecessary for me to touch on the expedients suggested to cure the supposed evil. However, I may say of the first one (viz, that of limiting the number of subjects which one candidate may take up), that it is practically in existence now. The best 'crammers' always dissuade their pupils from taking up more than 3 or 4 at the most, except in cases of exceptional talent.

\* Not printed.

As regards the second expedient, *viz*, that of appropriating a certain number No 279\*

of appointments to each branch of knowledge, it seems to me a very unwise one. The objection so often brought against the Indian Civil Service Examination that a first-rate mathematical scholar if he knew nothing but mathematics, or a first-rate classical scholar if he knew nothing but classics, would probably fail to pass, seems to me one of the merits of the system. Surely such a man, devoted to the study of one single subject, is very unlikely to possess that largeness of mind and capacity for seeing all sides of a question which a revenue officer in charge of a district, or a Magistrate weighing evidence, should certainly possess.

And this I have no doubt has great deal to do with what is quoted as another objection to the present system, *viz*. —

(2.) That it does not attract first-rate men from the university. I attribute this partly to the knowledge that success in the Indian examination requires one not to spend all one's time on one single subject, such as mathematics or classics; that, if successful, the prescribed course of study leaves one still less time to read the subject in which university distinction is hoped for.

This could surely be completely cured if Professor Jowett would carry out his suggestion 'to construct a new final school, embracing prominently special Indian subjects, *plus* political economy and jurisprudence. Reading the work prescribed by the Civil Service Commissioners and reading for one's degree would then, instead of being antagonistic and incompatible, be most identical.

The chief reason why the very best men are not attracted from the universities is to be found, of course, as the Commissioners say, in the hope of greater distinction and emoluments at home.

As to the subjects of examination, I can see no reason for adding to, or subtracting from, them, or for altering the marks assigned to each subject, which the exception of the modern languages, which surely deserve more than 375 each. While on this subject I would submit that it would be more advisable to prescribe Marathi as the language for Bombay men to learn in England than Hindustani. The latter language is not understood by the peasantry of this part of India and any Natives here, who know Hindustani, almost always know Marathi too. Besides this, it is more difficult for a man who knows a little Hindustani, to begin Marathi, than for a man who has learnt no Hindustani at all.

B—To consider now the second head referred to in Lord Salisbury's letter, *viz*, 'the manner in which selected candidates shall be trained for service in India.'

And here the principal point in dispute is—'Should the probationers be allowed to reside where they choose, or should they be sent to a college?'

I am sure that no grounds for the establishment of a college can be found in any supposed necessity to supervise the moral conduct of the probationers. As far as my experience goes, such supervision is entirely unnecessary. The candidates I have known have been remarkably steady and well-behaved, much more so in fact than they would have probably been, had they been all living together in a college. When living apart and in perfect freedom, men rarely care to do the extravagant things, which restraint and examples of others are apt to make so irresistibly attractive. Nor do I think that they require in any way to be subjected to discipline. As the Civil Service Commissioners say, the very fact of their having passed is proof that they possess resolution and self-control, and to subject them to the discipline of a college, after they had in all probability been living for two years in London free of all control, would produce effects in them the opposite of good.

Not only is the present system more conducive to morality, but I think it is to *work* also. Men are much more likely to work when they live separately, than when they live all together in a college. At the same time I must admit that, though the average amount of work done would probably be less, I think the college system would probably prevent any one being turned out at the final examination. To pass the open competition examination requires such hard work and such intense application that, as soon as the struggle is over, the mind at once recoils. The men who get turned out are those who do not recover from that excessive recoil till it is too late. Any system which compelled them to *begin* to work in time would be the saving of them.

It seems to me that the question of college or no college must be answered by No 279 a person possessing ample knowledge on the following points —

- (a) Are competitionwallahs often so awkward in society and so unused to the world as to merit the charge of not being 'gentlemen?'
- (b) If they are, does their being so really make them less efficient rulers of India?
- (c) Granting that they are so, will a residence at a college or university cure this?

As to the first, I think as far as my small experience goes, that the charge has of late years been often true. Whether this defect renders them less able civilians I am of course utterly unable to say. But I think that a residence at the university would go a great way to cure the defect, while residence in a college reserved for civilians would do very little good indeed. I think that, if they are to be compelled to live in a particular place, they ought not to have a college exclusively to themselves, but be allowed to live in any college they chose, either at Oxford or Cambridge. By these means, they would be much likely, by contact with new and varied acquaintances, to acquire the polish which they are said to lack.

The present system of letting candidates live where they like is to my mind such an excellent one that a very strong case will have to be made out to warrant any change in it. Compulsory residence, wherever it may be, cannot but interfere with the study of the practical administration of justice, and to run the risk of this, it must be most clearly shown that want of polish seriously impairs a young civilian's efficiency.

### VIII

From W G PRIDDER, Esq, Acting Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department, No 280 to the Offg Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,—No 2653, dated Bombay Castle, the 2nd September 1875

I am directed to enclose copies of letters\* from the Honourable  
\* Dated the 14th August 1875 Nanabhai Haridas, Judge of the High  
Dated the 17th ditto Court, and the Honourable T C Hope,  
Collector of Surat, relative to the Civil Service selection, examination and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India, and to say that these communications were received since the subject was considered and disposed of by His Excellency the Governor in Council.

From the Honourable T C HORN, Collector of Surat, to the Acting Secretary to the Government of No 281 Bombay, General Department,—dated Simla, the 14th August 1875

I have the honour to submit a few observations respecting the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India, as requested in your No \* 1818 of June 18th, premising that during the time I held the post of Collector twenty-nine gentlemen admitted to the service by competition were in official connection with me as Assistants, of whom sixteen were placed under me on their first arrival in the country.

2 As regards age, there appear to be decided advantages in candidates coming to India with "more mature judgment" and "wider experience of a life." At home, likewise it is not always possible for parents to select a career for their sons, or for young men to settle down seriously to the work of life, as early as is ordinarily requisite in order to prepare for the competitive examination. I should therefore be glad to see the maximum age for admission to probation raised again from 21 to 22 and the minimum to 18. The statement (F) at page 52 of the papers shows that few would be affected by the latter change, but that probably a good many men of riper value would be secured by the latter.

3 The next question is that of the subjects for the entrance examination. The list of subjects from which a selection is to be made appears unobjectionable, except in one point—the inclusion of Sanskrit and Arabic. These languages may well be allowed as a substitute for Latin and Greek in the case of natives of India, but they certainly are not subjects of instruction in schools and colleges generally, no youth of 17 or 18 can have done more than got a smattering by sheer cramming, and if he fails to pass, the time he spent on them will have been utterly wasted in contravention of the principle laid down in 1854. As to the number of subjects (excluding these two) which a candidate may take up.

\* Not printed

I have heard frequent complaints, and should suppose it to be a strong incentive to No 281  
cramming up those which give the largest proportionate return for a brief time  
expanded on them. A limitation to five subjects

Five subjects only should be taken up  
seems most desirable. From pages 54 and 55 it  
appears that the effect of this would be but a small  
reduction in the average, while preventing the best men from frittering away their  
time. As to the table (L) it would probably be easy to make one of just as distin-  
guished men who have taken up few subjects

4 There appear to be no good grounds whatever for altering the system of  
Competition system should be maintained selection by open competition

5 Excellent results appear to have followed the addition in 1864 of a  
second year's training of probationers and the  
predominance given to the study of law. I have  
noticed in almost every Assistant of the latter  
Good results have followed second  
year's probation and study of law  
period a marked advantage, apparently arising from these measures. That part of  
the regulations, however, undoubtedly needs revision which allows of the taking up  
of extra languages *ad libitum*. I have never yet had a Civilian Assistant who  
would not have been the better had he devoted more time to the "language  
prescribed for his Presidency" (Hindustani), or who did not admit that the time  
spent on numerous extra languages might have been infinitely better bestowed.

Only one Native language should be studied in England  
The accounts of the four, five and six extra  
language men and their acquirements are equally  
ridiculous and deplorable. I would recommend  
that, in addition to Hindustani (or Telugu), only one extra language should be  
allowed, and that classical one—Sanskrit, Arabic  
or Persian. I may add that I speak with some  
experience on this point, having taken up extra  
languages myself at Haileybury much to my detriment, but having benefited  
throughout my service from the two years' study of Sanskrit and Persian which was  
compulsory there.

6. The question of residence during probation remains. The reasons assigned  
by the Civil Service Commissioners for leaving things as they are seems singularly  
weak and insufficient. I am not aware what harm Haileybury *esprit de corps* ever  
did to the Service or the State, but I have heard the want of it, or, in practice, the

Want of bond of union amongst  
passed candidates.  
want of some deep bond of union, deplored for  
years past, by juniors. As a matter of fact, proba-  
tioners do not widely make each other's acquain-  
tance, as the Commissioners suppose, nor do they find that a residence not in  
London at all prevents their meeting the Commissioners' requirements in the way  
of reports of trials. On the other hand, there are probably few who would  
not now be glad to have taken a university degree with all the well known general  
advantages which it implies.

7 Judging from the correspondence, there would seem to be no real difficulty  
in arranging that all probationers should reside at a university, and obtain a degree  
in a "new final school" as proposed by the Dean of Christ Church. Such a degree  
would not be, in importance, or difficulty of attainment, one whit behind the  
ordinary ones. Attendance at courts-of law could be arranged for during the time  
by which the university terms fall short, as the Master of Balliol points out of  
what would be considered the proper period of preparation for a special profession

Residence at universities recom-  
mended for selected candidates  
like the Indian Service. Thus much conceded, it  
would be a matter of detail what universities, and  
what colleges in those universities, should be  
approved by the Commissioners. The fewer they were the better, or the object of  
probationers becoming acquainted with each other would be frustrated. Probably  
Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, Edinburgh and London would have to be admitted if  
they all would give the requisite degree, and they would certainly suffice. Within  
them such colleges as offered special advantages would naturally be preferred.

8 One other point I should perhaps not omit to mention in conclusion  
With all respect for Dr Gull, the records of the Bombay service show of late years

Undue proportion of juniors do now  
take sick leave.  
an undue proportion of juniors whom serious  
illness has compelled to take prolonged sick leave  
Three or four instances could perhaps be named in  
which it seems to a non-professional that the constitution was unfitted for an Indian  
life. The subject is not one on which a definite conclusion can be arrived at, much  
less proved, but it is worthy of attention, in the light of past experience, from the  
authorities at home.

9 I regret that my transfer from Surat and subsequent duties here have  
unduly delayed this letter

From the Honourable NANABHAI HARIDAS, Judge of the High Court of Bombay, to the Acting Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department,—dated Malabar Hill, the 17th August 1875 No 281.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters\* noted in the margin, and in reply to communicate to you, to be laid before His Excellency the Governor in Council, such remarks as occur to me on the several points upon which my views are therein invited

2 My experience of the actual work done by "the civilians appointed within the last ten years" not being by any means extensive, I cannot claim to have formed any authoritative opinion of their qualifications "as compared with those of the civilians appointed in the earlier years of the competitive system."

But from such experience as I do possess of the way in which some of them perform their judicial functions, which is all that has come under my observation, I think it is due to them to say that, making allowances for the differences in their lengths of service and consequent knowledge of the country and its people, the former, as a class, do not seem to me to be in any respect inferior to the latter

Recently appointed civilians are not inferior in judicial work to their predecessors

3 I submit herewith a comparative statement, prepared from the Bombay Civil List as it stood on the 1st April last which shew at a glance the industry and the capacity for acquiring varied knowledge exhibited by each of the two classes of civilians both in England and in India. His Excellency in Council will perceive from it that, out of 78 of the later civilians, 16 are university men against 11 out of the earlier ones, that seven are barristers-at-law against three of the latter, and that since their arrival in India five have passed in four, 22 in three, and 42 in two Indian languages against 3, 13 and 35, respectively of the latter

Comparative statement show this

4 Whatever truth, therefore, there may be in the statement that candidates for the Indian Civil Service prefer private tutors to public schools, if the university and bar examinations in England and the departmental examinations in India are to be relied upon as accurately testing the real capacities of the examinees, it is clear that in the 78 men appointed to this Presidency between 1865 and 1874 the Civil Service Examiners have not by any means been misled into selecting unfit men specially prepared to deceive them

5 Still I am disposed to think that, with a slight change in the rule fixing the maximum age of the candidates, it is possible to secure for the Indian Civil Service even better men than those we have yet succeeded in obtaining. If the limit were raised by a year or two, the field of selection would be enlarged. Men who had finished their education at the different universities in Great Britain would be able to offer themselves for competition who are now prevented from doing so, and India would thus have the benefit of securing for her rulers the most completely trained men procurable. A reference to the statement mentioned above will shew that, during the earlier period of the competitive system when the limit stood higher, nine out of the 55 men appointed to this Presidency were M As against only six out of the 78 appointed since it was lowered. Again, if the natural aspirations of the educated natives of India (a body daily increasing in numbers and importance) to be admitted to a fair share in the administration of their own country are to be respected, it is, in my humble opinion, absolutely necessary that the existing limit should be raised. With our restrictive university rules fixing the minimum age for matriculation and the periods of subsequent studies at affiliated colleges, past experience has, I think, shewn that the most successful of our students cannot, as a rule, graduate before they are 20, or take the M A degree before they are 21. No rules which may deprive such students of all chance of entering the Civil Service by the door of free competition can possibly be for the benefit of India

Maximum age for admittance should be raised to secure men who have finished their university course,

and do admit of educated Natives competing

6 As the mode of original selection of candidates for the Civil Service, it seems to me that none fairer than the present one of free competition is possible. The proposal "to diminish the number of appointments given away by general competition in London, and to distribute a certain number of appointments among such universities in Great Britain as are known to apply searching competitive tests to their own students" cannot be adopted without drawing invidious distinctions. Besides, students who are accustomed to have such tests applied to them by their own universities do not really stand in need of any such concessions. They labour under no disadvantages at present. To be selected under the existing rules, they have only to submit to like tests when applied by the Civil Service Examiners, who, it may be presumed, know their duty quite as well as any appointed by the universities. And as to any students who do stand

Present system of admission should be maintained

\* Not printed

in need of such concessions, it may pretty safely be predicted that they are not likely to prove good bargains for India, whatever their own universities may say of them. The proposal, therefore, is one which ought not to be adopted. However beneficial to any universities fortunate enough to be favoured with such concessions, it could not be otherwise than prejudicial to India, and in any alterations that may be made in the existing rules, it is to be hoped that the interests of India will ever be regarded as of paramount importance

7 As to the subjects in which the candidates may offer themselves for examination, no alteration is necessary or desirable, and it seems to me that no

No restriction should be placed on the number of subjects taken up at the competition. restriction should be placed upon the number which they may take up. Any tendency to acquiring a superficial knowledge of many subjects in preference to a sound knowledge of a few in order to obtain a large number of marks at the examination is sufficiently checked by the plan which the examiners have adopted "of deducting from the marks of every candidate in each subject a number of marks corresponding to the lowest amount of proficiency for which any credit should be allowed". But at the same time it seems to me that in one respect an improvement is possible in the existing scheme of examination. Bearing in mind the intrinsic value of Sanskrit and Arabic as subjects of study, the amount of industry necessary to acquire a competent knowledge of

Indian classics should have the same number of marks as Greek or Latin. them, and to an Indian civil servant, the greater importance of such a knowledge of those languages than of Greek or Latin, the Indian classics require to be placed upon a proper footing in relation to their European sisters, as regards the maximum number of marks obtainable in them. The present numbers—500 for each of the former and 750 for each of the latter—do not seem correctly to represent either their difficulty or their importance

8 Now as to the last point—the training of probationers in England—I can only speak with some reserve and hypothetically. If the authorities of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge deem it "to be of high importance that those to whom are to be entrusted the grave responsibilities of Indian official life should be assisted in their educational training by all those advantages of discipline, association and instruction which, as we believe, our resident students

\* See letter\* from the Reverend the Vice Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, to the Secretary of State for India, dated 15th December 1874

possess," and if they undertake to make satisfactory arrangements for the efficient teaching of the specially Indian subjects in which the probationers are required to pass before coming out to India, and, further, if their vacations, extending over 28 weeks in the year, are so timed as in no way to interfere with the probationers' progress in law, which, it would seem, could only be studied effectually in London, it will hardly be desirable to discourage their residing at Oxford or Cambridge. But even then

Residence at universities should not be discouraged, but selected candidates should select their own place of study

I would leave them free to select their own place of study. If they found the universities to teach the requisite subjects better than the private tutors whom they now seem to patronize, they would not, I am sure, be slow to appreciate and avail themselves of the assistance and advantages offered by the former, and I would certainly place no hindrance in their way. But neither, on the other hand, would I indirectly coerce them to study at any particular institutions by making residence there a condition precedent to their receiving the usual allowances during the period of their probation. If the universities did not suit them, they should be at liberty to acquire the requisite knowledge elsewhere without being put to any disadvantage on that ground

Comparative Statement of scholastic, professional and linguistic distinctions of members of the Bombay Civil Service appointed between 1865 and 1874, prepared from the Civil List as it stood on the 1st April 1875

When appointed	University Men				Barristers-at Law	Passed in Indian languages						
	B As.	M As.	LL. Bs.	Total		5	4	3	2	1	0	Total
Between 1865, and 1864	2	9	0	11	3	1	3	13	35	3	0	55
Between 1865 and 1874	9	6	1	16	7	0	5	22	42	5	4	78
Total	11	15	1	27	10	1	8	35	77	8	4	133

\* See page 5

† Of these three arrived only towards the end of 1874

## IX.

From H J REYNOLDS, Esq, Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General No 282  
Department, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,—  
No 263 E, dated Calcutta, the 10th August 1875

With reference to your No \* 16—1033, dated the 23rd June, I am directed to submit the accompanying Minute recorded by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on the questions treated of in the despatch of the 8th April from the Secretary of State and in the papers which accompanied it

2 In accordance with the instructions of the Government of India, four specially selected officers under this Government have been asked for their opinion upon the matters referred to in the correspondence. The replies from these officers have not yet been received, but they will probably reach the Government in a few days, and will then be submitted

*Minute by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal,—dated Calcutta, the 5th August No 283  
1875*

The Government of India, acting upon a despatch† from the Secretary of State, has asked for an expression of my opinion upon certain questions connected with the system upon which the Civil Service of India is at present recruited. The main heads of the enquiry are two in number—first, the method in which candidates shall, in the first instance, be selected, and, secondly, the manner in which those who are selected shall be trained for service in India

2 Assuming that the principle of selection by open competition is accepted, the former part of the enquiry appears to resolve itself into two principal branches—the nature and scope of the first examination, and the age up to which candidates shall be admitted to compete

3 A complaint has been made that the preliminary examination under its present conditions tends to encourage a superficial system of study, and to make it possible for a high place to be taken by a young man who has no solid knowledge of any of the subjects in which he is enabled, by a special preparation, to make a show of proficiency. The Civil Service Commissioners, in a report‡ which has been forwarded as an enclosure to the present despatch from the Secretary of State, have entered into a full discussion of the grounds upon which this objection has been made, and I must express my general concurrence in their conclusion that the complaint has little or no foundation in fact. But I am inclined to think that it might be desirable to adopt two suggestions made by the present Master of Balliol, who is not only a high authority on educational questions, but who was himself one of the Commissioners of 1854, by whom the subjects of examination were prescribed. In his opinion it would be advisable to limit the number of subjects in which a candidate shall be permitted to offer himself for examination, and also to diminish the number of marks allowed for English literature. At the same time it is always to be borne in mind that, under the present circumstances of India, a real mastery of the English language, in the broadest sense, is one of the qualifications most important to be possessed by a civil servant

4 The present limits of age—a minimum of 17 and a maximum of 21—are the same as those within which students were eligible for admission to Haileybury under the former system. The Civil Service Commissioners would retain these limits as at present. The Dean of Christ Church would fix the maximum at 19, apparently with the object of allowing candidates, after passing the examination, to remain at the University long enough to admit of their taking a degree before proceeding to India. On the other hand, the Master of Balliol would raise the maximum of age to 22

5 There appear to me to be many reasons which make it desirable that candidates should enter the Civil Service of India at an early age. An Indian career, especially in its earlier stages, is not free from hardships and discomforts which cannot be so well encountered as by those who possess the vigour and elasticity of youth. It is desirable, in the administrative line especially, that throughout his career a civil servant should be comparatively young in years for the office he holds of whatever grade it be. This is essential for the preservation of that energy and spirit which bear up against the extraordinary difficulties that must always beset a successful administration in India, and to which qualities our national success has been, and must ever be, mainly attributable. A young man who comes out to India at 23 or 24 is dissatisfied at finding that his juniors in years rank above him in the service and draw a higher salary than he does. The efficiency of the Indian Civil Service would be in danger of being seriously impaired if it contained any considerable proportion of discontented middle-aged

\* See page 52

† See page 1

‡ See page 9



men holding subordinate positions, and either chafing at being placed under the orders of officers younger than themselves, or else observing their contemporaries in years being better placed in other professions in India. For in employments other than the public service the fact generally is that men, especially successful men, are young for their situations. Nor should it be forgotten that those who come to India later in life are likely to find the ties of family a source of pecuniary embarrassments. Suppose that a civilian usually marries at the age of 30, it will make a great difference in his power to support a wife and family in comfort, whether he has been nine years or only six years in the service at the time of his marriage. It is very undesirable that domestic difficulties should aggravate the inevitable disadvantages of Indian life. Further, the retarding of the time of life, when an officer can retire from the Civil Service, operates injuriously, not only to himself, but also to the public interests. On the whole, it must be admitted that contentment or otherwise does practically affect the tone of the service. It is most desirable that the officers should be contented. And in reference to this it is almost essential that they should come out to India at the earliest possible age consistently with their having been well educated in England.

6. For these and similar reasons it appears to me that from 17 to 19 should be the limits of age within which candidates should be allowed to present themselves for the first examination.

7. The second point for consideration is the training to which selected candidates should be subjected. At present they are required to furnish certificates of their having attended the courts of law and to pass certain periodical examinations in specified subjects, but in other respects they are left to pursue their studies at such place and in such manner as they themselves may choose.

8. In my judgment it is of great importance that those who are hereafter to be members of the same service should form one body during this preparatory period. This conduces to the maintaining of that high official tone which has always distinguished the Civil Service, and that strong public opinion within the service itself which influences the demeanour and elevates the sentiments of all its members. There are several ways in which this object might be attained—by the establishment, in some suitable locality, of an East Indian College for civilians on a model similar to that of the Engineering College at Cooper's Hill, by the extension of the Cooper's Hill College itself so as to allow of its accommodating probationary civilians as well as probationary engineers, by founding at Oxford or Cambridge a college which all selected candidates should be required to enter, or by arranging for the whole number of such candidates to be received within some one of the best of the present colleges. Whether this last plan could be carried out would depend on the co-operation of the college authorities, and I should hope that this would not be wanting. The advantages to Indian Civil Servants of having resided for a time at one of the distinguished colleges at either Oxford or Cambridge are inestimably great. But I consider it to be essential that in some one or other of the above methods all the Civil Service probationers should live and study together, not merely as members of the same university but as inmates of the same college or institution. To secure this object I should be prepared, if necessary, to surrender the advantages which attend a residence in London.

9. The subjects of study should, in my opinion, be the following —

- (I)—The Classical Languages of India
- (II)—Law
- (III)—Political Economy.

I would confine the study of languages to Sanskrit and Persian, understanding by Persian that classical dialect of the language which involves some elementary knowledge of Arabic. I believe that the vernacular languages of India can be much better acquired in India than in England. But the Oriental classics can be better studied in England before the distractions of public life begin. Such classical knowledge, even in a moderate degree, greatly adds to the influence of a civil servant with the Natives throughout his career. But it is hardly to be acquired by him after his official life has once begun. The best, perhaps the only, chance is that it should be acquired beforehand in England. In law the attention of the students should be directed rather to a mastery of the principles of jurisprudence than to matters of technical detail, and I should not be inclined to attach much importance to a certificate of attendance at the courts. The study of political economy should include not only a knowledge of the standard treatises on the subject, but some acquaintance with the practical application of the principles of political economy to financial and commercial science.

10. This course of study might, I think, be sufficiently completed within two years, and candidates would thus be enabled to enter upon their career in India at the age of 20 or 21. Whether it would be possible for the students on the conclusion of the course to obtain university degrees would depend upon how far



the authorities might be willing to modify their present regulations on the subject No 283  
 It appears to be the opinion of the Dean of Christ Church and of the Master of Balliol that the Convocation of the University of Oxford would probably consent to confer degrees upon Indian students who should have resided for two years and who should have passed an examination in the prescribed subjects of Indian study. But in this case the examination for the degree would be distinct from the final examination held by the Civil Service Commissioners, and a double examination of this kind would be inconvenient, and perhaps impracticable. It would seem to be necessary to arrange either that the university shall accept the certificate of the Commissioners as sufficient ground for conferring a degree, or else that the Commissioners shall delegate to the university the duty of conducting the final examination, and I do not know that either of these alternatives has as yet been contemplated. But perhaps one or other of them might be adopted.

11. If an arrangement could be made by which this difficulty would be obviated, I should hope that the Civil Service of India might be supplied with a succession of young men who, after receiving the best school training, should have been selected at the age of 18 in an open competitive examination, and should then have resided for two years at a college, in one of the universities of which college their fellow candidates for India would also have been inmates. They would thus not only have the advantage of the most efficient instruction and of being subject to the regulations of academic discipline, but they would learn to look upon each other from the first as members of the same body. Finally, they would obtain that recognition of their proficiency which is implied in the possession of an university degree, and would commence their career in India at the age and with the qualifications which would promise most favourably for their future usefulness. And the plan thus sketched fulfils, in my opinion, the requirements of the case better than any other plan that could be devised.

RICHARD TEMPLE

X.

From H J REYNOLDS, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Department, No 284 to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,—No 1803CS, dated the 17th August 1875

In continuation of the communication\* from this Office, No 263E.,

\* Letter from Mr A H Haggard, No 158, dated 12th August 1875

Letter from Mr H H Risley, dated 10th August 1875

dated 10th August 1875, I am directed to submit the accompanying two reports\* on the subject of the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India, and to say that the two other reports on the subject will shortly follow

From A H HAGGARD, Esq., Sub Divisional Officer, Buxar, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Department,—No 158, dated the 12th August 1875 No 285.

I have the honour to acknowledge your communication† No 254E of 2nd instant, forwarding copies of the correspondence marginally noted, and calling upon me for a report as to the method of selection of candidates for the Civil Service of India in the first place, and as to the manner in which those who are selected should be trained. I have accordingly read with care the various papers that were forwarded to me, and especially the India Office letter§ of the 31st July 1874 to the Civil Service Commissioners, which, while calling upon the Commissioners to express their opinions on the subject, enumerates the various objections which have been raised both as to the mode of selection and as to the training of selected candidates, and the various suggestions for improvement that have been made from time to time. Subsequent to the despatch of this letter, the Dean¶ of Christ Church and the Master¶ of Balliol on the part of Oxford, and the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge on the part of Cambridge, addressed the Secretary of State for India in Council the first advocating that the age for admission should be lowered so that eighteen were the maximum, and thereby those selected be able to come to the university, the second, amongst many other suggestions, that the present age should be retained, but in the case of university students who have passed in political economy and jurisprudence, the maximum should be raised to 22, and the third, simply requiring that no positive discouragement be given to university residence as seems at present to be the case. The gist of these letters seems to be this—that the universities are able and willing to meet the Civil Service Commissioners half way in the arrangements which are considered necessary for the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India.

2 To these letters the Civil Service Commissioners have replied in an admirable report,\*\* in which they examine and refute the allegations against the character of the examinations, and they support their statements with unanswerable statistics,

\* See page 131

¶ See page 4

† Not printed

¶ See page 7

‡ See page 52

§ See page 1

\*\* See page 9

and appear to me to dispose of almost every objection that has been brought to the present system of selection. It would perhaps be sufficient for me to state my general adherence to the views therein expressed, the letter appearing to me to epitomize everything that could be said on behalf of the present system. Moreover, besides the fact of my finding the ground so fully occupied, it is difficult for me to write so exhaustively on the subject as would seem necessary, the space of time at my disposal being very limited.

3 It does, however, seem remarkable that a system like that of competitive selection for the Indian Civil Service should have been arranged and put on its trial without any evidence being forthcoming to show that the men selected were bad and that the system had been a failure. If the various allegations made against the acquirements and character and demeanour of Her Majesty's civil servants selected by open competition had any existence, it appears remarkable that no detailed complaint should ever have reached the India Office. It cannot be presumed that the heads of the Government in India, none of whom are competitioners, have any special predilection for the newer system that they should conceal the shortcomings of the younger members of the Civil Service, on the contrary, it would appear that in 1865 Lord Lawrence reported that so far competition men had given satisfaction, and whatever their shortcomings might prove to be, they at any rate were none of them incapables. This was said at a time when the plan had been tried only in unfavourable circumstances. Since then even a hope may be expressed that things have improved, and in the meanwhile competition men have arrived at high positions of emolument and trust where their administrative and judicial abilities may be pronounced upon. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it may be presumed, therefore, the rules have worked well, and on the whole have received approbation.

4 This fact indeed is established by Lord Salisbury's letter\* to the Civil Service Commissioners, wherein it is stated that he requires no expression of opinion upon the general principle of competition. It may, therefore, be established that competition is held to be so far a success, and to have advantages which are not incidental to appointment by patronage. It is only the precise method or selection that is criticised (*a priori* only, it should be remembered), and to defend which the Civil Service Commissioners have written their admirable letter. One point, however, of the greatest importance has been disposed of by them in the most summary manner, and seeing that it is the point upon which depends the whole question of the methods to be chosen for the selection and training of civil servants, the question of the age at which the candidates should be selected deserved fuller consideration than was afforded it, even though the university authorities, whose letters were under review, had differed in the expressions of their opinion upon this point. Thinking that the age for selection of candidates is the turning point of the whole subject, my own attention has been especially devoted to it. With these remarks I pass to the subject at large.

5 With few exceptions I believe it to be the case that those who ultimately become selected candidates have long had that object in view. Whether from the fact of their having Indian connections, or from their inability to enter upon the expense of a university career, to be followed by a long period of waiting for work in England, during which a young man must be dependent on his relations, the Indian service, with its immediate competency, early offers a prize to clever school-boys. On leaving school they at once enter upon their special preparation, some of the more fortunate, either those with better means at their disposal or those who have been able to win scholarships or exhibitions, go to the university and keep up the preparation there, or perhaps are allured from it by the prizes of an academical career, others come to London and attend lectures in the educational establishments which have arisen to meet a great demand—good teaching at not very high rates, and teaching with a view to a special end, *i. e.*, passing for the Indian Civil Service. Those who thus join either live with their parents or other relations, or after a time reside in lodgings either with a relation or a friend. The work they have to undergo is very severe, as the prize for which they aim is very high. The head of the establishment at which they read is very exacting in his demands upon their time and attention, and the chances are that few in this position have either the leisure or the means to indulge in dissipation of any sort. The candidate lives cheaper than he would do at the university, but the people with whom he lives, who are mostly concerned in the same pursuit, have no greater leisure or means than their companion, and the consequence is that with few exceptions men occupied, as I have described, live a laborious and a steady life. This goes on for some months, or perhaps for a year or two. The head of the establishments arranges a yearly course for his pupils, which is distinctly of an educational character. He calculates from either the acquirements or capability of his pupil whether one, two or three years will be required for the candidate's success, and arranges the reading and the classes accordingly. He employs as tutors the very best men in the special branches of study, whether the subject be classical, linguistic, scientific, or philosophical. I do not hesitate to say, judging from my own experience, that nothing

\* See page 1

can be more incorrect than to apply the term "*cram*" to the process of education No 295 at these establishments To do so appears to me to be as absurd as to describe white as black and virtue as vice The instruction is of the very highest possible character it is the teaching of a thoroughly skilled workman showing a less skilled one the use of delicate tools For the education thus imparted no one can possibly be the worse if only his health be strong enough to stand the strain that such labour demands, and I venture to say that the culture and the accuracy of the learning of many has been materially increased by the instruction of these gentlemen

6 This life, however, is not continuous. During a great part of the summer the student is away at his home and takes his rest When the open competition has been passed, he again enters upon his labours These now have been considerably varied he has now special work to perform, which is regularly laid out for him. He has to attend the law courts and to master the languages of the province to which he belongs London having advantages which no other place has in this respect, he generally passes a great part of his time in London, but it becomes quite possible for him, if he chooses to live at his own home in England, Scotland or Ireland, to continue his labour there. To my knowledge this was a constant habit, not only on my own part, but on that of many of my acquaintances If the selected candidate chose, he might live as a solitary in London, but as a rule he preferred the domesticity of home life, especially in view of his approaching separation for a life-time

7. The life I have described is perhaps not a very happy one it is too arduous for that, but I maintain that it is not an unhealthy one in the long run, and that it is as free from the dangers which attend youth as any one could be. It is perfectly true that no close supervision is kept by tutors or masters over the candidate's moral character. He is not locked up at night, or bound to conform to college rules and to attend dinners and chapels, but he has all these safeguards in himself. He is perfectly aware that if he leads an idle, desultory or debauched life, he has no chance of success, and the consequence is that, had he the means even, he would not lead that life Again, after his selection, he has before him the half-yearly fear of examinations, with a prospect of fine in the case of failure, and possibly of ultimate rejection He has, therefore, every check upon him that is necessary, and it is a question whether any one who "*went to the bad*" in such circumstances as these would not have "*gone to the bad*" anyhow Meanwhile the candidate has many singular advantages There is unceasing occupation and companionship, the society of people of all ranks, standings and professions, there is the reading in chambers of barristers and the dining in the Inns of Court, and constant meeting of colleagues also There is much to form a man's character and to enlarge his experience, whatever may be said of the objections to a London life, previous to the passing of the open competition Nothing can be said to it afterwards, and I doubt whether the supervision that is supposed to be required would really do any of the men selected the least bit of good Previous to their selection, if the present standard of age be retained, it of course could not be attempted, and when they are selected, most of the candidates are grown men who require no supervision, and who could hardly so late in life be suddenly reduced again to scholastic discipline after a long time of comparative freedom.

8 It can hardly be denied, however, that there is a considerable feeling of discontent with the present state of things which finds its outlet in many ways;—now in the press, now in the grumblings of the candidates themselves who think themselves ill-treated, now of the school-masters, now of those tutors who have made a speciality of the instruction for those examinations and a strong expression of feeling has been elicited from the University of Oxford Well arranged as the system is, there must be something in all of these complaints. They address themselves both to the principle of the system and to the actual operation of it There enumerate all the objections so far as I am aware of them —

#### I —To the general principle.

- (1) That the intellectual training is superficial and inferior
- (2) That the moral character of those selected is inferior
- (3) That their social position is inferior, and consequently their manners are bad, in fact, that they are not gentlemen
- (4) That their physical strength is below the mark
- (5) That there is a want of aptitude on the part of the competitors in dealing with the Natives.
- (6) That there is an absence of *esprit de corps* on the part of those selected by competition

#### II —To the special conduct of the examination.

- (1) That the list of subjects is ill-chosen and too large.
- (2) That the amount of marks given in the various subjects is disproportionate.

- (3) That the marking itself is exceedingly irregular, and that thereby the No 285 best men are frequently thrown out.
- (4) That men who fail find themselves stranded at an age when, unless for their working for these open examinations, they might have been making progress in some other profession
- (5) That the age is inconvenient, and that in consequence university men are not attracted to this examination which interferes with the university course, and, in fact, that their continuing the university course is opposed and objected to

For all these various disadvantages university or collegiate training in one form or another, either before or after the open competition, is to be considered a specific

9 I hardly know whether I am called upon to refute the charges enumerated in the first table. They are so completely refuted in every respect by the report\* of the Commissioners that it hardly seems worth the while to do it over again, yet, looking at the matter from a different point of view from them, standing as an equal among equals, my opinion may be of some weight. Though not a university man, my nearest relatives were so. I have frequently stayed at both universities. My own school equals have become distinguished members of their universities, and my own best friends, whether senior or junior to myself, have been university men. In addition to this, I have known numbers of those selected for India in years previous and subsequent to my own. Thus, then, when I hear enumerated the various objections I have stated, I compare my colleagues of the Indian Civil Service with my friends of the universities, and I ask myself whether it is the fact that my colleagues are comparatively stupid, immoral, ungentlemanly and of inferior social position, puny in body, wanting in tact and common sense, and lacking in public spirit, while all the contraries to these deficiencies reside alone in my university equals. I need not say that such is not in the least the fact. The universities, good as they are, do not change a set of men so entirely for the good, nor do competitive examinations change another set so entirely for the bad. I find among both my university friends and my colleagues much the same stamp of men. I see amongst those of my colleagues who also belong to either university no perceptible difference between them and the other English selected candidates. When I think of the Scotch or Irish selected candidates, I certainly recall a difference between them and the English, but that difference was generally one more of accent than anything else, and not to one of my own year could I apply all the epithets which the defects I have alluded to would connote, and to only one or two could I apply any one of them.

10 When the intellectual training of the candidates is detracted from, it is but a fair question to ask—How it is those who are selected are known to be inferior? With whom are they compared? They can hardly be compared with those of their standing at the universities who have not entered upon the same course, and in the want of any accurate standard of comparison it is impossible to attach any importance to the objection; still, although an incomplete generalization, and based on no details the accuracy of which can be tested, it may be said that if the intellectual training of selected candidates be inferior to those of their standing not selected, the inferiority may be presumably ascribed to the fact that at the age of 21 their education is completed, and they commence a special training which is so arduous as for the time to debar further intellectual progress. For them the business of life has begun, the others have leisure for further preparation. This is nothing more than the necessary sacrifice of culture to professional ability and skill. Nor is the fact that the most distinguished scholars do not come forward to these examinations a proof that those who do come are inferior men of their standing. In the first place the best men of Trinity, Dublin, do come forward, there being special training and encouragement, I believe, to them at Dublin. With regard to Oxford and Cambridge it shows that one man chooses a home, the other an Indian career, one leaps to distinction in his university with the various charms a college life affords, the other gives himself up to dull and laborious days. In this point, moreover, is included the question of "cramming," which has been attributed to the studies of those who are selected for the Indian Civil Service. The Civil Service Commissioners have so effectively disposed of this allegation by their statistics that it is hardly necessary for me further to allude to it. They conclusively show that antecedently it was not to be expected, seeing the stamp of the examiners, and that actually no signs of it exist now-a-days, whatever there did formerly, and, moreover, they show the remarkable fact that the persons who come from the so-called "cramming" establishments are better prepared and sounder scholars than the university men in those very studies which the universities claim as peculiarly their own. Further, it is shown that the period spent at these establishments has gradually increased to a period of fifteen months. This, again, precludes the possibility of "cram" altogether, for in the sense in which "cram" is ordinarily used, it is impossible to "cram" for fifteen months. In that period if a man is studying at all, he must be studying soundly, and neither

\* See page 9

he nor his tutor would ever be so foolish as to allow him simply to obtain superficial knowledge when it is obvious that sound knowledge would in the end be so much more advantageous. It is considered no reproach to an Ireland or a Hertford scholar that previous to his examination he should have resided for some months with Mr Shilleto, of Cambridge, to acquire those delicacies of the Greek tongue which are so well known to the distinguished scholar I have quoted; and every senior wrangler or senior classic owes much of his success to the practical and continued experience of their respective triposes which a specially trained tutor affords. Yet should that same tutor reside in London, devote his attentions to the Indian Civil Service (as in many cases has been the case), receive pupils who are not members of a university, or members of any university who are studying in London, he is styled a crammer, his own work is depreciated, the proficiency of his pupil is detracted from, and an unwarrantable charge is brought against a large and an able body of men \*

11 On the subject of character it seems to me sufficient to say that while Haileybury was famed for its rustications and occasional expulsions, not a competitor has ever been rejected on this score of character, nor am I aware that any complaint has ever been made against the general character of civilians thus selected. In all bodies of men, however selected, there must be some who fall below, as there will be others who rise above the general level, but these are only the exceptions, whose very variety from the normal standard proves the existence of that standard of character. And if it be said that the reason of there being no rejections on this score is that the Commissioners know nothing of the habits of life of selected candidates, while at Haileybury the men were subjected to minute rules and strict discipline, my answer is that, in the first place, the objection is incorrect, and, in the second, irrelevant, for the half-yearly examinations form an ample test of the conduct of the candidate, who, if he neglects his work, is sure to suffer by it, and, secondly, that if, as would appear to be the case, no complaint has ever been received from those who are responsible persons, it would show that these minute rules and strict discipline, which are powerless to keep young men in order, and, in fact, as exemplified at Haileybury and Sandhurst, would even appear to be the cause of much that was objectionable, can be perfectly well dispensed with without any disastrous or noticeable effects upon the conduct of the young men who find themselves in a position of comparative independence. In fact, the condition in which the young selected candidates find themselves, and its results as *actually observed*, rather than is presumed, irrationally, must be its necessary consequence, shows very forcibly how desirable it is for moral training that a man should be in a position of combined subordination and independence. In learning to obey, he learns to command, in observing a general rule of life, while his each individual action is unfettered, he learns to live by law, and submits his action to his self-respect and self-command.

12 That the social position of the candidates selected is inferior is no less an altogether untenable position. It may perhaps be said that the parents of none of those selected are very wealthy, no people of great wealth would subject their sons to such a trying and doubtful adventure, but the statistics amply show that the far larger portion of candidates came from the gentle classes. To begin with, the expenses of special education necessarily preclude the admission of many members of the poorest classes, and thus keep up the standard of social position. Again, if one takes up the Civil List, he may see the old Indian names come over and over again among competition men. One may therefore say, seeing how the old civilians were the nominees of a trading company, that the social position of the present candidates is at least as good as it was formerly. It is plain from the writings of Mr Shore that shop-keepers' sons occasionally became civilians in the old days; and if it be argued against its standard of position that the son of a butcher or a cheese-factor occasionally finds his way into the Civil Service, while the service may congratulate itself that it has obtained a member whose superior energy and talents have enabled him to overcome the great obstacles of humble birth, should this very success be raised as a reproach? The answer is easy, that there is happily not a rank, service or profession into which the sons of people of humble birth may not make their way. The bar and the bench, the church in its lowest or highest grades, and the peerage itself, are open to their admission, and it is held as no drawback to the general gentlemanly character of the officers of a crack cavalry regiment that the son of a confectioner or horse-dealer should occasionally find his way amongst them.

13 That their alleged inferiority in social position results in bad manners, is an allegation which will no less fall to the ground, for if the social position of the candidates be good, their manners will probably be good also. Of those few people whose manners are not good, it may be said that they rapidly improve, and

\* It appears to me that my remarks on this point are especially entitled to attention as they are distinguished. I had originally read with one of the gentlemen (Mr Scoones) who has obtained success in training pupils, but thinking that in one respect he had misdirected me in the course of my studies for a previous examination, I removed myself from his care and read alone altogether.

take their colour from the surrounding element. In two years' time it is difficult in India to say which is the son of the banker and which of the game-keeper No 23

14 Again, Sir W M Gull fully shows that the physical strength of the candidates selected is of a high standard. In their proficiency in sportsmanship and games they are probably by no means inferior to their predecessors of Haileybury. There is no proof that they are so, and it is inherently improbable that they would be. The people at present selected are no more bookworms than others, they are men who, with a view to an end, have worked hard, but, like the rest of the world, like to enjoy themselves when they can.

15 The want of aptitude and tact on the part of the competitors in dealing with the Natives, is another charge brought against this body of people. It is one which is impossible to reduce to a test of any sort. Whether it be true or not, it is difficult to see how the examination affects the matter, and how alteration in the character of the examination would remedy the evil. If this deficiency is supposed to proceed from the low social position of those selected, in denying that the social position is low, I deny that the cause has been stated. If it is supposed to proceed from the inferiority of the education required, I further dispute the sufficiency of the reason given, for I cannot perceive how in any way superior learning is likely to encourage that special aptitude for management of an alien race in which competitors are supposed to be deficient. On the contrary no subsequent rulers of India have been so successful in this respect as the Clives and Malcolms of former days who were certainly men of no great education, and the learned and accomplished Sir Philip Francis was certainly no match in the management of Asiatics for the comparatively illiterate Warren Hastings. If again the charge be that the education be of so high a character as to greatly remove those selected from sympathy with those they are to rule, I admit the possibility of its truth, but the charge is not one to proceed from those whose allegations have been cited and refuted, for they state the inferiority of the education imported. However, I proceed further and dispute that their want of aptitude is in any way the result of the examinations themselves. It is a result of our position as Europeans ruling Asiatics. I further express my opinion that the charge is not more true now than it was forty years ago. At all times that special faculty of management—what is known as tact in society and as policy in statecraft—must remain a rare and exceptional faculty. Such men as Talleyrand or as Outiam (to describe men whose work lay in very different fields) must be always exceptional, and what only should be *expected* from the Civil Service is that there should be no very great departure from a recognized standard of behaviour. Do we then find amongst the members of the Civil Service any such great departure? In intercourse with Natives do we find that the competitor is less courteous or considerate than a Haileybury man? Does he behave to the Native gentleman better or worse than an officer of a British or Native regiment? Few competitor-civilians have been admitted to the privilege of holding political appointment. Of those who have been thus privileged, while they have never had the opportunities of a Metcalfe, a Lawrence, or an Elphinstone, can it be said that they fall below the capacities of an average political officer? The answers to these questions I leave to my superiors in experience. I may only add that while I have often heard the allegation raised that competitors are thus deficient, I have never heard the least atom of proof given in support. When, however, I turn to the papers written in 1835-36 by Mr. Shore, a civilian himself of standing, and the son of a Governor General, and I see the statements he makes of the indolence, rapacity and brutal behaviour to Natives of the Judges, Collectors, and Magistrates who were his contemporaries, I begin to wonder whether people who cast aspersions on my service, and compare my colleagues unfavourably with our grand parents, really know what they are talking about. Such conduct as Mr Shore describes as of everyday occurrence, I have never heard of amongst any competitor, and though I admit that times have changed and we have changed with them, yet that is no reason why competitors should be described as having fallen below the very low level of the past. *Non omnibus attingit adire corinthum*, and though the fame of a Cleveland or of a Malcolm may be beyond our reach, and diplomatic appointments out of the question, we probably pride ourselves on the name of "gentleman" as much as any of our forerunners, equals or superiors, and within our jurisdictions endeavour to do our best in the management of those Natives with whom we are brought into contact, and perhaps succeed as well as could be expected of any other class of people.

The last charge raised against the general principle of the examination is that open competition and the subsequent training prevent the forming of any public spirit or *esprit de corps* among the members. I will not concern myself with the question whether this *esprit de corps* is an unmixed advantage, but writing here in India it is very easy to point out how thoroughly it exists. Members of the Civil Service and competitors have shown no want of their power of combination for any end in which they are mutually interested, they show no lack of appreciating properly the merits of their colleagues, they are not broken up in any remarkable way in sets or enmities, and indeed there is no reason why they should be. The



Irish members have mostly known each other in Ireland, the Scotch in Scotland, and the English in England. During their long preparatory studies and their subsequent training the whole body have met (Irish, English and Scotch) time after time, they have formed intimacies and friendships, have worked, resided and travelled together, have been united in a common end and occupation, have given maternal assistance and shared in mutual rivalries. There can then be no doubt that the fellow-feeling, the absence of which is deplored, must and does exist, and that the last of the general objections must also fall to the ground.

16. That such allegations should have ever obtained currency is a sufficiently remarkable fact, and perhaps some good may be done by showing the various causes which have given rise to them. The first is undoubtedly a popular revulsion from the principle of competition, which is natural enough, for one cannot possibly think that successful examination should be the sole test for selection to fill an important post, unless, as in this case, very good reasons be given for the Government refusing to exercise its patronage. By a not uncommon error, people who object to the competition system, and who are not aware of the necessity of it and of the mode in which it really works, attach to it disadvantages which might have been expected, but which experience shows do not really attend it. Again, it can hardly be denied that both in England and in India there is a considerable number of persons who thought themselves aggrieved by the introduction of the new system. A certain number who were able to obtain the privilege of sending many of their sons and relatives to Haileybury and provide for them lucrative and honorable appointments in India, naturally viewed with no favour the institution of a system which put them on a level with the rest of the world and deprived them of their privilege. Again, the old Haileybury men in service in India found a number of young men coming out flushed with their success in an open competition, and perhaps a little too conscious of their real or supposed abilities, and perhaps really better educated than the majority of their seniors. And also at the commencement of open competition there were a larger sprinkling than is now to be found of persons whose birth and manners were not of the best, the competition for the first appointments being by no means severe, such men with such failings naturally provoked criticisms neither favourable to them nor the system which produced them. In the course of time, too, the universities and the head masters of public schools began to view with disfavour the working of a system which set them at naught, worked independently of them, and from which they got no credit. From this partly probably some of the objections to the examinations, such as the "cramming" objection, originated.

The parents of the unsuccessful decry an examination which is already unpopular and swell the chorus of opposition.

Then, again, the hardships inflicted on candidates from the disproportionate values attached to the subjects of examination, and from the irregularity in giving the marks, have gradually formulated themselves, and thus a number of biases and of dislikes have combined to bring down a great deal of odium upon the system of examinations, the objections adduced only applying really to points of detail and not to the principle.

17. The dislike of the universities and the head masters has expressed itself in the charge that the list of the subjects allowed to be taken up is too large, and Dr. Jowett has expressed his opinion that no one should be allowed to take up more than four subjects. The objection to the number of subjects seems to depend in great measure upon the supposed superficiality of the education which results from a large number of subjects being available for examination. In reply it has been shown, firstly, that the list is not larger than could be avoided, that the subjects actually taken up are not excessive, and that, in a number of instances, those who have taken up these subjects have proved themselves to be people of exceptional ability. The Commissioners have perhaps even understated their case. They have omitted to mention the imperial nature of the examinations they conduct, and of the object for which the examination is instituted, namely, the filling up of the foremost places in the government of the Indian Empire. The Civil Service Commissioners open the examination to the whole of the subjects of Her Majesty. It is obvious then that they should frame its list of subjects with regard to the various systems of education prevailing, not in England alone, or in Oxford and Cambridge alone, but in all countries, and in all places of education in the British Empire. The list is, therefore, necessarily large. Classics must be included for England, moral science for Scotland, natural science for Ireland, Sanskrit for India. Modern languages form a part of the education of most, and are often an accomplishment which requires some credit, while the English language literature and history are of the greatest importance to all. That many of the English schools and the universities neglect some of these studies, seems no valid objection for excluding them from the subjects of examination, and on the other, it seems hard that those who in addition to the ordinary subjects of their national education have made other studies, should be debarred from all advantage for their superior opportunity, ability or industry. Besides these





One hundred and twenty-five is one-eighth of 1,000—the mark for two more No. 285 sciences

One hundred and twenty-five is one-ninth of 1,250—the mark for mathematics

It is difficult to detect the principle upon which this arrangement is made, though, as it has now, in spite of numerous complaints and criticisms, been rigorously adhered to for years, it may be supposed to have some principle to support it.

20 Why English composition and English literature should each be liable to a deduction of one-fourth, while two sciences, the mark for which is double each of the above, are only liable to a deduction of one-eighth, it is impossible to determine. Why the languages and literatures of Greece and Rome should be marked one-third higher than Sanskrit, and yet be liable to a deduction of only one-sixth of its full marks, while Sanskrit—the classic for Hindus—is liable to a deduction of one-fourth, is not easy to decide

Why the languages, literatures and histories of France, Germany and Italy, to obtain a thorough knowledge of which (*such as is required and exacted* in the examination) requires no less effort than to obtain a thorough knowledge of Greek or Latin, should be marked half one-half the value of the latter, and then submitted to a deduction of one-third, or twice the amount of the deduction on Greek and Latin, baffles comprehension. No system whatever is apparent in this table of marks or method of deduction. If it is desirable, as appears to me, to open as wide as possible a range of subjects, why thus bar the entrance to some and fling it wide open for approach by others? Practically this system works with the greatest hardship, and is the cause of much objection, for it appears, and is, so palpably unjust. If the subjects are admitted at all, they should be put more on a footing of equality. A thorough French scholar perhaps gets 150 marks (*i. e.*,  $150 + 25 = 175$ ), for perfection in a language is a matter of the greatest difficulty, and is a matter of many years' study and practice, and the same man studies botany and zoology for the space of a year or two, and perhaps gets 500 marks. Sanskrit—the learned study of a few—is held of more value than French, which is current all the world over. Those who aspire to an Indian career, and yet do not happen to have been brought up with their teacher's eye upon the peculiar mode of marking for the Indian Civil Service, are put to the greatest difficulties and shifts to pass their examinations.

21 The effect of this peculiar mode of marking is undoubtedly a deterrent to many from coming forward for examinations. Its unfairness is discussed everywhere amongst those who speak on the subject. Another effect is that many persons who are recognized amongst their fellows as the best and ablest men are thrown out on account of inequalities of this description. If a man's selection of subjects happens to be unfortunate, either from misdirection or from want of natural aptitude for the study he may have spent much time upon, or from his not having equalized his studies sufficiently, the best man may be thrown out, and to my knowledge often is so. It is not sufficient that a man be a good scholar to pass these examinations, he must have, either in himself or supplied to him, a thorough understanding of the method on which they are conducted, and the respective values of subjects, and a power of mastering and arranging adequately his own knowledge, or he cannot ever know whether he is likely to pass. In fact, the examinations become to a certain extent a matter of chance.

22 This adaptive faculty in itself is not a bad thing, and is worthy of recognition by marks, but it is unfortunate when its result is that a man selects such subjects exclusively *as will "pay,"* and drops others on which he was engaged, which are not likely to pay. So I have known a man who for about twelve months was studying Sanskrit, in the competition succeed in getting no mark. He failing in consequence, accordingly for the next competition dropped Sanskrit altogether and turned his attention to natural science, which he studied assiduously for one year, and in which he got 270 marks (*i. e.*,  $270 + 125 = 395$ ), and though he was proficient in English—his study of many years—his natural science marks equalled or surpassed his English. In French also—a favourite study and the language of his infancy—he got about 170. With such a confused table of marks, with such a result as that last mentioned, with the deterrence of many good men and the failure of men, who for general and special ability recognized amongst their fellows as the best, and whose subsequent career proves them to be so, it cannot be said that the system of marking as adopted is at all accurate or satisfactory, and I unhesitatingly condemn it.

23 While on this subject, perhaps I may add that I cannot understand the objection of the Civil Service Commissioners to add political economy to their list of subjects for the open examination, nor, in a less degree, their objection to jurisprudence. Of political economy, I know that it is read by many students previous to the open competition as a means of improving their style, in order to accustom themselves to the proper treatment of grave political subjects, as a means of educating the mind to remember a long train of argument, and perhaps to teach them to work such matters out for themselves. It seems to me peculiarly suited, therefore, for the open competition. As it is admitted for the English Civil Service

examination, I see no reason why it should not also be admitted for those of India No 285 I will not argue now in favour of jurisprudence, which seems to me perhaps too special a subject for general education, though I should fear no harm whatever from its admission. To the list of subjects in itself I see no objections whatever, with the exception of the deficiency just mentioned, and that it seems to me that any other European language, history or literature might be treated with the same generosity as French, German or Italian, so long as some of the severe studies, such as philosophy, classics, mathematics, science or Sanskrit, were taken up with it.

24 I have not hitherto alluded to the variations in marking—the irregularity in marking the subjects themselves from year to year, but this irregularity is most extraordinary both in the total amount of marks for all subjects and in each particular subject. While I have known a man from year to year make his way gradually up the list till he secured himself an appointment, I have known others to be high on the list on one occasion, and to work well for the following year, only to find themselves in a much lower place a year subsequent, though it was evident that they could not have been really worse educated men either the marks were wrong on the former or the latter occasion,—in either case the result is unsatisfactory. So with the man who made his way up the list steadily, his marks varied in the most extraordinary manner. His first year he got 40 for philosophy, his second year, after incessant study, he got nothing. In French his marks continually varied. Though always keeping a high place in English, each subject oscillated from time to time. In German he ultimately felt so hopeless of getting a certain result, proportionate to his labour and expense, that he gave up reading it and went in for examination without having studied it in the least during one year. His discretion was rewarded. He got better marks than he had the year previous when he was fresh from the study of the language. Such results as these—and they are but isolated instances which come to my memory as I write—show the extraordinary chances of the Indian Civil Service examination, and explain in great measure the dissatisfaction which is so loudly expressed against its result. By those who study for it, their success is often attributed to good fortune, and the man who fails but takes a good place is generally considered unlucky only.

25 However, with all its errors (and the remedy for those I propose at once to enumerate) I think it may be predicated of the open competition that its marking represents roughly, and in the gross, the merit of the candidates, though individually of the candidates themselves, and of the marking, it is far from accurate. I believe the first five men are probably better than the next ten or fifteen, and these again than the 30 below them, but I am equally certain that many of the best men fail and many of the inferior men pass. Perhaps the general merit of the Indian Civil Service is not thereby affected, but as an educational agency this result of the examination is very unfortunate, and it detracts considerably from the perfectness of the examination, and gives rise to great injustice and complaint.

26 But it might be improved immensely with very little trouble

- (1)—The first thing is to eliminate all *chance*. With this view I would, in the first place, equalize the marking of the subjects and the deductions to be made in a much greater degree. I have pointed out the anomalies and commented upon them. The corrections would be upon the basis of those criticisms.
- (2)—Secondly, I think that in order to test the real merit, there should be a much more searching examination, and that where two papers are given, four should be given instead, and, if possible, after an interval of time. Though one examination is no real conclusive test of a man's intellectual merit, a series of examinations cannot fail to be.
- (3)—In the third place I think that allowance should be made, and marks given, for *general intelligence*, after the custom which prevails in examinations for the diplomatic service. This might be estimated in various ways. The examiner might be called upon to give such a mark, on his review of the paper, showing the value at which he estimated the amount of intelligence shown, and the total of all these marks in all the papers might be brought to a man's credit, or a special examination might be held to test his merit upon the topics of the day, both oral and written, but specially the former.
- (4)—In the case of examinees who had appeared at previous examinations the result of the later examination should be compared with that of former examinations, and not only the result, but the papers also, in the various subjects, so that his progress might be thoroughly tested and a general view of his abilities obtained. In the case of his taking up a new subject altogether in a second examination, the circumstances under which he had taken it up, and the precise amount of his knowledge, should be rigorously tested in every respect. With regard to persons who have not

previously presented themselves for examination, their proficiency No 285 in examinations held elsewhere, and the circumstances of their lives and occupations, should be taken into consideration

- (5)—I would insist on a high degree of proficiency in one or other of five subjects, say Latin or Greek, mathematics, science, philosophy or Sanskrit, requiring not less than two-thirds marks of the total in these subjects
- (6)—Sixth, I think that at present too much importance is paid to mere numerical superiority of the marks, and I think that this custom might be modified by viewing more carefully the apparent intellectual capacity of the candidate

With these safeguards, I think that the examination for the Civil Service of India would be materially improved, and the objections raised against it which have most weight would be removed altogether

27 But there is one great objection still remaining which nothing short of altering the age at which the candidates present themselves can remove at all. The objection is that men who fail find themselves stranded at an age when, unless for them working for these examinations, they might have been making progress in some other profession. The limit of age is 21. Men who have any chance continue working for the examination till 21 with the hope of success, and when they fail they are thrown into a very difficult position. They are too old for the universities, or for one branch at least of the legal profession, they are too old, as a rule, to begin a commercial life. Woolwich and Sandhurst and direct commissions are closed to them, and the cavalry is their only chance in the Army, their labours have done nothing for their advantage, and what knowledge they may have obtained is not very likely to be of much practical good to them. There is no doubt that the result for them is an exceedingly unfortunate one, and this objection to the present system and age of examination is a powerful and permanent one which I do not see how to surmount.

28 There is yet one more objection, and that is that the age is inconvenient, and that in consequence university men are not attracted to this examination, which interferes with the university course, and if they are attracted, that opposition is made to their remaining in the university and continuing their university course in conjunction with their special training. The latter part of this objection refers to a later part of this discussion, namely, as to the period of training subsequent to selection. I have merely to say that the legal work required during the special training is already done by selected candidates at the university who are university men, and I can see no reasons why other university men should not succeed in getting through it also, or why the Civil Service Commissioners should not suit their examinations to the requirements of university candidates, or offer them any opposition whatever in combining the university with the special studies, provided the latter are not neglected.

On the first part I have no doubt that the *mode* of conducting the examination has some deterrent effect in the first place, but in the second, it should be remembered what advantages a home life and the various attractions of scholarships, fellowships, tutorships, school-masterships, inspectorships of school, all hold out in

29 It does not appear to me to be the fact that the limit of age for competition forms any real obstacles to the competition of university candidates, if it were so, I do not understand how so many as do appear could present themselves. There are, however, certain objections to the maximum age being fixed at 21. In the examination, age tells in the same way that weight tells in a boat-race, and the great majority of successful men are 21 years of age at the time of their selection. The consequence of this is that prolonged training is required between the time of their leaving school and passing the examination. The training, as a rule, is not of a character which can be obtained easily at the English universities (the case of Dublin is different), and thus many who would have gone to the university prepare in London. The absence of special preparation at the universities appears to me to arise from the fact, firstly, that the open examination is of a much wider range of studies than that which obtains in the universities, secondly, that this range requires much prolonged and intense labour which the occupations and amusements of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge render exceedingly difficult, and thus candidates are glad to escape from these distractions to the seclusion and comparative solitude of London life, thirdly, there is some difficulty in combining the special training necessary subsequent to selection with the continuance of a distinguished university career. The success of university men is consequently no satisfaction for their college tutors, which latter see promising pupils at the age of 21 resign a college for a special education. It thus becomes difficult to combine a brilliant college career with the special education required.

Again, the age is one when it is perhaps to be desired that young men should have a more cheerful life than they can have in London.

On the other hand, it may be urged that if the limit of age is in other respects No 285., satisfactory, the last consideration is not of great importance, and it is obvious, too, that certain advantages attend to this age. Though some may find it difficult to go to the university, there is no great difficulty in entering at one of the Inns of Court, where, if he had it not before, a regular dinner may find most pleasant and improving society. By passing the open competition at the age of 21 and going out to India at 23, he is not too old for the work that is given him upon his arrival, while by extending his residence in England he acquires a good physique and greater experience of life. It is therefore, taking one thing with another, an age which is most satisfactory, with the exception that it is alleged to interfere with the purposes of university education.

30. While I do not anticipate that the retention of the present limit of age will result in the attraction of a large number of university students, it still appears that the difficulty will be overcome, should it be considered worth while to overcome it, and to sacrifice the principle of open competition after the various improvements I have suggested above have been introduced, if the Secretary of State were permitted to nominate as selected candidates persons who had distinguished themselves in academical studies, and were within either the limit of age of open competition or who were able to pass the final examination and to complete the special training at a not later date than the latest age at which candidates are now permitted to proceed to India. Analogous to this plan would be the proposal to allow the appointments to be given as scholarships to be held at the universities. My own preference would be that they should be gifts of the Secretary of State, or otherwise I think it possible the second-rate men might be palmed off upon the Civil Service, *i.e.*, those who had failed at the universities, rather than, as is now much the case, those who had never competed at all at the universities. But I am aware that this objection may be raised to the proposal that it introduces a want of uniformity which may be ultimately prejudicial and inconvenient, and one result would probably be that it would produce uncertainty in the minds of the regular competitors, which would go far to impair that continued supply of good and able men which is necessary to the success of the competitive system.

31. It must be remembered that the age was reduced from 22, because 22 was considered too old for the needs of Indian service. Suppose, however, that it was raised and that all other things remained equal, it is difficult to think that this alteration would produce any great change. As we find that age tells, namely, that the majority of men who pass will be of the full age, the result would be that higher standard of merit would be attainable and the training necessary would be longer than ever in accordance with the requirements of the higher standard, this longer training requiring, moreover, a closeness of application and incessancy of work of which the university knows absolutely nothing, and also special training of a character which the universities do not produce. The chances are then that things would remain just as they are now: no greater proportion of university men would come forward, and no more distinguished scholars, special training would be in no way diminished but rather encouraged, people who fail to pass the open examination would still be unable to proceed to the university, and be in a still worse position than already described. The selected candidate would also come out here too old, and a more valuable article would not be obtained, although infinitely greater pains were taken in its production.

32. If then the retention of the present limit of age be still considered inconvenient and an obstacle to the selection of university candidates, and if in spite of the various improvements suggested such as those in the examination and the subsidiary scheme of selection of distinguished scholars without competition, and if an increase of the limit of age is only likely to intensify the supposed evil, it only remains to lower the age altogether, say to the age of eighteen.

Whether the various objections I have enumerated to the principle of competition exist or not already, they would by this reduction at once cease. Boys should come up to their examinations from school, and upon success they would continue their special training in one form or another at a scholastic establishment. Either they would be drafted off to the various colleges of the universities, or they would be established in a separate college of their own, such as Haileybury was formerly and as Cooper's Hill is now.

The charges of cramming, of ungentlemanliness, of mediocrity of education and of strength, would never in future be made. The head masters of schools would be satisfied, and the candidates themselves would be happy to exchange a dull London life for a pleasant college existence. In this case the period previous to selection need not be considered, that period will be passed at school, and will be the same as that of all other youths in the country.

Whilst stating the advantages of this plan, I may also state the one disadvantage. The selected candidate, unless some great changes be instituted, will proceed to India a very much less educated man than is at present selected. His special training will begin at 18 or 19, whereas now it begins at 20-21. The Indian Civil

Service will no more attract distinguished university scholars than it does now, for No 235 they will be approaching the period of their academical successes perhaps one-half years after the selected candidates will have left for India, nor, on the other hand, could the selected candidates be able to compete for high university distinction, as long before the period at which such distinctions are obtainable they would be holding local inquiries in an Indian mofussil, and be in charge of an Indian sub-division. After full consideration I cannot think otherwise than that with the reduction of the age a very great alteration should be made in the mode of conducting the open competition. It should become an examination for boys and not be, as it is now, one for men. As a corollary to this, the subsequent course should be a combination of general education with special training.

33 The Civil Service Commissioners state that with success in the open competition a young man's general education may be considered to have come to an end. He is at the time of passing it to be considered a thoroughly educated man. The subsequent period is to be one of special preparation. But it is hardly open to question that should the limit of age of admission be reduced to 18 or 19, the subsequent period cannot possibly be solely devoted to special training without the general standard of education being much deteriorated even below what it is. The fashion to say is the low level which competitioners arrive at. Subsequent, then, to the open competition commences a time when the special education must be combined with the general education, in the same way as at Woolwich military and general studies are combined, and exactly on the same plan as was formerly in vogue at Haileybury.

At Haileybury classics and mathematics shared the attention of the students with the Hindustani, Law and Sanskrit, and the further education of candidates selected in the mode last described would be of a similar character, the result, it appears to me, would be that they would at once be less accomplished men and less perfectly trained.

The mode of further training would be that either those selected should be attached to a university, or that they would be sent to a special college of their own. If the first plan be adopted, I fail to see, as has been stated in the first place, how the universities would be advantaged, if drafted to several universities, there would be none of that natural knowledge so desirable as form an *esprit de corps*, for the men would never meet each other. If sent to the same university, the men would have far too local a character for an Imperial service, such as is the Indian Civil Service, to say nothing of the difficulty of choosing a university and deciding among contending claims. Again, if it be recommended that a special college be opened, it has to be remembered that the experiment has already been tried and has failed, that difficulties in the reading of law as is necessary will infallibly arise—difficulties in discipline and vast expense—all of which might be avoided. The State will be called upon to contribute to the general education of the candidates in addition to the special training to an extent which is altogether unnecessary, and which is better provided at the candidate's own expense.

34 Considering the subject therefore as a whole, and weighing the respective advantages and disadvantages of the various limits of age suggested for entrance into the Civil Service, the following is the result arrived at

- (1)—The general scheme of competition in itself is good, but that it fails in its details, and that the one remedy necessary is an improvement of the mode of conducting the examination.
- (2)—That under the present scheme of examination, and with the unfavourable contrast of an Indian and English career, no change in the limit of age would offer special attractions to university students, but that the same class of men go up for the open examination as go to the university.
- (3)—That university men, if required, might be specially selected.
- (4)—That the limit of age at present fixed, *i. e.*, 21, is a good one and, generally speaking, the best that can be fixed for the universities, for the individuals, and for the public.
- (5)—That to raise the age to 22 would hardly alter the matter in the least for the better either for the universities or for the individuals, and unless, as will be afterwards shown, the period of training could be limited, would be a detriment to the public service.
- (6)—That much the same remark applies to a reduction of the age, which would require a complete change in the whole system of examination and training, and the reversion to a system which is admitted to have already failed, or to a modified form of it.
- (7)—That as far as the universities are concerned, the only thing necessary is that university men should not be discouraged in any way as far as the examinations are concerned, that the procedure should be improved.

35 Having arrived at these conclusions on the subject of the mode of selection, No 285 it only remains to consider the period of training to which those selected should be subjected previous to their departure for India. The nature and length of time to be occupied in this training has been necessarily considered when discussing the question as to the reduction of the age for admission to 18 and 19. What was then need not be repeated.

36 If, on the other hand, the maximum age for admission were raised to 22, either for all the candidates or for such of them as had passed an examination of the university in political economy and jurisprudence, it would probably be desirable to alter the period of training from two years, as is now required, to one year. If political economy were removed from the list of the subjects for special training, and either made an extra subject or made a subject for the open competition, and if jurisprudence and the history and geography of India were treated similarly, there would be no difficulty in compressing the period of training in law and in one or two vernacular languages within a year, the candidate having fewer subjects could devote more time to those that remained.

I venture to think that while the candidate himself would be relieved of a great burden, his practical efficiency would not be at all affected by the omission of these subjects. It will be seen that in this manner the objection that candidates would proceed to India at too great an age would be overcome. On the other hand, it is plain that in this case such selected candidates as had not been to the university before, would hardly be attracted there subsequently at so late an age, and with little or nothing to gain by going. Also the question suggests itself whether much good work would be obtained in the short interval of one year just after the candidate had passed the severe trial of open competition, and just previous to a despatch from Europe for a prolonged period.

71 If, however, it is determined that the subjects I have mentioned should remain part of the special training of the selected candidate, and much may be urged in their behalf, it appears to me that under any circumstances, whether the maximum be raised to 22 or retained at 21, a two years' period is absolutely necessary as within that time it is not possible for most men to go through the enormous course of reading which is demanded by the Civil Service Commissioners for success in the final examination, and in case of failure, under penalty or exclusion and of the loss of several of the most valuable years of a young man's life. The subjects are so various, the books to be read are so numerous (and in each one the candidate is examined by a gentleman who has made a speciality of the subject), that it is only with the most assiduous labour that a man can keep up with his work at all, and the study of what I would call the supererogatory subjects of history and geography, of political economy, of jurisprudence, conflicts most considerably with the amount of labour which can be devoted to the necessary subjects of law and of the vernacular languages of India. I think, then, that under any circumstances the list of subjects for the special training might be curtailed considerably, or a less arduous course prescribed, or those subjects be made available for the open competition. It would then be a question whether either a higher degree of proficiency might not be required in law and languages than is now reached, or whether the period of residence in England might not be shortened. If the maximum of age be 21, it appears to me that under any circumstances two years is not an excessive period of training. It does not prohibit a residence at the university. It enables a call to the Bar, it gives increased experience of life out of leading strings, a knowledge of English thought, and often of foreign travel. It is possible in this case also that if only a year were the period of probation, the time would be too short for men to be very industrious, and it might have to be supplemented in India—an experiment which had been given up as a failure.

38 In suggesting the exclusion of certain subjects from the periodical examination, my object was to relieve, and yet to improve, the passed candidate. Certain improvements are possible in the examinations themselves. There is no denying the value of the legal training given, and the reporting of cases is probably the best plan ever devised for teaching a man legal practice as well as law. I would extend this subject of legal instruction considerably, and as it is Indian law that is required, not English, I would at every stage require constant comparison of English with Indian practice and law, so that the one should illustrate the other. This particular point is much neglected. I have reason to believe again it is a mistake to turn the attention of the student exclusively to the criminal law and the rules of procedure in the civil courts. When he comes out to India he finds himself bewildered by a mass of law, of the existence of which he has no idea.

As an Assistant Collector he is frequently occupied in partition cases, mutations, and settlement cases, but before landing in this country he has never even heard of the laws by which these are regulated. From him should be expected not only a fair knowledge of the collections of Regulations and Acts as far as are applicable to his Province, but also a thorough knowledge of all laws concerning property and land and the relations of landlord and tenant.

This subject is no less important to the young civilian than the knowledge of the grammatical structure of some Indian dialects which perhaps he may never have to speak, as also it is much more difficult to acquire. Such a practical acquirement even may be considered equally or more useful than a minute knowledge of the laws of political economy and of the science of law which concern remote contingencies, and points of general administration, with which the young civilian has no concern whatever, and cannot possibly have, if ever, till a very late period in his career.

39 As to the place where this training should be undergone, my own view is that, for the various reasons given during the course of my remarks, it should be left to each one's own option. If the candidate be at the university, and he finds he can combine his special work with university studies, he could still remain, or, if a student for the Bar, the candidate could read in a Barrister's chambers, as is often the case. If neither of those, a candidate has ample call upon his time and wants no looking after. In the case of those who for some years have been living independently and controlling their own actions, it would be the very worst thing in the world to require them to attach themselves to college, or at the age of 21, to recommence and to undergo a career of scholastic discipline as a preliminary to, and a condition of, receiving the special pecuniary allowance. To many also the extra and great expenses of a university life, which in many cases have been intentionally avoided, will prove a hardship and most distasteful. The candidate should be left unrestricted choice of residence and of occupation. Seeing, then, that a number of candidates will never have been at the university, and will have deliberately abstained from its attractions previous to their selection, nothing in my experience leads me to think that *under existing arrangements* they would willingly proceed to it. They would sacrifice a highly-prized freedom, they would increase their expenses. Some part at least of a university course would be expected from them, and an increased number of examinations and of general studies in addition to their special studies would be required. I doubt if the privilege of the university course would be valued or appreciated by any at this price. As a matter of option, they would decline, as a matter of compulsion, they would consider it a hardship.

40 To sum up my remarks upon the period and nature of special training. If the maximum age be reduced to 18 or 19 for the open competition, a complete change, not only in the nature of the open examination, but of the subsequent training, is an absolute necessity. This training must assimilate itself to the training of old Haileybury or to a university course with special training super-added. The university course under these circumstances would not be unacceptable to the selected candidates, but many of the advantages of the present system would be foregone if the maximum age be increased to 22 in accordance with Dr. Jowett's suggestions, and political economy and jurisprudence were made admissible subjects for the open competition.

During the period of subsequent training the selected candidate might be relieved of all further labour in these subjects and confine his attention to law and languages. One year would then be a sufficient training, if such a period were not likely to prove too short under the circumstances for continuous industry. In this case, however, a university course to be entered upon subsequent to selection would be impossible. If those subjects were retained a two years' course would be necessary, and the competitioners would come out to India too old. If, as it has been the endeavour of the writer to show, the present maximum of age is the least inconvenient of any, and if it be retained in consequence without modification of the existing course of study, it would be necessary to make the training, as now, extend through two years. The place where this training should be undergone might be left to the candidate's own discretion. The training itself in some respects would still require improvement, especially in requiring better study of Indian law and possibly Indian languages.

On the general subject of requiring university residence during this period, such a change would be difficult, distasteful to many, unnecessary, and in some respects detrimental.

41 Such are the latest result of my considerations on a subject which has attracted my thoughts during many years, during which, I am bound to own, my opinions in some respects have varied, but have finally resulted in what I have written.

42 There remains for me but to mention the question of the pecuniary allowance to be made to the selected candidates, and I earnestly trust that no consideration will lead to the withdrawing of this allowance, which I cannot doubt would prove a great blow to the efficiency of the service, as it would still further discourage men from coming forward. I have first to point out that if an Indian Civil Service College were started, it would be started at the expense of the State, and that certainly part of the expenses of the students' training would fall upon the Government, in which college, moreover (if the maximum age of admission were reduced, as it would probably have to be), a part of the general education of the



students would have to be provided for Under the changed circumstances, therefore, an expense would fall upon the Government, and one may fairly ask if, in the case of a college, the expense of the education of candidates at a reduced age is of no consequence, why, in the case of there being no college and the men being much older and their personal requirements much greater, selected candidates should be deprived of any allowance

*Secondly*.—The expenses prior to selection which fall upon the candidates are very considerable, and at the age of 21, with two years more life in England before them, the success in the open competition should be allowed to be rewarded in the future as it has been in the past.

*Thirdly*—It must be remembered that the training of selected candidates is almost exclusively special, and that the knowledge they acquire, with perhaps the single exception of one part of the legal course, is likely to be useful to them only as civil servants Moreover, their acquirements are such as have no value in the open market—no recognized price, they do not become skilled engineers, nor obtain medical diplomas, nor develop into practised lawyers they simply qualify for service in India of a very special kind, and if they ultimately fail, they are in a very unfortunate position. It seems, therefore, under these circumstances only fair to contribute to their expenses.

*Fourthly*—The expenses of the training are very great Even in London qualified instructors in Tamil or Marathi, Persian or Sanskrit, Bengali or Gujrati, are very few in number, and their services command a high price Legal instruction also is not inexpensive, and the cost of books and the mere expenses of living come up to a considerable sum Even with the allowance the competitor receives, when he lands in India, he is probably much out of pocket

*Fifthly*—It has to be remembered that the two years of special training in England do not count as service or towards a pension as they did in Haileybury days, and, I believe, up to 1865 some compensation for this loss is not unreasonable

*Sixthly*—That the whole expense of outfit and passage out to India fall upon the selected candidates, which is a still further reason for continuing the special allowances

On the subject at large I have only further to state that I see no reason to make any material alteration, either in the age at which candidates for the first examination should be admitted, or in the nature or period of the special training. All that is wanted in respect of these is that the improvements I have indicated should be introduced

Lastly, as regards the university course, I do not think that candidates would be able or likely largely to avail themselves of it if this advantage were offered them.

From H H RISLEY, Esq, Assistant to the Director General of Statistics, to the Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Department,—dated Hazaribagh, the 10<sup>th</sup> August 1875

I have the honour to forward my reply to your letter\* No 255E, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1875

2 I make no apology for referring occasionally to my own personal experience I understand that such reference would naturally carry more weight than mere speculation, and it happens that I have had experience both of the present system of training after the final examination, and of one of the systems which it is now proposed to put in its place

3 The fourth paragraph of Sir Louis Mallet's letter† of 31st July 1874 mentions a proposal to distribute a certain number of the Civil Service appointments among the universities Another proposal not mentioned in that letter, but, as I know, highly thought of by some head masters of public schools, is to assign the appointments to certain of the great schools, leaving the head master to nominate without examination and with special regard to the character and physical qualifications of the boys selected Both proposals involve questions of public policy, which I am not called upon to discuss here I assume also that there is no necessity for criticising Mr Scoones' elaborate and highly artificial scheme for applying moral, physical, and intellectual tests to selected candidates by means of an institution somewhat resembling Haileybury College

4 Allowing, then, that the method of selection is to be some form of open competition, I proceed to speak of the present system of examination The ordinary charge made against this system is that it encourages "cram," or counterfeit knowledge That charge, except in so far as it applies to natural science, has, in my opinion, been abundantly refuted by Mr Walrond's memorandum‡ of 1866 and letter§ of 16th March 1875, and by Mr Lepel Griffin's recent article in the

\* Not printed.

† See page 1

‡ See page 40

§ See page 9



<sup>a</sup> *Fortnightly Review* for April 1875      *Fortnightly Review* <sup>a</sup> The views of Mr Walrond No 285  
and Mr Griffin are strikingly corroborated by  
<sup>b</sup> *Fortnightly Review* for June 1875      another article in the same periodical<sup>b</sup> written  
from an independent point of view by Mr A H

Sayce, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford As the usual form of attack on the open competition examination is to draw unfavourable comparisons between it and the final classical school at Oxford, I do not hesitate to quote the following passages from Mr Sayce's paper "Here (in the final classical examination), if anywhere, the superiority of our Oxford system ought to show itself and demonstrate that competition without cram is a possibility It is by this staple and pillar of our system that we must stand or fall" And yet how is it possible for a youth not three and twenty, and but just emerging from the chrysalis of the school-boy, to have explored within the space of two years the philosophies of Locke and Bacon, of Hume and Kant, of Plato and Aristotle, and to have mastered at the same time the principles of ancient and modern logic, the maxims of political philosophy, and the facts of Greek and Roman history? Anything like a profound and independent study of these great subjects is clearly out of the question all that the pupil can do is to swallow *pêle-mêle* the heterogenous mass of theories and extracts his teachers give him, carefully selecting those which will "pay" best in the schools But if so, how does this differ from the training of the Indian Civil Service crammer? The answer shall be given by Professor Rolleston, speaking at the inaugural meeting of the Association for Academic Reform at the Freemason's Tavern (November 1872) "One result of our present examination system is that men, who as grown men and during the whole of their university career, are subjected to the ordeal of examination *in futuro* having that sword of Damocles hanging over their heads, do not look at what they have under study as so much truth, but look upon it as something to be reproduced on paper and to further their designs on fellowships and scholarships and other pecuniary rewards" It would seem from this that the open competition and the final classical school at Oxford must stand or fall together

5 It has further been argued that the ground covered by the examination is too wide, being almost co-extensive with human knowledge itself, and that this drives candidates to bid for success by number of subjects rather than by thoroughness of knowledge The answer to this is, first, that the practice of deducting an equal number of marks from each subject, is, in Dr Temple's opinion, not only an effective but an equitable security against cram, and, secondly, that it is extremely difficult to suggest any means of limiting the range of the examination To limit the number of subjects that may be taken up would, as Mr Griffin remarks, be preventing a candidate from utilising knowledge that he had honestly come by, and the more plausible proposal to confine the questions set in each subject to "a particular and previously notified portion of it," besides being unfair to men who had acquired their knowledge previous to the notification, would, I think, lead to the grossest description of "cram"

6 To return to Mr Walrond's memorandum and letter referred to above as defending in detail the existing system of examination Neither of these communications deal at any length with natural science—the one subject, as I propose to show in certain departments of which "cram" is most feasible and is most frequently practised I have no knowledge of the methods of teaching chemistry, electricity, and magnetism, but with reference to zoology, geology, mineralogy, and botany, I can safely say that these sciences were frequently taken up by men who had no previous knowledge of or taste for them, and who "got up" the subjects from popular manuals supplemented by special lectures and *memoriae technicae* It is true that visits to the museums of the College of Surgeons and of the School of Mines were supposed to form part of the course, but such visits were rare, and, as far as I remember, rather bewildering Mineralogy in particular was studied by learning certain statements (chiefly numerical) as to the chemical composition, hardness, cleavage, specific gravity, &c, of the most important minerals from Professor Dana's Manual of Mineralogy The actual chemical test, without which the study of mineralogy is an absurdity, were never applied, and the subject was only taken up because it was annexed to geology, and it was necessary to appear to the examiners to know something about it Whether the amount of cramming that goes on is sufficient to warrant Mr Griffin's proposal to reduce the marks for natural science to 500, I am not prepared to say, nor is this the place to enter upon the further question whether 500 marks or 1,000 marks would most fairly represent the position which natural science occupies in an ordinary English education It would seem, however, that under the powerful influence of the writings of such men as Messrs Spencer, Huxley, and Tyndall, the importance of science is likely to increase rather than decrease, and that the true remedy for "cram" is to be found not in discouraging the study of science, but in so improving the system of examining as to exclude superficial knowledge

7 It has often been said that the "crammer's" hobby is a multitude of subjects The remark applies peculiarly to the sciences just referred to, which are those most

frequently forced on a candidate without sufficient regard to his intellectual tastes, No. 255 to the detriment of other subjects in which he has real knowledge. There is, however, much to justify the "crammer" from his own point of view. In the first place he has not and cannot have that minute knowledge of a man's intellectual peculiarities which his school master possesses and passes on to his college tutor, and, secondly, the changes in the standard of marking have been at times so sudden and inexplicable that it is not unnatural to regard an extra subject or two as a sort of safeguard against the vagaries of examiners. This latter point is discussed below, and I say nothing more about it here.

8. I pass on to the general disapproval with which head masters of public schools and tutors of colleges at Oxford, and, I believe, at Cambridge, regard the open competition. To show that such disapproval exists, I may say that when, after leaving Winchester and getting a scholarship at New College, I informed the authorities of my intention to try for the Indian Civil Service, every effort was used to dissuade me by my late head master and two eminent Oxford tutors, one of whom is now head master of a public school. The causes of this disapproval I take to be three. First, the fact that success in the open competition reflects no credit either on the head master or college tutor of the successful candidate, while under the existing conditions as to subsequent training it deprives him of any reasonable chance of high university honours, secondly, I have no hesitation in saying that the examination for the open competition searches out the two weak points in the present public school system of teaching—their failure to teach English history or literature and natural science. Especially is this the case with the two elder public schools—Winchester and Eton—which have been the slowest to free themselves from their traditions of exclusively classical teaching. In evidence of this statement, and in defence of the "crammers" on this particular point as against the public schools, I cite the following facts. At the open competition I obtained the highest marks in English literature of any selected candidate, and the highest but one of all the candidates on the list. I can safely say that whatever systematized knowledge I had of the subject was acquired at a "crammer's," and that all the "cramming" that was done was to direct my reading both as to original texts and modern criticism, and to test my knowledge periodically by sets of questions, the answer to each of which was virtually a short essay. If this is "cram," then no teaching at all is possible without "cram." The third cause which induces head masters and tutors to discourage their pupils from going in for the open competition is the extreme uncertainty of the examination owing to the sudden fluctuations in the standard of marking, and the license which is given to the whims of particular examiners. These I believe to be substantial grievances, and to be the real ground on which head masters and tutors of colleges object to the examination. I am not aware that either of them has been brought prominently into notice hitherto, and regret that I have not at hand the facts and figures which Mr Scoones or any gentleman of experience in preparing candidates could supply, and which are supported by the opinion of two well known Oxford tutors to whom I can refer. With reference, then, to the first point—the fluctuations in the standard of marking—we can hardly overrate the difficulty of preserving that indefinite tradition as to the scale of marking which is known as the "standard." But this is rightly recognized at Oxford as absolutely essential to the fairness of an examination, and the continuity of the tradition is secured by providing that one at least of the "masters" of each "school"—that is, one of the examiners in each great class of subjects—shall have served in the preceding year. Thus there is always one examiner who knows what were the general principles of marking followed in the last year's class list, and this is found to be, on the whole, an adequate safeguard against sudden changes. No doubt even in Oxford cases can be pointed to in which the standard was suddenly raised, notably the year in which Mr Gladstone and four other conspicuously clever men obtained a first class, but such cases are exceptional. Now in the open competition, when a fresh examiner is introduced he is quite uncontrolled in his ideas of marking by a colleague, and he has nothing to guide him but the bare figures of the previous year's list. Consequently he adopts a standard of his own, which may be moderate, but also may be either outrageously low or outrageously high. In short, it is notorious that subjects marked highly in one year have been marked low in the next, and *vice versa*. I pass on to the second point, which is indirectly connected with the first—the extent to which candidates are at the mercy of the peculiar views of particular examiners. It is a principle in the Oxford schools that every paper shall be looked over by at least two examiners. By this I do not mean that each paper is marked in detail separately by each examiner, but that the marks ultimately assigned are the result of two opinions as to its merits, and not one. In the open competition, on the other hand, an examiner is without check in his system of marking. To quote instances. For several years a distinguished philosopher of the extreme sensational school examined in mental and moral philosophy. It was well known during those years not only that a candidate who answered questions from the idealist point of view was not likely to get many marks, but that the examiner set the entire paper out of his own books, and that the perfect answer to each question could be found on certain pages

of a particular work. Again, until the year 1871 (I give the date from memory No. 285 only) it was usual to publish the names of the examiners for each year at the close of the examination of the preceding year, with the subjects in which they were to examine. One of the undesirable results of this practice was that the subject allotted to a particular examiner was studied exclusively in the books which that examiner might happen to have written. Magazine articles from his pen that bore even remotely on that subject were searched out and studied, and no means were left untried to adapt the candidate's reading to the known views of the examiner. For instance, not many years ago the department of English history was allotted to an eminent antiquarian who had written a book on early English history. Fully one-third of the paper was set out of this book, and as no candidate is allowed to answer more than a third, the gentlemen who had ingeniously devoted their energies to studying the examiner's book had an enormous advantage over those who had studied the middle and later periods of English history. Such a proceeding as this can only be characterized as " cram " of the most objectionable kind, yet it is obvious that the genuine student, who had not thus narrowed his reading to a single book relating to a single period, would have had no chance on that paper against the men who had consulted the examiner's whim. It is fair to say that the examiners' names are not now made public till just before the examination. But the other defects of leaving each examiner independent on his own subject, and making no provisions for maintaining the uniformity of the standard of marking, have not yet been rectified. They are, as I have already pointed out, mere matters of the mechanism of an examination, and the remedy is simple.

9 I now proceed to speak of the training subsequent to the final examination. First, with reference to the subjects prescribed for examination. I have given the question a good deal of thought since I have been out here, and am of opinion that the course of reading enjoined is good on the whole. In the department of languages, however, I am confident that the change of rule in 1872, by which selected candidates were required to pass in only one language, was a very serious mistake. Within the last year I have had occasion to direct minutely the studies of two gentlemen who began to learn a vernacular language here with no previous training in England. Both of them were at the head-quarters of their respective districts, and had engaged the best native teachers to be found in the place. The teachers had a thorough knowledge of the details of the vernacular they professed to teach, combined with the most hopeless ignorance and mental confusion as to the very elements of grammar. I was being continually called on to explain simple grammatical principles which half a dozen lessons from a competent European scholar would have cleared up once and for all. It will be admitted on all hands that Europeans cannot be expected to learn Eastern languages on the native system, and this being so, any language which is obligatory in India should be made obligatory at home. By the time selected candidates come out here, they are old enough to feel that an impending examination is a great obstacle to their throwing themselves heartily into their official work. Any rule, therefore, which tends to put off the time at which they are free from examinations, and free therefore to devote themselves thoroughly to their real work, is an unmitigated evil. It will of course be said, in answer to what I have just urged, that every one is at liberty to take up the second language as an " *extra* ". To this I reply that a selected candidate in England, with a long list of comparatively new subjects before him, cannot be expected to realize very precisely what he will gain three years afterwards in India by adding another subject to the list.

10 As to the law books prescribed, I have but little to say. It may not be out of place to remark that Mr Pitt Taylor's book on evidence is conspicuous for that " unsystematic character and absence of arrangement " which Mr FitzJames Stephen predicates of the entire English law of evidence. If then " the Indian Evidence Act is little more than an attempt to reduce the English law of evidence to the form of express propositions arranged in their natural order, with some modifications rendered necessary by the peculiar circumstances of India," why should not the examination in the law of evidence be made to centre on the Indian Act, and some shorter and less confusing manual, such as Best's Law of Evidence, be substituted for Mr Taylor's book?

11 The value of attending the criminal courts and sending in reports of their proceedings can hardly be overrated. The short analytical statement showing in criminal cases the facts necessary to constitute the offence charged is also peculiarly instructive. Perhaps one may doubt the utility of reporting elaborate civil cases, and especially Indian appeals. If the question of abolishing the civil reports were to come under consideration, I would suggest that reports of proceedings in the court of criminal appeals, and several reports of police court investigations of grave criminal charges, and of several entire days' proceedings in a London police court, should be required. At present reports of the proceedings of the criminal appeal court are not obligatory, and reports of a grave criminal charge in a police court, and of an entire day's proceedings of a police court, are required only for the final examination. The two latter reports are as instructive as anything that is done

There is one point I should wish to call special attention to. It may seem a small No 285 matter, but I certainly found it a serious hindrance in reporting cases. The Commissioners furnish all selected candidates with a card signed by one of the Secretaries, which purports to obtain for the candidate admission to courts of justice and reasonable facilities for reporting any case. At county assize courts (I instance Oxford, Worcester and Bedford) this card was treated with considerable respect by the court officials, and could be relied on to secure a good place in court, but in a London court, unless the holder is prepared to fee the usher, it confers no advantages beyond those open to the general public, and if an important criminal case is being tried, it is absolutely useless. It will hardly be allowed that the gallery of the Old Bailey Court was the proper place for a number of gentlemen selected for the Civil Service to report from, while the body of the court was filled with persons who came from mere curiosity, yet this was the only accommodation given to some fifteen candidates during the three days of the trial of Marguerite Diblane for what was known as the Park-lane murder. Nor, I imagine, is it right or dignified that gentlemen of whom Dr Jowett writes that "the best colleges would be quite willing to receive them, and would be proud to take part in training the future governors of India," should be compelled to fee the clerks of Bow-street police court in order to secure even common civility.

12 With these few remarks on the course of reading prescribed, I go on to what is by far the most important question—the surroundings and manner of living of selected candidates during the two years they are under training in England. At present the majority of the men live in London, and for convenience I propose to describe the existing state of things as the *London system*. I further assume that the real question lies between residence in London and residence at one of the universities, say Oxford, and again for convenience, and because my own experience has been of life at Oxford, I prefer to speak of this latter as the *Oxford system*.

13 I think, then, that strongly as the "London system" has been condemned by the highest authorities, that condemnation is more than justified by the facts. If the object of the Civil Service Commissioners had been to demoralize a number of young men as rapidly and as certainly as possible, that object could not have been better attained than by turning them loose on London when fresh from a trying examination. I am aware that on this point the Civil Service Commissioners are at issue with the authorities of both Oxford and Cambridge, but it is sufficiently obvious that the Civil Service Commissioners are a mere examining body, and have no experience outside the region of examinations, whereas the universities profess to exert, and to exert with considerable success, a strong moral and personal influence. It is clearly impossible for me to appeal to particular facts on a subject like this, but the authorities, both in England and India, must be aware that, if it were necessary to cite instances, instances are only too ready to hand.

14 On the social effects of the "London system" I may be allowed to speak plainly. It breaks up the body of candidates into small cliques of three or four, who lodge according to their tastes in different parts of London. There is no common idea but that of liability to be examined—an idea which is not calculated to be the basis of any wholesome *esprit de corps*. They have literally no common interest to unite them, and they are divided by two tendencies,—the tendency of the public school men among them to look down on the men who have not come from a public school, and the tendency of the pupils of one "crammer" to hold aloof from the pupils of another. This latter tendency is of small importance, but I shall notice the effects of what is known as the "public school spirit" in a subsequent paragraph.

15 It is hardly necessary to enlarge upon the separatism and narrowness that such a life and such surroundings must engender. Life in London lodgings is dreary enough under any circumstances, and with no means of amusement but billiards and occasional football, it is not surprising that men who have no special athletic turn bury themselves in their work, and are charged, correctly enough, when they come to India, with bookishness and distaste for physical activity. Of such men it is that Mr Giffin writes in the *Fortnightly Review*: "The candidates practically commence their Indian career still school-boys. Their creditable success in the competitive examination has given them an exaggerated idea of their own abilities, which makes them often, and justly, unpopular. They neither ride, nor shoot, nor dance, nor play cricket, and prefer the companionship of their books to the attractions of Indian society, which is probably not more vapid than society elsewhere. However numerous may be the exceptions, and fortunately for Indian society there are numerous exceptions, this is a frequent result of the present system. The fault is not in the men, but in a training which is intended only to produce certain intellectual results."

16 It seems as if the mode of life drove men into one of two extremes. Either they are exclusively studious and appear to have no ideas beyond the "next periodical" examination and the chance of taking the prize in one or other of the subjects, or else they do the minimum of work, and, as the phrase is, "knock about

London" for the first year or so of their probation, and then have to resort to No 285  
 "cramming" and other less dignified expedients to pass their final examination. Anyhow there is no social intercourse worthy of the name. The men meet every six months at the Civil Service Commission in Cannon Row, and many of them do not know one another except by sight while waiting for the examination-room to open. The future members of a common service stand about in separate groups and talk "shop" among themselves. It is true that the occasion is not an inspiring one, but the fact remains that examinations are the only times at which many of the candidates meet except by accident.

17 To show even more fully how utterly disunited in thought and feeling selected candidates are, I quote the following facts. Towards the close of the final examination of a few years ago the paper work being over and the *viva voce* examinations in progress, it was proposed that all the candidates should have a farewell dinner together as it was hardly likely that they would meet again in England. The proposal was a well intentioned one, and persons might naturally have presumed that, after having been examined together for two years, there would be some kind of fellow-feeling among the candidates. Owing to the causes which I have indicated above, many of the men thought the dinner a mere mockery of good fellowship, and declined to come. Others, while disapproving of the suggestion to bring together a number of comparative strangers as if they had been intimate friends (especially when the fate of some of them was uncertain), nevertheless came, in order not to disappoint the movers in the scheme. After dinner, among the ordinary toasts, that of the "universities" was proposed. The proposer, who came from a great public school, and though not a university man himself, had the strongest sympathies with Oxford and Cambridge, purposely and rather maliciously limited the term "universities" in his speech to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and called on an Oxford man who was present to return thanks. Directly the second speech was over, there followed a series of angry speeches from representatives of Dublin, Edinburgh, London and the Irish "Queen's" Universities protesting against their exclusion from the toast. The scene was most disagreeable, and I only cite it here as the more forcible comment imaginable on the faults of the London system.

18 It is hardly necessary for me to enlarge on the social advantages of residence at Oxford. Between that and the London system there is all the difference between life in a society which has refining and ennobling traditions, and in a clique which has no traditions at all,—between being a member of a great and famous university which is one of the centres of European thought and research, and being an isolated student in a London lodging with no ideas beyond the next impending examination.

19 Assuming, then, that on the social question the opinion of the overwhelming majority of educated Englishmen will be held to be conclusive, I go on to answer in detail the objections to residence at Oxford on the grounds of the alleged difficulty of pursuing there the special studies required of Indian civilians. On the general question I will, first, say that I resided at Oxford and continued to hold my scholarship during the two years I was under training for India, and that by the courtesy and kindness of Dr Sewell and the other new college authorities I experienced no difficulty whatever in the special work. Taking, then, the objections as they are given in Dr Jowett's letter\* of 27th December 1874, I find the first to be that "clever young men having the temptation of scholarships and fellowships before them will easily be seduced into another career." To this Dr Jowett replies that "the appointments in the Indian Civil Service can compete with scholarships and fellowships, leading, in most cases, only to college tutorships and under-masterships of public schools." I can only add to this that since I have been in India I have kept up correspondence with Oxford friends and contemporaries who got high university honours and have followed the lines which Dr Jowett indicate, and that I have no desire to change places with any of them.

20 The second objection is that if men are located at Oxford they cannot attend the law courts. To this I reply that I *did* attend the law courts sometimes in vacation and sometimes, by special permission from my college authorities, during term. I do not think that I was under any special disadvantage as regards reporting cases compared with men who lived in London. I had, moreover, peculiar facilities for working up the cases afterwards in the Codrington Law Library of All Soul's College. It is also argued, in the middle part of Dr Jowett's objection No 2, that selected candidates cannot effectively be taught law at Oxford. On this point I venture to say that it can be studied *for Indian purposes* far better at Oxford than in London. No doubt London is the best place for becoming an expert in English law, but I refer to the following passages from Sir Henry Maine's "Village Communities" in evidence of the proposition that the influence of India of experts in English law has not been a beneficial one. "The methods of interpretation which the Sadr Courts borrowed from the Supreme Courts, and which the Supreme

\* See page 7

Courts imported from Westminster Hall, put a stop to any natural growth and improvement of Hindu law. As students of historical jurisprudence, we may be grateful to them for it, but I am clearly persuaded that, except where the Indian Legislature directly interfere—and of late it has interfered rather freely—the English dominion of India at first placed the natives of the country under a less advanced regimen of civil law than they would have had if they had been left to themselves” \* \* \* “The consequence is whole-

Village Communities, pp 75 & 76 sale and indiscriminate borrowing from the English law—the most copious system of express rule known to the world. You may ask what authority have these borrowed rules in India. Technically they have none whatever, yet though they are taken (and not always correctly taken) from a law of entirely foreign origin, they are adopted as if they naturally commended themselves to the reason of mankind, and all that can be said of the process is that it is another example of the influence, often felt in European legal history, which express written law invariably exercises on unwritten customary law when they are found side by side. For myself I cannot say that I regard this transmutation of law as otherwise than lamentable. It is not a correction of native usage where it is unwholesome. It allows that usage to stand, and confirms it rather than otherwise, but it fills up its interstices with unamalgamated masses of foreign law, and in a very few years it will destroy its interest for the historical jurist by rendering it possible to determine what parts of the structure are of native and what of foreign origin. Nor will the remedial process, which it is absolutely necessary to apply for the credit of the British name, restore the integrity of the native system, for the cure can only consist in the enactment of uniform, simple, codified law, formed for the most part upon the best European models”

21 The last sentence which I quote would seem to point to the conclusion that civilians are not required to be experts in English law, but that they should have that knowledge of general jurisprudence and width of view which will enable them to appreciate the purport of the rules of the various legal systems which come before them. This it is which will put them in a position to contribute their share in the working out of that science of “comparative jurisprudence” on which Sir Henry Maine, in the Rede Lecture delivered in the Senate House at Cambridge, 22nd May 1875, writes as follows: “I hesitate to call it comparative jurisprudence, because, if it ever exists, its area will be so much wider than the field of law, for India not only contains—or, to speak more accurately, did contain—an Arian language older than any other descendant of the common mother tongue, and a variety of names of natural objects less perfectly crystalized than elsewhere into fabulous personages, but it includes a whole world of Arian institutions, Arian customs, Arian laws, Arian ideas, Arian beliefs in a far earlier stage of growth and development than any which survive beyond its borders. There are undoubtedly in it the materials for a new science, possibly including many branches. To create it, indeed to give it more than a beginning, will require many volumes to be written and many workers to lend their aid, and it is because I am not without hope that some of these workers will be found here that I now proceed to show, not indeed that the attempt to produce such a scheme will succeed, but that the undertaking is conceivable and practicable” Now since the establishment of the new jurisprudence school, the scientific study of law has made great progress in Oxford, and it may fairly be argued that “a knowledge of the best European systems” and of Roman law would be a better intellectual starting point for a civilian than an imperfect acquaintance with the technicalities of English law—an acquaintance, moreover, which will soon become very hazy under the pressure of his first few years of hard executive work.

22 The concluding part of Dr Jowett’s objection No 2 refers to the difficulty of studying some Oriental languages, such as Tamil or Telugu, at Oxford. He seems to think that the case must be met by vacation study. Now, in the first place, vacation study would not be sufficient to learn enough of the languages even to pass in them. An essential condition of learning a new language, and especially an Oriental one, in which the strangeness of the character is at the outset most trying, is daily study. Something, however little, should be done in each language every day. But even stating the objection thus in its strongest form, I think, it can readily be answered. The fact is that wherever the mass of pupils are, there the teachers will come. Almost the entire demand for teaching in such languages as Telugu, Tamil, Bengali and Marathi, comes from probationary civilians, and the teachers of those languages will readily live wherever pupils are to be found. Besides, it is possible that in the event of civilians being regularly established at Oxford, the university might be inclined to found small subordinate readerships in the languages I enumerate, which would be an additional inducement to teachers to settle in Oxford. The present Vice-Chancellor of Oxford once told me that some ten years ago about eight selected candidates destined for the Madras Presidency were in residence at Oxford. They found no difficulty in arranging with the best teacher of Tamil and Telugu then in London that he should come to Oxford once a week and hold a class there. Thus the very languages which Dr Jowett picks out as those which could not be learnt at Oxford were so studied by candidates



while still in residence. Again, when I was in residence at Oxford myself, the No 285 gentleman who taught me Bengali used to come down from London and stay with me for a short time, during which period I read through the books with him. After his return I used to send him exercises by post, which he returned with correction. Another new college man, now a civilian in Bombay, made a similar arrangement with his Marathi teacher. In Persian, Urdu, Hindi, and some of the Punjab dialects, the most admirable tuition has already been provided by means of the University Hindustani readership

23. Objection No 3 of Dr. Jowett's letter is met by Resolution No 3 of the Congregation of the University given in Dr. Sewell's letter\* of 13th May 1875, to the effect "that it is desirable to make arrangements which may bring the degree of B.A. within the reach of such (selected) candidates before they proceed to India"

24. If, then, the moral and social advantages of locating selected candidates at a university are sufficiently obvious without proof, and the objections on the ground of special studies have been shown to be baseless, it only remains to make one or two suggestions as to the details of the proposed scheme for residence at Oxford. In the first place I cannot too strongly deprecate the proposal to place the selected candidates in a separate college at Oxford. The delay and expense that such a plan would entail are of themselves serious objections. Besides—and on this I lay particular stress—a probable result of the arrangement would be to deprive some of the candidates of the full benefit of the social life of the university. It is generally admitted—and the figures given in Appendix E, page 32, place it beyond doubt—that a certain proportion of the candidates who come in under the open competition do not occupy a high position in society. It is also well known that public school men on coming up to Oxford find the society of their school fellows ready and waiting for them and require no special introduction.

25. At the same time it must be admitted that the set of ideas which men bring with them from a public school are in some ways narrow and exclusive. In particular they are inclined to look down upon men who have not been at a public school, and this intolerance, as I have said above, is one of the causes which go to prevent any general social intercourse under the "London system." Now, supposing all the candidates to be massed together in one exclusively Indian college, the probable result would be that the college would split into two sets—the public school men forming one and the non-public school men the other. The former would be called upon by the men of other colleges, and I fear some at any rate of the latter would not. It is impossible to predict to what lengths the division into sets might go, but thus much is clear that no such distinction would be noticed at all if the candidates were distributed over different colleges, having of course certain lectures and regulations in common. A selected candidate coming up to an ordinary college would be called upon, as a matter of course, by most of the men in residence and would make his own friends in the usual way.

26. Another point connected with this question may perhaps seem trifling, but I venture to notice it. If selected candidates are admitted to Oxford at all, it is not to be expected that they will abstain from the ordinary amusements of the place. In fact, I gather from what has been written on the subject that it is thought particularly desirable that they should take part in such amusements. Now, if they are distributed over the university, they will at once fall into rather elaborate organization of boat club, &c, which exists in every college. If, on the other hand, they are placed in a separate college, they will have to make the organization for themselves at the cost of considerable trouble and expense.

27. I further think that, in order to secure for selected candidates their full share of the benefits of Oxford life, university authorities should be asked to agree to their residing in rooms *in college*, and not in lodgings during the two years they spend in Oxford. In college they are slightly more subject to rules as to going out in the evening, &c, but they are likely to see much more society, and to be more thoroughly subjected to the influences of the place. At Cambridge, where the system of living in lodgings is, I understand, more fully developed than in Oxford, almost every under-graduate spends the first two years of his university life in lodgings. The Oxford system is at any rate in theory the reverse of this. Men are kept in college during their first two years of residence, though exceptions occasionally occur owing to all the sets of rooms in college being occupied. I believe the latter system to be far better of the two, and I have repeatedly been told by Cambridge men that owing to their being in lodgings they found it hard to make acquaintances in their first term or two.

28. To conclude this branch of the subject I observe that Dr. Jowett in division III (?) of his letter speaks† of the expense of residing within the walls of a college in 1854. In the event of the question of expense to individual candidates being raised with reference to the present scheme, it may not be out of place to point out that special provision for a cheap university education exists in Keble

\* See page 53

† See page 8

College—a college avowedly founded with the object of keeping down the tendency No 245 to gentlemanly extravagance which Oxford is said with some truth to encourage

29 To turn to the question of age, in which, I understand, the main issue to lie between selecting candidates at 17 or 18 and selecting them at 21, the age now fixed. My own opinion is strongly in favour of the later age, and perhaps of allowing candidates to compete up to 22. But any such extension should, I think, be general, and not limited, as Dr Jowett suggests, to a special class of candidates. Dr Jowett's proposal to allow candidates to compete up to 22, who had previously passed an examination in law, political economy, and some Indian language, would of course require to be elaborated in detail before it could even be discussed with profit.

30 The following appear to be the important considerations on either side of the question

31 There is no doubt that the younger a man is the less he feels the irksomeness and nervous strain of an examination. He has more respect for the process, and, relatively to his amount of knowledge, does better than a man whose ideas have outgrown examination limits. On this point Mr Sayce writes "If a man really knows a subject, he is pretty certain to do badly if examined in it." On a subsequent page he concludes the article from which I quote with the rather epigrammatic sentence "Examine boys if you will, but for heaven's sake do not examine men." Nor does Dr Jowett's remark, that it is much more difficult to form an estimate of real capacity at 17 or 18 than at 19 or 20, really affect what has just been urged. It is more difficult to test real capacity at 18 or 19. But why? Because the faculties are undeveloped, and it is hard to devise examination papers which shall bring to light mental power which is as yet only latent. But as far as his development goes, the boy of 18 will do more justice to himself in an examination than his elder of wider culture and deeper knowledge.

32 *Secondly*, I venture to assert that for all that has been urged to the contrary in official memoranda failure in the open competition is a serious hindrance to academical success in England. This may not be so with exceptionally clever men, though I incline to think it is, but exceptionally clever men do not, as a rule, fail in the open competition, and their case, therefore, is not material. But the man of average, or rather more than average cleverness, if he withdraws from the ordinary course of study from the age of 19 to 21, is at a very serious disadvantage in the present state of competition at home. If, however, his fate were determined at the age of 18 by an examination in his ordinary school subjects, he would be none the worse, and could devote himself without hindrance to working out a career in England. To this it may be replied that to carry out such an arrangement, either the style of public school teaching must be accommodated to the open examination, or the character of the examination be changed. In that case I say let the public schools modify their scheme of teaching, for it is less in accord with modern acquirements than the much abused open competition itself.

33 The foregoing reasons, however, seemed to be outweighed by wider and more important considerations. In the first place the influence of climate is, *ceteris paribus*, more severe on young men of barely 20 than on men who come out four years later. *Secondly*, it is a tolerably familiar fact that after a certain stage in Indian life is passed, it requires more or less of an effort for a man to keep up his intellectual tastes and general culture outside the range of his official work. In this matter it is obvious that the older a man is, and the more matured his ideas are when he comes to India, the more likely he is to set a high value on general culture. To him it will be a necessity, while to a younger man it will not. In answer to the possible objection that Indian civilians are required to be men, not of general culture but of specialized official knowledge, I quote the following from Sir Henry Maine's work on Village Communities "Indian knowledge and experience are represented in this country by men who go to India all but in boyhood and return from it in the maturity of years" \* \* \* \* "Nobody can have been long in the East without perceiving and regretting that a great many conclusions, founded on patient study of Oriental usage and ideas, are vitiated through the observer's want of acquaintance with some elementary facts of Western legal history." Surely, too, at the present time, when improved communication is continually drawing England and India into closer relations, when both German and English scholars are seeking in the East the solution of the linguistic and historical problems of the West, when the new scheme for opening out and improving the India museum is being supplemented by a parallel scheme in India, the present, I say, is scarcely the time to argue that nothing more is required of Indian civilians than that they should be mere specialists of the legal and administrative system under which they work. The conditions of official advancement may be trusted to make them that, and they are not likely to do worse, but rather better, work for being something more.

34 In concluding this division of the subject, I would ask particular attention for one other most important point which tells entirely in favour of the more



advanced age The older a civilian is when he leaves England the less likely he is to be discontented with the prospects of an Indian career If he comes out here as a school-boy he will probably greatly overrate his Indian prospects, and when disappointed afterwards, will proportionately regret the English career which he has foregone, but if he has entered the Civil Service with no exaggerated estimate of the prizes which it opens to him, making all allowance for the block of promotion, the rise of prices in relation to fixed incomes, and the unfavourable state of the exchanges with Europe, I still think that the experience he will have had of the fortunes of his contemporaries at Oxford or Cambridge will enable him to realize the intensity of the struggle, even among first class men, for such prizes as fellowships of colleges and under-masterships of both public and private schools The more he sees of this the more likely he will be to rate at its true value the prospect of a dignified and eminently useful career with moderate, but on the whole fairly certain, pecuniary rewards Thus, too, realizing that honest work in India is no unworthy object to devote his life to, he will feel the less regret that the extra year or two spent in England has slightly deferred the date at which he may hope to retire He would further understand the immense advantage which civilians have in beginning their life's work comparatively early Many men had told me at Oxford that the one thing for which they most envied civilians was the being spared the long apprenticeship of preparation which men serve in England at the Bar and in other professions before they touch actual work at all Many of the failures of really clever men are due to the fact that they are unfitted for practical work by long waiting and by study which is only preparatory And it is notorious that the one profession which can be taken up directly men leave the university, that of education, is, for the reason I have indicated, tremendously overstocked

35 Thus, then, the weight of argument is all in favour of the present age for selection I do not think that the extension of this age to 22 would bring into play any important principle that does not exert an influence now To maintain the age for selection as it stands in conjunction with the system of training at a university, which is recommended above, would bring men out here with faculties still receptive, but with a knowledge of, and sympathy with, the great currents of thought in Europe that would secure them against becoming the mere specialists of official routine

36 On the last question indicated by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, I have to point out that there are at present no materials on which to base a detailed opinion Until the university has decided either to admit Indian candidates under certain conditions to the existing honour-schools, or to construct, as Dr Liddell suggests, a new final school embracing special Indian subjects, it is clearly impossible to foretell with any precision whether the majority of candidates would elect to try for honours or not, whether they go through any or which of the pass-schools, may be taken to the immaterial As to the honour-schools, I am strongly of opinion that even if no alteration were made in the existing course, a large number of the candidates would try for honours in the law school But I venture to hope that the university may be prevailed on "to construct a new final school embracing prominently special Indian subjects together with the principles of political economy and the principles of jurisprudence, which could not be learned by attendance in the courts of law" In that case I believe the majority of selected candidates would do credit to themselves and the university in such a school, and that the extent to which candidates availed themselves of the opportunity of winning university distinction might fairly be taken as a test of the spirit in which they regarded their work

37 In conclusion, I wish, to say that, although throughout this letter I have assumed that residence at *Oxford* was the only alternative to the present system, or rather absence of system, I have done so partly for convenience of statement, and partly because I have no personal experience of the conditions of life at Cambridge I need hardly remark that in all essential points those conditions are the same at both universities, and I would guard myself against being understood to imply that the claims of *Oxford* to take charge of selected candidates for Indian service are in any way superior to those of the sister university

## XI.

From H J REYNOLDS, Esq, Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Department, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,—No 1809 C S, dated Calcutta, the 18th August 1875 No 286

In continuation of my letter\* No 1803 C. S, dated 17th August 1875, I am directed to submit the reports\* of the two remaining officers consulted on the subject of selecting and training candidates for the Civil Service of India.

\* Letter from Mr C E Buckland, dated 11th August 1875

Letter from Mr H Gillon, dated 14th August 1875

\* See page 133

From C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Private Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to the No 287  
 Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—dated Darjeeling, the 11th August  
 1875

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter\* No 252 E, dated 2nd instant, calling for an expression of my views on certain points connected with the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India. Having perused the correspondence enclosed with your letter, and given the subject my best attention, I venture to submit † the following remarks in the order which appears most appropriate.

2. METHOD OF SELECTION.—It would not, I think, be possible to limit the field of selection. While for some reasons I consider it would be desirable to appropriate a proportion of the appointments to certain public schools and universities,—and if this were determined I see no real difficulty in carrying it out,—on the other hand, there will be a considerable risk of excluding ability, and I doubt whether such a measure could be carried in the teeth of such opposition as would inevitably arise if any curtailment of the principle of open competition, either in this manner or by transferring the selection to any departmental authority, were contemplated.

3. AGE OF SELECTION.—On the whole, I would advocate reduction of the maximum age to 20, *i. e.*, no candidate at the open competition should have exceeded 20 by a given date, say the 1st of March. I would have the time of examination so fixed that the result could be known well before Easter. (The reason of this will appear below.) With this limit of age men would reach India not older than about 22½, and many of them would be younger. While the benefit to India of obtaining men of maturer judgment and wider experience may be advanced as an argument for a more extended limit, I think that in the interests of the men themselves they should come out younger. Every year draws closer the tie to England, every year increases the chance of matrimony, every year renders more irksome the work allotted to, assistants at the commencement of their service. The men who come out in the first years of the present system at a more advanced age have had better promotion than now falls to the lot of men entering the service. The majority of men now-a-days (in Lower Bengal) cannot expect to draw more than Rs. 500 per mensem for the first two or three years, and not more than Rs. 766 per mensem up to the eight years service, when their furlough is due. Some prizes there are, but they cannot be given to every body. Under these circumstances, it makes all the difference whether men are two or three years older or younger, whether married or unmarried. It does not seem to me to be any real benefit to India to bring out senior men if, by reason of their age, higher attainments, and greater expectations, they are more likely to be discontented with their position and prospects than younger men would be.

4. SUBJECTS OF EXAMINATION.—In principle the first examination appears to me to meet the desired objects as well as any system that could be devised. I would not limit the number of subjects to be taken up. Considering the variety of matters with which an officer has to deal in India, I think that the art of getting up many subjects should certainly be encouraged. The examiners may be trusted to discriminate between solid and superficial knowledge. The Master of Balliol's suggestion with regard to English history and literature is worth considering as a point of detail, its adoption would be in favour of public school men, who are less likely to study these subjects carefully than men privately prepared for the examination. While I should welcome the inclusion of jurisprudence and political economy in the first examination, as calculated to help men already at the university, I concur in the Civil Service Commissioners' opinion that they should be reserved for the special course. The range of subjects is at present quite wide enough, and these two subjects are better adapted to the capacity of older men.

5. CRAMMING.—It has always seemed to me that the talk about crammers and cramming is somewhat vague, and often attributable to the jealousy of unsuccessful candidates who would not have succeeded even with the benefit of a course of special preparation. There is little doubt that most men at these special institutions have to work harder, that they waste less time on matters that do not "pay" than candidates in whom their school or college authorities do not take the same personal interests. I see no reason to believe that men especially prepared acquire more transitory or less useful knowledge than those who go through the ordinary course of education. The deduction of marks in each subject, and the skill of the examiners, are practically sufficient guarantees that no superficial knowledge shall be unduly rewarded. To my mind the objections to these special institutions are the same as apply to all private tuition for any line of life when compared with public schools.

\* Not printed

† I ought to state briefly my own case as probably affecting my opinions. After six years at Eton I went up direct to Balliol in October 1866. I was 20 in September 1867, and having settled to compete some five weeks previous to the open competition of March 1868, I passed eighth in it without any special course of preparation. In June 1868 I obtained a double 2nd class in moderations, and passed the "pass" examination for a degree in the final schools in June 1869. I then read law in Chambers with a barrister for a year, and passed the final Civil Service examination in June 1870, coming out to India in November 1870 at the age of 23 years 2 months.

It is doubtless often the case that men who would pass the examination under any circumstances are made to undergo special preparation to ensure success; while the men who pass straight from school or university for the most part, I believe, have not made the examination the object of their lives, nor would they have been so much affected by failure in it

6 **PHYSIQUE**—The Civil Service Commissioners would do well, I think, to pay more attention to the physical qualities of the men they allow to pass. Sir W. Gull's testimony to the physical vigour of the successful candidates may be considered by the Commissioners to be emphatic and conclusive, but I can only say that some gentlemen must have eluded his vigilance, and are likely to prove in this respect hard bargains to the State. A severe strain is put upon men during the course of probation, of which I have known the effects to show themselves afterwards and on this point of physical vigour I would rather have a certificate from a man's college tutor of his way of life and active habits than a medical opinion of a high authority derived from a brief interview. There is little fear of the men who come out under the present system not being sufficiently studious and painstaking; the danger of their being overworked at starting is, I fear, not altogether imaginary.

7 **TRAINING**—Supposing then the required number to have been selected by open competition under which the same conditions are as obtain at present, it remains to state my opinion as to the course of training they should undergo. There can be no question that from the date of selection the successful candidates should be required imperatively to fit themselves for their future profession, and that no excuse should be accepted for any neglect on their part to do this, and I do not think that the method of so fitting themselves should be left for their discretion. A definite course should be laid down, to which they should be required to conform.

8 **SKETCH OF COURSE**—I am firmly convinced that the selected candidates should be made to go for the next two years to either Oxford or Cambridge. Having been informed of their success before Easter, they should be made to go into residence directly after, and keep the summer terms. These eight weeks could be well employed in attending lectures on jurisprudence, political economy, Indian history, in receiving instruction in languages and law. Attendance at such lectures should be compulsory under pain of fine. During July the law courts in London should be frequented, and the required notes of the proceedings taken. Some rest and relaxation might then be allowed till the October term, when the subjects for the first "periodical" should be perfected, and that examination should be held between the end of term and Christmas. Similarly, for the remainder of the period of probation. Briefly, the terms should be devoted to lectures and languages, and part of the vacations to the law reporting. The "periodicals" should be held after the end of term, *i. e.*, in December, June, December, and the final examination in the month of June, two and a quarter years after the open competition. By these means a residence of ten university terms could be secured. On some of the points alluded to in this sketch it is necessary to dwell at greater length.

9 **UNIVERSITY COURSE DESIRABLE**—In the first place it is hardly possible, in my opinion, to value too highly a course of collegiate training for these probationers. The independent London life is not a good school for them. I could give instances in which it has entailed very serious consequences, such as loss of appointments, &c. The men know but little of one another, and have but little of that *esprit de corps*, or community of feeling of which we have heard so much. Under the present circumstances, there is nothing to encourage the high tone, or to produce that bond of union, which are among the best results of collegiate institutions. Subjection to academical discipline I cannot agree with the Civil Service Commissioners in regarding as an inferior method of preparation for those who will be engaged in the enforcement of discipline and order. Again, under a proper system of lectures and instruction the majority of the probationers will learn their work much better than at present. The collateral advantages of a university course are also of considerable importance. The intercourse with men of all kinds, the traditions, the opportunities, the intellectual atmosphere of the place, are calculated, I maintain, to develop the highest moral and mental qualities. The Civil Service Commissioners themselves have apparently admitted the feasibility of the scheme put forth by the Master of Balliol, though they express themselves as not sanguine that some problems of detail could be satisfactorily solved. I have no doubt whatever that these details can be arranged, and if both parties really wish to attain the end proposed, a compromise as to details can be effected under the sanction of the Secretary of State. It is fortunate that he is also Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

10 **AT OXFORD OR CAMBRIDGE**—In the next place, the suggestion that university residence should be at Oxford or Cambridge, in preference to London or elsewhere, may appear to be questionable. I answer confidently that they are for the purpose preferable to any other university. Their prestige is undeniable, their tone is the highest possible. Add to this the academical discipline ready to

hand, and the benefits to be derived from actual residence and college life with No 287 some of the most cultivated minds in the country it seems unnecessary to say more. This may be added however,—I regard good college tutors, such as may be found at either university, as the most potent instruments for turning out the sort of men required for India. By example and precept they may be the very best guides to men destined for hard work, and with their skill and experience they should be confidentially consulted by the Civil Service Commissioners regarding the moral and general fitness of the probationers. While they should unhesitatingly consider the interests of the State in preference to those of individuals, it will lie with them so to influence their pupils that, occasion for recommending a deprivation of appointment shall very rarely, if ever arise.

11. AT OXFORD—It may be considered hardly worth while to incur double expense and entail much additional trouble by maintaining two sets of lecturers or teachers at both of the older universities, *i.e.*, for 20 or 25 probationers at each. It should perhaps be definitely decided by the Civil Service Commissioners which universities should be asked to arrange for the reception of probationers. It is to be observed in the enclosures of your letter that the University of Oxford is shown to have taken the more prominent interest in the probationers for the Indian Civil Service, and it has lately appeared in the public papers that the Balliol College authorities have offered to take ten of the selected candidates without further examination. I am free to confess that I should prefer to see the arrangement made with the Oxford authorities. If one university only is selected, it will be necessary to arrange for the transfer of men who have been successful from another university. This I regard as an instance of a detail which can be easily settled, and one in which the State have a perfect right to lay down rules for observance by their probationary servants.

12. SEPARATE COLLEGE NOT NECESSARY—It may be urged by some that all the probationers should be brought together at one college at the university selected. While this plan would have some advantages, it is not to my mind a necessary feature of the scheme. The probationers, if residing at different colleges, would see enough of each other at lectures and privately. If monopolized by one college, the interest of all the other colleges in their welfare would be lost. I cannot but think that the action of the authorities of some colleges has been very short-sighted in ruling that their scholarships should not be tenable simultaneously with the Civil Service appointments.

13. LECTURES—With regard to lectures, they could be settled by the Committee of Council for reporting on Indian education in communication with the college authorities. There are already a reader in Indian history and the Professors of Sanskrit and Hindustani, there are always lectures on political economy and jurisprudence going on. A difficulty would occur at first in finding a lecturer on Indian law and the law of evidence, but I cannot regard this as insuperable. The lectures should be adapted to the requirements of the periodical examinations. Attendance, as said above, should be strictly enforced. If additional expense is incurred by such a scheme, I would presume that it would be borne by Government and the university in equal shares.

14. DEGREE—Having sketched a plan for residence at the university for ten terms, I would venture to hope that the university authorities would be pleased to allow this to be reckoned as sufficient for the B. A. degree, and I think that they might also confer that degree on the strength of the final Civil Service examination, without demanding any further examination on the part of the university. I have no hesitation in saying that the examination for the ordinary pass degree is mere child's play as compared with the final Civil Service examination. If it were necessary to invent a name, it might be called a degree *in jurisprudentia et rebus Indiciis* or something like it, and it might be conferred on production of a certificate from the Civil Service Commissioners. I think the degree is valuable, and would be considered so by the men themselves, even though it might be possessed by all alike.

15. LAW—I have urged above that the law courts should be attended during the university vacations. The courts, I remember, always were sitting during part of the vacations. With regard to the system of reporting of cases, I would propose a change. At present the men waste a great deal of time in seeking cases from court to court, in beginning cases which are stopped in the middle, &c., until they get the required number of cases of the prescribed sorts. I recollect wasting days amounting to weeks in this way. Instead of the present system I would require attendance at the different courts for a certain number of days, say for three weeks, or eighteen working days, before each "periodical" examination. All the business transacted, of whatever kind, should be duly reported, with notes, as under the existing directions. By this plan no time would be wasted, and I believe that on the average more work would be got out of the men. The proceedings in court, the duties of the Magistrate or Judge, and the general management of the business

I regard as more valuable for the probationer's observation than a few points of law he may accidentally pick up in hearing a few more or less important cases. If it were possible to appoint in London a barrister (or professor of law, as proposed by the Master of Balliol), to whom the men might look for guidance and advice, their work would be much facilitated.

16 THE ALLOWANCE DURING PROBATION—I agree with the Commissioners in strongly deprecating the withdrawal of the allowance now granted during the period of probation in England. The expenses of tuition, lectures, books, &c, are now considerable, and if residence at the university is to be added, as I hope it may be, the allowances will not be too large. There is no doubt that this allowance opens the field of competition to many who would not otherwise be able to afford the unavoidable expense of the two years' course.

17 COMPLETION OF UNIVERSITY COURSE—With regard to the particular question whether successful candidates would be likely to take advantage of being able to complete the university course if this advantage were given to them, I believe that I am right in replying that men would gladly avail themselves of this advantage. The probationers are now discouraged from continuing their university career, if they were encouraged to do so, they would certainly do it, as most of the men passing from the university now do so in spite of discouragement. If it were known in the university that they would be so encouraged, I think that perhaps men would be less deterred from competing than that at present. But I trust that such residence may be made compulsory, and in harmony with, not in opposition to, the Civil Service Commissioners.

18 THE PROSPECTS SHOULD BE FULLY EXPLAINED TO CANDIDATES—I would desire, in conclusion, to offer one or two remarks. It is very desirable that the possible competitors in England should not be led to form exaggerated notions of their prospects in India. They should rather be warned that while the old privileges of the Civil Service are never likely to be increased, they have been and are always liable to be still further diminished, that an Indian income in rupees is very different to the apparent equivalent in pounds sterling, that the purchasing power of money is not what it was, that promotion is slower than in former days. While such an announcement might deter some good men from competing, the successful would have chosen their course with their eyes open. They would have no such causes of discontent as are held (not without some reason) to exist now. It is impossible that the recent discussions in Parliament and the Press, and the accusation of breach of faith against the Indian Government, with such answer as the accusation elicited, should not have come to the knowledge of the university and other young men of the day. If the Indian Civil Service was not coveted by the best men before, it is not probable that the recent disclosures will attract men of higher calibre. It is therefore better that the truth should be known, and an attempt made to forestal the possibility of discontent, which must be prejudicial to the interests of the State.

From H. GILLON, Esq., Joint Magistrate of Jessore, to the Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—No. A., dated Jessore, the 14th August 1875

I am in receipt of your\* No. 253 E, Section B, dated the 2nd instant, together with the correspondence therein referred to.

The report† of the Civil Service Commissioners, dated 16th March 1875, is of such an exhaustive character and deals with the questions at issue in so able a manner that there remains little more to be said upon the subject. I more especially find this to be the case, inasmuch as I fully agree in the main with the conclusions arrived at by them. It will therefore be futile to examine the whole subject in detail, and I accordingly merely note down those observations which strike me as having some bearing upon the points at issue.

With regard to the question generally, I am completely of opinion that in every matter connected both with the selection of candidates in the first instance, and with their subsequent training, as much freedom as is consistent with the attainment of the main end in view should be allowed, and this principle has obviously been kept strictly in view by the Commissioners in arriving at their solution of the problems in connection with the Indian Civil Service that have been submitted to them.

It has been enacted by Parliament that the Indian Civil Service should be recruited with persons selected by open competition, and it is clear that it was the intention of Parliament that the competition should be of the most free and unfettered description. Moreover, it is universally admitted that the competitive system in some form is, in the case of the Indian service, both eminently necessary and exceedingly desirable. It becomes therefore needless to allude further to a point that has practically been definitely settled.

\* Not printed

† See page 9

Passing on to the question of the limits of age between which candidates may offer themselves for examination, I entirely concur with the Civil Service Commissioners in thinking that the present limits, namely 17 and 21, should be retained. The present limits of age secured men of mature understanding and acquaintance with the work, while the system admits youths of exceptional industry and intelligence who are, for those reasons, not likely to suffer much in comparison with their seniors when brought into contact with real work in India. The age of 17 is undoubtedly the lowest limit that can with advantage be admitted. To reduce the age still further would probably have no result whatever beyond increasing the number of candidates to some extent, for youths of 16 could hardly compete successfully with men of 21, except in the most rare instances.

To raise the minimum age seems an unnecessary measure. Under the present system those who pass before attaining the age of 18 are over 20 before they reach India, and over 21 before they have passed their departmental examinations and become entrusted with important and responsible duties.

Moreover, to raise the minimum age might result in shutting out some youths of exceptional ability unable to prosecute their general studies beyond the age of 17, or others, again, who, having commenced their university career at that age by obtaining scholarships, might feel disinclined to abandon their prospects at the university and divert their attention to the Indian Civil Service examinations. Lastly, it might exclude some few who, previously undecided as to their future career, might, after reaching the age of 17, have determined to follow other professions.

To increase the maximum age might extend Indian careers to a period of life when men in Office in India grow less servicable to the administration. At the same time there are to be found arguments in favour of increasing the limit of age to 22.

Successful candidates of that age would reach India before attaining their 25th year, and be eligible for pension at 50 years of age—a period of life at which those who have passed their lives in India are still capable of efficiently performing most official functions.

There are no strong reasons at any rate for believing that there could be much difference in the efficiency of men of 49 and men of 50, while the increase of age would, on the other hand, admit of those who had taken their university degrees offering themselves as candidates.

It cannot, as the Civil Service Commissioners have shown, be believed that many very able men are prevented from competing by reason of the difficulty of taking their degrees at the same time. They have other and stronger reasons, as a rule, for refusing to enter the lists.

Nevertheless, there are undoubtedly a few who are at present debarred from competing for the above reason. Such men bear in mind that in the event of their becoming on the score of health, or for other causes, unable to proceed to India, or of their being compelled to return from India before becoming entitled to pension, they would not be possessed of the prestige of a good university degree to facilitate the obtaining of profitable employment in England. The scheme put forward by the universities to modify degrees so as to admit of passed candidates taking degrees in their special subjects, could not obviate the difficulty above pointed out, as in the latter case the degree so obtained would be more valuable than a certificate of having gained a place in the open competition, or of having passed the final examination, would be at the present moment. Such cases are, however, so few that it is doubtful whether India sustains any loss thereby that is sufficiently important to justify an extension of the limit of age.

Proposal to increase the age to 22 under certain conditions. The proposal advanced by the Master of Balliol to allow candidates to compete up to the age of 22 under certain circumstances does not appear to be one that it is desirable to adopt. It would result in increasing the general limit of age to 22 with the disadvantage of substituting one year for two years' practical legal training, since such candidates as failed to pass before they were 21 would, if bent upon succeeding, prepare to qualify themselves in order to compete under the special rule in the year following. This difficulty might be overcome by adding a condition that those only should be allowed the privilege who had not previously competed. Nevertheless, the establishment of the special rule would tend in some measure to divert the general course of education into a particular channel, and, as such, should be discouraged. To reduce the limit of age below 21 is obviously undesirable, for the reasons given by the Master of Balliol.

Subjects of examination for the open competition

The subjects of examination as they stand at present admit, for cogent reasons clearly stated by the Civil Service Commissioners, of no reduction.

Neither would it be desirable, for equally strong reasons advanced by them, to No 287

Proposal to include law and political economy in the first examination

accept the proposition of the Master of Balliol and include law and political economy in the first examination. This proposal, it may be remarked, is somewhat inconsistent with another suggestion coming from the same source, namely, that the number of subjects that a candidate is at liberty to take up should be limited to four. It would not be easy to allot a very large proportion of marks to political economy and law, and thus with a limitation to four subjects these studies would be neglected for others that admitted of the largest number of marks being obtained. In this manner the introduction of law and political economy might be expected to have no effect whatever upon the examinations. The

Limiting the number of subjects taken up

undesirability and the absence of necessity, as proved by actual experience, of limiting the number of subjects which candidates may offer have been very conclusively established by the Civil Service Commissioners, while they have clearly shown that "cramming" in its bad sense has not been encouraged by the present system of examination. Their reasons for rejecting the proposals to appropriate appointments for proficiency in single subjects, to reserve a portion of the appointments for the members of some universities, and to select Indian civilians by departmental authority, are equally convincing. As the Commissioners point out, no change in the existing mode of selecting probationers is necessary, except with regard to the maxima allotted to the different subjects.

The Master of Balliol has proposed that 500 instead of 1,000 marks should be allotted to English literature and history. This, however, is a change that could not be attended by other than results to be deplored. It would infallibly cause the study of English to be neglected for that of classics, mathematics, or natural sciences, and in consequence few good English scholars would be found in the ranks of passed candidates. In the present age, when the careful study of our own language, literature, and history is rightly viewed as of eminent importance, a reduction in the number of marks assigned for the subject will not, there is little doubt, be approved of by more than a few.

The maxima in English, classics, mathematics and moral sciences should, I am of opinion, remain unaltered.

The maximum of each modern language should, on the other hand, be enhanced to 500 marks. The present maximum, namely, 375, does not by any means adequately represent the labour and intelligence that are necessary to gain a sound acquaintance with either of the modern languages admitted at the open competition, together with its literature and history. Few candidates in consequence care to continue the study of these languages after leaving school, when they find that the labour of years is rewarded by some 50 or 100 marks only.

It may undoubtedly be argued that an acquaintance with these languages is of little value to those about to commence an Indian career, but, on the other hand, it is of great importance in the general scheme of education in England, and whatever tends in the open competition to interfere with the ordinary course of education is an acknowledged evil.

The maxima for Sanskrit and Arabic, on the contrary, are either too great, or otherwise the examiners in these subjects mark far too liberally. It is notorious that with one-third or one-fourth of the study required to obtain a certain number of marks in one of the modern languages, the same number can generally be easily obtained in either of the Eastern classical languages.

The maximum for the natural sciences, again, is either excessive, or, on the other hand, marks are given too liberally. The natural sciences are the only subjects that afford any opportunity for "cramming," in its bad sense, to succeed. In these subjects what is required is almost exclusively a knowledge of facts. There are few inferences required to be drawn, and there is little occasion for the exercise of the reasoning faculties. As a consequence, the natural sciences are taken up by the majority of candidates that have studied at one of the special training establishments, and marks are gained by them vastly excessive in comparison with the labour they represent. Neither is the cause of science in any way advanced by offering a premium in this way to those who study it. No love for the study is engendered by a short and hasty application, and in the majority of cases whatever knowledge is gained has entirely evaporated by the end of the two years' probation.

On the subject of the training of probationers during the interval between their selection and departure for India, I entirely agree with the opinion of the Commissioner that, with young men who have already given the best possible proof of steady-



ness and self-control by success in an arduous competition, a system under which they are left free to choose for themselves the place and the manner of their studies is a better preparation for the perfect liberty which they are so soon to enjoy in India than any supervision that the discipline of a college could supply." That every reasonable facility should be given to enable probationers to reside at universities or colleges is highly desirable, but to practically compel them to reside at such places would be regarded as a grievance, and possibly deter candidates from offering themselves for examination. These drawbacks might no doubt be counter-balanced in some measure by increasing the allowances of probationers so as to cover the additional expense entailed, otherwise it would operate to create Indian appointments into a monopoly for the wealthy.

Too much stress, I conceive, is laid upon the moral and intellectual benefits supposed to accrue from such a residence, and upon the value of a degree obtained by passing university examinations in law, political economy, and Indian subjects. Such a degree as already pointed out is no more valuable than a certificate of passing the examinations at present prescribed by the Civil Service Commissioners, while the moral training, as the Commissioners have shown, could not be obtained at some universities and colleges where residence is not enforced or contemplated. And it would be invidious to select only such seats of learning as provide for residence.

Moreover, the complaint that Indian civilians are greatly wanting in point of moral training and the characteristics of a gentleman is not, I believe, so frequently heard in the present day as formerly, and it would perhaps on enquiry be found that many of those in respect of whom the complaint has been made have had the advantages of collegiate or university training. In any case, it would be sanguine to expect that a residence of two years at a university or college would in every case work a complete transformation in those who are deficient in the above respects, while in the majority of instances a short residence in India soon effects all that is needed.

The great obstacle to all the schemes proposed is, by general consent, the difficulty of obtaining a practical training in law and the manner in which laws should be administered in any place but London or its neighbourhood.

The Master of Balliol and the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University have suggested that ample opportunity is afforded for the above purposes and for the study of such languages as Tamil and Telugu by the university vacations. In other words, they would have probationers' work with undiminished energy the whole year round, and allow them no opportunity of useful continental travel, or of visiting relations located in distant parts of the British Isles, before embarking upon a prolonged residence in India, while they lose sight of the difficulty of always finding suitable cases to report and suitable tutors to instruct during vacation time.

Good legal training is especially necessary in the present day—when sharp pleaders are to be found in nearly every mofussil court, and the proceedings of mofussil Magistrates and Judges require to be conducted with so much more care than in former times, I would offer greater facilities to probationers to obtain this important requisite rather than throw fresh obstacles in their path.

For this reason a better plan than any hitherto proposed for bringing probationers into contact with each other would be to require each probationer to attach himself to some Inn of Court immediately after passing the entrance examination, and to increase the allowances so as to cover the fees necessary for that purpose. He might further be required to take a barrister's degree in addition to passing the final examination. Facilities are now offered by the Inns of Court which enable probationers to take a barrister's degree in two years upon passing an examination which presents few difficulties to those who are required to pass the present final examination, since the subject-matter is the same in each as far as law is concerned. A barrister's degree would carry more prestige with it, and be of more value in India, than the special degree described by the Master of Balliol. Few probationers at present are called to the Bar before quitting England by reason of the expense such a proceeding involves. For this reason it is desirable that the Secretary of State should sanction the increase of allowance so as to cover this expenditure. In this way, moreover, such probationers as found themselves unable to proceed to India, or compelled after proceeding to India to retire from the service, would have one career at any rate immediately open to them in England. It would of course be necessary for probationers to furnish security for the refund of the amount expended in fees on either of the above contingencies coming to pass.

Not a little has been said regarding the friendlessness and isolation of probationers. They are, however, in no worse predicament than law and medical students, and, judging from the statistics given by the Civil Service

Friendlessness and isolation of probationers



Commissioners, neither their health nor moral character seems to have suffered from the solitude and absence of friends ascribed to them. I am of opinion, therefore, that they might be left to find their own remedies for these evils. No 287

It does not appear to have been proposed in any quarter to reduce the period of probation at present prescribed. There is little doubt that it will not bear reduction, and that the present system works much better than the system which formerly prevailed, according to which the training of a young civilian was completed in Calcutta after one year spent in England. It requires fully two years to gain a sound knowledge of the different subjects prescribed for the final examination, and the period could only be safely reduced simultaneously with a reduction in the number of subjects.

No proposal, however, has been made to do away with any of those subjects, and I am not of opinion that any of them could with advantage be dispensed with. Some modifications, however, are desirable.

It is unnecessary to require from candidates more than a knowledge of the outlines of Indian Geography. Minute details, if learnt, are speedily forgotten, while in this country a civilian soon acquires an intimate knowledge of the geography of his own province. With the geography of other provinces he has little concern.

In Political Economy it would be advisable not merely to recommend, but to render obligatory the perusal of Northcote's "Twenty years of Financial Policy" and Goschen's work on "Foreign Exchanges."

I am unaware of the reasons which led the Commissioners to prescribe the study of only one instead of two Indian dialects during the period of probation. I am unable to regard the change as either a necessary or a useful one. It is not necessary, as no difficulty was formerly experienced by probationers in making themselves acquainted with the rudiments of two languages, and consequently no such difficulty should be experienced in the present day. The change is not useful, as it is highly essential that a preliminary knowledge of both Bengali and Hindustani should be possessed by probationers destined for employment in Bengal; that some acquaintance with both Hindustani and Hindi should be possessed by probationers selected for employment in the North-Western Provinces, that a similar knowledge of both Hindustani and Marathi should have been acquired by those proceeding to Bombay, and that an acquaintance with at least two of the three languages mainly used in Madras should be possessed by those proceeding to that Presidency.

The effect of prescribing one language only is to prolong the time in India during which a young civilian is incapable of being entrusted with important duties. Thus it was formerly in exceptional cases only that junior civilians failed to pass by the lower standard in Bengali within six months. Of those who arrived in India in 1875, however, such as passed within six months formed the exception. I would, therefore, strongly advocate the utility of reverting to the former rules, which compelled probationers to take up at least two Indian languages for the final examination.

Reverting once more to the consideration of the selection of candidates for the Indian Civil Service in connection with the universities, with special reference to the question whether successful candidates would be likely to take advantage of being able to complete the university course if this advantage were given to them, it is obvious that much depends upon the description of university course contemplated.

There is little doubt that such successful candidates as had already entered upon the ordinary university course would endeavour to take advantage of facilities offered for completing that course and taking a good place in the classical or mathematical schools. But, on the other hand, to offer such facilities would hardly be consistent with the principle laid down\* in the report of 1854, that selected candidates "should give their whole minds to the duties of their new position, and let their serious studies be henceforth such as have a special tendency to fit them for their calling." In opposition to this it may, however, be argued that the necessity of passing a difficult final examination should act as a sufficient check to an immoderate devotion to university studies, and that such as engage in them do so at their own risk. And this view is probably the correct one. Make the final examination sufficiently difficult, and a very sound check upon the conduct of selected candidates is obtained. They would have before their eyes the risk of ultimate failure and the certainty of being distanced in the final examination by their competitors to deter them from devoting any considerable portion of their time to classical or mathematical studies. I would therefore accept the suggestion of the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge

\* See page 25

University that all official discouragement (otherwise than by way of advice) to No 287  
the residence elsewhere than in London of selected candidates should be discontinued, and that the periodical examination required of them should be fixed otherwise than in full university term

That successful candidates would display much anxiety to enter upon a university course in order to obtain such a degree as that proposed by the Master of Balliol, I do not think at all probable for reasons already given. If the universities afforded by far the best instruction in Indian law and history, political economy, and Oriental languages, many successful candidates might be found to reside at the universities in order to take advantage of that instruction, but the chance of obtaining a degree in those subjects would scarcely enter at all into the calculation. There is, however, little prospect of the universities out of the metropolis ever successfully competing with London in affording instruction in all or even the majority of the above subjects.

It remains to notice the proposal to withdraw the allowance now made to probationers while in England. So far from advocating its withdrawal, I would, as already pointed out, increase it either by including the cost of a call to the Bar or by including the additional expenditure entailed on probationers by residence at a university. I am convinced that, if selected candidates were left to bear themselves the entire cost of their training during the two years of probation, in addition to the cost of making the journey to India, the area of selection would be considerably narrowed. The reasons which induce men to seek Indian service are not sentimental, but are, as a rule, the absence of capital to enable them to enter one of the professions at home. Were, therefore, the present deterioration in the value of Indian appointments and the disadvantage of climate to be supplemented by the necessity of expenditure of capital, there is not a doubt that many would prefer to expend that capital in other ways in England, or would, from its absence, become unable to offer themselves for competition. As it is the allowance now given barely covers the expense of tuition, books, and journey to India, while it undoubtedly does not cover the cost of living in addition. On the same principle as that which would do away with the pecuniary allowance of probationers, the salary of a junior civilian might be reduced to Rs 100 per mensem to represent the exact value of his services before he passes his first departmental examination. The fallacy of the comparison drawn between the probationer for the Civil Service and the probationer for the Engineering Service has been sufficiently exposed by the Commissioners in their report\* of March 1875, and it is only left to remark that the labour of a probationer for the Indian Civil Service, who is ultimately precluded from proceeding to India, is worse than labour merely thrown away, since during the time thus wasted he has been prevented from qualifying himself for employment in England.

## XII.

From A. COLVIN Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces, No 283; to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,—No 1520 A, dated Naini Tal, the 23rd August 1875

I am directed to reply to your letter† No 16—1034, dated 23rd June last, and to forward the opinions of certain selected officers of the Civil Service on the questions referred to them. The Lieutenant-Governor also asked the opinion of the Honourable Mr Turner, now Officiating Chief Justice of these Provinces, who has been good enough to state his view on the subject. To the correspondence now sent I am directed to add the following remarks

2 Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India asks for an opinion both as to the method in which candidates shall in the first instance be selected, and as to the manner in which those who are selected shall be trained for service in India. According to the wish of His Excellency, as expressed in your demi-official letter‡ of 23rd June, in circulating the papers, the three following points were expressly referred for opinion —

- (1) As regards the training at home after the first examination is passed
- (2) As to the age up to which it is desirable that candidates for the first examination should be admitted
- (3) Whether successful candidates would be likely to take advantage of being able to complete the university course if this advantage were open to them

The first point referred by the Secretary of State is not included in these three questions, and His Honor in the present letter omits it from consideration

\* See page 9

† See page 52

‡ Not printed

3 More particularly to answer the second question put by the N Government of India, but in fact to enable us to form any opinion on the subject, there must be a clear understanding as to the nature of the duties which ordinarily await a civilian on arrival in India and occupy him for the ten or twelve succeeding years. The papers forwarded for opinion assume in great part that a complete university education, or at least a finished education at home, is very necessary to the performance of those duties, because probably they are a valuable introduction to public or professional life in England. But the value of such training varies with the circumstances in which a man is placed, and in India, while doubtless of great use to its possessor, it cannot give him much of that special knowledge which can only be acquired in this country, and during the early years of life. If, on the other hand, as not unfrequently happens, prolonged stay in England gives a man absolute distaste for the further necessary education, and for the dull mechanical detail of business which awaits him here, it is not only not useful but mischievous.

4 All who have been consulted are agreed that an Indian career demands Indian education and a long apprenticeship in the details of Indian work. During the first two years of his service a civilian must go to school again to learn the local languages and local laws and rules of administration, and is accordingly subjected to local examinations in both before he can obtain any—the smallest—increase of salary. During a term ranging from ten to fourteen years he must train himself in the exercise of humble, and in many cases extremely unattractive, duties. The precise period of apprenticeship varies in different Presidencies, but in none probably is it less than ten years.

5 In many cases it must further be remembered the kind of work which awaits a man in his first ten or fourteen years is the kind of work which will occupy him to the day he leaves India. He has not come out to shape the measures of the Empire, but in a humbler sphere to carry out in careful detail the views of other men, and to assist, by his knowledge of the people, and familiarity with administrative possibilities in making the execution of public measures practicable. The degree of responsibility increases with his length of service, but the subjects are mostly the same. Sir John Strachey dwells especially on this, because without question there prevail in England exaggerated views as to the position and prospects of the Indian Civil Service. Its summits naturally have arrested the attention of those who look at it from a distance, but those nearer to it know perfectly well that a few high offices excepted, the mass of the service is on a comparatively low level, with little to reward, or to need exceptional attainments, and with an atmosphere better adapted to tact, temper, insight and common sense than to high culture. In course of time this will be more generally recognized, but the Lieutenant-Governor thinks that no opportunity should be lost—such an opportunity for example as this—of dissipating the notions which float about in England, and which favour the belief that most men exercise at once in India functions which in truth few ever exercise at all, and that responsible duties await the student fresh from his university, which a man after a third or a half of his service may perhaps overtake, but which are carefully confined to officials of experience and long local training. Exceptions of course there are, but no scheme can be based on exceptions and the truthfulness of this sketch, so far at least as it concerns these Provinces, will, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks, be admitted by all.

6 It follows that a man should on arrival in India be sufficiently young to accept cheerfully this preliminary local education, and that the training he has received in England, while qualifying him to turn to good account the experience which awaits him here, should not make him impatient of a laborious, technical, and long novitiate. Such periods are of course incidental to all professions, but

in India they admit of little distraction, such as the literary employment common among barristers; or other young men in professions at home. When a man comes to India he has much to learn, which though inevitable will be distasteful in proportion as his mind is, with increased age, acquiring fixed tastes. Further, he must not think that a high standard of training will, in the ordinary line, necessarily procure him one day's advancement before seniors equally successful in passing the competitive test, or that his education is wasted, because he has proved himself capable of more than, for a third or a half of his service, is required of him. In proportion to his age and culture will be the tendency to think himself thrown away on ordinary Indian work. This view is well put in the 4th paragraph of Mr Smith's note, himself a university man. No doubt there are a few offices in which the highest culture and the keenest training are needed, but under the old Haileybury system, as under the present, men were always found for these few posts. Exceptional men will not be wanting, though the training is not adapted solely to produce them.

7 Accepting then this unusual and moderate but, as he believes, accurate view of the nature of the ordinary civilians' duties and the training needful for them, Sir John Strachey sees no use in providing for him facilities of taking university honours. As more than one university man has said, in his reply to the present reference, an university degree carries little weight in the Civil Service, and this is probably because it provides no necessary test of the qualities which are looked for here in useful subordinates. The conditions of usefulness are in many ways different in India, and university honours test only some of them.

8 There remains the mode and place of training in the interval between the two examinations. The objections to fixing on any one university, or establishing an Indian college, seem nicely balanced, and as the Lieutenant-Governor does not think a university course necessary, he will not discuss them. It has been suggested by Mr Oldham and by Mr Smith that a single examination is sufficient, and that men should come out, like many who were first appointed in 1855 or 1856, as soon as they have passed one examination. From the 8th and 9th paragraphs of the Honourable Mr Turner's Note, his opinions seem to point in a similar direction. Holding the view he has stated above, His Honor agrees with these gentlemen. He believes that there should be one examination only for candidates between the ages of 20 and 22, modified, as would be necessary, to ensure a moderate knowledge of jurisprudence, history and political economy. The after education would be better attained in India among the people, and in the daily exercise of the Indian Magistrate's offices, than by taking notes in English law courts and by studying Oriental languages with English professors. While the Civil Service Commissioners especially dwell on the great advantages of attendance upon law courts in England, it will not fail to be observed that in the opinion of the officers now consulted, many of whom speak from experience, these advantages are greatly over-estimated. In so many of the subjects of the first examination as are retained, the test should be as searching as at present, but in the subjects now occupying the later examinations, a lesser degree of proficiency would, His Honor thinks, be sufficient. If men compete from a university, well and good, but the scheme of one examination only makes all considerations of after training unnecessary. Should the two examinations, however, be maintained, he would certainly not make residence at a university compulsory. The expense of the two intermediate years is already very considerable, the necessity of residing at a college would probably increase it. The men who after great labour have succeeded in a competitive examination are the last in the world to succumb to the vulgar temptations of town life. Although they

might in some cases prefer to pass their two years in a college, they are perfectly capable of looking after themselves wherever they may be. As for *esprit de corps*, about which much has been said, the desire to resist encroachments which are supposed to threaten the service, is welding it together against outsiders and giving it a unity which it never possessed before, while eagerness and ambition to distinguish themselves—self-interest in other words—keep up among the men who fill its ranks an emulation and rivalry exceeding possibly that of old days. A college, it is urged, rubs down angles and makes men smooth. It may, but so far as the Lieutenant-Governor has observed, like seeks like, whether in a college or out of it. If men are to be sent compulsorily to a college merely to learn manners, or to give them the advantages of college society, is the gain worth the cost? India is a country large enough to admit of many angles, and it would be easy to give illustrations from the Civil Service of men who have risen in modern times to some of the highest offices of the State, who have been as noted among all classes for capacity in the conduct and despatch of public business and control of public men as for deficiencies in refinement of manners and in culture.

9 At the bottom of all these discussions there lies the assumption that the men who now come out are not suited to the profession they have entered. The chief defect alleged, Sir John Strachey believes, is that they are too much men of books, and have too little *savoir faire* and self-reliance, in a word, are not as much as they might be men of practical habits. The practical man, it has been said, is too often the man who has seen, heard, and misunderstood. Assuming the objection to be true, which, however, the Lieutenant-Governor does not believe, it seems to him that a prolonged course of study in England would be an aggravation rather than a remedy of the defect complained of. The world of business is the best school for defects of this kind, and introduction to Indian education and Indian work, after one searching test of capacity and acquirements, seems to His Honor eminently desirable.

From ROBERT SMEATON, Esq., es., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces No. 289

With reference to your letter\* No 1300 A of 21st ultimo, asking for an expression of opinion on certain points connected with the system of preparation for the Indian Civil Service, I have the honor to state as follows

2 In regard to the first point—the mode and place of training in England after the open examination—I understand this to refer to the suggestion (frequently made) that selected candidates should, during their probationary period, be required to reside at some central college or institution, and pursue there a regulated course of study as was the case at Haileybury in former times, and as is now the plan pursued at Cooper's Hill

If I am right in surmising this to be the point at issue, I feel constrained to state that I think such a course would not be advisable, believing as I do that it would neither be viewed with favour by those most interested, nor be productive of compensating advantage

Apart from the question of the difficulty that would inevitably be experienced in deciding on conflicting claims as to the locality best suited for such an institution (and the difficulty would not be inconsiderable), I cannot see that the supposed advantages are such as to justify the adoption of such a scheme

The benefits which might be expected to result from a measure of this kind, may be summarized as under —

(a)—The development of a healthy *esprit de corps*, which is at present said to be all but non-existent in the service

(b)—Useful moral supervision at a critical age

(c)—Facilitated preparation for work in India

(a)—As regards the first of these points, the importance of the object aimed at seems to me to be usually very much over-rated. But admitting that the existence of such a feeling is to be desired, I think it exists already in a sufficiently strong degree. The very fact that we are members of a service which has done such great work in the past—of a service the entrance to which (if we except more

\* Not printed

recent legislation) is barred to all below a recognized standard of intellectual No 289 calibre—of a service which, with all its drawbacks, is to all intents and purposes a *close one*, with the highest and weightiest of all duties for its work this fact is of itself sufficient, in my opinion, to create and nourish a feeling as nearly akin to the *esprit de corps* of olden times as changed circumstances can well permit. Nor must it be forgotten that, if such a system would awaken an *esprit de corps*, it would inevitably exert a narrowing tendency which is not to be desired. Common studies and interests, combined with a common residence and common prospects, would tend to pare men down to a common standard, to keep them in a narrow groove, and to lessen *pro tanto* their individuality and strength.

(b)—In regard to the moral supervision which the proposed system would give, I think this alleged advantage is adequately met at the outset by the assertion that it is not necessary. All unnecessary restraint is bad, and if, as my own experience induces me to think, such supervision is not needed here, its effects will be as apt to be prejudicial as beneficial. The great majority of successful candidates are men of 20 years old or upwards at the open examination, the next largest number consists of men from 19 to 20, those under 19 form a comparatively small minority. Surely it will be conceded that young men of this age, who have avowedly gone through a severe and protracted course of training, who have produced credible certificates of moral character and have been subjected to a searching medical examination, are competent to steer clear of temptations which might possibly be dangerous for men of different training and calibre the more so, in that they have at once so much to lose on the one hand and so much to gain on the other.

(c)—The third advantage which the centralizing system would afford refers to facilities for preparatory study. It is asserted that a regulated course under able teachers would conduce greatly to increased knowledge and proportionally greater value.

The only two departments in which these advantages would be obtained are those of language and law. In regard to the first, all that the most careful teaching can secure (in England) is a thorough grounding in grammar and elementary literature. In the case of the great majority of prescribed languages (Hindustani, Hindi, Telugu, &c) the difficulties are very inconsiderable, owing to the simplicity of the languages in question, while the classical languages (Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic) are optional, and adequate instruction in these is to be obtained all over the country. To mention my own case, I had the advantage of studying Sanskrit under Professor Aufrecht of the University of Edinburgh, and might have studied Arabic, had I desired to do so, at St Andrews'.

In law, perhaps the advantages of a regular course of training would be more obvious. But here again the ground is so limited that the actual gain would be doubtful at best. Of the three branches under which law is at present studied (General Jurisprudence, English law as practically applied including the Law of Evidence, and Indian Law), the first alone is of such a nature as to repay special facilities for its study. The details of English and Indian Law may be studied by an intelligent candidate in his own room as well as (if not better than) amid the distractions of a lecture-room. Attendance at the courts of law (a necessary element) speaks for itself it would necessitate frequent and indefinite absences from any head-quarters establishment or central college. But although in the province of general jurisprudence—the science of law—the guidance of an able teacher would be valuable, it is not indispensable, and even if it were so, such guidance is obtainable in Scotland and Ireland, no less than in England, from the Law Faculties attached to the various universities.

My conclusion then on this head is simply this, that the proposed arrangement would be unpalatable to the selected candidates and of questionable advantage at best. Speaking from personal experience (and I know I speak the sentiments of many other similarly situated) I would strongly deprecate the enforced residence of selected candidates at any central institution, college, or locality. The two years' probation is a most valuable aid towards preparation for Indian life, and it becomes all the more valuable when the candidate (who has proved his intellectual and moral fitness under a searching ordeal) is left to his own discretion as a man, and not trammelled by needless restrictions, or kept within bounds like a school-boy. I therefore advocate absolute freedom of choice for the selected men.

3 The second point alluded to in your letter under reply refers to the age up to which candidates should be admitted for the first (or open) examination.

The present limits are 17 to 21. The tendency has been, since the institution of the competitive system, to lower both the maximum and the minimum. Up to 1859 the limits were 18 to 23, from 1860 to 1864 they were 18 to 22, in 1865, 17 to 22, and from 1866 downwards, 17 to 21. It seems to me that in view of the training necessary to qualify a man for such an examination, and of the future work required of successful candidates, this tendency (to lower the limits of admission) is to be deprecated, and that a return to the 18 and 22 year standard would be advantageous. In England, the upper members of a public school are rarely

under the age of 18, in Scotland 17 is the common age at which a student matriculates. And although the fact of the minimum age being 17 does not necessitate appearance at the open examination at that age, or till a later period, yet the *admissibility* is of itself a temptation to forsake regular study and go in for special preparation of a less liberal (and therefore less advantageous) character than would ordinarily be pursued. Moreover, the statistics from 1859 downwards (extending over 16 years) show that of 817 successful candidates only 13 passed under the age of 18 years and only 116 under the age of 19 years the great majority belonging to the other classes as under—

Over 19 years	.	.	.	.	187
" 20 "	.	.	.	.	354
" 21 "	.	.	.	.	133
" 22 "	.	.	.	.	14

So that the retention of the lower limit at 18 would have resulted in preventing the entrance *for one year longer* of 13 men only out of 817. Whether the advantages of early entrance would not be overbalanced by the benefit of at least one year's extra study, is a question which few will hesitate to answer in the affirmative.

4. The last point mooted in your letter is one which seems to refer more specially to the English universities. As my experience is confined to the Scotch universities of St Andrews and Edinburgh, I am not competent to reply to the question in this special sense, but, speaking generally, I have no hesitation in saying that advantage would always be taken, *if possible*, to complete a university course after passing the open examination. But in the first place (speaking of the Scotch universities, where the Degree of Master of Arts can be obtained in two and a half years, more usually it is taken in three and a half years), the successful candidate would, if 21 be the limit (and *a fortiori* if 22 were allowed), have obtained his degree before presenting himself for examination and as a fact I believe that almost all Scotch university men in the service are graduates. In the second place I doubt the feasibility of continuing (after passing) the studies necessary for a degree along with the special work required of successful candidates during their two years' probation—work that is new and strange as well as extensive and difficult.

*Note by A. MACMILLAN, Esq., C.S., on certain points in the Indian Civil Service Competitive System*

#### I.—MODE OF TRAINING THE SELECTED CANDIDATES

The selected candidates should be trained together at a special college, living under the same roof and dining in the same hall as in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Under the present system, or want of system, a youth educated chiefly at his own home, at a crammer's or in the narrow arena of a private school, may come out to India full of intellectual pride and more or less ignorant, owing to want of mixing with the world, of the art which it chiefly behoves him to know—that of dealing with his fellowmen. At the beginning of his service he may be sent to one of those small stations where the circle of society, though small, is not select, and finds himself, as a member of the civilian caste and a pure-blooded European, one of the aristocracy of the place. The probable result is that his self-esteem becomes aggravated, and his eccentricities irremediably confirmed. Yet there may be sterling stuff in the man, and had he been subjected to a discipline like that undergone by young engineers and artillerymen at Woolwich, or subalterns of other branches of the Military Service in regimental life, he might have turned out *teres atque rotundus* instead of rough and angular.

If all selected candidates are made to undergo a college training, the extreme type of young civilian I have attempted to portray will become extinct or be seen only in a mitigated form. College life will rub the rough into shape, crush out the conceit of the intellectually proud, and teach the maladroit some *savoir faire*. Pitted against his equals in the dealings of everyday life, the young civilian will learn where his own strength and weakness lie, and be the stronger and the less weak for the knowledge. He will gain an acquaintance with the good and evil qualities of the future members of his own service, which will be of high value to him when he works side by side with them in India, and especially so should he eventually be called to high place, and have the gift of responsible appointments in his hand. As years go on, a man's knowledge will not be confined to his contemporaries only. College tradition will hand down to him the reputations of those who have gone before him. The maintenance of college friendships will be some alleviation to the tedium of Indian life, tend to make men happier, and therefore better public servants.

In a college with a proper staff of resident or visiting professors, the selected candidate will be able to pursue a more satisfactory course of study than if he has to run about hither and thither to casual and, perhaps, incompetent teachers in different places. With healthy recreation, always to be had in company with his



fellow-collegians, he will not be in the same danger of giving way to vicious indulgences as a solitary student living in lodgings in London No 289

Selected candidates should be bound, under pain of a pecuniary forfeit, which might be remitted on reasonable cause being shown, to complete their course of preparation and proceed to India. If men are allowed to hang on in a half-hearted way and throw up their prospective appointment as soon as they see a chance of getting something better, they will not study with any zeal and earnestness. There is no hardship in the imposition of a forfeit, as no candidate selected at the first examination, if he keeps his health, can have any difficulty in obtaining the obligatory minimum of marks at those that succeed it.

The college should be in or near London, where (to quote from the Civil Service Commissioners) advantages are offered for the study of law, which can be obtained in no other part of the United Kingdom. It would be a mistake to situate it at Oxford or Cambridge, as has been suggested. The consequence would be that public school-men would associate by choice with their old school-fellows at other colleges in the same university, and the Indian collegians would not rub together, one and all, as it is desirable they should.

The term of training after the first examination should be three instead of two years. The course of reading in law might then be made more thorough and complete, less meagre and fragmentary than it now is.

If, instead of some of the books of childish stories prescribed for vernacular reading, the Government of each Presidency would cause editions to be prepared of the records of a few important criminal and revenue cases, selected candidates might master the phraseology of law courts before coming out to India. It is absurd that men intended to act in a judicial capacity should uselessly burden their memories with the names of the outlandish birds, beasts and creeping things of oriental fable, and begin their duties as judges in ignorance of the vernacular words for landlord and tenant, complainant and accused.

With the exception of the dialects spoken in the Provinces in which they are respectively to serve, and Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, selected candidates ought not to be allowed to waste their time in studying what are called by excess of courtesy "Indian languages," and they ought not to obtain marks in Arabic, Persian or Sanskrit unless for very high proficiency.

The examinations in Indian law should be confined to testing the examinee's knowledge of principles. It is an unprofitable tax on a man's memory to get by rote in England minutiae of mere procedure, which he can learn and remember much more easily in India as from time to time he refers to his books while putting them in practice.

Under the system of permitting candidates at the first examination to take up what subject they choose, there is no security that those selected will have undergone a training that will teach them to think and reason with precision. I would therefore add logic to the special subjects of study during the term of probation.

## II — AGE UP TO WHICH CANDIDATES SHOULD BE ADMITTED TO THE OPEN EXAMINATION

The maximum age of admission to the first examination should be fixed as low as is compatible with not excluding from competition men worth attracting to the Indian service. The more of the buoyancy of youth a man has the more cheerfully and readily will he learn his duties, and the longer he will be content to continue learning them in a subordinate position, and the younger the age at which he can hope to retire the more hopeful and less dreary will be his Indian life. Another advantage of fixing a low maximum will be that fewer young civilians will come out to India married. It is a great evil that men should marry in England instead of first waiting to see how far their Indian pay will be sufficient to support the expenses of married life. The maximum age should, I think, be twenty, so that, under the scheme of a three years' subsequent training, no civilian should come out to India older than twenty-three. I would fix the maximum as low as eighteen were it not for the following considerations. Eighteen being the maximum, no candidates but those who were so very second-rate as to have no hope of achieving distinction at a university, would come forward from the leading schools. Twenty being the maximum, men would compete who had been good enough to gain scholarships at a university, but were not so exceptionally good as to feel certain, at the middle of their university career of winning a fellowship at its termination. In 1866, of eight Oxford men who passed at the open competition, six were scholars or exhibitioners of their colleges. None of these would have competed had not the maximum age been so high as to admit of their first trying their strength at a university. Two eventually retired during the term of probation, and now hold fellowships at Oxford. In the case of one of the two at least, this would not have happened if he had begun to reside at an Indian Civil Service College immediately after passing, instead of



being permitted, much to the detriment of his Indian work, to remain at Oxford No. 289. till he felt a fellowship within his grasp

III — PROBABILITY OF ADVANTAGE BEING TAKEN BY SELECTED CANDIDATES OF THE OPTION OF COMPLETING THE UNIVERSITY COURSE

Advantage would no doubt be taken of the option of completing the university course, but the ordinary course for a B A degree would be a contemptible and useless training for a man with brains enough to have passed the open Civil Service Examination, and it would be impossible for him to go through the honour's course without serious detriment to his special Indian studies. The result would probably be that he would do badly in both. This was actually the case with one of the Oxonians who passed in 1866. Although a man of good abilities, he was rejected at the Final Indian Examination, and gained nothing at Oxford worth having. In the attempt to sit upon two stools, he came wofully to the ground

*Note by F M LIND, Esq.,—dated Mussorie, the 7th August 1875*

An expression of my opinion is desired on the following points connected with the system of preparation for the Indian Civil Service —

- (a)—As regards the mode and place of training in England after the first examination
- (b)—As to the age up to which it is desirable that candidates for the first examination should be admitted.
- (c)—Whether, if the age were so arranged that successful candidates would be able to complete the university course, it is probable that advantage would be generally taken of the option

2 With reference to the first point, I think it desirable that successful candidates after the first examination should be transferred to one of the colleges at either of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge if such an arrangement can be made

3 If successful candidates could be brought together, as they would be by being placed at one of the colleges, there would soon be created that *esprit* for the possession of which Haileybury men were accredited, and for the asserted absence of which competition men are said to have no cohesion as a service. But beyond this consideration there are many other reasons for desiring the final preparation for the service in one of the university colleges. The class of training would probably be superior to that acquired under private tuition, and the intermixture with university men would probably engender broader views and better fit candidates for their subsequent duties of administration

Secondly, assuming that successful candidates will have to go through a two years' course at home, the outside limit of age for admission to the first examination should, I think, be fixed at 20. This would enable men to come out to this country at 22 years of age—a limit which, I think, is quite an outside one for the maximum servitude of 35 years

Thirdly, if, as suggested, successful candidates be located at one of the university colleges, the condition of completing the university course might be secured, and in such case the option of doing so would, I think, be availed of in the majority of cases in which the successful candidates were originally university men

I have offered the above remarks with considerable diffidence, as I feel that I have not such a comprehensive knowledge of the subject as to enable me to offer a more competent opinion

*Note by H S REID, Esq.,—dated Mussorie, the 20th July 1875*

I shall take up in order the three points referred for an opinion

2 (I)—“The training selected candidates should receive after selection”

A more suitable and judiciously arranged course of study would hardly be devised than that laid down in the general instructions regarding the periodical examination of the Indian Civil Service probationers. But during the two years of probation, &c, during the period which elapses between the time they have passed their first (preliminary to selection) and last (probationary) examinations, the selected candidates are, I believe, left entirely to themselves, that is, they are subjected to no scholastic or collegiate discipline or control, and at a most critical time of life they are scattered (or *may be* scattered) throughout the United Kingdom. Many of them are compelled to live away from home, not only in order to attend the law courts, but also to secure the means of instruction in the subjects in which they are called on to pass periodical examinations.

3 The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are anxious to receive and are willing to afford every facility in the way of competent tuition in all the subjects

of examination to these candidates during the two years of probation "If the No 289 selected candidates"(the Master of Balliol writes\*) "could be brought to Oxford and Cambridge, the service would greatly gain in popularity and in prestige. It would be much more attractive both to young men and to their parents. The name of a university degree and education would counterbalance the objections to India which are generally felt by those who have no Indian connections. The candidates would also have the more solid advantages of society and of increased knowledge of the world. Without becoming a clique, they would make the acquaintance of one another. Many of them at present are rather friendless and isolated, their colleges would be a home to them, to which they might look for help and support when needed. There could be no difficulty in some college tutor superintending their studies, or in their finding the requisite instruction in law, political economy and the principal Indian languages from university teachers."

4 The Vice-Chancellor of the Cambridge University, deprecating all official discouragement to the residence of the selected candidates elsewhere than in London and pointing out the "ample opportunity for courses of study suitable for the students in question," writes†—"We make this application because we hold it to be of high importance that those to whom are to be entrusted the grave responsibilities of Indian official life should be assisted in their educational training by all those advantages of discipline, association and instruction which, as we believe, our resident students possess."

5 The Dean of Christ Church and the Master of Balliol both recognize the difficulties connected with the attendance of students located at this university at courts of law held in London. "But," as Dr Jowett remarks,\* "the students can be taught law, and the university terms only last during 24 weeks in the year, so that 28 weeks would remain for attendance in London at the courts." They might "be placed," the Master of Balliol adds, "under the superintendence of a professor or teacher of law, who could also direct their studies in London."

6 Dr Jowett has apparently lost sight of the fact that there are law terms as well as university terms, but I believe that though the long vacation commences nominally in July, men go down in the middle of June, while the common law courts do not rise in London till towards the end of July. "We are aware," Dr Liddell, the Dean of Christ Church and also Chairman of the Committee of Council for reporting on Indian Education, writes,‡ "that objections have been raised to what we proposed, on the ground that our students cannot attend the courts of law, &c. We feel little doubt that we could meet or at least materially modify the objections."

7 I have no doubt whatever that the difficulty could be overcome. At the same time I feel very strongly that of the two questions—(1) attendance of Indian Civil Service probationers at law courts, and (2) their connection with one or other of our two great universities, and subjection during the term of probation to collegiate discipline with all its innumerable advantages, the latter is of infinitely greater importance. How far having to report in the course of the two years some thirty-three cases from notes taken in court will assist the young Assistant Magistrate and Collector I cannot attempt to determine, but I am sure that every probationer would benefit very largely by the adoption of what may be termed "the university scheme."

8 It may be objected that the expense of maintaining their sons for two years at a university might be greater than some parents could afford, but the allowance now made to the probationers might be raised if necessary. I do not say that it would be necessary to do so, but even if it were, the advantages of the "university scheme" would be cheaply purchased if the allowance were raised 50 per cent.

9 It may be argued that the universities afford as many and strong temptations to idleness as incentives to study, and that the probationers will be thrown among men who have no inducement to study. But with the knowledge that their future success in life and their very "bread and butter" depend on their passing the periodical examinations, the "selected candidates" will hardly be led away. At any rate the discipline of an English university is more likely to benefit them than do them harm.

10 II—"The age at which the candidates should be allowed to present themselves for the first examination."

Assuming that the selected candidates will pass their two "years of probation" at either Oxford or Cambridge, I would fix the age at 17 to 19. I believe that 19 to 21 is the best age for coming out to India in the case of a man who has to spend the better part of his life in India. Candidates may now come up at 17 with the prospect before them of two years of entire freedom from collegiate discipline and control.

III—As to whether many selected candidates would complete the university course were they enabled to do so. The object of this enquiry is not evident.

\* See page 8.

† See page 6.

‡ See page 5.

I shall not detain these papers, as the attention of the officers whom Government has done the honour of consulting is asked more particularly to the first and second points, and a very early answer is requested. I should have wished to have given more thought to the subjects mooted in Mr Mackintosh's note, which I received this afternoon, but as the Government of India are pressing the North-Western Provinces Government for a very early reply, I must pass on the papers.

I have not included King's College and University College, London, in the "university scheme," for I think that the *esprit de corps* would be stronger were the probationers attached to either one or other of our old universities, and the "advantages of discipline and association" (though not of instruction) would be greater.

Nor do I think that a special training institution for Indian Civil Service probationers, similar to Cooper's Hill for Civil Engineers, will be preferable to Oxford and Cambridge. "The candidates would enjoy the more solid advantages of society and knowledge of the world" (to quote the Master of Balliol), to a larger extent in the latter than in the former. The special institution for a long time to come would have no traditions nor associations, and would be but a poor *Alma Mater*.

*Note by R. SIMSON, Esq.,—dated Narni Tal, the 22nd July 1875*

There are three points on which opinions are asked for by Government.

As to the first point—"the training which selected candidates for the Indian Civil Service should receive after selection"—it appears to me to be very desirable that they should prosecute their studies during their two years of probation at some college or university, and thus participate, to some extent at least, in the advantages of a university life and education.

It is perhaps to be regretted that Haileybury was abolished at a time when there was nothing giving its advantages which could be put in its place.

Now, however, that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have been thrown open and the authorities there and at other universities are willing to provide the special instructions required for selected candidates for the Indian Civil Service, the necessity for a separate college, such as Haileybury was, does not exist.

It will only be necessary to provide that the selected candidates shall attend some college or university (to be approved by the Secretary of State for India) in which satisfactory arrangements have been made for the requisite instruction in Law, Political Economy, Oriental languages, &c.

Attendance at the law courts could be given during the college vacations, and the periodical examinations to test the progress of candidates would continue as at present.

As to the second point—"the age up to which candidates should be allowed to present themselves for examination"—I am of opinion that the maximum age should be reduced to 19 or 20.

It is true that students were formerly eligible for admission to Haileybury up to 21, but the great majority of them entered at 17 or 18 and proceeded to India before they were 21.

When a young man is not more than 20 or 21, he is, I think, likely to adapt himself to the country and people with much greater facility than he would do if he were older and his habits of life more fixed. It would also be easier for unsuccessful candidates to take up some other profession if by the time they were 20 they knew that they were no longer eligible for the Indian Civil Service.

As to the third point—"whether many selected candidates would complete the university course if they were enabled to do so"—I think it very probable that such of them as had previously been at a university would embrace the opportunity of completing the university course were it afforded them, and provided that this could be done without serious detriment to their special studies.

Those of the candidates who had not previously been at a university would not be likely to do so, nor indeed would they have the opportunity unless a special exception were made in their favour, for at no university, I believe, can the course be completed within two years, and in some cases three or four years are required to complete it.

*Note by P. WHALLEY Esq., M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge,—dated Moradabad, the 26th July 1875*

I thoroughly sympathise with the party that wishes to see candidates for the Civil Service located at Oxford or Cambridge or both during their term of probation in England. I do not think that residence at these universities secures the best social training that can be imagined, but I think it is the best that can be imposed on a large body of young men collectively. A few might enjoy greater

advantages in this respect by living in London, but in the majority of cases No 289 London presents too many inducements to isolation and self-concentration to shy and studious men, and to the idle too many temptations to coarse debauchery I am speaking of course of those whose home is elsewhere. A certain number of candidates will always be natives of London, and for them I think the tightening of home influences during their last year before banishment to India unwholesome.

As for the studies, the sole arguments I have heard urged in favour of residence in London turn on the facility of frequenting the law courts and the accessibility of libraries and museums. I do not think the superiority of London over the old universities in the least respect is so marked as to make it a matter of much moment, and though I would not under-rate the practical value of familiarity with the forms of procedure in the courts at home, and of the study of problems of law and evidence in their concrete as well as their abstract forms, yet I think this advantage can be sufficiently secured by short occasional visits to London, and every other kind of study can be prosecuted with equal advantage in the universities. Jurisprudence I take to be the most valuable and important of these studies, and it will probably be allowed that university professors are apt to take wider and juster views of this science than practical lawyers, and the atmosphere of the universities is better suited to its development than that of the Inns of Court.

For physical training it is needless to say the universities afford opportunities which cannot be matched by London.

The second question, *viz*, the age at which candidates should be admitted, is linked more or less closely with the first. If it is desirable that students should reside at Oxford or Cambridge, it must also be desirable that their lives there should be intertwined with the general studies, sympathies and pursuits of the great body of student residents. There should be nothing incompatible with the joint pursuit of the general university course and the special course which may be deemed necessary for Indian candidates. And I would therefore fix the minimum and maximum age for competition at the average ages for entering on and completing the university course, *viz*, 18 and 22, and I would relax the rule of two years' probation, only making it imperative on probationers to pass the special examinations and proceed to India before reaching the age of 23, and within three years of their passing the open competitive examination. This rule would allow the younger competitors who might not have matriculated at any university to go through the university course, and would also admit to the competition men who had already taken their degrees, and I believe if the rule be adopted some of the best men we shall get will belong to the latter class.

The third question, so far as I understand it, has already been partially answered, but I do not think it depends solely or principally on the limits of age prescribed whether advantage would generally be taken of the option of completing a university course or not. The whole scheme of studies and residence, as well as the age limit, should be so arranged as to encourage candidates to go regularly through the university course.

As a final argument, I would refer to the existing Civil List for proof of the success of university men in India above others who equalled and surpassed them in the competitive examination, indicating that the movement towards the universities is one in the right direction.

In the former part of my letter I have limited myself to contrasting London with Oxford and Cambridge, because no one, I believe, in the present day will be found to advocate the location of students elsewhere than in the great centres of intellectual movement.

*Note by J S MACKINTOSH Esq.,—dated Nain Tal, the 24th July 1875*

Opinions are asked on three points —

- (a) as regards the training of the selected candidates,
- (b) as regards the age up to which candidates should be permitted to compete at the open examination, and, lastly,
- (c) as to whether many of the selected candidates would avail themselves of the opportunity of completing the university course were such opportunity granted.

2 I take these points in inverted order

*Would selected candidates avail themselves of the opportunity of completing the university course*—By the "university course" I understand here the course for a B A degree at Oxford or Cambridge. Men enter the Scotch and Irish colleges at so much earlier an age that they can generally have little difficulty in taking their degrees at present. Moreover, even now the few selected candidates who are in residence at Oxford or Cambridge before selection can and usually do take degrees. The Civil Service Commissioners indeed throw the weight of their influence and advice into the opposite scale, and it is difficult to meet at once both their requirements and those of the university authorities. Whoever

attempts to do so must usually sacrifice, on the one hand, all hope of university distinction, and, on the other, all chance of the money prizes offered by the Civil Service Commissioners, and of a high place in the final Civil Service examination. Nevertheless, in spite of these disadvantages, if I may refer to my own experience, I may say that I have never ceased to rejoice that I disregarded the advice given strongly and repeatedly by the Civil Service Commissioners, and remained in residence at Oxford, and I believe the universal testimony of all men who did the same will be that they acted wisely

3 But probably this is not what is meant, or at least not all that is meant, by the Government of India. Of the 414 candidates who passed from 1855 to 1863 no less than 174 came from Oxford and Cambridge. Of the 383 who passed in the nine succeeding years only 70 came from the two English universities. Indeed, the total number of candidates who now pass from the universities is so insignificant (in 1874 they were not one-sixth of the whole) that the question how they continue their education is not of general importance. The point is, I apprehend, whether if one or other of the schemes set forth in the papers received from the Secretary of State were adopted, selected candidates would generally be willing to go through a university course after their selection, whether they had been in residence before or not. The Secretary of State could of course make this compulsory, or, without making it absolutely compulsory, he might offer such strong encouragements in its favour that the majority of candidates would adopt it. On the advisability of these measures I shall say something hereafter. Here I need only say that if no compulsion were used, if candidates were left completely free—the only difference being that instead of being compelled to leave England two years after selection they would be allowed to remain when necessary to complete their university course—I do not believe that one man in a hundred would avail himself of the opportunity. Men marked out for a special career would, if they had not been previously at a university, regard attendance at a university in this way as a waste of time and money.

4 It will be more convenient to consider next the age up to which candidates should be allowed to present themselves for the first examination, inasmuch as the subsequent training must depend in great measure on the decision come to in respect of age. For the reasons hereafter detailed it appears advisable that the limit should be reduced to eighteen, or if that be thought too young, to nineteen at most.

5 At present the majority of candidates are over 20 when they pass, so that they come out to India between 22 and 23. Speaking generally, this is too old. At whatever age or with whatever previous training a man comes to India, he must undergo a long and wearisome apprenticeship of petty and uninteresting drudgery before he becomes an efficient district officer. Within certain limits, the younger a man comes out the more readily does he take to this apprenticeship, the less likely is he to think himself above the work of counting stamps and money and inspecting drains. He becomes an efficient officer sooner, and the probability is that India gains a longer period of efficient service from him. A man of 20 may have less "matured judgment" and "experience of life" than a man of 22 or 23, and the man of 22 again is inferior in these respects to the man of 40. The additional maturity of judgment and experience, however, gained by a few years longer in Europe are dearly bought by the loss of a corresponding period of experience in actual work and Indian life.

6 Another reason for lowering the age is that an earlier pecuniary independence would add to the waning attractions of the service, and would be no slight inducement to the stamp of men who are wished for. Professor Jowett, however, I perceive, with whom the Civil Service Commissioners agree, expresses an opinion directly opposed to this. "The fears of parents," he says,\* "the terrors of an India climate, the hope of getting some employment in England, are strong deterrents," the stronger, that is, the younger the age is fixed. Is any difficulty, then, found in procuring fitting candidates for appointments in the Army and Navy, which are recruited from the same ranks of society as the Indian Civil Service? It is not clear why the fears of parents should be stronger in the one case than in the other, nor why the comparison of Woolwich should be considered out of place. The scientific corps of the Army are officered by precisely the same stamp of men as the Indian Civil Service, the greater pecuniary attractions of the latter being counterbalanced by the greater hope of distinction and the charm of a more varied life held out by the former. Difficulties which have not been experienced in the one case need not be anticipated in the other.

7 Another argument brought forward against lowering the age is that it is much more difficult to form an estimate of real capacity at 17 or 18 than at 19 or 20. That this is the case cannot be denied. But two considerations occur in connection with this argument, both of which deserve attention. The first is this. The higher the limit of age is, the less likely is it that men will be secured who have measured themselves against their fellows at the universities, and who see before them the certainty of a brilliant university career. In 1865 the man

\* See page 7

who passed second in the open examination soon afterwards gained a fellowship No 289 and resigned his Indian appointment. Shortly before the man who passed first did the same. Every one will be able to recall many instances of men who thought at one time of entering the Civil Service, and who gave up that idea on gaining scholarships or other university distinctions, and seeing the prospect which was reasonably before them at home. If the age were lowered, these men with a future still wholly uncertain would come in larger numbers than now to the competition, and though men who had actually been in residence at the universities might be excluded, a larger proportion of that class who now achieve university distinction would probably be secured. The second consideration I would put forward is this. By "real capacity" no doubt mental capacity is meant, which alone a competitive examination professes to gauge, but mental capacity is not the only, nor even the principal, ingredient in the character of a good district officer. He must no doubt have an average mental capacity, but that, we may fairly assume, will be secured by any competitive examination. But after that personal activity, strength of character, perseverance and interest in his work are the most important qualities. It does not seem to me that by lowering the age the average mental capacity would be lowered, though it might be less matured, indeed, there is reason to believe that in many cases the service would gain even in this respect by the change. But granting for the present that the mental capacity might be slightly lowered, would not this be more than counterbalanced by the advantages of the alteration?

8 Lastly, I think the age ought to be lowered in order to carry out the principle\* enunciated by Lord Macaulay's Committee—"That no one who may fail shall, to whatever calling he may betake himself, have any reason to regret the time he has spent in preparing himself to be examined"—a principle which seems to have been forgotten. Were the age reduced, an unsuccessful candidate would be much better able to turn his attention to other pursuits, to the universities, the law, commerce, or some other calling, than he is now. A man of 21 who has for years been in training for one special examination, if he fails, is too old to turn his attention readily to anything else.

9 It will of course follow that if the age of candidature be reduced, the regulations which at present guide the conduct of the examination must be altered. I need not enter into detail on this subject, but as the success of the whole system depends mainly on the efficiency of the examination, I may indicate the direction in which, in my judgment, changes are required. In the first place, as proposed by Professor Jowett, the number of marks allotted to English should be lessened and English literature be reduced to its proper place *as a subject of examination* as compared with history. History, too, might with advantage be divided into two alternative periods, as is done at Oxford, in order to secure greater thoroughness of knowledge. The lowering of marks allotted to English is the most necessary reform. Sanskrit and Arabic should be cut out from the list of subjects for Europeans for whatever their value, they are not commonly taught in British schools. For Native candidates they might be retained, and take the place for them of Latin and Greek, bearing an equal number of marks. Of the five subjects,—Natural Science, Moral Science, French, German, Italian,—it seems to me that no candidate should be allowed to take up more than one, and that all should be obliged to gain a certain number of marks in English and either in classics or mathematics on pain of disqualification. Were these or similar measures adopted, "special training" would soon become nearly as unknown as it is now for scholarships at the universities. The complaints of the public schools, as set forth in Professor Jowett's letter, would cease, and the objections of teachers to allow their pupils to compete would, so far as these objections are based on the nature of the examination, be at an end †.

10 The last question is as regards the method of training after selection. We have here to consider (1) the course of reading to be gone through, (2) the place of residence. As regards the first, I shall only say that the course prescribed by the Civil Service Commissioners seems to me good, but at the intermediate examinations, at any rate, the candidates might with advantage be arranged alphabetically instead of in order of merit, and prizes, if given at all, would be more valued and more suitable in some other form than that of money.

11 As to residence, at present the selected candidates do whatever is right in their own eyes. Some remain at home or at their universities, but the great

\* See page 22

† Another point which will no doubt attract attention is the entire want of any fixed standard in the examination at present. I extract the following figures from an English newspaper

	Average marks of all successful candidates		
	English	Mathematics.	Science
1873	490	202	169
1875	390	442	279

These figures show that the results of the examination depend wholly on the idiosyncracies of particular examiners, or else that no uniform supply of candidates of the same calibre is secured. Either conclusion may lead us to doubt the correctness of the Civil Service Commissioners' belief that the present system is perfect.

majority live in London. Many men may pass through this ordeal scatheless, No 289. but can it be denied that many suffer from it? If a lad not yet come to manhood lives for several years in lodgings in a great city, often without friends or relatives or fitting society, subject to no restraint, in a way which would not be the case were he at home or at a university, or after he comes to India, where at least he is under the restraint of public opinion, if he has no opportunity of enjoying healthy and manly sports, if, moreover, his mind is kept in a constant state of tension by the continual examinations and striving for prizes, can it be wondered at if he often emerges improved neither socially nor morally, and having contracted a complete distaste for pursuing his studies as soon as artificial encouragements are withdrawn? To remedy this state of things it appears to me that it would be best to re-establish a Civil Service College. It is impossible to speak of a Civil Service College without recalling Haileybury, and it is impossible to recall Haileybury without regretting its abolition, which broke for ever the continuity and traditions of the service. The establishment of a new college will entail great expense and difficulty, and the associations of Haileybury, and still more so those of the universities, will for many years be wholly wanting. But if such a college could be established, the evils at present complained of would be obviated. An *esprit de corps* and feeling of brotherhood would be fostered, things which are no mere sentimental fancies, but realities of the highest practical importance. Men would not then come out, as they sometimes do now, not knowing even by sight others of their own year and presidency. During their college residence the young civilians would become familiar with the capacities and characters of their companions in a way which would be of the greatest value to them in their after careers. The greatest objection is doubtless the expense. The stress laid by the Civil Service Commissioners on attendance at the law courts is altogether disproportioned to the importance which that really has in the examination of selected candidates. Selected candidates in residence at Oxford used to find not the slightest difficulty in attending the courts, and surely in an institution where special facilities could be offered there could not be any such difficulty as is anticipated.

12 It does not seem advisable that the Civil Service College should be situated at any university. It would be a difficult and invidious task to select any one university to the exclusion of the others. The young civilians would have separate studies, separate interests and pursuits. The argument put forward in England as to using the university endowments is of small weight. Many of the professorships at the universities are really dignified sinecures, meant as rewards for distinguished scholarship. It would be unreasonable to expect Oxford professors to spend their days in drilling 60 or 70 lads in the rudiments of Sanskrit Grammar or Political Economy. The vicinity of London would in all respects be a more suitable place for the college than Oxford or Cambridge.

13 If, however, the plan of a Civil Service College be rejected, there remains that put forward by Professor Jowett, namely, that as a condition of receiving an allowance every candidate should be required to reside at some college or university to be approved by the Secretary of State for India. The end aimed at in this proposal is undoubtedly good, but it seems very doubtful if practically it would be successful. It would be difficult, and with successive changes of Government almost impossible, to include any class of universities or colleges which provided special teaching in Indian subjects. If the proposal resulted, as it would probably do, in a nominal entry at the London University by most of the candidates, not only would no advantage be gained, but evils now complained of would be positively aggravated. Looking, moreover, to the small number of candidates coming from Oxford and Cambridge, it seems to me it would be hardly just to confine the Secretary of State's approval to those universities. Even if it could be done, many of the advantages which would be gained by a separate Civil Service College would be lost. It would be most inadvisable to lengthen the period of probation, already if anything too long, and if during the short space of two years all the candidates, including many having neither previous training nor aptitude for a university life, were compelled to go through some part at least of a university course, it seems to me that entire *raison d'être* of the special training after selection is taken away. It would be more consistent to confine the selection to Oxford and Cambridge men and to have the special training afterwards. All things considered, I think it would be best to leave the candidates free, and to limit interference to affording every facility to those of them who wished to reside at Oxford or Cambridge, instead of throwing obstacles in their way as is done at present.

14 To sum up

(a)—The maximum age for competition should be eighteen or nineteen at most

(b)—The system of examination should be altered, a minimum qualification of English and of classics or mathematics being fixed for all, and each candidate being only allowed to take up one (or two at the utmost) of the secondary subjects



(c)—The special training should be in a special college under proper instructors and superintendents. No 289

(d)—Or if this be disapproved, every facility should be given to those candidates who wish to reside at a university

*Note by G COLVIN, Esq.,—dated Moradabad, the 2nd August 1875*

On the first point my opinion is that the candidates passing the first examination should, during the period of probation, be congregated and subjected to some sort of discipline, such as either of the universities would offer. At present most men come out with no idea of subordination, and certain that their own ideas are, and no other ideas can be, right, in fact, they want the jostling together and smoothing process so beneficially obtained at public schools and universities in private and at messes in military life. I think it will be readily admitted by those who have experience, how superior the passed candidates from the universities are in this very essential point

I would not alter the present age unless it were indispensable to do so to enable successful candidates to complete the university courts

*Note by E G JENKINSON, Esq.,—dated Saharanpur, the 27th July 1875*

I have hitherto given the subject so little consideration, and have had so few opportunities of obtaining information regarding the different modes of training in England, that I do not feel myself competent to express an opinion on all the questions asked. As regards age, however, I think that candidates should certainly not be admitted for the first examination after 20 years of age

*Note by WILTON OLDHAM, Esq.,—dated Ghazipur, the 26th July 1875*

I trust I may be permitted to state very briefly my views as to the general principles which should, as I think, regulate the selection and preparation of candidates for the Indian Civil Service, from which the answers to the questions proposed will naturally follow

2 Two views may be held with regard to the duty of Government in the selection of candidates, *viz*,—

I.—The Government is bound to aim exclusively at procuring the persons most qualified for the work to be done in India by Indian civilians

II.—That Government is bound to distribute Indian patronage fairly amongst the different classes of candidates, so that each class may obtain a fair share of appointments

3 It seems to me that the *former* is the correct and the latter the incorrect view of the subject, and the success of the competitive system has been from the very first endangered and diminished by the tendency to pay an undue regard to the latter views, *i e*, to the supposed rights of candidates for employment

4 In determining the qualifications of candidates, some of the most important qualifications—high principle, fine feeling, good temper, and power of sympathising with the people of India—cannot be ascertained by any method of selection, but many important qualifications may be determined with tolerable certainty at the time of the selection of candidates

5 The work of an Indian civilian is long-continued and severe, carried on in a depressing climate. Of two candidates equal in other respects the one physically and constitutionally the strongest would be likely to render the most efficient service to the State, and nothing is easier than to determine at the period of selection which of the candidates is physically best qualified for the service. I would suggest that this should be done, and that the medical examination of candidates should be held before and not after the examination, and that not only persons physically unfit for the Indian service be excluded, but that those specially robust should receive marks at the medical examination corresponding to their special fitness for India conducing to the success of their candidature

6 It is a matter of importance in the Indian service that a civilian should not only be able to ride but should ride well. I would suggest that riding should form part of the examination, that a certain minimum standard should be required from all, but that really good riders should receive substantial extra marks

7 It has been, I think, proved conclusively from experience that the most efficient public servants have been members of some one of the English, Irish or Scottish universities, either graduates in honours or else university or college scholars

I would propose that for every kind of distinction attained in any university or in any college attached to it, weight should be allowed in the selection of candidates. That an Oxford man first class in the degree examination, a Cambridge Wrangler, or a Dublin gold medallist, for example, should be allowed 500 marks, a university scholar 300 marks, and a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, or Balliol College, 250 marks.



Such a system would require some pains and care in the first allotment of the No 289 marks, but when this difficulty was overcome it would work well and smoothly

8 Unless some special privileges and advantages are conferred upon the candidates trained in the universities and colleges of Great Britain over those who after leaving school have placed themselves under professional crammers, it is impossible to prevent young men from depriving themselves of all the ennobling influences of college life, and from exposing themselves to all the injurious influences of a cramming institution

9 I do not for a moment assert that the teaching of crammers is not good and effectual, but nevertheless, the result of that teaching seems to me in many cases most disastrous, as the tendency of the whole atmosphere of the plan is to make the students regard knowledge in a wholly mercenary spirit, as a thing that will *pay* at the examination, and which, as soon as the examination is over, may be discarded and forgotten as quickly as possible

Furthermore, with a crammer a young man is deprived of all those indirect but not the less beneficial, intellectual and moral influences always in action at the great seats of learning of the empire

10 When a candidate has been selected at the open examination, he should, I think, begin his Indian career with the least possible delay.

11 The present system of compelling the selected candidates to reside for two years in London lodging-houses, exposed at the same time to all the temptations of a great city, and to the constant risk of forfeiture of their appointment, I consider most pernicious

12 For two long years the selected candidate lives with a constant and terrible weight over him. Accident, an attack of illness, may at any time prevent his being present at one of the examinations, and even after he has passed successfully in every other subject, some trifling deficiency in a single Indian language may deprive him at the last of the fruit of his labours. The number of persons actually deprived of their appointment by the Commissioners may not be great, but every one of the successful candidates is exposed to the risk and fear of such a calamity

13 The effect of the two years' probation on the health and the physical energy of the candidates I believe to be most injurious

14 I know that it is said that the medical examiners report that the health of candidates improves during the period of probation, but I also know an instance where one of these candidates (whose health was supposed to have improved) died of consumption within five months of his landing in India, and of consumption brought on, in the opinion of his medical attendant, by too great a strain having been imposed upon his nerves and mind.

15 In this district at present I have three assistants who have passed through the two years' probation. two of them have, on account of the delicacy of their health, been obliged to apply to Government for a transfer to districts where the work is lighter and the climate less depressing than here, the third suffers from habitual sleeplessness brought on when studying in London for the final examination

16 It is, however, not merely in physical health that the selected candidates suffer under the present system

17 Young men who, if they had been allowed to proceed to India after their first appointment, would have arrived full of vigor and enthusiasm, of mental energy and of longing to commence the actual business of life, now arrive weary, dispirited, disgusted, and counting the years to their first furlough before they have even commenced work.

18 For the first few years of the competition system before this horrible incubus of the two years' probation had been imposed upon the selected candidates it was very different. many of the selected candidates of 1855 and 1856, without any preliminary preparation in England, passed in two Indian languages almost immediately after landing, and were engaged in district work before the mutiny commenced in 1857.

19 The young men who come out now, if they had not had to undergo the two years' probation, and if after leaving public schools they had been sent to universities instead of crammers, would not be less full of energy and enthusiasm than their predecessors

20 I would, therefore, recommend in reply to the three questions—

I —That all training in England after the first examination should be dispensed with, and that, after the passing the open competition, the selected candidates should receive their appointments and be sent without delay to India

II —With regard to the age of candidates, I think that persons under twenty-three should be permitted to compete, or perhaps even under twenty-four. At present

very strong pressure is placed upon the most promising students at Oxford and Cambridge to prevent their reading for the Civil Service and to induce them to read for a high degree. The whole influence of the place tends to make them suppose that a high degree is the first object of human ambition No 289

It is not possible at present to combine reading for a high degree with reading for the Civil Service, and consequently India loses many of the men most qualified to serve her

If the age of the open competition were extended, a number of men after obtaining the first class degree would go in for the Civil Service Examination, and still larger number of excellent scholars and cultivated men who had failed to obtain a first class degree, but had obtained a second class degree, would be available for India

III —With regard to the third question, I think that, when once a candidate has passed successfully the examination, it is better that he should at once proceed to India, and if he has not been able to take out his degree, that he should defer doing so till his first furlough

21 It may be objected that, if this system were adopted, candidates would not be instructed in the subject of the second examination before proceeding to India, but I would observe that the subjects of the second examination are of two kinds, *viz*,—

Those which might with advantage be studied by any Englishman of liberal education, though not intended for an Indian career, *viz*,—

Indian History  
Roman Law, and  
Political Economy,

and, secondly, those especially Indian subjects which could be better learned in India than in England, and which, as a matter of fact, form the subjects of the examination of all junior civilians in India, *viz*, Indian law and Indian languages

22 The first class of subjects I should include amongst the subjects of the competitive examination, and by allotting moderately high marks to them and making the examination tolerably easy, I should encourage all candidates to take them up

23 The second class of subjects might with more advantage be studied exclusively in India, and the young civilians who come out now consider it amongst their hardships that having passed in these subjects in England they are again required to pass in them in India

24 It is true that young men who had not passed before in these subjects would not pass the examination for junior civilians as quickly as they are now passed, but this I think an advantage rather than a disadvantage. At present civilians pass examinations and are invested with extended magisterial powers, while their actual experience of India and knowledge of the vernacular is very limited

For the people of the country it would be, I think, better that officers before they are invested with the full powers of a Magistrate should have, as a rule, three or four years' experience of the country, and not, as at present, one or two

In actual preparation for work in an Indian district more can be learned in a single cold season in camp than in twenty years' study in England.

25 I would suggest the abolition of the distinction between the higher and the lower standard in the examination for junior Indian civilians, and would recommend that civilians when first appointed should receive Rs 300 per mensem, and should receive Rs 50 per mensem extra for each language passed in, and Rs 50 per mensem on passing for the judicial, and Rs. 50 per mensem extra for the Revenue examination

26 The examination in the languages should be made far more difficult than those now held in England, and should include reading and writing with ease and conversing fluently in the vernacular languages of the district

27 Civilians till they had passed in at least one vernacular language should, I think, not be invested with the power of deciding cases, but they could very soon after their arrival be most usefully employed in investigating and reporting on cases, and in helping in the general administration of the district

28 At present young civilians get the full salary of Rs 500 per mensem in a very short time after landing, and, as promotion is slow, they remain on this salary for a long time and become discontented. If the salary on landing was Rs 300 per mensem, and the full salary of Rs 500 was obtained by gradual and less rapid steps it would be more appreciated when obtained than it is now, and the delay before a further promotion would not be so great as it is at present

29 If it is absolutely determined that there must be some preparation in England before selected candidates are sent to India, I would recommend that it should be as brief and as unexacting as possible. That it should not be in London, but at a special Indian Civil Service College at Oxford. That young men, successful in the first examination, should, unless in gross cases of idleness or misconduct, be secure of their final appointments, and not exposed to the withering influences of the present unbending and iron system.

30 Young Indian doctors spend four months with profit and pleasure at Netley, and young Indian civilians might with advantage spend a few months at a college presided over by such men as Max Muller and Monier Williams at Oxford. The one fundamental principle, however, to be insisted upon by the Indian Government, I think, is that, as the persons selected for employment in the Civil Service have to undergo at least twenty-one years' exhausting labour in India, their time, their mental and physical energy, their nervous and vital force, should not be expended and wasted in England before they begin their Indian career.

*Note by E. STACK, Esq.,—dated Allahabad, the 1st August 1875*

The purpose of the three questions is to illustrate the relations between the Indian Civil Service examinations and a university education, and it is understood that the two great English universities are alone or principally intended. My own university is that to which Belfast College belongs. But an opinion on the proposed subjects may safely be based upon that which is common to all universities.

To begin with the second question. The age of selection should be determined with regard to the actual method of preparation for the competitive test, the necessary conditions of that test under any method of preparation, and the work to be done in India. For the first point the facts are simply these. The proportion of specially trained candidates among the successful competitors of 1865 was 32 per cent, and the average period of training between five and six months. In 1874 the proportion had risen to 84 per cent, and the average period to nearly a year and a half. It is therefore evident that the special training institutions are at present greatly preferred to the universities, and other things remaining the same, there is no reason why this preference should abate in the future. But, for reasons to be alleged hereafter, this system of special training should be got rid of if possible. In the second place, the competitive test is attended by certain evils inherent in all examinations. An examination offers an immediate prize for the production of a given amount of knowledge on a given date. The most disinterested love of letters will not always prevent the candidate from regarding his knowledge chiefly as a means of winning the prize. He will occasionally find himself reading with a view to the examination and nothing further. He is exposed to the risk of contracting a distaste for studies which are associated in his mind with severe labour and much anxious uncertainty. Even the best examination is a test of the candidate's power of memory far more than of his power of thought, and has a tendency to encourage the cultivation of the acquisitive to the neglect and ultimate detriment of the reflective faculties. The last evil is the worst. Its existence has been strenuously denied, chiefly in the belief that mental powers overtasked or injudiciously developed must imply a weak state of bodily health, but I venture to say that, in these days at least, few men can pass through a series of severe examinations, though never so unscathed physically, without carrying away a very practical and sorrowful conviction of its reality. Our examination system engages precisely those years of a young man's life when his thinking powers are awakening into use, and when they should be allowed time to grow and gather strength, instead of being overloaded with matter to work on, and discouraged by the apparent needlessness of their working at all. Lastly, it is not desirable, especially in the present state of the service in some parts of India, that men should be older than twenty-four when they begin their Indian career. If they can after due preparation come out younger, so much the better, so long as the great majority of beginners are at least twenty-one—not surely too advanced an age for entering upon important judicial functions.

Now, to lower the maximum age of admission to eighteen or nineteen would agree very well with the last two considerations. The selected candidate could enter on his Indian career at an early age. A severe strain upon the acquisitive faculties only is much less likely to produce injurious effects between the ages of sixteen and eighteen than between the ages of eighteen and twenty. On the other hand, the special trainer would probably acquire a complete monopoly of successful candidates, his art exercised on such plastic material would turn out a much more uniform article for testing, and the value of the test applied to it would be considerably diminished. To raise the maximum age to twenty-three or twenty-four would not necessarily diminish the proportion of specially trained candidates. For the examination as it is now constituted is passed at the age of twenty by men who come from the special trainer, and a man who is ready at twenty is not likely to continue an expensive education for two or three years longer. If the

examination be modified so as to suit men of twenty-three or twenty-four, the No 289 result will probably assume one or other or all of the following forms. The special trainer will come to the universities, and gratify the public by lists of candidates whom the universities have nominally qualified to pass, or he will hold his ground and compete successfully with the universities as he does now, or a half-finished university course will be supplemented by a period of special preparation. The last contingency would be attended by the deepest discredit alike to the university and the candidate. In any contingency we should behold the deplorable spectacle of grown men sitting under the special trainer's hands still in a state of mental pupillage, bartering their intellectual freedom for the chance of pecuniary gain. Nothing can be conceived better calculated to eradicate the habit of original thought, and to implant an ingrained and life-long aversion from intellectual pursuits. This change of the age of admission would also involve the abridgment or relinquishment of the period of probationary training. The effect of fixing the maximum limit at twenty or at twenty-two would not be immediately appreciable, and can best be considered with reference to the first of the three questions.

It is generally supposed, and the Civil Service Commissioners certainly give the selected candidates to understand, that residence in London during the two probationary years is almost a matter of necessity. There is no such necessity. No doubt most of the selected candidates do as a matter of fact take up their abode in London. But the reason is not far to seek. Most of them come from the special trainer, and can find in London only that kind of assistance in their work to which they have become accustomed. No distinction can be made between the selected candidate who reads in London and the selected candidate who reads at home, except perhaps in favour of the latter. Each periodical examination lasts a fortnight, the subsequent attendance in the law courts occupies about six or eight weeks, and many of the candidates who get through their examinations most creditably never stay in London a day longer than is necessary for these two purposes. The first name on the list of the periodical examination of last May for the selected candidates of 1874 is that of a man who read at home. Three months in London may be required at the outset to enable the select candidate to make a beginning in the new language. As for the other subjects, not excepting the course in law, I do not see what there is in them of such special difficulty as to demand special help, nor why they should be more likely to be understood when they are read by a man who is relieved of all necessity of thinking by explanations furnished ready to his hand. The theory is altogether wrong and pernicious which pronounces young men of twenty-one and twenty-two to be incapable of conducting their studies without dependence upon purchased aid. Next, as to the subjects comprised in the probationary course. If these be admitted to be useful, two years are not too much to devote to them. Their usefulness seems to be unquestionable. It may be alleged that a sufficient knowledge of the languages can be gained in a year, that purely English law hardly merits the close and prolonged attention that is now given to it, that the definitions of the Indian Codes are as speedily forgotten after reading them for two years as after reading them for six months, and that Indian history and geography, jurisprudence and Roman law, and political economy, are subjects which the selected candidate, whose attention has been directed to them, might well be left to study at his own pleasure. And if the term of probation could be shortened, there would be so much to spare in determining the age of selection. But it is desirable that an Indian officer's knowledge of the languages should be something more than will suffice for official business and imperfect colloquial intercourse. A practical experience of the procedure of the English courts is the best safeguard against a slovenly administration of justice in India, it is impossible to acquire too familiar an acquaintance with the Indian Codes, while for the other subjects they are such as should be understood by men who take a share in the Government of India, and if they are not read at home, they assuredly will not be read at all. If the term of probation drags rather heavily towards the end,—and I believe most selected candidates will agree that it does,—that is not the fault of the studies but of the examinations. Four successive competitive examinations are a severe trial. Perhaps they might be reduced to three by a redistribution of the course. In other respects I see no reason for any change in the general scheme, but some slight optional modifications, relating only to the times of examination, will be suggested hereafter.

The third question involves the application of the conclusions arrived at with regard to the other two. If it has reference only to selected candidates who have come from college, an answer can readily be given. Such candidates would gladly embrace any opportunity of completing their university course. But I understand the question to be much more general, and to be concerned with the relation between a university education and the preparation of candidates for the Indian Civil Service, with special reference to the course of study during the probationary term. First, suppose that the nature and duration of that course remaining as they now are, the age of selection is changed in the manner first indicated above.

(by lowering it to 18 or 19) The assumption that the majority of the candidates No 289 selected at that age would enter a university is quite gratuitous. Their previous education would not have inclined them to a university career. Their attention would be directed to studies which are not usually pursued at a university, which the selected candidates of former years did not pursue at a university, and which for the immediate purposes of the periodical examinations can be pursued at a university no better than anywhere else. The university would not profess to give the special training to which they had been accustomed. It would be for their interest to get through the probationary interval as cheaply and easily as possible. What inducement would there be to send a lad to a university for two years, too short a term at the best, if the same purpose can be effected as surely and at less expense by continuing his education in much the same manner as it has gone on hitherto? But the universities are willing to afford special facilities for pursuing the two years' course, and even to offer a degree at the end of it. Special facilities of study are, however, of no great value if the object of study can be attained quite as well without them, and if, moreover, they are attended by special expenses. The prospect of a degree may present some attractions. But if the selected candidate who enters a university on these conditions is to pass all his periodical examinations as well as those which the university will require of him, we may wish him joy of his choice, and the latter cannot be accepted wholly or in part instead of the former without a needless disturbance of the scheme of a common probationary training in order that a selected candidate who only enters a university after selection may be dignified with a degree for attaining no higher standard of proficiency than many of his fellows. It is besides obvious that the advantages of a university training are reduced to a minimum in the case of a stranger who comes to the university for an accidental and definitely temporary purpose, and who regards his work there as quite distinct in character from the work of anybody else in the place, except a very few men who are in the same circumstances as himself. But entrance into a university might be made obligatory on the selected candidates, and their probationary training in some of the prescribed subjects might be left to the universities altogether. It may well be questioned whether a university training of such a kind would be of so great value as to justify a rule which should prevent the steadiest and most diligent selected candidate from carrying on his studies in his own home and at his own discretion. But there is another and graver difficulty. The only universities, so far as I am aware, which have professed themselves willing to make arrangements for the special education of selected candidates, are Oxford and Cambridge. But the expense of a two years' residence at either Oxford or Cambridge would, if I am rightly informed, be quite beyond the means of several of the men who are selected every year, and not always in the lowest places of the list. The single objection appears to me to be fatal. Next, suppose the maximum age of selection changed in the opposite direction, and raised to twenty-three or twenty-four. In that case the university education must precede selection if there is to be any at all. The reasons for believing that practically there would be none have already been explained. Here, again, there is the alternative of a rule making a certain period of university education a necessary condition. Many universities are indeed much cheaper than the special trainer's school. But such a measure would overshoot its mark, and instead of substituting a university education for special training, would involve the risk of making a special training out of a university education. It is not in such devices that the remedy of the evil is to be sought. Lastly, to increase or diminish the maximum age of selection by one year only would not be attended by any important result, other things remaining the same.

It remains to be seen what can be done by a modification of the probationary course, and for this, after all that has been already said, there appear to be left only two alternative schemes. For reasons already assigned, the abridgment of the course does not appear to be either desirable in itself or likely to bring any compensatory advantage. But the probationary term might be extended so as to enable the selected candidate to begin and complete his university course in that interval. Three years would usually suffice for this, but four years might be allowed to the younger men. Over this interval the present probationary course might be spread, an examination being held once a year in London in the languages, Indian history and geography, and Indian law. The reporting of cases would continue as at present, the number of batches of cases being three instead of four. Under these conditions the selected candidates might be dismissed to the universities, and required to qualify by taking a degree after a course which should include the study of political economy, jurisprudence, and English law. No difficulty would be experienced by any of the universities in marking out such a course for a student who should enter by the ordinary door of matriculation, and remain in the university for the period which at present is necessary to qualify him for a degree. Nor, with a free choice of universities, would any hampering pecuniary condition be imposed. It is needless to pursue the scheme into details. Enough has been said to show that it wears an aspect of promise. But, on the

other hand, there are several weighty objections. It is not desirable to extend the period during which the Commissioners must keep the selected candidates under supervision. The money allowances would present a difficulty, and so would the examinations, some of which must be passed in London and some at the universities, the value of the latter as tests being, moreover, uncertain. If the selected candidate is to begin his university course in the ordinary manner, the age of selection must be so fixed that he shall not feel that he is falling back from more to less advanced studies. Considering the amount of reading that would be required for the open competitive examination, no selected candidate should be older than nineteen, perhaps the limit should even be fixed at eighteen. His subsequent education would be like that of other students, general at first, but would not, like theirs, continue of that nature. The disadvantage implied in this can best be understood from the words\* of the Committee of 1854: "We believe," they write, "that men who have been engaged up to one or two and twenty in studies which have no immediate connection with the business of any profession, and of which the effect is merely to open, to invigorate, and to enrich the mind, will generally be found in the business of every profession superior to men who have at eighteen or nineteen devoted themselves to the special studies of their calling." Another most serious difficulty would be found in the reduction of the maximum age of admission,—involving much hardship, if effected suddenly, if effected gradually, postponing reform, and in either case requiring a complete change in the nature of the examination.

The alternative scheme is founded on the conviction that the only effectual and just means to ensure a university training for selected candidates is to provide a university training for candidates before selection, that this is an object not to be attained by any mere mechanical shifting of the limits of age, that if the universities want men, they must induce them to abandon the special trainer, and that they will never abandon the special trainer so long as the belief lives and grows, first, that his pupils have the best chance of places, and, second, that a university course, begun before the examination, cannot be continued after passing. I trust I may be excused for writing at some length upon a subject which, I am persuaded, lies at the bottom of all profitable discussion regarding the Indian Civil Service examinations.

The special trainer has of late been the object of much misdirected attack and defence. The real evil of special training consists in the inevitably exaggerated accompanying conditions of anxiety, severity, narrowness, and haste. The two latter should not be confounded with superficiality in its ordinary acceptation. They mean nothing more than the undeniable facts that the special trainer teaches only what will be useful for the examination, and in the manner in which it will be most useful, and that as soon as he is assured that the candidate has mastered one step sufficiently for the purposes of the examination, he advances him forthwith to another. These are matters with which the excellence of the teaching has nothing to do. The lectures may be equal or superior to any collegiate lectures. Perhaps the better the lectures the worse will be their effect upon those who listen to them. A candidate with a less perfect instrument at his command would be compelled to rely a little on his own thought and judgment. If the end of reading for an examination were the same as the end of a sound general education, there would of course be nothing more to say. That it does not present itself in that light I have endeavoured to show in specifying some of the evils of the examination. But there is an obvious risk that those evils will assume an intensified and systematic form in the case of lads who are sent, for the sole purpose of passing, to institutions which by their name, their traditions, their daily associations, continually remind them why they have been sent there, who are trained for eighteen months or more by teachers of veteran experience in the art of special preparation, and who are urged to incessant work by continuous competition. Without forgetting either the undoubtedly high qualifications of the teachers or the natural interest taken by a lad in his studies, we may safely believe that such conditions of training considerably enhance the danger that the candidate will take a narrow view of his work, and will be unaccustomed to independent thought, and perhaps even to unassisted labour. There is the further probability that he will regard with indifference the speedy loss of much of what he has acquired, for the examination once passed releases him from all care of his former studies. If, as has been alleged, complaints have been heard of the light mental calibre of some of the more recently selected candidates, the reason will doubtless be found in the distaste for intellectual pursuits which were never undertaken for their own sake, nor elevated by liberal associations, nor made the student's own by original thought and independent effort—a distaste which is naturally stronger and more lasting in proportion as the special training is of longer duration and its final end is held more prominently before the worker. This is a result especially unfortunate in the case of men who are to spend their years in a country where intellectual occupations are the sole means of protecting life against the miseries of loneliness, or preventing it from sinking into a dull round of routine work and idle

\* See page 23

amusements One point more deserves notice It is hardly desirable that we No 257 should be able to predicate of every new member of the service that he has been educated at one or other of a few private institutions which turn out men made to order for the Government of India. The special training school does not present the social advantages of a university, nor can a batch of lads, whose attention is strictly limited to a single artificial object, be expected to derive much benefit from the mutual interchange of thought.

A candidate who comes up from a university, on the other hand, has received his preparation by attendance on lectures and by going through the regular university courses In so doing he has been thrown into the society of many young men studying with objects widely different from his own, and for the most part without any final examination in view Nothing in his work need remind him of the examination until it is closely imminent He has been accustomed to direct his own studies for several months of the year On a candidate so prepared, the inevitable evils of the examination will tell with diminished force Of him, if of any man, it may be said that he is likely to have a just notion of the dignity of learning, to retain an affection for his old studies, to have had his thinking powers developed by large and various intellectual intercourse An examination will be for him a fairly true test of real knowledge. This is unquestionably the most philosophical view of the examination and the preparation for it It is the view that was taken by the Committee of 1854 when they expressed\* their belief that the throwing open of the Civil Service must produce an effect which would be felt "in every seat of learning throughout the realm, at Oxford, and Cambridge, at the University of London and the University of Durham, at Edinburgh and Glasgow, at Dublin, at Cork, and at Belfast" This expectation, never perhaps fully realized, has of late been completely frustrated by the great gulf that has been fixed between the Indian Civil Service and a University training.

There is no reason why this should be so No doubt the preference of the special trainer is extremely natural The magnitude of the prize, the striking success of specially prepared candidates, the very conditions of the case, resembling in many respects those of a commercial venture, and thus engaging the parent's shrewdness to lay out his money to the best advantage—these are circumstances amply sufficient to excuse a father's choice The art of preparing men to pass examinations has not been cultivated for so many years to no purpose Perhaps the examiners, with all their experience, have not made sufficient allowance for some of its recent developments The perfect type of examination is that which shall test the knowledge which a man has made his own, to which he has accustomed his mind, on which he exercises his thought It should enable the examiners to form a fairly accurate judgment of the intellectual apparatus with which the candidate is furnished for life At the present day there is every chance that the examination shall not be a test of this at all, but of something quite different, namely, of the candidate's faculty (acquired by special training) of displaying to the best advantage upon paper a stock of knowledge which has been accumulated (under special training) with no view beyond the examination, and of which it may almost be affirmed that the more surprisingly extensive it is, and the more seemingly at the candidate's command, the less likely is it to be ever of any practical use There is but one safeguard against this danger, or rather one palliative of a necessary evil Jealous care should be taken that the examination papers shall always be calculated to test, in the words of the Committee of 1854, "not only the acquirement, but also the mental powers and resources of the competitors" The object of the examiners should be "rather to put to the test the candidate's powers of mind than to ascertain the extent of his reading" Some subjects will always offer a larger field than others for the accumulation of knowledge by the exclusive exercise of the acquisitive faculties English history and English literature are objects of this kind The true remedy is to take measures, so that knowledge thus accumulated shall be of little value, and for such measures, these two subjects offer peculiar facilities Besides, in comparing the marks for English with those for Latin and Greek, it must not be forgotten first, that the two latter subjects include papers in history and literature, and, second, that the result of the oral examination in classics may greatly depend upon a judicious selection of books and a free use of good translations, while even mathematical processes may be used by men who do not understand them and understood by men who have no firm grasp of them, and who are unable to reproduce them after they have ceased to be reminded of them, for a week The modern languages, on the other hand, which are usually reckoned among the lighter subjects, present scarcely any opportunity of gaining marks by the sole help of the memory and manuals What is popularly understood by *cramming* is almost too insignificant to deserve notice Candidates can never be prevented from committing to memory lists of answers to likely questions, or from handing down from competitive generation to generation note books in which the answers to the questions of bygone years have been carefully recorded, or from endeavouring both in the written and more especially in the oral examinations to suit their answers to the individual tastes or

\* See page 22



weaknesses of the examiners As long as the examination system endures, so long No. 289, will these and similar arts be practised, but ordinary care and foresight will always be sufficient to ensure that they shall be practised to little purpose

All these considerations are preliminary to the question whether the character of the open competitive examination is such as to give the especially trained candidate an advantage over the man who comes up from a university I believe this question may without hesitation be answered in the negative The examination does not, in my opinion, bear such a character now to any appreciable extent, and it need never bear such a character if only certain principles are kept steadily in view

I can of course speak only from my own experience I know of only one man from my own university who went (for six months I think) to a special trainer immediately before the examination, and he afterwards told me that he believed he would have done better if he had stuck to his college classes The advantages afforded by Oxford and Cambridge should be greater Men do indeed enter those universities at a later age But if candidates designated were assured of finding in the universities an education as serviceable as they could get at the special trainer's, not much more costly, and for all general purpose infinitely preferable, they would probably matriculate at much the same age as the present age of entrance of the younger pupils into the special training school It is not of course for an instant proposed that the universities should attempt to rival the special trainer in his own art No change would be needed in the chronological arrangement of the university course Some change might be required in the classes of subjects in which a degree may be taken But this should not appal universities which are willing to risk the far greater innovation of a special degree for men who shall only enter after passing the open competitive examination. Perhaps, too, some slight modification of the system of lectures would be necessary But the first and most important change would be the establishment of the conviction that the public service in India is a worthy object of a university education It is the want of such a conviction, far more than any lack of attractiveness in the prizes, that explains the disinclination of university men to compete The service needs the prestige which the universities could lend it, and which has been lost because the training for the service from its beginning to its end has come to be regarded as something quite different from, and incompatible with, a university education. But the training after the open competitive examination seems to be as easily reconcilable with a university residence as the preparation before it With the present limits of age it is not likely that many of the university candidates will have obtained their degree before passing But it is probable that most of them will be very near it, and it is certain that the successful candidate may approach his degree examination with reasonable confidence At the same time it is obvious that if he is to graduate at all, he had better graduate while his academic studies are still fresh in his mind, and before he begins to lose the result of his recent labours His new studies will not occupy his time so completely, but that by a little diligence he can make sure of graduating without neglecting them. The measure of proficiency required by the Commissioners at the periodical examinations is no more than half the full number of marks in each subject, and I believe that the work necessary to attain this can be accomplished without any extraordinary exertion by a selected candidate who at the same time carries on his reading for a degree for which he is more than three-quarters prepared already But if this expectation be thought too sanguine the course for the first periodical examination might be shortened at will for selected candidates who intend to graduate by the omission of Indian history and geography, Roman law, and political economy, on the understanding that they shall attend the lectures on the latter subjects provided by the university, and shall submit themselves to the second periodical examination on the same conditions as their fellow candidates I do not apprehend that any difficulty would be experienced in making up the lost time The subjects prescribed for the two years of probation are not, especially at the beginning, very extensive or varied, and the selected candidate who is contented to pass without contending for prizes will find that he can effect his purpose by a very moderate amount of daily reading It is not so easy to deal with selected candidates who wish to graduate with honours They, too, would already be half prepared by the examination, but they could not, without a severe strain, carry on at once their special studies and their reading for a degree To do this is not indeed impossible, and exceptional cases may occur in which it can be done with comparative ease, but it could not become a common practice without marked effects, visible either in the periodical examinations or in the health of the candidates A six months' respite from special studies after passing would probably enable the selected candidate to graduate with honours, but under the present arrangement of the periodical examinations this interval would add a whole year to the period of probation Two solutions of the difficulty suggest themselves The selected candidate might be exempted altogether from the first periodical examination on condition of his offering himself at the subsequent examinations and finally qualifying, or he might be given a year's grace without any allowance, and this might be granted either before or after his special probationary period He



would indeed commonly arrive in India older than twenty-four, but no bad consequences need be feared from an extension of the limit of age in the few cases where it would be solicited on the recommendation of the university authorities. Nor would the privilege be solicited lightly, for the privileged candidate would be required to forego his right to prizes at the periodical examinations, in which he would be contending with men not of the same standing as himself. It may be objected that these concessions in favour of university distinction are calculated to place the Commissioners' prizes at a disadvantage. I do not think so. There will never be any lack of men eager to contend, though I am not at all sure that the encouragement of such contention is a thing to be approved, for it has often struck me that, after a prolonged and harassing struggle, such as the open competitive examination must entail under even the most favourable circumstances, a man would do better work and more justice to himself and his employers if he were allowed to surrender himself to his new studies in quiet enjoyment, without the excitement of competition and the stimulus of pecuniary gain, if, after so many fiery trials, he were permitted to enter the Eden of a pass examination, and to refresh his eyes by the sight of a list in which the names of candidates should be published in alphabetical order. The man who contents himself with conscientiously passing has often a more familiar and useful knowledge of his subjects than the man who desperately reads for prizes and gets them. If, again, these concessions are thought likely to tempt selected candidates to abandon the service for academic pursuits, a sufficient guarantee can readily be stipulated. But I do not think that any guarantee would be necessary if it were once understood that the universities are, as they undoubtedly should be, the best schools for men who are about to enter the Indian Civil Service. If the preparation of young men for that service, whether before or after the first examination, came to be recognized as one of the functions of the universities, not a function secondary or fortuitous, but one thoroughly in harmony with their working and their traditions, if the special trainer were deserted and his pupils distributed among the colleges, then there would be little fear that the selected candidate would dream of abandoning the calling he had chosen for the best of our home professions. The general advantages of a university education have already been enumerated. A few more may be mentioned which have special reference to selected candidates. These are the benefit of lectures in some of the subjects of the probationary course (it is scarcely necessary to indicate the wide difference between college lectures and special private training); the probable convenience of instruction in the languages (whether private, as introductory to the vernacular dialects, or public instruction in Arabic or Sanskrit), and the use of good libraries. We may add the advantage which may reasonably be expected from the association of the future Governors of India with one another and with the future statesmen of England. One point more may be noted. The unsuccessful university student would be much better able to turn his education to good account than the unsuccessful pupil of the special trainer.

Of course it is impossible that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge should ever send out all the successful candidates. The utmost that can be expected is that they will draw away a considerable proportion of men from the London trainers. These latter will never be altogether destitute of English pupils for whom they are, on the whole, cheaper than a university. Their terms are too high for the Scotch and Irish candidates, who, amidst all changes other than compulsory, will probably continue to frequent their own universities as they do now.

To sum up by categorical answers to the three questions

I—The studies prescribed for selected candidates during the period of probation require no change, whether as regards their duration or their nature. They need not be pursued in London or in any other special place, but they could unquestionably be pursued with peculiar advantage at a university. All the selected candidates should be required to pass the same periodical tests, or at least to qualify in the same final examination, but the number of the periodical tests might be fixed at three instead of four.

II—The present maximum limit of age seems to be the best. To lower it by one year would diminish the number of university candidates. To lower it by two or three years would exclude university candidates altogether. In neither case is it probable that the selected candidates would enter a university under any arrangements that would practically work well. To raise the maximum age of selection involves the dilemma of either abridging or relinquishing the probationary training or sending older men out to India.

III—(Here the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge alone are meant.) Selected candidates who have come from a university would gladly take any opportunity of completing their university course. Such opportunities can be afforded without much difficulty, and the number of candidates qualified to use

them can in all likelihood be considerably increased by arrangements to be made No 289 by the university authorities in concert with the Civil Service Commissioners. Selected candidates who have not come from a university will most probably not enter a university unless they are compelled to do so. Any scheme which simply provides university teaching for the selected candidates is founded on the fallacy that men can be properly prepared for the public service in India by engrafting an imperfect university course in special subjects upon an imperfect general education imparted by the special trainer. At no state of the preparation for the Indian Civil Service can a university education be made compulsory without introducing a limitary condition of a pecuniary nature and of the most serious consequence. The social and intellectual advantages of a university education are no doubt very great. But they are not so great that they must be purchased at all hazards. Any interference with the free and open character of the competition I would with the utmost earnestness deprecate.

*Note by T R WYER, Esq.,—dated Moradabad, the 1st August 1875*

I—As regards the first point, *viz.*, “the mode and place of training in England after the first examination,” in my opinion the suggestions contained in the letter\* of the Master of Balliol College, Oxford, to the Marquis of Salisbury, deserve the very highest consideration.

If it be found feasible to enable the selected candidates to spend the two years of probation at Oxford as members of the University, reading for the degree in the final school of jurisprudence, without interfering with the opportunities of becoming familiar with the procedure of the English courts of law as at present enjoyed, I consider that the happiest solution of the question will be discovered.

I consider that such a mode of training will have a palpable superiority over the present *quasi*-Bohemian existence of the selected candidates on the one hand, and over the project of collecting the selected candidates in a college like Cooper's Hill on the other. Such a residence at the university will enable the selected candidates to enjoy the manifold opportunities of self-improvement which are to be found in far greater degree at the English universities than elsewhere.

I have gone on the supposition that the University of Oxford will permit the selected candidates to proceed to their degree of B A after a residence of two years only, and I have also presumed that the university authorities will provide all necessary instruction in the vernacular languages of India, and again that they will modify the subjects proposed for examination in the final school of law so as to adapt itself to the needs of the selected candidates.

The scheme of that examination at present includes all now required under the head of jurisprudence in the present final Indian examination as well as some other subjects. Thus the addition of political economy, and perhaps Hindu and Muhamadan Law as alternative or extra subjects, would completely adjust it to the requirements of the selected candidates.

From what I have heard privately from Mr Jowett I have but little doubt but that these concessions would be readily and cheerfully granted by the university.

It may be noted that the Master of Balliol proposes only to induce selected candidates to reside at some approved university, and I may add that in a letter to me not long ago he remarks that “the difficulty is how to offer them sufficient inducements without compelling them to come.” I, however, propose to make it compulsory on all the selected candidates to reside at Oxford during the period of probation, for, in my opinion, it is thus alone that the plan is feasible or valuable.

If the candidates are scattered over many universities, all the advantage of having a common ground of associations will be lost, and again it will be difficult to secure a uniform standard in the examinations qualifying for a degree if they are conducted independently by several examining bodies.

I have selected the University of Oxford as a place of residence for many reasons. It has, if possible, a higher prestige than any other university, and it has taken a deep interest in this question, and has liberally expressed its willingness to do all it can to assist in the education of the young men selected for service in India.

Again, its law school already exists ready for the work, and already one college (Balliol) has offered to admit selected candidates on the same conditions of membership as if they had entered by the ordinary method.

I should perhaps here make it clear that, in my opinion, the mode of training the selected candidates, as far as regards the kind of knowledge required from them, is hardly capable of improvement. One feature especially is of paramount

\* See page 7

value, and should not be abandoned or curtailed under any circumstances. I refer to the personal reporting of cases in the English courts of law. But the proposed residence at Oxford will in no way interfere with this. As Mr. Jowett has pointed out, 28 weeks are available for attendance at the law courts, and I may add that I myself found no difficulty in doing so without interfering with continuous residence at Oxford during the two years of my probation. I do not think that any valid objection exists on this ground to the proposed residence of the selected candidates at Oxford. Under the proposed plan, however, a slight modification of the arrangements would be advisable. The knowledge of theoretical law would be taught and tested by the examination in the law school at Oxford. All the other subjects would still be left to the Civil Service Commissioners at the periodical examinations in London as at present. The obtaining of a class in the law school at Oxford would be considered as equivalent to passing the present examination in jurisprudence. In one respect only do I think that the present scheme should be modified. I think that the knowledge of Indian law might well be confined to—

- (1) The Penal Code,
- (2) The Code of Criminal Procedure, and
- (3) The Indian Evidence Act

It seems to me that the committing to memory of the details of the many other codes and enactments at present demanded is a waste of effort.

II—As regards the second point—"the age at which it is desirable that candidates for the first examination should be admitted"—I am certainly of opinion that the present limits should be maintained. I do not see how any change in the limit will secure any advantage which is not secured at present. There is, however, some plausibility in the proposal to raise the extreme limit of age to 22, on the ground that thus more men will be secured who have completed their general education at a university. If this be considered desirable, then the period of probation should be reduced to one year, as, in my opinion, it is indispensable that all young civilians should enter upon active duty in India as soon after 23 years as possible.

III—Finally, as regards the third question, I consider that it has been sufficiently answered in the foregoing observations. I should, however, suggest, supposing no change is made in the present arrangements, that every facility should be accorded to those who, being already members of the university, are desirous of completing their course and obtaining a degree.

Briefly, my opinion is as follows:

- 1—Residence at Oxford should be made compulsory during the two years of probation.\*
- 2—All selected candidates should be required to obtain honours in the school of jurisprudence at Oxford.
- 3—The present mode of training should be preserved in all other respects.
- 4—The limit of age should remain as at present.

*Note by B W COLVIN, Esq.,—dated the 7th August 1875*

As regards the mode and place of training in England of selected candidates, I think that the present plan answers as well as any that could be substituted for it in respect of mere learning. Whatever the mode of teaching may be, the candidates who come out are excellently taught, as far as I can judge, and I doubt if any advantage would be gained by transferring the course of study to an university.

In the matter of moral discipline and control, the theoretical objections to the present training are no doubt strong. As a matter of fact, however, the mischief resulting from it is very far from being so great as might have been expected. It is true that in India we do not see those who fail under it, but the number of these must be very small, and the candidates who succeed do not, as a body, show any bad results whatever from it. It may be that the immediate and palpable connection in their case between habits of industry and self-control during the two years of probation, and their future prospects in life, make them feel the responsibility of their independence more than is usual at that age, and that this feeling steadies them under it.

It would be a very good thing no doubt that they should be placed where this feeling would be strengthened by academical discipline, where they would have opportunities of meeting and knowing one another, and where some of them would get social advantages which, if friendless in London, they cannot have. A good college would supply all this. But there is no place in London, so far as I know, to which such a college could be attached, and if established indepen-

\* If possible, as members of the various colleges and not as unattached students

dently, it would be very costly and I should fear, not very successful I am too No 289 ignorant of the arrangements at Cooper's Hill to know whether it would be possible to attach a Civil Service branch to the college there I should suppose that it would not be possible Apart from other difficulties, there would probably be too great a difference in the age of the students, but if such an arrangement is feasible, it might be better than the existing state of affairs

If an Indian college could be attached to one of the English universities and the prescribed subjects taught in it, this would be the best of all solutions of the problem But there could be only one such college in all England, and I should imagine that the difficulties of annexing such a college to any one university, to the exclusion of all the others, would be found insuperable I attach very little importance to the absence of law courts at an university This argument seems to me to have been over-strained All that can really be learned from attendance in the law courts might perfectly well be acquired by a few visits to them, which could be arranged for, the rules regarding reports of cases being altered to suit this change

I am not in favour of the other alternative, *viz*, that of modifying the present rules so as to allow of candidates on probation residing in different colleges at the universities I see no advantage in this plan, except that of the college discipline, and I am disposed to think (for the reason given above) that this may be over-rated On the other hand, the education of the candidates for all Indian purposes would be apt to suffer They would be a scattered few among a great body of students, pursuing a regular university course, and they would either have to give up their university career, or to pursue it, giving only just so much attention to their special subjects as would save their appointments I think they would be apt to do the latter It is true that Indian subjects might be admitted to the university curriculum, but inside the university, I doubt if the same respect would ever be paid to honours in them as to honours obtained in the regular course, and it would be difficult for Indian candidates living there to escape the influence of this feeling There would be a likelihood, I fear, of their larger but more distant Indian prospects being shut out by the immediate interest of their university success Again, as the candidates would be scattered through a number of different colleges and universities, all personal knowledge of one another (which was the one real advantage of Haileybury) and anything like *esprit de corps* would be wholly lost

I think that in almost all ways Indian interests would lose rather than gain by substituting this for the existing mode of training That mode is no doubt far from perfect, but I see no way of bettering it unless an Indian college can be established

2 I would not alter the present age for admission I think it is quite high enough The training of practical Indian life is after all at least as valuable in the teaching preparatory to it as the present maximum of age (23) is quite late enough to begin it

Besides this, the early part of an Indian career (whatever it may become afterwards) is far from inviting, and the later it is commenced the stronger is the disappointment and distaste which has to be overcome I do not attempt to explain this, but I believe the fact will be admitted by almost every one who knows the country, and I should put this among the foremost objections to any proposal which would raise the average age for coming out to India If possible, it would be better to lower than to raise it

3 I have not a sufficient knowledge of the inducements to complete the university course which might be offered to be able to form an opinion upon this point The question can be better answered by some of the junior members of the service I would observe, however, that an ordinary academical degree carries no practical advantage with it in this country

*Note by C H T CROSTHWAITT, Esq.,—dated Navm Tal, the 8th August 1875*

Firstly, as regards the mode and place of training in England after the first examination As to the mode, the subject may be divided into two heads,—the course of study to be prescribed, and the method of enforcing that course of study The present system, as I understand it, is to lay down a course of reading, and to enforce it by periodically examining the students The students are left to find teachers where they can, or where they please But indirectly by their regulations the Civil Service Commissioners discourage students from going to or remaining at the universities, and force them as much as possible to London

2 I came out in 1857 before this system of training was adopted, and cannot speak personally of its advantages The course of study I believe to be good and judicious, and the subjects well adapted to aid a man in an Indian career The method of enforcing study by examinations is the only one which could be adopted, unless the students were collected and made to reside together under the care and instruction of a staff of professors or tutors

The questions of mode and place are really therefore inseparable. If there is no fixed place of training, the present mode may be allowed to pass as the best possible under existing conditions. No 289

3 It must be asked, then, ought there to be a fixed place? If the question had been asked twenty years ago, I should have answered unhesitatingly—yes. There are, I think, many advantages to be derived from collecting the men together and bringing them under a system of collegiate training and discipline provided that the college in which they are so collected is situated at either of the English universities and associated with it. Had the question been still perfectly open, I should have advocated strongly the institution of a college either at Oxford or Cambridge. To the institution of a new Haileybury—a separate isolated college for the service—there are, I think, overwhelming objections. The tone of such institutions is seldom high. The society in them is not sufficiently large to be of much advantage to those whose angles require to be taken off and polished down and there are none of those high associations which cling round the old universities and form so large a part of the education they give. Nor is it possible to procure men of a very high stamp as masters and teachers for a small exclusive college.

4 But in the present state of things I see great difficulties in the way of establishing a Civil Service College. Such a college to be of any use must be placed either at Oxford or Cambridge. Very violent opposition would be raised to such a proposal by the minor English and the Irish and Scotch Universities. They would say—and with some truth—that such a scheme would prevent their students from entering the service. Some of these bodies have laid themselves out far more than either of the great universities to meet the wants of candidates and to provide able teaching on such subjects as they require. To force their successful candidates after passing to reside at Oxford or Cambridge would, I think, be regarded as unfair and would be strenuously opposed.

5 Nor do I think the reasons that can be stated in favour of a Civil Service College are so overwhelming as to bear down those opposed to it. What are the complaints made regarding the present system? I write in ignorance of the nature of the objections taken. Of the men sent out I think no fair complaint can be made. They are as a body hard-working, above the average in intellect, conscientious, accurate, and well informed. It is vain to expect men of genius or very high talent to enter the service. Such men are rarely to be found to start with. The position and prospects of the service are now very fairly known at the universities and schools, and men who see their way clear at home, and are not under any violent pecuniary pressure, will hardly exile themselves for a bare competency, which is all the service offers.

6 There are, it is true, a few men in the service—but I assert emphatically that there are only a few—who display a want of manners and good breeding. The establishment of a college would not keep such men out. I am an Oxford man myself, and I am certain that the proportion of such men, or of shy, nervous, inefficient men in our service is less than in any college in Oxford, and not more than is found in any regiment in Her Majesty's service. A great deal of the cry against the competition men is due to old prejudices, and to a desire to restore the system of patronage, which was very valuable to men who had sons to provide for, and is looked back upon with regret.

7 The motive that has actuated Dr Jowett and others in coming forward is I believe to a great extent the belief that it is bad to let loose a number of young men in London. They look on the Proctors, the Deans, and the gates of a college as to a certain extent necessary safeguards against immorality. To keep young men in London without a Proctor or a Dean and without any necessity of "knocking in," or fear of being reported, is regarded by them with horror. But I believe these fears are not borne out by facts. It must be remembered that the men are all hard-working hard-reading men, with a fixed purpose before them, and a great prize at stake. Such men cannot afford to dissipate and if they were inclined to be vicious, they could be vicious at Oxford as easily as at London. The evidence of Sir W. Gull is conclusive that the health of the men is better at the second examination than at the first—a fact which shows that they must lead steady and moral lives as a rule. In a year or two they are to be turned adrift in India with little to check or control them, except their own principles and consciences. It is absurd to suppose it is either advantageous or possible to keep them under tutelage before they are sent out.

8 I am not in favour of establishing a college for the Indian Civil Service in the present state of things. I think it would, to a certain extent, assimilate the men, and might polish the rougher men to some degree. But it would, I anticipate, narrow the competition, and lessen the number of various types of education which are now represented in the service. I deprecate any plan which might exclude the men we get from the Irish and Scotch Universities, who are often among the ablest men in the service. The argument one so often hears urged that residence at a college would enable men to know each other has, to my mind, very little

weight. Men know each other well enough now. After a few years in the service No 289\* a man gets to know petty accurately the character and qualifications of most of the men above or below him, or of his own standing.

9 As an alternative to a college it has been proposed to compel the men to join some university during the time of training. But what university? Unless the university was specified I doubt the utility of such a rule. What possible advantage could a man derive from the London University, or from any in fact, except Oxford or Cambridge, where residence is compulsory, and involves some social training. But to compel residence at some particular university would be more invidious and would excite more opposition than to compel the men to reside at a special college instituted for the service.

10 Secondly, as to age of admission. Although I doubt the advantage of establishing a college now, yet I think it is a great pity so to regulate the age as to exclude Oxford and Cambridge men. Everything ought to be done to get men who have resided at the universities, and who have received an university training. It is no doubt an advantage to come out to India at an early age. There are several reasons why it is so, the greatest of which is perhaps the necessary drudgery which a man must undergo in learning his work, and the dislike which a maturer man will more keenly feel to the dull monotonous life of an Indian station. I think the reading required for honours at Oxford or Cambridge or Dublin may certainly be taken as equivalent to any course the Civil Service Commissioners can prescribe.

Why not then make a difference between university men and others. Such a difference is made both by the Inns of Court and by the military authorities. Let university men pass up to two and twenty, and send them out straight without keeping them in England. In addition to the competitive examination it would be easy to require from them a sufficient knowledge of such special subjects—Indian History, Political Economy, and the like—as may be needful. For men who had not resided three years at one of the large universities, I would limit the age to a maximum of twenty. It would be necessary to keep them for two years in England, and I think twenty-two is as old as a man ought to be on his arrival in India.

11. The Civil Service Commissioners are so enamoured of their own curriculum that they will probably be opposed to this proposition. But the university course is considered the best training for all the learned professions and for a public career in England, and the success of men like T. Thornton, A. Howell, Wynne, Wylie, C. A. Elliott and others, shows that it is quite sufficient for India also. I do not attach much importance to the attendance at English law courts or to the small amount of legal learning which is required from the men after they pass under the present system. But it is quite possible that university men could satisfy the Civil Service Commissioners in that respect also.

My opinion then on the second question is that no one should be sent to India after he is two and twenty. That the limit of age for university men, meaning men who have resided three years and upwards in the university of Oxford or Cambridge or Dublin should be two and twenty, and that such men should not be kept in England for any further training.

That for other men the limit of age should be reduced to twenty.

12. As to the third question, I think that successful candidates, already members of a university, would complete the course if they could. Every facility ought to be given them to do so. I cannot understand the policy which actuates the Commissioners in throwing every obstacle in their way. I doubt, however, if many successful candidates would become members of a university, no matter what the facilities given them. The additional expense and the interruption to their special studies caused by the necessary attention to the university course would probably deter them.

*Note by W. H. SMITH Esq., D C L, —dated Naini Tal, the 10th August 1875.*

I take the second point first—the age up to which it is desirable that candidates for the first examination should be admitted.

2. If this examination is to be succeeded by two years' further residence in England, then my opinion is that no better rules than those at present existing can be devised. I think the great majority of men of experience in India would hold that the age should be placed as low as is consistent with the object of the competition, *viz.*, the selection of men for the service of a high class of education and more than average acquirements. There seem to me strong reasons for holding, and specially at the present time, that no man should commence a civilian career in India at too mature an age, and though of course the age of maturity differs in individuals, the present maximum limit appears to me to be the latest on the average which can properly be fixed. No man should be allowed to come out certainly after 24, better perhaps not after 23.

3 In India it is most important that responsible administrative offices should be filled by men in the prime of energy and vigour. It will scarcely be denied by any one conversant with the present conditions of the subject, that the average civilian, in these provinces certainly and in Bengal, must pass by far the greater portion of his term of service in a very subordinate position, and engaged in duties which cannot always support the interest they have once possessed for a man fresh to his work. It is therefore still more essential now than in the more fortunate times of the service that the age of admission should be reduced as much as possible, and be so regulated as to give every officer the chance of reaching the position of a Collector, the lowest office in the line of real responsibility, while he is comparatively young, and able and willing to exert the energy necessary to successful administration. No 289

4 The extension of the age of admission, as I have seen proposed, to 25 or 26 years, would, I believe, be wholly detrimental to the character of the service and the interests of Government. Assuming that men of high attainments of that age would be attracted by the prospects held out to them, and would consent to compete, in a few years the main body of the service would consist of a host of middle-aged officials in posts utterly unsuited to their age and acquirements, disappointed with their position, wearied and disgusted with their work, and anything but valuable servants to the State.

5 But, on the other hand, it is much to be doubted whether first rate men of the above ages would consent to become candidates. By that time such men have, for the most part, determined on some career in England, and only a mistaken idea of the average prospects of success could bring them out to India. I believe the change would, in practice, result in a yearly influx of third or fourth rate men at the tail of the list, older than but much inferior to the younger and more successful competitors, and it is needless to enlarge on the effect of such a state of things in a seniority service.

6 My opinion then is that within certain reasonable limits the younger a man is when he enters the service, so much the better officer is he likely to turn out. It is useless to conceal the fact that in the ordinary line there is much drudgery and monotonous work to get through before a position of responsibility is attained. A young man will do this with greater elasticity than an older one, and by the time he has fitted himself for more important duties and his opportunity for being entrusted with them has come, he will be more likely to have retained his energy, and therefore to prove a better administrator than the man who has commenced his work at a more advanced age.

7 (2)—As regards the mode and place of training in England after the first examination

8 With reference to this point I think the proposal\* of Dr Jowett that "as a condition of receiving an allowance every candidate should be required to reside at some college or university to be approved by the Secretary of State for India, or the Civil Service Commissioners," does not even go far enough. I would make such residence compulsory and if the place of training must be in England, would limit it to Oxford or Cambridge. If candidates are allowed to remain in Ireland, then Dublin of course would be included in virtue of its distinguished traditions. The Scotch universities do not, as far as I know them, fulfil the desired conditions. As an old university student I may perhaps overrate the advantages of a university life, but if the selected candidates are to spend two years in England after having passed their first examination, it seems to me that nowhere could the time be spent with greater benefit to themselves than in a university. I cannot add force to Dr Jowett's remarks. I think it certain that with the great majority of English people "the service would greatly gain in popularity and prestige. It would be much more attractive both to young men and their parents. The candidates would also have the more solid advantages of society and increased knowledge of the world. Without becoming a clique they would make the acquaintance of one another. Many of them at present are rather friendless and isolated." That this is the truth, few in India would deny. And again—"They would have the pleasure and advantage of mingling with their contemporaries in every rank of life, they would have college recollections and interests, and the opportunity of forming friends and connections." All, to my mind, no mean advantages.

9. The objection made to this plan that candidates will not be able to attend the law courts appears to me to be very trivial, as Dr Jowett says 28 weeks out of the 52 would be left to them for this purpose, and if attendance at any special court were considered necessary during term time, leave for a day or two would meet the difficulty. I myself doubt the immense advantages supposed to be derived from attendance at law courts, and think that it might be dispensed with altogether without injury to any one, and certainly should not be allowed to interfere with the far greater advantages derivable from a university life.

\* See page 9



10 All other objections on the score of studies the universities (Oxford No 289 certainly) seem inclined to meet. They would provide instruction in law and political economy, and there is little doubt that the Oriental teachers would follow their pupils. The allowance made by the Secretary of State, and the prizes obtainable during the two years of probation, provide a sufficient answer to any objection bearing reference to the question of expense.

11 I confess I do not see the importance of a degree. It is not the acquisition of a degree which benefits a man, especially in a service like ours. It is the social and intellectual benefit of residence in a university which should be the object aimed at, and if this is obtained, the question of a degree might be allowed to drop. If the universities like to give one within two years for proficiency in Indian subjects, it would do no harm.

12 It may be urged (1) that it would be a hardship to compel a selected candidate to reside at any particular place, and (2) that the choice of Oxford or Cambridge as a compulsory residence is invidious with reference to other places of education.

13 My reply would be, firstly, that as the candidate would know beforehand the conditions under which he would compete, and it is competent to the Secretary of State to make any conditions he thinks most conducive to the interests of the service, no hardship will exist at all, especially having regard to the ample allowances made, and, secondly, that no other universities in England or Scotland supply the varied advantages offered by Oxford or Cambridge—a fact which they would probably admit themselves.

14 It has been alleged that the separate and special character of the selected candidates' studies and their devotion to a special career would have a tendency to make them a class apart from their contemporaries, and that they would thus lose many of the chief advantages of the ordinary university life. This result does not seem to me probable. The men would be scattered through various colleges where their main intimacies and connections would be formed, while their common studies would so bring them together as to enable them to make acquaintance with each other as well.

15 (3)—With regard to the third point—whether if the age were so arranged that successful candidates would be able to complete the university course, it is probable that advantage would be generally taken of the option—it appears to me that the limit of age does not even now in all cases interfere with a university course. Most men go up to college about 18 or 19 and take their degree before 23. Any successful candidate who has completed a year's residence at the date of passing can, as far as time is concerned, secure a degree before coming out to India. It is the arrangements of the Civil Service Commissioners, necessitating absence from college which prevent a man from keeping his full term. These, therefore, must be altered, and not the limits of age, if candidates under the present system are to complete their course.

16 A man who has not spent a year at the university cannot now keep a sufficient number of terms in any case for his degree. Three years' probation would have to be allowed instead of two as at present. But, in my opinion, unless residence were made compulsory, very few would take advantage of the option. A degree, as I have said, is useless in India. A successful candidate is burdened with as much work connected with his special subjects as he can manage, and under present arrangements would have great difficulty in keeping his terms. There is every inducement indeed to keep away from the now profitless restraint of a university, and a mere re-arrangement of age would, I conceive, have no beneficial effect.

17. These remarks have been made on the assumption that two years' residence in England after passing the first examination will be insisted on, in which case I hold that the two years will be more advantageously passed in a university than elsewhere. But I am disposed to think that the two years' residence might be dispensed with altogether. When a man has received an education which has enabled him to pass the first examination, the two years' delay in England seems to me rather a waste of life. The time of probation is employed in special training for his career in India, not in perfecting a general education. But I believe actual experience of his work in the country to be far better training than any reading for examination at home. To prevent men from coming out too young, I would raise the minimum age to 19, and keep the maximum as it is, and men should come out at once to their work, as was done in the early days of competition by men who are certainly not inferior to their specially trained successors. As, however, any return to the original system is probably hopeless, it is not worth while to do more than draw attention to a view which, I believe, would be found not uncommon among men of experience in India.

*Note by W TYRRELL, Esq.,—dated Allahabad, the 11th August 1875*

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I regret that in the absence of information respecting the rules and working of the system, as modified within the last ten or fifteen years, I am unable to do more than offer the following sketchy opinions on the three points indicated

1 I think one year would suffice for special training in Europe after the first examination, and I would not prescribe any determined mode and place for that training, the candidates might study the subjects in which they are required to prepare themselves with as much freedom as they do for a call to the legal profession

2 Holding this opinion, I am persuaded that it is expedient that the maximum age of candidates for the first examination should be advanced It might be 22 or even 23 years

3 Judging from my knowledge of the competitive examinations of the years from their institution to 1858-59, I think it very probable that such an arrangement would draw a much larger number of university students to the competition than, I am told, now compete for the public service, and successful candidates of this class would be enabled, if still under-graduates, to complete their university course In the year 1858 all the twenty gentlemen who obtained appointments in the Indian Civil Service examination were members of the three principal universities of the United Kingdom, and many of them, including four of the first six on the list, were graduates The maximum age then was, I believe 23 years

The Honourable Mr Justice Spankie has read this letter, and desires me to add that he quite agrees with what I have written, and wishes it to be taken as expressing his opinion on the subject.

*Note by C A TURNER, Esq.,—dated Allahabad, the 16th August 1875*

Before I reply specifically to the questions put to me in His Honour's letter\* of the 21st July, I may perhaps be permitted to make a few observations on the existing system of selecting officers for the Civil Service of the country

2 Having been a contemporary at the university with several of the candidates who were successful at the first and second public examinations, having subsequently practised for some years at the English Bar, and having since May 1866 held a position in this country which has brought me into close personal and official intercourse with a large number of gentlemen who have obtained entrance into the Civil Service by competition, I believe I may claim to have had peculiar opportunities of comparing the *personnel* of the service with that of other professions, and of forming an unbiassed judgment on the result of the existing system

3 In 1873 I enquired of a gentleman who makes it his business to prepare candidates for the examination whether, from the knowledge he possessed of the talents and attainments of such of his pupils as had presented themselves for examination, he considered the present tests secured the best men He replied that he had known some pupils fail whom he considered superior in talents and attainments to others who had succeeded, but that he had never known a pupil succeed whose ability or education was below a fair average My observation of the subsequent careers of many of the successful candidates confirms the result of this gentleman's experience, and I state unreservedly my belief that in talents and attainments the average of the Bengal Civil Service selected by competition is superior to that of any other profession except the tutorial staff of the universities and the Equity Bar

4 That now and then a man of superior talents is let through the meshes of the Commissioners' net is also proved by instances (which will doubtless be in His Honour's recollection) of gentlemen who, having failed in the competition, have subsequently come to this country and vindicated their ability by their success in a profession The examination which shall always and infallibly discover the relative merits of a large number of competitors has yet to be discovered Nor is the explanation difficult In an address delivered to a Scotch university, the present Earl of Derby (then Lord Stanley) demonstrated that the end of education was to secure accuracy of thought and expression There are certainly no qualities which tell more in an examination, but they are not always, or not always to the same degree, found associated By some men the faculty of expression, and especially of expression in writing, is possessed in a degree which does not correspond with their powers of accurate or original thought, and so it happens that a man of inferior mental powers or acquired knowledge may, in virtue of superior powers of expression, show himself in an examination to greater advantage than another of equal or higher ability and attainments who does not possess that power, or possesses it in an inferior degree For this reason I think it likely the Bengal Civil Service selected by competition will continue to justify what Lord Macaulay said of the service under the former system Again, quickness of perception is another mental

\* Not printed

quality which conduces to success in examination. The candidate who possesses No 289 it not only seizes quickly the drift of the questions he is called upon to answer, but utilizes his knowledge with rapidity, whereas a man of higher attainments often loses time and opportunity for displaying them by more laggard thought. These considerations, apart from the accidents of moral and physical health or good fortune in meeting with questions which have been particularly studied, account sufficiently for the circumstance, to which I have alluded, that sometimes there may be found among the unsuccessful some candidates superior to others who have succeeded.

5 From the opinion I have expressed of the success of the present system it will be readily inferred that I should be unwilling to see it altered for light reasons, but while I allow its success, I do not overlook its defects. I agree with the Reverend the Master of Balliol that it is more difficult to form an estimate of the real capacity of boys of 17 or 18 than at 19 or 20, and I would go further and say that a more certain judgment can be formed when the candidates have attained the age of 20 or 21 than 19 or 20. The younger the age at which the comparison is made, the more are the accidents of early education likely to interfere with a correct estimate of relative capacity. Nor do mental powers develop themselves in all boys at the same age. (It by no means follows that of two boys of equal age the one who at 17 or 18 is the inferior in mental power may not at 21 or 22 be the superior. Nor are instances uncommon in which precocity of mental powers has been followed by a cessation of development.)

6. Again, the best system of education is that which is directed to the cultivation of those mental and moral faculties which constitute a powerful and healthy intellect. The powers of observation must be actively exercised as well as the powers of memory and expression, the critical spirit encouraged but controlled by discipline and by discipline I mean the training which a boy receives when he is in close but unrestrained intimacy with his fellows at institutions in which there exists an *esprit de corps* enjoining a high moral standard. Of course I use the term moral in its widest sense. This discipline is, I believe, more certainly secured at our universities and public schools than elsewhere. Independence and generosity of character, self-reliance, liberality of opinion, and a minimum of intellectual conceit are the characteristics of public school and university training. These qualities are essential to the healthy working of the intellect and advantageous to their possessor in any career. They are peculiarly called for in the public service of this country, where the conditions of official life do not always favour their acquisition. High as is my opinion of the *personnel* of the service as a whole, and numerous as are the instances in which these qualities are possessed in an eminent degree, I must confess I have also met with instances, and more frequently among the younger members of the service, in which the absence of some of them has impaired the efficiency of an otherwise highly-educated public servant.

7 The defect of the present system I take to be the following.—

That the selection is made at too early an age

That the preparation for the examination involves a system of education which, sacrificing the future to the immediately present, applies itself rather to the cultivation of the memory and the faculty of expression than to the development of the powers of observation and original thought—(in his haste to store the memories of his pupils with facts or the more recent opinions of modern writers, the professional trainer is careless to lead them step by step to knowledge or to afford them time for forming judgments of their own)

That the preparation involves an interference with the ordinary course of higher education and encourages a special system of teaching

8 I am very doubtful (the examiners must be in the best position to form an opinion on the point) whether the two years spent in England are of very much advantage to the probationers for purposes of study. I should be inclined to think that many of them do not improve in this period. A practical knowledge of law cannot be acquired in a year, and when the grammar is mastered, a knowledge of the vernacular languages of this country can be acquired with the greatest facility in the districts in which they are respectively spoken. Doubtless after the intense application to study which ordinarily precedes the competitive examination, a period of comparative repose is useful for mental health, and a probation for a certain period before an appointment is conferred on a candidate absolutely is a provision which may in some instances have been shown to possess advantages.

9 I would venture to suggest the following alteration in the existing system.—

That the limit of age should be extended to 22 years

That the successful candidates should remain in Europe for one year after the competitive examination, and in that year should be allowed to select for their final examination, in addition to the grammar of one vernacular language, one out of the several studies which will specially fit them for their calling. During this year of probation I would leave the probationer free to reside and study whenever his convenience or pleasure dictated. No 289

10 By increasing the limit of age I believe it would be found that a large increase would be secured in the number of candidates who have received education at an university. Many parents will not willingly suffer their sons to forego this advantage, whatever be the career which their sons select, and I have known many instances in which young men at the university have renounced, or by circumstances have been compelled to renounce, the profession which they have originally selected, or for which their parents have designed them. I can speak to this that of my friends at the university more than one forewent the career they had intended to pursue and devoted themselves to the Civil Service in India, of which they are now distinguished members.

XIII

From T H THORNTON, Esq, DCL, Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,—No 3140, dated Lahore, the 25th August 1875. No. 290

I am directed by the Lieutenant-Governor to submit the following reply to your letter-endorsements marginally noted, and to convey His Honour's opinion on the points noted for report, namely,—

\* No 16—1035, dated 23rd June 1875  
† No 17—1095, dated 3rd July 1875

- (a) as to the method in which candidates for the Civil Service shall, in the first instance, be selected, and
- (b) as to the manner in which those shall be trained for service in India

Mr J G Cordery  
 „ L H Griffin  
 „ P S Melvill  
 „ C L Tupper  
 „ H C Fanshawe  
 „ R M. Dane

Mr A Christie  
 „ T H Thornton,  
 „ R E Egerton.  
 „ D C Ibbetson  
 „ W Jenkyns

2. Annexed are the opinions of the officers marginally noted, all of which His Honor deems worthy of perusal and consideration.

3. As regards the first point, His Honor concurs with the Civil Service Commissioners in thinking that experience affords no ground for the belief that the system of open competition has failed to supply efficient public servants. As Secretary to this Government, as Chief Commissioner of Oudh, and as Lieutenant-Governor Sir H Davies has had close and prolonged opportunities of judging of the capacity, conduct, and usefulness of the competition civilians, and he is able generally to testify to the public value of their services.

4. Mr Cordery observes (paragraph 11) that, in order to gain an appointment, it is necessary for a youth to have gone through an exceptional training with the special object in view, and that this was evidently not the intention of Lord Macaulay and the Committee over which he presided in 1853, and he considers that the proposals of the Master of Balliol would bring the system of examination more in unison with the educational system generally existing in the nation. It would be more correct, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks, to say that Lord Macaulay did not foresee that the system established would necessarily give occasion for special training. For as any natural born subject of Her Majesty may present himself for examination, and as "marks are distributed among the subjects of examination in such a manner that no part of the kingdom and no class or schools should exclusively furnish civil servants," the range of study is necessarily wide. Arabic and Sanskrit are included on the ground that natives of India may compete, and the moral sciences because within the curriculum of the Scotch universities. The consequence is clearly pointed out by Mr Ibbetson (paragraph 2)—"The course of education adopted by any college or school, public or private, is principally determined by the ultimate ends aimed at by the majority of its cleverer pupils, moulded by the great honour examinations of

\* See page 52

† See page 54.

Cambridge and Oxford, upon the results of which academical distinction and rewards depend. The characteristic of the university educational system is that success is aimed at in only one subject. The standard for honours is so high that a really high degree in more than one subject is exceptionally rare, while a fair degree in each of one or more classes is thought but little of in comparison with a high degree in one only. The selection of the subject to be studied, takes place at an early stage in the education of a boy. He is already known at school as a classic or a mathematician, and from the time he enters the university he confines himself almost exclusively to his special subject. Now the open examination for entrance for the Indian Civil Service is of such a nature that this system of education has to be very considerably modified before it can be said to be that best fitted to ensure success in the competition. It is true that a candidate may take up as many or as few subjects as he chooses, it is true that no one subject is compulsory, it is true that with the rarest exception no one can hope success without a sound knowledge of English and either classics or mathematics,—but it is no less true that no one can hope to stand *high* unless he takes up a considerable number of subjects, and that no one can hope to pass at all unless he is fairly well read in more than one subject \* \* \*

In short, success in the university honour test is attained by a profound acquaintance with one subject. Success in the Civil Service examination is secured by a sound, but less thorough, acquaintance with several. It is obvious that the same training cannot be adapted to both ends, and hence the demand for special tutors like Mr. Wren, and special departments in schools, as at Cheltenham ”

5 It would appear, therefore, that the very adaptation of the subjects of examination to the various courses for study pursued in the best educational institutions throughout the British dominions has created a new standard of attainments which is more certainly reached through special training than through the education afforded at any university or public school

6 Lord Macaulay undoubtedly expected a considerable number of successful competitioners would be men who had taken the first degrees in Arts at Oxford and Cambridge. But this was when he proposed to admit candidates to examination up to the age of 23. The reduction of the superior limit of age to 21 has done away with this expectation, the average age at which degrees are taken at the universities being 23. Lord Macaulay would have prolonged the education of the accepted candidates to the age of 25, but the Lieutenant-Governor fully concurs in the decision which pronounced this to be excessive. The Civil Service Commissioners justly observe that any age will be open to some sort of objection. His Honour is of opinion that the present rule which brings the civilian to India at 23 is the best that can be adopted. But if this be admitted, then either university graduates must be excluded, or the special training subsequent to the competition examination must be given up

7 It would be possible, and would be no marked deviation from Lord Macaulay's scheme, to require that candidates should be graduates of some university. This would be a security for ripe scholarship and for liberal and finished education. But as the competition examination must be adapted to the courses of study in the several universities, there would still remain room, for the reasons above stated, for the special training so much objected to, though such subjects as German, Italian and the Natural Sciences might, perhaps, be eliminated as unnecessary to the test of the ability and knowledge of the competitors. This plan would, however, unless supplemented in accordance with the suggestion of the Master of Balliol, be incompatible with the after-course of professional training which has hitherto been considered indispensable

8 This leads to the consideration of that after-course which is No 290. the second point of the Secretary of State's letter \* It is shown that 13 per cent of the candidates succeed at the age of 17. In their case the two years' after-course is not too much; it is rather too little. The same may be said of the candidates of 18 or even 19. But to detain men of 21 and upwards from the realities of the strange scenes amid which their active after-life is to be passed for the sake of the special studies involved appears to the Lieutenant-Governor a mistaken policy. It would be better to detain them for the sake of the liberal and finished education on which Lord Macaulay laid so much stress. It is proposed by the Master of Balliol that the superior limit of age of admission be put at 22, and that the subject of law and political economy be included in the first examination. If a University degree were made a condition of examination, the Lieutenant-Governor is of opinion that this suggestion might be advantageously adopted. Proficiency in these two subjects is a necessary qualification for a young civilian, and could not properly be dispensed with, although the practical value of personal attendance in the English courts may possibly have been exaggerated. Proficiency also in Hindustani and Telugu might also be exacted, but His Honor is inclined to think that these languages are most rapidly and profitably picked up in India under the pressure of conversation and official necessity. The "laws of India" and its history and geography, as well as its archi-sociology, would also have to be acquired in the country. The right sort of man being found, these things will come to him of themselves.

9 How this modification of the existing scheme would work may be exemplified by Mr. Ibbetson's account of his own proceedings. He was an under-graduate at Cambridge reading for honours. He found that if he adhered to the University course, he would be at a disadvantage at the competition examination; he therefore "almost entirely left off reading mathematics, which was his strongest subject, brushed up his Latin, which had grown rusty, consolidated his knowledge of moral science, which was desultory and disconnected, added to his acquaintance with the principles of the natural sciences a knowledge of the facts and details of the one which he took up and was near the top of the list. The labour, which, if devoted to reading higher mathematics, might have given him 150 additional marks, gave him 800 additional marks, when distributed over Latin, moral and natural science." Now if a degree became a condition of examination, it would probably still be necessary for a candidate to give special attention to some of the points mentioned by Mr. Ibbetson, but the demand for special instruction would create the supply at the University itself.

10 Summed up, the Lieutenant-Governor's proposals are as follows.

- I —None but graduates to Universities to be allowed to compete.
- II —No candidate who has attained his 23rd birthday to be admitted to any examination but that immediately following it.
- III —Candidates to be re-admitted to successive examinations up to the time of their 23rd birthday.
- IV —The subjects of law and political economy to form part of the examination.

11 Sufficient previous notice would in justice to candidates preparing under different systems be necessary prior to the enforcement of these proposals. But they provide, in His Honor's opinion, for the attainment of the aim of Lord Macaulay and his colleagues, and for the correction, as far as practicable, of such defects as have been imputed to some of the civilians who have not had the advantage of being instructed in association or in unison with the general tone of British education.

\* See page 1.

From J G CORDEBY, Esq, to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab,—dated Gujran No. 291  
wala, the 3rd August 1875

As requested in your No 2563\* of the 5th July, I have the honour to express my opinion on the subject of the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India, so far as it is connected with three points, *viz*,—

- (1)—The training at home after the first examination
- (2)—The age to which it is desirable that candidates at the first examination should be limited
- (3)—Whether successful candidates would be likely to take advantage to complete a university course, if that advantage were thrown open to them

It is obvious, however, that these points run into each other, and that the answer given upon any one of them must depend upon the answers to the others. The same training could not be recommended for a lad of 19 which might be well adapted to a man of 22 or 23, and it would be idle to include a University career in the training if the circumstances were to be arranged so as to render it unlikely that such a course should be feasible or popular. I trust, therefore, that I may be permitted to treat them together and in mine own order in the first instance, and to submit my replies to the definite questions at the conclusion of this letter.

2 The present limit of age at the first examination (21) is considered by many men of much experience in this country as too high, and they would be glad to reduce it to the age at which a youth ordinarily leaves school for college. It is argued that the attractions of an Indian career diminish, whilst the ties of home-life strengthen, with every year passed in England after that age, and that, therefore, many of the best youths at our public schools, who would have entered for the service had the limit been earlier, have afterwards declined it altogether, that at 23 a man's habits are too set to allow him to sympathise readily with Orientals, whilst his aptitude for obtaining a *colloquial* mastery of the Native languages is sensibly inferior to that possessed by men who come out younger, and that hence has already ensued too great a preponderance of desk-work over the active and habitual intercourse with the people which was the pride and pleasure of the older service. I am not inclined to adopt this view in its entirety. It ascribes some results, which are mainly caused by changes in our own system of administration and by a disproportionate increase in judicial work, too much to the tastes of individual officers. Indeed, it is not true that the present assistant of a district officer has any more disinclination to a camp-life than his predecessor, though it seems to be true that the opportunities that can be allowed to him of enjoying it are much less frequent. Nor could I advocate any great reduction of the age limit. As I have noted, it is not till the age of 18-20 that the intellectual power which gradually accrues to strength of character begins to run at all an even match against mere precocity. As the Master of Balliol observes, it is more difficult to test the real qualifications of boys by examination than those of young men. Yet, even after all these reductions, I think there remains sufficient force and truth in the argument to tell conclusively against any *raising* of the limit, and perhaps to recommend its reduction to the age of 20, though not lower. If this reduction were accompanied by a limitation of the number of subjects which may be taken up by a candidate to four, so as to avoid any over-straining of a youth's faculties (as is proposed by Dr Jowett), I should certainly be in its favour. The advantage of any increase in willing and cheerful adaptability to the climate, work, and language of India is very great, greater than is perhaps easily realized in England, and if this is affected, as I think it is, by age, it is worth doing all that can be done, without the sacrifice of other things of equal importance, towards attaining it. The Master of Balliol indeed argues that parents would be unwilling to part with their children earlier, and that if the limit at the first examination were raised to 22, it would enlarge the opportunities of competition to University men, but I venture to doubt whether experience shows any general reluctance on the parent's part to embark their sons upon an Indian profession at the age of 22, and the University course which I would advocate for our service is one that should follow, and not precede, the first examination.

3 Any reduction of the age would tend to render some system of collegiate or other discipline more desirable during the two years' training which the selected candidates undergo before they finally leave for India. But whether the age of selection be altered or not, I am entirely at one with those who hold that the men at present are left too much to themselves during those two years. I would base this view not only on the obvious considerations which arise concerning their life in London, but also on the losses and detriment, both to themselves and to the public service, which the present system entails upon them afterwards in India. On the English side of the question I need not dwell at length. I have myself twice heard it urged by parents whose sons would have been desirable candidates



that success would involve either their changing their own residence to London, or No 291 their sons being left to a comparatively isolated and unchecked life in that city. And this feeling, if it be at all general, must tend to diminish the better class of candidate. The severe system of half-yearly examinations (all of which are in a great measure competitive) undoubtedly induces habits of self-control, but the absence of friendly intercourse with somewhat older men of high character (such as often arises in the relation of under-graduate on the one hand and the fellows and tutors on the other), the loss of home life, and the want of common interests and amusements with his co-temporaries, who are generally little known to the candidate except as his co-examinees, *have* a tendency to throw a man upon a lower class of pleasures, and amongst worse associates than he would seek under more favourable conditions, and the effect of this is visible afterwards, not indeed upon health (for I am not speaking of sheer vice), but in an absence of any tradition of a high aim and in some deficiency in general bearing and character. I am speaking, it should be remembered, not of those who have their homes in London, but of those who are thrown or throw themselves upon their own resources there, and amongst these also there will be some exceptions, but I am confident that any change which could obviate these disadvantages would be welcome both to the young men themselves and to their families.

4 The detriment to the public service in India which attends the present system needs to be set forth. Till 1864, though the new members of the service knew little of each other before they landed, yet in Calcutta (where they remained, as it was termed, "in college," till they passed in the Native languages) they shared in the same life, work and amusements, and could not but attain some degree of intimacy. This preliminary training is now gone through in England, but in London they cannot be thrown together in the same way, and when they land in India they are immediately sent off to their several stations. The civil staff at a station (with the exception of the head quarters of the Supreme and Local Governments) consists of a hierarchy of officials who are separated from each other by intervals of from five to ten years' service. Intercourse between station and station is still very rare, and the amount of work to be carried on will never allow it to be frequent. It follows that the opportunities now enjoyed by young civilians of knowing anything whatever of the characters and dispositions of his co-temporaries (including in that term men at least three years above, and three years below himself) are now limited to a degree which, in my humble opinion, cannot but be finally injurious to the administration.

5 My own experience is that they hardly know more than each other's names, and those of the schools and tutors under whom they have been reading. The abolition of the residence in Calcutta has hardly been effected more than ten years ago, and up to this date the only noticeable evil is a certain deadness of interest amongst many men of that period as regards what is happening in parts of India distant from where they may be. They have no friends with whom they can correspond, or in whose careers they take that personal pleasure which can only come from personal knowledge. This alone is an evil which it is well worth while to prevent if it is not inevitable, but it will become much more serious when the time comes for these men to act in concert, and when, instead of meeting on a common ground of mutual knowledge, they have to learn each other's disposition and habits then for the first time. The apprehension of positive evil may perhaps be illusory, but the negative disadvantage will not be disputed. The despatch of public business is much facilitated by the existence of a *rapproch* between the men who have to conduct it, and it is a pity to forfeit this advantage if it is possible to preserve it.

6 It appears to me still, as it did in 1863 when I had the honour of addressing Sir Charles Trevelyan on the subject, that the best and readiest solution of these difficulties is to be found in making residence in one of the Universities of Great Britain the condition upon which selected candidates should receive their allowances from Government. Dr Jowett's recent proposal that any University should be permitted to receive them which would undertake to furnish the requisite lectures, does away with all the invidiousness of any reference on the part of Government, though to a certain extent it lessens the benefit to be derived from a common residence, but I am not in favour of the creation of any special college or of the selection of any one college at any place. University life and education seem to me to combine a freedom, a breadth of interest, and a traditional prestige which would not be attainable at any new institution, whilst at the same time the expense involved in the step is very much less, the discipline, whilst sufficient will not be excessive, and a certain *esprit de corps* will spring up, kept free of all narrowness not only by its general nature, but also by competition between the different Universities which yet have more points of resemblance to each other than of difference.

7. To enable such men to take a degree it would seem necessary that an Oriental school should be added to the schools of the arts, natural sciences,

history, &c, already existing, and that honours taken in that school, coupled with a No 291 pass in either classics or mathematics, should entitle the candidate after two years' residence to his degree. I conceive that he should be prohibited from entering for honours in any other school but the Oriental, and if there is any real fear of a man accepting the Government money in order to desert the service after providing himself with a liberal education at its expense, additional securities against such dishonesty might easily be devised, but I myself believe this danger to be imaginary. The examination for honours in the Indian school would be as severe as any given by the Civil Service Commissioners, and would require the full two years for its preparation. It should also include, not only the Oriental languages, but all the other special subjects prescribed to the candidates. The relation in which these University examinations should stand to the periodical examinations held by the Civil Service Commissioners is a point of detail to be settled by the authorities concerned, but the best principle would seem to be that the final examination, by which the work of each candidate is fixed in the service, should be held by the Commission, whilst test examinations at the universities might advantageously take the place of the almost too numerous (if competitive) intermediate examinations now held.

8 During the two years' vacations there would be, in my humble opinion, abundant opportunity for such attendance at the courts of justice as would enable the students to send in even the 33 reports of trials and police cases now demanded from him. The difficulty of arranging for this is the main point urged by the Civil Service Commissioners against any change. I cannot but believe it might be met without any essential reduction in the knowledge of law required. The importance of the study of the laws of India and of the general principles that underlie them, especially as contrasted with our own and other systems, is indeed paramount, but any intimate knowledge of the forms and of the rules of procedure and practice in English courts is comparatively of little real benefit, for hardly any of them are applicable to this country beyond the presidency towns, nor can evidence nor the results of cross-examination be interpreted or judged on the same principles in the two countries without large allowances, which too great an acquaintance with English practice does not incline a man to make. As assistants are now trained in this branch of study, it is not too much to say that they have to unlearn something, as well as to learn much before they cease to make mistakes at the expense of the people.

9 I would advocate political economy being retained, as now, upon the list of subjects for the second or special examination, and not, as has been proposed, being added to the list of those prescribed for the First or Entrance Examination. The latter list is already sufficiently long, and the subject is one that can be most advantageously studied with particular reference to the existing phenomena of India.

10 In conclusion, then, I would answer your reference as follows —

I — The training of selected candidates I would leave much as it is now so far as the subjects they are examined in are concerned, but I would substitute for unrestricted residence in London or elsewhere residence in any university which will undertake to furnish that training, and even if, for this purpose, it were found necessary slightly to diminish the attendance at the courts of justice, the gain would, in my opinion, outweigh that loss.

II — For the reasons, given in my paragraph 2, I would reduce the limit of age for candidates at the first examination from 21 years to 20, provided that at the same time the subjects taken up by a candidate be limited to four. Taken together, both these changes are to my mind desirable.

III. — I think it certain that were a degree obtainable at a university for proficiency in the same subjects as are required for the Final Examination in the Indian Civil Service, that degree would be coveted and sought for by candidates both for its own sake and on account of the popularity and prestige that is associated at that period of life with a university career, but no candidate should be allowed to enter, much less to complete, a course for honours in other subjects.

11 I gather that there is no need for me to enter upon the questions raised relating to the First Examination. It will be enough to say that the facts contained in the correspondence before me and its appendices are calculated to remove many of the prejudices which have hung about the system of competition. On the other hand, they serve also to confirm the truth of the general impression abroad that to obtain an appointment it is necessary for a youth not to be the best amongst his compeers where they are ordinarily gathered together, but to have gone through an exceptional training with the special object in view. Whether this be a better training than that ordinarily given or not, this was evidently not the intention of

Lord Macaulay or the Commission over which he presided in 1853, and I would No 291 therefore advocate the proposals made by the Master of Balliol on this topic as all tending to bring the examination more into unison with the educational system generally existing in the nation

From L H GRIFFIN, Esq, to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab,—No 480, dated Kapurthala, the 9th August 1875

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter\* No 2926, dated 6th instant, forwarding copies of correspondence on the subject of the selection and training of candidates for the Indian Civil Service, and requesting an expression of my opinion in regard to certain points noted in the Secretary of State's despatch† of the 8th April last

2 As the papers are somewhat voluminous and were only received yesterday, while my reply is required to leave to-day in order to reach Lahore on the 10th of August, I am unable to enter at any length into the subject I regret this the less, as I have lately in the April number of the *Fortnightly Review* expressed my carefully considered opinion on all the points raised in the Secretary of State's despatch and its accompanying correspondence, and I trust that the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor will allow this article to stand as an enclosure to the present letter as expressing my views, which the Lieutenant-Governor has done me the honour to enquire, the more especially as the article was written rather with reference to the official considerations of the subject by the Civil Service Commissioners than for the general public

3 The report‡ of the Civil Service Commissioners, dated the 16th March last, and forming one of the enclosures to your letter, is so entirely in accordance with the views I have expressed with regard to the inexpediency of limiting the number of subjects to be taken up by candidates, or restricting in any manner the principle of free competition, and in demonstrating the superiority of the system of special training, popularly known as "cramming," over the general training of either public schools or universities, that I can find but one point of any importance on which I can venture to differ from the Commissioners, although I have made suggestions for improvement in matters of detail or lines laid down, with extraordinary precision and success, by them.

4 This point concerns the residence of selected candidates in London during the two years' special training, subsequent to the examination I cannot but consider, with all deference to the opinion of the Commissioners, that too great importance is attached to the facilities certainly to be found in London for attending civil and criminal trials and hearing and taking notes of great legal questions argued and decided by high legal authorities The procedure of English courts and the law there administered are so different from those prevailing in India that the advantage of this portion of the probationer's education is, I think, exaggerated, and the special training in Indian law and general jurisprudence which is demanded is sufficient without the superadded confusion of English legal procedure in which unprofessional persons can find nothing to praise But, were it otherwise, candidates might still attend the London courts with sufficient frequency while pursuing their studies elsewhere, if the sessions courts in the neighbourhood of the universities did not afford the requisite training The matter seems one easy of arrangement

5 The Commissioners have strongly urged that "a system under which the candidates are left free to choose for themselves the place and manner of their studies, is a better preparation for the perfect liberty which they are so soon to enjoy in India than any supervision which the discipline of a college could supply" But I nevertheless consider that London is the very worst place which could be selected for residence of youths of 18 and 20 years of age, when free from all control It is a mistake to imagine that these young men on their arrival in India enjoy perfect liberty or anything approaching it They are under the very close supervision of their superior officers, English and Native society watches their habits and amusements, and however much disposed to neglect conventionalities, they are unable to escape the jealous and minute regard of public opinion If I were asked the most certain means of demoralizing a youth of 18, I would recommend his being allowed to live in London uncontrolled. Too young to be admitted into any club, of an age especially unwelcome in society, where can he find amusement except in billiard rooms, cricket grounds, the theatres and Cremorne It is true, as the Commissioners state, that in no case has a certificate been refused owing to doubts respecting a candidate's character, and I willingly believe that the character of each and all is unimpeachable But of what value is the certificate? What do the Commissioners know of the character of a candidate, vouched for by the tutor or a clergyman, a friend of the family, who are naturally and necessarily ignorant of the pursuits and the companions which the youth may prefer in London? I really do not see how anything short of an appearance in the police courts could attract the attention of the Civil Service Commissioners

\* Not printed.

† See page 1

‡ See page 9

6 For this reason alone I consider it most desirable to reciprocate if possible No 291 the advances of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, both of which seem ready to modify their rules so as to allow the residence of selected candidates. The atmosphere would be much more healthy, while the training would be the same, as specialists in every branch of study required would soon migrate to the universities, if they are not already to be found there. If it be decided to decline the university proposals, I would recommend that the maximum age for the preliminary examination be raised a year, and the period of subsequent training reduced by the same amount as was the case previous to 1866. One year of London liberty or license would be preferable to two, and the deterioration of manners and morals reduced one-half.

7 Your second question refers to the age at which it is desirable that candidates for the first examination should be admitted. Subject to the proviso in the last paragraph, I think no change should be made. It is certainly undesirable to send civil servants to India older than at present, indeed they are now often too old to like the country and obtain the colloquial mastery of the vernaculars. By raising the standard, worse men, and not better, would be attracted, as the cleverest men choose their profession early and will not wait till they are three or four and twenty for the chance of an appointment. The candidates would too often be the rejected of the Army and Cooper's Hill examinations, who might or might not succeed, but who are certainly not the men it is desired to attract.

8 To the last question, whether the successful candidates would be likely to take advantage of the opportunity of completing the university course, it is difficult to reply, but the point does not seem of any moment. The education which the selected candidates now receive is as good as it can be, and to a man who can pass the competitive examination, an ordinary pass degree would be no difficulty. High honour men will not be attracted for obvious reasons, but a considerable number of the selected candidates have proved themselves to be men who could have taken high honours had their attention been turned in that direction.

9 In conclusion, I would venture to observe that, although there are doubtless many persons who would gladly see appointment by merit abolished and other modes more favourable to mediocrity adopted, I have not yet seen it asserted by any high Government official, acquainted with the working of the system, that it is a failure or that it needs any radical change. All authority and all experience point the other way. The only serious attacks upon the Indian competitive system have been anonymous, and have probably been as interested as they certainly were ill-informed.

#### *The Indian Civil Service Examinations*

In the last address of Mr Lowe to his constituents of the University of London he commended the system of open competition to their earnest protection. Perceiving that the Ministry of which he was a member was doomed, he was anxious for the future of a scheme the adoption of which appeared to him one of the most specially liberal measures of modern times. Conservative governments have, however, shown little open hostility to the competitive system, and they have possibly realised the fact that, in a constitution like our own, in which the people have become the rulers as absolutely as in any acknowledged republic, open competition for all appointments in the Government service is one of the surest guarantees against the indecent scramble for office among the ignorant and corrupt, too often witnessed in France and America.

But although the general principle of unrestricted competition is in no danger, it seems not improbable that, in certain branches of the public service, its free action may be limited in deference to criticism which, though well intentioned, does not always happen to be well instructed.

It is asserted by some critics that the competitive system, as applied to the Indian Civil Service has signally failed, that it has not attracted the best class of students to its examinations, which are indeed so devised as to exclude them by holding out a premium to "cramming" or, in other words, to the superficial acquirement of such information as will secure most marks, while the best result of education, rightly conducted, in moral and mental culture, is neglected. The charge is sustained by the admitted fact that a large number of the successful candidates in recent examinations have been prepared by two or three private tutors, whose names are better known than their methods of instruction.

When the charge of superficiality is dissected, its truth seems improbable. A boy is taken from a public school where he has shown industry and intellectual tastes, or else his relations would not encounter the expense and anxiety of the preparation for the Indian service. He is placed for two years with a tutor who, whatever the faults of his system, demands constant work and concentrated attention. Having successfully passed the competition, he is subjected to a course of two years' technical instruction, his industry tested by half-yearly examinations

and stimulated by valuable prizes. If the result of these four years' severe training, superadded to his former general education, be to render the candidate superficial, the relation between the cause and the effect is obscure. Human life has its limits, and we may fairly ask objectors how many years of uninterrupted study are necessary before the charge of superficiality can be avoided. We might rather expect that the training had erred on the side of severity, that sufficient time had not been given to recreation and society, that the candidate would become a shy, nervous student, ignorant of men and the world, and unfitted for its active duties, and, in truth, it is in this direction that the system not unfrequently fails. A certain proportion of the young civilians seem, on their arrival in India, to be already worked out, and to have lost the energy and enthusiasm that are necessary for success in a career the first years of which contain much that is distasteful. In the early years of the new system it was commonly asserted that the competition civilians were less fond of society and less expert at manly exercises than their Haileybury predecessors. This may have been true, though the new comers were almost exclusively university or public school men who are commonly believed to give a fair proportion of their time to athletics and society. But in 1866 the maximum age at which candidates were permitted to compete was lowered from twenty-three to twenty-one. One result of this change, which was only made, after very careful consideration, has certainly been to render a change which may once have been fanciful generally correct. The present candidates have been studious at school, the triumphs of the cricket-field and the racket court have not been for them, and from the time of their leaving school till their departure for India they have been undergoing an exceptionally severe course of study. They know little of the world, they have not had the opportunity of mixing much in society, or the leisure to indulge in a fair share of its pleasures. The age at which they go up for the preliminary examination has prevented them from gaining whatever knowledge of the world the universities may be supposed to impart, while to the technical studies which succeed the preliminary examination the universities have not yet given any special encouragement. The candidates practically commence their Indian career still school-boys. Their creditable success in the competitive examination has given them an exaggerated idea of their own abilities, which make them often and justly unpopular. They neither ride, nor shoot, nor dance, nor play cricket, and prefer the companionship of their books to the attractions of Indian society, which is probably not more rapid than society elsewhere. However numerous may be the exceptions, and, fortunately for Indian society, there are numerous exceptions, this is a frequent result of the present system. The fault is not in the men, but in a training which is intended only to produce certain intellectual results. In that it is successful. The popular opinion that the present candidates are inferior to those who went to India in the early years of competition is, I believe, altogether erroneous, and I am not aware that it has ever been asserted by any head of a department who has had these young men as subordinates. The competition is now more fierce than ever, success requires each year more industry and ability, and in every branch of judicial or administrative work the present men are certainly not inferior to their predecessors. Their industry is almost inconveniently great, the vice of shallowness is not generally to be detected in their work, nor does the knowledge which is said to have been gained by cramming evaporate during the voyage to India. So long as they approve themselves by the quality of their work, the system which has selected them cannot be considered a failure. It is not given to all men to shine alike in the school and the hunting-field. It is more for the advantage of India that Judges should decide cases with intelligence than that they should ride straight across country, and that revenue officers should make a fair and enlightened assessment than distinguish themselves by their address at badminton or croquet. At the same time I agree with those who consider that a most important part of general education is altogether neglected under the present system, and that it is essential that such changes should be made in the training of candidates as to ensure their possession of some knowledge of the world, men, and manners. If a residence at one of the great English universities will secure this, let such residence be made obligatory upon all selected candidates.

It will perhaps be admitted that, if the Indian examination be especially favourable to cramming, it is not through want of endeavours to avoid it on the part of the Civil Service Commissioners. They have from the first declared it to be "one of the ruling principles of these examinations that no candidate should be allowed anything at all for taking up a subject in which he was a mere smatterer." In conformity with this principle it was the practice to strike out all marks which indicated less than a competent knowledge of the subject selected, leaving those whose knowledge exceeded, by ever so little, the minimum of competence to count all the marks assigned to them. The system was changed, however, some years ago, and the present practice is to make a deduction of one hundred and twenty-five marks from all candidates alike, and in all subjects,—such deduction being supposed to represent the slight knowledge which was below

the minimum of competence. This principle, now generally condemned as inequitable, was nevertheless made in the interest of sound scholarship and of deep, as opposed to superficial reading. Classics and mathematics, subjects in which, under a careful and exhaustive method of examination, cramming was difficult, were highly marked, and others, such as modern languages which, rightly or wrongly, it was believed possible to read up quickly, were positively discouraged. A *rudé voce* examination, as searching as the number of candidates and the available time permitted, took place in each subject, and the great experience of the examiners was specially directed to set such questions as should most certainly test the real knowledge of the candidates. In no other examinations in the country were precautions against cramming more precise and apparently exaggerated, and although there are still directions in which improvements may be suggested, it cannot be maintained that the efforts of the Civil Service Commissioners have been resultless, or that cramming has become the secret of success. Indeed, most tutors will agree that in this examination the best among the candidates almost invariably succeed, and an expert can even predict with tolerable accuracy the position that will be taken in the list by a candidate whose acquirements are known to him.

It seems to have been anticipated by the promoters of the competitive system that appointments for the Indian Civil Service would be sought for and obtained by first class graduates of Oxford and Cambridge. This expectation, never reasonable, has been signally disappointed, and in recent years of the six or seven first class graduates who have passed the preliminary examination, all have resigned their appointments before proceeding to India. The universities naturally wish to retain those students who will gain them credit, successful candidates are tempted with Fellowships, and some colleges have lately declared their scholarships only tenable so long as the holders do not accept any appointment inconsistent with carrying out the usual university course. But what is the impression which recent writers convey as to the training of Indian candidates? Undoubtedly it is that the universities have taken an altogether insignificant part in their education, and that the successful candidates are private school-boys, mischievously "crammed" by private tutors on a demoralising system. What are the real facts? During the first 14 years of the system 663 appointments were offered for competition. For these the following university candidates appeared

Oxford, 313, successful, 137

Cambridge, 309, successful, 95

Dublin, 260, successful, 80

Scotch or Colonial Universities, 480, successful, 169

Thus for 663 appointments 1,362 university men competed, of whom 481 were successful, while no fewer than 232, or more than a third of the whole selected candidates, were members of Oxford or Cambridge. The undoubted fact that first-class university men do not compete may be estimated at what it is worth. The probability is that always, and under all circumstances, men who have taken high honours at Oxford or Cambridge will find professional and political life in England both more attractive and lucrative than an Indian career. But a large number of the successful candidates have distinguished themselves at the universities as the published lists prove, and this when heavily weighted by the study of the extra subjects which the Indian course requires. They have possibly proved more useful members of a service which more than any other demands versatility of accomplishments than high honour men, distinguished only for classical or mathematical attainments, would have been. However this may be, the reduction of the maximum age from twenty-three or twenty-one has practically closed the service to the first-class men, and has largely diminished the number of ordinary university candidates. It is no doubt easy for men to succeed in the simple pass examination for degrees while pursuing the Indian course, but not, except in rare cases, to succeed in the examination for honours. This consideration has suggested a return to the regulations regarding age in force previous to 1865. But I believe the reduction was essentially a wise one. The period of technical training after the Preliminary Examination lasts two years, and cannot well be reduced while the youngest men accept most cheerfully the banishment and intellectual privations of Indian life. Youth is the period of hope, and fixes its attention more willingly on the prizes it may possibly win than upon the blanks it must probably draw. Nor does the Indian Civil Service of to-day appear as attractive as it was depicted in 1855. Promotion is at a stand-still, and the discontent, which is thus not unreasonably occasioned, re-acts upon England, and disinclines the most desirable class of men to compete for appointments. This being the case, the return to the former maximum of twenty-three will not have any good effect. Some of the best men, who would have come out at twenty-one, will be lost, while the older university men, who know more of the prospects of the service than they did in 1856, will not be attracted.

The reduction in the age of competitors and the absence of any authority to direct and superintend their studies at the universities, Dublin excepted, created a class of tutors popularly known as crammers who have met the required want so successfully as to have become unpopular. The demand created the supply as surely as the success created the dislike and suspicion. I am by no means in favour of private tuition for Indian candidates, and would prefer to see all receive the benefit of the discipline and social training which the universities bestow, but I still believe that both the instruction and method of private tutors are excellent. In the first place, it is not the fact that these men, or at any rate the best among them, profess, as stated by Colonel Chesney, to prepare with success all but the really dull. A distinguished Oxford professor, with the experience in teaching of a life-time, thus writes—

“The competition for the Indian Civil Service is now so very great that no one has any chance who is not both above the average in ability and also gifted with more than ordinary perseverance and power of application. If a boy requires to be driven to work, and has a taste for excelling in out-door sports, he has little or no chance of success. No private tutor in the country is likely to be able to prepare a boy for so severe a competition. After the discipline of a great public school, London is the best place to finish off. There alone is there any possibility of adequate instruction in the numerous subjects requisite to make success probable.”

The candidates sent into the examination by a crammer are the residuum of two selections. Before a boy is admitted at all to the establishment, his attainments are tested, and if they are not considerable, he is rejected. After six months the ability, industry, and progress of the youth are estimated. If they be not satisfactory, his friends are requested to remove him, as he would have no reasonable chance in the competition. This process of selection explains much of the success of some celebrated crammers, through whose hands eighty or one hundred aspirants may pass in the course of a single year, only those being retained whose ability guarantees their passing creditably through the ordeal of examination. It does not pay them to keep other than clever youths, whose success is reflected upon their tutors, and their time is too valuable to waste upon those who have no natural taste for study. The crammer who probably took high honours at Oxford or Cambridge is assisted in every important department by the most competent masters procurable, while from eight to ten hours' work is required of the student, but the results so much criticized are attained, not so much by the excellence of the instruction as by the care taken to ascertain the peculiar bent of each mind, and to cultivate those particular subjects which are most congenial to it. This, which is neglected in the system of our public schools and colleges, is at the root of all intelligent education. The instruction given, moreover, is scientific in *method* as opposed to ordinary English education, under which boys are taught Greek and Latin by a system which any man of sense learning a modern language would reject as ridiculous.

The subjects of the Indian examination may be divided into those in which cramming is possible and those in which it is impossible. It is not possible by any process which can be accurately described as cramming to acquire a brilliant style in English composition, fluency in French, German or Italian, or the power of writing correct Latin prose or well-balanced Greek iambs. Nor is it possible to “cram” mathematics, of which, moreover, being an exact science, any knowledge is a distinct advantage, however small such knowledge may be. It is thus evident, taking the average of marks gained by successful candidates at seventeen hundred that a well-educated candidate may be easily successful by taking up subjects in which cramming is altogether useless. In these subjects the system of the private tutors is the same as that practised by university tutors. At Cambridge, sixteen years ago, the number of honour-men who were pupils of the celebrated Mr Todhunter were probably more numerous than the successful candidates from the establishment of any crammer for the Indian examination.

In those subjects in which cramming is possible—history, literature, natural science and metaphysics—it undoubtedly exists controlled more or less by the capacity of the papers to test real knowledge, and by the *vis à voce* examination. These are powerful checks, but the object of the examiners should be to render them more effective, and to reduce to a minimum the evil of cramming, which all literary competitive examinations have a tendency to develop. No examinations are free from it, but those are necessarily most affected in which the ambition of the candidate is not so much to train his mind in the most advantageous manner as to secure a valuable appointment which a hundred competitors dispute with him. Success, however attained, is his educational standard, and it is for those who control the examinations to take care that it shall only be secured by ability, industry, and scholarship.

Suggestions for the improvement of the existing scheme of the examination and training of candidates can only be made with the utmost deference to the Civil



Service Commissioners, for these distinguished men have for many years spared no pains to perfect it, while they have had at their disposal the experience of a large body of competent examiners. So strongly do I feel this that I should not have ventured to add to the many suggestions which have doubtless been pressed upon them had I not some acquaintance with the practical working of the system and the character of the men who, during the last few years, have been supplied by it to India. But, on the other hand, the competition system which has been in force since 1855 has passed out of the empirical stage, and among those acquainted with its results there is some approach to unanimity as to the modifications which may with most advantage be made in it.

In the first place, the ground covered by the examination is too wide, being almost co-extensive with human knowledge itself. The intention as originally declared, and further explained by Mr Lowe in 1867, was to take everything that a well-educated man might learn,—all classical and modern languages, all the principal branches of physical and mental science, marking the subjects as far as possible according to their relative importance.

This principle had the advantage of opening the doors of free competition most widely, and of allowing any accomplishment to count towards success in examination, but in certain subjects its tendency undoubtedly was to encourage superficial learning. When the maximum age of candidates was twenty-three, it was hardly fair to expect the encyclopædic acquirements which the examination papers presumed, but, since the maximum age has been reduced to twenty-one, and candidates more and more incline to go up at the earliest possible age—seventeen or eighteen—the range of the examination may be limited with great advantage. If, for the sake of illustration we refer to the list of selected candidates for any year, and that for 1870 is in no way exceptional, we shall find that of the first twenty candidates three took up nine subjects, four took up eight, eight took up seven, and five took up six. The average number of subjects taken up was thus a little over seven, and if it be urged that English composition, history, and literature are counted as three subjects, on the other hand it must be noted that natural science includes from two to five subjects, and moral science both logic and mental philosophy.

The following is the scheme of examination as it now stands.

	Marks
English Composition	500
History of England, including that of the Laws and Constitution	500
English Language and Literature	500
Language, Literature, and History of Greece	750
Ditto ditto ditto Rome	750
Ditto ditto ditto France	375
Ditto ditto ditto Germany	375
Ditto ditto ditto Italy	375
Mathematics (pure and mixed)	1,250
Natural Science that is (1) Chemistry, including Heat, (2) Electricity and Magnetism, (3) Geology and Mineralogy, (4) Zoology, (5) Botany	1,000
* * The total (1,000) marks may be obtained by adequate proficiency in any two or more of the five branches of science included under this head	
Moral Sciences that is, Logic, Mental and Moral Philosophy	500
Sanskrit Language and Literature	500
Arabic Language and Literature	500
Candidates are at liberty to name any or all of these branches of knowledge.	

No subjects are *obligatory*

It would not perhaps be advisable to limit the number of subjects which may be taken up, for supposing a candidate to possess a competent knowledge of many subjects—and the possibility of this has been often demonstrated—there is no reason why he should not be permitted to utilize his knowledge. The range of examination should rather be limited by indicating to intending candidates a particular course of reading, by recommending text-books, and by confining a certain proportion of the questions set in each subject to a particular and previously notified portion of it, in history, to a particular period, in literature, to a particular author or group of authors, in science, to some clearly defined sub-division of the branch which is the subject for examination. It is useless to expect boys of eighteen to be acquainted with the whole range of language, history and literature, classical and modern. They must resort to a cleverly prepared abstract or *memoria technica*, which may be useful enough as a supplement to special and detailed study, but which should not be substituted for it. At the same time, those subjects which are most needed in the education of Indian civilians, or which form the surest test of general culture, should be made obligatory. Lastly, a re-adjustment of marks in some instances should be made, and the present deduction of 125 from each subject should be discontinued.

The substituted scheme which I would venture to submit to the consideration No 291 of the Commissioners would stand—

*Compulsory Subjects*

	Marks.
English Composition	500
History of England, including that of the Laws and Constitution . . . . .	500
English Language and Literature . . . . .	500
Elementary Mathematics (Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry) . . . . .	500
High Mathematics . . . . .	750
or	
Language, Literature, and History of Greece . . . . .	750
Ditto ditto ditto Rome . . . . .	750
Logic . . . . .	500
Calligraphy . . . . .	250

*Optional Subjects.*

Language and History of France . . . . .	500
(Of these marks, 375 will be given for Language.)	
Language of Germany . . . . .	375
Language of Italy . . . . .	375
Natural Science . . . . .	500

- (I) Chemistry, including Heat.
- (II) Electricity and Magnetism.
- (III) Geology and Mineralogy.
- (IV) Zoology.
- (V) Botany.

(No more than one of these subjects is to be taken up )

Sans-krit Language and Literature . . . . .	500
Arabic Language and Literature . . . . .	500

In justification of making certain subjects compulsory, I would observe that, after the competitive system has been in force for twenty years, we should certainly know what we require from an Indian civilian, and knowing it we should certainly make its acquirement compulsory. At any rate, we do not want the men whom the proposals of a recent writer would give us—one distinguished for classics alone, another a mere mathematician, a third an accomplished chemist. "It is certain," says the *Edinburgh Review*, "that according to the present test a good mathematician, or even an eminent mathematician, would have no chance whatever on the score of his mathematics alone, nor would an eminent classic scholar as such. The system stands condemned by a mere statement of this fact, and that we have not overcharged it will be evident by reference to details." This of course is easy to prove, for, while seven men who have passed the examination, previously or subsequently, took a wrangler's degree, many who had taken that degree, including one senior wrangler, have been defeated. But what the reviewer considers the condemnation of the system is to my mind the most convincing proof of its excellence.

Let us refer again to the list of candidates for 1870, and here the illustrations, for obvious reasons of propriety, must be taken from the unsuccessful candidates whose names are not published. No. 56 on the list, and consequently an unsuccessful candidate, obtains 992 marks out of 1,250 for mathematics. *He was the best mathematician of the year.* No one of the 41 selected candidates obtained higher marks, and only two of them approached him. At the Cambridge examination he would certainly have taken high honours, and probably have been high among the wranglers. Yet this gentleman took up neither classics nor any modern language; in English composition he obtained nothing, in history nothing, and in English literature and language only 70 out of 500 marks. The whole argument of the *Edinburgh Reviewer* assumes that the rejection of this candidate condemns the competitive system. But any one acquainted with the practical requirements of India will be aware that this eminent mathematician, who will no doubt become justly distinguished in some profession at home, would have been curiously unfitted for the Civil Service. His English composition must have been below the standard of a national school-boy; while absolute ignorance of the history and literature of his own country, of modern Europe, and of antiquity, neither fitted him to represent enlightened progress in India nor to sympathize with and understand an alien race. The Government of India has no doubt uses for varied intellects, and some appropriate corner might have been found for him in the Account Office of the Financial Department. But a malicious fortune would have made him a District Officer, or a Judge, for whose duties any one of the messengers in the Office of Civil Service Commission would be probably as well suited. The 62nd on the list of unsuccessful candidates obtained in Greek 518 out of 750 marks, and in Latin 551 out of 750. This includes the invariable deduction of 125 marks for competent knowledge. Only two men that year, the 1st and 5th on the list of selected candidates, and exceptionally good classics, were superior to him; and his acquirements would probably have gained him a first class in the Oxford examina-

tion His rejection to the *Edinburgh Reviewer* condemns the system To my mind No 291 it approves it, for in English composition he obtained nothing, and for English history and literature only 95 and 25 respectively This gentleman, in spite of his distinguished accomplishments, was unsuited for the Indian Civil Service

No justification is needed for making English composition a compulsory subject when it is considered that all public business in India is conducted by correspondence, record, or report, while those who consider that marks for calligraphy are unworthy of a scheme of high education are ignorant that the hieroglyphical writing of many able officers in India is a serious obstruction to business and the despair of copyists and appellate courts I do not wish to encourage elaborate penmanship, but simply to make clearness, and even legibility, obligatory Nor do I think it necessary to justify English history and literature being made compulsory on all candidates, whatever their nationality Those who have to administer India on English principles are unfit for their duties unless they have a competent knowledge of these subjects

Neither in the marking of English nor classics would I suggest any change, and the only improvement, already referred to, would be to confine a certain proportion of questions to a particular period, or to a particular author, while giving sufficient questions over a more extended area to test general knowledge Mathematics are not too highly marked at present, as independently of their advantage as an intellectual training, the work of the Indian civilian demands for its proper performance a competent knowledge of elementary mathematics Questions of land measurement, of alluvion and diluvion, and judicial cases involving complicated accounts, come before the youngest Magistrate, while settlements of land revenue, income-tax assessments, and the numerous duties which devolve upon assessors and collectors of the Government revenue demand considerable mathematical knowledge, or, at any rate, considerable aptitude for, and facility in figures So much is this the case that I would make compulsory the acquisition of a certain amount of elementary mathematics, permitting a choice between classics and the higher mathematics This would be no hardship, for the great majority of selected candidates take of both classics and mathematics, and it is advisable to insist upon one or the other of these subjects in order to keep the scheme of examination as much as possible in accordance with that favoured by public schools and universities whose students it is desirable to attract In the case of Native candidates, Sanskrit or Arabic would be appropriately exchanged for Latin and Greek as compulsory subjects Colonel Chesney, in his *Indian Polity*, noticed that mathematics were unduly weighted by the simpler parts of the science being wholly ignored, with the result that they were practically driven out of the course, and scarcely ever taken up for the examination by successful candidates This change has now been completely avoided In 1870 out of the 41 successful men all but six took up mathematics, and among the first hundred all but twelve took up, and all but one obtained, marks in this subject The only other subject which I would recommend as compulsory is logic To this objection will be taken, for the world is not yet ruled by syllogisms, but the suggestion may go for what it is worth For logic I would have substituted political economy had not this subject been included in the supplementary scheme of studies undertaken after the preliminary examination

In optional subjects I have ventured to suggest some important changes which I hope to be able to justify I have increased the number of marks given to French to that at which the subject was originally estimated I have not heard any other argument in favour of the reduction than that it was intended to discourage cramming, of which modern languages were supposed to be peculiarly susceptible But cramming has not been avoided by the reduction The only remedy is to give all the marks obtainable for modern languages to the languages alone, and to ask no questions on literature or history French history, which every educated man must more or less study, I would make the only exception, giving it 125 marks, while the French, German and Italian languages should each carry 375 marks In defence of this change I would urge that a youth who is compelled to take up for examination several labourious subjects, such as English, classics and mathematics, can only obtain an acquaintance with the literature of modern Europe by cramming He has not reached the time of life when German literature has much charm for him, while Victor Hugo, Paul Feval and Edmond About exhaust his French As for history, the future conceals the history of both Italy and Germany. They have no history in the past which is worth study when it is considered that to master the patchwork politics of Venice, Florence and Genoa on the one hand, or Frankfurt and Vienna on the other, valuable time must be surrendered which might with greater advantage be employed otherwise. A successful candidate with whom I am acquainted took into examination and obtained marks for Italian When a boy he had learned so much Italian as is taught at school, had stumbled through a few circles of *l'Inferno*, and read portions of Machiavelli's *Principe* and *Istorie Fiorentine* Of Italian literature and history generally he knew nothing, and such information as he possessed in examination was gleaned from Sismondì, which he bought the evening before and crammed during the night

Such subjects must be crammed, and should be cut out of the scheme. The Civil Service Commissioners, by asking impossibilities and by expecting schoolboys to possess universal accomplishments, create the very evil of cramming which they so much deprecate. The very antidote to cramming will be to give all the marks in modern languages to the languages themselves, and specially to their colloquial acquirement, tested by *vivâ voce* examination. In this there can be no cramming, as the English public, which largely travels on the Continent, knows to its cost. This, moreover, would encourage intending candidates to travel and reside for a time abroad—in itself a most valuable aid to their general training, and giving them some of that knowledge of the world which they now too often want. The existing system of marking modern languages gives every stimulus to cram, and none to foreign travel.

With reference to natural science, Mr Scoones endeavoured to show that the statements made by the *Edinburgh Review* as to the method of its study and its applicability to cramming purposes are entirely inaccurate and misleading. He has been partly successful in this endeavour, but if really deep and accurate knowledge is to be encouraged, the present system must be modified. The number of marks allotted to natural science should be reduced to the figure at which it stood in 1868, *viz*, 500, which more fairly than 1,000 represents the position which the subject occupies in the ordinary education of an Englishman, and no candidate should be allowed to present himself for examination in more than one natural science. At present he may take up five and cannot obtain full marks without taking up two or more. This must stimulate cramming, for it is improbable that a young man who has other subjects to study can master more than one natural science, although the mastery of one may imply an acquaintance with others. To be a competent geologist, an acquaintance is necessary with botany, zoology, comparative anatomy, chemistry, and several kindred sciences, to be an accomplished chemist, long and patient study, the most exact and critical judgment and high mathematical acquirements, are needed. It is surely a sufficient sacrifice to the principle of free competition to give candidates the choice between botany, geology and mineralogy, zoology, chemistry and electricity and magnetism.

Lastly, I would suggest that moral and metaphysical philosophy be altogether left out of the scheme of examination. However fascinating or essential may be this study when the intellect is matured, and when it is the result of a natural inclination, and not alone of a desire to obtain a certain number of marks, it cannot be followed by school-boys with much profit. That it is not an essential part of high education is shown by the comparatively small number of scholars it attracts, and the duties of an Indian civilian may well be performed without an acquaintance with the Cartesian doctrine of innate thought, or the differences between the teaching of Plato and Plotinus.

Mr Scoones has noticed at length what is indeed a general subject of complaint—the deduction of 125 marks from each subject, as representing the minimum of competent knowledge. There is a *consensus* of opinion that the old system was preferable of giving no marks in case of evident incompetency. If the deduction be continued, it should be made proportional to the number of marks which the subjects carry. Supposing that competency be estimated at one-fifth of the total, there then would be a deduction of 250 from mathematics and of 75 from German. But, seeing that in the last-named subject Goethe himself could not have obtained more than 375 marks, the deduction of 125 from the necessarily meagre acquirements of an English youth amounts to the practical exclusion of German from the examination.

It is a secondary evil that the deduction system gives a false impression to the public, who cannot be expected to bear it in mind when looking at the lists. The recent candidates have in reality obtained higher marks than the men in the early years, and this not only in the general average, but in special subjects like Latin, for which the same examiner, Mr Osborne Gordon, awarded 500 marks to four men in 1860, and to twenty-four in 1868. The general belief, even among well-informed persons, is that the reverse is the case, and the explanation is obvious, when a man who takes in eight subjects, or branches of subjects, loses, under the deduction system, no less than 1,000 marks. The most reasonable practice is to make no arbitrary deduction, proportional or otherwise. A small amount of knowledge should receive a small number of marks as certainly as extensive knowledge a large number. Why, for example, should not the knowledge that two and two make four be rewarded by a single mark? The knowledge is valuable, and indeed essential, although many officials in high positions have never acquired it.

I can but briefly notice the most important part of the whole competitive scheme—the training of selected candidates. Here the Civil Service Commission signally and notoriously fails. A purely examining body is incompetent to undertake the practical training of youths, and in fact beyond the half-yearly examination they take no interest in the candidates whatever. The undisg used preference given

to London as a residence is, moreover, unwise as probably there is no place in the world where, without the advantage of home society or judicious control, a shy student may be more unhappy or an impulsive one more readily demoralised. The Government might well relieve the Commissioners of a responsibility with which they should never have been burthened, and direct that all selected candidates should pass their two years' probation at one of the great English universities, though, should any candidate be already a member of another university, he might have the option of continuing his studies there. To fix on any one university would arouse great opposition which might be fatal to the scheme, but Oxford and Cambridge together are above rivalry, while the fair rights of Irish or Scotch universities would be maintained. No objection would be made to the candidates pursuing their special studies—for which there should be both at Oxford and Cambridge the greatest facilities—under the direction of such distinguished teachers as Sir Henry Maine, Professors Owen, Cowell, Monier Williams, Fawcett, Price, and others, whose tuition covers the whole ground of the final Indian examinations.

The suggestion to confine the selected candidates to a single college is most infelicitous, and still more so to found a new college at Oxford or elsewhere for their exclusive use. This would neutralize half the advantage of their university residence, which consists in the free intercourse with men of all classes and opinions. It is indeed urged that such a college would restore to the service the *esprit de corps* which was lost when Haileybury fell. But however high the character and ability of the old service, Haileybury was never distinguished for industry or scholarship, while the *esprit de corps* which it nourished has certainly, in India, under the less eulogistic name of caste prejudice, been the object of dislike and suspicion. It is most undesirable to encourage any exclusive sentiment in the official class in India. Between it and non-officials excellent relations now exist, which should not be exchanged for the old hostility. The only *esprit de corps* worth preservation is that which unites all men of culture and education, and none the less certainly when they are members of the same service and are working together for the same ends.

From P S MELVILL, Esq., to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab,—No. 1680, dated Jullundur, the 29th July 1875

I have the honour, in reply to your letters\* Nos 2563 and 2764, dated 5th and 15th instant, to offer the following remarks on the selection and training of candidates for the Indian Civil Service

I.—The method of selection of candidates in the first instance

It appears to me that no improvement on the existing system has been suggested or is possible. There can, I think, be no doubt that the men who have come to India under this system are, as a rule, exceedingly well educated in the general branches of learning, and that their moral character is irreproachable.

II.—The age of admission to the first examination

I see no advantage in making any alteration in the existing limits of age which were fixed after much consideration. It is most desirable that civil servants should not arrive in India at too advanced an age, as it is then difficult for a man to adapt himself to the novel conditions of life in which he finds himself placed.

III.—As regards the training at home after the first examination is passed

The idea of sending the selected candidates to a university for the two years of special study in England is at first sight attractive. My own experience of civilians who have come out to India under the competitive system is that a considerable proportion of them have not had the opportunity of mixing in society, and that they are awkward and wanting in manners. This is probably, to a certain extent, owing to the early age at which they are put to study for the preliminary examination and the necessity for unremitting attention to work during the two years of probation—conditions which preclude them from much social intercourse. London also being the place where the special studies of the selected candidates can be prosecuted with the greatest facility, many men have not friends at hand with whom they might associate if they had the leisure to do so. The deficiency I have referred to would certainly be cured to a very great extent by a residence of two years at Oxford or Cambridge where intimacies and friendships would be formed which could not fail to be beneficial. But the objections to sending the selected candidates to a university appear to me to be very great.

*Firstly*—After having passed the initial examination for the Indian Civil Service they would be required to pass also the examinations of

\* Not printed.

† See paragraph 4 of the letter\* of the Very Reverend the Dean of Christ Church

\* See page 4.

the university which are not connected with their special studies, or No 291. to undertake the acquirement of some branch of learning which is not connected with those studies

*Secondly*—The system of vacations at the great universities is wholly inconsistent\* with the requirements of the selected candidates

*Thirdly*—Attendance at the law courts would be rendered difficult, if not impracticable

*Fourthly*—The inducements to idleness and indulgence are dangerous the stake of a selected candidate is too valuable to admit of being trifled with, and the gain of popular manners would be hardly bought at the cost of a career

As far as I am able to judge, not only are the disadvantages of placing the selected candidates at a university very serious, but also his position there would be anomalous. He would from the first be a marked man as belonging to a small and peculiar body, his aims, studies, and interests would not be those of his fellow collegians. He could not enjoy the vacations, and altogether I doubt whether his condition would be very enviable, although he might make valuable friends and learn a good deal of the ways of the world

The existing plan under which the selected candidate prosecutes his studies in London has an objectionable appearance, but experience has shown that it has no ill result on the moral character of the candidate. The young man is left much to his own guidance, and, as pointed out by the Civil Service Commissioners, this freedom is "a better preparation for the perfect liberty they are so soon to enjoy in India than any supervision that the discipline of a college could supply"

I have been forcibly struck, and I doubt not that others have made the same observation, by the physical weakness of many of the young civilians immediately on their landing in India. I have seen young men in the Central Provinces and in the Punjab, of whom it is not too much to say that they have been over-worked to such a degree that their vigour is impaired. The strain of the competition for the first examination and the high pressure during the two succeeding years are too much for any but the strongest constitutions

I bear in mind the testimony of Sir William Gull "not only as to the physical vigour of those who pass out to India, but also as to the tendency of the system to produce this result"—(page 17 of the printed papers), but I cannot, in deference even to this eminent authority, set aside the result of my own observations during many years past. The earlier sets of civilians who came out under the system of competition were certainly not open to the remark of physical weakness, but those who have come out during later years have in many instances seriously, and to all likelihood permanently, suffered from over-work

There appears to be no way of diminishing the strain on the young men before they have passed the first examination. The competition is so keen, and the necessity of maintaining a high standard is so evident, that probably no measure could be consistently adopted for lightening the labour necessary for success in this ordeal. But it is quite possible to reduce the stringency of the course of reading during the two years of probation, and if this were done, I believe that a great benefit would be conferred on the service

It is just possible that if the candidates were sent to a college specially erected and maintained for their use, like Haileybury in the old time, the course of study might be so regulated as to leave time for manly sports and exercises. Association would also tend to improve manners and bearing, but I hesitate to recommend the adoption of such a plan. The expense to the Government would be enormous and the question of such a college has already been fully discussed in England. The subject, however, is one which demands consideration

The conclusion, then, to which I come on this part of the subject is that, unless it should be thought advisable to erect a special college, the existing system of training during the period of probation should be maintained, but I advocate the reduction of the labour required of the probationers, and, as one step towards this end, I would absolutely refuse to allow any candidate to take up extra languages

IV—Whether successful candidates would be likely to take advantage of being able to complete the university course, if it were open to them to do so, I am unable to give an opinion

They have already more than sufficient work to do, and I do not think that any inducement to extra study should be held out to them. We want men with physique as well as brains

The probability of selected candidates completing the university course

\* See paragraph 3 of the Master of Balliol's letter \*

\* See page 7

2nd.—I would ask leave to put in a plea for the exemption of civilians from No 291  
the departmental examinations in the country  
Plea for exemption from depart-  
mental examination in India  
Regard being had to the course of examinations  
they have gone through in England, it does seem  
to me an unnecessary and annoying process to require them to undergo further  
examinations out here in subjects some of which they have already passed in at  
home, and in all of which their previous character and training are a sufficient  
guarantee for proficiency after a short period of probation I think it would be  
far better to promote young civilians to full judicial and executive powers when  
reported by their official superiors to be qualified for their exercise than to vex them  
with an examination for which cramming is necessary The abolition of the  
departmental examination would be the removal of an annoyance, and therefore  
would, though but in a small degree, tend to popularize the Indian Civil Service in  
England

From C L TUPPER, Esq, to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab,—No 264, dated  
Lahore, the 24th July 1875

I have the honour to submit the opinion called for in your letter\* No 2563,  
Introductory dated 5th instant, regarding—

I—The method in which candidates for the Indian Civil Service shall, in  
the first instance, be selected, and

II—The manner in which those who are selected shall be trained for  
service in this country

In the remarks offered upon these points as noted in the 2nd paragraph of the  
Secretary of State's despatch,† special reference will be made to the three questions  
put in your letter under reply

2 As personal associations may in some measure colour what I may be per-  
mitted to say, it may be proper to mention my  
Opportunities of forming an opinion. opportunities of forming an opinion I was at  
Harrow School from 1861 to the summer of 1866 I resided at Corpus Christi  
College, Oxford, from the beginning of Michaelmas term 1866 till the end of  
Michaelmas term 1870 In the spring of 1869 I became a selected candidate for  
the Indian Civil Service, and joined the Punjab Commission in November 1871

I—The method of selection

3 As I venture to agree with the Civil Service Commissioners in thinking  
that the system of Lord Macaulay and his col-  
leagues was framed, as a whole, with admirable  
The principles of 1854 judgment, it is to the report‡ of the Committee, dated November 1854, that I would  
turn for guidance as to the principles upon which candidates for the Indian Civil  
Service should, in the first instance, be selected I observe that in the case of the  
civil servant a good general education was considered even more desirable than in  
the case of the English professional man It was intended that a considerable  
number of the civil servants of the Company should be men who had taken the  
first degree in Arts at Oxford or Cambridge Anticipations were entertained that  
the examinations about to be instituted would produce an effect felt in every seat  
of learning throughout the realm—at Oxford and Cambridge, at the University of  
London, and the University of Durham, at Edinburgh and Glasgow, at Dublin, at  
Cork, and at Belfast The general design was to select candidates who had com-  
pleted in the various universities of the United Kingdom, and in the schools which  
feed those universities, the education which it is desirable that an English gentle-  
man should receive There is no indication whatsoever in the report of the Com-  
mittee of 1854 that they would have viewed with approval special preparation, how-  
ever intellectually sound of a unique and novel sort, or the diversion, however  
spontaneous, of the majority of the candidates from the great seats of learning of  
Great Britain

4 Owing to circumstances which it was impossible for the Committee of 1854  
to foresee, special preparation has now become the  
Special preparation now the rule. rule, and the direct supply of candidates from the  
universities and important schools is the exception In particular the number of  
candidates selected from Oxford and Cambridge in recent years does not appear to  
be considerable Of 186 successful competitors in the years 1870, 1874, there were  
but 44 who came up without special preparation, and of these 44 only fifteen were  
from Oxford and Cambridge The Civil Service Commissioners admit that there  
is an increasing tendency on the part of the candidates to obtain more or less special  
preparation at establishments other than schools or universities There is, there-

\* Not printed

† See page 1

‡ See page 20



fore, in the present working of the system of the Committee of 1854, an increasing No 291 tendency to defeat the principles upon which that system was originally framed.

5. How is this increasing tendency to be checked? In what manner is it now possible to fulfil the original intention of the Committee of 1854 by selecting men who have completed the education which it is desirable that an English gentleman should receive? The most direct method no doubt is that suggested in the 4th paragraph of the letter\* of the Under-Secretary of State for India, dated 31st July 1874. By the distribution of a certain number of appointments among such universities in Great Britain as are known to apply searching competitive tests to their own students, any proportion of university candidates that was required might be secured. The objection to this plan, adduced at length by the Civil Service Commissioners in the letter† of their Secretary, dated 16th March last, unquestionably has weight as regards that kind of high intellectual calibre which young men can exhibit in competitive examinations; but I would venture to say that the intellectual qualifications which can be tested by question and answer very early in life have far less permanent importance in the case of the Indian Civil Service than the moral qualifications which are the result of youthful training. If the worst of the candidates selected by the universities were below the level—for examination purposes—of those who now receive appointments, it would be some consolation to know that the former had enjoyed opportunities of forming in all instances mental habits, and in the great majority of instances moral habits, which the latter cannot in every case be expected to have acquired. A competitive examination is at best but a coarse measure of intellectual excellence. A competitive examination is no measure at all of the distinctive moral excellence which should be demanded of public servants as such. The spirit of devotion to the public good; the spirit of loyal obedience, the self-subjugation which renders corporate action a possibility; the sentiment of affectionate reverence for ancient national institutions and of just pride in national achievements;—these are the qualities which should distinguish the public service, and these are qualities with which those persons will be the most readily imbued whose youth has been passed in the schools and halls where the great men of times gone-by were nurtured. The plan of distributing a proportion of the appointments among the universities would have the peculiar merit of once more grafting the education of Indian civilians upon the existing educational organization of Great Britain, from which organization by events unforeseen in 1854 it has most unfortunately been severed. The head masters of the public schools will assuredly go on sending the chief of their pupils to the universities. The plan mentioned by Sir Louis Mallet thus accepts the normal state of things; and if the limit of age must be kept as early as it is at present fixed, this plan would seem to be not merely the most direct, but possibly the only, method of sufficiently recruiting the ranks of the Indian Civil Service from the classes who have gained the experiences best calculated to form that type of character which public men should shew. As almost all scholarships, at least in the colleges of Oxford, have been thrown open to unrestricted competition, and as students can now reside without being attached to any college both at the University of Oxford and at the University of Cambridge, there is nothing to debar the son of the humblest tradesman from a share in the noble associations and traditions with which those two beautiful monuments of English culture teem.

6 The more nearly complete the education of the candidate, the better for the service which he is to join, and the wider the limit of age, the greater the chance of attracting those university men who are the next after the winners of the open fellowships. I would submit that the greatest latitude should be allowed in point of age which is consistent with the first arrival in India at a time of life which the Government of India would approve. No doubt when a young man of formed and cultivated tastes joins the service, he will find in the routine of a very subordinate position much that is disheartening and repulsive to him. Probably he would have experienced the like discouragements in beginning professional life at home. But the higher his sense of duty the greater will be his patience, and if he had not brought to India intellectual habits, he would scarcely have acquired them there. If possible, I would revert to the original limit of 23 years of age as fixed by the Committee of Lord Macaulay. If the Government of India would not agree to that, 22 years of age might be preferred as the limit to 21. With reference to the remarks of the Reverend the Master of Balliol in his letter‡ dated 27th December last, I would venture to say that there might be some difficulty in conferring special privileges upon candidates who had passed a special examination belonging, if I apprehend the drift of the letter aright, neither to the present university course nor to the course for the Indian Civil Service. It might, however, be required of

\* See page 1.

† See page 9

‡ See page 7

candidates selected at 22 years of age, or, if the Government of India would consent No. 291 at 23 years of age, that the final examination of selected candidates should be passed by them within a year of the date of their selection. The older the men the more rapidly would they master their political economy, their history, their jurisprudence and their law.

7. The range of the open competitive examination as originally determined, and as now maintained, does not appear to me to be in any degree too wide. The growing complexity of modern life, the astonishing advances of physical discovery, the application of the methods of physical science to the philosophy of human progress,—these are facts which antiquate in the present century the breadth of mental cultivation which sufficed for times past. The Committee of 1854 merely anticipated the movement towards many-sided culture which is shewn in the increasing disposition of the public schools to recognise the claims of experimental science and in the rapid and recent development at the universities of schools of history and natural science, of triposes of moral science and law. I see no objection to the proposal of the Master of Balliol to include in the list of subjects approved political economy and jurisprudence; for since the report of Lord Macaulay's Committee was framed these topics have become matter of general education, inasmuch as they have been added to the university course both at Oxford and at Cambridge, and are taught in the Scottish universities. I would beg permission specially to protest against the omission from the Civil Service examinations of logic and mental and moral philosophy, for these studies, more than any other studies of which I have any knowledge, heighten the strength and flexibility of the mind. I venture to agree with the Civil Service Commissioners in regarding any limitation of the number of subjects which candidates may offer as contrary to the spirit of the original scheme. The appropriation of a certain number of appointments to each branch of knowledge is a suggestion presenting many practical difficulties and scarcely commending itself to my humble judgment even if those difficulties were overcome. Specialists would be most at home in the quiet cloisters of learned colleges. They would be out of their element amid the din of British Indian courts.

8. As regards "the process popularly called cramming," it is of course true that real learning and ability will beat a delusive show of knowledge. But it frequently happens in almost all examinations that the pretence of learning coupled with considerable ingenuity does not indeed deceive good examiners, but in consequence of the necessity of adjusting the examination standard to the average calibre of the candidates, it does extort from good examiners almost as many marks as they can award to very high capacity and knowledge. When a man is examined in the whole History of England and of the English constitution at one sitting, and has to write six or eight essays on topics ranging from the Roman Conquest to the great Reform Bill in three hours, it will often pay him better to know a little about every part of his subject than much about any part of it at all. Hence the works of Lingard and Hallam, of Sharon, Turner and Freeman, of Macaulay and Froude, may indeed be opened, but the text-book studied can often safely be nothing better than the Student's Hume. The Civil Service Commissioners are, I venture to believe, quite right in drawing a broad line of distinction between the supposed domain of "cram" and the domain whence the "cram" is excluded. Whenever the paper produced is in the nature of a series of replies which can be given wholly from memory and not in the nature of a series of problems which are solved, or of compositions more or less artistic, which are executed, it is difficult sufficiently to distinguish by marks between the results of laborious personal investigations and the results of a few weeks' study of second-hand abstracts of good books. In the case of papers which can be written from memory I would respectfully submit two suggestions. First, that the subject should be subdivided into alternative periods or topics, each candidate having to elect for one period or one topic exclusively, secondly, that in questions on the literature or on the history of any country no candidate should be permitted to produce answers of the rate of more than one answer for each hour allotted for the paper or papers set to him.

## II—The training of selected candidates

9. In its intellectual aspect the training of the selected candidates as at present conducted appears to me to be admirably suited to the requirements of Indian official life. More particularly, I would say that there is no principle in

Question 1 of Secretary's letter—Intellectual aspect.

the course so immediately and so powerfully serviceable as that of insisting on attendance at the courts of law. Perhaps the examinations are rather too frequent. Perhaps the publication of all the marks engenders an unwholesome intensity of the competitive spirit. But on the whole I think the course considered merely as a course of instruction works too well to be materially altered, and I would confine myself to one small suggestion in detail. In the list of subjects justice is scarcely done to the revenue systems of British India. I do not know of any manual on these systems at once exhaustive and up to date. But for probationers destined for the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, and Oudh, the well known directions for revenue officers promulgated under the authority of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in November 1849 would be very valuable. Any probationer might with advantage study the essay by Sir George Campbell in the volume called "Systems of Land Tenure in various Countries," published under the sanction of the Cubden Club. To avoid increasing the amount of work the Intestate and Testamentary Succession Act might be omitted. Junior civilians do not practically administer that Act for some years after their arrival in India. No. 291.

10. Beyond the industry and self-control which are implied in continuous mental work, the training of the selected candidates includes no moral element. The original scheme doubtless went on the supposition that the moral education of the candidates drawn from the universities and schools of Great Britain would be at least as complete as their intellectual education. But by the change in the limit of age, by the habit of special preparation, and by the lack of any organized centre of old renown round which the selected candidates might group themselves, the candidates are often removed from the incidence of the most refining and strengthening forces just at the time of life when the character is settling into its probably permanent mould. It is very invidious in any man,—it is especially invidious in a young man,—to bring sweeping charges against a class to which he himself belongs, and I would be understood to refer solely to the practical tendency of the system—a tendency which is often most successfully resisted when I say that there is some danger of its producing a contracted, a personal, a sordid bent of mind. I hope I may be pardoned if I am very explicit. I do not advocate university residence for selected candidates, on the ground that college discipline would prevent irregularities as between the sexes. I think that in this respect the efficacy of collegiate supervision, no less than the severity of the temptations to which a studious youth is exposed in London lodgings, can be with ease exaggerated. I advocate university residence for selected candidates, because I think there is a danger that the present system may be giving rise to three serious evils, all of which residence at any great university would do much to diminish—*first*, want of acquaintance with any intellectual standard other than that which competitive examinations afford may generate a mistakenly high estimate of the intellectual value of success in such examination, *secondly*, the unrestricted nature of the first examination may lead to the formation of exclusive cliques amongst the successful competitors; they may show considerable mutual distrust, and this distrust may be hardened by examination jealousies, though it would surely wear away if the selected candidates were bound together by more and better common ties; *thirdly*, success in amassing the greatest possible number of marks does not as such elevate the character. In old colleges and in great public schools such success is often relieved by the sense that every distinction adds to the credit of an organized society of which he who wins the distinction is a member; but such success where it is not so relieved will often be purely selfish. And where a probationer for the public service has formed an early and strong habit of making severe efforts for purely selfish success, there is a risk that in maturer life he will regard the public service rather as a trade than as a profession—rather as a means of securing competence than as an opportunity of serving the State. I think the plan of special college for selected candidates having a general resemblance to that recently founded at Cooper's Hill\* would intensify the first of these three evils, and would not go nearly so far towards preventing the last as residence in different colleges at one or more of the time-honoured high places of good learning.

11. In respect to the mode in which university residence for selected candidates might be brought about, I think such residence should be made the condition of the candidates receiving the usual allowances. In the main I would venture respectfully to endorse the remarks of the Master of Balliol on this subject I would only solicit permission to add the following observations.

(1)—I think it would be quite necessary to take a bond from the selected candidates, to be forfeited on failure to proceed to India.

Letter\* of Under-Secretary of State for India, dated 31st July 1874, paragraph 5.

\* See page 1.

(2)—I do not think that the selected candidates should contend for any university honours of any kind "They should give their whole minds to the duties of their new position"

(3)—From my personal experience I am convinced that sufficient attendance at the courts of law is compatible with residence at the university

12 With reference to the third question in your letter under reply, I do not think that many selected candidates who had not graduated in honours before the open competition would complete the honour course after their selection Only a man of very exceptional power of work could achieve first rate success in the class list, and at the same time avoid interference with his special studies for his profession, for indifferent success few selected candidates would care In connection with my remarks at the end of paragraph 6, I would point out that there is a great difference between mastering subjects for one severe examination in an exceptionally short time, and reading at one and the same time for two examinations each of a distinct kind The completion of the university course without honours rests on a different footing I think almost any candidate would be extremely glad of an opportunity of taking a degree, and the small amount of work requisite for a pass degree would not appreciably affect his professional preparation If the selected candidates as a body are to reside at the universities for two years, perhaps the universities might be induced to permit the proceeding to ordinary degrees without honours after that term of residence. A somewhat similar concession is already made by the Inns of Court in the case of students who come from India From the resolutions approved by the congregation of the University of Oxford, and forming one of the enclosures of your letter\* No 2674, dated 15th instant, of which the receipt is hereby acknowledged, it would appear to be probable that at least at one university the concession indicated would be made

13 I hope the length to which these observations have extended, and the freedom with which I have ventured to speak, may be excused on the ground of the deep interest I feel in the important subject on which you have done me the honour to ask my opinion

From H C FANSHAWE, Esq, C S, to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab,—dated Ferozepore, the 21st July 1875

In reply to your No 2564† of the 5th instant, requesting my opinion on certain points relating to the age and training of candidates selected for the Indian Civil Service, I have the honour to submit the following remarks In case these should seem to have run to a length unwarranted by the general value of the opinion of an officer so junior as myself, I would beg leave to state that I have been more or less intimately acquainted with candidates selected in every year from 1868-1873, both in London and at Oxford and Cambridge, and therefore possess a possibly competent knowledge on the subject

I—As regards the training of selected candidates after the first examination is passed

Question I

Two views on it—

- (1) Curriculum
- (2) Place of curriculum

This question may be properly treated in two points of view—*first*, that of the curriculum proposed, *secondly*, the place where that curriculum can best be passed through

1 The most rabid denouncers of the present system of the open competition offer no objections to the method of the intermediate examinations No one acquainted with the value of such tests can doubt for a moment that these examinations are well calculated to shew the industry and progress of the candidates selected It may be questioned whether the examinations were not rather too severe up to 1872 in which year the number of compulsory languages was reduced from two to one The fact that many men before that time took up extras is not a fair test The intermediate examinations form an arena of far keener competition and harder work than the first examination does, and as long as men have a chance of making marks by taking up an extra subject they will do so in spite of all warnings as to their health I would suggest a few alterations as to the present course It is mere waste of time for men acquainted with constitutional law and possessed of the general knowledge which most candidates are to study Blackstone and Adam Smith If they are not fit to commence with Mill, let them begin with Mrs Fawcett's Handbook on Political Economy Who would think of beginning to teach Natural History from Goldsmith and then proceed to Huxley? Yet from Adam Smith to Mill the change is but little less than this Bentham is studied by aid of a *memoria technica* alone, which the class of questions set tends to encourage This is "cram" pure and simple, and the book, as fostering such, should be done away with I see no advantage from study-

\* Not printed

† Not printed.

ing the Intestate and Testamentary Succession Act On the other hand, a candidate No 291 needs an immediate knowledge of the Registration, Limitation, Stamp and a few other short Acts on arriving in India I would accordingly substitute these for the former Act It is undesirable, I think, that any subject set should be indefinite in its nature The present mode of studying the law of Evidence and Hindu and Mahomedan Law is open to this objection Certain chapters of Pitt Taylor should be set for each examination under the former head, and fixed text-books should be prescribed for the latter, not merely suggested as now The most important and necessary feature of the curriculum is the attendance at the courts of law and reports of cases heard by them required of the candidates I would suggest that a day's proceedings in a police court should be reported *every* examination More is learnt in these courts of the procedure which a candidate is called on to administer when he arrives in India than is learnt by many attendances at the central criminal court I would defer reporting *nisi prius* cases to the third examination, and have country court cases reported in the second as well as the first The restriction of special jury cases in the last examination is impolitic These cases generally involve nothing but large pecuniary interests, and are destitute of all specially useful features for candidates, while in order to obtain one, the candidate is often delayed three weeks in London The report of an Indian appeal case before the Privy Council is a pure farce The candidates cannot hear a word said, and the speeches and arguments of the Counsel are concocted entirely for the "blue books" supplied One point in the mode of conducting the final examination certainly needs reformation The first week is devoted to law, but the candidates are not informed on which head they will be examined on any particular day This is very unfair on the "good" men No man can in one night "cram" law which he has neglected for two years, but the good man can put those finishing strokes on his memory which enable him to turn out a paper perfect in detail the next day As matters now stand, a very severe strain on the mental powers is unduly prolonged by the candidate being obliged to keep eight to ten different subjects all at the same pitch of perfection in his head In no examination at either of the universities is such a method pursued the hour for each subject is always stated I would not claim this concession for the first three examinations, but for the last, which endures for three and half weeks, and at which the whole work of the two preceding years is taken up, it would be very desirable As a whole, the examinations answer their purpose admirably, and that so few selected candidates fail to pass the final examination is the best proof that men of inferior mental calibre are not favoured by the open competition

(2) As regards the question as to where this curriculum can be undergone with greatest advantage to the candidate and the Indian Government, I think I can best express my views by treating separately the advantages likely to accrue from a system different from the present and the faults of the present system Each advantage or disadvantage will have to be considered in three lights—first, that of the present system, secondly, that of a system under which all candidates must join one of the universities either in various colleges or one special college, and thirdly, that of a system under which candidates will be again collected into a college near London, as in the old Haileybury days I am not aware that any third plan has been proposed to meet the alleged defects of the present system

The charges against the present system are four It is alleged that there is an entire want of moral control over the selected candidates It is alleged that many are not gentlemen, and that by joining one of the universities they would receive a polish fitting them for society It is alleged that there is no cohesion or community of views among the selected candidates, that they lack the *esprit de corps* so necessary in a service which consists of a mere handful governing subject millions And, lastly, it is alleged that the system under which they learn their work when left to themselves is faulty I would crave leave to consider each of these allegations in detail under the three aspects above mentioned

I—As regards morality

It is a fact that the Commissioners know nothing of the morals of the men under their supervision But does the head of a college, or would the head of a special institution, know any more? For 28 weeks in the year all under-graduates are free from all moral control by their university superiors, and the residence of candidates in London corresponds very much to the terms kept at the universities, except that it is generally shorter Very few candidates live all the year round in London, generally such as do so live there with their families, the rest live at home for seven or eight months, and go up to London for a period before each examination to obtain there the tuition in such subjects as they cannot master of themselves The fact of very few men failing to qualify in any examination proves the industry of the candidates, and where the hands are full of work, a very strong safeguard against the special temptations of London is provided From certain special temptations a candidate residing in London is much more free than a university man is Can-

didates are not exposed to anything like the temptations which a compeer in a No 291. London office is. They are as poor as he is, but while the evenings and nights are his leisure time, candidates *invariably* do their hard work then, yet surely it would not be alleged that the morals of the English Civil Service are worse than those of the general community. I would emphatically say that the moral tone of selected candidates is, as a rule, very high, and that on this point there are no real grounds for objecting to the present system. As the limit of age now stands, a man's character is generally formed for bad or for good before he is selected as a probationer. The average age of probationers when selected is 19½-20. Such as have not come from the universities have been free from all control since they left school and living in London for tuition, and how difficult it would be to get them to submit to control once again is well known to all acquainted with scholastic affairs. Few men intimately acquainted with the internal economy of Woolwich and Sandhurst at different periods could be sanguine that collecting candidates in a college in London would tend to improve their morals, and those who know what a task collegiate authorities have occasionally to rule well, and how every now and again some college becomes a bear-garden, might reasonably doubt if men of the age of candidates would learn much discipline at the universities. On this head I hold the present state of things to be quite satisfactory, the men are less exposed to temptation than most men in London, because of their work, and not more than university men who spend more than half the year apart from collegiate discipline, while as the present limit of age stands (and I for one would most strongly deprecate its being lowered) the candidates are too old and of too formed habits to submit to scholastic discipline with any advantage to themselves or the service.

## II—As regards gentlemanliness

The statistics published by the Civil Service Commissioners are conclusive as to the satisfactory status of most candidates in point of birth. The objection on the ground of age above alleged is in this matter quite final. Selected candidates who are unfortunate enough not to be gentlemen are too old to be made gentlemen by two years' residence at a university. University education gives but little polish in this way, it is in the *public schools* that the roughness of a man is taken out of him, while his component materials are still capable of impression and to my mind it is fifty-fold more important that selected candidates should be public school men than that they should be university men, not only in point of department, but in the more important point of manliness. So far statistical returns on this point are very satisfactory as showing that a large proportion of candidates come from our large public schools. Men of the alleged objectionable type would seldom get in to a "good" set at a university, and they would probably leave with feelings embittered against their fellows rather than otherwise. On the other hand, in a special college this would be still more marked, and such men would form a small "set" generally "cut" by the others—at least as regards intimate intercourse. This is the actual case now where the candidates meet only in London, and what would it be if they lived together for the greater part of the year. No doubt satire has greatly exaggerated the state of things under this head. What the nominees may have been in old times I have no idea, but I venture to say that it would be hard to find in any *small* college so gentlemanly a set as the average run of each year of selected candidates. No society of men can improve a man of twenty or twenty-one years of age much in manner, except as far as diffidence is concerned, such influence is beyond men and must be sought in women.

## III—As regards coherence and community of tastes.

I fail entirely to see the advantage of community in tastes. Given a public school-man known as a manly boy, as a good cricketer and foot-ball player, and he is sure to be a more or less keen sportsman, and at least a "plucky" rider. As regards mental tastes it is surely Government's advantage that they should be as diversified as possible. One great defect in college education is, that it tends to destroy individuality of tastes and character, and imposes on a man the "university" stamp. Surely those who alleged that boys at Haileybury (for they were boys) found their mutual knowledge of one another of the greatest importance must be dreaming a little of the days of childhood. Is a character so fixed at nineteen or twenty that an acquaintance with it is of the least use twenty years after unless that acquaintance has been steadily maintained? Who speaking thoughtfully says of a man whom he has not seen for even five years that "he is so and so," and does not rather say "he *used to be* so and so"? On the point of coherence a false position is, I think, assumed. I believe the Civil Service is animated by as hearty a spirit of co-operation as it ever was and on much broader grounds than mutual acquaintance at college or elsewhere. Can a man come to India and not be imbued with the atmosphere he lives in,—an atmosphere of friendly brotherhood in his service? Does a subaltern take an interest in his

regiment before he joins, or a barrister uphold the privileges of his Inn before he is acquainted with them? Men come out under the present system with more independence of thought and manner than they would if they were collected in a college in England, and with no less love and regard for the service to which they belonged than they would possess if they had belonged to such an institution. I think Mr Walrond remarks admirably on this point that "it must be remembered then an open service may have an *esprit de corps* of its own, not less strong, though probably less narrow, than that of a close foundation. A body of men selected by merit alone, and whose lives are to be devoted to the same objects, though they may not have been trained at the same college, are not likely to be deficient either in pride in their service or in reliance on each other." As to the proposed advantages, residence at a university involves too strong sympathies of its own to strengthen *esprit de corps* in a special service distinct from university life, and, though an institution like Haileybury was might foster such a spirit, I consider it would do so only at the expense of destroying individuality of character to a large extent and at the risk of other disadvantages

#### IV —Lastly as to special advantages offered

There can be no doubt that on some subjects, notably law, candidates would be better for instruction. Very few candidates read any subject except languages with a tutor, but lectures on their law books and political economy would be valuable to them. Lectures on language are quite useless. A good scholar finds attendance at his college lectures is a mere loss of time, and where all are beginners a lecture would be hopeless. The present system of reading alone with a tutor for an hour or so is no doubt the best as regards languages, nor is the picture which is drawn of the utter ignorance of selected candidates as to who are competent tutors a true one. Men are always acquainted with some one in the year above them through whom they can obtain the address of these tutors, and as a fact there are four or five well-known men in London to whom all selected candidates go, and the competence of these teachers is shown by the number of language prizes won by their pupils in the examinations. The universities do not pretend to offer education in all languages, but only in Hindustani among those compulsory. The lectures which are offered on law and political economy are doubtless valuable, but not necessary absolutely. On the other hand, residence at a university is with difficulty combined with attendance on the courts of law in London. It is quite true that many men have combined the two, but it is equally true that their cases are nearly always sent in late, and are generally unsatisfactory ones. I believe an analysis of their cases in comparison with those of non-university candidates would show them to be very inferior to the latter as a rule. There can be no doubt that the knowledge acquired of legal procedure is the most important part of the home education of selected candidates, there can be no doubt that except in London this knowledge cannot be effectually acquired; and there is as little doubt that it is difficult and expensive to acquire while residing at a university. The university terms and the terms of the law courts do not correspond, and a further difficulty is added by the cases having to be sent in a considerable period before each examination. In fine, apart from many considerations which seriously affect the question, and which will be discussed below, the educational advantages which the universities offer are these—Lectures on languages, where private reading is preferable, and lectures on subjects which men can master without their aid, and which in many cases they would not attend unless compelled to. On the other hand, there is the grave and insuperable objection that university residence must interfere more or less with the due acquirement of legal procedure in the courts of law. A special college near London would not be open to this objection, but others equally weighty can be alleged against its establishment.

My general conclusion is that on none of these four grounds can sufficient reasons be alleged why any change should be made from the present system. I am far from saying that the present system is perfect—even that it is thoroughly satisfactory. But before innovations are attempted, it must be shown that these innovations will be productive of distinct advantages. It is said that residence at a university will give the candidate greater knowledge of the world. I do not at all think so. The "friendless, lonely" candidate is a myth. The men who frequent London are nearly all men who have undergone special preparation in London, and who know many people there and move in society of one kind or another there. The question is whether the society which they move in such as it is, or a life at the universities such as it might be, gives them greater knowledge of the world. Neither are perfect. We must consider the question as a mean. Society undoubtedly gives a man more of what the Romans so aptly term *habilitas* (and which I understand to be the most valuable quality of a public servant) than university life does. University life is very one-sided. Nothing strikes an outsider acquainted with the university more than this. University men are generally far less ac-



acquainted with the world than compeers who have spent their time in London No 291  
The intercourse of young men with one another, and the common interchange of thoughts and feelings when the mind and brain are becoming fully developed, are most valuable. A man who loses a university training loses as *a man*, but as a *servant of the Government* of India he gains more by what he sees and learns in London life. The loss is his, the gain is the Service's

Of the two alternatives proposed—a residence at one of the universities or a residence at a special college near London—I hold the latter to be unfeasible, the former unnecessary.  
A special college  
All objections once urged against Haileybury would be urged with ten-fold force against an institution which could have no prestige or traditions of its own. I doubt if morality would be improved by it. I doubt if discipline could be maintained in it if the first professors were weak men, the place would be a bear-garden within a month. Lastly, I doubt if work would be so honestly done by candidates. The examinations would presumably be conducted by the resident professors, and a sharp pupil can always tell from a professor's lectures on what point questions will be set on in examination. Probably the examination test would be less satisfactory. Professors are but men, and naturally shrink more from rejecting a man with whom they have been in close intercourse for two years than a man whom they only see four times during that period. Moreover, no one seeks the unpopularity of a reputation for rejecting men. The solitary advantages offered are intercourse of the candidates with one another, which also has a weak side, and facilities for attending the law courts as compared with residence at a university. Such advantages in no way compensate for the risks run in establishing such an institution to my mind.

I have given above reasons why I think university life does not offer such advantages as it is alleged, on its own grounds

I would touch now on a few inevitable and great disadvantages attaching to such a system as is proposed. Firstly, nearly all candidates are poor, and many would be unable to meet the extra expenses entailed by a residence at the universities. Secondly, the work which they now have to do is quite as much as should be done by men at their time of life. Either college work would be neglected and life there become uncomfortable, or the service work would be neglected and the service suffer. Many very able men of late years, scholars of their colleges and the universities, have been selected candidates, but very few of these have done otherwise than taken "pass" degrees or degrees in law and history, and the few who have taken honour degrees proper have suffered in their service examinations, and found men in every way inferior to them senior to them on the list. Thirdly, candidates might choose any college to live in or be collected in one college. In the former case the service would be sunk in the university, in the latter the university would be entirely apart from and unamalgamated with the college—witness Keble College. In either case the service would probably suffer. Until collegiate authorities hold it a distinction for their pupils to be selected candidates, until they cease to dissuade all their best men from "throwing themselves away" by joining the Indian Civil Service, until scholarships at the universities are open to those who are selected candidates, I see no hopes of any advantage being gained by the enforced residence of selected candidates at one of the universities. Those who know the intense conservative spirit which pervades the two sister seats of learning can hardly be sanguine of real changes on these points

(2) The age up to which candidates should be admitted for the first examination.

The opponents of the so-called "cramming" system cut their own throats when they propose to fix the maximum age of admission to the Civil Service at 18 or 19.  
II Question—Age of admission.  
No man gains a satisfactory and broad knowledge of classics under five to seven years' study commencing from the age of 12. If the maximum age were reduced as proposed, the service would miss many of the best men who now come into it, because their parents would not consent to remove them from their school before the age of 18 or 19, and they would there stand no chance against a boy of not one-half their mental or physical calibre who had been specially studying English or Natural Science elsewhere. The effects of this special training at so early an age could not fail to be most pernicious to the health of the candidate both as hindering the development of his physical, and unduly stimulating the development of his mental, powers. We all know how fearfully the body when neglected revenges itself on the mind, especially in a climate like India. On the other hand, the present limit of age for coming out to India is quite late enough. At 24 a man's frame is well set and his bodily powers well developed, every year, the later he arrives in India after this age, will cause him to feel the change of climate more acutely. These reasons for neither lowering nor raising the age to the

limits contemplated by university authorities seem to me so self-evident that I No 291  
 need urge nothing more on the point. If any change is to be made let the minimum age be raised from 17 to 18. Few boys leave school now before 18½, and after all the men who fail twice at the examination and pass on a third or fourth attempt are not exactly the men best fitted to be selected candidates. To my mind the public school education is of paramount importance, and to curtail it in any way would be a fatal error to commit. The suggestion of the Reverend Master of Balliol that the maximum age should be 22 for such men as have already passed an examination in Political Economy, Law and in Indian language, involves the difficulty of fixing the number of candidates necessary in any year, for I suppose these men would join the candidates selected a year *before* them. Junior civilians know only too well the effects of a mistake of this nature, and, moreover, it might be shrewdly guessed that the men who would avail themselves of these advantages would generally be such as had failed in their university career.

(3) Whether selected candidates would, as a rule, avail themselves of the advantage of obtaining a university degree

I think not, and for the following reasons. Most men who choose the Indian  
 III—Question—Whether candidates, Civil Service as a profession do so with their eyes  
 as a rule, desire university de- tolerably wide open, and on this ground that it  
 grees. gives them a fair start in life sooner than any  
 other profession will. They do not care for nor value a university degree very highly. It has of course advantages, but it is no longer invested with the sanctity which it possessed 25 years ago—it is not a universal passport as it used to be. As a rule the candidates are poor and would be unwilling to incur any further expenses by undergoing a course of university education. Their expenses are greater, inasmuch as there are not only the usual university expenses, but a period of 2½ to 3 months must be yearly spent in London to enable the candidate to appear at the examinations and attend the law courts. Most candidates find their hands very full with the work of their current examinations, and they would be unwilling to add to their work even in a small degree. They are outsiders more or less in a university, they would be entirely so if they were all collected in one college. The distinctions which they have gained are held no honour at the universities, and many university honours are refused to them, perhaps fairly enough. The best scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge have now generally a condition attached to them—that the holder can accept no appointment likely to interfere with his college work. The Reverend Master of Balliol (now so keen to have candidates under his charge) refused a scholarship won by a selected candidate in 1872 to that candidate. Moreover, the present maximum limit for competitors for scholarships is usually 19. The majority of selected candidates are over this age when selected, and I have given reasons above deprecating any reduction of the age. "Official encouragements" to live in London affect candidates very little, but official discouragements from a university residence by university authorities would affect them very much. If Oxford can change itself and really become "proud to take part in training future governors for India," certain objections would be removed. But the one idea of distinction in the universities is a high university degree, and it will be very long before a high place on the final list and prizes in the Indian Civil Service will be held to be equally valuable as an honour degree, and yet they are not much less so. The subjects are as broad, far more fully studied than those taken up for Oxford "Greats," with the exception of the languages, and doubtless it costs even a good scholar more trouble to master his Indian language books for this examination than it would cost him to master his books for his Greats. Indian interests would be necessarily sacrificed to university interests, or else the position of the candidate would be isolated. If living unattached, he had much better be in London, scattered through different colleges, there would be no close communication between them, gathered in one college, they would be outside the university. Their work would be excessive, and they would be but little inclined to spend their vacations in attending the law courts and studying Telegu. I think the learned Master of Balliol is wrong in supposing there would not be defaulters when the university degree was obtained. Many men would prefer a degree and a mastership in England on half the salary they would receive in India to a life in India, but while they cannot find the necessary funds to meet college expenses, they can live quietly in the country on the allowance made them by the Secretary of State. The loss to the Service if many defections took place would not be represented by realising £500 on the candidate's bond, which is, moreover, a proceeding which excites great odium, and which has so far never been pursued in the case of any failure. The reason why the Indian Government does not get men of high degree is that these men can do better for themselves at home, all things considered. The Secretary of State mournfully says with mild surprise—"I have piped and ye have not danced." Let the Secretary of State when he comes into the labour market offer higher attractions than the other bidders, and he will get any kind of men that he needs. Neither the Home nor Indian Government are yet alive to the fact that Indian affairs are looked on with mistrust by many of those who have known the country, and that

the present unfavourable condition of the Civil Service is known to all who take an interest in these matters. Many fathers refuse to let their sons enter a service in which prospects are doubtful, which involves entire insolation from their family, and as regards which Government is now popularly believed (rightly or wrongly) to have broken faith. To compel all men to go to the university would be most unfair, and would deter many poor men from competing. If a high value is set on a university degree, let such candidates as are from their age in a position to go to a university and obtain a degree before they are 24 be induced to do so by special advantages in point of allowance and lengthened residence in England held out to them.

From R M DANE, Esq, C S, to the Secretary to the Government of Punjab,—dated Hoshiarpur the 29th July 1875

I have the honour to forward, herewith, my opinion on the subjects specified in your letter\* dated 5th July 1875 —

REMARKS ON THE METHOD OF SELECTING AND TRAINING CANDIDATES FOR THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

- (1) With regard to the manner in which candidates should in the first instance be selected.  
“Manner of Selection”

There is, I think, no doubt of the fact that the present system of selecting men for the Indian Civil Service by competition is the most equitable that can be devised, and further all the men who are chosen under the present system have undoubtedly received a thorough education, and their minds are therefore better trained and fitted for dealing with difficult legal questions than would be the case if the men were merely selected at haphazard by interest. I am of course unable to give any opinion as to the manner in which the competition men discharge their duties in India, but no complaints have, up to the present at any rate, been made by the Indian Government as to their unfitness for the work. We have, moreover, the broad fact that no better scheme has ever been proposed, which, considering that the subject has now been so many years under discussion, is very strong testimony in favour of the present system.

- The limit of age up to which men should be admitted as candidates  
(2) With regard to the limit of age up to which men should be admitted as candidates for the open competition.

It is no doubt essentially necessary that a man's education should be completely finished before he leaves for India as a member of the Civil Service, and on the other hand the younger a man is the more likely is he to conform readily to Indian life and habits.

The great objection that has been made to the present limit of age (17—21) is that very few of the prize and honour men from the different universities compete for the examination, as they are prevented from doing so by the fact that the open competition examination for the Indian Civil Service comes in the very middle of their college career, and an extension of the maximum limit of age to 22 or 23 has accordingly been proposed.

It is no doubt true that but few prize men do at present compete for the examination, but this may be accounted for in two ways—

- (1) Honour and prize men do not think it worth their while to throw up their English prospects and devote themselves to a career in a distant and unhealthy country, which necessitates an almost complete separation from all home ties, and
- (2) The university men who do now succeed for the Indian Civil Service devote nearly all their energies to that object, and have therefore no time to work for college distinction.

I do not think in any case that an increase of the limit of age would entice many college prize men to compete for the Indian Civil Service. The emoluments at the universities are now so great that a man who has a competence within his grasp will not throw it up for the chances of an Indian career, and, moreover, an idea has of late years gained considerable ground in England that the Indian Civil Service is not at all what it was, expenses in India having enormously increased without a proportionate increase of pay.

Again, it should be remembered in dealing with this question that more than half the men who have passed the Indian Civil Service examination during the last ten years have been between 20 and 21 years of age, and such men have ample time to complete their college course, or at any rate nearly do so, before competing for the Indian Civil Service. As it is, therefore, these men do not arrive in India till they are past 23, and if the limit of age were raised, the selected candidates would not arrive in India till they were 24 or 25, and they would then be merely commencing their career.

Moreover, in the event of the age being raised, several really able men might be lost to the service in this way. A large proportion of the candidates at present selected are the sons of Indian officers and clergymen—men, as a rule, possessed of but moderate means. To such men the immediate independence of the Indian Civil Service is a great attraction, and they are consequently led to compete for the examination. The father manages with difficulty to give his son a good education, frequently at one of the public schools, and under the present limit of age the boy may compete for the service at 17. These are the men who fill the ranks of the so-called crammers. If not quite equal to pass the examination immediately on leaving school, his father may perhaps afford to give the boy six months or even a year at a crammer's, but he never could afford the expense of sending him for three years to a university, or of keeping and educating him for two years more that he might be fit to compete with men of 22. Under these circumstances he would probably abandon the idea of the service for his son altogether, and turn him to some other profession neither so honourable nor so lucrative, but easier of acquirement.

Again, any extension of the age would probably admit more "self-taught" men into the service than at present succeed. These are the men who have given rise to many of the aspersions that have been heaped upon the competition-wallah. They are generally, though of course to this there are exceptions, men of low birth who have not had the advantage of a good education before commencing their special training for the examination. They succeed consequently by sheer hard work, and, as they are undoubtedly at a disadvantage as compared with the other candidates, they do not often succeed until they have attained the full limit of age prescribed. And their work having been so violent, even when success is attained, they can never recover from the shock which their system has received, and are consequently not so well fitted to bear up against an Indian climate as men who have not been so severely tried.

Another proposal has been made to cut down the maximum limit of age to 18 or 19, but this also is open to great objections. With the age fixed as it is now a man may get into the service at 17 or 18 if his education has been complete enough to enable him to pass the first examination. And it is no doubt the case that many men of undoubted ability are by no means brilliant as boys, so that, as Dr Jowett, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, justly observes, it would be more difficult to form a true estimate of a man's capacity at 18 than at 21. Moreover, if 18 were fixed as the maximum limit, all university men would be debarred from competing for the examination, which would be anything but a desirable contingency. I think, therefore, that the present limit of age is undoubtedly the best that can be fixed. The candidates do not arrive in India at too advanced an age, and university men are not debarred from competing for the examination.

(3) As regards the two years' training at home subsequent to the first examination, and the question whether candidates would

As regards the two years' training at home after passing the first examination and the question whether candidates would in that time be likely to avail themselves of the opportunity of taking a university degree

during that time be likely to take advantage of an opportunity of completing a university course, I do not think that there is anything under the present system to debar a man who has nearly completed his college course from merely taking a degree before leaving for India, but in considering the question of the advantages of a college course for the other selected candidates who have not previously been at any university one naturally feels inclined to ask—"Is it for the mental or the moral training of the candidates that a college degree is necessary?" I do not think that any one would for a moment advance that a man who had passed the open competition examination for the Indian Civil Service could not with ease obtain a degree at any university without further study—I mean of course those of the candidates who have taken up for the examination the subjects prescribed for the university course. To meet the case of the other students it has been proposed that a special degree should be given if a man passed with honours in law, political economy and Indian subjects. It seems to me, however, that a great many objections attach to such a scheme. On the other hand, if a special degree were not given, and these men were compelled to begin to study the university course without any previous knowledge of the subjects, they would manifestly be under a great disadvantage in the special course of study prescribed by the Civil Service Commissioners as compared with the other selected candidates.

In any case all the candidates would be obliged to pursue two completely different courses of study at the same time, which, to say the least of it, would be very distracting, and in the event of any of the candidates being tempted to try and obtain university distinction, this objection would apply with even greater force. It would be quite impossible for a candidate to work both at the studies prescribed for the two years' probation and also at a difficult college course, and he would necessarily devote his energies either to one or the other, and in the event

of a candidate being a good classical or mathematical scholar, he would in all probability find the college course the more attractive, as offering a more familiar field for his exertions No 291

The Civil Service Commissioners say of the two years' probationary course, that it is of so varied and extensive a nature as to require the undivided attention of the ablest candidate. A great deal of zeal is at present shown by the selected candidates during the two years' probation, which finds a vent in the study of the different Eastern languages, and if this zeal were diverted into another channel, the change would surely be the reverse of beneficial.

It is true that some, more especially of the English, candidates would be tempted to avail themselves of the opportunity of taking a degree if it were offered to them, as there is no doubt a very strong traditional feeling in favour of the universities, but I doubt if this would be shared in at all, or any rate not to the same extent, by the Irishmen and Scotchmen, who form at present a very large proportion (nearly half) of the selected candidates, and again it should be remembered that some of the ablest candidates might be induced to throw up the Indian Civil Service by the attractions of a college career, which are no doubt very great.

One of the very strongest objections to college residence, however, is that the universities do not offer any opportunities for the study of some of the subjects prescribed for the two years' probationary training of the candidates, *eg*, several of the Indian languages, and the candidates would also have great difficulty in attending the law courts to furnish the reports of cases required.

Whether any improvement in the morale of the candidates too would be the result of a college residence is, I think, extremely doubtful. London may be, and no doubt is, a dangerous place for young men to live, but the candidates have lived there in most cases before the first examination, and there does not seem to me to be any reason why they should not live there after it. The social advantages to the candidates would no doubt be very great, but the question is whether the advantages would be great enough to counterbalance the numerous objections. In the event of the scheme of college residence for the candidates being adopted, the best plan undoubtedly would be to send the men all to one university, they would then be brought into contact with one another, and have an opportunity of forming friendships which would be of use to them in after life. The objection to this plan would of course be the difficulty of fixing on any one college, and the natural jealousy of the other universities. If, as has been proposed, the candidates on passing the first examination were allowed to go to any university that would receive them, they would be nearly as much separated from one another as they are at present, and though joined to the university their sympathies would not be with it.

I do not think, however, that an institution like Haileybury is open to so many objections as a residence at a university. It would be very easy when there were none but selected candidates to consult to fix the terms in such a manner as to enable them to attend the law courts during vacation. Professors might be secured for the different Eastern languages, and also a law lecturer. The candidates do not at present avail themselves of legal instruction to the extent the Civil Service Commissioners seem to suppose. The study of the Oriental languages is so expensive that in most cases they are not able to afford it. There are, it is true, among the candidates a good number of men who are yearly called to the bar and these men of course attend law lectures, &c, but I am speaking merely of the majority, who, I think I may say, trust altogether to the text books and their own wits. The cost of one law lecturer would not be excessive, and in this way legal instruction might be more generally diffused among the candidates than it is at present.

The social advantages to the candidates of such an establishment, although perhaps not quite equal to those which a university would afford, would, however, be very great. A strong *esprit de corps* would be engendered among the students, and the angles taken off many a man who had had but little previous opportunity of mixing in society. Many of the candidates, men of really good birth, from the enforced solitude of study, become odd and ill-mannered, and to these men the good of such an establishment would be incalculable. Of course the candidates would expect to be treated as men, but to see that this is quite consonant with good discipline we have only to look at the parallel case of the Engineering College at Cooper's Hill, where the students are admitted up to a later limit of age than that which is prescribed for the Indian Civil Service, and I believe I am right in saying that the college life is very popular.

No doubt the great objection to such an establishment is the great expense that it would entail on the Government, but if the expense could in any way be got over, the results would, I think, be very satisfactory.

A few words in conclusion as to a matter of detail. The Civil Service Commissioners have taken care to thoroughly discourage a smattering knowledge of several

subjects at the first examination for the Indian Civil Service, but when once that No 291 test is passed, a smatterer in many languages has a great advantage over a man with a sound knowledge of one or two. The only restriction on a candidate's taking up as many extra languages as he likes is that he must get half marks in all the prescribed subjects before he is allowed to count any extra language, except Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, which are exempted.

A hard-reading man with a little care, however, can always manage to get half marks in the prescribed subjects, and he may then take up five or six extra languages, and if he obtains only a few marks in each he is certain to be nearly at the top of the list at the final examination. In such languages as Canarese and Urya the examiners are men of little or no experience in examining, and having no standard of comparison they give a man what they consider a low mark perhaps, but which, as compared with the marks obtained in the other languages usually read, is very high. I have known 259 out of a total of 400 obtained in this way by a candidate, after fourteen days' reading—a fair mark to score in Persian or Hindi after reading for two years, all the languages being valued equally at 400 marks, except Sanskrit. It would be very easy to strike off from the list of the subjects those languages that are not usually read, and I think that if this were done, a sounder acquisition of the more important languages would be the result.

In other respects the course prescribed for the two years' probation of the candidates is, in my opinion, open to no criticism.

From A CHRISTIE, Esq., to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab,—dated Kohat, the 5th August 1875.

With reference to your communications\* of the 5th and 15th ultimo, regarding the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India, I have the honour to furnish my opinion as directed on the following points —

I —As regards the training at home after the first examination is passed

I am of opinion that the present system is open to many and serious objections. Many of the candidates no doubt after their first examination lead a moral and healthy life and undergo a careful preparation in the various subjects required, but I think that, considering the importance of the position which they will afterwards be called upon to hold, care should be taken to provide that all the selected candidates do so. Many proceed at once to prepare for their first periodical examination, but, on the other hand, many having passed the first and by far the most difficult test, and knowing that a very slight exertion on their part will enable them to qualify at the periodical examinations, only commence to study a few weeks before each examination. The results of such a hurried preparation, amounting in fact to "cramming" cannot be satisfactory even if the candidate succeeds in qualifying, while in some cases, by putting off his preparation to such a late period, he fails altogether to qualify. Of six candidates who failed in one year to pass the final examination, not one, in the opinion of his contemporaries, at least failed from want of ability. One of them was certainly one of the most able men of his year. Two of them were men of remarkably fine physique and good ability, and two years' judicious training and supervision would probably have made them excellent public servants. Industry no doubt is an essential qualification for a good officer, but while ability such as is secured by a competitive examination cannot be implanted, habits of industry can and probably would be inculcated by judicious supervision.

If the results, "moral and physical," of the present system have been good, it has been rather in spite of the system than owing to it. I do not think that the most immoral candidate would have the slightest difficulty in obtaining the only certificate at present required of him by the Civil Service Commissioners, while, though the advantages of a good physique to the candidate himself and the service to which he aspires to belong cannot, I think, be over-rated, at present no encouragement whatever is given to its attainment. At the Civil Service Athletic Meeting in 1870 two Indian candidates obtained prizes. Of these, one afterwards failed to qualify at the final examination, the other was last but one of his list. In 1871, of nearly 150 candidates eligible, I myself was the only one who competed, and since that year no Indian candidate has obtained a prize.

The establishment of a separate college for selected candidates would, I think, improve them intellectually, morally, physically and, many at least, socially. Its location at Oxford or Cambridge would induce many members of these universities to compete. They would see before them an easy road to an honourable position, and would at the same time be able to finish their university career, and not be entirely severed from their old associations.

II —Under these circumstances, or if other arrangements were made by which the selected candidates would be enabled to associate more than they do at present

with their contemporaries, I think that nineteen might well be fixed as the latest No 291 age at which they might offer themselves for examination

III — I think that few successful candidates would take advantage of being able to go through a university course beyond those who were already members, if the measures were not made compulsory. The present liberty enjoyed by selected candidates, whatever may be its results, is no doubt by many prized too highly to be voluntarily given up

*Note by T H THORNTON, Esq., D C L.,—dated 11th August 1875*

Before recording an opinion as required by His Honour upon the questions raised in the Secretary of State's despatch\* regarding the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India, it may be as well to state that I was selected by competition in the year 1855, while an under-graduate of Oxford, and proceeded to India in August 1856, having meanwhile taken a degree at the university; and that since the year 1864 I have held the position of Secretary to the Punjab Government, and have thus been in a good position for observing the conduct, character and qualifications of a considerable number of civilians appointed, some from Haileybury and some by the system of competition, the latter including several educated at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge or Dublin

2 The charges brought against the present system of selection and training of Indian civilians, referred to in the Secretary of State's despatch, appear to be generally the following

- (1) that it promotes methods of special preparation neither calculated nor intended to impart sound and well-digested knowledge
- (2) that a certain number of the candidates are not of the intellectual calibre which might naturally be expected from the greatness of the prize competed for,
- (3) that the selected candidates are subjected to no moral training, and
- (4) have no community of tastes and interests or common traditions

Two other charges are incidentally mentioned in the correspondence, *viz*,—

- (5) that the physique of the competition civilian is inferior, and
- (6) that a considerable number are wanting in the polish and good breeding of English gentlemen

3 The remedies proposed are—

- (1) to reduce the number of subjects of the first examination,
- (2) to make over a certain number of probationary appointments to selected universities, and
- (3) to arrange that all candidates should, after selection, be subjected to some collegiate training, either by the establishment of a special college, or by making it a condition of the probationer's stipend that he reside at a selected university

4 Before considering the suitability of all or any of the remedies proposed, it will not be out of place, perhaps, if I consider, in the light of eighteen years' experience, how far the objections raised against the present system of appointment and training are justified by its practical results, or, in other words, whether the civilians appointed and trained under the present system do, as a matter of fact, exhibit defects answering to the objections urged against it

5 In venturing to record my humble opinion upon this important subject, I would state that, though appointed by competition, I am no enthusiast in favour of the system, and proceeded to India long before the present system of special preparation had come into existence, and further that, though having as a quondam fellow of a college a predilection for university training, I am for that very reason especially on my guard against over-rating its importance

6 I proceed then to give to the best of my ability replies to the questions suggested by the objections raised against the present system, and the first question is—

- (1)—Are the attainments of civilians appointed under the new system, as a rule, of a superficial character?

From my experience I am bound to express the opinion that such is not the case, and I may add that some of these most distinguished for research, for accuracy of mind, for thoroughness in all they write or do, have *not* been educated at a uni-

\* See page 1



versity, and here I would venture humbly to express the opinion that the fashionable denunciations against the "cramming" system so frequently met with in the press and in society are to a very great extent unmerited. Whenever a maximum of knowledge has to be acquired in a minimum of time, these crammers will flourish, and they flourish just as much at Oxford and at Cambridge under the name of "private tutors" as in London, and the "private tutor" resorts, and has resorted from time immemorial, to all the expedients alleged to be adopted by the Civil Service crammer, such as anticipating the tenor of questions to be asked from the known idiosyncracies of examiners, or by considering previous examination papers in connection with the law of chances, &c, &c. But it does not follow (at any rate such is my experience) that knowledge acquired by "cramming" is, in every case, undigested or superficial, and indeed when we consider that the most distinguished of our senators and the greatest ornaments of the English bench,—the late Prime Minister, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, the late Secretary of State for War, the late first Lord of the Admiralty, the late Lord Chancellor, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, the present Home Secretary, the present Secretary of State for the Colonies, and many others, and I may venture, perhaps, without disrespect, to add the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India himself and His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India,—have been subjected to this process, the results of "cramming" can hardly be regarded with alarm! The fact is that the word "cramming" is a term applied to two very different processes, and the opprobrium which justly attaches to the one is often improperly handed over to the other. "Cramming," when it merely makes use of the memory and fills the mind with facts to be unintelligently retained for show, deserves all the evil things that have been said regarding it, but the same term is inconsiderately applied to process of a different kind—one which seeks no deception, but simply to stimulate the mental energies and enable the student to economize his time. This instead of being open to denunciation, is, so far as my observation goes, a healthful and beneficial exercise. Whether "cramming" in a given case comes under the former category is a fact which can be rapidly and easily tasted by those who have experience in education, and no candidate educated under the former system has or ought to have the slightest chance of success in a well-conducted examination

I proceed to the second question—

- (2)—Is the intellectual calibre of the candidates inferior to what might have been expected from the greatness of the prize?

It is, perhaps, presumptuous in me to offer an opinion on this portion of the subject; but I venture to record my impression that the intellectual calibre of the civilians who have come to the Punjab of late years is very decidedly above the average of men of their years in England, and I would add, having had some experience of the requirements of examinations for honours at Oxford, that a considerable proportion would, in my opinion, have had little difficulty in obtaining a first class at that university. Again—

- (3)—Are the civilians of the present day deficient in moral qualifications?

So far as my experience goes, there is not the slightest ground for any apprehension that there is aught of deterioration in the moral character of the Service, the civilian of the present day is, I firmly believe, as strictly honourable as his predecessors, and his morals are as irreproachable. I would add, that in the matter of moral qualifications, I see no superiority in those educated at an university over those who have received no university training. Again—

- (4)—Have the civilians of the present day any community of tastes and interests or common traditions?

The civilians of the present day have certainly no such community of tastes, feelings or traditions as results from having been brought up in the same collegiate institution; but after having watched the career of civilians brought up under such a system side by side with the career and conduct of those who have been brought up independently, I have failed to see the slightest practical benefit from the former system, and I have seen some practical evil, but though the civilian of the present day has not the community of feeling and traditions resulting from reminiscences of college life, it is a mistake to suppose that there is no *esprit de corps* among them. There is an *esprit de corps* less sentimental, less convivial perhaps in its origin than that which is referred to in the objection now under consideration, but one not the less potent, and perhaps more noble, that is the *esprit de corps* resulting from close association in the business of administering an empire, in promoting the wealth and happiness of the people, in protecting them from disease and death, in redressing their injuries, and, in a word, representing the truth, justice and civilizing influence of England in her dominions in the East

If under such circumstances the civilian of the present day is lacking in *esprit* No 291 *de corps* (which I deny), the want will not be supplied by any amount of university or college training. But again—

(5)—Is the physique of the civilian of the present day inferior?

I am aware that some are disposed to answer this question in the affirmative, and though doubtless a pale and fragile member of the service can here and there be pointed out, the facts of the last eighteen years are decidedly opposed to such a conclusion. Between the year 1857 and the present time upwards of 75 competition civilians have been employed in the Punjab. Of these, so far as I can ascertain, two only have died, and one only has had to retire from ill-health, and at the present time of 64 competition civilians employed in the Punjab two only are in England on sick leave. It so happens that during the present year three young civilians have temporarily broken down,—one from fever contracted in the Derajat, one from exposure in the active performance of duty in the Sirsa District, one from sunstroke. But these cases are exceptional, and, upon the whole, I am inclined to think that the apprehension expressed on this score by some of the seniors in the service has much to do with that reverence for the past which is the characteristic of advancing years. I am confirmed in this impression by my own experience, for when visiting the University of Oxford three years ago I was struck by what appeared to me to be the remarkably inferior physique of the under-graduate of 1872 as compared with the under-graduate of 1853 and 1854, but I believe that I was wrong, and that there is as little reason to consider the physique of Indian civilians deteriorated as that of the under-graduates of Oxford.

6 The last question refers to the alleged deficiency of manners in the Indian civilians appointed and trained under the present system. There is more truth, perhaps, in this objection than in any of the others urged, and it must be admitted that the proportion of uncouthness and under-breeding in the new race of Indian civilians is greater than could be wished. At the same time I must state, from my own observation, that in some cases these defects have rapidly disappeared under the influence of the social training which the young civilian undergoes in India itself, and that even of those who have not so improved not a few have, in spite of eccentric manners, rendered most valuable service to the State.

7 The replies I have ventured to record to the above questions anticipate to a great extent my reply to the enquiry respecting the remedies to be adopted. No necessity appears to me to have been shown for any change of the present system so far as intellectual or moral training is concerned, or the establishment of community of feeling or traditions or the development of a healthy physique. It remains to be seen whether anything can be done to remedy the remaining defect—the defect of manners—without producing greater evils than the disease. I do not think the evil would be effectively or suitably met by stipulating that the probationary candidates should carry on their studies at a university, because,—

(1.)—University training after all gives but a final touch to habits of good breeding, which are really formed at school or by the influences of the society in which we live. Those who are peculiar, uncouth or ill-mannered at eighteen will ordinarily remain so to the end of the chapter, and will be little benefitted by a residence at a university, where indeed their society would be shunned.

(2.)—If the university is to be resorted to by successful candidates as a *school of manners*, this will involve a considerable increase in the expenses of their education. The candidate must not in this case pass his days as an unattached student, he must reside in college, and go freely into society and join in its amusements. To go freely into society means to spend considerable sums upon entertainments, and to waste a good deal of time that can ill be spared, but to increase the already heavy expenses of the successful candidate's training is open to very grave objection at the present time, when the prestige and emoluments of the service are decreasing, partly from stagnation in promotion, partly from the fall in the value of silver, and partly from the early prospect of the admission into the higher ranks of the service of natives of the country who have not gone through the civilising process of a residence in England.

8 Another remedy suggested is to lower the standard of attainment for candidates to the level of the ordinary public school education, in order that the public school-boy, who is frequently as superior in manners as he is inferior in learning, may be induced to compete for the appointments. But having regard to the increasing acquirements of the educated members of the Native community and the great inruption of members of the English Bar into India, we cannot, I think, afford

(even for the sake of good manners) to lower the standard of intellectual qualifications for Indian civil servants No 291

9 The establishment of a special college for the education of selected candidates is open to the objection already urged, that it will not, so far as I can judge, secure the object in view to any great extent, while it is open to objections on other grounds

10 But though I do not advocate any of the remedies proposed above, and would not make residence at the university compulsory upon selected candidates, I think the present system is open to this grave objection, that the limits of age now prescribed for candidates are so fixed as practically to exclude or seriously to discourage university men from competing for the appointments

I venture to suggest, therefore, the propriety of reverting to the old rule, which allowed persons between the ages of 18 and 22 to compete at the examinations, and I believe that, if this were so, not a few of those educated at our universities would at the close of their career, decide upon entering the Civil Service of India, and I base my opinion upon my own experience. Until the close of my university education I never dreamt of expatriation to India, but when I approached the end of my university existence, and had to face the prospect of indefinite residence at Oxford as a college don, or the less comfortable prospect to briefless barristerhood, I turned to India as opening out a more useful and more satisfactory career

In conclusion, I trust the frankness of the above remarks will be pardoned, and also the egotism which it has been impossible to avoid

From R E EGERTON, Esq, to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab,—No 50M., dated Murree, the 9th August 1875

In reply to your letter\* No 2563, dated 5th July 1875, I have the honour to submit my opinion on the subject of the admission and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India

2 I see no reason to alter the list of subjects which the candidates are allowed to take up for the first examination, but I think the training to which the probationers are subjected after the first examination may be modified with advantage

3 I think there is no doubt that, if other necessary conditions allow it, the men who have passed the entrance examination for the Civil Service of India will be better fitted for their future career by studying at one of the universities during their term of probation than if they are allowed to choose the place and manner of their studies as at present

4 If, therefore, the universities provide advantages of instruction in the special subjects of study which are prescribed, I think it very desirable that probationers for the Indian Civil Service should complete their course of study at one of the universities, and should receive a degree on passing an examination in their own subjects, if they were not able to take an ordinary degree, as proposed by Dr Jowett

5 The allowance granted to the candidate should be conditional on his residing at a university

6 The attendance of probationers at the law courts, and the compilation of reports of cases which they have heard argued, is considered to be one of the most important parts of the system of training to which they are subjected after passing the preliminary examination, and it is apparently in order to obtain this familiarity with the manner in which laws should be administered, or, in other words, familiarity with the procedure of the courts of law in England, that the residence of the probationer in London is recommended

7 Without under-valuing the advantage of this training, which has been recommended by so many eminent men, as a means of testing and improving the qualities of mind which are required for a lawyer in England, I doubt if the value of it to men who are coming to India is so great as is supposed

8 The administration of justice by a foreign Judge amongst the natives of India is carried on under circumstances so very different to those which the young civilians witness in a court of law in England that the experience gained in this way is of little practical use to the greater part of them. It is desirable, no doubt, men who have never seen courts of justice at all should gain a little general experience by attending them as spectators, but an attempt to master the procedure of the English courts is not necessary. The study of this procedure in the highest courts of the land, and by attendance at the sittings of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, may even be injurious by raising feelings of contempt for the simplicity of the Indian procedure and the directness of its method as compared

\* Not printed

with the stateliness and technical formality of the English courts, and by keeping No 291 too much out of sight the greatest of all the difficulties which a foreign Judge has to cope with in India, viz, the difficulty of estimating the truth of evidence offered

9 A knowledge of the principles of law may be acquired without attendance at the law courts, at the university as well as in London, and if English procedure is to be studied at all the County Court and the Police Magistrate's Office will give the probationer more valuable practical knowledge than he can acquire in the higher courts of justice, and he can attend these while residing at the university

10 I think, therefore, that the present system, under which 33 reports of cases are required, may with advantage be modified if it is incompatible with the proposal that the probationers should reside at a university during the term of probation

11 I do not think there is any necessity for altering the limits of age of admission to the first examination or for reducing the term of probation, but the length of the vacation should be reduced, as proposed by Dr Jowett

*Memorandum by D C IBBETSON, Esq, M A, C S, on certain points connected with the selection and training in England of candidates for the Indian Civil Service,—dated Karnaul, the 7th August 1875.*

The Government of the Punjab has asked for my opinion on three points connected with the selection and training in England of candidates for the Indian Civil Service

They are—

- (1)—The age up to which it is desirable that candidates should be admitted to the open competition.
- (2)—The training at home which probationers should undergo.
- (3)—Whether successful candidates would be likely to take advantage of being able to complete the university course if this advantage were thrown open to them

#### INTRODUCTION.

In discussing the first two of the above questions, it is obvious that the kind and degree of education which the average successful candidate has received before passing the open competition must form a very important element in the data. I therefore propose to preface my replies to the specific questions put to me, by a few remarks upon this subject, and I do so with the less hesitation because some of the considerations which have occurred to me in this connection have not been touched upon in any of the numerous contributions to the discussion of this much vexed subject which have come in my way, and also because I believe that in one respect I am better qualified to speak on this point than the majority of young men in the Service. On a subject which has been treated so fully as has this by the eminent men whose names appear in the printed correspondence before me, the opinion of a young civilian must derive whatever value it may be thought to possess almost exclusively from his personal experience of the present system, and it so happens that my experience of that system has been singularly complete

I entered at Cambridge with the full intention of proceeding to a degree with a view to a Fellowship and the profession of a Barrister, and it was not till I had been at Cambridge for a year and ten months that I heard of the Indian Civil Service, and determined to compete for an appointment. I then read for one term with a gentleman at Cambridge who prepared pupils for the open examination, besides attending my college lectures in the subjects which I intended to take up, but being dissatisfied with my progress, I went to Mr Wren, the "crammer," who is so often alluded to in the printed correspondence as preparing the majority of the successful candidates. I read with him for five months, up to the date of the open examination, in which I passed third, and I then returned to Cambridge, where I resided for nine months, just completing my residence before the mathematical tripos. After the tripos, in which I stood sixth of the second class, I returned to London, where I spent the eighteen months which intervened between my degree and the final examination for the Indian Civil Service. I may add that I have in the course of my life undergone 23 public competitive examinations

#### TRAINING FOR THE OPEN COMPETITION

2 It may be accepted as an axiom that the course of education adopted by any college or school, public or private, is principally determined by the ultimate end aimed at by the majority of its cleverer pupils, and it is an undoubted fact that the whole educational system of the universities, and of the public and most of the large semi-public schools of England is almost entirely moulded by the

great honour examinations of Cambridge and Oxford, upon the results of which No 291. academical distinction and rewards depend. The aim of head masters of first-class schools, of college tutors, and of university coaches, is alike to place their men high in the honour list, and not only is their course of instruction based upon the nature of the examination, but a departure from it is almost necessarily attended by comparative failure in the final place obtained. It is a well known fact that the best mathematician of the year is frequently beaten in the tripos by an inferior man, simply because the latter confined himself to that reading which is distinctly recognized, though nowhere formally laid down, as the Cambridge course, while the former studied mathematics at large, and acquainted himself with those results of foreign investigation which have not yet been naturalized at Cambridge.

Now the characteristic of the university educational system is that success is aimed at in one subject only. The standard for honours is so high that a really high degree in more than one subject is exceptionally rare, while a fair degree in each of one or more classes is thought but little of in comparison with a high degree in one only. The selection of the subject to be studied takes place at an early stage in the education of a boy. He is already known at schools as a classic or a mathematician—and for the more ambitious minds, and at the present time, he may neglect the other honours, at Cambridge at least—and from the time he enters the university he confines himself almost exclusively to his special subject. Thus, men who go up for the honour examinations have directed, for the last two or three years of their school life, their particular, and for the three years of their college life, their exclusive, attention to the subject in which they are to be examined.

Now the open examination for entrance into the Indian Civil Service is of such a nature that this system of education has to be very considerably modified before it can be said to be that best fitted to ensure success in the competition. It is true that a candidate may take up as many or as few subjects as he chooses, it is true that no one subject is compulsory, it is true that, with the rarest exceptions, no one can hope for success without a sound knowledge of English, and either classics or mathematics, but it is no less true that no one can hope to stand *high* unless he takes up a considerable number of subjects, and that no one can hope to pass at all unless he is fairly well read in more than one subject.

The fact is that, in all all-round examinations, like the one in question, a good sound knowledge of three or four subjects "pays" better than a more thorough knowledge of one or two, and that even a profound acquaintance with a single subject will not of itself pass a man. I need not say that superficial knowledge and mere cram are next to useless in the examination. The facts collected by the Civil Service Commission sufficiently prove that. Mere cram may give a few extra marks, but it never yet passed a candidate, and under existing arrangements is, as a rule, pure waste of time. But although it is useless to take up a subject without a fairly sound knowledge of its principles at least, there is no doubt that, beyond a certain point, it pays better to take up a new subject than to strive for greater perfection in an old one. A moderate degree of excellence is attainable with comparative ease, but beyond that each mark is gained with increasing difficulty. Take my own case. If I had gone up when I first heard of the Indian examination, I should have passed in English and mathematics alone, but I should probably have been two-thirds down the list. If I had read on at Cambridge on Cambridge principles, confining myself chiefly to mathematics, I might have been half way up. Instead of that I almost entirely left off reading mathematics, which was my strongest subject, I brushed up my Latin, which had grown rusty, I consolidated and increased my knowledge of moral science, which was desultory and disconnected, I added to my acquaintance with the principles of several of the natural sciences, a knowledge of the leading facts and details of the one which I took up, and I was near the top of the list. In other words, the labour which, if devoted to reading higher mathematics, might have given me 150 additional marks, gave me 800 additional marks when distributed over Latin and moral and natural science.

In short, success in the university honour lists is attended by a profound acquaintance with one subject, success in the Civil Service examination is secured by a sound, but less thorough acquaintance with several. It is obvious that the same training cannot be best adapted to both ends, and hence the demand for special tutors like Mr Wren, and special departments in schools at Cheltenham.

It has often been made a subject of remark that the universities, speaking broadly, fail in training candidates for the open competition. I think that the causes are not difficult of discernment.

In the first place there is no one person at Cambridge or Oxford College charged with the duty of, or possessed of the experience necessary to, superintending the general course of study of the candidate. Each tutor or lecturer instructs him in a particular subject, but there is no one to make a study of his peculiar powers and special

deficiencies, no one to advise him as to the manner in which his No 291 labour should be distributed among different subjects

*Secondly*—A college lecturer lectures more or less down to the level of the less advanced members of the class, and this is specially the case in subjects other than classics and mathematics, where the number of students is so small that they cannot be sorted into nearly as many classes as there are degrees of attainment represented among them. The private tutor, on the other hand, gives attention to his pupils individually, and in his own interest takes good care that his best men at any rate do not suffer. It is precisely this difference which has made private "coaching," in addition to college and university lecture, essential to great success even at Cambridge.

*Thirdly*—The limit of seven hours' hard reading daily, which is fixed by the customs of the university, while a most wise one where one subject only is being studied may be exceeded with advantage when several subjects are read together, as the change of matter materially relieves the strain upon the mind.

*Fourthly*—And this is the most important point of all. The university reading in all subjects but classics and mathematics is distinctly too slow. A man who has three years in which to prepare himself in one subject reads very slowly; he makes his own analyses and comparative statements of views held by different authorities, during his reading hours he lives in his subject, and he is constantly chewing the cud of his former studies, his view slowly widens, new lights dawn upon him, and he may be said to *absorb* his knowledge. The result is a scholarly and profound acquaintance with his subject. But this is not what is wanted by the candidate for Indian Service. His examination is removed by the interval of a year at most, he *must* read fast. He acquires a thorough and efficient knowledge of his subjects so far as he is acquainted with them, but he does not pretend to the degree of learning which is necessary to university honours. I speak from my own experience. I read moral sciences at first with my college lecturer, a first-class man and a Fellow of his college, and English with an English scholar of European renown, but they would not take me on fast enough, and I was obliged to go to Mr Wren's, where my progress was only limited by my industry and powers. I know that a considerable number of men do pass direct from the universities, but I have no hesitation in saying that the Cambridge men, at least, would, as a rule, have been placed higher if they had read for a short time with a special tutor.

To sum up. The open examination is so constituted that, while merely superficial knowledge is almost useless, success is best secured by a thorough, but not profound, knowledge of several subjects, and is thus distinguished from the university honour examination, in which an infinitely greater maturity and fullness of attainment is demanded in some one subject only.

I do not think that this general nature of the examination is to be in any degree regretted, or that any efforts should be made to alter it. The one most marked characteristic of a civilian's duties is their varied nature. A profound mathematician is not necessarily a good judge, and an eminent Grecian may make a very bad revenue officer. Mr Lepel Griffin has, in the *Fortnightly Review* for April last, given several very forcible instances selected from the results of past competitions. It may be accepted as a fact that, except in rare instances, the highest intellects do not compete for the Indian Civil Service, and, setting them aside, it is to my mind unquestionable that a man whose talents are of such a kind that he attains with ease a very considerable acquaintance with many of the subjects ordinarily studied in England is, as a rule, far better suited for the Civil Service than is he whose bent of intellect is more or less confined to one direction.

#### LIMITS OF AGE

3 I now proceed to discuss the question of what are the limits of age most desirable to be fixed for candidates in the open competition.

There is no doubt whatever that it is essential that the young civilian should come out to India at not too advanced an age. Not only is everything to be learnt on his arrival, and that of so new a nature as to render plasticity of mind and readiness to study new subjects absolute necessities, but it is most important that as large a proportion as possible of each man's physical and mental prime should be secured for the service of Government. The present superior limit of 21 secures the arrival in India of every civilian before reaching the age of 24, and I do not think that this rule could be improved upon. It is true that in 1864 objections

were made to the present standard as being too high, but it does not appear that they have been repeated. Dr Jowett, in his letter\* to the Secretary of State, proposes that university men should be allowed to compete up to the age of 22, on condition of having previously passed an examination in law, political economy, and an Indian language,—such candidates, if successful, being required to undergo only one year of special preparation in England. His object is to include a greater number of university men among the successful candidates, and his reason for believing that this object would be thus secured apparently is that during the first ten years of competition, when the superior limit of age was 22, a larger proportion of university men passed than is now the case. But it seems to me very doubtful whether the lowering the standard of age had much to do with this diminution. When the service was first thrown open to competition, special tutors for the examination were almost unknown, and men then went up straight from their university who would now, like myself, spend a few months with a private tutor, and so appear in the statistics as passed from “special preparation.” Moreover, not only have the attractions of the Indian Service very much diminished of late years, owing to increased cost of living, badness of exchange, and slowness of promotion, but the many and great drawbacks incidental to it have become far more widely known among the young men of England. In any case, the proposed alteration would only admit men who, wishing at the age of 21 to remain in England, had, before attaining the age of 22, changed their minds, and determined upon adopting an Indian career. Nor does it appear to me that it would, as a rule, enable men to compete who had taken their degree and been disappointed in the result. The average age of entrance into a university is yearly rising, and already but few men take their degree before the age of 22. Moreover, the previous examination in specially Indian subjects, which is to be made a condition of the indulgence, would necessitate some considerable preparation. Thus, the additional candidates would be almost exclusively men who had not taken their degree, but who having had, up to the age of 21, hopes of success in honours sufficient to induce them to stay in England, had begun to doubt the probability of that success in time to pass an examination in more or less new subjects before attaining the age of 22. The number of these would probably be indefinitely small. Moreover, the proposed plan would deprive the probationers admitted under it of a year’s attendance in the law courts, which I look upon as by far the most important part of a young civilian’s training. For these reasons Dr Jowett’s proposal does not commend itself to my judgment, and I would leave the superior limit of 21 years unaltered.

But if the first arrival of civilians in India at too advanced an age is advisable, their appointment while still too young is yet more objectionable. The Commissioners who framed the original scheme for admission into the service expressed an opinion that, “except in very rare and extraordinary cases, it is not desirable that a lad should be admitted so early as 18”, and they further remark—“we believe that men who have been engaged up to one or two-and-twenty in studies which have no immediate connection with the business of any profession, and of which the effect is merely to open, to invigorate, and to enrich the mind, will generally be found in the business of every profession superior to men who have at 18 or 19 devoted themselves to the special studies of their calling.”

Now, in their letter† to the Secretary of State, dated 16th March 1875, the Civil Service Commissioners say—“It has never been suggested \* \* that candidates after selection should be kept in England for the purpose of continuing their general education”, and in their instructions to selected candidates they distinctly give them to understand that they must look upon their general education as completed, and that “they will be expected and required to devote their whole time to the pursuit of the special knowledge necessary for them in the position which they hope to gain.”

Yet the present inferior limit of age is 17, and we find that, since the existing limits have obtained, the ages of the successful candidates have been as follows —

Over 17	13	or	3 per cent.
„ 18	49	or	13 „
„ 19	110	or	29 „
„ 20	215	or	55 „
	—		—
	387		100
	—		—

that is to say, 16 per cent of the probationers are under the age of 19 at the time of first admission

\* See page 7

† See page 9



I suppose that, if there is one thing more than another which is desirable No 291. in an Indian civilian, it is broadness and comprehensiveness of view, largeness of mind and freedom from narrow technicalities and intellectual piggishness. And I conceive that if one course is more eminently adapted than another to secure the diametrical opposite of these characteristics, it is to train a boy up to the age of 17 or 18 for an examination which discourages profound study and scholarship, to then confine his attention for two years to the preparation for a profession of a very special character to pass him through half-yearly examinations upon the result of which his standing in the service depends, and then, at the age of 19 or 20, to send him to a country where he is wholly cut off from that intellectual atmosphere, that contagion of mental activity, which in England may prolong the education of a mind indefinitely, and where leisure for general reading is almost unknown

Surely the years from 18 to 23 are the most important in the whole life of a man, are exactly those in which the future man is formed, during which the mind is in its most colloid state, and intellectual cosmos is most active. Surely it is during these years that the higher education, as distinct from instruction, is in most active progress, that the boy changes into the man, takes up his intellectual points of view, and ranges himself on one side or the other of the great questions of life, and that it is most important that the influence to which he is exposed should be free from all taint of narrowness.

I am of opinion that no civilian should be allowed to proceed to India till he has passed the age of 22 at the *earliest*

I perfectly understand that it is essential to fix an age beyond which no one should be allowed to enter the service, but subject to that condition, I submit that the older a young man is, and the longer he has enjoyed the advantages of residence in England, the better adapted he will be for his work out here, and, having fixed that limit, I am unable to conceive why civilians should be admitted at any much earlier age unless, indeed, it be contended that a lad is as competent at the age of 20 as he will be at the age of 24 to undertake duties of more than ordinary responsibility.

It appears to me that the question is—not at how early an age can a young man be said to be *fit* for the Indian Civil Service, but at what age, within the superior limit, is he *fittest*, not whether a youth of 20 is competent to perform the duties of a civilian, but whether he will not be far more competent if he delays his departure from England for two years longer.

In fact, I do not see any advantage to be gained, and I do see a distinct loss in separating the superior and inferior limits by so wide an interval as at present exists. I would make the limits of entrance to the open competition 20 and 21, that is, I would rule that every selected candidate must be over the age of 20, and under that of 21.

It will be said that a clever boy is more likely to devote himself to an Indian career at the age of 18 than at that of 21. Admitting this for the sake of argument, I would reply that it will be to the interest of the service to let the clever boy go and take in his place one slightly less clever with the advantage of three years' additional education in England.

The University of Oxford proposes to fix the superior limit of age at 18, or, at the outside, 19. Were people in England aware what an intellectual desert India is, I do not think a university would ever have made such a proposal.

It may again be said that many boys, even if assured of ultimate success, could not afford to wait till 20 before beginning to earn money by the exercise of their brains. To my mind it is not a matter of importance to keep down to the lowest possible limits the expense of entrance into the Civil Service, for the degree of that expense to some extent decides the grade in the social scale from below which candidates do not ordinarily present themselves.

A far more forcible objection is that it is in many cases important to definitely select a boy's future profession before he reaches the age of 20, that the present system, by which the candidate has four chances of success, is one of the greatest attractions of the competition, and that, if success were necessarily to be left doubtful up to the age of 20 or 21, we should certainly lose many of our best men, who could not afford to wait so long merely in the hope of ultimately succeeding.

To meet this objection I would allow boys over 17 years of age to go up for the examinations as at present on payment of the usual fee, but would select for the service not the so many highest, but the so many highest who had reached the prescribed age of 20. Those who did not satisfy this condition would acquire no rights by their position in the list, however high it might be, but would have to

win their place by competition in the ordinary way after reaching the age of 20 No 291  
But their degree of success in the prior examination would enable them to decide, with a very great degree of accuracy, whether or not it was worthwhile going on in the hope of being ultimately selected.

It may be thought advisable not to confine the chance of success offered to intending candidates to one year only, and in that case the limits might be fixed at 19 to 21, but I look upon 19 as the *very* lowest age at which a candidate should be selected, and I should much prefer to see 20 fixed as the limit

It may be objected that the proportion of men who now pass under the age of 19 is very small, but 16 per cent is not a proportion which can safely be neglected in a service where duties of the gravest responsibility are entrusted to *all* without distinction. My own personal experience leads me to the opinion that, while men who pass at 17 or 18 are, necessarily, among the cleverest who come out, they are often unfavourably distinguished by mental rawness and immaturity of character, and by being minutely instructed rather than highly educated. And whether the limit of age is altered or not, I would strongly deprecate the recent introduction of a rule the operation of which I cannot but look upon as *most* pernicious. I allude to the provision that "a selected candidate declining to accept the appointment which may be offered to him will be disqualified for any subsequent competition." I am informed that this rule owes its origin to the fact that, in some case or cases, the highest of the unsuccessful candidates paid one of the successful candidates a sum of money to resign his appointment and so secured for himself the vacancy as it came down the list. It seems to me that this difficulty would have been as effectually and more properly met by providing that, when once the required number of candidates had been selected, no other name should be added in consequence of any vacancy that might occur. The present rule compels a boy to go out to India at an earlier age than that which, if left to himself, he might select, and forces upon the State a servant at an unnecessarily early stage in his education.

#### THE TRAINING OF PROBATIONERS.

4 The next question for consideration is the nature of the training which probationers should undergo in England

It may, I think, be taken for granted that the present system of half-yearly examinations, though not without serious disadvantages, is a necessary evil, can neither be dispensed with nor improved, for the plan hinted at by the Cambridge Vice-Chancellor, of accepting the university examinations as equivalent, appears to me to be quite out of the question, and the remaining points for consideration may be divided into two parts —

(1) —The subjects in which the probationers should be examined.

(2) —The manner in which they should be instructed in those subjects, and the place at which they should reside during their two years of probation

As to the subjects which the probationer is to study, I think, speaking generally, it would be difficult to improve the list already prescribed. Of these, as far as my own experience goes, the taking notes of cases in the courts of law is *infinitely* the most valuable part. It will be seen from the note which was forwarded as a supplement to the printed correspondence, that each candidate is obliged to send up reports of 34 cases based upon notes taken in the courts of personal attendance in court: the cases embracing proceedings of the police and county courts, the superior metropolitan civil and criminal courts, and the Privy Council as an Indian appellate court. It must be remembered that in attendance for the purpose of taking these notes, many cases are heard and noted, which cannot be sent up because they are withdrawn, or compromised, or end in a non-suit or the like, and that every probationer whose ambition soars beyond escaping fine notes many cases which he rejects as not being sufficiently important for his reports, I cannot have noted fewer than nine or ten cases for every one, except the Privy Council case, which I sent up, and I of course heard many other cases and parts of cases while waiting for mine to come on. This experience is to my mind simply *invaluable*, and I should deplore any arrangement which would tend to diminish the number or importance of the cases of which reports are required.

There is one suggestion which I shall venture to make very briefly and with considerable diffidence—I do not expect to find many supporters, but I feel strongly on the point. In 1854 the Committee, of which Lord Macaulay was the President, in defining the subjects in which the probationer should be instructed, placed\* in the first rank "the History of India in the largest sense of the world history," and they proceeded to explain at length their ideas of the way in which this history

\* See page 25

should be studied To attain the standard thus set forth would more than occupy No 291. the probationer during the whole of his two years in England

The books now (or at least in my time) prescribed as distinguished from recommended by the Commissioners are Elphinstone, a part of Maishman, and a part of Mill, which last is seldom opened except by candidates for the prize The examination papers are confined to battles and rebellions, and the marks assigned to the subject, together with Indian geography, are 350 out of the 2,350 which every probationer must, and the 3,250 which any probationer may, take up Of these two standards presenting so striking a contrast, I think that the one at present adopted is, for practical purposes, the right one. I would even say that much of the history at present read might be neglected with advantage, the course being confined to Part I of Elphinstone, the History of the English power in India, and important periods such as that of Akbar, supplemented by the barest outlines of the intervening occurrences A list of petty rebellions and domestic factions, such as constitutes a great part of the History of India under Mahomedan rule, neither interests nor instructs, and it is comparatively unimportant to the embryo civilian to know the name of each Emperor's assassin, and on which side any given one of a dozen traitors with but half a dozen names between them might be found at any particular stage of a contest

The simple fact is that no history of India, in the widest sense of the word as now understood, exists, nor in fact has any attempt been made to supply the want, if we except the first part of Elphinstone's History, which, though admirably drawn, is a mere outline The materials for such a history are simply non-existing, and even did such a history exist, I doubt much whether it could be studied with advantage by the probationer The terminology would be, to a great degree, strange, and the ideas constantly presented would be so foreign to ordinary European experience that a youth of 22 could hardly be expected to derive much benefit from the study But it appears to me that the very non-existence of recorded materials which makes the preparation of a history of India worthy of the name an impossibility for the present is a fact most deeply to be deplored, and which it should be one of our first aims to remedy.

It is only lately that scientific methods have been applied to social, political, and judicial phenomena, and the educated European world is watching with interest and expectation the rise of what may be called, under protest, archi-sociology The new study has already made wonderful strides, and has led to results of absorbing interests—an interest which their applicability to the occurrences of every-day life has extended to the educated world in general far more than is the case with the majority of scientific results. It requires no very great boldness to prophesy that the time is not far distant when our views on points of administrative and legislative policy will be profoundly modified, nay more principally shaped, by the results of investigation into the history of early institutions, and that this influence will be strongest of all in India, where we have begun to doubt the universal applicability of accidental methods, and are earnestly seeking a guide for the future

The most urgent want of this, as of all new sciences, is a store of carefully recorded facts, and of all parts of the world India is the country to which at present application can be most successfully made for such facts, for while civilisation has in many respects reached a high standard, so that we have a copious language and an ancient literature to aid us in our research, circumstances have preserved almost unaltered many of the very earliest institutions of the Aryan race to which before all others the attention of an Aryan civilization is naturally turned It is astounding to find writers who have accumulated, with the greatest labour and from the utmost ends of the earth, instances of the wide-spread prevalence of some semi-savage custom, pointing to its existence among the Khols or other little known aboriginal tribes of India, yet unaware that the every-day routine of every village throughout the Indian Empire furnishes far more striking and complete examples The reason is, that the ordinary every-day life of an Indian peasant, and the institutions under which he lives while teeming with invaluable instruction to the archi-sociologist, are so much a matter of course to the civilian that, ignorant of their value, he never dreams of recording them.

It is not only that the information is urgently needed, but that, if left long recollected, it will no longer exist in anything like its present completeness It requires no very intimate acquaintance with Indian village life to see how widely the contact of European thought and the influence of European administration are modifying the ideas and customs of the people, and every day will make it more difficult to separate the foreign, and to restore the native, element for purposes of

• research

There is a grand agency ready to hand in the Civil Service of India,—a Service which has already distinguished itself in original investigation, but to the utilisation of this agency two things are needful,—first, that the attention of its members should be drawn to the value of the information which they of all people are best able to collect, and secondly, that they should acquaint themselves in some degree with the method of the study and with the results already arrived at, so that

the facts by which those results are to be enlarged, confirmed, modified or refuted, No 291 shall be collected and recorded in a manner bearing some intelligent relation to the use to which they are to be put

It is of course out of the question that probationers should become deeply versed in archi-sociology before leaving England, but I believe that, were the Civil Service Commissioners to prescribe as a branch of their training the study of such books as Maine's History of Early Institutions, M. Leman's Primitive Marriage, Lubboch's Origin of Civilization, Tylor's works, Cox's Aryan Myths, and the like, the results in the course of a generation would be of simply inestimable value to the cause of knowledge, and that they would have done much to remove what cannot but be considered a slur on the nation which rules India

The interest of the subject to an Indian officer is necessarily so great that nothing but an initial impetus is requisite, and if it were thought inexpedient to make the subject compulsory, it might be made optional, and marks and prizes given in it, as in other optional subjects. But I should much prefer it to be made compulsory, for the excellent reason that the full intensity of the interest does not present itself to the mind till the student has come out to this country, and sees his subject-matter in full action, and meeting him at every turn

#### THE PLACE OF RESIDENCE.

6 I now turn to the consideration of the manner and place best adapted for the instruction of the probationers in the subjects fixed upon. And I may at once state that I consider that residence as an under-graduate at Cambridge or Oxford for the two years of probation should be made compulsory

The present system is to leave the choice of the place of residence and of the method of study entirely to the individual, but the Civil Service Commissioners in their instructions strongly recommend London as the locality where the greatest advantages in the matter of tuition are obtainable; and, as a matter of fact, the majority of probationers do spend their two years in London

The evils of this arrangement seem to me to be many and serious. I do not lay much stress upon the absence of restraint and the alleged special temptations to immorality. It has been truly said that the stamp of man who is successful in a severe competition is not the most likely to take to a profligate life, the restrictions upon vice at a university are almost nominal, while the temptations are, if anything, greater than those in London, and above all a very large degree of liberty seems to me not without its value as moral training for men who are so soon to stand more than usually alone in the world. The consideration of morals appears to me to tell more forcibly on the question of age than on that of residence. But I think that a system under which the probationer is led to live in London has two main defects,—in the first place it deliberately rejects the extraordinary educational advantages which might be secured by insisting upon university residence—and on this point I shall speak further presently, secondly, it has a distinct tendency to encourage a narrow pettiness of mind which is especially deplorable in the Indian civilian

The system of half-yearly competition examinations, while absolutely necessary to ensure that the candidates are honestly endeavouring to fit themselves for their special work in the world, tends to make them think of nothing but marks, and to confine their interests to the special subjects laid down for their study. It is a radical defect of the competition system, whether at a university or at any other place, that it necessarily tends to degrade the student's aims and interests, and to substitute for a love of knowledge for its own sake a desire for such knowledge only which will "pay." And this evil is necessarily the more virulent, the more general, and less minute the knowledge required

I have already attempted to show that, in the majority of cases, the selected candidate, while generally well educated, has not attempted to gain a profound and scholarly acquaintance with any one branch of knowledge in particular. He is often a clever lad who has been trained for the Indian Civil Service ever since he first showed marks of talent, who has stood first in his school and at his private tutor's, and who has done well in the open competition. His estimate of his own powers, as compared with those of mankind in general, is not too low, his idea of learning and research is limited to the course for the Entrance Examination, and the aim which is ever present with him is to get higher marks than anybody else. It has been proposed to collect the probationers into a college at London somewhat like that at Cooper's Hill. It seems to me that this would merely intensify all the evils which I have just described, and force upon the future civilians two years earlier than necessary that sameness of interest which is the great fault of life in India

I see no plan so well adapted to meet the dangers as that of making residence at Cambridge or Oxford compulsory upon the probationer. I pass over the social advantages to be gained by such a residence, great as they undoubtedly are. It

is true that a university education will not make a gentleman, and that it has in some few instances, though usually upon an idle man only, a most pernicious effect, but I think it will be generally admitted that if two men are in other respects similar, the one who has been at university has enjoyed greater social advantages than the one who has not. But it seems to me that the great gain that is to be looked for from a university training for a probationer is an educational rather than a social one. Though the spirit of competition has saturated our universities and has not failed to produce its characteristic symptoms there, yet the intimate intercourse of so many different types of mental constitution, studying so many different subjects and possessing such different aims in life, does much to diminish its evil effects. It must be remembered that the class list is not the final standard by which an under-graduate takes his rank among his contemporaries, that real power is recognised and acknowledged without reference to examination, and that, if anywhere in England, it is at Cambridge and Oxford that the true scholar, the religion of whose life is the love of knowledge, is to be found. It has always appeared to me that the instruction afforded to an under-graduate by college and university lecturers and the like forms quite the smallest and least important part of the mental education which is enjoyed at a university. The student there learns that there are other clever men besides himself, and other kinds of talent besides his own—an experience not without its value to the youth I have just described. He can always meet with men of his own age who know far more than himself of any given subject, he sees that knowledge is sometimes pursued for the mere love of it without reference to marks and examinations, he learns what real research is, and what completeness and thoroughness are, necessary to constitute true scholarship, being a reading man, he is continually mixing with the other reading men of his year, and forms one of a society in which every branch of study and every diversity of aim is represented, he hears discussed, and takes part in the discussion of the intellectual questions of the day with the ardour of conviction and energy of argument peculiar to youth, his views of life and knowledge widen, he learns to assign to his own special subjects their proper place in the intellectual cosmos, and he absorbs a largeness and justness of thought, a liberality of mind, a conviction that there are many sides to most questions, which is, I believe, to be obtained in as high a degree nowhere else but at a university.

This is precisely the training which it is most essential to obtain for an Indian civil servant, and precisely the training which it appears to me that the present system is most lacking in. The objections to enforce residence at a university which existed when the present scheme was first framed are now deprived of almost all their force. At that time the universities discouraged all but particular religious professions, and confined themselves almost exclusively to classics, mathematics and medicine, at that time, too, no less than six vernacular languages of India were prescribed for probationers. To-day the universities are open to men of all shades of religious profession, they possess schools of law and of political science, and they profess themselves ready to make any provision which may be necessary to meet the wants of the Indian civil servants. At present only two Indian languages—Hindustani and Telugu—are prescribed for study, Oxford possess a Hindustani reader, the Arabic Professor at Cambridge is the first Hindustani scholar in England, while the teachers of Telugu, who have settled in London, because the greater part of the probationers live in London, will not doubt settle at the universities when all the probationers live at the universities. The attendance at the London law courts presents no obstacle whatever, the necessary period of residence at Cambridge being only 24, or, counting the long vacation, 30 weeks out of the 52. When I was at Cambridge I took all my notes of cases in London without the least difficulty, and if, as I understand is the case, the superior courts will sit continuously under the new Judicature Act, this will further facilitate matters. In short, special educational facilities have sprung up in London in consequence of the special demand created there under the present system, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that if the demand is moved to Cambridge and Oxford, the supply will follow it; while the universities on their part are prepared to give all the aid in their power by appointing special readers and lecturers, or even by founding special schools. I do not think that the jealousy of the other universities need be feared. Cambridge and Oxford stand so apart from all similar institutions in Great Britain that their selection could not be said to be invidious, while it is obvious that some selection is absolutely necessary in order to concentrate the limited facilities available for instruction in certain special subjects.

I have already given my reasons for thinking that too much weight should not be attached to the consideration of the slight increase of expense attendant upon a university education.

I do not think that the possibility of the probationers being led away by the attractions of fellowship and scholarship, hinted at by Dr Jowett, need be taken into account. Scholarships they might and would hold, as they now do without

any evil effects. But the break in a man's university reading, which is necessary to enable him to succeed in the open examination, puts a fellowship quite out of the question. A man who can spare even six months only from his university course, and yet have hopes of a fellowship, is, almost without exception, not a man who selects an Indian career. The only question that remains is, whether a special college should be founded at Cambridge or Oxford, or whether the probationer should be allowed to select from among the existing colleges any one to which inclination might lead him. It appears to me that the former plan would be most objectionable. In the first place it would hardly be proposed to found such a college at each of the two universities, while to select one of the two for preference would not only be a most invidious task, but would deprive the service of the advantage of including among its members representatives of two different schools of thought, and, what is an almost conclusive objection, it will be patent to every one acquainted with under-graduate life that to confine the probationers to a special college would be almost wholly to cut them off from intercourse with men of other colleges, and so to lose the very advantages to secure which it is proposed to make university residence compulsory.

I see no better plan than that proposed by Dr Jowett,\* that is to make the allowances granted to selected candidates take the form of scholarships to be held at any college at Cambridge or Oxford approved of by the Secretary of State, that approval being granted only to such colleges as afford proper facilities for instruction in the course specially prescribed. I would not insist upon a degree. A pass degree is not worth having, while an honour degree might present difficulties to some of the probationers and interfere with their special studies. It is almost certain that every man who could go out in honours without such interference would do so without any compulsion.

#### THE PROBABILITY OF PROBATIONERS VOLUNTARILY COMPLETING A UNIVERSITY COURSE

6 The third and last question propounded is, "whether successful candidate would be likely to take advantage of being able to complete the university course if this advantage were thrown open to them." I presume that the completion of their university course means the return to the university and probably the proceeding to a degree.

As regards men who had not previously entered at a university, it is most difficult to give an opinion.

It is tolerably certain that, so long as the distinct discouragement at present shown to a university course by the Civil Service Commissioners is continued, no selected candidate will enter a university for the first time after selection. Were this discouragement removed, it is almost impossible to say what the effect would be. I do not think that mere facilities for taking a degree before going out to India would prove much additional attraction. But, as I have already said, I would leave no option in the matter.

As regards men who were members of a university before passing the open examination, I should reply distinctly in the affirmative. I cannot conceive any man who had once enjoyed the advantages of university life depriving himself of them except under very strong pressure before his term of residence had expired. I do not know of any one instance in which a selected candidate has done so. As for the degree, I have already said that I do not attach any great importance to it, and in many cases under existing rules the probationer has not resided long enough to take his degree before going to India. But it appears possible that the rules as to residence may be somewhat relaxed in favour of probationers, and as no man who had gone up from the university would have any difficulty in going out in honours, I should say that if this indulgence is allowed, no man would neglect to do so.

In one respect an alteration might be made which would remove a distinct discouragement at present existing to the completion of his university course by a probationer. The training of a selected candidate who is also a university man naturally points his attention to three final honour classes as those with which his studies are most in accord. They are those of law, history, and moral science. Now, the dates of the present half-yearly examinations are so arranged as to preclude the probationer from entering the law tripos at least. In one case which came to my knowledge where a probationer applied to the Civil Service Commissioners to alter the date of an examination by a few days so as to allow of his going up for the law tripos, those gentlemen refused, not on the perfectly intelligible ground that the alteration could not be conveniently made, but on the ground that they objected to probationers going up for any university examination whatever, as they should devote their whole energies to their special reading. This seems to me unwise, and would, if possible, so arrange the dates of the periodical examinations as not to interfere with the three triposes specified.

\* See page 8

7 To sum up my proposals are,—

- (1) to fix the limits of age for selection after competition at under 21 and over 20, or at the lowest, over 19, but to allow boys of over 17 to compete on payment of the usual fee on the understanding that whatever their place, they must again compete in the usual manner after reaching the prescribed age, and must abide by the result of that competition ;
- (2) to abolish the rule that a candidate resigning his appointment immediately upon selection is thereby disqualified for further competition ,
- (3) to confine the course of reading in Indian history to the more important periods, the intervals being filled up by a mere outline of the principal events ,
- (4) to add to the subjects prescribed for probationers as a compulsory subject if possible, if not, as an optional one, the elementary study of the origin and growth of legal, social and political institutions ,
- (5) to take residence at the University of Cambridge or Oxford during the two years of probation compulsory , and to give the money allowances the form of scholarships to be held at any college of either university, which could show to the satisfaction of the Secretary of State that it afforded proper facilities for instruction in the special subjects, and
- (6) to so arrange the dates of the periodical examinations as to interfere as little as possible with those of the great university examinations, and especially with those in law, history, and the moral sciences

From W JENKYNs, Esq, C.S., to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab,—dated the 21st August 1875.

I have the honour to send my reply in reference to the training of candidates for the Civil Service

The whole of the circulars were not received by me, so that if any point has been omitted in my remarks, it is probably owing to my attention not having been directed to it. I have replied to the points noted in circular\* No 2563 of 5th July.

I—As regards the training at home after the first examination is passed

This point may be considered under four heads,—(1) subjects in which training is given ; (2) place of training (3) manner of training, whether collectively in a college or separately, each candidate for himself ; and (4) periodical examinations

- (1)—The subjects at present comprise vernacular languages, law (including English law, Jurisprudence, Roman Law, Law-reporting and Indian law), History and Geography of India, and Political Economy

I think this scheme of subjects is very well suited to attain the object aimed at. Perhaps the vernacular languages prescribed might be better apportioned to the different candidates. For men who are sent to the Punjab the Hindi language is not very useful, at least in the western portion of the Province. The time spent upon Hindi might be very usefully devoted to Punjabi, or, if tuition in that language could not be obtained, to Hindustani. But as the men destined for the Punjab are not indicated till after arrival in India, it would not be practicable to carry out this suggestion. They might, however, be indicated after the open competition.

As to Indian law also, I would suggest that a few more of the commonest Acts of the Indian Legislature should be prescribed. Of course the Indian Evidence Act, Contract Act, &c, are now studied, I suppose. In my time only the Penal Code, and the two Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure were prescribed.

(2)—Place of training

At present every candidate is allowed to choose his own place of residence, but the Civil Service Commissioners clearly give their preference to London, and indeed, as the rules for reporting law cases now stand, the candidates must spend much of their time in London

I believe no better place than London could be selected but some arrangement is required to bring the selected candidates under some control and direction in their studies. No control whatever is now exercised. A special training college where the candidates would be compelled to reside and keep terms would not be a desirable plan. But if a training staff of teachers were appointed whose lectures candidates would be obliged to attend, two results would be realized,—first, the training of the men would be carried on in a methodical way in place of the existing haphazard way, and, second, a certain amount of control could be exercised over them by the teachers and through them by the Civil Service Commissioners, the candidates also would constantly meet each other. On the other hand, the evil of a college

\* Not printed.



where the candidates lived together under more or less discipline, *viz*, a tendency No 291 to narrowness of view and cliquism, would be avoided

The existing King's College or University College, London, might be taken advantage of to bring about the arrangement indicated

In short, in my opinion, what alone is required is this, that there should be some recognized place or institution where instruction in all the subjects of training could be obtained—instruction of the best description to be paid for by the candidates, and that all selected candidates ought to be compelled to attend there

Shutting up the man in a special East Indian Training College would be a retrograde step. They want to see as much of men and things on every side as possible, and nowhere is the full, universal, many coloured stream of life seen so well as in London, nowhere can provincial and little ideas be so readily expelled from the mind

(3)—Manner of training

I have already indicated my opinion as against leaving the candidates to train themselves as is now done. Under present rules all the candidate looks to is to pass the examinations periodically held. There is no security really that he is being well or methodically trained. Few men attend any lectures, or engage tutors, except for the native languages. The studies ought to be directed by eminent teachers in each department, whose lectures every selected man ought to be obliged to attend

(4)—Periodical examinations

At present there are *four* examinations held subsequent to the competition. If some arrangements were made, such as I have suggested, for directing the studies of the candidates, it is to be expected that the lecturers would themselves take means for examining and testing their students as the time passed. There would then be no necessity for so many periodical examinations on the part of the Civil Service Commissioners. I think that examinations are indispensable and really effective means for keeping the men up to their work, but under better arrangements for training the candidates two examinations—one at the end of the first year of training, and one at the close of the second (corresponding to the *second* periodical and *final* examinations now held)—would be amply sufficient to ensure the Civil Service Commissioners of the state and progress of the candidates. I assume that these two examinations would be held by the Civil Service Commissioners independent of the training and teaching staff, and thus I would consider an important point, it would prevent the candidates from falling into a mere routine, following the guidance of one mind alone in their studies,

(II)—As to age of admission to first examination,

(III)—University course, &c.

I take these two points together as they seem to me to depend on each other. Having been educated at one of the Scottish universities I can speak from personal experience of them only. Usually students of the Northern universities commence their studies at the university about the age of 16. For the ordinary degree of M.A. the course extends over four years, so that the student who wishes to compete for the Indian Service has only *one* chance, if he does not break off his university course. As a matter of fact he runs the competition a very close race. When I competed at the Indian examination I was just able to complete my last university examination on a Friday afternoon and rush up by train to London to appear at Burlington House on Monday morning at the competition.

The result was that I secured my degree, but had to give up my intention of taking honours, as the examinations fell at the same time as the Indian examinations. Now, what is the effect of this as regards competitors from the Scotch universities? Simply this that finding there is no time for special preparation for the Indian examination, they relinquish their university course at the end of the second or third year, getting no degree therefore, and proceed to London to go through a special course of what is often called "cramming" for the open competition.

The ordinary student who determines to finish his university course must risk the competition with only his general education to depend on. Such a competitor, if a likely man to succeed in any case, would stand a very good chance of succeeding, but there is a sort of eagerness and excitement (unhealthy if must be confessed) begot by the great competition which unhinges the minds of most competitors, so that they fear to risk the ordeal with only the panoply of a good general education. They must have some special training they think

I have put 16 as the usual age of students entering the Scotch universities; that is no doubt the general rule, at the end of the university course they are 20, which is the *maximum* age for the Indian examination. If *one year* longer were granted, that is, if 22 instead of 21 were made the *maximum*, it would meet the

case of candidates from Scotland generally. In that event I make no doubt what- No 291  
 ever that the great majority (I think in fact *all*) the competitors from Scotch uni-  
 versities would complete their university course, take their degrees within time to  
 graduate in honours too, and then reviving their general knowledge at leisure and  
 in a healthy way would appear at the competition.

The present limit, 21 years, enables *some* men to finish their university course  
 and compete in time, but the proposed limit of 22 years would give *every* man  
 that opportunity.

I speak, as I have said, of the Scotch universities only, but the remarks may  
 be useful, as in fixing any limit or rule about the Indian examinations the interests  
 of the whole Empire must be consulted.

But I think the Civil Service Commissioners have always been perfectly right  
 in insisting, as they have done, that after a candidate is selected he must entirely  
 give up the thought of resuming his ordinary college course. A selected candidate  
 ought not to be allowed to resume his general education (except privately and  
 without interfering with his probation duties) at any school or college. Once selec-  
 ted he becomes the paid servant of the Indian Government, and must give his whole  
 time and attention to acquire the special qualifications of his new office.

It is most important that whatever arrangements are made with a view to  
 enabling Indian candidates to complete a university course should aim at that course  
 being completed before the first examination, and not (as has sometimes been  
 suggested) at so timing the competitive examination that it may not interfere with  
 university examinations.

One year added to the *maximum* age would almost certainly produce this result,  
 that *every* candidate from a Scotch university would be a man who had completed  
 his university course and taken the ordinary degree. If that is considered an ad-  
 vantage for an India civilian, then I have indicated the way to procure it.

To recapitulate the whole subject. I would suggest 18 and 22 as the *minimum*  
 and *maximum* ages for candidates at the first examination. Those limits would  
 almost certainly induce every student in a Scotch university who intended to com-  
 pete at the Indian examination to complete his university course, and would give  
 his full time to do so. As to the training of the selected candidates, no place is  
 equal to London, but steps are much required to be taken to bring the candidates  
 together to be taught and trained by eminent men in a methodical way, but with-  
 out enforced residence or any very strict discipline.

#### XIV.

From H J SPARKS, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, to the Offi- No 292  
 ciating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,—No 3731, dated Lucknow,  
 the 9th August 1875

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your endorsements  
 \* No 16—1036, dated 23rd June noted in the margin, forwarding copy  
 † „ 17—1036, „ 3rd July of correspondence received from the Secre-  
 tary of State regarding the selection and training of candidates for  
 the Civil Service of India, and requesting the opinion of the Officiat-  
 ing Chief Commissioner, and a few specially selected officers, as to  
 the method in which candidates shall in the first instance be selected,  
 and as to the manner in which those who are selected shall be trained  
 for service in India.

2 In reply, I am directed to submit, for the information of His  
 Mr R M King, B A., dated 5th July Excellency the Governor General in  
 „ W Blennerhassett, „ 5th „ Council, copies of letters from the  
 „ H C Irwin, B A., „ 8th „ officers noted in the margin recording  
 „ R. F Gibbon, „ 11th „ their opinion on the subject, replies have  
 „ W C Bennett, „ 17th „ not yet been received from Messrs Capper and Harington.

3 The Officiating Chief Commissioner is of opinion that under  
 the present system we get very good men, and he would not make  
 any change in the examination or in the age of candidates, but he  
 thinks that it would be better for the successful candidates to pass  
 the two years they have to spend in England, after passing the first  
 examination, at one of the universities, or at a special college if this  
 could be arranged, rather than in London with no one to look after  
 them.

4 The measures to be taken with regard to the selection and  
 training of candidates in England is, however, a question of second-

\* See page 52,

† See page 54.

ary importance compared with the necessity for improving the prospects of the service out here, for, if this is not done, it is vain to expect that first class men will continue to come forward as competitors

5 Promotion is now retarded—

1st, by appointments formerly held by covenanted civilians being given to others,

2nd, by men staying in the service longer than they used to do, and

3rd, by the number in the subordinate grades being too large

6 Formerly every member of the Civil Service was certain from his own or his friends' influence with the Court of Directors to get his sons provided for by the time they were eighteen or twenty years of age either in the Civil Service or Army out here. He can now no longer look to this, but must in most cases support them till they are twenty-four or twenty-five, and then has in most cases to give them some capital to start with. This of itself, without taking into account the greatly increased expense of living both in India and in England, must keep married men—and most men marry now—longer in the service than formerly

7 Thus promotion would be slower now than it was formerly, even had the same proportion between the junior and senior ranks been kept up, but this has not been done. Many more men are now sent out than formerly. When the Officiating Chief Commissioner was posted to Bareilly on first entering the service, he was the only assistant in the Rohilkhund Division, and as far as he recollects he was about the 100th civilian on the list. The number of civilians in the North-Western Provinces is now 187, although the whole of the Delhi Division has been transferred to the Punjab, in 1858 the number of civilians attached to the North-Western Provinces, Punjab and Oudh, was 213, on the 1st July last there were 358

8 District work has no doubt largely increased lately, and the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code make more men necessary to carry it on than formerly, but the greater part of this work might be as well done by Native Deputy Collectors on salaries of ₹250 or ₹300 a month as by covenanted civilians. The Officiating Chief Commissioner would therefore greatly reduce the number of civilians sent out from England and largely increase the subordinate Native agency

9 If this were done, and the junior grades of the Civil Service brought into proper proportion in point of numbers with the higher, the work of the Government would be carried on quite as well as it is now, while the general mass of the Civil Service would be made contented by promotion being quickened. The great prizes which the service undoubtedly offers would still be open to the fortunate few, and would serve as attractions to bring first class men into it

From R. M. KING, Esq., Deputy Commissioner, Fyzabad, to the Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh,—dated Mussorie, the 5th July 1875 No 293

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter\* No 3007, dated 29th June 1875 (received 3rd July), forwarding a copy of correspondence† between the Secretary of State for India, the Civil Service Commissioners and others regarding the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India

2 My opinion is asked on three points. The first is “as to the age up to which it is desirable that candidates for the examination should be admitted,” and I consider this first

The fixed limits within which range is possible are the maximum age laid down by the Government of India for officers landing in India, *viz.*, 24 years, and the earliest age yet proposed for candidates, *viz.*, 17 years

There is nowhere in the correspondence I have read any sign of the Government of India being willing to increase the maximum age of 24, nor has anybody

\* Not printed

† See page 1

ever suggested that candidates should be under 17 years, so I take these limits as No 293 fixed maximum and minimum, and the question is, what ages within these limits may be fixed for the first and final examination.

3 The university authorities, the Dean of Christ Church, and the Master of Balliol, who agree in their desire to attract Indian candidates to the university, differ in their opinions in the point of age. The Dean suggests that the maximum age of candidates (which is now 21 years) should be reduced to 18, or at most 19, and the object is that, after election, the candidate may pass the ordinary university course.

The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge merely advocates the advantages of a residence at his university without suggesting any changes in existing arrangements, and the Master of Balliol, condemning the Dean's proposal, urges the extension of the limit of age to 22 in cases where a candidate "has passed an examination in law, political economy, and some Indian language." This examination, I presume, is to be at the university (though it is not so stated), as the professed object of the proposal is to induce as many university men as possible to compete.

The Dean wants to get successful candidates to the university; the Master of Balliol wants to get the Indian Government to select its officers from the university students.

4. Premising that, in my opinion, it is not at all advisable that officers who are at once to discharge the duty of Assistant Magistrates should come out earlier than at the age of 24, it is manifestly the best course to make the limits of age for candidates as wide as is possible consistently with their final examination, and therefore I would extend the limit of a competitor to 22, and if the proposal of the Master of Balliol is considered feasible (a point on which, as I do not clearly understand it, I can give no opinion), I would extend the limit to 22½ years.

5 The second point to be considered is "the training at home after the first examination is passed."

This depends so intimately on the first point that the major part of it is disposed of when the question of the age of candidates is fixed.

You cannot of course control candidates before the first examination, and after it there is but a short time, *viz*, 1½ years, during which the eldest of the selected candidates will stay in England.

6 The present system, which is to let them stay where they like so long as they attend law courts, leads apparently to residence in or near London, and is objected to, 1st, that the men are without superintendance, and, 2nd, that they have no common bond of any kind, or knowledge of one another—a want which is deemed to be a defect.

7. I have no doubt that it would be beneficial to many men who have never been at a large school or a college to go through a period of residence at one of the chief universities of England, Scotland, or Ireland, and I think that the allowance which selected candidates receive during their preparation for the final examination might reasonably be made conditional on such residence. The universities or colleges must, perhaps, undertake to supply the means of acquiring knowledge of the matters which form the subject of the final examination, but they will not be, I think, the only sources of instruction.

8 It is idle, especially for the university authorities, to protest against cramming. It is not the university professor or the college tutor who turns out senior wranglers and 1st class men at Cambridge and Oxford, but a few well known 'coaches.' It must rest with the examiners to guard against shallowness, which is implicitly objected to in the condemnation of "cramming", and from the correspondence forwarded it seems that they are quite alive to this part of their duty. Candidates *will* go to those in whom they feel confidence, and they do this now whether they reside at London, Oxford, or Cambridge.

I am very strongly of opinion that the main practical result of making the receipt of an allowance conditional on residence in a certain college, will be to collect the 'coaches' round those colleges, and so long as the candidates get the advantages of supervision and residence, I see no object in putting any further restrictions on their movements. It is not for the sake of education, save indirectly, *viz*, the indirect advantages of association and culture, that I would insist on the above condition.

If the universities undertake to instruct in the special subjects required for the final examination, I think they ought to examine in them, and confer a degree for proficiency in them, and I see no objection to this if the universities will undertake the duty.

9 As to the subjects of the final examination, I would exclude *special* laws or codes from the list. All civilians have to pass an examination after they have worked for a year or two in the country in the criminal and civil codes, law of

contracts, &c, and for the final test, Hindu and Mahomedan law is a sufficiently special study for their career. The other subjects I would leave as they are. No. 293.

10 I now come to the third point in your letter, *viz*, "whether successful candidates would take advantage of being able to complete the university course if this advantage were open to them."

In order to answer this question it is necessary to discover what the advantage referred to amounts to. The Indian Government offers none that I am aware of, and, considering the small amount of Latin, Greek, Arithmetic, and Logic which will suffice for an ordinary degree, it is impossible to believe that credit for the amount of learning vouched for by the degree can be any advantage.

The letters B A. or M A. do not show whether the graduate passed in honours as a first class or in an ordinary degree, and the advantage derived from them, if any, is, I imagine, that they vouch for a residence at the university. I admit this is a desirable advantage, and it is to enable candidates to secure this that I advocate the extension of the age of entrance to the utmost limits. Dr. Jowett (Master of Balliol) shews that when the limit was 22 years, two-fifths of the candidates were selected from Oxford and Cambridge alone, and I see no reason to believe that the same causes will not produce the same results as before.

11. If the limits of age are such as to enable university students to compete, they will (always supposing the prize worth their winning) compete, and whether they complete their university course or no, it will not matter, as they will have had the advantage of university education and residence, although they may not have acquired the right to notify the fact by the addition of B.A. or M.A. to their names.

After all, the great object is to attract good men into the service, and the result is as yet, on the whole, to be tolerably successful, and if there is any value in general testimony, the candidates in the earlier years were as good as in any of the middle or later periods, and the more the whole of the circumstances are made to resemble those under which the competitive system opened, the better.

12 While on this subject, although it is not referred to in your letter, I cannot help referring to the greatest cause of all instrumental in procuring for the Indian Government the best servants—I mean the *value and certainty* of an Indian civil career. I trust to this importance of this part of the subject being my excuse, while, in concluding this somewhat long letter, I make a few observations on this head.

While the Haileybury system lasted, and the Court of Directors had such a large share, as they always practically had, of the patronage of appointments, not only to the service but in India, it was, of course, natural that the same influence which made the nomination to Haileybury should preside over the future career of the nominee. Thus the then civilians had but little to fear in the way of rivalry, and though many military officers, being either Haileybury rejections or otherwise proteges of the Directors, could and did share a large amount of the patronage, they had only that share which the Civil Service could well spare, and it was not allowed to encroach to any considerable extent on the large field reserved to the more favoured and more deserving civil branch.

13 But when competition superseded nomination, this was at once reversed. The tendency then naturally was for every wielder of patronage in India to use it for those who were non-competitors, and to discover in what directions it might be exerted for the benefit of military and uncovenanted officers. Circumstances, *viz.*, the mutiny, which left numbers of military officers without active employment, and the extension of civil appointments (such as the police, &c.) to a great extent justified and palliated the step, and if the supply of civilians from home had been diminished proportionally to the exercise of this patronage in India, or if the fundamental rule of half civil and half military commissions in the Non-Regulation Provinces had been observed, probably no great harm would have been done to the civilians.

The result has, however, been that the prospects of a very considerable number of civilians in the Indian service have become very bad. What *was* always the certainty of a very good professional career, has become almost the *certainty* of a *bad* career in a pecuniary point of view. This has been proved by facts and figures and cannot now be denied, and it is to this damaged career that I attribute the fall-off in the competition on the part of first rate men.

14 Let the Indian civil career be recognised as a *profession*, and be secured, as other professions are, from intrusion by outsiders, and it will command a supply of good men, and the best steps I can recommend for elevating and improving the competitors for the service, and, therefore, the service itself, are those which will compensate the present sufferers for the loss of prospects, and further defines strictly the appointments which shall be reserved to the civilian.

From W BLENNERHASSETT, Esq., Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Hurdai, to the Officiating No 293  
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh,—No 1511, dated Hurdai, the 6th July 1875

I have the honour to reply to your No 3007,\* dated 29th June 1875, and to furnish my opinion on the points mentioned therein

2 Two objections have been raised against the present system of training the selected candidates for the Civil Services in England

1st, that the advantages of the system are gained at the expense of all moral securities,

2ndly, that the present system produces no *esprit de corps* among the candidates so trained

To remedy these alleged faults in the present system, it has been proposed to train the selected candidates either at a special college to be founded for the purpose, or at one of the universities under special or general conditions, and in order to perfect two of the proposed remedies, a change in the present limits of age for the competitive examination has been suggested

3 The present system of training with some modifications has been in force nearly 20 years, and in common fairness it lies on those who now assail it to prove the defects which they allege before proceeding to suggest radical changes therein.

4 To take the first charge—that of immorality If profligacy, dishonourable actions, and immorality are rife under the present system, these matters, appertaining to the region of the past, should easily be proved by direct testimony, and there should be no delicacy about doing so if the interest of the country demand it, they are not matters for conjecture or *a priori* argument

5 The charge, however, has been made, and the remedy proposed, apparently without any evidence having been produced in support of the charge On the other hand, the Civil Service Commissioners have produced weighty arguments and sound testimony in disproof of the charge, and their view of the case appears to me in the main correct I do not think a profligate or dishonourable man has sufficient self-control to pass an examination which requires so much close application I think the intellectual test is also the best moral test that can be devised

6 I don't think that the alleged want of *esprit de corps* is a matter of importance The "knowledge of the habits and characters of contemporaries" can hardly be said to be "of the greatest importance" when it is considered that a civilian meets a contemporary perhaps less frequently than he does any other person, his contemporaries being stationed all over India I question if "community of tastes and interest and common traditions" can be easily acquired by the means proposed, or, when acquired, would be of the value supposed.

7 I am not therefore prepared to recommend any changes either in the present system of training at home after the first examination is passed, nor in the present limits of age for the first examination

8 As to the third point contained in your letter under reply, I think it very probable that successful candidates who are near the close of the university course at the time of passing the examination would take advantage of any opportunity of completing the course

From H. C IRWIN, Esq., Assistant Commissioner, Bharach, to the Officiating Secretary to the  
Chief Commissioner of Oudh,—dated Bharach, the 8th July 1875

I beg to acknowledge receipt of correspondence regarding selection and training of Civil Service candidates, and to submit

It only reached me this day, 8th July 1875. my opinion on the three points specially raised

1 As to limit of age of candidates for the  
open competition

I am very strongly of opinion that the age of admission should be raised to twenty-three, for I am sure that in no other way will an adequate proportion of Oxford and Cambridge men be obtained Many men at the university never make up their minds as to their career till they have taken their degrees, which they seldom do before the age of two and twenty We can never expect to get the very best men, from a literary point of view, from the universities, for these are generally studious, quiet men, who like the calm and security of a fellowship, which they can generally obtain without trouble But if the age were raised we might count on getting the men who have just failed to get fellowships, and a sprinkling of the more active minded and ambitious among the potential fellows who might prefer an Indian career to the life of an Oxford Don, and am quite sure that these candidates would be a better class of men than those we get at present, more cultivated, more matured and altogether more rationally minded

2. As to the training at home of selected candidates

This question is a good deal involved with the first I should be opposed to any exclusively college, residence at which should be compulsory I believe the uni-

\* Not printed.

versities are the best places selected candidates could live in during the term of pro- No 293  
 bation. But I think it would be a mistake to try to catch your candidate young,  
 at eighteen or nineteen, and then send him to the university for three years or so.  
 This seems to me the weak point of the well meaning proposals of the Oxford  
 Convocation, they begin at the wrong end. It would be much better to get men,  
 who have already taken their degrees, plenty of whom would be forthcoming if the  
 age were raised to twenty-three, and such men would naturally continue to reside at  
 the university. As for those candidates who did not come from the university, I  
 think the Civil Service Commissioners might advantageously *advise* them to select  
 Oxford or Cambridge as their place of residence, but it should not be compulsory on  
 them to do so. merit, from whatever quarter, should not be excluded. These non-  
 university candidates, however, must dispense with a degree. Their attention will  
 be too much absorbed with Indian subjects to allow them to think of it. As for  
 the examinations subsequent to the first or open competition, I should like to see  
 their number reduced from four to two, if not to one. Living in the ceaseless  
 shadow of an impending examination is ruinous to the nerves, and produces the  
 worst possible mental habits. There is no fear of men's not working hard enough,  
 they are much more likely to overdo it. I would also suggest that both in the first  
 and subsequent examinations, the number of questions a candidate is allowed to  
 answer, should be very much reduced. It is absurd to suppose that a dozen ques-  
 tions in literature or philosophy can be adequately answered in three hours. One  
 hour for each question should be the *minimum* time allowed. It is to the present  
 system of expecting a man to write answers to a dozen questions at the rate of a  
 quarter of an hour apiece, that I attribute the system of cramming, so much and so  
 justly complained of, both in the Civil Service and also in the university exam-  
 inations.

3 I dare say selected candidates would be willing enough to take their degrees  
 at the university, if they were put in the way of doing so. But this would involve  
 lowering the age of admission, instead of raising it, which I should regard as a fatal  
 mistake. A degree can't, if it is to mean anything, be taken in less than three  
 years at the least, and would on the supposition have to be given for a knowledge  
 of Urdu, Hindi, Indian history, geography, Indian law, a little jurisprudence and  
 political economy. I do not think it would be consistent with the dignity of the  
 university to grant a degree for knowledge of such subjects, though this is of  
 course a very minor objection. If candidates were caught young and sent up to  
 Oxford or Cambridge for three years, they would, I imagine, be very apt to form an  
 exclusive clique, and would thereby lose the great charm and benefit of university  
 life, the free association with men of all classes destined for all kinds of careers.  
 Men ought, in my opinion, to take their degrees before going up for the open  
 competition, and then continuing their residence at Oxford or Cambridge, devote  
 two years to Indian subjects. An occasional visit to London would amply suffice  
 for all the law reporting required. This I can say confidently from my own  
 experience.

This would not be so symmetrical a plan as that of a special college like  
 Haileybury, but it would involve less change in the existing system, would be more  
 elastic, and less exclusive, and would, I believe, provide a better class of men; than  
 any other scheme.

From R. F. GIBBON, Esq., Assistant Commissioner, Rai Bareh, to the Officiating Secretary to the  
 Chief Commissioner of Oudh,—dated Rai Bareh, the 11th July 1875

In reply to your letter\* No. 3007, dated Lucknow, the 26th June 1875, I have  
 the honour to submit my opinion on the following points with regard to the selection  
 and training of candidates for the Indian Civil Service, to which you specially in-  
 vited my attention —

I —Firstly —As to the age up to which it is desirable that candidates for the  
 first examination should be admitted

In my opinion the present limit of age (*i.e.*, the twenty-first birthday)  
 should be extended to the twenty-third birth-  
 day.  
 Suggestion

Two ancillary measures are needed, however, before the extension of the limit  
 of age can be productive of any good results. (1)—The limit of age must be  
 curtailed by two years, the nineteenth birthday, instead of the seventeenth, ought  
 to be fixed as the date at which the would-be-candidate is competent to compete.  
 (2)—The first examination must be altered in certain respects. Mr Lepel Griffin's  
 admirable suggestions in the *Fortnightly Review* for May 1875 embody most of the  
 needful reforms for the first examination.

*Specialties*, such as natural sciences and modern languages, must not be  
 encouraged at the expense of more solid attainments. All candidates should be  
 compelled to qualify in certain subjects.

More university students would present themselves for the Civil Service exam-  
 inations with better chances of success.

Results.

\* Not printed



The special training would be superseded by wider and more general system No 293 of education, for a larger number of the promising boys, who now leave school direct for the special training establishment, would avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them of going up to colleges

The knowledge of the candidates might not be more encyclopædic, but it would be certainly better digested, and more readily convertible into power than that of younger and specially trained men.

The candidates would have acquired some little knowledge of the world *in limine* and of themselves, and would be better able to judge for themselves of their fitness or incapacity for an Indian career

The service might lose a few infant phenomena, but in exchange it would gain a better average of man.

II—Secondly—The training at home after the first examination is passed

There are very few persons who have had any experience of the present system of training the selected candidates for the Indian Civil Service during the two years of probation in England, who are not thoroughly dissatisfied with the training and its results. Some persons more anxious for the moral condition of the probationers than for their mental advancement, cry out against the present system, because it subjects a number of young men to all the temptations of modern Babylon

These persons seem to forget that the temptations alluded to by them do not only exist in London—the universities themselves are not entirely free from them

The majesty of Proctor and Bulldogs does not remove the temptations themselves, indeed, it adds by its prohibitions some considerable zest to the yielding to these temptations. Weakness and depravity become at Oxford and Cambridge thanks to the Proctors high spirit and daring

The foundation of a Civil Service College at Oxford would hardly be successful as an educational measure (apart from the question of discipline).

The training required to fit a candidate for India is too technical to be included in the university curriculum

It will be impossible to combine training for India and a university education in the same course.

The education afforded by the universities is and ever should be of the broadest possible type.

The scheme originates no doubt in the desire of the Oxford authorities to maintain their boasted discipline over wayward youth

If the age of the selected candidate varies from 19 years to 24 years, the discipline of an Indian Civil Service College, situate elsewhere than at the universities, not to speak of its needlessness, would be little better than a name

As for the educational advantages possessed by a college, if it can be shown the same advantages can be enjoyed cheaper elsewhere, the educational argument will not hold water

The training required for the Indian Civil Service is not sufficiently technical to warrant a vast outlay like that expended on Cooper's Hill Engineering College by the Government of India, the residence at such a college would entail so much expense, as practically would place the Civil Service out of the reach of poorer competitors

London is the best place of residence, no doubt, for the selected candidates. The proximity of the law courts, the facilities for obtaining instruction in languages, the existence of good public libraries, and the possible cheapness of living, all join in giving London the pre-eminence over other places, and the Civil Service Commissioners point this out in their general instructions very rightly

(a)—I suggest that the residence in London be made compulsory on the part of the selected candidates for six months in the year

Suggestions

The residence in London could be so arranged as not to clash with the universities' final schools, while it coincided with sittings of the common law courts at *nis prius*. University students would thus be able to spend part of the year at college, and would have no difficulty in obtaining their degree, while they pursued the special course of study prescribed by the Civil Service Commissioners.

(b)—Instead of four examinations, two would be sufficient, to take place at the end of the first and second years of probation

(c)—During the compulsory residence of the candidates in London classes should be formed, Lecturers on Jurisprudence, Indian Law Evidence, Procedure Languages and Political Economy should be appointed, to be paid partly by the fees of the selected candidates, and partly out of the funds saved by the abolition of the two intermediate examinations. The lecture rooms might abut on the library in the India House or might be built at Common Row

(a)—The candidates would work much harder under this system, as they would be constantly brought into near contact with one another in the dialectics of the lecture room

Results

(b)—They would be able to refer their difficulties, which in subjects like Jurisprudence and Evidence, are not easily surmountable by the unaided efforts of the beginner, to competent teachers

(c)—They would obtain a far better training, they would have to read methodically and regularly to keep up with the lecture instead of by spurts. And to sum up the results. They would enjoy all the educational advantages afforded by a college like Haileybury or Cooper's Hill, without having to incur all the expense attendant upon a residence at an institution of that description, while at the same time they would derive the full benefit of the practical lessons to be taught by constant attendance at the law courts

III.—Thirdly—Whether successful candidates would be likely to take advantage of being able to complete the university course if this advantage was open to them

This will depend very much upon the facilities afforded to, or difficulties thrown in the way of the scheme above advocated (or any other scheme that the Government may adopt) by, the university authorities. Supposing the limit of age of admission to be 23 years, and that the number of intermediate examinations was reduced from 4 to 2, the selected candidate would have no difficulty in completing his course, when nearly finished. The university authorities might, on the condition that he completed his honour course, allow the successful candidate during the period of enforced residence in London (advocated by me above) to enjoy the emoluments which he had hitherto drawn from the society to which he belonged, and which can usually only be enjoyed during the residence of the scholar or exhibitioner at the university

Under these circumstances the selected candidate would no doubt avail himself of the opportunity of going in for the final schools thus afforded him.

But for candidates to avail themselves largely of the opportunity of finishing their university course, the opportunity must really be afforded them. To recapitulate—

(1)—The limit of age must be put forward so far as to allow the candidate to have nearly completed his course at the university before he obtains his probationary appointment, and this limit I fix at 23 years of age

(2)—The candidate must be relieved of the worry and disgust caused by the incessant examinations of the Civil Service Commissioners

(3)—The universities must be content to sacrifice their prejudices at the altar of patriotism, and consent to co-operate heartily in the Governmental scheme whatever may be

From W C BERRY, Esq., Officiating Settlement Officer of Gonda, to the Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh,—dated Gonda, the 17th July 1875

You do me the honour of calling for my opinion on three points connected with the selection and training of members of the Indian Civil Service

I—The age up to which is it desirable that candidates for the first examination should be admitted

II—The training at home after the first examination is passed.

III—Whether successful candidates would be likely to take advantage of being able to complete their university course, if this advantage was open to them

There are two points to be considered in answering your first question the age at which the best candidates are likely to be secured, and the age at which it is desirable that Indian civil servants should commence their official career, and though a number of subordinate considerations should be borne in mind, there can be little doubt that the decision on both points depends mainly on the value of the prize competed for. That that value has undergone great alterations since the introduction of the competitive system is beyond controversy, as well as its liability to be affected in future by the measures of Government

Before, however, treating the question from this point of view, I wish, to refer shortly to some other considerations,—

The first is whether a candidate is better or worse fitted for his work intellectually if he commences it early or somewhat late. This depends mainly on the character of his previous education, and if the present rapid spread of the so-called cramming system is to continue, it requires little boldness to say that the further the age of election is thrown back the better. The time for acquiring knowledge on subjects important to the career would be extended, and the mind enter on the study younger and with less of the bias of special previous training. If on the

contrary the candidate's education is to be of the ordinary liberal type, he gains an inestimable advantage by remaining in England till his twenty-third to twenty-fourth year. Between eighteen or twenty-four he lays in a stock of ideas from contact with the eager intellectual minds of men of the same age which are inaccessible to ordinary boyhood, which no formal instruction can communicate, and which are of priceless value in moulding his views in after life No 293.

To take, secondly, the examiner's point of view It certainly facilitates selection to have grown minds to choose between, and if this were the sole object, the present limit should not be lowered It is, however, doubtful whether the selection can ever be free of mistakes, and difficult to say whether the error would be much increased by an alteration of one or two years in the age of candidates

It has been stated that parents are more willing to part with their children when they have reached majority than they are one or two years earlier, and that to lower the limit of age would lessen the number of candidates. On this point I think that the reluctance would vary inversely with the strength of the opposing motive, and the better the career promised their children, the less difficulty would there be in the separation It should further be remembered that early manhood is above all the age of rapidly extinguished ambitions. Many a boy who at eighteen expected to be near the Senior Wranglership has within the next three years abandoned all hope of exceptional distinction, and the ranks of candidates at the later limit are swollen by a crowd of partial failures, who, if they make the competition close, are not really of a higher calibre than the men who would have been chosen at an earlier age from a smaller field

But the decision of the question really depend on the value of the prize offered, or, what is nearly the same thing, the number of years of service after which an Indian civil servant in the ordinary line may expect to get charge of a district, and it is impossible to deal with this point without considering shortly what are the conditions of rapid promotion, in order that by forecasting the future, we may choose the best course for the present Leaving out exceptional disturbances, such as mutiny or pestilence, promotion in the ordinary line depends on the proportion borne by the number of assistants to the number of district officers, and to a less degree, the proportion of the number of district appointments to that of more highly paid posts. Unless more assistants were appointed to the North-Western Provinces than the public service required, the present block would have occurred under any circumstances, but this Province, where the same complications do not occur, presents a fairer illustration There are not here even as many assistants as the work to be done demands, and yet so large a proportion do they bear to the number of Deputy Commissioners, that it seems almost impossible that those at the bottom of the list should, in the ordinary course of things, rise to the permanent charge of a district till quite the end of their career If this state of things were unremediable I should at once proceed to discuss the age of candidates on the supposition that the appointments for which they were to be selected were of comparatively small value, but the remedy seems to me so obvious, and so easy of application, that I do not despair of seeing it adopted, and it may be worth while to regard the question from the opposite point of view Without going into the subject at length, I may be allowed to say that the remedy to which I refer is to reduce the number of selections for the service, and make the lowest appointment to be held exclusively by covenanted officers that of a District Magistrate, while the assistantships should be filled up by covenanted civilians who are learning their work, and uncovenanted officers, who would accept the promotion with gratitude, and be unable to complain at not being further promoted to posts expressly reserved by law for a selected service

If the Civil Service is to remain as it is at present, there is hardly any argument which does not point to as early an age as possible for the selection of candidates From the home point of view the appointments will not compete with university fellowships, posts on the staffs of newspapers, masterships at schools, the chance of distinction at the bar, and all the numerous positions of moderate comfort which are open to brains a little above the average, or a small capital in money No one, unless prompted by a rare and unreflecting enthusiasm, would leave any tolerably attractive career in his own country for a life, which, in the absence of exceptional luck, must be one of pecuniary difficulty for an indefinite period, unredeemed by power or recognized responsibility, in a strange land and trying climate. At the age of twenty-one a man generally knows with some certainty what he may expect at home, and only those men will select an Indian career of poor promise to whom their home future promises nothing The candidates will generally be of the second class of intellect, and brilliant exceptions will be uncommon If, on the contrary, candidates were examined at eighteen, there is no reason for supposing that the average would be lower, while there would be a much better chance of attracting able men whose talents were late in development, or whose poverty prevented them from paying a wager in the expense of a prolonged education, the issue of which was not to be known till three years later

Another consideration deserves to be insisted on. The difficulty of examination papers must depend on the calibre of the men examined, or they would be no test. The easier the examination, the more profitable is cramming. The lower the value of Indian appointments, the lower will be the calibre of candidates. If, therefore, the value of the price offered be low, it may be expected that the system of preparation by cramming will become nearly universal. To my own mind the absolute necessity, if good men in after life are wanted, of arresting that particular style of education at as early an age as possible, is so clear as to want no proof. It would therefore be a very great advantage to future candidates to have the examination for appointments early, and it might be followed by a special training on principles to be determined independently.

If the career in India only be considered, and promotion remain as slow as it must be under the present system, every year by which the time of joining is thrown back is a distinct loss both to the service and the servant. To the service because either a system of promotion to the higher posts must be adopted, which by its entire disregard of the claims of seniority cannot fail to cause general and deserved discontent, or those appointments must be as a rule filled by men whose energy has been sapped by a long exposure to the climate, and whose ambition is blunted by the knowledge that a very few years must see their compulsory retirement. To the servant, because the disgust of long waiting is doubly intensified by the knowledge that when promotion does come it will find him a comparatively old man, and because, if the present non-regulation system be maintained, and it has advantages which would make its total abolition a thing much to be regretted, he will often be called on to serve under men, his juniors in age, who, however great their merits, have obtained their places without any of the hard work and expense which his own cost him. If on the contrary the value of Indian appointments be raised till they could compete with, say, a college fellowship, all these considerations lose their force, and our Government would be able to command the services of the best men prepared for their work by a good education. In the first place, allowing eight years, and I think this will be considered generally sufficient, for the necessary apprenticeship in the lower grades, the civilian need not begin his work till about his twenty-fourth or even twenty-fifth birthday, and when his promotion came, would take charge of his first district in the prime of his life and energy, in the second, the improvement in the calibre of candidates would admit of a higher standard of examination papers, and a severe blow would be struck at cramming. We should not only get better men, but what is of equal or greater importance, men better educated. The later the age to which the examinations were postponed with more force would these considerations tell and the more certain would be the work of selection. If the number of appointments were reduced, the attraction would be increased not only by their enhanced value, but by the greater difficulty, and consequent distinction of success.

I now proceed to your second question, the answer to which depends chiefly on two considerations, the age at which the men are selected, and their previous education. And as I fear being misunderstood more than being tedious, I must first attempt to define, not perhaps adequately, but at sufficient length, to make my meaning clear, what I understand by cramming, and I do so with less reluctance, because it appears to me that some confusion exists in the opinions commonly entertained on the subject. There are then three general objects with which a man may study, one is the acquisition of knowledge, another the cultivation of his intellect or taste, or both, and the third to excel other men in answering examination papers. Exclusive devotion to any one of these aims necessarily hinders a man's progress towards the others. Any one who devotes himself conscientiously to the first must take up one subject only and attempt to master that, and if possible advance his science beyond the point at which he found it. Mr Sayce, the Assyriologist, is a distinguished example of this class of student, and the views on education which he expresses in his valuable article on examinations in the *Fortnightly Review* of last month, seem to me to take too little account of the second class of students. While agreeing with him to the very full in the unfavourable view he takes of the examination system, I think that for the ends of culture the University Curriculum errs as much on the side of narrowness, as it does on the other side, if the acquisition of knowledge be the object.

It is impossible in a note like this to give a description of the training required for general culture. Intellectual exercises to make the reason clear and certain take the first place, and hardly less valuable a general acquaintance with the highest thoughts and modes of thinking of the leaders past and present of our species. Logic and Mathematics are the most obvious instruments for the first, and languages, especially Greek and Latin, for the second, but it is not necessary that the student should make himself an authority in a province, and he acquires knowledge only as a means towards the development of his own powers.

In order to succeed with the third object in view, it is primarily necessary that a man should cultivate his memory as assiduously as possible in order to lay in the largest stock of the facts and opinions which may be useful, and those only, in

the examination for which he is reading. Any exclusive pursuit of one branch of knowledge would be waste of time, as the specialist is hardly likely to succeed where so many subjects are taken up, and devotion to culture for its own sake must put him at a disadvantage when competing with a man of equal abilities who has never yielded to that weakness.

Mr Sayce instances the fact that when Mr Max Muller offered lectures on the *Rig Veda* at Oxford, he had no audience, but though this was unquestionably discredit to the university as a seat of learning, it hardly carried so severe a condemnation to it as a seat of culture, as the fact that, when I was there only two under-graduates were found to attend the same Professor's eloquent lectures on the philosophy of Kant. Still from the point of view of candidates for honours the under-graduates were right. The time so spent might have added indefinitely to the general culture of their minds, but it could have told little in the examination, and unless they would accept the risk of being beaten there by steadier and more consistent rivals, they simply could not afford it. The fact, that in order to be successful in a hard fought competitive examination you must take the greater part of your reading at second hand, is too well known both at Oxford and in Victoria Street, to require being dwelt on. Mr Sayce laments over the condensed extract of note books on which the student of philosophy is fed, and the man whom the Civil Service examination stamped as the best English scholar of my year had not read as many English authors as an ordinarily well taught young lady of seventeen.

The object of these cursory remarks on a subject of the greatest importance and intricacy is to illustrate the proposition that the true differentia of any kind of training is the conscious aim it has in view, and that its whole course is moulded and determined by that aim. It follows that it is useless and illogical to attempt to compare different systems of education merely by a comparison of the men turned out by each, and still more illogical, to compare the men by their performances in an examination which has been the conscious end of the education of one class of competitors only. To take stock of two sets of men, and say conclusively that one is better than another, may be a very difficult task, but there can be no difficulty whatever in comparing the aims with which men are educated, and using the comparison to form a completely trustworthy judgment on the education itself. With this in mind it is easy to dispose of some of the arguments which have been employed to support the present system. Of course men from the great cramming establishments will beat university men of equal calibre in every subject, because not only have the latter been drawn aside by the pursuit of culture, but even when reading for an examination, it has not been the same examination, the papers in moderations differ considerably in style from those set to candidates for the Indian Civil Service. But even if the university man has not only been beaten, but was inferior in brains to begin with, it is none the less certain that he has had a better education than the other, if it was directed by a better aim.

Again, it need not be denied that the competition system results generally in the selection of the best men, though it does give an undue advantage to memory, and yet there can be no doubt that the best men, as well as the worst, have been submitted to a training whose object renders it pernicious to the student, and the true gravamen of the charge against it is not that it selects the worst men, but that it spoils the best.

The practical application of these views is much more easy than their statement. Allowing the German Universities to be unrivalled as nurseries of learning I think it may fairly be claimed for the English Universities that they are pre-eminent among all the educational institutions of the world in the pursuit of culture. Finally, there is no system of education on the face of the globe so concentrated on the passing of an examination as that by which students are crammed for the Indian Civil Service. The whole aim in view has been attained as soon as that examination has been passed, and nothing remains to the student but a memory, unnaturally stimulated at the expense of the other mental faculties, and as certain to return before long to its original dimensions as muscle abnormally developed by ill directed gymnastics.

Now what is wanted for a public servant every where, and more than any where here, is an education to perfect all his faculties, and that aim should be set before him as early and as persistently as possible. There is no place where that aim is so clearly recognized as at the universities. In spite of the pernicious cramming for honours which goes on even there, culture is the real aim for which every student imagines that he is working, and if it were once clearly understood that the examination system conflicted with that aim, examinations would be doomed.

The Union Society, the various Essay Clubs, the wide range of studies, the eagerness with which most political and scientific problems are welcomed and canvassed, render it almost impossible at present for any but a very few to give their minds over entirely to the degrading pursuit of a money prize, which is the real meaning of the competition fever, and selected candidates for the Civil Service would

be in a position to take advantage of all the benefits, without being exposed to the intellectual dangers of the place. If they were bound not to throw up the Indian service, the further examinations for that might be made so severe, without being unfairly so to the less able candidates, as to make it impossible for any but a very few exceptional men to compete at the regular examinations, with students who have made those their sole object. It can easily be proved that a mere pass examination, such as the further examinations for the Civil Service, is almost free from the objections which are justly urged against competition.

I have already pointed out that we may expect that the men of moderate ability, who will be attracted by a prize of comparatively small value, will almost invariably be prepared specially for the first examination, that is to say, crammed. It follows that, in my opinion, the best thing that can be done for them would be to select them as young as possible, and send them for a three years' course of instruction to a college specially founded for them at Oxford or Cambridge. Besides the purely educational advantages, in the usual restricted sense of the word education they would benefit greatly by being brought together before they are scattered as officials all over the Indian continent, and by being preserved from the dangers of contact with society of a low class, to which a life in London unquestionably exposes men, who are often too young, to be able to distinguish accurately between good and bad tone.

There are a few subordinate objections which hardly deserve notice. Abstracting proceedings of the law courts is perhaps the most valuable part of the special education of the selected candidate, but any one who urges that it is incompatible with an education at the university can hardly have given the subject the attention it deserves.

As long as he satisfied his examiners at the periodical examinations, it should not be compulsory for a selected candidate to reside out of term, but he should have the option of doing so, and in his position would probably often avail himself of it. A scholarship of £100 or £150 per annum should be allowed him, the instalments to be paid on the examiner's certificate after each half-yearly examination.

The above recommendations are made on the supposition that no alteration will be made in the present value of the appointments unless in the direction of depreciation. Should the value rise, I would, for reasons given above, postpone the limit for selection to the end of the twenty-second year. The really good men then attracted would rarely submit to cramming for the Civil Service, and the increased difficulty of the examinations would make it hard for crammers to fit men of somewhat inferior powers to meet them on even terms. To fix the age limit earlier, would deter a considerable number of men to whom the glories of a successful university career present an attraction hardly inferior to the pecuniary value of the appointments offered. Appointments they would gladly take after having proved their strength to the friends at home, of the subsequent education of men of this class, it is unnecessary to be very careful. They might generally be left to do the best for themselves, and I should advocate no change in the present system except that the Civil Service Commissioners should alter the times of their subsequent examinations, and give their selected candidates perfect freedom to complete their university career if they wish to do so.

Your third question may be answered in the affirmative without much argument. A plain university degree is no great honour, but it is a certificate of the best education the country can provide, and is sought by thousands who never dream of honours. In this country where a man's antecedents are little known to the new society into which he is cast, it is likely to be even unduly valued. The service lost the ablest man of my own year, because permission to complete the little of his university career that was remaining was refused him.

You will see that I have been unable to answer your first two questions categorically, and if my remarks have grown to some length, the issues are wide, and the subject of the highest importance. My conclusions are shortly these. If the present numerical proportion between assistantships and district magistracies is maintained, and the former as well as the latter are all to be filled by men selected by competition at home, promotion must necessarily be so slow as to render the appointments of comparatively little value, and first class men will seldom compete. Under these circumstances it would be the wisest course to make the nineteenth birth day the age limit for the first examination, and after giving the selected candidates, who should be bound in a fine not to throw up the service, a special education, the best seat for which would be the English universities, send them to join their appointments at some time not later than their twenty-second birth-day. My reasons are—

(1) That at eighteen the best men have not been so completely sifted out of the mass as at twenty-one.

(2) A number of good men who compete, whose means would not allow them to continue an expensive education for three years more on speculation, and who would otherwise have gone into other professions.

(3) That not only better men would be selected, but they would be better No 293 educated than if their cramming, and with second class papers cramming must succeed, had gone on till they were three years older

(4) That with slow promotion it is of the greatest importance, both to the Indian Government and to the men themselves, that officers should be as young as possible.

If, on the other hand, steps be taken to raise the value of the prize competed for, and few things can be of more importance to the good government of the country, the best men will be necessarily attracted, and the first two considerations fall to the ground at once. Cramming will lose so much as almost to destroy the force of the third argument, while the fourth has no force at all if promotion is to come early. The limit of age at the first examination might be raised one year, and no alteration need be made in the present system of subsequent training, except so to time the examinations as to allow university men to take their degree.

In a word the depreciation of the appointments is the direct cause of the success of cramming, and the only means of defeating that most pernicious style of education, are either to increase the value of the prize or to take the candidates early and give them a special education.

## XV.

From H J SPARKS, Esq, Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, to the No 294  
Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,—No 3814, dated  
Lucknow, the 14th August 1875

In continuation of my letter\* No 3731, dated 9th instant, I am directed to forward the accompanying copy of a letter from Mr Capper, Commissioner, Fyzabad Division, giving his opinion regarding the selection and training of candidates for the Indian Civil Service

From W C CAPPER, Esq, Commissioner of the Fyzabad Division, to the Officiating Secretary No 295  
to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh,—No 4070, dated Fyzabad, the 11th August 1875

With reference to your No 3007† of 29th June, I find it impossible to find time to go closely into the subject, but I would offer a few general remarks derived from experience. I think that in a certain sense the problem is how to attract to the Covenanted Civil Service the greatest number of highly educated and able young men, but we must be agreed as to what we mean by education. At the best, after all has been done that can be done in England, the young civilian when he arrives in this country, is for all but Secretariat purposes an ignorant tyro, with the practical part of his education still to be achieved. And if his education has consisted in being selected as the clever boy of the family, for whose sake others must be sacrificed, in being petted at home and made much of by masters to whom his success is a profitable advertisement,—or if he has honestly achieved conspicuous excellence in any branch of learning, and has acquired a special interest in that branch, and has felt that his intellectual acquirements are recognized by those among whom he habitually moves,—he is too often, as a result of his excellence, unfitted for the routine drudgery on which on arrival he can only be profitably employed, and which, indeed, in any case must be done by the junior members of the service.

2 Tact, keen sympathies, quickness of resource, constitutional cheerfulness and versatility, physical power and active habits, and above all discipline and gentlemanly manners with generosity, are what are required in the leading class of the foreigners who, few in number, have to rule the quick-sighted and quick-witted Natives, to whom *izzat* or personal dignity, protected by punctilious forms, are as the very breath of life.

3 I have not seen sufficient numbers of those admitted by competition to form a decided opinion as to their merits as compared with those civil servants who passed through Haileybury, but judging from those I have seen, I should say that, as a whole, in intellectual ability and average amount of book learning, they are superior to the Haileybury men, whilst, with the exception of the first few batches, they are less useful for general purposes, and that the periodical batches are steadily decreasing in efficiency, whilst some individuals creep in whose whole life creates a scandal, which would be impossible had they been compelled to pass a preparatory period under discipline, and in the immediate companionship of those who precede, accompany, and succeed them in their career.

4 I think that the points to be looked at are to catch your men when the mind is still ductile and discipline can be inculcated, to arrange that those who pass the preliminary examination shall not be graded, so far as can ever be known to them or to their tutors, that during their subsequent special training they shall

\* See page 248

† Not printed.



be under discipline, that the examinations during that period shall be pass-examinations sufficient to assure due attention to studies, but not competitive, and that the last examination alone shall be competitive No 295

5 To the 1st condition it may be objected that, unless the presidency to which the candidate is to be sent is decided at an earlier stage, it will be impossible for him to devote his time to the special languages of that presidency. I reply that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the result of the instruction in Oriental languages at home is of limited benefit to the young officer when he commences work in this country. Persian, Sanskrit, Arabic or Urdu will give the student a certain familiarity with the character and the grammar, and a portion of the vocabulary of the language, but the language, which in his ordinary work he has to listen to and to use, can only be acquired by ordinary English lads out here. Whilst I fail to see any particular good in teaching the student what is chiefly useful to enable the student to take the prizes for High Proficiency in a style of language which, immediately he has pocketed the coin, he does his best to forget. The one great want, the important requirements in which Haileybury and competition men with very few exceptions alike fail, is calligraphy of the Native character, and that does not seem to be taught.

6 The inadvisability of repeated competitive examinations among lads whose relative positions in the service must ultimately depend on circumstances totally irrespective of their positions as boys in this contest of memories has been abundantly shown. In the end it must lead to a cry against Government of injustice and a demand for a seniority promotion, or for wages based on length of service, which no sane Government would listen to, and yet which might be enforced on them by external pressure. Some of the ablest and most successful of men I know have had the lowest place, and been reckoned the least able among their contemporaries when lads.

7 The published list of successful candidates at the entrance examination should be alphabetical, in order to stop the advertising of successful tutors, and because the relative place thus obtained is but a very poor test of the relative capabilities of the boys. It is true that in this way jobbery might find a place, but individual examiners are already entrusted with the power of practically passing or rejecting the candidate by the marks they assign in  *viva voce*  examination, and I should say they might be unhesitatingly entrusted with the power of assigning among themselves the places of candidates to the extent of the number of vacancies announced and of then destroying the list, whilst, if it were thought absolutely necessary (which I can not see it is), they might publish a supplementary list of *proxi access* in order of merit.

8 Premising that habits of discipline of mind and body must be obtained, I would not allow candidates for the entrance examination who have completed their twentieth year. In ordinary appointments, which form the mass, an exceptionally able man is out of place, and to fill the few appointments where such are required, men have been as yet found in the mass who are as good as any such very able man is likely to be by the time his service entitles him to aspire to the appointment.

9 The training subsequently should be, if possible, together under a discipline analogous to that of a college, the mutual acquaintance of members of this service and the discipline of tradition is so valuable, that it should be attained at any cost. To my mind the only alternative is to have a pass-examination at the maximum age of 21, and a final competitive examination on special subjects one year later, the candidates for the pass-examination being required to produce the usual certificates as to physical and moral fitness.

## XVI

From LINDSAY NEILL, Esq., Officiating Assistant Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,—No 19, dated Pachmar, the 2nd August 1875 No. 296

I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to submit his opinion on certain questions connected with the selection and training of candidates for the Indian Civil Service, which was called for by your Office endorsement\* No. 16—1057, dated 23rd June

2 In accordance with the instructions conveyed in your †demiofficial letter of the same date, some *junior* civilians were furnished with copies of the papers, and their replies to the references are forwarded in original. The Chief Commissioner does not propose to offer any criticism on their papers, and I am merely to note that Messrs F C Anderson and A U. Fanshawe came to India in 1871, Mr R H Finch in 1872, Mr F C Berry in 1873, and Mr J. A. Jeffreys in 1874

\* See page 52

† Not printed

3 The method of selecting the candidates is the first point for consideration, and, as far as the Chief Commissioner can learn, no abandonment of the present system of competitive examination is contemplated, and there would only be a choice between it and a system of nomination, or a compromise between the two. A pure system of nomination would never, the Chief Commissioner believes, be accepted in England, but granting, for the sake of argument, that a return to such a system were seriously thought of, the question would at once arise as to who should nominate. The Court of Directors has passed away, the Secretary of State for India could not very well nominate, and public opinion would be too strong to permit any one else to do so.

Nor does a mixed system, that is, a compromise between nomination and pure competitive examination, seem a feasible plan. It may be argued that nomination of candidates, or approval of them, would prevent persons not belonging to the class of gentlemen from getting into the service, but the Chief Commissioner doubts whether such a result would be obtained. In the first place, he believes that former experience of patronage in England tells against this theory, and in the second place, he would ask that it should be borne in mind that the sons of gentlemen, or of persons belonging to the better classes, possess already advantages over the sons of poorer men. The latter are less likely to have within their reach the opportunity of a good education, they are less likely to be able to avail themselves to the fullest extent of such opportunity, and consequently they are less likely to succeed in a competitive examination.

If some do succeed, and undoubtedly some do, they are the exceptions to the rule, they are men who have merited their success, and who deserve to be admitted. Such men have always and at all times found admittance into the service of Government, and it is not desirable that they should be excluded.

4 The Chief Commissioner will then take it for granted that open competitive examination will continue to be the mode of selection, and the next question for consideration is, whether the examination is conducted in the best possible way, and whether the conditions on which candidates are allowed to present themselves are the most suitable that can be devised.

Now as to age, a candidate must now not be under 17 and not over 21 years of age.

On the one hand, it is proposed to lower the limit of age, so that selected candidates may pursue their studies at a university and obtain a degree. On the other hand, it is urged that the limit of age should be raised so as to permit of men who have studied at a university competing.

With the question of the age at which candidates should be selected in *England*, there has to be considered the question of the maximum age at which they should arrive in *India*.

It is apparently admitted by all that candidates for admission to the Indian Civil Service should have completed their *general* education before admission, and that thereafter their time and attention should be given to *special* training. The question then narrows itself as to the time at which it may be said that a good general education has been completed. The Chief Commissioner thinks that a good general education can scarcely be completed before the age of 18, and that many men would willingly pursue their general studies up to the age of 21 before addressing themselves to the special studies which are to fit them for professional life.

If competition is desirable or suitable as a test, it is well that the number of competitors should be as large as possible, and the wider the range of age is, the more numerous will the competitors be.

If, then, there were no age beyond which it were desirable to let young men enter on their duties in this country, 23 or 24 might not be an unsuitable age to fix as the maximum age of candidates. The Chief Commissioner, however, is of opinion that there is good reason to think 24 as high an age as it is desirable for a civilian to have reached by the time he first comes to India, and since two years' training in England are deemed essential, a maximum limit of 22 years might be fixed for candidates. No 296

The Chief Commissioner would then advocate raising the minimum of age by one year and enlarging the maximum by a similar term, and he is convinced that a range of age from 18 to 22 would be a move in the right direction. Precocious and immature boys would be excluded, while the raised limit would permit young men either to have finished their university studies or to have advanced in them to a point at which their prosecution and special attention to the Indian Civil Service examination would not clash.

5 On the next question, which is the subjects of the examination and the method of marking, the Chief Commissioner proposes to say very few words. He thinks that the Civil Service Commissioners have most conclusively shown that no suggestion that has been made would be an improvement; and that they have entirely disproved the assertion so often made that "cramming" is all-essential and all-powerful in these examinations. The statistics which the Commissioners give are against the theorists; and though it is undoubtedly true that many candidates do come from "crammers," yet it cannot be doubted that many of them would have passed even had they not gone there. So much has been written and said of such "crammers" that it has become the fashion to go to them, and men go there to make assurance doubly sure. The objection to crammers is in reality nothing else but an objection to the examiners and a charge against them of not knowing how to perform their duties and conduct an examination in such a way as to discern real from superficial knowledge. Yet the examiners appointed by the Civil Service Commissioners are men of eminence, and many of them are university examiners.

6. The third question is how should selected candidates be trained? Should they be allowed to go where they like, study where they please, and only appear at intervals to pass their periodical examinations; or should they be allowed to go to certain fixed universities, or be gathered together at one certain college? This is the point on which the correspondence originated, and it seems to the Chief Commissioner to be one on which different views may very well be held, and that good arguments can be advanced in support of such different views. The Chief Commissioner would promise that as an old Haileybury man he is inclined to regard with favour the proposal for a special college. At Haileybury constant intercourse and contact brought about growth of feeling and an *esprit de corps* which were not without their value; but the Chief Commissioner would guard himself against expecting that the traditions of Haileybury would exist, or that similar traditions would arise in a second Haileybury. It must not be overlooked that Haileybury was more or less a close institution; that the young men there generally had fathers, uncles or other relatives connected with India, and that in consequence the intimacy between such youths was much greater than it would be among the heterogeneous elements which now furnish the contingent for the Indian Civil Service.

On the other hand, there is much force in the arguments of the Civil Service Commissioners, that it is better to leave selected candidates uncontrolled and so teach them to exercise self-restraint; that it is well that they have learnt to look upon themselves as their own masters at home than become so for the first time in India; and better that they should have mixed freely with men of all classes and

ages than that they should only have lived amongst fellow Collegians No 296  
 These must be admitted as strong grounds for not interfering with the perfect liberty of selected candidates to go where it best suits them

The advantages which might be expected from a residence at the two great English universities are thus stated\* by the Reverend Doctor Jowett —

“If the selected candidates could be brought to Oxford and Cambridge, the service would greatly gain in popularity and in prestige. It would be much more attractive both to young men and to their parents. The name of a university degree and education would counterbalance the objections to India which are generally felt by those who have no Indian connections. The candidates would also have the more solid advantages of society and increased knowledge of the world. Without becoming a clique, they would become acquainted with one another,” &c

The Chief Commissioner cannot give his assent to what the Reverend Doctor Jowett says. In the first place, he much doubts whether a residence at a university would add prestige to the service and increase its popularity, nor is he disposed to consider that a degree carries with it the weight ascribed. His impressions are rather of a contrary kind, and he believes that a large class of educated men eschews our ancient universities and their methods of teaching. As for society and knowledge of the world, the Chief Commissioner would have thought that the latter most certainly would be better gained in the wide world than in the confined area of a university or college, and as to the former, he doubts very much whether in a college the unpolished and probably unpopular man would not be left alone and isolated.

The Chief Commissioner cannot therefore think that the arguments for selecting Oxford and Cambridge as the training fields for candidates are in any manner conclusive. The inducements which they hold out, or propose to hold out, to candidates in the shape of chairs for Indian subjects are inducements which some other universities or colleges already supply, and it would be undesirable to show in this respect a greater preference to the English than to the Scotch or Irish universities and colleges.

The advantages of a special college in *London* are greater. In the first place, as has already been said, there would result the growth of community of interest in such an institution, in the next place, *London* only offers constant and ample opportunities for the practical study of law and for attendance at the law courts (more experience of which, the Chief Commissioner thinks, is desirable), and lastly by a residence at *London* alone would it be possible for candidates to be called to the bar. As far as the Chief Commissioner's experience goes, he believes that candidates value more the title of Barrister-at-law than any university degree or honors.

Against a special college at *London*, the objections are that it would probably be unwise to compel all candidates to reside there, for to insist on this would be, first, unfair to institutions which have endowed chairs of Sanskrit, &c, &c, and, secondly, any such compulsion would deter candidates from the universities from competing, for study at a special college in *London* would interfere with the completion of their studies at the university. A special college for only a portion of the candidates would be a very partial measure, and one special drawback that it would have, and which might suffice alone to condemn it is, that candidates trained there would stand in a more favourable position than men who had continued at the universities.

On the whole, then, while the Chief Commissioner thinks that much may be said in favour of a special college in *London*, he sees difficulties in the way of carrying out such a scheme and cheerfully

\* See page 8

admits that the present system permits of greater variety of training No 296 and different experience of life among the young men who come out to India, and that it may not be desirable that they should all be cast in the same mould and educated in the same fashion. The present system has done well, and it would be unwise to exchange it for one which does not *for certain* offer greater advantages.

*Note by F. C. ANDERSON, Esq., on certain questions connected with the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India* No 297

I have been asked for my opinion on certain matters relating to the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India, which have recently formed the subject of correspondence between the India Office and the Civil Service Commission, with special reference to the following points —

- (1) As regards the training at home of candidates selected at the competitive examination.
- (2) As to the age at which it is desirable that candidates should be admitted to the competitive examination.
- (3) Whether successful candidates at the competitive examination would be likely to take advantage of being able to complete the university course if the opportunity were afforded them.

It may be convenient to refer to the matters dealt with in the correspondence alluded to in the order in which they are taken up by the Civil Service Commissioners in their letter\* of the 16th March last.

And, first, as regards the limits of age for admission to compete at the open examination. Since 1866 the inferior limit of age has been 17 and the superior limit 21, and under this arrangement the age at which civil servants actually enter upon their duties in India may vary from about 19½ years (if a candidate pass when he is just 17) to about 23½ years (if a candidate pass when on the verge of 21). It has, however, been proposed to reduce the superior limit to 18, or at the latest 19 years, and assuming the inferior limit fixed, say, at 16 and the superior at 19, members of the Civil Service would come out to India under the proposed arrangement at an age which might vary from about 18½ (if the candidate passed when just 16) to about 22½ years (if the candidate passed when on the verge of 20). As a matter of fact, however, by far the greater number of candidates pass the competitive examination under the present system, when upwards of 20 years old, say on an average at 20½, and come out to India at about 23, and under the proposed arrangement the majority of them would pass at say 19½ years, the competition being so keen that every extra year of study greatly increases a candidate's chance of success, and would enter upon their career in India at about 22. So far then as concerns the majority of successful candidates, the proposal put forward by the University of Oxford to lower the limits of age would have the effect of bringing them out at the age of 22, instead of, as at present, at the age of 23. But it may be said that the question of an alteration in the limits of age should be considered with reference to the mean age at which civilians would commence actual service in India under one scheme as compared with another, and allowing this, the arrangement suggested by the Dean of Christ Church would have this result, namely, that under it civilians would enter on their duties in this country at 20½ instead of at 21½ years, the mean age being taken in both cases.

The question is whether the proposal to lower the limits of age is a move in the right direction, and, first, as regards the object with which the proposal appears to have been made, namely, to facilitate an arrangement whereby selected candidates would be sent to pursue their special studies at Oxford or Cambridge, and be enabled to take a degree. Of the advisability or otherwise of enforcing an arrangement of this kind, I shall speak hereafter when I come to consider the particular question how the special training of successful candidates may be best conducted, and I would only remark here that there appears to me to be no necessary connection between a course of special study at Oxford or Cambridge and a lowering of the limits of age for admission to compete at the open examination. Nor would the taking of a degree depend in the slightest on the age at which a candidate passed the competitive examination, if the universities would accede to the very reasonable proposal that selected candidates should be admitted to a degree after residence for two years and on passing with honours in law, political economy, and Indian subjects. The mere taking of a degree is, however, I think, a matter of minor importance, and perhaps unnecessary stress has been laid upon it. At the same time an arrangement under which selected candidates could obtain a degree in the special subjects which they have to study preparatory to their leaving England for India would, I think, act as a stimulus to study, and be of considerable value, but when the choice of a career in India has once been made, the taking of a degree in any but these special subjects should rather be discouraged than otherwise.

\* See page 9

Although, however, it appears to be unnecessary to lower the limits of age No 297 merely for the sake of enabling selected candidates to pursue their special studies at one of the universities and to take a degree, a question of undoubted importance arises in connection with these points, *viz*, whether an arrangement combining lower limits of age with facilities for reading law, political economy and Indian subjects at Oxford or Cambridge (with the opportunity of taking a degree in them) would attract university men of more than ordinary ability to compete at the competitive examination, who, it is said, are deterred from doing so under the existing system. As regards men of ability somewhat, though not strikingly, above the average, this question may, I think, be answered in the affirmative, as regards those of the very highest ability, except such as are in some way connected with India, in the negative. To the latter there are open so many valuable prizes at home that it is little matter for surprise that they should look wistfully at an Indian appointment, they have been brought up almost from their boyhood in the hope of obtaining the highest university distinctions, and it is not likely that they should lightly cast aside their most ardent hopes in order to follow out a career in India which to the public mind at home is beset with all kinds of evils, imaginary as well as real. As regards those, on the other hand, whose prospects of obtaining academical honours is not altogether clear, and who either from the fact of their having been brought up at one of our public schools, where they would necessarily hear much of the advantage of an university training, or for other reasons, have made up their minds to pass from school to the university, foregoing the chance which they would have had of passing the competitive examination, had they submitted to a course of special preparation for that examination at the hands of a London teacher. As regards this class of men, the combined arrangement which I have suggested would prove attractive and serviceable. For, in the first place, the majority of them would probably be glad enough to accept an Indian appointment, provided they could do so without sacrificing the advantages attendant on a residence at Oxford or Cambridge, and in the second place, if the superior limit of age were lowered, it may, I think, be fairly supposed that for some years at least there would be a smaller proportion of "crammed" men among the ranks of the competitors, and the class of university men of which I am speaking would therefore have a better chance of success. It would be dangerous, however, to push too far the assumption that if the limit of age were lowered, there would be fewer "crammed" candidates than at present, for the reduction might eventually result in boys being taken away from school and specially prepared for the competitive examination at an earlier age than is now customary, and a move in this direction is, I think, to be deprecated.

But would the addition to the ranks of the competitors of a few university men of the stamp of which I have been speaking make up for the loss in their ranks which would be caused by the reduction of the superior limit of age from 21 to 20 or 19? Probably not, and if not, then the advisability of the reduction, with a view to securing the services of these men, would be at least questionable, and I am inclined to think inexpedient.

Generally on the question of age I concur in the view that "we should have the widest limits consistent with the requirements of the Indian service," and unless it be the distinct opinion of those best qualified to speak on the subject that the majority of men come out to India at too great an age under the present system, I think that the lowering of the limits of age would be a mistake. Its effect, as pointed out by Professor Jowett, would be to reduce the number of competitors at the open examination, when if the principle of a competitive system be admitted to be the best that can be adopted, the very problem is "how to attract the greatest number" of competent men, in other words, it would serve to defeat one of the main objects which the competitive system is designed to secure. And, again, if it be conceded that when once selected at the competitive examination, successful candidates should not be kept in England for the purpose of continuing their general education, but should be considered to have completed it, and that from the time of their selection "they should give their whole minds to the duties of their new position" and devote themselves entirely to the prescribed course of special study, then it will scarcely be denied that candidates selected under a system involving a reduced superior limit of age would not possess such a good general education as candidates selected under the present system. This objection, however, might not be held to have much force if it were proposed to reduce the limit by one year only, *viz*, from 21 to 20, because as the majority of candidates would be selected at 19, they could scarcely be said to be too young to have received a good general education, though their education might not be of the same finish as that of men of 20, if however the proposal be to reduce it still further, then the objection is, I think, a forcible one.

It appears to me also to be of great importance to consider whether the lowering of the limit of age would not tend to bring about a system of "cramming" among boys of 15 and 16, with the result that their ordinary school education would be sacrificed to the special preparation which a keen competition would

compel them to undergo. How utterly destructive of sound education a system of this kind would be, it is hardly necessary to point out, and if it should be fostered by the proposal to lower the limit of age, I think the proposal would stand condemned on this ground alone. Even at present I am inclined to think the inferior limit of age is somewhat low, and I would propose to raise it to 18, so as to discourage as far as possible any tendency that may exist to prepare boys for the Indian examination at an age when they should be receiving a good general education at school instead of a special education at the hands of special teachers of special preparation, or as it is less euphoniously called "cramming," I shall say a few words subsequently, and I would have it understood that I am not here denouncing the system generally but only its application at too early an age.

Such then appear to be the main arguments against the proposal to lower the limits of age, and unless, as I have already said, it can be shown that men coming out to India under the present system are too old to learn their duties and become efficient servants of the State, these arguments must, I think, prevail. Now this is a question which it will rest with the Government of India to decide, but I would ask permission to make a few remarks in connection with it.

It has been shown that under the present system the majority of men come out to India about the age of 23, and it may be said with some force that a man of that age finds it difficult to put himself, as it were, to school again, to lay himself out to master the details of his work, to study the manners and ways of a strange people, and generally to accommodate himself to the duties which he has to perform. It must, however, be remembered, on the other hand, that civilians of only a few months' standing are frequently placed in situations calling for the exercise of more than ordinary judgment, and of a forethought and discretion hardly consistent with extreme youth. So that it is absolutely necessary that they should be of an age at which they will be found capable of grappling with the various difficulties with which they are brought face to face from the very commencement of their career. And although it may be irksome, it is not impossible for a man of 23 to suit himself to his new position. I think then that it is not to the prejudice of India that the majority of civilians should come out at 23. But would it be better that the majority of them should come out at 22, or say 21½, the mean age at which, as has been pointed out, they may come out under present arrangements? So far as the mere learning of their duties in this country is concerned, I think it would, but if it be proposed to lower the limit of age in order to bring them out 1 or 1½ years sooner, I think that any advantage that might be derived from this step would be more than counterbalanced by the loss which India would suffer from the narrowing of the field of competition and from the decrease in the standard of the general education of her public servants which would result from the proposal under contemplation.

On the whole, then, I could advocate the retention of the superior limit of age as at present, *viz*, 21, and would suggest the expediency of raising the inferior limit from 17 to 18. To raise the superior limit, except perhaps in the modified manner proposed by Professor Jowett, would not, I think, be either necessary or advisable. I would add that if it be thought a matter of advantage to bring men out to India at a somewhat earlier age than at present, this object might, I think, be effected in part, without appreciable harm, by the reduction of the period of probation in England from 2 to 1½ years.

Passing from the discussion of the best limits of age for admission to compete at the open examination, the Civil Service Commissioners proceed to describe the method in which that examination is at present conducted and to notice the various objections which have been raised to the system now in force and the remedies proposed to meet them. I would ask permission to say a few words on this portion of their letter.

And first as regards the marks assigned to the various subjects. I would suggest that the maximum number of marks obtainable in English be reduced from 1,500 to 1,250, namely, from 500 to 450 for English Composition and from 500 to 400 each for English History and Literature, and the maximum of 1,000 in Natural Science to 750 (for two subjects, or 375 for a single subject). The time which it is necessary to spend in order to obtain a certain number of marks in these subjects does not, I think, correspond with the time which has to be spent in order to obtain an equal number of marks in any of the other subjects. Unless too it is believed that Moral Science is not generally taken up, merely with a view to scoring so many marks in the examination by a few months' course of reading to be given up immediately after examination is over, I should be inclined to exclude it from the list of subjects.

The proposal to limit the number of subjects which a candidate may take up would appear to be uncalled for, but it has been suggested that the range of the examination should be narrowed by setting a certain number of questions in each subject on a previously notified portion of it. As regards English History and



Literature, the suggestion might, I think, be carried out with great advantage, No. 297 and its adoption with respect to some at least of the other subjects deserves consideration

With regard to the practice of special preparation or "cramming," which is so extensively resorted to at the present day, the Secretary to the Civil Service Commissioners writes\* as follows—

"The Commissioners know of no facts which would lead them to believe that the special preparation of the competitors, at least of the successful competitors, at the examinations which they conduct, any more than the special preparation of students for Oxford or Cambridge degrees, is of the kind described in your letter as neither intended nor calculated to impart sound and well-digested knowledge, and the statistics which have been collected on the subject," he goes on to say, "combine to prove, so far as such a fact can be proved by statistics at all, that cramming, in the bad sense of the word, is not encouraged by the examinations for the Civil Service of India." The conclusion at which the Commissioners arrived is no doubt right in the main, and the facts and figures which they bring forward will go far to dispel the popular delusion that "cramming" is a process whereby learning may be imparted for a season to an empty mind. The success of the best "crammers" as they are called, consists in their power of discerning the capabilities of their pupils, and the manner in which they direct their studies, and they know well enough that unless a pupil possesses a good foundation of solid knowledge to work upon, the "special preparation" is not likely to prove effectual. But even admitting the practice of special preparation to be in itself innocuous, the question remains whether, under the present system of marks, it does not give those who have had the benefit of it a great advantage in respect of certain subjects over those who have not had the benefit of it. I think it does, and in the two subjects, *viz.*, English and Natural Science, in which I believe specially prepared candidates are able to score high with comparatively little reading directed by a first-rate teacher, I have suggested that the maxima of marks awardable be reduced. I am doubtful whether Moral Science, too, should not be placed in the same category as the two subjects I have named. It may be said that it is open to every one to undergo a course of special preparation, and that if a candidate chooses to forego his chance of success by not reading with a special teacher, it is his own fault. Practically, however, university men are debarred from availing themselves of the help of a London teacher, and there are many who cannot afford to do so. The advisability of arranging the maxima of marks so as not to favour special preparation is of course obvious, and it may be argued that it is not favoured under the present system, but as far as my experience goes, specially prepared candidates have a distinct advantage in respect of the subjects I have mentioned, and I accordingly think the maxima of marks assigned to them should be reduced.

It remains to offer a few remarks on the "training" of probationers" and to consider whether successful candidates would be likely to take advantage of any facilities that might be afforded them for attaching themselves to an university during the period of their probation. Writing on the subject of the special training of successful candidates, the Civil Service Commissioners state† as their opinion "1st, that with young men who have already given the best possible proof of steadiness and self-control by success in an arduous competition, a system under which they are left free to choose for themselves the place and the manner of their studies, is a better preparation for the perfect liberty which they are so soon to enjoy in India than any supervision that the discipline of a college could supply, and, 2ndly, that in any system of training which may be laid down, the most important point to consider, so far as intellectual qualifications are concerned, is the training in the theory and practice of law," and with reference to the training in law, they go on to say that they are "unable to suggest any plan by which such training can be made compatible, as a rule, with residence anywhere but in London or its neighbourhood." In their remarks as to the advisability of leaving selected candidates to choose for themselves the place and manner of their special studies, I would express my concurrence, but of the necessity of a continued residence in London for two years, in order to the acquisition of a thorough knowledge of law, I am far from being persuaded. It is, I think, a mistake to suppose that even those probationers who reside entirely in London frequent the courts so extensively as the Commissioners would appear to believe. The course of reading prescribed for them in language, political economy, &c, must necessarily take up a large portion of their time, and the number of days on which they find it possible to attend the courts without disregarding their other studies must be limited. For the greater part of the year they might just as well be reading at Oxford or

\* In the remarks here made, I refer particularly to Oxford and Cambridge.

† In the remarks here made, I refer particularly to Oxford and Cambridge. should it not be the object of the Commissioners to induce rather than discourage residence at one of the universities during the

period of probation? It should be remembered, too, that even now, as a matter of fact, a considerable number of probationers live to a great extent out of London, only taking up their residence temporarily in London in order to pass the half-yearly examination and to "get their cases" Can the Commissioners say that these men display a less intimate knowledge of law than those who reside in London all the year round? If not, then it may, I think, be fairly taken for granted that a temporary residence in London twice or thrice a year is all that is required Now there would probably be no difficulty in making some arrangement whereby university men might be enabled to reside sufficiently long in London every year to obtain the required knowledge of the ways and procedure of the courts of law, and if the universities would undertake to receive selected candidates, to provide teachers in the special subjects which they have to study, and would also allow them to obtain a degree in these subjects, I think that the selected candidates might attach themselves to one of the universities with great advantage, and I am inclined to suppose that a considerable number of them would gladly do so. It would not, however, be advisable in my opinion, at least for the present, to make residence at college compulsory, or a condition of the receipt of the yearly allowance which selected candidates receive, but I would give them every encouragement to pursue their special studies at college, and if it should be found by experience hereafter that university candidates proved themselves superior to those who spent their period of probation in London or elsewhere, residence might then be made compulsory It would be understood, of course, that all selected candidates, university students and others alike, would have to attend and pass the periodical and final examinations as at present What proportion, then, of the selected candidates would be likely to take advantage of the facilities of attaching themselves to an university? This must necessarily be a matter of conjecture, but I am inclined to think that quite one-half would attach themselves to Oxford or Cambridge.

*Note by A. U. FANSHAW Esq*

I propose to offer a few remarks first on the question of the age at which it is desirable that candidates should be admitted to the competitive examination.

I believe that to fix the age of 18 as the latest age at which candidates might offer themselves for selection would be an unmixed evil.

My reasons for this belief are very shortly as follows —

A very large proportion of the selected candidates are men who have been at public schools,— how large a proportion is generally but little known Statistics, however, for 1874 are given in an appendix to the report by the Civil Service Commissioners, and will be found sufficiently instructive

Now a public school training is or ought to be the best training possible for an Indian civilian And it will be readily conceded that the real value of a public school training to a boy is during the later years of his school life, say from 15 to 18 It is only during these years that he begins to understand the mutual confidence between master and scholar, and to feel something of the responsibilities attached to the free school life

But a public school training, however excellent in its general effect upon character, does not, as a training to study, enable candidates to pass the competitive examination I need not stop to justify this position by statistics, as the fact is notorious The public school candidates, therefore, almost always have some special preparation

But this preparation under the present limit as to the age, does not, as a rule, begin until after the public school training has ended. And I can assert without fear of contradiction, that the great majority of candidates who read with the gentlemen in London who have been designated as "crammers" have been the usual time at some public school

A boy, therefore, can receive all the advantages of a public school education with two years before him for a special preparation for a service which he frequently has not chosen until the time for leaving school arrives

Fix the highest limit at 18, and what will be the result? With the character of the examination unchanged, there will be more necessity for special preparation than there was before, and in consequence boys will be taken away from the public schools at a time when they have not received the advantages which a public school training can give

But, after all, the public school side of the question is but a limited one in dealing with a service which claims to recruit its ranks from all sources, and I have only referred to it at length because a large majority of the selected candidates come from public schools

On the broad ground, however, of general education of every kind, to fix the limit for competing at 18 years, seems to me objectionable in the extreme

If the latest age is 18, the minimum will be 16, and therefore candidates will No 297 compete at the ages of 16 and 17. At that age, boys may have some knowledge of classics and mathematics, but it is impossible that they should have had the opportunity of reading English History and Literature so as to have gained any copia or any power of dealing with a subject in a broad way. And as regards the other subjects, it may be safely asserted that they are subjects which must be learnt—it by learning is meant any real mastery—at a later age than sixteen.

If the competitive system has already directed attention to the evils of overwork, surely disastrous results may be expected when boys could compete at 16 and must compete before 18 years. At present, the average age for passing is 20, and the main part of the hard reading received is done during the few years before 20, when the boy is growing into the man, and has his full energy and strength. But to require boys to overtax themselves before the ages of 16 and 17 seems to me a most serious objection to bringing the latest age at 18. And the pressure of competition would inevitably require a strain which boys at that age would be little fitted to bear.

As regards the training at home of candidates who have been selected, I am strongly in favour of an Indian Civil Service College on something of the principle of old Haileybury.

Any institution of this kind would have the effect of throwing the candidates together, of giving them common interests, and of creating something of an *esprit de corps* which no doubt has its value. If, as Dr Jowett proposes, selected candidates were compelled to go to one of the universities, not one of these objects would be necessarily obtained. The selected candidates, at different colleges and with different tests, would see no more of each other than they do during their two years' stay in London or elsewhere.

As to a university residence, removing the invidious objection of some of the candidates not being gentlemen, I have grave doubts whether the persons who make these objections will be pacified by the "genus loci."

And when Professor Jowett speaks of many of the candidates being at present rather friendless and isolated, I can only say that I never met the many isolated and friendless individuals referred to. If he means that there are some few men who by their antecedents and habits do not amalgamate happily with the other selected candidates, this may be true. But having seen a good deal of university life, from the outside, before I came out to India, I believe that I am only saying what university men would corroborate, when I say that so far as I have been able to judge, such men would probably be as isolated at Oxford and Cambridge, so far as any "solid advantages of society" are concerned, as they may be now.

As regards the latter question, whether candidates would be likely to complete the university course, I am quite sure that they would not, if by this is meant that a special degree would be conferred upon them after an examination in the special subjects which selected candidates are required to study. Such a degree, with no prestige attached to it, would be but the most barren of honours, and might as well be conferred by the Civil Service Commissioners at once.

If the university system can be so far relaxed as to allow selected candidates ample scope for their own studies, many would go to the university in preference to remaining in or near London during the two years before coming out to India. And if an Indian Civil Service College cannot be established afresh, any extension in the direction would, I think, be valuable. But even then the question resolves itself into one of means. Parents who have paid very high sums for special preparation of their sons might well decline to undertake any further expense in giving them a half university career. And the course of special study for India allows selected candidates but little opportunity to compete with men of their own standing, and virtually prevents them from securing any share of the university prizes in the way of exhibitions or scholarships.

From R. H. FINCH, Esq., Assistant Commissioner, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces,—dated Chanda, the 10th July 1875.

I have the honour with all deference to offer to the Chief Commissioner my opinion on the questions referred to as under—

1 For the home training of selected candidates, I would advocate a special college, and I would make it compulsory on all such candidates to reside either in the special college or in some university where residence is obligatory.

The option of living at either the special college or some such university is, I think, desirable. If no such choice be allowed, and all candidates be obliged to reside at the special college, the number of competitors from the universities will be diminished, since those who entertained from the beginning an intention of

trying for the Indian Civil Service would not think it of any use to go for a year or two to a university, which they must have, just as they are beginning to enjoy and profit by, and those who had entered the university before they bethought themselves of an Indian career would be dissuaded from attempting to enter upon it, by the thought that, if successful, they must needs leave college before they have completed the course they originally proposed to themselves

Should the numbers of university and non-university competitors remain in the same ratio to each other as they have been hitherto, we should have, of the 80 candidates pursuing their studies at one time, 15 at the universities and 65 in the special college,—a body small enough to be easily controlled and inexpensively accommodated, and large enough for a man to choose his own companions, and yet not so large as to be broken up into factions. The college should be close to London and need cost Government little. A new Naval College has lately been established at Greenwich Hospital, and room might be found for the Indian Civil Service College there or at Chelsea or in some other of the existing public buildings near London. It should be near London for the convenience of the professors and pupils, and to enable the candidates (under supervision, if necessary) to visit the law courts during the day, and to obtain that practical acquaintance with the working of the law which is so important.

2 For the scheme to work harmoniously, the open examination might be held in June, and the result known in time to enable successful competitors, if they wished, to enter or rejoin a university at the Michaelmas term, which begins on one of the first few days of October. The same date would be fixed for the opening of the special college. Two, instead of three, intermediate examinations would be sufficient, now that, under the new system, every candidate is kept under watchful control. The final examination could be held after the Trinity term, nearly two years later, and the successful men proceed to India in November, as at present. This gives men less time at home for study than at present, but there is now only one compulsory language, and a 20 months' course should be ample. The limits of age should be over 18 and under 21 on the 1st June. The fixing the date of competition on the 1st June instead of 1st March virtually extends the maximum limit of age three months.

For the minimum limit, the returns show that but one or two candidates under 18 succeed annually, though a large number must compete. The field of successful candidates is not enlarged, while the labour of examiners is to no purpose increased, and the "crammers" benefitted. The boy of 17 goes up from school and fails, and attributing his failure,—not to its true cause, his immaturity, but to some deficiency in his instruction,—goes straight way to the "crammer," and after a year or two passes, as he would have done had he continued to study at his school. Three trials are surely enough, the man that passes at his fourth trial may be pulled through by his industry, but certainly not by his talent.

3 No facilities nor inducements, short of compulsion, would, I am persuaded, do much to increase the present numbers of selected candidates at the universities. The mere opportunity of being able to commence and finish the university course, after passing the competitive examination, would, by itself, affect next to nothing. The standard of examination already passed is higher than the standard of the examinations in Arts. A degree could confer no greater warrant of educational acquirements, and society looks at a degree (save in the scholastic and clerical professions) as a proof not that the holder is better than his fellows in *literis humanioribus*, but that he has a certain status as a gentleman, and where men do not come forward to give this evidence of the latter alone, they would not do so, because it included also the former.

Nor would inducements, such as those referred to in the correspondence, affect much more, and unless nearly all the candidates entered the universities, the number at such would be so small that the authorities would not find it worth while to continue their special arrangements for Indian Civil Service students, and like the classes at King's College, London, those arrangements would soon cease to exist.

If any change at all be made to determine candidates towards the universities, residence there should be made obligatory, but the mixed system of special college and universities described above, while avoiding the difficulties in the way of compulsory residence at universities alone, seems to me to include all its social, moral and educational advantages.

4 Another point I should like to suggest is that out of the appointments offered for free competition, 25 per cent should be reserved, and the Secretary of State for India should be empowered to give nominations to the orphans and sons of Indian officers, who should like Finance Probationers and Queen's Cadets compete among themselves for the appointments so reserved. Owing to the absence of parental care, the sons of Indian officers start badly in the race of life, and to give them a chance like this is both just and politic.

1 TRAINING AT HOME OF CANDIDATES SELECTED BY OPEN COMPETITION.—I presume there is no intention of altering the period of this training from two years. The main question then becomes, whether selected candidates shall be brought together under one institution after selection, or shall remain, as at present, free to reside where they please. I am entirely in favour of the latter system. I object to an institution at Oxford or Cambridge affiliated to either university, because I am convinced that London affords facilities for the special training necessary for selected candidates that are offered nowhere else. The variety and character of the law courts, the number of tutors in Indian vernacular, and the broader experience of life in London, are, I think, of greater benefit to the service by reason of their value to the individual member than would be the *esprit de corps* on which so much rapid writing has been expended, or the attainment of a degree as proposed by the Dean of Christ Church. The proposal of that gentleman is also open to the objection that it involves a lowering in the limit of age. This point I shall discuss presently.

The Cambridge proposal offers selected candidates a "moral and mental training," and the common objection to the present system is that London life is attended by an absence of restraint and consequent moral danger. I do not attach much weight to this objection. At the age to which candidates must have attained when selected, Oxford and Cambridge present dangers as many and strong as London, and it is the absence of control and supervision in the latter place, where all study is industry under difficulties, which constitutes one of the most valuable elements of the two years' training. The number of candidates who present themselves in voluntary subjects at the periodical examinations proves that they may be trusted to work even when not supervised.

On the other hand, to compel all selected candidates to keep terms at either university during their probation, would be a plan open to the main objection for which Haileybury was abolished, namely, that being removed from the law courts, it rendered training in practical law difficult, while it would lack the advantage that Haileybury was said to possess, the cultivation of a common *esprit* owing to its exclusively Indian associations, insist that candidates shall reside at some university, leaving them to elect which, a proposal that has also been made, would have no advantage to recommend it. Such a system would no more conduce to establishing the desired bond of union than the present system under which men "live in obscure lodgings in out-of-the-way parts of London," for even, under present circumstances, friendships spring up among those who reside in the same quarter, meet together frequently at the Temple, &c, and are taught by the same tutors. I object then to the establishment of an institution at either Oxford or Cambridge, or enforced residence at one or other of certain specified universities. There is, however, some little to be said in favour of the establishment in London of an institution analagous to the Cooper's Hill College, a kind of Haileybury in London, where candidates would be intimately associated, and facilities for legal training would be at hand,—an advantage which I think it difficult to over-estimate. Unless, however, residence at such an institution were compulsory, attendance would be irregular, and collapse inevitable, or continuance futile. I should, moreover, deprecate making attendance compulsory as being a control that would send civilians to India as new-fledged school-boys, instead of men of some independent experience. Whatever be the drawbacks of the present system, I think they are fewer than those involved in any of the proposed remedies. Their own interests may safely be left as a sufficient inducement to candidates to work at least fairly during probation, and their probable previous habits should be a certain guarantee of industry. In any case, if probationers cannot be trusted without constant control and supervision during those two years, it is difficult to see why they should be so trusted in important independent posts in India, where their checks are less from without than from within.

2 AGE OF ADMISSION TO COMPETITION.—Oxford proposes to lower the age of competitors to 18 or 19 to enable them to take a degree. I do not think this suggestion a good one. A man's education is immature at 18 or 19, and as the training after selection is special, the selection of men imperfectly educated would be disadvantageous to the service. Moreover, the test of education in youths of 18 or 19 would be an unsafe one. The area of knowledge over which they had travelled would be a narrow one, no finished scholarship could be expected of them, and their relative excellence would be less marked at 18 or 19 than at 20 or 20½, and therefore more difficult to detect. I should not then sacrifice the probability of getting a better class of men to the advantage of a degree, which I think is a little over-rated.

On the other hand, I should oppose raising the age to 20 or 23. The list of selected candidates shows that at the time of selection the majority of the selected have completed 20 years of age, and many of them are nearer 21. According to

present arrangements, they remain in England about 2½ years after selection, so No 297 that the majority do not reach India until they are about 23 of years of age. I do not think it expedient that junior civilians should come out older than that. Every year after that gives them more to unlearn and strengthens habits and prejudices which are more difficult to alter on their arrival in India.

I do not think the position is tenable that by extending the age to say 22, you will get a better class of men who have graduated at the universities. You will not obtain competitors among graduates of wealth and property, for whom India has less charms than England, and the more talented graduates will prefer as they do now a fellowship, or tutorship, or under mastership, with distinction and preferment in England, to service in India, especially now that the grievances of junior civilians are discussed more frequently than the advantages they enjoy. Men of the second rate in talent and wealth might compete, but they would be in no way socially or intellectually superior to the present class of competitors, be they university men or not. Under existing circumstances, there is at least a chance of getting some first class men who might have been lost to the service if university success had thrown other preferment in their way.

Under these circumstances, I think the present limits of age are as good as any that could be fixed.

3 WOULD SELECTED CANDIDATES TAKE ADVANTAGE OF UNIVERSITY COURSE?— I do not think that selected candidates would be likely to take advantage of being able to complete the university course. Those of them who had been at the university *before* competition might do so, but others would probably prefer to reside in London, where they could pursue their studies with greater facilities.

The increased expense of living at the universities would also doubtless be a consideration with many if residence were optional, and there are some who hold scholarships at Irish or Scotch universities who would not willingly relinquish them in favour of Oxford or Cambridge, the doubtful advantages of which, as far as a *special* training is concerned, would be compressed into the working period of 24 weeks in the year. In a word, I do not think that compulsory residence at the universities would afford the best *special* training to selected candidates, and I do not think the majority of selected candidates would elect to reside there were residence optional.

I have dealt with the points on which an opinion is specially asked. I may, however, allude to other points.

METHOD OF SELECTION.—It is unlikely that patronage will take the place of competition, and I think the best men are likely to be got by the fresh competition, the results to be judged by the best examiners. When I say the *best* men, I mean *relatively* the best, for those who are *absolutely* the best will probably not be obtained for service in India under any circumstances.

All that is written in disparagement of "cramming" overlooks the fact that, as *all* men who compete are not "crammed," cramming meets its own reward in the 250 yearly failures. It does not say much for the examiners if "cramming" (by which presumably superficial knowledge is meant) deceive them. If, however, the cause of success that attends the effort of particular "crammers" is sought, I point confidently to the excellent tutors they entertain in each subject of the prospectus, and the earnest work of their pupils. The latter point is perhaps the only one in which "crammers'" establishments differ from the system of "private tutors" at the universities.

LIMITATION OF NUMBER OF SUBJECTS.—With reference to the examination, I should allow the scheme of subjects to remain as at present, and should not confine a competitor in the number he would take up, but think that thoroughness would be encouraged by adding to the score of a man who had gained more than 125 marks in any subject a portion of the deducted 125 marks, larger or smaller according to the amount by which his marks in the subject exceeded the minimum.

NATURAL SCIENCES.—I should also reduce the number of marks allotted to the Natural Sciences, because they are disproportionately large, when compared, say, with classics, and the difficulty of attaining marks in the latter.

Memorandum by J. A. JEFFREYS, Esq., dated 10th July 1885.

For the present, at any rate, there seems no idea of abolishing the system of open competition, and it is not therefore necessary to discuss the arguments for and against this system, as compared with the old nomination system. One thing alone is certain, that we must make up our minds to accept either the one or the other. No intermediate scheme seems feasible; although many have been proposed, none of them are equal to the task of selecting 35 men out of 300 or more applicants.

The old nomination system being now unpopular in England, it only remains No 297 to accept the open competition system in its most advantageous form

1st—Now, firstly, as to the limit of age for the open competition This is now fixed at 21 Dr Liddell, of Christ Church, looking at it from one point of view, wishes to reduce the maximum to 18 or 19, Dr Jowett of Balliol wishes to raise it to 22, whilst the Cambridge authorities seem tacitly to acquiesce in the present limit

Now, of course, the question of age must be dealt with from two points of view—the age at which the best men can be obtained in England, and the best age for young civilians to enter the service This second point can only be dealt with by men of experience in India, but on the first point, it is my conviction that the present maximum age of 21 is that best calculated to secure good men The desiderata aimed at are, as I imagine, firstly, to obtain good public school men, secondly, university men, thirdly, the shining lights of the university

No doubt at present we fail to catch many university men or few “shining lights,” but on other hand a boy is enabled to go through his full school-life (the last year of which in a good public school is often invaluable in forming his mind), and then at the age of 19 he goes up to his tutor in London for a year to prepare specially for his examination

Were Dr Liddell's proposal sanctioned, boys would leave school at 16 or 17 for the London tutor (for to a London tutor the majority of candidates *will* go), and they would be thrown on the temptations of London when not so well disciplined to resist them, the example of the morality at the tutors which prepare for Woolwich should not encourage this Then when you have got your boy thoroughly demoralized by his year's residence in London, you are to send him to Oxford at the age of 19 Oxford discipline may be good, but it is not strict, and the loose supervision exercised there on a boy accustomed to the freedom of a London tutor would compensate but poorly for the loss of the rigid moral discipline of our best public schools The other proposal made is to raise the limit of age to 22 I object to this also for the following reasons Boys cannot well stay at school after 19, and the consequence will be that they will have two years' special reading instead of one One year of this is enough to try the physical powers of any youth, in fact Dr Gull declares that none but those with strong constitution can stand the strain If it became a custom to spend two years in London instead of one, many more of the candidates would be physically injured Further, there would be no compensating benefit If a university man will not compete at 20, he will not compete at 21, when he is one year nearer to obtaining his degrees and his honours in the final school The next point is as regards the course of training of selected candidates I think most men will agree with me that the course is as good as it can be made It is not too severe, but still does not allow of idleness It consists partly of broad logical subjects intended to teach general principles likely to be useful, and partly of technical Indian law, languages in which impart a practical character to the course

The great question at issue seems to be whether candidates should continue, as now, to live where they like, or whether they should be gathered together in a college like Cooper's Hill, or whether they should be compelled to reside at some university In my opinion, the great benefit of the present system is this, that after having come up from school to a tutor, and after having slaved away until the age of 19 or 20 with small breaks, on passing the open competition you find yourself for two years comparatively a free man, most probably you travel about at home and abroad, you see something of your family before setting out for India, you go into society, some mix in literary circles, in fact an opportunity is afforded to you, if you will only avail yourself of it, of coming out to India with the thoughts and ideas of an educated man, instead of those of a padantic school-boy Unless then the evils of the present system are great enough to counteract these benefits, it would be a pity to alter it. It is alleged that 35 young men are set down in London without any discipline, run riot over the town, and that many come to untimely grief. Of course, it is absurd to look for perfection, it would not be found, but I deny that the morals of candidates are worse than it would be if they were placed in a college I affirm that their morals are far better than those of Woolwich, Sandhurst, or Cooper's Hill Colleges, and I fail to see that residence at Oxford would make them better than they are—Oxford and Cambridge are not models of propriety and hard work If a man who goes up there is inclined to be steady and to work hard, he will do so, *unless, led astray*, whilst if a man, who goes to college, is inclined not to be steady or to be idle, it is most highly probable that he will follow that inclination

Two Oxford men passed the open competition with me in 1872 Of these one was turned out in the final examination, and the other passed out bottom, and this was not by any means through want of ability, but through sheer idleness If selected candidates must be sent somewhere, a special college like Cooper's Hill would be far better than the universities, since in a small college men would be



brought together, and the *esprit de corps* the want of which is so lamented by critics, No 297 would, I suppose, be generated, whereas at the universities every man would follow his own bent and make his own friends

With regard to the third point alluded to in your letter, namely, whether successful candidates would be likely to take advantage of being able to complete the university course, I am of opinion that with the exception of those who pass from the universities and who now complete their course, candidates would not take advantage of any such arrangement. A university degree surely must mean one thing or it means nothing. To be of any value, it must mean that you have gone through a regular course of the university studies

If, as Dr Liddell says, they are willing to make a course exactly corresponding with our two years' course of training, I think candidates will reply that they are quite content to have their work judged by the Civil Service Commissioners, and that an Oxford degree, obtained in this way, not being in any way similar to other degrees, is worthless to them

On the other hand, if the universities only arrange that a degree may be obtained in two years but only through the existing courses, although a few men might be tempted to work for one, it could not but be at the expense of their practical course under the Commissioners

I have always understood that a university was intended for the encouragement of high culture, not of practical almost technical knowledge, and if the first change in a downward direction be made for Indian civil probationers, and for them only, they will resent the change by declining to avail themselves of it

Apologising for the lengthiness of these remarks

## XVII

*Memorandum by the Officiating Chief Commissioner, British Burma, in the* No 298  
*General Department,—dated Rangoon, the 12th August 1875*

With reference to the letter\* from the Home Department, No 16-1038, dated the 23rd June last, on the subject of the selection and training of the candidates for the Civil Service of India, I submit copies of communications received from the four gentlemen named in the margin, who are members of Her Majesty's Indian Civil Service, now employed in the British Burma Commission, and who represent between them the experience of the last five years in connection with the different questions discussed in the correspondence which accompanied your letter

Mr E J Sinkinson.  
Mr R. H. Pilcher  
Mr A. R. Birks, B.A.  
Mr A. C. Bainbridge.

submit copies of communications received from the four gentlemen named in the margin, who are members of Her Majesty's Indian Civil Service, now employed

I understand there is no question as to the complete maintenance of the principle of open competition for admission to the Service. There can be very few who have been brought in contact with the old and new systems of admission to the Indian Civil Service, who do not accept the competitive system as having conferred a great advantage upon the administration of this country; and if there are any who question this, we may be quite sure that, on public and political grounds, there can be little probability of a return to any arrangement which did not recognize the principle which has now been in force for nearly twenty years. The enquiry under the first head, regarding the method in which candidates for the Indian Civil Service shall in the first instance be selected, refers rather to the defects which experience has suggested as attaching to the nature of the examinations and the preparation for them as resulting from a system of competition—defects which are alleged, on the one hand, to be inseparable from such a system, and, on the other, to be capable of modification and remedy. Three of the papers which accompany this letter enter fully into these questions of detail, and seem to indicate that the conditions of the examination which regulate the first selection of candidates are susceptible of many improvements. I do not attempt to discuss this part of the subject, because I could speak of it only on the general grounds which have formed the subject already of innumerable disquisitions, and because the result of the present enquiry will doubtless bring to the know-

\* See page 52

ledge of Government the opinions of many members of the Service No. 298. who know what the system is by a personal experience of its difficulties and disadvantages, and who can speak with an authority which I do not venture to claim for myself.

As regards the manner of the subsequent training of candidates who have been successful at the preliminary examination, I incline thoroughly to the opinion that, having regard to the career which these gentlemen had chosen and the prospect of a thirty years' residence and work in India, both India and the gentlemen themselves would gain the greater benefit if the term of two years' probation which the present system enforces after the first examination is over were considerably curtailed, if not altogether abolished. The sooner an officer who, by his success in the public competition, is held to be possessed of the qualities which give him a right of admission to the Indian Civil Service can join his presidency and enter upon his duties, the better, I believe, will it be for him as regards the manner and spirit in which he takes up those duties, and the better it will be for the public interests of this country. I am aware that, in expressing these views, I run counter to the prevailing opinions expressed in the papers which accompany the Secretary of State's despatch;\* but I feel none the less certain that the discontent which now prevails in the service, the frequent dislike of the work in its early routine and drudgery, and the way in which this re-acts through correspondence home upon new candidates, arise mainly from the comparatively speaking advanced age at which civilians now-a-days arrive in India; and any prolongation of this period, even with the advantages which the great universities would confer, would, in my judgment, enhance the evil.

I have heard it stated as a common fact that the two years' probation, which is passed generally in London, has ruined many a man who had passed the first examination with marked distinction, and led to his final failure and rejection; and, even, if residence at Oxford or Cambridge during this period were to be made compulsory—though the difficulties in the way of this would be very great, considering the expense involved, and the bar it would be, say, for instance, to Native candidates—while the moral securities might thereby be attained, it would be at the expense of much valuable time, which I cannot help thinking would be better spent in the actual duties of the profession which the civilians had chosen for life. In this view the case narrows itself to the consideration of the comparative advantages of a university career with, perhaps, academical distinction; and the advantages of an early acquaintance with the practical work of Indian official life and a readier reconciliation to its difficulties and drawbacks.

It seems to me, from the crowded competition which now exists for these appointments, and the practice which obtains of preparing for the examination, that in making the choice of this profession the alternative of a university career is nearly in all cases abandoned. Some there are (and it is an advantage that it is so) who are in a position to go to a university, and to disregard the private tutor; but the majority cannot do this. Having elected for an Indian career, everything is sacrificed to uninterrupted study for three or four years to attain that object, and neither the training which is necessary for the final ordeal, nor the final ordeal itself, can be said to err on the side of lenity. In truth, each year the competition grows more severe in the numbers who come up for their preliminary examinations; and, as the numbers increase, so does the call for greater application and ability in those who contend for the prizes. It is difficult to understand that the few who have successfully established their superiority by such a prolonged preparation, and by such a final trial, require more of any special training to fit them for India, which would be better supplied in England than in the country in which the greater

\* See page 1.

part of their lives has to be passed, and in which all their work has No. 298. to be done. Languages, the knowledge of the Revenue system and of land tenures in their wide diversity, the understanding of Native character and habits, and of the political relations and history of the country, are acquirements which academic distinctions will not facilitate, and which India will teach much better than England; and the sooner they are attained the better it will be for the young civilians themselves, and for the public administration. I would prefer, therefore, to see a rule fixing 21 as the highest age at which civil officers should arrive in India. Within that period, any alteration of the existing system of education or examination, with the view of obtaining men of the widest and the most thorough cultivation, may be appropriately attempted; but for the rest, the advantages lie in my opinion in the immediate emancipation from the thralldom of further examinations, and in an early application to the work in this country.

RIVERS THOMPSON,  
*Officiating Chief Commissioner, British Burma.*

From E. J. SINKINSON, Esq., B.C.S., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, No. 299.  
British Burma, to the Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, British Burma,—dated Rangoon, the 30th July 1875.

In reply to your demi-official\* of 12th instant, forwarding certain papers connected with the present system of selection for the Civil Service of India, and cognate matters, for consideration, I have the honour to submit my opinion, as required.

2. The short time allowed for the consideration of the question has precluded my entering into it with the detail I could have wished; yet, as the Home Secretary's letter\* seems to intimate that unreserved expressions of opinions on the prevailing system of selection by open competition are not required, I have the less hesitation in submitting a hurried reply.

3. As, however, the papers forwarded for perusal discuss the question of competition at some length, I venture to advance an opinion on a matter of minor detail connected with the original examination, by which candidates are first selected. I do this with considerable diffidence, after noticing the illustrious names of the framers of the first conditions, which have practically remained unaltered for twenty years. I take it as disposed of by the elaborate letter† of the Civil Service Commissioners to the Secretary of State, dated 16th March last, that if intellectual acquirements and capacity are to be the principles on which the selections are to be made, open competition has been established as the most successful system. But I venture to suggest that the conditions of the examination which regulate the competition are susceptible of some—at least one—amendment, which will go far to meet some of the very violent objections now taken to it. The examination is professedly confined to those subjects which form the ordinary staple of a boy's education. Whether it indicates an unsound system of teaching in England or not, I do not pretend to say, but it will at least be admitted that, at the large majority of our schools, education in national history and literature is pursued little further than the elementary stage. Now, it will not be pretended that the conditions of the Civil Service examinations can effect a material change in the system of our public and best private schools; it may do so in departments of them, and in the smaller institutions. It is, however, from the former class that it would appear desirable to recruit the Civil Service. In this case a boy educated at a public school with, perhaps, a year at a university, destined for the competitive examination, with his ten years' reading in classics, finds his knowledge of no more avail in securing him marks than English literature and history are to a boy who has not spent a year over their study. I would exclude composition from the position of undue prominence which, I submit, is now given to the other departments of English. That is a subject, perhaps, more efficacious than any other to illustrate the working of a man's mind, his powers of analysis, of synthesis, of logic, and of acquiring knowledge by either observation or reading. But I would suggest that the aggregate to be awarded for history and literature be reduced to 500 marks instead of 1,000, and this would, in the words of Dr. Jowett, "more than represent the proportion which the study of English bears to the study of other branches of knowledge at schools and universities." The obvious reply, *viz.*, that the subjects are open to all, is not quite apposite, as the object, I take it, of a perfectly successful competitive examination, should be to secure candidates entirely without special training in other branches of knowledge than those they have regularly studied. Again, Arabic, I think, might be entirely expunged from the first examination. No young man under 21 would, in the ordinary course of things, affect such a study, unless as a special preparation. The difficulty with regard to native competition will be met by the new arrangements

\* Not printed.

† See page 9.

which, I believe, are in contemplation—*viz*, to reserve a certain number of No 299 appointments for young Indian gentlemen. Were it not that a taste for Sanskrit is becoming general at every European seat of learning as a necessary preliminary study to any knowledge of philology, that might also be profitably removed from the subjects of examination. It is, however, an eminently useful study—much more so than Arabic, and, though open to the objection that it encourages special preparation into subjects out of the ordinary range of a boy's education, might, perhaps, be allowed to remain without demur, if the standard of examination in it were raised.

4 I now come to consider those points on which opinions are categorically called for, and I may state that I find my own ideas so fully anticipated and so clearly expressed in the letter\* from the Reverend Dr Jowett, that I can say but little more than that his letter, circulated with the correspondence, coincides entirely with my own opinions.

(i.)—*The nature of the training after the first examination*—On this subject, which I understand to be the nature of the prescribed course of reading after the first examination, I have nothing to suggest. The subjects and systems selected are as comprehensive and liberal as could be desired. I have only one idea, and I fear it is rather a visionary one. It is this,—if the English system of justice could be modified, so as to allow the selected candidates to appear in Treasury prosecutions in Police Courts, and as junior Counsel in petty Assize cases, it would be of incomparable benefit to many of them. As spectator and a reporter, a candidate may acquire a certain amount of intimacy with the principles of evidence, and the procedure of courts, but he can never attain that *readiness* or self-confidence which is so essential to the dignity of a Magistrate or Judge. To indicate that there is a want of such training for young civilians I can only point to the fact that, at all the large Presidency towns,—*viz*, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Rangoon,—where there is a large European and mercantile population, and an influential bar, it has generally been found advisable, if not necessary, to appoint practising barristers to the judicial appointments. It cannot be that the bar have a monopoly of either ability or legal knowledge—for some of them holding these appointments are disappointed candidates for the Civil Service. Their familiarity with the details of practice and legal etiquette, and no monopoly of the knowledge of law or procedure, render them more adaptable to these posts than any others. Should the system of requiring selected candidates to conduct minor prosecutions be impracticable, it would be as well to insist at least on each one taking the degree of barrister-at-law before proceeding to India. This is, of course, a plan entirely *faut de mieux*, but there is the chance that the consciousness of possessing the legal degree might stimulate in some a closer and more technical study of law, which would be a point gained.

(ii.)—*As to the age of admission*—This question is so intimately connected with that of admitting to or ostracising candidates from, the chances of a university career, that it is almost impossible to separate the subjects. I shall, however, endeavour to do so, and this will bring the consideration of the question within the very narrow limits. It is necessary, before giving a decisive answer to the matter, to know the present opinion of the Government of India, as to the age at which the men arrive in the country. When once that is settled, the answer is self-evident. Sir John Lawrence held they came out too old, but the limit has been since reduced. Leaving that an open question, to be settled by higher authority, it follows that the greater the limits of the age, the greater the number of competitors, and the severer the examination. The furthest possible extension of the limits of age in the direction of the maximum will give India a more highly-educated and more accomplished set of civilians. There can be no possible doubt on this matter, even admitting the contingency of a successful university career being accomplishable within those limits, as I propose to argue presently.

(iii.)—*Whether successful candidates would be likely to take advantage of their being able to complete the university courses, if this were open to them*—I feel no reserve in recording my reply on this matter. I hold the very strongest argument against the present system of selection to be its *proselytizing* character. It professes to fear the counter-attraction of the universities. Accordingly, it is forced into a position antagonistic to them. It seeks to attract young men professedly before they know their own capacities for academical success. It admits by implication that the prizes it has to offer are not sufficiently rich to attract the highest talent of the universities. Consequently, it endeavours to secure that

\* See page 7.

talent, or at least the chance of it, before it is fully developed Now, I No 299 maintain that this is a derogatory position for an enlightened Government to countenance I maintain, further, that it is one resulting from a visionary fear, and I go so far as to say that the system defeats the very object it was framed to achieve The systematic discouragement given to residence at a university by the Civil Service Commissioners and the difficulties\* placed in the way of graduating simultaneously with passing the periodical examinations deter many scholars from becoming candidates, who would gladly do so if they saw their way to finishing their university course In fixing the limits of age for admission so as to satisfy the Government of India, and to preclude the probability of a college career being successfully finished, the Commissioners seem to forget one of the most important motive powers of an average young man's mind Of course, men enter universities with every degree and every direction of ambition, but how many are there not who look upon a successful university career, and an honour degree, as *an end—an object* in itself—or, at most, as leading to a fellowship? It is these men, with no particular platform marked out for them in life, that the Civil Service would attract, and by encouraging and not discouraging university education, both *after* as well as before the open examination, I venture to believe that the standard of candidates would be raised, and the competitors increased How far this would interfere with the special course of reading, I do not pretend to say, but that reading is not such as to incapacitate a man from taking honours simultaneously with exhibiting high attainments in the special course, and the proposition by Dr Jowett, to give honour degrees for proficiency in law and political economy, would have the effect of rendering the competition for seniority in the final examination much more severe, if it did not actually reconcile many students to the discontinuance of their favourite studies The objections to residence at a university have no existence The university towns have both Police Courts and Assize Courts, and in the present state of things, London can do little else for a candidate in the matter of legal education than admit him to Westminster and Guildhall The privilege of attending the lectures of men like Sir Henry Maine and Mr Bernard would compensate for much chamber reading

I would point out one apparent fallacy in Dr Jowett's letter† He admits the difficulty of teaching Tamil and Telugu and such languages in Oxford But the teachers of these languages cannot live without their pupils If the pupils are compulsorily located at Oxford, it may be accepted as an axiom that the teachers will soon follow The old simile of the carcase and the eagles is not very inappropriate

5 I will not repeat the argument about *esprit de corps*, for association in one college I subscribe willingly to every word Dr Jowett has written (except in the only case where he finds a difficulty), and I think India and the empire at large owe Oxford a debt of gratitude they will with difficulty repay for her noble, generous, and disinterested offer, and I believe every man in the service I have the honour to belong to will say the same

From R. H. PILCHER, Esq., B.C.S., Assistant Commissioner, Toungoo, to the Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, British Burma,—dated the 31st July 1875

I regret that I have been unable to reply earlier to your letter‡ dated the 12th July, regarding the competition system of examination for the Indian Civil Service I only received your letter twenty-four hours before the last mail went out

I have read the printed correspondence which you sent me, and thought the subject over with much care Almost every question connected with it appears to have been so fully discussed, that little is left but to express agreement or disagreement with the various views already stated The points on which an opinion is asked may best be adverted to in the order in which they stand in Mr Howell's letter †

As regards the first point, *viz*, "the training at home after the first examination is passed, there appears to be no exception of any kind to the course of study prescribed, and the periodical examinations held, to ensure its being followed out The objections to the present system are mainly two-fold,—first, that it provides no "moral securities," and, secondly, that it fails to engender "the community of tastes and interests, the common traditions, and the knowledge of the habits and characters of contemporaries produced by common collegiate life" The first of these objections is completely answered by the Civil Service Commissioners

\* I have known college examinations and periodical examinations so timed that a candidate has lost term at college

† See page 7

‡ Not printed

Selected candidates are men who "have already given the best possible proof of No 299 their steadiness and self-control," they are not, as a rule, under 20 years of age, and it would be neither advantageous nor possible to subject them to any moral discipline.

The second objection is of far more importance, and has not been so satisfactorily disposed of. It is very well stated by Dr Jowett, toward the close of his letter\* to the Secretary of State. A man's education may be said to consist of two parts,—that which he gains by the aid of books, and that which he learns without them by intercourse with his fellows. It seems to me that the latter is incomparably the most important, and that the Civil Service Commissioners attach too little weight to it, probably because they are not in a position to judge of much beyond a man's mere intellectual attainments. Book-learning may be acquired in any school, but no place affords such advantages for the social education to which I refer as the universities do. It is in this that the advantage of a university course chiefly consists. Half the men who go to Oxford and Cambridge, go for the sake of this, rather than of any book-learning they may acquire, and to this is due the prestige, from a social point of view, of the ordinary B A degree, which is of little value as testimony to a man's mental powers or attainments. The Civil Service Commissioners think it wise to neglect this kind of education, in order, as they say, that selected candidates may have the best possible legal training. They object to residence at a university, on the ground that the universities are at a distance from law courts and law schools, but surely Oxford and Cambridge cannot seriously be called distant. Permission to go to London for a few days to attend the courts can always be obtained during term-time, and term-time amounts to only 24 weeks in the year. At the principal universities, moreover, there are law schools which would meet all the requirements of the case, if selected candidates can pass the periodical examinations without going to the courts for more than about a fortnight each half-year, and certainly without attending a single lecture. Many indeed do so. It seems to me, therefore, that in the matter of legal instruction a man need lose nothing by residence at a university, and he must gain immense advantage in other ways.

It has been proposed to establish a college specially for selected candidates either at some university or nearer London. It is possible, however, that no such place could attain the end in view so completely as the existing colleges. The Civil Service Commissioners' remark too is very pertinent, that such a college would tend to foster a too narrow *esprit de corps*.

The Civil Service Commissioners have hitherto discouraged selected candidates from residing at any university outside London, but this has, in many cases, failed to deter them from doing so. Were the Commissioners to cease this discouragement, or to give any positive encouragement in the other direction, they could attract as many university men as they pleased. If they recommended newly-selected candidates to enter a university, scarcely one in ten would refuse to do so. Moreover, if the Commissioners solicited their aid, the universities would vie with each other in co-operating with them, instead of throwing obstacles in their way, as is at present more or less the case. University and college authorities would feel an interest in Indian Civil Service appointments when made compatible with a university course, and would encourage their best men to seek them, whereas now it would be suicidal for them to do so. The last paragraph but one of the letter† of the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge expresses exactly what I think is required. No other stimulus of any kind would probably be needed, but, if needed, it might and should be applied by the Commissioners, so that all, or nearly all, the selected candidates might be induced to reside at some university.

There is one feature of the two years' probation which strikes me as rather a hardship on selected candidates. If a man fails in the final examination, he has no further chance. He has thrown away two of the best years of his life to no purpose. The course of study is rather a severe one, and all men have not equal acquisitive power. I do not think that one failure deserves to be so hardly dealt with. There could surely be no objection to giving another year as a rule, without any money allowances, to men unsuccessful in their first attempt at the final examination. A year's loss of service would probably be sufficient punishment. The present system causes an amount of anxiety and mental strain during the last six months, which those only know who have undergone it, and which must in many cases affect health injuriously.

As regards the money allowance, I am very strongly of the Civil Service Commissioners' opinion. The men who compete for Indian Civil Service appointments are oftener than not poor, and the early independence which success brings them is to many one of the greatest attractions that could be offered. It is this that, in some instances, makes men who have a chance of high university distinction choose the Indian Civil Service in preference. Few men know at all accurately

\* See page 7

† See page 5

what their prospects in India are till they come out, whereas the money allowance No 299 given in England is something certain and tangible

The second point noticed by Mr Howell is that of age, and on this head I concur entirely with the opinion expressed by the Civil Service Commissioners. At 17 or 18 men have not completed their education. To select candidates at that age would be to deprive them of two or three of the most valuable years of their English training, and an examination would be a much more uncertain test of their capacity than it is at a later period. Twenty-one as a maximum limit appears to be open to the least possible objection. If anything, I should advocate raising it a year rather than lowering it.

As regards the third point in Mr Howell's letter,\* I have already expressed an opinion. Every one is aware of the advantages offered by a university, and if left to his own bent, would gladly avail himself of them. Most men too count their three years at a university as among the happiest of their life, and for this reason, if for no other, no one would fail to complete his course if he could possibly help it.

Generally speaking, it is impossible not to concur in the opinions expressed by the Civil Service Commissioners as to the merits of the competitive system, and I have only one or two more remarks to offer. The great difficulty in carrying out the system is that of marking fairly. Dr Jowett has made one very excellent suggestion on this head—that the maximum of marks for English History and Literature should be reduced to 500. Not only are these subjects, at least in the form in which they appear in the examination papers, seldom included in any school or college curriculum, but the ease with which marks may be obtained in them is proportionally very great. In literature, especially, I know by experience that an amount of knowledge as easily mastered as the contents of a Greek Grammar is sufficient to obtain half the maximum number of marks, and it is in this subject, if in any, that "cramming" is practised. Without a skilful teacher, no one could so direct his studies in this subject as to gain the greatest amount of marks with the least labour, and this is where the "crammer" is of service. The same is true in a less degree of History. If these two subjects were abolished, the "crammers" would be almost ruined, I believe.

There is another point which seems to require attention in the matter of marking. In almost all studies, but especially in that of languages, it is comparatively easy to attain a certain proficiency, and beyond that all progress becomes more and more difficult. Thus supposing a boy to begin learning Greek at ten years of age, he will probably make as much progress for the purposes of an examination in any one year till he is 16, as he will in any two years after, working uniformly all the time. No allowance is made for this in the open competitive examination. The maximum number of marks is practically never given, and the finished scholar, equally with the smatterer, suffers the deduction of 125 in each subject. It does not pay, consequently, to read some subjects beyond a certain point. The tendency is rather to encourage mediocrity. It would surely be more just to refund some of the deducted 125, provided the candidate showed a moderate knowledge, and all, if, without actually gaining the maximum, he appeared to have studied his subject thoroughly.

The Civil Service Commissioners have, I think, shown that it is unnecessary to limit the number of subjects offered by each candidate, or to narrow the range of subjects offered to choose from. I think the latter might very advantageously be made to include Political Economy, and perhaps Law. The former especially is a subject no one would ever regret the time he spent in mastering.

I am afraid I have extended my letter far beyond what was necessary, or what I had myself intended. Had I time, I should endeavour to remedy this defect as it is, I can only ask you to excuse it.

The printed correspondence is returned herewith.

From A. R. BIRKS, Esq., B.A., BCS, Assistant Commissioner, Donaboo to the Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of British Burma,—dated the 29th July 1875

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter\* of the 11th July, with enclosures, and to submit my opinion on the points noted in Mr Howell's letter.

In order to show the opportunities I have had for forming these opinions, I may remark that I matriculated at Corpus Christy College, Cambridge that I read for the open competition both at college and also with one of the most successful of so-called "crammers," and that after passing, I read for the final both in Cambridge and in town, I was also able to take an ordinary degree in law.

*Firstly*—With regard to the first point, I think the present system of training objectionable for the following reasons—

First, socially—There is little or no *esprit de corps* among the selected candidates. The majority of the men live separately—some in town, and some in the country. The only time they meet as a body are at the

\* Not printed.



half-yearly examinations They are then busy with work, and have not No 299  
time to form real friendships The only common interest is the examina-  
tions, and men are prone to look upon each other as machines for getting  
marks

Again, there are generally some men who have raised themselves and seen  
very little of society Under the present system, these men are left to  
themselves If the candidates lived more together, many of their pecu-  
liarities would disappear before they came to India

*Secondly* —I think the supervision on the men, as now exercised, does more  
harm than good There is, I believe, an objectionable system of *espionage*,  
I do not speak from personal experience, but I have heard it said that the  
Civil Service Commissioners write to the lodging-house-keepers of the  
candidates to report as to their conduct This gives an irresponsible  
person a power of doing injury, and puts all parties in a false position

Again, a certificate of moral character is required This is easily obtained,  
for it may be given by an entirely irresponsible acquaintance

*Thirdly* —I think the examinations after the open competition are more  
numerous than they need be. Under the existing arrangements they  
have their value, as they compel candidates to meet every half-year On  
the other hand, I do not think them at all necessary for the work It is,  
perhaps, hardly appreciated that in a little more than six months after  
passing the open competition, the candidates are obliged to pass another  
stiff examination in entirely new subjects This examination lasts about  
eight days, and includes every subject that has to be passed in the final  
These examinations are repeated every six months, and failure in any of  
them involves the payment of fines I think two of them might be  
abolished with advantage I can hardly venture to say, in the face of  
Sir William Gull's report,\* that they are unhealthy, but I think that men  
come out to India very weary of examination, and disinclined to read for  
the departmental examinations here

*Fourthly* —The present training does not provide for the physical improvement  
of the candidates It is true that a certificate that you can ride has to  
be given at the final examination, but this is all Riding, however, is so  
important, that marks might be given for it at the last examination,  
some riding-masters being appointed examiners The men are too scat-  
tered now to see anything of each other's tastes, and rarely meet in the  
cricket-field, boat-house, or racquet-court

*Fifthly* —I think improvements might be made in the method of reporting  
cases On passing the open competition, each candidate is furnished  
with a card, which is supposed to give admission to all the law courts  
each candidate has to report a certain number of cases each half-year  
Each case must be complete in itself, so that very often a promising case  
has to be laid aside because it is compromised or disposed of before judg-  
ment Again, in the most important cases the card of admission very  
rarely finds you a place where you can hear or write, and often obtains no  
admission at all Attendance at the law courts might be obtained with-  
out compelling the men to write out lengthy depositions of witnesses  
only partially heard, and then to fit notes on law to them

Of all the proposed remedies hitherto suggested for the defects of the present  
system, I think that of Dr. Jowett's is the best It is also the one which appears  
most likely to be approved by the Civil Service Commissioners I allude to the pro-  
posal† “that, as a condition of receiving an allowance, every candidate should be  
required to reside at some college or university to be approved by the Secretary of  
State for India, and that only such colleges or universities should be approved as  
offered the advantages of instruction, and superintendence and perhaps of a degree”  
I think this scheme is the most feasible for the reason contained in the Master of Balliol's  
letter‡ At the same time I would be disposed to limit the universities to two,—  
namely, Oxford and Cambridge I believe what is wanted is not so much univer-  
sity discipline, as the social life at college If all the universities were approved,  
the men would be as scattered as they are now they ought to live more together  
While on this subject, the objection contained as enclosure B, page 28, should be  
considered with regard to the first point, *viz*, “that it would be difficult to frame  
a scheme by which the education of the candidates selected by open competition  
should be completed at the universities I may remark that with the exception of  
a few weeks spent with a Moonshee in town and occasional visits to the law courts  
there, all my own preparation was conducted at Cambridge I attended lectures in  
Law, Persian, Arabic, and Hindustani, and found a private tutor in Hindi This  
was before the Civil Service Commissioners had taken any steps to facilitate read-  
ing at the university. With regard to the inevitable jealousy of the other univer-  
sities, it might be urged that they have not come forward in the matter as yet,

\* See page 35.

† See page 9

‡ See page 7

and that Oxford and Cambridge are not selected as conferring a more valuable No 299 ; degree, but as affording more opportunities for social intercourse to the students

They are, moreover, the best known and longest established, so that, if a selection were deemed necessary, priority would naturally be given to them

With regard to the reluctance of the universities to admit young civilians as students, the letters in the enclosure show clearly that the reluctance lies the other way

I think the scheme proposed a better one than that of establishing a special college for the following reasons —

It would involve no expense, and would very likely effect a saving, as some of the men might prefer a residence in town with their friends.

It would leave the men still a freedom of choice, and be a less violent change in the existing system

It would leave the men a wider choice of friends, and they would meet men of other professions who were training for India.

The work for the examinations and the fact of being at the same university would be a sufficient common interest, and would be more useful in the present state of society in India than to revive the intense feeling of *esprit de corps* which existed at Haileybury.

An adoption of this scheme would obviate the objections to the present system of supervision.

With regard to the number of the examination after the open competition, I would propose to abolish two and to have one about eight or nine months before the final examination, this would enable men to see what their weak subjects were. The cases might be sent in half-yearly, as at present.

I have objected to the present system of reporting law cases. It is, however, only a point of detail. The present system does secure a certain amount of attendance at the law courts, though often with a great deal of inconvenience and annoyance to the candidates themselves.

I pass on to the second point in Mr. Howell's letter,\* *viz*, the proper age at which the candidate should be admitted. I fully agree with the opinion expressed by Dr Jowett, *viz*, "that the limits of age remain as at present, but that, in certain cases, candidates might be allowed to pass at the age of 22 who had previously passed an examination in Law, Political Economy, and some Indian language" This last proviso would be of less importance if the first part of Dr Jowett's plan were approved. If pecuniary inducements were offered for a residence at the universities after passing, I believe that the majority of the candidates, who felt sure of success, would enter the university before the open competition. To reduce the age would be to exclude university candidates, unless the two years' residence in England were extended still further.

As to the third point in Mr Howell's letter, I feel I may be biased, I believe, however, that all men who go to a university, like to take a degree. I am not at all sure, however, with regard to young civilians, that they would wish for an extension of time for this reason alone. Greater facilities might be given during the two years' residence after passing to those who wished to take a degree. At present the half-yearly examinations often stand in the way. Letters have been written by university candidates on this subject before. Though many candidates might not think either a university education or a degree of any particular value, I believe all those who have had any experience of the life, would wish to complete the university course

In accordance with the suggestion in your letter, I will venture to make a few remarks shortly on the competition system in general

*First—The examination of the open competition*—I think that the only improvement that can be effected in this would be some re-adjustment of the marks, and, possibly, the addition of Law and Political Economy as subjects. I am not in possession of the Civil Service Reports, but I believe I am correct when I say that the English subjects are taken up universally, and that Classics or Mathematics nearly so. I would leave the marks in these subjects as they are. Of the remainder, I think modern languages are marked too low and Natural Science too high. Sanskrit and Arabic might fairly be put on a par with Latin and Greek. If Law and Political Economy were introduced, they should be marked low, being of use afterwards, an undue proportion of the candidates would otherwise take

\* Not printed.

them up I would propose the following scheme of marks in each No 299 subject —

English Composition	500
English Literature and History, including that of the Laws and Constitution	1,000
Language, Literature, and History of	
Greece	750
Rome	750
France	500
Germany	500
Italy	500
Mathematics, pure and mixed	1,250
Natural Science (1) Chemistry, (2) Electricity and Magnetism, (3) Geology and Mineralogy, (4) Zoology, (5) Botany	750
(The total may be obtained by adequate proficiency in any two or more of the five branches of Science included under this head)	
Moral Science, & c, Logic, Mental and Moral Philosophy	500
Law	375
Political Economy	375
Sanskrit Language and Literature	750
Arabic	750

*Second*—Proposed alterations in the existing scheme considered

(a)—“Proposal to reserve a certain number of appointments for university candidates”

There seems to be a general opinion that it would be better if more of the candidates were university men. At the same time I think that this difficulty would be better met by providing for a university residence after the candidates were selected than by reserving appointments before. The Indian Civil Service would not then be discountenanced by the university authorities, as it is to some extent at present. More university candidates would go up for the examination if they knew that success would not interfere with their taking a degree, and more of the intending candidates would enter the university before they passed the open competition. To reserve appointments beforehand might create ill-will between the university candidates and the others.

(b)—Proposal to make certain subjects compulsory in the open competition

This is a proposal of Mr Lepel Griffin's, which appeared in a recent magazine. I have not got the article by me. With regard to his proposals to make Elementary Mathematics and Calligraphy compulsory subjects, I think the subject merits attention. At present it is useless to take up Elementary Mathematics on account of the deductions. It may be remarked, on the other hand, that the open competition is not supposed to consider the special training of the candidates in any way.

(c)—I think the proposals to limit the number of subjects taken up, and to appropriate appointments to different branches of knowledge, have been satisfactorily answered. They would not materially affect the existing results, and, where they did so, they would affect them injuriously.

*Third*—Subject of a special college considered—I think this not so good as what I will venture to call “the university scheme” for the reasons given above. I believe, at the same time, that it is the most popular of the remedies suggested among young civilians themselves, and that it would be an improvement on the present system of training.

*Fourth*—Observations on “cramming” considered—I think the teaching is very thorough and analogous to “coaching” at Oxford or Cambridge, the chief difference being that a number of tutors are collected together in one establishment. I believe the system to be useful, if confined to its legitimate objects, *viz* —

- to consolidate existing knowledge,
- to give a good insight into subjects not commonly taught at schools,
- to enable a candidate to give a clear and ready expression to his knowledge

I believe the system to be harmful, if considered as supplying the place of school or college. A year is the outside limit of the time that should be spent with the crammers. No other institution can teach so much so well as the crammers within that time. On the other hand, I think it a great mistake to take boys from school too early for preparation by the crammers. It is a high pressure system, almost necessary to ensure passing

the open competition, but a high pressure system is injurious, if begun too early or maintained too long No 299

I do not believe that the system could be entirely checked. If the majority of the candidates entered at a university before they passed, they would still require special preparation, and the so-called cramming would exist, though doubtless in a modified form.

*Fifth*—*Public opinion with regard to "competition-wallahs."*—I have heard so many opinions expressed on this subject, that I venture to make a few remarks respecting it. Many of the objections are, I believe, due to other causes than the selection by competition—some are due to that, and the present system of training. The general opinion being that, on the whole, they are a hard-working efficient body of public servants, they are yet in several points contrasted unfavourably with the old school of civilians. It is said—

*First*, "that the 'competition-wallahs' are not all gentlemen"

As there is nothing in the arrangements of the open competition to exclude those who are not, the objection is inevitable. The returns of the Civil Service Commissioners show, however, a very small percentage of the men selected as the sons of tradesmen. The only remedy appears to be to render the special training of the candidates not merely intellectual, but social.

It is for this reason that I think special training would be better carried on in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge than at a special college, but either would be better for a clever blacksmith or ploughboy's son than a two years' solitary life in London.

*Second*, "that the open competition does not secure the selection of men of practical judgment and common sense"

I do not see how these qualities could be secured by any scheme of examination, but I do not believe the present system in any way excludes its admission.

*Third*, "that the new men do not exercise the hospitality that was common among the old civilians"

To this it may be answered that, while promotion is slower, and the appointments generally held of less value, the price of commodities has increased; society in India is much larger than it was. It is also true that civilians know much less of each other under the present system, and are more cautious in admitting new-comers to an intimacy with their families when they know nothing of his antecedents. The unbounded hospitality of the old Haileybury men was due largely to their intimate knowledge of their contemporaries.

*Fourth*, "that the 'wallahs' are not fond of field sports."

This is only partially true, it is chiefly due, I think, to the competition of the candidate being confined for several years to intellectual pursuits alone. I do not see how it can be remedied, unless the men are trained together. I have already suggested that riding might form a subject for examination as proficiency in field sports commands the respect of the Natives, the subject has importance.

*Fifth*, that the new men are always thinking of their pensions and taking furlough, and that they never thoroughly reconcile themselves to an Indian career.

This is to a great extent true, but is not only common to civilians, but men of other departments, there are, however, special causes in the case of civilians—

*1st*—The work is harder and becoming more and more routine

*2nd*—The promotion throughout the service is bad

*3rd*—The constant changes of appointments give an unsettled feeling

*4th*—They have little opportunity of forming friendship with their colleagues before coming out

*5th*—They come out later, and have seen more of the attractions of life at home

*6th*—They have increased facilities for going home

*7th*—There has been less sympathy with the Natives since the mutiny

I may remark, in conclusion, that I have held these views some time, and have not ventured to submit them without giving the subject careful consideration.

From A C BAINBRIDGE, Esq., BCS, Assistant Commissioner, Ma oo beng, to the Officiating No 299  
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of British Burma,—dated the 30th July 1875

In compliance with the request of the Government of India, transmitted through you, I have the honour to forward my opinions upon certain questions connected with the Indian Civil Service under the instructions contained in your demi-official\* of the 12th instant I have given my views on the entire scheme of the competition system, laying particular stress on the three points to which my attention is invited by the Government of India

I should be loth to see any radical alteration in the subjects now prescribed for the open competition, but I would make an elementary knowledge of Mathematics compulsory I would restrict the French, German, and Italian examinations to the language alone I would abolish the *vivá voce* examinations in Natural and Moral Sciences (perhaps also in English literature), and I would modify the existing system as to the deduction of marks

I am strongly of opinion that an elementary knowledge of Mathematics should be made compulsory A treasury is frequently (perhaps generally) the first charge entrusted to a young civilian Without some degree of arithmetical readiness and accuracy, he is only too liable to depend exclusively upon his clerks In the higher grades of the service, a similar qualification is often even more indispensable

I would propose to abolish the examinations in the literature and history of France, Germany, and Italy, because I believe these to be subjects for which candidates habitually "cram" The questions asked are of the most elementary character, and I doubt whether one man could be found in each year who really knows anything about these subjects

It is for similar reason that I would abolish the *vivá voce* examinations in the Natural and Moral Sciences A great deal has been written about "cramming" and "crammers," much of which might well have been spared If by "cramming" is meant a special course of preparation, it is notorious that it is now resorted to by almost every successful Indian candidate just as it is by almost every successful candidate for any great examination, academical or otherwise, but if by "cramming" is meant the hurried bolting of a large mass of undigested intellectual food, I believe that there is no examination which encourages it less than the one under consideration, and none in which it "pays" so little, except in the subjects which I have named

In the Moral Sciences an examiner does not ask the candidate to solve a particular problem, or to construe a limited passage He tries to run over the whole extent of his subject in a very limited time, as he is quite aware that knowledge of one part of it by no means implies as accurate a knowledge of any other part The consequence is that his questions cannot be searching, and that a showy, superficial man will often obtain credit for knowledge which he has not got, which he would entirely lose if compelled to go into details on paper

In the Natural Sciences an examiner is peculiarly liable to be deceived He can only have a limited number of machines, or specimens, upon his table The first candidate who leaves his room can often name them all to some of his friends These latter can refresh their memories by a reference to their text-books, and thus obtain a considerable advantage over other competitors I have known many cases of this in every branch of the Natural Sciences *vivá voce* examinations

Of course, some scheme might be devised, by which all communication between men who have and have not yet been examined should become impossible, but I believe the simplest solution of the difficulty would be to abolish the whole examination *vivá voce* in these subjects

As to the deductions, under the present system, 125 marks are deducted from those made by each candidate in each subject This course of action undoubtedly discourages all slight and superficial knowledge So far its operation is satisfactory, but it also tends to limit the number of subjects taken up by any one man, and here I believe its influence to be most pernicious I am aware that some persons are in favour of introducing a compulsory limitation of this kind I cannot perceive any good which would be likely to ensue from such a course It is possible, though I doubt it, that a man with a speciality is more peculiarly fitted for high and important posts As to this, see Appendix† L to the Report of the Civil Service Commissioners The facts there cited seem to point to an exactly opposite conclusion, but the bulk of the business of India is transacted by men who hold appointments of the Collector or Deputy Commissioner type The work which they have to do is of the most varied and opposite character Now, who is the more likely to do this work well? The man with a speciality? Surely not These are exactly the cases where one would naturally wish for a man who had proved his power of turning his mind to many things at once, and of attaining to a creditable degree of proficiency in them all

I would therefore recommend that a candidate who could attain to the pass standard should be allowed to count every mark which he had made I think

\* Not printed

† See page 37

that, in some subjects, this standard might be raised, in others, it is almost too high as it is No 299

The Commissioners urge that such a plan would not act fairly. They say that A, to whom an examiner assigned 126 marks (supposing 125 to be the pass mark) would count all his marks, while B, to whom 124 were assigned, would count 0

Such cases are hypothetically possible, they might sometimes actually occur, but I believe that they would be rare. In the first place, an examiner would generally pull any candidate over the pass standard if his marks on a first estimate came very nearly up to it. In the next place men would be too much afraid of losing all their marks to waste time on any subject wherein they did not expect to obtain considerably more than pass marks

Of course, individual cases of hardship would occur any hard and fast line must lead to such results. It seems very hard that a candidate who was 20 on the 23rd of February, and who failed in the examination, cannot compete again, while a second chance is given to the next man, who is only two days younger yet no one would urge this as a reason for abolishing the limit of age.

Besides, in avoiding Scylla, the Commissioners have fallen into Charybdis. They avoided one cause of inequality, they have created two in its stead. They have also done something towards producing a result which they expressly deprecate—a limitation as to the number of subjects taken up by any one candidate.

Under their system, A, with 125 marks in a subject (say French) scores 0, C, with only 10 marks, also scores 0. Here A had obtained 125 out of 375 marks—a result which showed fair proficiency in the subject yet he is put on a footing of equality with C, who knew little or nothing about it, and had possibly been devoting all his time to another subject in which he beats A, and thereby keeps him out of the service.

Again, suppose that A makes 300 marks in one subject, and 400 marks in another. In each case the maximum obtainable is 500. B makes 700 in a subject where the maximum is 1,000. Here both candidates have made 700 out of a possible 1,000, yet A is only credited with 450 marks, while the more fortunate B gets 575. I think that this latter example also shows the fallacy of Dr Temple's argument on which the Commissioners greatly rely.

In turning to the question of the age up to which candidates should be allowed to compete, the first object should naturally be to fix the limit so as to procure the best possible material for the service, but ample time must be given for the subsequent special training of selected candidates, while both these objects must be attained in such a way that the age of junior civilians, on their first arrival in India, should rarely or never exceed twenty-four.

Now, the present system ensures an average—and that a high one—of individual intellectual capacity, it probably admits as many superlatively able men as could be obtained in any other way. Some people wish to lower the limit of age. It is urged that, by this means, a certain number of men would be induced to enter the service, who had not yet realized the full extent of their powers, and who would scorn to compete at 21, when in the full tide of academical success. I greatly question the truth of this statement; besides, India has seldom been deficient in great men when the occasion called for them, nor do I think that the competition men have hitherto shown any manifest signs of decadence in this direction. To reduce the limit of age to 18 or 19, would be to destroy the testing power of the examination *in toto*, and to send out to India a body of men whose general education would in most cases be crude and unfinished. It seems problematical whether any counterbalancing advantage would accrue to the service.

Far from going in this direction, I believe that the age of admission might with advantage be raised to 22. By changing the date of the examination from April to September, candidates, whose age on the 1st of September was under 22, might be allowed to compete, and yet their age, on reaching India, would not be higher than the limit already adverted to.

This point is so closely connected with the question of the period of probation, that I shall make no apology for treating of both at the same time.

At present any candidate may compete in April, who was under 21 on the preceding 1st of March. If successful, he goes through four subsequent examinations, extending over a period of two years. He then receives a certificate from the Commissioners, signs his covenant, and after a delay of four months, proceeds to India towards the end of September. This delay is not really needed, and seems to be pure waste of time. A candidate has known his future destination for at least two years. He can make success in the final examination, which is a mere pass and not a class one, a moral certainty. There is nothing to hinder his departure a month or six weeks after it. Hence, if the open competition took place in September, and the final examination in August, the result would be

known early in the ensuing September, and the candidates would be ready to start No 299 in October

The result of this would be to allow an extra year for the open competition, while civilians would reach India little, if at all, older than at present. Every man who wished to take a degree at any University other than Cambridge, Oxford or Dublin could do so long before he presented himself for the Indian examination. Even in the latter universities it would be easy to obtain it a few months before the open competition. September is a far better month than April for this latter, as most of the university examinations take place in the spring.

The change which I advocate would be rendered easier if two of the intermediate examinations were to be abolished,—a measure which I believe to be highly desirable in itself. The present excessive number of examinations harasses men most cruelly and, I believe, most needlessly.

Every man who has gone through any severe examination knows that there is an antecedent period of about a month during which little or no new work is attempted. The whole time is spent in furnishing the knowledge already attained and in filling up the cracks. To compel a man to resort to this process oftener than is absolutely necessary, is an immense blunder, knowledge may, in this respect, be compared to the steel of a soldier's rifle. If allowed to lie by for a while, it becomes disfigured by small spots of rust. Its usefulness remains unimpaired, but it cannot bear inspection without being furnished anew. In doing this four times in two years, a man wastes much time which might have been spent in profitable study.

I believe that two examinations in the special subjects would be amply sufficient.

In passing I may notice that the system of constant examinations, when extended to India, is felt by many civilians to be almost intolerable. When at home, we have to pass over and over again in the Indian Codes. The standard required of us at home is much higher than that which obtains out here. When deciding a case in Court, a Magistrate will never trust his slippery memory as to the exact wording of any important passage. His books are before him, and he at once refers to the text. Yet a young civilian, who, in the midst of his novel and multifarious occupations, is doing his best to learn the vernacular of his province, as well as its revenue system, is weighed down by the necessity of re-passing an examination which he has already gone through with credit and of regaining an exact verbal knowledge which he cannot retain, and which would in no case be of much practical use.

I have spoken of two further examinations at home. According to my former argument, this might seem to be one too many, but I think that an intermediate examination would be desirable for the sake of the candidates themselves. It would give every man a much-needed opportunity of testing his proficiency in the completely new subjects to which he had lately turned his attention. Without a test of this kind, it might often happen that a man would miscalculate the progress which he had made in some one particular direction, and so find himself finally disqualified, not for general unfitness, but for lack of qualification in some one particular subject to which he might have attained by a week's extra study.

The only merit which has ever to my knowledge been claimed for the bi-annual examinations, is that they keep the men steadily to their work throughout the whole period of probation. I do not believe that any such safeguard is necessary, but even if it were, the judicial reports which every candidate has to send in quarterly would be quite sufficient for the purpose.

The course of study prescribed during the probationary period might also be slightly modified for the better.

Political economy is a subject much relished by most of the candidates, but peculiarly distasteful to a few. Among these latter are found one or two who fail to qualify in the subjects at almost every intermediate examination, thereby losing all marks gained in extra subjects or prizes which they may have won, besides perilling their chances of ultimate success.

Personally, I am exceedingly partial to this subject, and, if anything, disposed to overrate its value, but I know what a drag it is upon some men, and I greatly question whether the small amount of knowledge required for a pass will ever do much good to men who only learn it because they cannot help themselves, and who will probably have forgotten it all before six months have elapsed. I think that political economy might with advantage be relegated to the optional subjects branch. Almost every probationer would still study it as a matter of course, while it is doubtful whether any man who did not would ever be placed in a position where his deficiency in this respect would be felt.

Again, with regard to Indian history. The main object of this study should be to familiarize the probationer with the physical and moral qualities of the different races whom he will have to govern, to give him some insight into the



doctrines and rites which influence these races so powerfully, he should understand No 299 the constitution of our Government, and the nature of the relations between that Government and its vassals—Mussulman, Mahratta, and Rajpoot. He should know every detail of any special compact which may exist between rulers and people in the province for which he is destined. The Bengal Civilian should be as familiar with the provisions of the Permanent Settlement as ever he was with those of Magna Charta, or the Bill of Rights. Similar enactments should be equally familiar to the young Civilians of other provinces and yet the course now prescribed wastes eighteen precious months out of twenty-four before it reaches even the rise of the British ascendancy in India. During the last six months but little is required beyond the barest synopsis of the leading events up to 1857.

The result of this procedure is exactly what might have been expected. The students shrink from the arid pathway of names and dates along which they are required to travel. Many never get beyond some bare analysis, such, for instance, as that which Sewell has written. Many are precluded from indulging in studies deeply interesting at the time, and most profitable in the future. The time of preparation is short. It would be suicidal to wander in bye-paths of history which will not pay. A very slight amount of care might remedy all this, and change the course in Indian history from one which is at once hated and useless, into another, which would be attractive to the student and beneficial to the State.

With reference to the remarks I have just made, I may observe that it would be useful (if possible) to allow candidates to choose their destination somewhat more in detail than they do at present. A candidate who chooses Lower Bengal on account of his associations in that province, and who has zealously striven to acquaint himself with its traditions, is not only disheartened, but also more or less thrown away if sent to British Burma, or to Assam. Still more is this the case with regard to the North-Western Provinces. On some occasions more than half the candidates who chose this province have been afterwards distributed between the Punjab, Oudh, and the Central Provinces.

This measure would be attended with another beneficial result, *z. e.*, a more accurate direction given to the study of extra vernacular languages at home. Of the five Civilians sent to the Central Provinces in 1873 no less than four had taken up Persian in England. Throughout the greater part of their province this language is about as useful to them as a knowledge of Bengali would be in Norway.

Lastly, as to the question of affiliating, so to speak, the Indian Civil Service to one or more of the Universities. The probationers must here be divided into two classes, according to their having been, or not having been, at University before passing the Indian Civil Service examination. As to those who had already been there, I have pointed out previously that their University course would, in most cases, terminate shortly after their entrance upon their period of probation, if it had not terminated before.

This would more specially be the case if the limit of age for entrance into the Indian Service were to be raised to 22. As to those who had only completed a year or so of their residence, three courses would be open. They might give up all designs upon a degree. They might continue their former studies to such an extent as to secure a pass (not a class) degree. This latter could only be done at the expense of their place on the Indian final list, and consequently of their seniority in the service. If neither of these alternatives seemed advisable, they might fall back upon any offers held out to all Civil Service probationers irrespective of any former residence in the University.

The majority of the probationers, however, could come into the second class. With regard to them I do not think that any University residence should be made compulsory. I should even think it impolitic to make such a residence a necessary condition to the receipt of the pecuniary allowances now made to all probationers. If thought desirable, some extra allowance might, on account of the expense entailed, be made to those candidates, who elected to reside at an University, but this, I think, is the utmost limit to which the principle of interference ought to be carried.

In spite of all that may be said to the contrary, no University can offer such facilities for legal study as are afforded by the Inns of Court, and at Westminster. Many men reside in London in their own families, or in those of their friends during the probation. It would be the height of impolicy to drive them into any course. If the Universities can make their invitations sufficiently tempting to draw them into it, why? so much the better. Only let us have no coercion.

The only Universities which need be taken into account are Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin. The Queen's Universities in Ireland have no means of imparting the necessary instruction in the Indian languages. The Scotch Universities are equally deficient in professors of Indian or English law.

As to London, it is not an University of residence. If it offered an honour degree in Law or Indian languages to all probationers who paid their fees and presented themselves for examination, it might doubtless attract a few candidates. I do not think it could go further.

A good University degree would doubtless be a great attraction, not only to the candidates themselves, but also, and far more so to their parents and friends. I believe that all or nearly all the candidates would make use of one or other of the three abovementioned Universities, if the offers made were conceived in a sufficiently liberal spirit. No attendance at lectures, excepting those on Indian subjects, should be made compulsory. Students should only be required to reside during their two years of probation. They should be harassed by no examinations but those required by the Commissioners, and on passing the final examination to the satisfaction of these latter, they should receive an ordinary pass or poll degree, from the University which they had chosen. The examinations for honours in Law, Political Economy, and Eastern languages should be open to all students, who had begun their residence immediately on their success in the open competition for the Indian Civil Service.

So much for the views asked for. I think, however, that it may not be entirely out of place to make a few observations on a kindred subject, though my remarks may not be strictly pertinent to the subject under discussion.

It seems to me that the objections urged against the existing system of examinations are based not so much on any defects which the objectors have detected in its machinery, as upon the failure in results which are alleged to exist in more than one direction. It is said that the new Civilians are not of the social status or intellectual calibre which had been expected or which had been attained to under the old Haileybury system.

I think that Appendix E\* to the report of the Civil Service Commissioners sufficiently disproves the first part of this assertion. The social standing of the men recently selected is undoubtedly equal to that of the old Haileybury Civilians. Nay, more, it is evident that the service is being recruited in the main from classes which from a great part of the strength of England—the gentry and upper middle classes.

As to the question of intellectual calibre, the objections have, perhaps, more show of reason. It is beyond dispute that the Indian service scarcely attracts any of the leading University talent. It is equally certain that the service does not stand as high in the public estimation as it did when first established. The first of these facts, however, is more apparent than real. When the examinations were first established, no one had undergone any special training. The limit of age was also very high. Not a few distinguished University men were thus enabled to compete successfully after the close of their collegiate career. Now, however, this is all changed. Men distinguished in one single subject cannot present themselves for examination without devoting a large portion of their time to other subjects wherein they do not shine so conspicuously, many of them consequently give up all hopes of a brilliant career at University, in order to obtain more time for other subjects. Hence, it seems (falsely so I think), as if but little of the real University talent found its way into the service. Yet the standard reached, even in the special university subjects, such as Classics and Mathematics, is exceedingly high. A Balliol scholar, who had lately taken a first class in Classical Moderations at Oxford, competed for the Indian Service a few years ago, he stood third in Greek and fifth in Latin. At the same examination another gentleman, who shortly afterwards became a high wrangler, stood fourth in the list of Mathematicians. Both these gentlemen had been compelled to spend much of their time upon subjects which were useless at College. In spite of this, they both achieved high academical honours, and yet several men succeeded in beating them both, not only in their special subjects, but also in the whole examination. I think such facts as these form a powerful argument against any theory of mental inferiority among the junior Civilians. Still it remains a fact that the service has lost much of its former prestige. I conceive this is due not so much to any defect in the process by which the new men are selected or trained, as to other causes one of which, at any rate, is entirely beyond control.

I refer to the fact that the examination is now open to the world, whereas appointments could formerly be obtained by favour only. There is a common instinct in all mankind, which exists in England with peculiar intensity, to exalt the status of members of a close corporation, and to depreciate that of men who belong to a profession which is open to all.

Both these causes have tended to impair the credit of the modern Civil Service of India.

There are, of course, many other reasons, complaints made both by Civilians and by others who have thereby been deterred from entering for the rice. It is said that the Government has not kept faith with the service, that Civilians are kept down unfairly in junior appointments, and that the present scale of salaries

\* See page 34.

by no means corresponds to the one authoritatively published by the Civil Service No. 299 Commissioners some years ago

It is also said that Indian Civilians, after enjoying high official position and consideration for many years in the East, return to England to find that they have no position at all. Out of Anglo-Indian circles they receive none of that consideration to which they believe themselves to be fairly entitled

To discuss these questions here, would be impertinent in both senses of the word. I have, however, adverted to them in order to record my deliberate opinion which I know to be shared by a very large number of men—Civilians and non-Civilians, that it is to these causes, and to them alone, that the Indian Civil Service owes its growing unpopularity, the minor defects which exist in the modern system of selection have little or nothing to do with it.

### XVIII.

From Major T G CLARKE, Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Mysore, to A P HOWELL, Esq, Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,—No 3976—12, dated Bangalore, the 14th August 1875 No 300

I am directed by the Officiating Chief Commissioner to reply to your demi-official\* communication of 23rd June, and to your endorsements† of same date and of 3rd July, Nos. 16-1039 and 17-1099, respectively.

2. In the first paper you request that a reference may be made on certain points regarding the Indian Civil Service competitive system to a few junior Civilians of the most recent experience in England. As there are but two junior Civilians employed in this Province, and as the experience of neither of them can be said to be recent, the Officiating Chief Commissioner has not thought it necessary to refer to them, but he directs me to submit the accompanying paper on the subject which has been recorded by Mr. Turner Officiating Post Master General of Madras, who was on a visit to Mr. Dalrymple when the papers reached him, and who has the reputation of being one of the most promising junior Civilians of the Madras Service

3 Your endorsements give cover to despatches from the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State, dated 8th April‡ and 27th May§, enclosing certain correspondence regarding the present competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service and the subsequent training of the selected candidates, and requesting an expression of opinion "both as to the method in which candidates shall in the first instance be selected, and as to the manner in which those who are selected shall be trained for service in India"

4. As to the first point Mr. Dalrymple has already, in a paper on the subject, prepared for submission to Lord Cardwell when the question of entrance to the Army by open competition was under discussion, recorded an opinion that in all qualifications which are likely to affect the performance of the duties now required of the Indian Civil Service, the Gentlemen selected under the so-called competition system were decidedly superior as a class to their predecessors in the service, though he ventured to think that they were inferior to them as regarded many of those qualifications which go towards making an efficient soldier—qualifications which, in the old days of the Civil Service, were nearly as essential for the Indian Civil Servant as for the Military Officer. Mr. Dalrymple has seen no reason to alter these views during the past four years, and he thinks that the verdict which was arrived at by Lord Lawrence's Government in 1866 to the effect,—(1st) that the present system, unlike the former, is effective to exclude absolutely anything approaching to entire inefficiency, (2nd) that under it the Civil Servants of India as a class are more highly educated than their predecessors, and (3rd) that these advantages counterbalance any defects which may exist in the system,—would be more generally adopted and would be given with less hesitation in the year 1875 than it was in the year 1866. Though such a result is, no doubt, a cause for congratulation to all those who are

\* Not printed

† See pages 52 and 54

‡ See page 1.

§ See page 53

interested in the success of the service, it cannot be denied that complaints have been made that the system has not fulfilled the expectations of its framers, that the open competitive examinations have not produced an effect which was "felt in every seat of learning throughout the realm," that they have not succeeded in securing for the Indian Civil Service the most distinguished scholars of Great Britain, and specially that the gentlemen who are now appointed to the service are as a class inferior intellectually to those nominated during the earlier years of the system

5 Most of these complaints have, in the Officiating Chief Commissioner's opinion, been very completely dealt with in those paragraphs of the Civil Service Commissioners' letter\* (which forms one of the enclosures of the Secretary of State's despatch, dated April 1875) in which they detail the general detractions of an Indian career, and the increased number of openings which are now available to the distinguished University scholar in England, and in which they specially refer to the increased cost of living in India having very sensibly diminished the value of an Indian appointment. The enactment of those Acts of Parliament too under which admission is possible to nearly all the advantages of the Indian Civil Service without undergoing the ordinary preliminary training—a course which must necessarily limit the number of appointments to which the selected candidates may look forward with certainty to succeeding—has no doubt already had some effect in the same direction and may be expected to operate still more prejudicially if largely acted upon by the several Executive Governments.

6 The Civil Service Commissioners have also shown very clearly in the letter just referred to that the deterioration in the intellectual capacity of the selected candidates which is said to have taken place of late years cannot be ascribed, as has been generally supposed it could, to greater success having attended those special methods of preparation for the examination which have been called "the system of cram," for it seems evident that the knowledge possessed by the candidates so prepared even in those branches of study in which the system is supposed to be least effective is equal, if not superior, to that of the other candidates who have had no such special training. If therefore any such deterioration as that referred to has really taken place, it is probably also owing to the causes which have been alluded to in the previous paragraph.

7 It may be admitted then that if the selection of candidates for the Indian Civil Service is to be determined by an open competitive examination, no improvement in the intellectual calibre of the competitors as a class can be expected by any change in the subjects or mode of examination, but only by such an improvement in the prospects of the candidates as is not compatible with Indian finance. It seems, however, to the Officiating Chief Commissioner to be very doubtful—bearing in mind that the present selected candidates are generally admitted to be superior to their predecessors in this respect whether it is desirable to make any attempt to obtain officers of higher mental capacity than those who now enter the service. At the same time it is open to question whether all the gentlemen nominated under the present system are by character and disposition as well suited as they might be for the performance of the ordinary duties of their appointment. In Mr Dalyell's opinion qualifications of this kind are even of more essential importance than high intellectual capacity in most of the situations which are ordinarily entrusted to the Civil Servant, and if any system of selection could be devised under which some test could be applied to them, it would, he thinks, be an improvement on that at present in force. If, in the opinion of those conversant with the subject, a system of nomination previous to competition would be likely to exclude any persons who by character and disposition were not likely to prove suitable to the Indian

\* See page 9

Civil Service, then Mr Dalyell would be glad to see some such system No 300 adopted, and he believes that under it the members of the service as a body would be even more competent for the transaction of the duties which devolve upon them than they are at present. At the same time he very much questions whether it would be possible to work out such a plan without running the risk of incurring those difficulties, to obviate which the system of entrance to the service by competitive examination was originally instituted.

8 The Officiating Chief Commissioner is, however, very decidedly of opinion that much might be done in the direction desired during the training of the selected candidates after their competitive examination. He cannot believe that the character and disposition of a young man is likely to be improved by leaving him entirely without control amidst all the temptations of the metropolis at the most impressionable period of his life. He cannot bring himself to concur with the Civil Service Commissioners in considering that the fact that such a young man has been successful in a competitive examination is a sufficient guarantee that he has enough steadiness of character and self-control to pass through such an ordeal unscathed. He is quite assured that the moral and mental training which would be afforded by a residence at a University during the period of probation would be of very great advantage to all the selected candidates. He agrees with Vice-Chancellor Phear in holding that it is of high importance that those to whom are to be entrusted the grave responsibilities of Indian official life should be assisted in their educational training by all those advantages of discipline, association, and instruction which are believed to be possessed by the resident students of the Universities, and he thinks that there is much force in the following remarks of the master of Balliol: "If the selected candidates could be brought to Oxford or Cambridge the service would greatly gain in popularity and prestige. It would be much more attractive both to young men and to their parents. The name of a University degree and education would counterbalance the objections to India which are generally felt by those who have no Indian connections. The candidates would also have the more solid advantages of society and increased knowledge of the world. Without becoming a clique, they would make the acquaintance of one another. Many of them at present are rather friendless and isolated. Their College would be a home to them to which they might look for help and support when needed."

8. Holding these views, the Officiating Chief Commissioner would urge that all selected candidates be required to keep certain terms at some specified College at Oxford or Cambridge, that such arrangements be made as to the age at which candidates are permitted to appear at the competitive examination as will enable them to do so, and that such terms should be entered into with the governing bodies of the two Universities in regard to the selected candidates as will ensure to them due instruction and examination in those special subjects to which their attention is now directed during the two years of probation, and the grant of a University degree on their attaining the requisite proficiency in these and such other branches of knowledge as may be deemed desirable. The main objection to such a scheme which has been urged by the Civil Service Commissioners is that under it the selected candidates could not obtain that knowledge of the practice of the English Law Courts which is now secured to them. But, as observed by Mr Turner in the memorandum attached to this letter, the instructions of the Commissioners as to the particular Law Court to be attended seem hardly to carry out the apparent intention of Lord Macaulay's Commission, and further, it would be quite feasible, as suggested by Vice-Chancellor Phear and the Master of Balliol, to require the selected candidates during vacation to take notes of proceedings in the Courts of Justice, and it would be a

decided advantage that this should be done under the superintendence No 300  
and advice of a Professor of Law In conclusion, the Officiating  
Chief Commissioner would merely observe that it appears to him that  
it can hardly be open to question that under some such system of  
training as he advocates the nearest approach would be made to  
securing to each of the selected candidates " the best, the most liberal,  
and the most finished education that his native country affords "

*Paper on the Indian Civil Service by H G TURNER, Esq, M C S.*

No 301

These papers are introduced by a letter\* from Sir Louis Mallet to the Civil  
Service Commissioners, in which he states that Lord Salisbury desires a distinct  
judgment on certain objections that have been raised against the present system  
of examination for the Indian Civil Service

These objections, which are by no means accepted without reserve by Lord  
Salisbury, are instanced as consisting of imputations of ignorance to the candi-  
dates selected under the present system, of the badness of the bargain which the  
State makes with the public, of the loss of the opportunity afforded by the  
residence in England between the first and the final examinations for forming an  
*esprit de corps* throughout the service, and of the disastrous effect on the morality  
of successful candidates that is induced by two years' residence in London uncon-  
trolled by such discipline as is presumed to be found effectual in the University life  
of young men of the same age

Mr Howell, passing by the first of these points which touches on the nature  
of the examination best adapted for obviating the imputed ignorance of selected  
candidates, has thrown the remaining subjects for discussion into the form of three  
questions which he propounds as referring—

1st.—To the training at home after the first examination is passed.

2nd.—To the age up to which it is desirable that candidates for the first  
examination should be admitted

3rd —To the desire of successful candidates to obtain University distinction  
before they proceed to India

These questions have to do with two distinct subjects • the original selection of  
andidates and the special mode of training them after selection

The path of the enquiry under the first head is whether the State gets as good  
men for its Indian service as it has a right to expect It is observed that,  
although there is no specified charge of shortcoming directed against men sent out  
under the competitive system, there is a current of such a feeling throughout all  
the papers that Mr Howell has forwarded

It is plainly brought forward in paragraph † 4 of Sir Louis Mallet's letter and  
in the correspondence that ensued thereon Mr Liddell alludes to it in paragraph †  
6 of his letter The Rev Vice-Chancellor Phear believes that the service would  
be greatly benefited by his scheme Dr Jowett descants on it in paragraph 3  
of his communication, § and Mr Walrond regrets that no information as to the  
defects of the present system could be procured to aid him in his discussion At  
the outset it may fairly be asked on what evidence are these statements of failure  
founded, and we see that, although Mr Walrond himself brought this question  
prominently forward, he could elicit no information

We can only therefore assume—for otherwise to what end is the enquiry?—  
that there is due reason for the objections so raised, and the assumption plainly  
stated is that in the matter of the bargain between the State and the public the  
latter gets an undue advantage The State offers a high price for a superior man,  
and does not get such an excellent man as it has a right to expect Therefore to  
make the bargain more equitable it is proposed by some to alter the age of admis-  
sion, by some to facilitate the admission of men from the University, and by some  
so to modify the system of examination as to exclude men whose knowledge is  
taken to be of ephemeral nature

These points are fairly and exhaustively discussed in Mr Walrond's letter, ||  
and there can be no hesitation in accepting the inference that, although these  
things may possibly have some influence over a long series of years and among  
high totals of selected candidates, the every-day rule of the best market is at the  
root of the matter, and that the State cannot expect to get the most distinguished  
of the young men of the day unless a more attractive career is guaranteed than is  
at present held forth.

So it is that these questions of age and peculiarity of examination should be  
considered not with reference to the influence they may be supposed to have over  
the class of men that are selected, but only with reference to the desirability or  
otherwise of opening out to the young men the advantages, moral and intellectual,

\* See page 1.

† See page 2.

‡ See page 5

§ See page 7

|| See page 9

of a University career The State, in fact, gets as good an article as it has any No 301 right to expect, and it remains only to consider how to keep the goodness of the article that has been procured

And this leads us to the second branch of the subject comprising the 1st and 3rd of Mr Howell's questions, that is, the training of the selected candidate.

Here again we have to start on an assumption, namely, that the successful candidate deteriorates between the first and final examinations either morally or mentally or physically, for, as at the period of his first examination the Commissioners were satisfied of his moral qualifications, the examiners of his intellectual acquirements, and the doctor of his corporeal endowments, it is plain that the failure assumed to be noticed in India must have had its origin during the period of his probation This discussion on this branch of the enquiry may be held to have narrowed itself to the argument for and against a University career

The Commissioners, through Mr Walrond, looking at the question on its moral aspects, urge extenuation in favour of life in London, and regarding it from the intellectual point of view raise a positive objection to the University scheme They observe on the first head that with young men who have already given the best possible proof of steadiness and self-control by success in an arduous competition—a system under which they are left free to choose by themselves the place and the manner of their studies in England—is a better preparation for the perfect liberty that they are soon to enjoy in India than any supervision that the discipline of a College could supply.

Their argument here is that all successful candidates are necessarily capable of self-control because they have passed the examination

This statement involves the condemnation of all University career. Every boy who goes from school to college passes an examination which, so far as his own intellect is concerned, is probably as severe as the one which is passed for the Indian Civil Service And the assumption that a high order of intellect implies a high idea of moral responsibility is not only dangerous, but is opposed to the common experience of the dispositions of boys at the early ages of 17 and 18,

So also the second statement that a life of liberty in London is a better preparation for an Indian Civilian than a life amongst his fellows at a University is altogether untenable. So far indeed from the perfect liberty supposed to be enjoyed in India, there is no career in the world in which a man is more tied down by public duty and by social laws.

If indeed there be a well-sustained objection to the present system it is singled out by the reflections that the last expression gives rise to There is no doubt that, on the one hand, the self-approbation of some successful candidates, which is perhaps naturally caused by success in an arduous examination, and again the diffidence of those who have passed their early days in necessitated retirement render them on their arrival in India often impatient of the ways of men.

And it is undoubted that if these passed candidates had spent the intervening two years in the bustle of a University, instead of in the impoverished isolation of a London lodging, the elation of the public schoolboy would have been toned down by associating with men of his own calibre, and the privately educated shy lad would have acquired that confidence among numbers that can only be attained by practical experience

With regard to the mental shortcomings assumed to be one of the causes of this enquiry, Mr Walrond says that in any system of training which may be laid down the most important point to consider is the training in the theory and practice of law He says that a young Civilian who does not carry with him familiarity not only with the principles of law but with the manner in which laws should be administered, will never be able to remedy the defect, and he quotes Lord Macaulay's views on the matter at some length

So far as regards familiarity with the principles of law, there can be no question that the views here set forth have the approbation and concurrence of all who have thought on the subject But it is maintained that Macaulay's words have been made the instrument of much mis-understanding on the subject of attending Law Courts and reporting cases He says that the probationers ought to hear arguments on legal questions where great principles are involved, they should attend Courts where discussions regarding evidence are to be heard, and they should obtain some acquaintance with Indian questions from the deliberation of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council

It is evident from this that what Macaulay aimed at was not so much a knowledge of the intricacies of procedure of an English Court of Law as of the great principles of Law and Equity that are the bases of all systems of jurisprudence throughout the world No one indeed would see more readily that a young man who derives his knowledge of law from Courts where subtleties of argument and prevaricating evidence from the subject of an ordinary day's work would be far more



likely to acquire the legal ideas that guide an attorney than those that are useful to No 301 an administrator.

So far as this is ignored by the Civil Service Commissioners that in their instructions to passed candidates they lay down that the object of reporting cases is to acquire a familiarity with the ordinary staple of business in the Civil and Criminal Courts of this country, and cases are accepted from such places as Police Courts and the Middlesex Sessions, whereas it is abundantly evident that Lord Macaulay only contemplated the candidate imbibing the most elevated conceptions of law from the highest tribunals in the land. It is therefore urged that undue importance is attributed to the necessity of attending Law Courts, and that this consideration should not be allowed to interfere with the proposal for a University residence. If indeed candidates were called upon to attend the Courts during the last six months of their two years' probation, every end would be secured, and much time that is now uselessly spent could be devoted to other subjects.

It was a common objection in 1864 that the time taken up in attending Law Courts was merely wasted. The candidate, unacquainted with shorthand, could only follow the argument of counsel at a halting pace, and he next day turned to the public print for the thread that he always lost. It is confidently asserted that the principles of law involved in any case could be much better acquired and noted in the stillness of the study than amongst the press and discomfort of a crowded Court.

A remark is made in one of the papers that some difficulty may be experienced at the University in providing Telugu and Tamil Professors for the Madras probationers. This seems to be an appropriate opportunity for introducing the observation that it is held by many to be an error that Hindustani is not insisted on as a language for Madras as well as for the other Governments. During the last few years, owing most probably to increase in the facilities of communication, Hindustani has become to a greater extent than before the *lingua franca* of India, and, while a knowledge of Telugu and Tamil is still to be enjoined, the study of those vernaculars may be well deferred till arrival at Madras. The last point for notice is the physical view of the question. This consideration requires no arguments, for the opportunity afforded by a College life for joining in athletic diversions are not to be equalled in any other system that can be proposed.

As to the University degree which it is the desire of successful candidates to obtain, there can be no doubt that every successful candidate would wish to obtain a degree if he would manage it. As the point that India might thereby be able to obtain better men has been set aside, it only remains to consider whether by granting the faculty sought India will be materially benefited. It may be allowed that on the whole a man would be capable of doing better work if he had had the advantages of University life, and that his connection with those seats of learning would lend to him additional prestige among the men whom he is called on to govern. Therefore, putting aside the question of the influence a University residence after the first examination may have on the first selection of candidates, it is submitted that on moral, social and physical grounds the advantages to be derived therefrom are unquestionable, and the objections brought against the proposal that such a life will interfere with the legal studies of all the candidates and with the linguistic requirements of the Madras candidates have, it is urged, acquired undue importance.

If then the University career is admitted to be the best, it is necessary that the adoption of it be thorough. So far as the State is concerned—and there is no reason why we should take other things into consideration,—it is desirable that men should commence their career in India at as early an age as is compatible with a finished European education, and on these grounds the present limits of age should not be departed from.

The difficulty that is now to be encountered is the selection of the University which may be determined on as the residence of the successful candidates during their years of probation. It is proposed in one place that each candidate choose for himself the particular seat of learning which shall receive him during this period. If, however, this be allowed, the acquisition of an *esprit de corps* will be sacrificed, and in the event of a choice being made of the University of London the whole aim of the measure will prove of no effect. It is therefore expedient to confine the selection to one University—either Oxford or Cambridge.

The next question is whether, having made selection of one of these Universities, it will be proper to establish a special College for the Indian candidates or to allow them to seek introduction into the Colleges now existing.

The arguments against the former course are that it will involve certain expense, and that it will tend to create a special class in the University which may be both inimical to its own prospects and too distinctive to fall readily into the ways of other Colleges. If again the candidates are allowed to choose their own Colleges, so small a body of men are likely amongst the crowds of others to fail to

obtain that *esprit de corps* which was above held to be the principal consideration No 301. in rejecting the idea of separate Universities

The suggestion that seems to steer between these pitfalls is, that the candidates be divided among three of the largest Colleges, either in Oxford or Cambridge. They would then have an opportunity of mixing with some of the best men of their years who intend to embark on an English career, they would avoid the chance of becoming an isolated clique, and they would still be in sufficient numbers among themselves to establish a community of interest which would do them good stead in India. Such an arrangement would render easy the other difficulty of the system of examinations best adapted to the probationers.

It is plain that if a University residence is decided on, the management of the candidates must not be of a divided nature, such as it would be were the College authorities and the Civil Service Commissioners both to have a voice in their training and examination during this period. Such a contrivance would be hurtful to discipline and possibly fruitful of misunderstanding between the respective institutions themselves, and there is no reason why the Commissioners should retain any voice in the matter. They would naturally disclaim any responsibility as regards the conduct of the men, morally or socially, and as far as the intermediate and final examinations are concerned these will be just as searching in Oxford as in London, and the Professors who are now employed in the latter place will most probably also be called on to set the papers at the University.

The degrees that may be granted by the University should be obtainable in the two years subsequent to the open competition, and they should be so awarded as to meet with the curriculum laid down for the guidance of the Indian probationers. Modification might be introduced to meet the case of men who commenced residence before that examination, but care should be taken, on the one hand, to withhold any inducement to such candidates to forget the allegiance they have promised to India on their first examination, and, on the other, to provide that non-residence at College before that test shall be in no way prejudicial to the possibility of obtaining an unqualified degree.

## XIX.

From Captain H J PHEE, Asst Secretary to the Chief Commr of Assam, to A P HOWELL, Esq., No 302  
Offg Secy, to the Govt., of India, Home Dept.,—No 2563, dated Shillong, the 21st July 1875

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your endorsement\* No 16—1040, dated 23rd June 1875, and its accompanying papers, on the subject of the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India.

2 I am to annex two papers by Mr. Luttmann-Johnson and Mr Hare of the Civil Service, who were asked to give their opinion on the points noted in the Secretary of State's despatch † I am to say that both these officers have treated the subject very ably, and that their opinions may be read with advantage by any one interested in the matter. Colonel Keatinge would invite special attention to Mr. Hare's views on the subject of "cram," which views he considers to be a very good analysis of the subject. The Chief Commissioner would also commend to attention Mr Hare's arguments against attempting to introduce men to study at any particular University after they have passed the first examination. These views appear to be very sound.

3 Leaving these papers to convey their own impression, the Chief Commissioner would briefly state his own views as follows.

4. First, as to the maximum age of candidates for the first examination, Colonel Keatinge thinks the limit should be raised to 23 years.

5 Secondly, after a candidate has passed the first examination, the Chief Commissioner would allow him to study, as at present, independently, and without restriction of any kind. He would, however, reduce the term of study to one year, and would provide that the subjects of study should be so chosen as to ensure the practical training of the candidate for that branch of the service for which he might be intended.

6. As regards the third point raised in the correspondence under reference, viz, whether successful candidates would, if they could,

\* See page 52

† See page 1

take advantage of being able to complete the University course, the No 302. Chief Commissioner does not feel competent to express an opinion.

7 In connection with this subject, the Chief Commissioner would offer a few remarks on what he would call the Junior Civil Service. Colonel Keatinge considers that much misapprehension occurs from the continued application to that service of the term "uncovenanted," when, in reality, although uncovenanted, it has pension and leave rules as strictly defined as the senior service has. The Chief Commissioner would strictly bar the tendency which the present Indian Civil Service, which he would call the senior service, has to extend downwards. He would organize the junior service somewhat on the following principles. The members should be selected by competition, the limit of age of candidates being 25 years. Examination should be held in India at least four recognized places. The papers might be sent from, and the marks awarded in, England. The larger number of men passing the examination would be natives, and to provide for their fair ambition, 10 per cent. of the junior service might be allowed to rise by merit and eventually hold appointments usually reserved for the senior service. In subsequent years a gradual increase of this proportion might be a political desideratum. This scheme would, in Colonel Keatinge's opinion, form the best solution of that problem which has so long been the study of English politicians, namely, how best to permit natives of India to take their fair share in the administration of their own country.

*Memorandum by H. LUTTMAN-JOHNSON, Esq., c.s., on the present system of selecting and training members of the Civil Service* No 303

I think our Civil Servants should be transplanted from Europe to Asia as old as possible, that is, as old as considerations of health will permit.

My reasons for this view are as follows —

- (1) — The older they are the less subject they will be to Asiatic influences, moral and physical, which I hold to be bad influences. I hold Asiatic influences to be bad, because I find that European races deteriorate in this country. Some say they die out in three generations. I find that on the average the Anglo-Indian of 50 years of age is not the man morally or physically he would have been had he spent his life in Europe,— is inferior in fact to his contemporaries at home. I find that the bad effects of Asiatic influences have always been so far recognized by Anglo-Indians that they send their children to be educated in Europe. For these reasons I think Asiatic influences bad, and would bring out our Civil Servants to India when they are least likely to be affected by them. I would point out that from 18 to 25 is the age at which the character is most affected by its surroundings, at which youths are therefore most in danger from Asiatic influences.
- (2) — The older they are the more knowledge of the world they will have acquired. Without a practical knowledge of men and things good administration is impossible. Life in an Indian mofussil station has few lessons, because it is passed in so narrow a sphere. If knowledge of the world is not acquired before transplantation to India, it is often never acquired at all. A man when he goes home on his first furlough is often too old to learn, the care of a wife and family often makes it impossible for him to learn. In the old days the childlike unsophisticated Anglo-Indian made perhaps a fair administrator, in our present more elaborate system he would be out of place.
- (3) — Minor advantages in getting men out older are that they will have ascertained, before they come, what their work will be, and will therefore be more contented that their minds will be freer than younger men's minds from prejudices in favour of European opinions, and therefore more ready to appreciate native opinions.

2 I think that that training is best for our Civil Servants which enables them to acquire most knowledge of the world. The remarks made above contain my reasons for this opinion. It follows that I would prescribe foreign travel, residence

in one of the main centres of modern civilization, such as London or Paris, that I No 303 would deprecate residence in a mediæval city like Oxford.

3 I think that the maximum age for the competitive examination should be so adjusted as to give the widest possible field for selection. The *onus probandi* lies on those who would narrow the field by excluding any classes.

The policy of exclusiveness now followed which fixes the maximum age at 21 years has, in my opinion, had one very unfortunate result,—it excludes those classes in England (not so in Scotland and Ireland where the University curriculum ends earlier) who frequent the Universities. The curriculum at the English Universities ends with about the 23rd year. As the classes who frequent the Universities are generally well-to-do, their sons are not expected, and are not asked, to choose a profession until they have completed the curriculum. When, after completing the curriculum, they look around them for a calling in life, they find an honourable one, which has great charms for men who prefer a certainty to the struggle for life and the uncertainty which distinguish the home professions closed against them.

I would ask how it is so many good men of the University frequenting classes in England go into the Church. When they come to look around them for a calling, they prefer a certain pittance in an honourable profession to the struggle for life which the bar entails. I would ask how it is that so many good men of these classes take to the scholastic profession. Surely, the Indian Civil Service could compete in the market with these two professions—the church and the school.

What maximum age will give the widest field for selection it is difficult to say; but I think it ought to be so adjusted as at least not to exclude the University-frequenting classes. I do not think 24 years would be too high a maximum, but I would at least return to the maximum which gave us so many good men in the early years of the new system.

This discussion began in complaints against the cramming system. I know nothing of that system as practised in London myself, but I spent five years at Oxford,—I am the son of an old first class man and fellow and tutor of his College, from my 10th to my 27th year I passed at least four examinations per annum on the average, and I state with confidence that if any man wants to pass any Oxford examination with credit he must cram for it. I hold that Oxford crammers are quite as efficient as London crammers, and would again, as they have done before, beat them out of the field if they were allowed to run even their second or third rate men.

I would add a word or two as to the discipline and parental control exercised at Oxford. This is simply all rubbish. If you want to save a young man from going to the bad, you are not likely to effect your purpose by restricting his liberty of action. But the argument does not touch the present question, because there is no fear whatever that young men who have made such good use of their time hitherto as to be able to pass the examination will afterwards go to the bad. Whether they go to Oxford or reside in London, they may be trusted to take good care of themselves. I know most of the young men of the Bengal Civil Service of the present day, and I cannot point to any ill effects of their short acquaintance with life in one of the centres of modern civilization; on the contrary, I know many who would be better men, or more useful officers, if they had seen more of that life.

From L. HARR, Esq., B.C.S., Assistant Commissioner of Assam, to H. LUTTMAN-JOHNSON, Esq., B.C.S., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam,—dated Sylhet, the 15th July 1875.

In reply to an enquiry as to my opinion upon some points connected with the selection and training of Civilians. Upon the first question “the training of Civilians at home after the competitive examination is passed”

I do not think that, upon the whole, the present system of leaving men to acquire the knowledge required in their own way, and testing the results by examinations, could be very much improved upon.

Three courses are open to the Government,—either to found a special college of its own and compel successful candidates to attend it, or to induce one of the Universities to furnish the necessary training and compel attendance at it, or the present course may be retained.

The first plan might be managed, and would not be without some advantages; but I think it would, on the whole, not be preferable to the present system. It would, I think, be popular with the majority of men. Those who are not already connected with any college would, I have little doubt, prefer a college life to the present system of isolation, in respect of the advantage which it affords of the society of other men of their own age. But, on the other hand, at a college, it is necessary to adopt certain rules of discipline, and it must be remembered that the majority of men who have passed the Indian Civil Service entrance examination are men who have passed the age when they are inclined to obey strict discipline. More

than this, the great majority of them have been entirely free from all school and No 303 college discipline for one or two years. These men would find it excessively irksome to have to conform to college rules and disciplines.

It may be thought that such disciplines would be beneficial if unpleasant. But this is far from certain. Grandmotherly care is a very good thing in its right place. But if men, as soon as they leave the college, have not only got to look after themselves, but are to be put into positions of trust and responsibility, the sooner they learn, and the more practice they get in, the duty of looking after themselves without the help of artificial restrictions the better it will be for them. The advantages which are to be expected from a college system socially in giving some men more polished manners are much exaggerated. Men of twenty-one cannot be "licked" into shape, as they might and probably would be if they were boys at a public school. It has been not unknown to history that even men from Oxford or Cambridge have been rather bearish. In the other respect of giving men a better acquaintance with the world and the manners of society except in the case of very young men indeed and 'unattached' men—men living alone whose families are not in England—a college would be the reverse of beneficial. For the fact is that a college is a very small world of a very special kind, and education in it requires to be supplemented by mixing with a larger world.

As regards the amount of work which would be obtained from the men, if at a college, I do not think there would be much more work done. For if, under the present system, many men work irregularly, still it may always be insured that the work is done.

The expense of living at a college would be much greater than that which is necessarily now incurred by men who live at home. Many of the men who now pass are the sons of professional men living in or near London. It would be hard to make these men pay for an expensive college education when they could get a better education elsewhere and a cheaper.

There is one remark more to be made upon this system, and that is that men who had commenced an University course would be precluded from completing it after they had passed the entrance examination. A college system also would offer some practical difficulties in the way attending the law courts.

The second plan of inducing one of the Universities to afford the necessary instruction is out of the question. It would be unfair to compel Cambridge men to go to Oxford, or *vice versa*, and Dublin men would wish to stay at Dublin. The education required by the Indian Government is far too technical for the Universities to supply it efficiently. Law and a variety of languages treated colloquially and not classically form the most important and useful part of this training. The only place where these can be certainly learnt with success is in London. To compel men to go to an University would combine all the disadvantages of a special college with great inferiority of education. If this plan also entailed the necessity of taking a University degree, men would be studying again subjects which their entrance examination had already sufficiently shown that they had acquired. The time which the Indian Government allows for technical training would, to a great extent, be occupied in ordinary school work, which a man ought by this time to have finished with.

On the whole, therefore, I am of opinion that the present system, though in some respects unsatisfactory, is the best that can be adopted, so far as the method of pursuing the studies is concerned.

As to the studies which ought to be pursued, I suppose there is no question. The important subjects are no doubt the law work and the languages of India. If the age of admission to the Indian Civil Service were extended, as I think it might be beneficially, by one year, I think the period of training in England might also be reduced by one year. I would then confine the training to its more special branches. The study of Austin, Bentham and Justinian of history and geography should be struck off from the list of compulsory subjects, and men would be left to acquire a knowledge of these for themselves. Law and languages would be alone compulsory. Under any circumstances I think this change would be beneficial. For it must be remembered that the men who pass have been brought up to habits of study, and I think they may be left to acquire for themselves this knowledge when they find it necessary or even useful. This will happen later in life, and meanwhile the technical knowledge is required at once, as no work at all can be done without it. The technical knowledge, too, since it is put into daily use, will not be forgotten. But I am afraid that much of the more philosophical knowledge acquired is forgotten and has to be re-learnt by the time a man's work affords him an opportunity of applying it.

2 The second question is—"What is the age up to which it is desirable that candidates ought to be admitted to compete at the first examination?"

I think the age of admission might be slightly extended. I would make the lower limit one year older, and the higher limit also one year older, than at present.

The advantages of the course would be that many University men might thus be induced to compete for the Indian Civil Service. The reason why the best University men do not compete for the Indian Civil Service is that such a course must necessarily ruin their University career. I have pointed out in my remarks upon the third question asked the reasons why I believe it quite impossible for men to take the highest honours at a University and also to pass the entrance examination of the Indian Civil Service. The man who turns aside from the strict University course of study, as he must do if he is to pass the Indian Civil Service entrance examination, is hopelessly distanced at the University by men who adhere strictly to that course. No facilities offered for the mere obtaining a degree can obviate this fact, and this I believe I shall make sufficiently clear. By extending the age of admission one year, it would be possible for some men of brilliant ability to turn their attention to the Indian Civil Service examination and to pass it after they had taken their degree. Other men of less ability would, if one year more were allowed them, be able to measure more accurately their chances of gaining the highest University honours and would begin to "hedge" by working for the Indian Civil Service examination. For I believe the estimate in which the two examinations are held to be this. If a man can take high University honours and secure his fellowship at a college, that is the best thing for him to do. If this is his aim, success in it demands that he shall give up all thought of the Indian Civil Service in the case of ninety-nine men out of a hundred. But when a man cannot secure this, or is doubtful about it, then the next best thing is the Indian Civil Service, and success in competing for this demands that he adopt a new course of study, which, by diverting his attention from the University studies exclusively, renders it almost impossible for him to gain high University honors.

I think that by extending the age of admission a greater opportunity would be given both to the very best men and to the next best men of the Universities for competing, and their competition would raise the general standard.

I would not increase the age more than one year, however, because partly I do not think that the man who takes his degree late in life, even though it be a good one, is a man the Indian Government need. The most important reason for keeping down the limit of age is that the younger men are the more willingly they will take to their subordinate positions, and the more readily and quickly they will learn their work. For the first one or two years in India a Civilian is practically at school, and he ought not to be too old to learn. The one year's increase of age due to increase of the limit of admission I would counteract by shortening the training in England after passing the entrance examination in the way suggested above.

3 Upon the third question—"Whether successful candidates would be likely to take advantage of being able to complete the University course if this advantage were open to them,"—I do not think they would do so.

I do not mean to say that a man who has already begun the University course would not wish to finish it, and get his degree. But I do not think any facilities which could be offered would bring about the result that more of the Indian Civil Service Civilians would be University men. This is what I imagine is the real meaning of the question. The raising of the age of admission would, I believe, increase the number of University men in the service. But increased facility of taking a degree after passing the entrance examination of the Indian Civil Service would produce an altogether inappreciable effect. Any facility which could be given with this object would be at the expense of that special training which Civilians now acquire in the two years they spend at home.

There are two reasons upon which I found this opinion. First of all, the value of an University degree is much better understood than formerly. For a man who has passed the Indian Civil Service entrance examination to take a pass degree, it does not require that he shall add to his knowledge, nor in the opinion of those who know anything about the examinations does it give him the credit of having done so. It permits him to add B A or M A to his name, and this gives him some prestige no doubt in the common estimation. But from the educational point of view, Government, looking at what men are, and not what they are called, has little to gain by encouraging its servants to take pass degrees. It is already certain that the successful candidates can do that and much more.

The case, however, is different when men take something more than pass degrees. Here a man has an opportunity of showing himself to be possessed of exceptional talent. But to gain high honors, it is necessary that a man devote himself exclusively to the study of the special subjects in which he expects to obtain them. This it is impossible for him to do, if he is also to do the work which the Civil Service Commissioners require of him. The consequence is that the selected candidate must either run the risk of being rejected at the final examination at Cannon Street, or must content himself with taking such a degree as his knowledge at the time of passing the Indian Civil Service entrance examination permits. If he chooses the latter course, it is difficult to see what is the real gain from the educational point of view in taking a degree. It is impossible to escape from the

conclusion that time spent upon the study of school work is time taken from those No. 303 studies imposed by the Civil Service Commissioners

I think, therefore, that men, looking at the matter in that way, will not, when they have made up their minds to pass the Indian Civil Service examination, care very much about taking a University degree. As to the social advantages of a University career, I do not believe many men consider that they themselves have any social deficiencies, so that perhaps few men would go to the Universities merely to gain more polished manners.

But the more serious reason which is likely to keep men from going to the Universities, and to send them to special establishments, is that men must have a better chance of passing the Indian Civil Service examination from the latter. The greater the difficulty of the entrance examination, and the more severe the competition, the greater will this advantage be.

There is a very general misappreciation of the true source of the success of a coaching establishment. School-masters see their boys leaving them, and after a year or two at one of these houses defeating others, boys who have remained at school, although the latter, while at school, have always held a higher position. Tutors at the Universities find their pupils defeated by men who, if they had come to the University, would probably, at the University examinations, have been found inferior. Seeing this, and not well pleased at the greater success of these special establishments, and not understanding to what this success is due, they have supposed a new force to be called into existence and have given this the name of "cram." That "cram" has a real existence I do not deny, but that it plays any important part in an examination where the standard of knowledge is at all high is certainly not the case. For "cram" in a bad sense is in education remembering without understanding, as in the Strasbourg goose it is eating without digesting. There is no more of this at an Indian Civil Service coaching establishment than at public schools or at the Universities. Nor could there be. For the standard of the Indian Civil Service examination is a high standard. When the mere rudiments of a subject are examined it is very difficult to distinguish between mere memory and a real understanding of the subject. But when some advance is made in the study not only, if the reliance is entirely upon memory, is the memory taxed too severely to allow of anything but a very limited progress, but the command over the knowledge is extremely imperfect and the want of comprehension of the subject is apparent at once. The examiner who has permission to examine deeply into any subject and cannot detect that there is recollection without comprehension on the part of the examinee, stands self-convicted at once of ignorance of the subject about which the examination is held.

Putting aside the explanation of the success of these establishments by the supposition that the pupils at them are "crammed" as an explanation wholly inadequate, it appears that the true explanation lies in facts which will always continue to ensure the success of these establishments so long as they are well conducted. The secret of their success lies not in the fact that they possess any royal road to learning or to the appearance of possessing learning. It lies in the fact that they have adopted the very same rules of teaching which are adopted at the schools and the universities, but have applied these rules not at random, with no special object, as is the case at most schools, or with the object of gaining University honors as is the case at colleges, but specially for the purpose of success at the Indian Civil Service examination. The state of the case I take to be this. Let A and B be men of equal abilities and equal ignorance. Let A be coached at an Indian Civil Service coaching establishment, and B at a University, and the very same reason which makes B defeat A at an University examination will make A defeat B at the Indian Civil Service examination. Nothing but the complete assimilation of the two examinations could make the same system of coaching equally successful at the two examinations. I need hardly say that if the examinations are to be assimilated, the University course must come up to the Indian Civil Service examination course, which, as a system, is infinitely superior, though the greater prestige of the Universities, as a rule, attracts the best men to follow their course.

It is of little use contending with arguments against a common prejudice. But if the list of professors at one of these establishments for coaching for the Indian Civil Service examination be looked into, it will be seen that they are men of high standing in the several branches of knowledge they teach, and men whom it would be ridiculous to suppose would lead themselves to any illegitimate manner of teaching, even if any such could be discovered. The manner of teaching each subject is the same at these places as at the schools and colleges. The success of these establishments lies not in any difference in the way in which any given subject is taught, but in the manner of regulating how many subjects shall be studied and how much time and labor is to be devoted to each subject, so as to make the most of a man's powers. If a man at Cambridge wishes to take high mathematical honors, he must devote almost all his time and labor to that study.



The nature of the University course permits this. The Indian Civil Service examination course would not permit the same exclusive devotion to one subject. For this his studies must be wider. Hence it is that excluding men of very exceptional powers, gaining the highest University honors, is incompatible with success in the Indian Civil Service examination. A man may gain either but not easily both. For the one requires concentration of study to one or at most two subjects, the other requires a study of two or three. It is evident at once that if there is a distinction between the results to be gained, there will be a difference in the best way of obtaining the results. The Cambridge coach directs his pupil's study with the view of excelling chiefly, if not solely, in one subject. The Indian Civil Service examination coach wishes to make his pupil excel in two or three subjects.

A good coaching establishment possesses two permanent advantages which must always secure its success. First of all, they are in the case of most men able to get more work from their pupils than the course pursued for University honors permits. For nearly all men can work effectively for a longer time a day at two or three studies successively than is possible if their labor is exclusively devoted to one subject. Thus men can do absolutely more work if they pursue the Indian Civil Service course of study disregarding for the moment the fact that for their purposes their work has more valuable results than if they pursue the University course. Secondly, their work is directed by a man who has specially studied carefully the new conditions of working, and who can tell a pupil at once if he is wasting his time by studying too many subjects or by studying too few. For it must not be supposed that the Indian Civil Service examination is all in favour of diffusion of study. The high standard gained by the best men in each subject renders it impossible to get marks at all unless a certain standard of knowledge is gained. There is just as much danger to the pupil from too great diffusion of study as from too great concentration. The question of the precise limit in each direction has to be decided separately in the case of each man with due regard to his special powers and talents. This is not a process distinct from but precisely the same as that adopted by the University coach, who, having regard to what a man knows and to what, as it is expressed, 'he can add on' in the time allowed him, regulates how much time is to be spent upon mathematics, classics, or science, in order to obtain the best degree possible under the special circumstances of the case. Until the two examinations are exactly assimilated, each class of coach will be chiefly successful in his own walk.

I must repeat that I do not think the Indian Civil Service examination should be assimilated to the University examinations. The direction in which education has been moving is that in which Lord Macaulay wished it to move when he made the rules of the Indian Civil Service examination, *viz*, in attaching more relative importance to science, English literature, and history and mathematics as compared with classics. Though it is certain that the want of uniformity between the two examinations does prevent many good University men from entering the Indian Civil Service, still it would be a step in the wrong direction to adopt for the latter the Oxford or Cambridge examinations. Especially would this be so now when it seems not unlikely that the latter may introduce considerable changes. For it must be remembered that if the best men usually come from the Universities, it is because they want there the best men, and not that the system there adopted is the best possible.

I have now shown why I do not think men will go largely to the Universities instead of to special coaches previously to passing the entrance examination; it remains to be seen whether men would be likely to take degrees during their two years' probation in England if the Universities relaxed their rules, so as to render this possible. This would necessitate the permission to take a degree with only two years' residence beginning after passing the Indian Civil Service entrance examination. There is no doubt that with a little pressure such as letting it be understood that Government looked upon taking this degree with favour, most men would feel compelled to go to the University. But the disadvantages of this course would be very great. The only excuse at all for a period of study in England, after passing the entrance examination is, in order that certain necessary technical instruction may be gained. Now the successful candidates must either take their degree upon the knowledge they have when they go to the University, or they must add to this knowledge. In the former case, what does Government gain except that its servants can add B.A. or M.A. to their names. In the latter case, the technical instruction must be neglected. This plan resolves itself into a particular example of the case discussed above, *viz*, of passing the period of probation at a University. The principal technical instruction required being in the practice of law, nothing can prevent London being the best place in which to gain it. Add to this that teaching in any language can be obtained with much greater facility as well as more cheaply and better in London than in the Provinces.

In conclusion, my opinion is that the best change would be to increase the upper limit of the age of competition by one year. I would also raise the lower limit one year. The time which is spent upon probation in England, after passing

the entrance examination, should be limited to one year, instead of being, as at No 303 present, two years. The course of study pursued during this year should be such as to secure as much as possible of the more technical instruction in law and languages

## XX

From Captain G H TREVOR, Offg First Assistant Resident, Hyderabad, to A P HOWELL, Esq, No 304  
Offg Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,—No 46, dated Hyderabad  
Residency, the 3rd August 1875

Referring to the printed papers forwarded with your endorsement\* No 16—1041, dated 23rd June last, and also to your demi-official† letter to the Resident of the same date, I am directed to state that the subject therein treated, *viz*, the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India, is one on which Mr Saunders has not been able to consult more than one junior civilian under this administration, for the reason that Mr F H Elliot, at present officiating as Director of Public Instruction in the Assigned Districts, is the only covenanted civilian at present serving under the orders of the Resident. The views of this officer on the three questions specially submitted for opinion are recorded in a letter, of which a copy is herewith enclosed, with a copy also of one from Lieutenant-Colonel Nembhard, the Commissioner of the Assigned Districts. These two officers are the only ones whose opinions Mr Saunders thought it necessary to invite from Berar, seeing that the Government of India were anxious to collect opinions with all practicable despatch.

2 In attempting to form an opinion himself on the large and difficult subject under consideration, the Resident is sensible that he shares the disqualification pleaded by Lieutenant-Colonel Nembhard of having had no special means or opportunity of judging of the practical qualifications for working in India of more than a very few of the men who have joined the Indian Civil Service under the system of open competition. This will be obvious when Mr Saunders mentions that his service in India since the year 1860 has been passed in the Non-Regulation Provinces of Mysore and Hyderabad.

3 The chief complaint against the present system under which the Indian Civil Service is recruited appears to be that it fails to attract the best men at the English Universities, or even the same class of men who were obtained in the early days of competition. The answer to this seems to lie in the fact that the prizes in India are more difficult of attainment than they used to be—improved leave rules cause fewer vacancies, work is more fettered by law and regulation, and necessarily affords less scope for the play and display of individual talent and energy; the value of money is less through a general increase in the cost of living both abroad and in England—a consideration which tells heavily against married life in India. If the complaint therefore be well founded—a point on which Mr Saunders is unable to express an opinion from any experience of his own—the first remedy would appear to be the provision of brighter prospects. Perhaps the best way to do this would be to make a graduated increase of salary after so many years of service a certainty to all efficient servants, and either to increase the pension or to grant it after a shorter period of service than twenty-five years' or twenty-one years' actual service in India.

4 With regard to the three points mentioned in your demi-official† letter of the 23rd June, *viz*—(1) the training at home after the first examination is passed, (2) the age up to which candidates for the first examination should be admitted, and (3) whether successful candidates would be likely to take advantage of being able to complete the university course—Mr Saunders' impressions are briefly as follows.

He agrees with the Civil Service Commissioners in thinking that if a change in the training be considered desirable, the scheme suggested in the letter‡ of the Master of Balliol is entitled to preference, *viz*, "that

\* See page 52

† Not printed

‡ See page 7

as a condition of receiving an allowance every candidate should be No 304 required to reside at some college or university to be approved by the Secretary of State for India," &c The Commissioners, however, throw cold water on this proposal by adding that "an essential feature of any such scheme would be that the probationers should be made distinctly to understand that having (to use the language\* of the report of 1854) 'been set apart as persons who will in all probability have to bear a part in the Government of India, they should give their whole minds to the duties of their new position, they must now be considered as having finished their general education and as having finished it with honour. Their serious studies must henceforth be such as have a special tendency to fit them for their calling.'" Surely this language is open to the objection that it looks on the probationer rather too much in the light of a machine or vessel into which knowledge regarding things Indian is to be poured than as a man with a mind to be developed. Why should youths of 17, 18 and 19 on entering a university or passing the first examination of the Indian Civil Service "be considered as having finished their general education?" The general idea in this country is not that men who come out in the Civil Service lack special knowledge or are wanting in special ability, but rather that some of them have not "finished their general education" and want some of that roundness which university life is believed to be well calculated to afford, and which no one is keener to appreciate than the native of India. If the choice lay between the best men at the universities (speaking not of the men who actually take the highest degrees but of the material out of which they are eventually produced), and the average students who are now assiduously coached in subjects which "have a special tendency to fit them for their calling" which would be most likely to confer distinction on the high offices Indian civilians are called on to fill? If then the problem be as stated by Dr. Jowett "how to attract the greatest number of highly educated and able young men," then it appears to Mr. Saunders that the proposals made by that gentleman are in the main well fitted to assist in its solution. And the most important of these proposals already mentioned has the additional advantage claimed for it of involving no risk or expense—"If found to be a failure it can easily be given up."

5 To quote the same learned authority, "it seems undesirable that a youth should be taken away from Harrow or Rugby and sent for six months or a twelvemonth to a tutor in London. He is interrupted in his studies, and at the age of 18 or 19 he is exposed to a good deal of danger from the temptations of a London life, specially when not under the care of his parents." Again there is much force in the objection that at present "the masters of public schools are set against the service" and "complain that the youth who knows a little of many things which are learned at the 'crammers' will beat another who is far superior to him in ability and solid attainments but has confined his attention to a few subjects only" And probably no one will dispute the assertion that "if the selected candidates could be brought to Oxford and Cambridge, the service would greatly gain in popularity and prestige"

6 Of the six proposals summarised at the end of Dr. Jowett's letter† there is only one to which, on the authority of the Civil Service Commissioners as well as on his own judgment, Mr. Saunders ventures to demur, *viz*, that which would include law and political economy in the first examination.

7. He is not insensible to the chief objection urged against them, that residence at Oxford and Cambridge would not harmonise in one or two respects with all the special preparation for an Indian career which some would advocate. But he apprehends that if there be a difficulty in getting men of the required stamp, the defects in the scheme suggested by the Master of Balliol are capable of remedy, and

\* See page 25

† See page 7

at any rate are not to be weighed in the balance against its great No 304. advantages.

From Lieut Col W NEMBARD, Commissioner, Hyderabad Assigned Districts, to Captain G H TREVOR, Offg First Assistant Resident, Hyderabad,—No 800, dated Oomraotee, the 23rd July 1875

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter\* No 369, dated 13th July 1875, forwarding two copies of Government endorsement† No 16-1041, dated 23rd ultimo (together with the Secretary of State's despatch‡ No 47, dated 8th April 1875, and with printed correspondence between the India Office and the civil service Commission), and calling for opinion—

(1st)—as regards the training at home of civil servants after the first examination is passed,

(2nd)—as to the age up to which it is desirable that candidates\* for the first examination should be admitted, and

(3rd)—whether successful candidates would be likely to complete the university course if this advantage were open to them

2 As requested, I beg to forward copy of letter to my address from Mr F. A. H. Elliot, of the Bombay Civil Service, now Officiating Director of Public Instruction in this Province, No 729, dated 20th July 1875, in which his opinion on the three points abovementioned is fully recorded

3 The Resident desires my own opinion also. But I have had literally no means or opportunity of judging the merits of the subject before me, or even of learning the views of those interested in it, it is therefore out of my power to offer an opinion which would be of the slightest use either to the Resident or to the Government of India. With regard to the first point, however, I may perhaps be permitted to say that I agree with the remarks in the report on the Indian Civil Service, so far as a knowledge of Indian History, Jurisprudence, Financial and Commercial Science and Political Economy are concerned. But I differ entirely as to the study of the vernacular languages of India, which I do not think is begun with any advantage in England.

4 With regard to age, I think that those who intend to pass their career as Revenue officers should come out young, while those who prefer Judicial work would benefit by a couple of years' longer residence in England so as to qualify as barristers

5 As to the third point, I do not think that many young men who had made up their minds for the Indian Civil Service would be tempted to complete the university course.

From F. A. H. ELLIOT, Esq, Offg Director of Public Instruction, Hyderabad Assigned Districts, to Lieut Colonel W NEMBARD, Commissioner, Hyderabad Assigned Districts,—No 729, dated Akola, the 20th July 1875

In compliance with the terms of your endorsement\* No 771, dated the 17th July 1875, forwarding letter\* from the Second Assistant Resident, No 369, dated the 13th of July, and calling for an opinion on certain questions connected with the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service of India, I have the honour to report that the first point which "regards the training at home after the first examination is passed" involves a consideration both of the subjects prescribed to the candidates, of the method in which a knowledge of these subjects is imparted and the period of training required for their due acquirement. It appears to me that in the report of the Committee, dated November 1874, on the examination of candidates for the Civil Service, a very suitable decision was arrived at as to the nature and scope of the studies which should be pursued during the probationary period. Though the different branches of knowledge to be acquired were all to be of a kind specially adapted for the requirements of a civil servant, some were to be of a less technical nature than others, and a manifestly larger share of importance was ascribed to the former, while an opinion was strongly expressed that "it would be a mere waste of time to employ a month here (in England) in learning what may be better learned in a week in Calcutta or Madras"

2 How far these suggestions are now carried into effect is a question well worth asking. History, Political Economy and Jurisprudence are prescribed it is true, but I doubt if such stress is laid on the proper acquirement of these subjects as is likely to lead the candidate to devote any considerable amount of his attention to them. These are the subjects most fitted to supplement his general education before the civil servant turns himself almost wholly to the mastery of those narrower requirements of which he will have to make use in the routine of his official work, and while they form a true passage from the most general to the most special education, they make those first impressions on his mind which must so largely influence his subsequent mode of thinking on special topics. It need scarcely be added that, unlike other subjects, they can be acquired in England

\* Not printed † See page 52 ‡ See page 1

only, and best at that time of life when the student is not hurried to give but is No 305 still at leisure to acquire I would therefore gladly see a more prominent place given to History, Political Economy and Jurisprudence by the assignment to them of a relatively larger number of marks in the periodical and final examinations

In Law, too, it appears to me that rather too much is demanded from the candidate of technical knowledge in Indian Law, which can be acquired far more rapidly in this country, that he is not sufficiently at liberty to devote his whole attention to what can be acquired in England only, or to illustrate his general knowledge of the laws of India by that of the proceedings in English Courts of Justice Fewer and less strict examinations on the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure with which practice will make him so rapidly familiar and the omission of the Intestate and Testamentary Succession Act would leave the candidate more time, and he cannot have enough to give to the Law of Evidence and an acquaintance with the proceedings in English Courts of Justice

I doubt if any advantage arises to the candidate from the study of a native language while still in England, and under the present system it is a great hardship on him that he is forced to hunt up a more or less competent teacher and attend on him often at a great distance from the place in which all his other studies can be carried on The waste of effort is, I believe, enormous This remark does not of course apply to the study of the Oriental classical languages

No method has been prescribed according to which the subjects which it has been thought fit that civil servants should acquire are to be imparted It appears that the competitive examinations bring to the front such excellent young men that after they have been told that they are to learn History, Political Economy, Jurisprudence, Law and Languages spoken in distant countries out of certain books, they may be turned adrift to acquire knowledge in the way which best suits them

In the absence of a college or institution of any sort if only lectures were appointed on all these subjects and compulsory attendance were enforced, is it to be supposed for one moment that the civil servant would be less well fitted for the perfect liberty they are so soon to enjoy in India? If the cost of such a proceeding is excessive to Government, the stipends of the probationers might be curtailed And by holding these lectures during two months or more before and after each successive half-yearly examination, the expenses of coming up to London from a distance would not be incurred, and the time might partly be occupied in visiting those Courts of Law for the proper acquaintance with which a residence in London is said to be almost necessary It appears to me hardly possible to estimate the loss which takes place owing to the absence of all teaching and supervision of studies

4 But I imagine that there are few civil servants who do not regret that they were not brought together with their fellows whilst still candidates at home, and this feeling probably exists most strongly in those among them who have been brought up at a public school or university Against the many advantages of good fellowship, friendly emulation, and the jostle of feelings and opinions there are but few disadvantages to be balanced Perhaps one is that a less amount of work would be got out of the majority of the students specially if such a college were placed in Oxford or Cambridge And the arguments I have heard brought forward for the establishment of a college in the neighbourhood of London appear to me to be very strong if a place can be selected to which lecturers might come down without difficulty, and from which the students might easily go up to town to attend at the Law Courts It would be most advantageous to enrol among the candidates as large a number as possible of men who have gone through a part or the whole of a university career But once they have selected the Civil Service as their work for life, a complete severance from the university appears to me to be advisable, if not imperatively necessary

5 A consideration of the length of time necessary to complete the training of a candidate at home if the amount of the more technical portion of his studies is reduced and if the general portion is increased involves an answer to the second question "as to the age up to which it is desirable that candidates for the first examination should be admitted" Mr. Jowett writes that "the problem is to attract the greatest number of highly educated and able young men" But is this the whole problem? Is it not rather that the greatest number of able young men should be attracted who will reach India at that period of life which is somewhat suitable to the nature of the work they are to undertake? If in the Bombay Presidency a clear line is drawn between the Revenue and Judicial branches, is it not presumable that the two kinds of work present widely different conditions? If the Judicial side of the service is held wholly distinct from the Revenue, is there any objection to making that distinction at the very beginning? If not, and the study of a native language and that of a portion of the study of the native law are omitted, I believe that a year and a half would suffice for the candidate for Revenue

service Much of the special training required in his case must take place in this No 305 country, and as an extensive and intimate knowledge of the Natives will be of use to him, the earlier he begins his Indian career the better. While it is argued in many quarters that civil servants now come out too late and consequently do not gain the experience or take the interest in the country which is expected of them, it is also argued that the legal training of the members of the Judicial Branch leaves something to be desired, and that it is every day becoming more necessary that the Bench should be able to cope with their work. It is left to the option of the candidates in order of merit after the first or competitive examination to elect their line of service. There would be no great difficulty in allowing those who select the Judicial side to prosecute their studies at home for two years or two years and a half, and on the condition that they are called to the Bar, or that they pass the test of some special examination in law, in holding out to them sufficient inducements to prolong their training at home. In their case this training can be pushed on there with advantage, while it is not so necessary that they should begin their Indian career early.

6 If no distinction is to be made between the candidates for the Revenue and the Judicial lines before the competitive examination, I do not see that any thing would be gained by altering the present limits of age for admittance. If it is possible to hold two competitive examinations — one for each branch of the service — it might also be possible to limit the age of the competitors for the Revenue side from 17 to 20, in order that together with a course at home of only a year and a half, they might come out early to India, and at the same time candidates for the Judicial side might be allowed up to 22 years of age, as an early start in this country would not in their case be of the same importance. If it is not possible to hold two competitive examinations, a higher limit up to which candidates for the first examination might be admitted is open to the objections raised by Mr Jowett.

7 The third question whether "successful candidates would be likely to complete the university course if this advantage were open to them," I can answer in the affirmative from personal acquaintance with cases where candidates have even under the present system completed their university career to the possible detriment of their special training, and with cases where candidates have unwillingly abandoned the university to meet the demands made on them by the periodical examinations.

## XXI.

*Memorandum by C J LYALL, Esq.,—dated the 17th May 1875*

No 106

I—Should the maximum limit of age for admission to the competitive examination—now I believe the 21st year (a candidate being ineligible after 21)—be raised?

I am strongly of opinion that it should not be raised beyond 22. The disadvantages of sending out to India a man who has fewer years of youthful activity before him, who is likely to marry sooner, whose mind has become more set and inapt to receive new impressions or acquire new accomplishments, would, I think, be poorly compensated, even if it were certain that if the limit were raised better and abler men would enter the competition. But that they would do so I very much doubt. In the earlier days of the competition the prospects held before the competitors were of the most dazzling description. I well remember hearing of the enthusiasm which the idea of an Indian career created at the universities especially Oxford, from men who had themselves felt it, competed in the examination, and, after passing successfully, found it more to their advantage to throw up their Indian prospects and remain at home. At this time and for two or three years after older men than ever now compete entered the lists, and were no doubt most valuable acquisitions to the service when they passed. But it was not long before the good and evil of an Indian career came to be more generally and thoroughly understood the university men who had taken distinguished honours and their degrees no longer found it attractive, and I believe that, although the limit of age was not immediately lowered by any positive orders of the Commissioners, the average age very soon fell greatly. I am not informed of the details of the changes gradually introduced. But up to and including 1865 (the year in which I myself passed) the limit of admissible age was I think 22, in 1866 it was lowered to 21, and I believe that since that date no candidate who has passed 21 is eligible. Now boys generally go to college (I am speaking of Oxford chiefly, but

I believe the same remarks apply to Cambridge) at about 17 or 18. At Oxford an honour degree is usually obtained in about four years, at Cambridge I think the term varies from three to three and a half. At the time a young man takes his degree he is therefore 21 or 22. When he has done so he generally either sets to work to read law at an Inn of Court (supposing the law to be the career he chooses), or stays at the university for a couple of years (at the outside) endeavouring to get a college fellowship. If he gets one he may as before leave the university and take to law study, or he may stay there as a college tutor. Say that he is then turned 24. By that time he will assuredly have ascertained his powers sufficiently to choose with some discrimination the course of life he may prefer. And it seems to me almost impossible that the choice of any man who so far in his career has been successful and who may hope for further success at home should fall upon the Indian Civil Service.

It is not that I depreciate that service as a career. Far from it. Speaking for myself, I may say that I regard it as one of the most satisfactory spheres of work which any one could choose in its higher and more independent offices, and as above the average of useful employments even in its lower. But I am imagining the attractions which it would have to a man, hitherto successful in university distinctions, perhaps a fellow of his college (most fellowships are gained within a year or 18 months after the degree is taken), and therefore with a fair nucleus of assured income, full of enthusiasm for culture and intellectual activity, and full probably of ambition to excel in the society to which his fellows also belong. I have known such men (two notable instances, one of whom passed second and the other first of the selected candidates of his year) who after succeeding in the competition deliberately threw up India for home successes, and I think that none but *unsuccessful* men after the age of 22 are at all likely to be attracted by the prospects. One or two exceptions may of course occur if the limit of age is raised, but no general leavening of the selected candidates with men of greater ability seems in the least degree probable in consequence of the measure.

On the other hand, I would not recommend further reducing the limit. Sir William Muir justly instances the cases of men who, his contemporaries, passed out of Haileybury to India at 18, and he is inclined to think that the minimum and maximum limits should be 17 and 19. But this would give the candidates little or no university education before they compete, one year's residence (at so young an age as 18) at a university is of little use. A boy cannot work profitably at college unless he has some object before him, and with the Civil Service competition in view it is impossible that he should prepare for any university examination. If, therefore, it is desired (and I believe it is generally conceded to be desirable) to get university men into the service, the limit of age will have to be so timed as to catch men who are well in for a university course of study, and who, whether they pass or fail, are likely at any rate to proceed to their degree. Half way<sup>a</sup> through the four years' Oxford course of study comes the examination called

<sup>a</sup> I see that Dean Liddell says that this may be passed in the 4th or 5th term after matriculation. But honours are, I believe, rarely taken before the 7th or 8th term.

*Moderations*, which in *litteræ humaniores* may be called the finishing examination so far as style and linguistic knowledge is concerned. (The final schools test chiefly knowledge of philosophy and history, and the standard of acquaintance with the classical languages required at them is not higher than that set at Moderations. Indeed it is not uncommon for men who get only a second class at Moderations to get a first class in "Greats".) Unless a man has worked for this examination at least, he may just as well not have gone to college at all. He is not likely to pass it with success before 20. And unless he can put it behind him before he passes the competitive, he is not likely to be able to work for it



afterwards. [ In 1865 there were several Oxford men, including myself, who went in for Moderations *after* passing the competitive, but I believe we had all prepared ourselves for the examination before we competed for the Indian Service. Indeed I myself and, I think, most of the others were driven rather suddenly to decide upon going up for the Indian in 1865, because of a notice unexpectedly issued that in 1866 the limit of age would be lowered, by which time we should have been too old. The strain of two severe examinations in the same month—Moderations and the first half-yearly special Indian examination—was unduly great ] No. 306

Briefly therefore my argument is that by raising the age you are not likely to get any larger number of able men than you get at present, while by lowering it below its present limit you are cutting off university men from the competition altogether.

The above remarks were written before I had seen the collection of papers on the subject of changes in the system of selection which have been sent out by the Secretary of State. After reading these I do not think that I need modify what I have written, much of which is, however, urged with greater force in various parts of the printed papers. Mr Jowett's suggestions at pages 9 to 13 of the collection seem to me exceedingly reasonable and good. And his remarks are valuable as showing that Balliol at least (my own College) does not show any disinclination (as I had heard that some colleges had done) to make special provision for men wishing to prepare for Indian service.

I would only add to the above that from my experience of the opportunities for culture which offer themselves after a young civilian arrives in India, it seems to me most necessary that he should be allowed to avail himself to the full of those which Europe affords before he leaves home. And I believe that I am merely expressing an universally admitted truth when I say that much more is now thought necessary for a man to know and exercise his mind upon in his youth than was thought sufficient 30 years ago. Perhaps I might add that the pressure of official work in India has notably increased in late years, and that it seems improbable that the small leisure which now remains to Indian officers will hereafter permit them to produce such worthy results of study as illustrate the names of so many who came out in pre-mutiny days.

All these considerations appear to me to be weighty against lowering the limit of age. I am not sure that it would not be advisable, as suggested by Mr Jowett, to extend it to 22 in special cases, and in order to secure as many men as possible who have passed Moderations, I am inclined to think that it would be necessary to do so, but, if special exceptions are made, the working of such a rule might involve difficulties of detail which would be fatal to it.

II —Secondly, as to the subjects of examination and the mode of marking. Are these favourable to what is called "cramming"?

• So much that is vague and foolish has been said and written about "cramming" and the sort of knowledge that competitive examinations encourage that I was unprepared to find from the very lucid exposition of results contained in the printed papers that the truth is quite otherwise. From these I learn that so far from the pupils prepared by private establishments (the so-called crammers) being men who made up their marks by taking up a wide range of subjects and so getting a total composed of small units, they actually took up on an average fewer subjects than the university men who came direct from college to compete (see Appendix O). The "cramming" therefore here appears to be nothing more or less than solidity and good method of teaching.

In fact, I believe that the system of deducing a fixed proportion from marks gained in all subjects has put a stop to the old sort of

superficial study which I have mentioned—that which aimed at getting No 306 a high total by a small proportion of marks in many subjects — (See for statistical evidence of this the table on page 53 of the papers).

I doubt whether much change could advantageously be made in the selection of subjects, or in the system of marking now pursued. The subjects are—

	Marks
English Composition	500
English History and Literature	1,000
Latin	750
Greek	750
French	375
German	375
Italian	375
Mathematics	1,250
Natural Science	1,000
Moral Science	500
Sanskrit	500
Arabic	500

It will probably be considered unnecessary to discuss the propriety of the marks assigned to the classical languages and mathematics. Nor are those attached to French and German open to objection in my opinion. Italian is comparatively little studied in England, but there seems no reason why it should not carry equal weight with the other two modern languages. Sanskrit and Arabic must be retained if any provision is to be made for the special behoof of natives of India. I do not think that in this light they are too highly marked.

There remain (1) English, (2) Natural Science, and (3) Moral Science.

English must clearly be retained as a subject of examination, and is worthy of a high place. It now counts as exactly of equal value with a knowledge of the two classical languages. Considering that to natives of India it takes in a great measure the place of these, I hardly see how it could be ranked lower, yet some redistribution of marks might perhaps be made. Composition might be ranked higher, and history and literature lower. It is in these last that a superficial knowledge is more easily acquired than in any other subject. I would divide the 1,500 marks equally, assigning 750 to composition and 750 to literature and history.

Natural science is not a subject much taught as yet at schools, but there can be little doubt that it will gradually take a larger and larger place in education. It is no doubt a subject in which a little knowledge is easily acquired, but I can conceive no way in which any regulation can deal with such smattering more successfully than the discretion and discrimination of a skilful examiner. I think, however, that the subject might be raised at 800 instead of 1,000.

Moral Science is no doubt a very unsatisfactory subject. So far as it includes logic, which is an indispensable part of the Oxford curriculum, I see no objection to it. The Scotch Universities are famous for their insistence on metaphysics and moral science, and, besides logic, the highest honours at Oxford require a considerable acquaintance with ethical philosophy and the history of the various schools of thought. The subject is only marked at 500. I would let it stand, but would give greater prominence to the more exact portion of the studies embraced under the head, *viz*, Logic.

The system of deducting marks seems to me admirable, and the best check upon a wide but superficial acquaintance with subjects of study that has yet been devised—See Dr Temple's remarks\* upon it and the results of its introduction in 1865-66 as stated in the next paragraph on the same page.

\* See page 39

The suggestion for a preliminary examination in obligatory subjects, those, namely, which make up the ground-work of a liberal education, would probably be effective if it were the case that the present system encourages selection from too wide a field. But does it? The papers seem rather to show that the number of subjects taken up has become more and more restricted of late years, and that the so-called "crammers" have devoted themselves to working their pupils exhaustively in as few subjects as will secure their passing. Greek (very unfortunately I think) is now much less taught as part of a general education than it used to be, and it could hardly be made an obligatory subject.

III—Are any changes desirable in the system of training selected candidates during the two years of probation?

It seems to be generally admitted that some association and discipline during this term, by residence either at a special college or at one of the universities, is very desirable, but the obstacle to this is that it would throw impediments in the way of obtaining special instruction in Indian languages and law. I see, however, no insuperable objections to the plan on this score. The universities have already made great provision for the study of Oriental languages, and in these papers (and in Reuter's telegram of the 14th instant) I find evidence that they propose to increase those facilities. I think residence at one of the old universities preferable, as more likely to develop and broaden the man, to residence at a special college remote from any other centre of thought.

When I was at Oxford (I spent as an under-graduate the two years intervening between the competitive examination and my leaving for India) I found no difficulty whatever in putting in residence sufficient to qualify for my degree, and also in visiting London often enough to obtain the necessary instruction in law and to attend the law courts for the purpose of getting reports of cases. Certainly nothing should be allowed to interfere with this most useful portion of the special training in law now required of selected candidates. I look upon it as one of the very best parts of the two years' course of study, and I think that most of those who have undergone it will concur with me.

I certainly think that Persian should be made one of the obligatory vernacular (or classical) languages for men going to Upper India. When I passed each Presidency and Province had allotted to it two languages in which it was obligatory to qualify. The North-Western Provinces had Hindi and Hindustani; Bengal, Hindustani and Bengali, Madras, Tamil and Telugu, and Bombay, Gujrathi and Marathi. Now I am told only one language is obligatory, which seems a pity. A man arriving in Bengal with a knowledge only of Hindustani (which is likely to be selected as that in which good teaching is most readily procurable in England) is useless for work in a Bengal district, where he cannot understand or be understood by a single villager. I would revert to the old system of two languages, and would for the North-Western Provinces, Punjab and Oudh candidates make Persian instead of Hindi the second language. Not that I would strike out Hindi, but I would require a knowledge of it as a sub-dialect or part of Hindustani, from which it does not differ substantially except by a freer use of Sanskrit words and in the adoption of the Devaragiri character.

I would strongly urge the retention (with a grounding in Persian) of the teaching of the vernaculars in England. I may be permitted to say that from my own experience I believe that the grounding in grammar and orthography which one gets at home is invaluable. One's vocabulary no doubt widens much after arrival in India, but the progress which one thus makes is chiefly colloquial, and, unless one has a good grammatical and orthographical frame work in one's

mind on which to arrange the words so picked-up, one remains very No 306.  
often to the last unable to spell them correctly, and ignorant of their  
full force because ignorant of their etymological relationship to other  
words derived from the same root. I would repeat that after his  
arrival in India the young civilian, though he cannot perhaps ever  
be said to cease to *learn*, has but little (an ever-dwindling little)  
leisure to *study*.

## . XXII

*Memorandum by W. Coldstream, Esq., dated 18th May 1875*

No 307

I think it would be undesirable to extend the limit of age at  
which candidates may be selected. The sooner the young officer is in  
India the better provided his general and special education and ac-  
quirements have reached a certain standard, and provided he has had  
a certain amount of opportunity of seeing something of the world and  
of society at home. For when he arrives in India he has still a long  
education for his special work before him, during which time it is  
very important that he should have the advantage to as great a degree  
as possible of the mental and physical plasticity of youth. Every  
year after 22 or 23 that this Indian education is deferred appears to  
me a serious loss to the man as a public officer.

Again, I do not think that 17 is too early an age to admit to  
competition (though perhaps 19 is a little too soon to come to India.)  
As far as the chance of securing a good official goes, the examination  
at 17 is likely to be as efficient a test as the examination at 18. But  
as a youth who passes at 17 would in the ordinary course lose two  
or three years of home education (secured to the older candidate)  
which would be most valuable, and of which as having power and  
application enough to pass so early he would be likely to make excep-  
tionally good use, I think it would be a good thing to allow such a  
candidate an extra year of subsequent training at home, and not force  
him to come to India till he was 20, which is quite early enough.  
I think the Government might often be a gainer in this way by secur-  
ing exceptionally good men to whom it would allow an opportunity  
for extra culture.

Thus I should be in favour of retaining the present minimum (17)  
with the above condition, and restricting the maximum age for "the  
open," as it is called, to 20. One of the youngest candidates of my  
own year (I think the very youngest) has been one of the most suc-  
cessful in after service.

II As regards the subjects of the examination, the fewness of  
the modifications which have during these 19 years been introduced  
must be regarded as no slight proof of the general excellence and  
practical utility of the scheme as it stands. I think the marks for  
English should certainly not be reduced, but that the suggestion to  
add marks for composition, proportionately reducing the values of  
history and literature (giving 750 to the two latter as one branch  
and 750 to composition, thus retaining 1,500 as the aggregate) is a  
good one. I do not think that any of the subjects should be aban-  
doned, or that their values in marks should be altered. Natural  
science is not only a subject of growing importance to all educated  
men, but its study as a training for a faculty of observation cannot  
be over-estimated. I do not think its marks should be reduced. I do  
think, however, that all candidates should be obliged to come up to a  
certain standard of knowledge in English, Latin, Greek, and either  
Mathematics or Natural Science, Sanskrit or Arabic being substituted  
for Latin and Greek in the case of Native candidates.

With this modification I am not disposed to think that it is desir-  
able to put a limit to the number of subjects which a candidate should  
be allowed to "profess." Having once secured a good knowledge of  
these obligatory subjects by fixing a *pass* standard in them, and a fair  
knowledge of all other subjects by deducting a certain number from

the marks gained in each subject, I think all that is absolutely necessary to avoid shallowness is gained. Beyond this some men's tastes and capacities will lead them in one direction, the tastes and capacities of others in another. Some will cling to one favourite subject and study it fully, others will extend their enquiries in the domain of knowledge over a wider area. Without depreciating the great advantages of thoroughgoing study and solid acquirement in a single subject, it may also be held that to possess stores of knowledge in a variety of subjects is not without its advantages. And, on the other hand, while the capacity to master one subject completely is a good proof of one kind of ability, the capacity to exercise the mind and acquire stores of knowledge in a variety of subjects is proof of ability of another sort, also useful in its way. If the danger of accepting candidates who have obtained only a smattering of a subject by reading up a small manual be recognized and met by the examiner (and to this great attention seems to be paid), I do not think that any restriction as to the number of subjects is necessary. (It is satisfactory to see that *superficial* knowledge is not considered to "pay") I think it should be considered too, that, once the obligatory standard in certain subjects is reached, the object of the examination is not merely to elicit proof that the candidate possesses knowledge which is likely in itself to be practically useful to him hereafter, but also to ascertain that he has capacity to bring his mind usefully to bear upon other stores of knowledge which he must subsequently acquire, and upon other and very varied subjects which must engage his attention in his future career.

In this regard I think the permission to "profess" a variety of subjects affords scope to prove a kind of capacity which is very useful to Government. Considering the wide sphere for the civilian's energies in India, in the infinite variety of work he may be called on to perform, *extensiveness* as well as *comprehensiveness* of mental range appears to be particularly desirable. It so happens that two of the most talented and hitherto successful men of my own standing in the Punjab each took up *eight* subjects at the open examination (they are among those mentioned in the list on page 53).

I think then—

that the subjects and marks should remain as they are (with the exception of the slight modification in apportioning the marks in the three branches of English),

that English, Latin, Greek and Mathematics or Natural Science should be obligatory subjects a pass standard being fixed for each, and

that no limit should be put to the number of subjects which a candidate may "profess"

III —As regards the subsequent special preparation, two points are discussed in these papers—

1st, in what the training is to consist, and

2nd, where it is to be undergone.

The subjects to be studied are four in number—

- (1) Oriental Languages, .
- (2) History and Geography of India,
- (3) Law, and
- (4) Political Economy

As regards languages, it is essential that a broad and strong foundation of accurate grammatical knowledge be laid, for the civilian will not have much leisure or inclination to study his grammar in India. I think that strong efforts should be made to train candidates to a much greater familiarity with the written character of the various languages (especially the Persian character which is difficult to read) than has hitherto been considered necessary. It is extraordinary how very few men can read what their vernacular clerks write.

The scheme allots 500 marks for Sanskrit, but nothing is said No 307 about Arabic and Persian as regards the number of marks to be obtained for them. Are they included among the vernaculars for which 400 each is awarded? Arabic being the *more* useful of the two classical languages for candidates who come to Upper India, and in consideration of the great and growing importance of Persian, I think 500 marks should be allotted to each of these two languages. It certainly appears very desirable that every candidate should possess a knowledge of one or the other of the two classical languages of India. The suggestion also appears to me important that all candidates coming to Upper India should be obliged to study Persian. It is a language much more easily acquired both colloqually and otherwise than either Sanskrit and Arabic, and its idiom being very like that of the Western languages, its acquisition would not be a great addition to the burden of the selected candidate's labour during his period of probation.

Indian History and Geography must also be carefully studied in detail.

But as regards Law, I think the instruction imparted to the candidates should be of a general nature, and consist more of the principles of law than of the details of the codes. The latter are acquired, and can only be acquired in such a manner as to be of practical value, by daily use in cutcherry. This appears to be of much importance. It is a mere waste of time to learn in England the details which a few months' practice in India will teach. But the principles of civil law, of international jurisprudence, and the relations of the Hindu and Mahomedan systems, in their broad outlines to these, are what are *not* learned in daily practice, and a careful study of these is required to make a good Indian lawyer, for this study the civilian in India has little time, and for this reason, as well as because these subjects lie at the foundation of what should be his superstructure of legal knowledge, much attention should be devoted to them by the selected candidate.

*2nd* — There can be no doubt but that the selected candidates would be far better placed if under some degree of scholastic supervision than as now left to study where they please but advised to go to London. Such supervision would be of benefit both to their studies and morals, and, if the advantages of the society of a university town and the prospect of a degree specially arranged for them were superadded, their position would be greatly improved in every way. The proposals made by the Master of Balliol appear to be most opportune, and if arrangements, such as he proposes, were made by Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh and Dublin, with the approval of the Secretary of State, the result would be candidates better prepared for their career in every way. (I think the Scotch and Irish Universities should be recognised in such an arrangement.) It would place them in the midst of very great social advantages, of which, although doubtless it may be said that they have now the option of enjoying them, they certainly do not always choose to avail themselves, and probably the hope of being able to take a degree almost in regular course would render candidature for the Indian Civil Service more popular. I believe a majority of the young men would prefer such a system.

It would be far better that this college system should be grafted on the great universities and colleges than that a separate college should be opened for the society and academic 'aura' of a university town would tend to prevent any narrowness which the system of a special college, with special studies, might tend to produce.

The objection that the candidate would not have an opportunity of attending the courts of law to study their practice and

make notes of cases, is shown in Mr. Jowett's letter\* to be ground- No 367  
less

I do not myself think that the temptation to be seduced into other careers would practically be found very strong, but if it were found so, it could be nullified, as suggested, by requiring each candidate to enter into a bond to forfeit £500 if he threw up the Indian Civil Service

The further objection of the Civil Service Commissioners to prescribe places in which the selected candidates shall reside, on the ground that their freedom of choice is a better preparation for that perfect liberty which they will enjoy in India, appears of little weight. It would equally apply to young men studying for any career at home

It is a grave question whether it would be desirable to withdraw the money assignment made to the candidates during probation, this measure would certainly reduce the number of competitors, many of whom could ill afford the expensive training without the aid of the allowance, and even with others it would tend to make the examinations less popular, and so would be detrimental to the interests of the service

Under this head, shortly, I advocate—

- (1) Increased attention, if possible, to Arabic and Sanskrit;
- (2) The making of Persian obligatory on all candidates coming to Northern India,
- (3) Increased attention to reading the written Persian character,
- (4) Much attention to the principles of jurisprudence and little to the details of the codes,
- (5) A collegiate system for the selected candidates embracing a specially arranged curriculum for a degree this system to be engrafted, if possible, on the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh and Dublin, and
- (6) The allowances to be continued.

### XXIII.

*Memorandum by F HENVEY, Esq.,—dated the 21st May 1875*

No 308

Mr Aitchison talked over this matter with me to-day, and I found that my opinions were substantially in accord with his. I am strongly in favour of raising the limit of age. I believe that by doing so you will gain far more than you will lose. You will gain by attracting men whose education has been matured, instead of school-boys with half-formed minds. You may lose something of the plasticity of youth, but I do not consider plasticity as valuable as breadth of culture and *formed principles*. Moreover, I differ from Mr. C J. Lyall in thinking that if the limit of age were extended many excellent men who are now excluded would enter the service. The Indian Civil Service has not sufficient attractions to secure men who have obtained a first class in the final schools at Oxford or in the Tripos at Cambridge, but there are numbers of men who are admirably educated, but who from one cause or another have just missed the first class. To such men the prospect at home in any of the learned professions is not brilliant. Many of them after *comparative* failure would gladly enter the Indian Civil Service, but by existing rules they are, speaking generally, excluded. And yet I should think the chances are that such a man would be a better officer all round than a clever boy taken from school and polished up by a crammer. I passed for my nomination within a fortnight after leaving Rugby. Owing to the illiberal policy at that time pursued at Oxford the authorities of the college to which I was about to go would give

\* See page 7.



me no facilities for carrying on the special studies necessary for No 308 passing the final examination, and consequently I left England without the advantage of an university training even for a day. Very grievously have I felt the loss. On the other hand, I am by no means sure that the plasticity of youth was a gain, for unless a man happens at the outset to fall into good hands, the influences which affect him are likely to do more harm than good, and the chances I fear are not generally in favour of good influences.

As regards the subjects and method of examination, I do not know that I can add anything to valuable papers which have been written.

What is needed is a system which shall test the results of a liberal education, and which shall not exclude the scholars of any of our first class educational institutions. Therefore, while I share the prejudice common to public school men against Natural Science, Moral Science, and the like, I would not exclude those subjects from the system of examination, but I would give a more decisive preponderance to the two great classical languages, and to the two principal modern languages—French and German—which every educated gentleman should thoroughly know and which are most useful even in this country. I would not make mathematics obligatory. Many minds of the first class in other respects are weighted with an absolute incapacity for learning mathematics. The most learned Grecian it has been my fortune to meet failed to obtain a place in the first class of the Classical Tripos because he could not master the Binomial Theorem. I am writing of the old days in which some knowledge of mathematics was necessary even for a classical degree at Cambridge. One of the very best workmen I have seen in India is a gentleman who was among the first boys at Eton who entered Woolwich at the head of the list owing to his excellence in classics and modern languages, but who barely attained a commission in the artillery because he failed in mathematics. Give mathematics a high place by all means, but do not make them obligatory.

If the object of the examination be to defeat the crammers, this can be done to a very great extent by laying stress on composition. You cannot teach a boy by cramming to write good Latin prose or Greek prose, or to translate an article from the *Times* into correct French or German. Give very little for literature and history. If a man knows a language in a thorough and scholarlike manner, the chances are ten to one he also knows the literature and history of the country. On the other hand, if you give high marks for literature and history, you place the scholar at a disadvantage with the man who has learned by heart a string of dates, prominent events, and passages marked by his tutor.

I thoroughly concur with what Mr Aitchison has written on the subject of the training of selected candidates. You require a sound education in those branches of learning which are most likely to be useful in the future career of the student. You cannot have a better basis in the case of an Indian civilian than the elements of political economy, the principles of law, and the classical languages of the East. A grounding in the vernacular languages of India would be useful of course, but as time is limited, and human capacity also, I should prefer to insist on a study of Sanskrit and Arabic, trusting that the young civilian would hereafter learn more of the vernaculars in ten minutes of cutcherry work or the examination of putwarrees papers, than in weeks of labour under the guidance of Syud Abdoolla!

To a special college like Cooper's Hill I greatly prefer the plan of giving students facilities for carrying on their education at the great universities. You cannot treat young men like boys at school,

and if you make the discipline at a special college strict enough to secure the object in view, you run the risk of diminishing the attractions of the service, which are already not too many or too enchanting. What is required is that *tone* of high and honourable feeling prevalent in the great educational institutions of the United Kingdom which have an ancient history and tradition to maintain and be proud of. Such a feeling is better than any *esprit de corps*. It is a tradition of the Blue Coat School that any boy convicted by his fellows of immoral or disgraceful conduct is "sent to Coventry". That is what is wanted in all schools and colleges. The tone, however, cannot be created in a day or many days. It already exists at Oxford and Cambridge and the sister universities, and is so precious a thing that every effort should be made to secure it for the young Indian civilian.

It is probable that Government would contribute liberally towards the expenses of Indian students residing at approved colleges, and this would remove the objection that poor men could not afford the cost of living at Oxford or Cambridge. I freely acknowledge the great advantage of an *esprit de corps*. But I would not acquire an *esprit de corps* at the expense of something far higher.

#### XXIV

*Memorandum by C. U. AITCHISON, Esq., C S I.,—dated the 21st May 1875* No 309

Before any useful opinion can be formed either as regards the range of subjects for examination or the training of the selected candidates, it seems essential that the question of age should first be determined. As regards both examination and future training the requirements for a boy of 17 are very different from the requirements for a well-educated young man of 22.

I have always been of opinion that the reduction of age was a mistake, and that the limits fixed in 1855 should be reverted to, *viz*, minimum 18 and maximum 23, or at the very lowest 22. With two years' study in England, this would bring young civilians out at ages varying from 20 to 24 or 25. It cannot be said that at that age the mind and habits are so formed as to have destroyed or even impaired the plasticity of youth, it was not found so, I think, with the men of the earlier years who with few exceptions were 22 or upwards when they reached India. There was perhaps an advantage in catching lads young in old times, when Indian life meant actual severance from English ties, English literature, and even English news for indefinitely long periods, but matters are changed now. The great advantage of raising the age is that we get young men of more matured mind, wider and more liberal education, and men who, having reached a period of life at which they have deliberately to choose a career for themselves, are less likely to regret their choice hereafter.

We shall never get the best university men for India by any system that can be devised. The gilding has been taken off an Indian career. Still it is one of the finest services in the world, and will always attract university men in the class all but the best. By raising the age we enable men to have a year or two of a university or even to take their degree, and thus secure a sound, liberal, general education before their special studies commence.

If the age be lowered, I think the subjects of examination from which choice can be made should be considerably reduced, and the number of subjects which a candidate can profess should be limited to three or four. I would strike out moral sciences altogether, for a lad of 17 is, as a rule, simply incapable of understanding the elements of them, specially of metaphysics. Natural sciences should also come out, for the boy could not have got beyond elementary manuals. The other subjects might stand, Latin, Greek and English

being compulsory, and Sanskrit and Arabic being substituted for Latin and Greek in the case of natives of India who might not take up Latin and Greek. In that case also I would keep the existing proportion between the marks for English composition and English literature and history. A lad's style of writing is seldom formed between 17 and 21, and it is well to encourage him to be familiar with the works of our great masters. No 309

For comparatively young lads I think a college like Cooper's Hill, where they could all be trained together in their special Indian studies, better than any of the other systems suggested.

On the other hand, if the limit of age be raised so as to draw candidates from the universities, I would not put any new restrictions on the number of specified subjects that may be professed, nor would I make any subjects compulsory, but I would require excellence in some one or more of the subjects professed. For such candidates the present list of subjects and values seems fair. In their case residence at some university would be preferable to a special college. These men no longer require to be treated as school boys, and they should be allowed to choose their own college, arrangements being made with the college merely to report half-yearly regarding their progress in study.

If the present age be retained, I think the Commissioners are right in recommending that no great change be made in the examination system, which, on the whole, seems from the returns to answer the purpose. After selection the lads should be trained at some special college, or at some university, preferably at Oxford or Cambridge. No arrangements could possibly be made, in my opinion, for proper supervision at any of the Scotch universities.

I would not withdraw the special allowances from the selected candidates, to do so would be to take away one more of the attractions to the Indian service. If the youths be educated in a special college, there will not be much chance of their being seduced from an Indian career, and no special precautions will be needed. If they study at universities there will always be a chance of their changing their mind, but this can be guarded against by engagements to refund the allowances and pay a penalty besides.

In regard to the subjects to be specially studied in England after election, I entirely agree in the opinion expressed by Sir William Muir, that less attention should be given to details than to principles. I find the following passage in a note I wrote on the subject in 1863: "The time spent in England should be spent in the study of principles not of details—not in acquiring any system of finance but in mastering the principles of political economy; not in learning codes of law but in the study of the principles of jurisprudence, not in acquiring Indian dialects but in the study of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, a knowledge of which will make the acquisition of the spoken languages of India easy, and which can be methodically studied better in Europe than in India." I would make Persian and elementary Arabic obligatory on all the selected candidates coming to Upper India.

In my opinion everything turns on the question of age. I observe from Table F that even now, when the limits are 17 and 21, an enormous majority of the successful candidates are over 20. So in 1859 when the limits were 18 and 23 the vast majority were over 21 and 22. The same I believe was the case between 1855 and 1859, but the papers do not give the statistics. This shows that the chances are all in favour of the oldest candidates. If, then, we reduce the maximum limit, we shall only get an under-educated boy, if we increase it, we may get a well-educated young man.

## XXV

*Memorandum by R B CHAPMAN, Esq.,—dated the 24th May 1875*

No 310

As to the process up to the selection of the candidates by competition, I do not think that the existing regulations need improvement. I approve of the present regulations as to age and as to marks, and I think nothing of the alleged "cramming objection." If any young man can succeed at these examinations by cramming he *ought* to succeed in my judgment, for he must be an extraordinarily clever fellow.

I should not wish to see the young men come out either younger or older than now.

As to the period of probation at home *after* selection, I think that it would be a very great advantage that it should be passed at one of the universities. And if possible, for the sake of *esprit de corps*, I should like to have it arranged that it should be passed at *one* college in either university, say, *e g*, at either Christ Church, Oxford, or Trinity, Cambridge. I would on no account institute a civil Cooper's Hill or any *special* college at one of the universities, nor would I name one of the smaller existing colleges.

As to the subjects of study, I fully concur with Sir William Muir's views and Mr Aitchison's. Indeed I should be almost disposed to go further in respect to language, *excluding* Persian in favour of Arabic. I would certainly not attempt the vernaculars or the codes and such subjects. And I do not attach the importance that some do to attendance at the courts. I tried it myself while at home on furlough steadily, and my opinion of the value of the process was unfavourable. One has to sift such a mass of chaff in order to get at very little wheat. I would *not* withdraw the allowances now given during the time of probation.

## XXVI

*Memorandum by T J CHICHELE PLOWDEN, Esq.,—dated the 8th June 1875*

No 311

The Secretary of State asks for an early expression of the opinion of the Government of India both as to the method in which candidates for the Covenanted Civil Service shall in the first instance be selected, and as to the manner in which those who are selected shall be trained for service in India, together with any observations which a perusal of the correspondence enclosed may suggest.

2 On the first of these points—the method of selecting candidates in the first instance—the main question seems to be whether the existing system of examination unduly favours persons who have been "crammed" at the expense of those who possess a sound and well digested knowledge.

1ST QUESTION  
The method of selection.

I fail to see that the Indian Civil Service examinations are more open to objection in this respect than other examinations which demand a high standard of acquirements. Any person who intends to appear at such examinations takes care to prepare himself specially. For instance, the Oxford or Cambridge under-graduate who goes in for honours does not rely only upon his college lectures. He puts on a "coach" and is careful to select the man who has been most successful in passing others. Every time a list of Wranglers is published the public are told the name of the senior Wrangler's private tutor, and how successful that gentleman has been in preparing other Senior Wranglers. But when a teacher attains a peculiar success in passing candidates for the Indian Civil Service, he is stigmatised as a "crammer," and his pupils as individuals who have no real knowledge of the subjects in which they are examined.

### 3 The Master of Balliol recommends the number of subjects No 311

Should each candidate be restricted to a limited number of subjects which a candidate may offer being limited to four, that number being "as many as a boy at school or an under-graduate at college ordinarily studies. But although Dr Jowett does not join in the cry against so-called "crammers," whom he describes as admirable teachers, the assumption at the bottom of his proposal no doubt is that if a candidate offers more than four subjects he has been "crammed." I submit that as long as proper precautions are taken against a candidate obtaining credit for a merely superficial knowledge of any subject there is no good reason why he should not derive the full advantage of having studied various branches of useful knowledge. The competitive examination is intended to test general education, and if a candidate can show a good knowledge of five subjects, all admittedly useful, *prima facie* he has received a better education than the candidate who only knows four subjects. And these precautions do in fact exist. There was a time when it did pay a man to take up a variety of subjects, and when a pass could be obtained by showing mediocrity in a number of subjects and excellence in none. But this was under the old system of marking, which gave a candidate no credit for any marks below a certain minimum, while, if he managed to exceed the minimum, he counted all the marks. Thus, supposing 100 marks to be the minimum, a candidate who got 99 counted nothing, while the candidate who got 101 counted them all, though really only two marks better than the other. Under the present system the minimum is 125 marks, and a candidate only counts as many marks as he can get over the minimum. If he gets 126 marks, he only adds one to his general score, instead of 126 as under the old system.

4 However it is against "English" that the critics of the existing system direct their chief objections. It is believed to be the subject which can be most easily "crammed." But the present method of conducting the English examination renders the possession of an accurate knowledge of a little far more profitable than a superficial knowledge of a great deal. Out of a long paper of questions the examinee is advised to attempt to answer only six. That the questions themselves are likely to be searching is, I think, guaranteed by the eminence of the gentlemen selected as examiners. And any superiority which English might have possessed owing to the high maximum number (1,500) of marks assigned to it has been greatly diminished by the new marking system. The subject is now divided into three heads, to each of which 500 marks is allotted, and from each of which the minimum of 125 marks is first deducted, therefore really 1,125 marks is the utmost that can be gained, and this maximum can only be gained by an equally good knowledge of each of the branches into which English is divided. For example, a first-rate knowledge of the structure of the English language will not cover a defective knowledge of English history.

5 Another objection against the competitive examinations, as at present conducted, is that the head masters of the best public schools complain that their pupils cannot pass without being specially prepared. If so, whose fault is it that these great places of education are unable to arrange for such preparation being given? But the impression which Dr Jowett says the head masters have conceived appears to be without much foundation in fact. Out of the 186 candidates who have passed in the last five years, 44 passed direct from the universities or public schools, and many others had received only a very slight special preparation. Because schools do not get much credit from an Indian student is, I believe, a much stronger reason for head masters' discontent. They prefer their best men to get scholarships at Oxford, because the fact that the successful men come from such

and such a school is always notified in the newspapers, and the career No 311 of these men is followed through their other examinations, to which equal publicity is given. Formerly the list of successful candidates for the Indian Civil Service used also to show the places of education, but for some years past they have been discontinued. Nobody who does not read the appendices to the Civil Service Reports knows in the least where the men come from. This may be a small matter. But if the old practice of publishing the successful candidates' schools was popular, why not revert to it. And if the results of the further examinations and the honours gained are also published, public school masters will have less reason to complain that their Indian pupils bring them no credit.

6 I think that Dr. Jowett rightly considers that the defect in the scheme of 1854 was that it left selected candidates too much to themselves. Not only is it a bad thing that young men should be left to their own devices in a large city like London and with a fair command of money, but very great stress has been laid by many competent authorities on the loss of that *esprit de corps* involved in the present system, and for which the Haileybury men were distinguished. Now-a-days it is not only the absence of anything like clanship that has to be regretted, but also the fact that the civilian of the present day has perhaps never so much as exchanged a nod with half of his comrades. At the same time I do not believe that a compulsory residence at one of the Colleges of Oxford or Cambridge is the best remedy possible. That it would be better to insist upon residence at some institution where proper discipline is enforced rather than leave men free to go where they please I readily admit, for I think any move in this direction would be an improvement on the present system. But the main requisites to be provided in the training of selected candidates are, I think, these—

- (1) They require to be taught the special subjects which are likely to fit them for an Indian career,
- (2) to be subjected to such disciplinary restraint as will protect them from falling into a low and disreputable style of life,
- and (3) to be encouraged to look with enthusiasm upon the career before them, and to promote the growth of an *esprit de corps*.

Without denying that residence at Oxford or Cambridge may be of the utmost benefit to a man, still I do not think it would confer upon Indian students the same advantages as a separate and special college, while it might produce many disadvantages. And the Scotch and Irish Universities would surely complain if any undue preference was shown to Oxford and Cambridge. Among the disadvantages I would enumerate the following. The selected candidate's attention would not be concentrated on his Indian career. He would be tempted to strive after university distinctions and the opening they would afford, and to look upon his Indian appointment as a mere hedge. This was actually the case with one gentleman who passed first in my own year. He was a scholar of his college, and, devoting his attention to Oxford distinctions, he learned just enough of his Indian subjects to enable himself to scrape through his half yearly examinations at the bottom of the list. Finally, having secured a position at Oxford, he resigned his Indian appointment to become a fellow and tutor of his college. And an university man who has not succeeded as well as he expected in this country is apt to regret the career he might have had if he had stuck to his college, and this is at the bottom of a good deal of individual discontent. In the next place, the men who choose Cambridge arrive in India generally unacquainted with their Oxford contemporaries, and it may be with rival, rather than kindred,

sympathies I submit also that an university education begets sympathy between men of the same college, and in a far less degree between men of the same university. The man at Christ Church or Trinity may never meet his fellow Indian student of Balliol. Therefore what I say is, though residence in either of our two great universities is an excellent thing in itself, it will not supply the great desiderata for men selected for the Indian service. Instead of teaching them to believe in an Indian career, it will rather tend to discourage any such belief, neither will it create any special *esprit de corps* for the service. Individuals may recognise their respective universities as affording a common ground of sympathy, but this would not bind them to men who come from other universities. Dr. Jowett admits that it would be impossible to restrict the men to Oxford and Cambridge; residence at any college or university able to give certain guarantees would necessarily be permissible. And what would be the tie between men, some of whom came from the Scotch Universities, others from the Irish Colleges, others from King's College, London, and the residue from Oxford or Cambridge?

In my judgment a separate college, residence at which shall be compulsory on all selected candidates, is what is wanted. And I think it might be a good thing to take advantage of the establishment of the Cooper's Hill College, and to send all selected candidates there. If the present accommodation is insufficient, it might be increased, and it seems to me that much benefit might be expected to result from throwing into association gentlemen who are destined to serve the same Government in the same country, although in different capacities. If it is a good thing that the Magistrates of adjoining districts should have known each other at college, it is also a good thing that they should have known the Superintending or Executive Engineer who builds their bridges and makes their roads. The two services will work all the more cordially from their members having been associated in their early studies and pursuits.

7 There is one change in the present method of training selected candidates which might, I think, be made with advantage. To get a high place in the final examination—upon which candidates are told that their future position in India greatly depends—men take up a number of extra languages, *z e*, in addition to the two vernacular languages proficiency in which is compulsory, merely for the purpose of adding to their general score of marks. In my own year a man going to the North-Western Provinces passed first at the final examination; he took up Bengali as an extra language, as well as Braj Bhasha, which I believe is a mere dialect. In the year before mine a Bombay man took up Bengali, and in the year after mine, the North-Western Provinces man who passed first took up as “extras” not only Bengali and Braj Bhasha but also Marathi and Guzerathi! I think this sort of things ought to be stopped, or, if continued, the system of marking adopted in the open competition and described above ought to be applied. Probably it would be better if study of the vernaculars, which are badly taught at home, was dropped, and study of two out of the three classical languages of India, which can be well taught at home, was prescribed instead.

8. The correspondence enclosed in the Secretary of State's despatch\* suggests a few observations on the following questions.

General considerations suggested by the correspondence.

- (1)—Whether the limit of age should be changed
- (2.)—Whether the allowance now paid to selected candidates should be withdrawn.
- (3)—Whether an Indian appointment is less attractive now than in the earlier days of competition

\* See page 1.



and such a school is always notified in the newspapers, and the career No 311 of these men is followed through their other examinations, to which equal publicity is given. Formerly the list of successful candidates for the Indian Civil Service used also to show the places of education, but for some years past they have been discontinued. Nobody who does not read the appendices to the Civil Service Reports knows in the least where the men come from. This may be a small matter. But if the old practice of publishing the successful candidates' schools was popular, why not revert to it. And if the results of the further examinations and the honours gained are also published, public school masters will have less reason to complain that their Indian pupils bring them no credit.

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Without denying that residence at Oxford or Cambridge may be of the utmost benefit to a man, still I do not think it would confer upon Indian students the same advantages as a separate and special college, while it might produce many disadvantages. And the Scotch and Irish Universities would surely complain if any undue preference was shown to Oxford and Cambridge. Among the disadvantages I would enumerate the following. The selected candidate's attention would not be concentrated on his Indian career. He would be tempted to strive after university distinctions and the opening they would afford, and to look upon his Indian appointment as a mere hedge. This was actually the case with one gentleman who passed first in my own year. He was a scholar of his college, and, devoting his attention to Oxford distinctions, he learned just enough of his Indian subjects to enable himself to scrape through his half yearly examinations at the bottom of the list. Finally, having secured a position at Oxford, he resigned his Indian appointment to become a fellow and tutor of his college. And an university man who has not succeeded as well as he expected in this country is apt to regret the career he might have had if he had stuck to his college, and this is at the bottom of a good deal of individual discontent. In the next place, the men who choose Cambridge arrive in India generally unacquainted with their Oxford contemporaries, and it may be with rival, rather than kindred,

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General considerations suggested by the correspondence

- (1)—Whether the limit of age should be changed
- (2)—Whether the allowance now paid to selected candidates should be withdrawn
- (3)—Whether an Indian appointment is less attractive now than in the earlier days of competition

\* See page 1

(4)—Whether any restriction should be placed on the absolute freedom of competition No 311

9 The existing rules require that a candidate shall have passed his seventeenth and not have attained his twenty-first birthday on the 1st March of the year in which he competes. Thus the oldest candidates would not exceed about 23½ on arriving in India.

Should the present limit of age be altered

Dean Liddell proposes that 18 or 19 should be the latest age at which the competitive examination should be passed, while Dr Jowett presses for the widest limits of age consistent with the requirements of the Indian service. So far from advocating any reduction of age from 21 to 18 or 19, he considers that any such step would diminish by one-half the number of well-qualified candidates. And yet the object which both these gentlemen have in view is to enable Indian civilians to secure an university education. Dean Liddell evidently intends that the Indian students should pass at least some of the ordinary Oxford examinations after passing the competitive examination. But any demands in the way of extra or separate examinations upon the time which a selected candidate is required to devote to the special training intended to fit him for his future career ought, I think, to be steadfastly resisted. This special training is of the utmost value—(see Sir H. Maine's testimony to the soundness of the training in law in a letter\* from the Civil Service Commissioners to Sir C. Wood, dated 3rd August 1864),—the time in which it may be acquired is none too long as it is, and any general studies are quite incompatible with it. When once a man has passed the competitive examination his aspirations and ambition should be turned exclusively to an Indian career. To encourage him to gain university distinctions is to expose him to the temptation of embracing some other profession in which such distinctions are specially valued. But why is there so much anxiety to ensure Indian civilians being Oxford or Cambridge men? Nothing of the sort was required from the old Haileybury men, and those amongst them who had been at neither university were not thought the worse of. As it seems to me, the idea at the bottom of the proposal is that the present competition men are not gentlemen, and that a compulsory residence at the university will either help to make them gentlemen or it will encourage more gentlemen to compete. Thus Dr Jowett says—"I believe that an university education would greatly help to meet an invidious objection which is sometimes made against 'competition-wallahs,' that they are not always 'gentlemen'." But the figures submitted by the Civil Service Commissioners show that the parentage of 78 per cent of the candidates selected during the last fourteen years was such as to entitle them to be called gentlemen, and that of the remaining 22 per cent only four per cent were tradesmen's sons. I venture to doubt whether the Army, the Bar, or the Church would show a better percentage. And if it is not a fact that competition men are not gentlemen, I do not see the advantage of compelling men to go to Oxford or Cambridge as a means of dissipating what is merely a silly prejudice.

And I submit that neither the experience of Haileybury nor any later experience teaches the necessity of university education. The men the Government of India wants are those who have attained a high place at the leading English, Irish, and Scotch schools, and who would have gone to an university had an Indian career not been open. And when these have once passed the competitive examination, the object should be to concentrate their attention on India and things Indian, from which it is apt to be diverted by the distractions of an university life.

If, then, there is no necessity for altering the age for the sake of securing university men, is there any other reason for altering it?

\* See page 29

Under the present rule men proceed to India at much about the same age as the Haileybury men used to, *viz*, about 20½ or 21, the oldest being under 24. And the Government of India has expressed an opinion (I have been unable to get the papers) that 24 is the latest age at which men should arrive in India. It has strongly opposed, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, any extension of the maximum limit of age. Indeed it was found that the rule which enabled men to compete up to 22 brought them out to India too old. I do not think it would be a good plan to exempt any candidates from any portion of the two years' training now required of them as proposed by Dr Jowett, and if the maximum limit of age were raised by a single year, many men might, on arrival in India, be close on their 25th birthday. One effect of this would be that such men could not retire before they were fifty, supposing that they retired at the earliest moment possible. But it very rarely happens that a man is able to retire the moment he has finished 25 years' service, frequently he has not completed the necessary period of residence. And that fifty should be the earliest age at which a man can retire will come to be looked on as a hardship, and may lead to the term of compulsory residence and service being diminished. Thus the Government of India will get less out of their servants than they do now. The present Lieutenant-Governors of the North-Western Provinces and Bengal are, respectively, of 33 and 28 years' service, and yet the oldest of them is only 51. As a covenanted civilian may remain in the service 35 years, there might be district officers of sixty years of age, *i e*, five years older than the age at which retirement for an uncovenanted officer is compulsory.

10 The Civil Service Commissioners deprecate the withdrawal of the pecuniary allowance. They urge that any further reduction of the pecuniary advantages of the Covenanted Civil Service would infallibly have the effect of lowering rather than raising the calibre of the civil servants. Further, that the allowance was substituted for the pay and allowances formerly enjoyed by civilians while under instruction at the presidency colleges, amounting usually to a much larger sum.

As to the first of these arguments, I submit that this allowance is not one of the "pecuniary advantages" of the Covenanted Civil Service. The latter only accrue to a man after he has become a member of that service. This particular allowance is given him whether he becomes a member of the service or not, and I should imagine that a gentleman competes for the Civil Service because an Indian career has attractions for him, and not because he will get an allowance of £150 a year for two years before entering upon that career. If any such consideration does weigh with him, it is an unworthy one, deserving of no encouragement. To justify the continuance of this arrangement, which is quite unique, it ought, I think, to be shown that real substantial benefit has resulted therefrom. Who has ever heard of the State helping to support persons who not only are not in its service at the time but who never may become so? As to the second argument, the gentlemen in college at Calcutta received pay because they were actually in the Government service, for which they had qualified by having undergone two years' training in England. To my mind the position of a selected candidate who has not passed the final examination is fairly analogous to that of the old student at Haileybury, while the position of the men who drew pay when at college in the presidency towns is analogous to that of the Assistant Magistrate who has not passed his departmental examinations, and who does not get the full pay of his grade until he has passed.

I would strongly advocate the abolition of the present allowances, and of the money-prizes now given for proficiency in the various subjects. For the latter I would substitute gold and silver medals

and class lists, leaving a man to reap in India a more substantial No 311  
reward of his industry at home. Instead of the former I would require men to pay reasonable fees for instruction and board and lodging at Cooper's Hill, just as the Public Works students do, and as gentlemen in training for any other profession—the Law, the Church or the Home Civil Service—are required to do. I fail to see why the Indian Civil Service, which is better paid than, and which offers at least as high a sphere of usefulness as any other profession, should require to be subsidised in this manner. Such a system tends to lower its prestige, more especially when another Indian service, growing up side by side with it, and which offers fewer advantages, receives no such subsidy.

11 This question seems to me to have an important bearing on  
Is an Indian appointment less at- the popularity of the Indian Civil Service  
tractive now than formerly? The Civil Service Commissioners point out  
that, whereas wider fields of employment have been opened in Eng-  
land, the pecuniary value of an Indian appointment has diminished  
owing to the rise in prices, while salaries have remained unchanged,  
and to the fact that the two years spent in England on probation  
postpone by so much the date on which a pension can be obtained.  
But I venture to think that it is the present unfortunate block of  
promotion and the existing uncertainty as to the prospects of the  
service which have, more than anything else, contributed to diminish  
its attractiveness. Not only have the magnificent prospects with  
which the Civil Service Commissioners at one time sought to allure  
candidates never been realized, but even the reasonable expectations of  
advancement by which young men in England are induced to offer  
themselves for the Indian Civil Service have not been fulfilled. It is  
known throughout the best public schools and universities that men of  
recognised promise have spent 12 years in India, and are still drawing  
salaries of half the amount they had been led to expect. And one  
consequence is that successful candidates from our best public schools,  
and even from Trinity College, Dublin, and the Queen's Colleges in  
Ireland, are becoming fewer every year.

The uncertainty of the future prospects of the service is also  
becoming well known. While the Act of Parliament especially  
intended to protect the interests of the service itself opens a door for  
evasion, another has been passed which enables any appointment  
hitherto reserved for covenanted civilians to be given to a native of  
India. And the Staff Corps still offers a very simple and easy means  
of obtaining access to the advantages of being a covenanted civil  
servant. Men who have passed for the Civil Service and been detain-  
ed two years in England to be specially trained, arrive in India to  
find themselves side by side with men who have failed for the Civil  
Service but have entered civil employ through the Staff Corps, and  
have become Assistant Commissioners on an exact equality with  
themselves. I submit that if an expensive European agency, such  
as the Covenanted Service, is maintained at all, it is essential that  
its members should really be a *corps d'elite*. The prizes of an Indian  
career are good enough to attract the best men, were it not that the  
prospects of ever attaining those prizes are growing more remote and  
uncertain every day. But if the appointments for which covenanted  
civilians are required were really strictly reserved for them, and if the  
strength of the service was determined in exact proportion to the number  
of these appointments so as to ensure promotion being reasonably  
rapid, I venture to think that the service would speedily regain its  
waning popularity and prestige.

12 I do not suppose that the two suggestions which I venture  
Should any restriction be placed on to offer for restricting the present absolute  
the absolute freedom of competition freedom of competition will find favour  
with Government. The first is that only pure Europeans should be  
admitted to the competitive examination in England. For ordinary

administrative purposes, Europeans so selected should be the only European agency in the country, and the time seems now to have come for defining strictly the appointments for which such Europeans are required. Other appointments, including several now usually held by civilians, should be set aside for natives of India, to be appointed in accordance with rules made under 33 Vic, Cap 3, Section 6. No doubt Natives would at first strongly oppose any such scheme. But if the list of appointments reserved for them were made public, and if it contained a fair proportion of lucrative and responsible offices, I believe that the best Natives would soon come to prefer a system of nomination. It would be in accordance with their own ideas that the Government of India, and not a Board of Examiners, sitting at Burlington House, should be the fountain of emolument and honour. And it would relieve them of the necessity of crossing the sea with its attendant consequences, such as loss of caste, &c, which are sufficient to deter men of the best classes from competing. I submit also that a double system of competition and nomination, such as exists at present, is unfair to the Natives themselves. A Hindu who has forfeited his caste and broken with his family for the sake of passing the competitive examination, would feel justly aggrieved by a fellow Hindu being appointed to an office believed to be reserved for covenanted civilians only, and who, besides passing no examination, had suffered none of the inconveniences of a journey to England. I do not think the two systems can long exist side by side, and as the competition system, as far as Natives are concerned, has certainly not succeeded, there is the less reason for retaining it. And I submit that it is also in the interests of the country that competition as regards Natives should cease. It is one thing to recognise the justice and expediency of admitting Natives to a greater share in the Government of India, but it is quite a different thing so to admit them as to give them a right to all appointments indiscriminately. There are some appointments for which Europeans are specially required, and which cannot be as well filled by natives of the country. But the competition system vests in Natives an absolute right to a share of the appointments which ought only to be held by Europeans, and as the number of covenanted Natives increases, it will be impossible to withhold such appointments from them. No one can look with complacency on the idea of a Commissionership or District Magistracy in the Punjab or North-Western Provinces, or indeed in any part of India, being held by a Bengali Babu, and yet this is what will happen eventually unless some change of system occurs.

The other suggestion is that a few appointments—say one to every five candidates not exceeding three appointments a year—should be reserved for competition among the sons of old servants of the Crown in India. It does not seem altogether unreasonable that some slight special facilities of following in their father's footsteps should be given to those whose parents have spent their lives in the country. Something of this sort, I believe, prevails in the Army under the system of Queen's Cadetships. And it has been objected to the competition system that it discourages continuity of service by members of the same family. In other professions—the Army, the Bar and the Church—son follows father in continual succession—a habit which tends to produce an *esprit de corps* in those professions. So, also, it used to be with the Indian Civil Service in the old nomination days. And it would, I think, be a good thing if something was done to encourage a recurrence to the old practice.

#### XXVII.

*Memorandum by ARTHUR HOWELL, Esq, —dated the 26th August 1875*

The papers in this case are so voluminous that I will briefly state my conclusions only on the points specified by the Secretary of State. The points are—

I —The method of selection.

## II.—The training of the selected

No 312

## III —Observations arising from the correspondence

I premise that no change either in the method of selection or the subsequent training will be approved unless there be a decided balance of argument in favour of it

I —As regards the system of selection, the Government could not, I think, now recede from open competition. There is much to be said *a priori* in its favour, it is on the whole much justified by actual experience, and there is much difficulty and much difference of opinion as to any one system that could be substituted for it

As to the method of selection, this involves the question whether the examination as now conducted could be altered with advantage

All examinations depend for their testing powers far more on the examiners than on the subjects. If the examiners be competent there is no need of any alteration in the subjects now prescribed which seem wisely chosen. The charge against cramming in the sense<sup>a</sup> of acquiring superficial knowledge has clearly broken down. Cramming must now be defined as the method of making the most of individual ability as compared with the public school and university method of instructing in the gross, in this sense cramming is clearly the best method of instruction (though not necessarily of education) which every one ought to have and would have if he could afford it. No other cram can stand before competent written much less oral examination. No man can cram accuracy which is a habit, or composition which shows ability of thought and expression, or power of generalization which springs from a mature digestion of facts, or good judgment which requires trained thought. A man tested in all these points and not found wanting would be a good man, and by the present subjects all these points are tested competitively except the last. This was the only defect in the examination in my time, but it has possibly been remedied ere now. If not, I would give every candidate a file of connected papers, a Secretariat case in fact, and require him to analyze and decide upon them. This exercise would come under composition and be very valuable

I would certainly not reduce the present number of subjects for examination. The object is not to test ability in a particular groove, but to discover ability in any groove, and the wider the area of enquiry, the more chance of discovering real ability. The present system of deducting<sup>a</sup> the marks that represent the same amount of labour and ability is undoubtedly sound

In only one respect does the present method of selection seem faulty. It excludes graduates and does not encourage university men. I am so impressed—perhaps by prejudice—with the advantages, as explained by Dr Jowett, of university experience, and by the disadvantages of the want of it in some of our present recruits—the

only charge that seems on the whole made out<sup>b</sup> against open competition—that I would allow any Oxford or Cambridge graduate an additional year to compete in. This would largely increase the area of selection in a good field and would reconcile an Indian and a university career—a most desirable object. I certainly would not lower the present limits of age, but maintain the obvious advantage “of the widest<sup>c</sup> limits consistent with Indian requirements”

<sup>a</sup> e.g., Sir W. Muir's Minute, paragraph 2

<sup>c</sup> Dr Jowett, page 7

There is, on the whole, no balance of argument for altering the present subjects of examination or (with the above exception), the present limits of age

\* See page 1



Lastly, physique is so important in India, it tells so much on the work that it should be tested far more strictly than now I cannot reconcile Sir W Gull's statements with the number of men we receive who are unfit on this score to enter the service at all. Either the minimum standard should be much raised, or candidates should get marks for physical as they do for mental excellence

II—As to the training of selected candidates, I would keep them for one year, capable of extension to 18 months, under regular university discipline in residence at Oxford or Cambridge, and at the end of the year or 18 months I would require them to pass, all together, at one university, in Sanskrit or Arabic, in Persian, in Law, in Indian History, and in Political Economy

III—The only observations on the correspondence which I wish to note are that as covenanted civil servants are not wanted to fill subordinate offices except on probation for the higher offices of the administration, the supply of civil servants indented for should be so regulated in quantity that they may be always promoted as they become qualified. This is essential in order to confine selection to the best of the candidates each year, and to maintain the attractions of the service, the evil of neglecting it is illustrated by the North-Western Provinces grievances. The indent should be calculated on the number of all the higher offices. The straight and narrow door of competition and the broad and easy road of the Staff Corps should in no case have the same destination to which there should be but one entrance

As to quality, the Government certainly wants the best men. The work of the higher offices in India is so heavy and important that whatever ability a man may bring to it, he will feel that it is capable of being far better done than he can do it. Already it seems admitted that we do not get the best men, but good second rates. It would, indeed, be a serious evil if the competition were to fall to a still lower stratum possibly leading to the majority of the appointments being carried off by Natives. And there seems some risk of this. It is shewn that whereas some attractions of an Indian career have "sensibly diminished," there are far more good openings now in England—in Education and the Press probably—than there were 20 years ago, during which period the motive and the capacity for competition have increased in India. The Commissioners speak of the "vital necessity" of ensuring an ample and constant supply of fit men, it should not be forgotten in the current administration that this now depends entirely on the way in which the Indian Government treats its servants

In this view the allowances now granted to young men during their training should certainly be retained. To withdraw them would be a very small economy, and would reduce on the recruiting ground the immediate attractions of the service. If anything I would rather raise these allowances as a bounty on admissions

### XXVIII

*Minute by the Honourable A. EDEN,—dated 15th September 1875*

No 313

Of the general success of the system of open competition there seems to be no room for doubt. I entirely agree with His Excellency that subsequent experience has fully confirmed the favourable opinion of the practical working of that system as a whole which was expressed by the Government of India ten years ago. No system for recruiting the Civil Service can be expected to be absolutely perfect, but, taken as a body, the majority of the men sent out have fully come up to the required standard, while I believe that the number of men of exceptional ability is in excess of the number of such men

under the old system of nomination There are, it must be admitted, No 313 a certain number of men who are altogether out of place in the service; but these form a very small minority, and their deficiencies would possibly not have been so apparent had means existed of ensuring that during some part of their early training they had been compelled to live in intimate association with a considerable body of young men of good tone and feeling Any way, had the system of open competition been very much less successful than it is admitted on all sides to have been, any return to a system of nomination or to a system of competition, so far modified as to close it to any member of the middle class of England who chooses to qualify himself to compete successfully in the examination, is now quite out of the question and need not be discussed The one weak point of the present system is that it admits too easily men of deficient knowledge of the ways of the world, who, having been entirely brought up at home or at small private schools or under private tutors, have not that knowledge of their fellowmen, and that general *savoir faire* which is so much more useful to them in the business of their daily life than any great proficiency in any particular branch of study is ever likely to be On this point there appears to be a general consensus of opinion Both those who have undergone the training of a civil servant under the old system and the new agree that this is what requires amendment The question is—How is this to be done?

2. There are three main proposals which have been advocated for the purpose of meeting this defect in the present training of civil servants :

- 1stly*, the establishment of a special college, such as the old College of Haileybury or the new College of Cooper's Hill, to which, after passing the competitive examination, successful candidates should be sent for a period of probation ,
- 2ndly*, the selection of some special college at one of the large universities to which the probationers should be sent , and
- 3rdly*, the distribution of the successful candidates among a number of selected universities to which they should remain attached during the period of probationary training

As to the first, namely, the establishment of a special college, I entirely agree with His Excellency the Viceroy, for the reasons which he gives, that it would be a very great mistake At best, it would be a very dangerous and expensive experiment, and the chances of its failure in respect to the tone and spirit which it would impart to its scholars are very much in excess of the chances of its success

The second proposal—to select one college at one of the universities—would be practically impossible It would cause such jealousy, first, as to the selected university, and, secondly, as to the selected college of that university, as would, I think, prevent any Government making the attempt And even supposing the attempt to be made, it is impossible to believe that the graduates of special Indian college would receive the same benefits of training from free intercourse with other men of their age than those of other colleges would receive They would be looked upon as belonging to a special institution in which the university generally would have little or no interest and would be left very much to themselves

The third proposal is the more practical, and if any period of probationary training is really necessary will be the best, provided that only universities are selected in which residence is compulsory

and in which arrangements are made for instituting special examinations for honours which would comprise the subjects of Jurisprudence, Political Economy, Indian History, Arabic or Sanskrit, and Persian No 313

3 If then any period of probation is determined to be essential, the proposal made by His Excellency the Viceroy meets my views as to the least objectionable from which that probation can take, except in respect of the continuance of the pecuniary allowances

4 But it certainly appears to me that the real fault of the present system is to be found in the existence of this probation. If the two years' probation is abolished, we shall have to deal with men and not boys, and we can take them as they are if we satisfy ourselves that they have had the training the best adapted for the work they will have to do. We shall not continue the practice which seems to be universally condemned by those who have personal experience of its working, under which a lot of boys at the time of life when they are most exposed to temptation are thrown loose on London to shift for themselves, and we shall get rid of all these difficulties in respect to the selection of a place of training which have hitherto been found so difficult of solution. We shall also get rid of the question of the money allowances, which seems to me to be open to much greater objection than most people seem disposed to admit

5 I would fix the limit of age for selection at under 24. I would let the candidate's connection with the Civil Service Commissioners commence and cease with his competitive examination. I have not an exaggerated notion of the value of an university career from an educational or disciplinarian point of view, but I have a very strong impression of the absolute necessity of ensuring that members of the Civil Service shall have lived for some considerable period of their life in association with other young men of their own standing, and I believe that in no way is this to be secured with a greater probability than by insisting on a residence at some large university as a necessary qualification to be possessed by any candidate for the competitive examination. And with this object I would exclude from the competition all persons who have not taken their pass degree at some university in which residence within college limits is compulsory. I do not think it advisable to keep up a constant pressure on young men who are training themselves for the competitive examination, on the contrary, I think that the men who are inclined to devote some time to the out-door pursuits and amusements of college life are those who are likely to be the most useful public servants. But if it is thought that the competitive examination itself does not supply a sufficient guarantee for the study of Indian subjects, then a further qualification might take the form of honours in certain Indian subjects, for which some of the universities, at all events, seem disposed to provide, such as Jurisprudence, Political Economy, Indian History and Oriental Classics

6 Objection to this may be raised on the ground that it will favour some universities to the exclusion of others, but if this is such a great consideration as to make it a substantial objection, it is always within the power of any university to adapt itself to the requirements of the case and to place itself in a position to give to its alumni the necessary qualifications. What we have to consider is not what is likely to be the most favourable arrangement for a number of educational establishments, but what will give India the class of men most likely to make useful public servants. Any consideration for the interests of particular colleges or universities which leads us away from this one object is a distinct wrong done to the people of India

7 In the year 1857 twelve members of the Civil Service were sent straight out to this country without going through the probationary course. They certainly have not been less successful or less

useful public servants than others who did. It is proposed— and on No 313 very intelligible grounds—to limit the period of probation to one year. I would ask—What really efficient special education can a man obtain in this one year which is likely really to effect his usefulness in after-life? It is surely much better to keep before him through his whole university career that he must acquire the special knowledge necessary to enable him to compete successfully for the Civil Service, and certainly the knowledge which he is thus likely to acquire will be much more substantial than that which he obtains in a year of special training.

8 If there is only one examination for which men are capable of entering any time before 24, we shall annually get a number of excellent candidates who would not have consented at 18 to bind themselves to an Indian career. It is this special training for two years which must commence before a man has been able to fully realise his prospects in other walks of life which deprives us I believe at present of university men of standing.

9. There are two other advantages in the scheme which I propose. It gets rid of the difficulty of inducing universities to receive for their probationary year or two years men who are not members of the university. It gets rid of the charitable education for two years which is at present given to members of the Civil Service, and to which we probably, to a great extent, owe the presence in the service of those exceptional individuals who have obtained for the competitive system the only discredit which has been attached to it. This change would involve a saving of £12,000 a year to Government, and some portion of this might be devoted to providing teachers on Oriental subjects at such of the universities as showed that they required and were entitled to such assistance. Some of it might be given as prizes for special proficiency in Indian subjects. Some possibly might be devoted to a few Indian scholarships, if any practical means could be found of guarding them from abuse and of ensuring that the services of the scholarshipholders should eventually be available for service in India.

10 It may be said, and no doubt will be said, that the withdrawal of this allowance will exclude from competition the sons of men in humble walks of life who cannot afford to give their sons the education which is necessary to enable them to maintain during their probationary training the position which they have earned in the first examination. But there are numerous scholarships at grammar schools or at the universities which might be secured by boys of exceptional merit. And even assuming that the result alleged did follow, the same may be said of any career. Men do not get a gratuitous education for any other profession, they have to educate themselves for the Army, the Church, the Bar, the Medical, Engineering, and indeed all other liberal professions. The last service in the world into which men of very humble origin and associations should be brought by State aid is the Indian Civil Service. A man's success in obtaining an influence over the people of India depends far more on his personal bearing, his courtesy, manliness, versatility, resource and general knowledge of men and things than on his mere educational training, and these qualities are more likely to be obtained by selecting men of mature age who have had a university career than by taking precocious boys from small grammar schools and educating them in London or elsewhere at the expense of the revenues of India. If the allowances were withdrawn we should still get the bulk of the best men we get now, and we should, I think, have fewer men to whom objection can be raised on the score of uncouthness, roughness and want of sympathy with the finer feelings of the people of the country. I can foresee the sort of reply that will be made to this, and the criticisms to which I expose myself in expressing this opinion, but it is an opinion which is based on full

conviction, and which is shared by a great many men I believe who have had opportunities of judging of the estimation in which civil servants are held by the natives of the country. The men whose admission to the Civil Service I do not desire to promote by artificial and unnatural means are an exceedingly small proportion of those who are annually admitted, but they are an undesirable element, and they have exposed the system of competition to unfavourable criticism which on general grounds it has not deserved. I do not desire to exclude any class from competition, provided its members qualify themselves as they would for any other great profession. What I do object to is that a certain class should obtain by means of State aid, the inadequate qualifications now made available to them through the pecuniary allowances during probation. I am far from saying that the son of a man in the very humblest walk of life is not likely to be a hardworking, conscientious public servant in India; but there is nothing to warrant our seeking men from this class and bringing them forward by artificial means. *Prima facie*, they are not so likely to suit us *as well* as men of the upper middle class, and certainly there is no such ground to believe that they will suit us *better*—and that is the only ground which would warrant an annual expenditure of £12,000 for the purpose of securing one or two men of this class

Some of those who argue for the retention of these allowances and for equal facilities to the scholars of every educational establishment in the country seem to forget the object of the substitution of the competitive system for that of nomination. The change was not made for the purpose of bringing to the door of every man in the United Kingdom, and to the boys of every school throughout the country, an equal chance of entering the Civil Service, it was made for the purpose of securing for India the very best men who could be obtained not only from an educational but from a general point of view. And how this is to be best done is all that has to be considered, and not how the interests of every individual in the country can best be guarded. It is a matter of mere business and not one of sentiment

11. As regards the medical examination, one certainly sees men whom it is difficult to believe have ever been passed as men of robust health, fit to battle with the world in a trying climate. I imagine that in passing civilians the same course is pursued that has so often led to discussions in respect to the medical examination for Indian emigration. The candidate is passed as fit to undertake the voyage and not as fit for labour

12. To sum up. The changes which seem to me best adapted to meet the only deficiencies which exist in the present system are—

- 1st, to have one single competitive examination for the Civil Service which shall in itself comprise all subjects which it is considered necessary that an Indian civil servant should know before going out to that country;
- 2nd, to make residence at and a pass degree of the larger universities of the United Kingdom an essential qualification of candidature, if necessary, to supplement this by adding a qualification of honours in certain special subject;
- 3rd, to make the medical examination more strict than it seems to be at present, and to apply it as much to physical development as to mere health;
- 4th, to make the limit of age of candidates for this single examination under 24 years and above 21,
- 5th, to abolish all probationary training subsequent to competition; and

6th, to devote a small portion of the money saved by the abolition of the period of probation at Government expense to giving valuable prizes for proficiency in Indian subjects, establishing Indian scholarships, and aiding the universities in arranging for teachers of Oriental Classics. No 313

Finally, I think that all attempts to teach the men vernaculars or Indian Law in England should cease

I am afraid that the changes I have proposed may be considered too radical to be carried, and if this be so, and probationary training is to be maintained, I would adopt the scheme suggested by His Excellency the Viceroy

### XXIX.

*Minute by the Honourable Sir W Muir, K C S.I, on selection and training of candidates for the Indian Civil Service,—dated Simla, the 18th September 1875* No 314

The general principle of selection by competitive examination is not now, I conceive, open to discussion. And even if it were, the undoubted success, as a whole, of the present system must, I think, prevail against any material departure from this its fundamental basis. Dividing the Civil Service into two equal portions, superior and inferior,—the greatest difference between the civilians of the old school and the present would be found in the lower half. The upper may probably be regarded as pretty much on an equality under both systems. The average ability throughout the service under the new system is undoubtedly high. There has been no lack at any period since its introduction of marked administrative ability, while the young civilians selected for the Land Revenue Settlement, and for the Secretariat within my own experience in the North-Western Provinces, as well as under the Supreme Government, have shown a power of close and accurate thinking, of sustained and laborious application and of clear and sound judgment, such as proves conclusively not only distinguished natural abilities, but also unexceptionable training. Turning to the portion of inferior ability there was unquestionably a far larger element of incompetence under the old system. Incompetence from want of mental ability is, one may say, now almost unknown, incapacity, if it be anywhere found, arises, not from poverty of intellect, but from defective mental equilibrium and the resulting want of practical adaptation to business. To this, of course, the service was equally liable under the former régime, and in addition to a residuum of absolute dullness which the Haileybury tests were ineffectual to eliminate. Here, then, is a clear balance in favour of the competition system. Whether the same object might not have been attained by a less sweeping change need not now be discussed. It is enough that the new system has proved successful in giving us, upon the whole, such excellent material that to disturb it would be unreasonable and unwise.

It may, however, be admitted that there is a partial defect which did not, as a rule, exist before. Some of the young civilians now come to India without that knowledge of the world—of men and things, indispensable to efficiency in many departments of the public service. I do not attribute this to any change in the classes from which the candidates are taken. Very much the same would have been the case with a portion of the young civilians under the old system, had it not been for the training they received at Haileybury, which rubbed away roughnesses and peculiarities, and enlarged the scope of social life and experience which had frequently not before emerged beyond the limits of a country or provincial education. There is no security for any such remedial and improving process under the present system. The candidate may, prior to the first examination, have been brought up altogether at a private institution,

and in such case he will after selection pursue his studies probably in private lodgings, and in isolation from those influences which are calculated to brush away peculiarities, impart breadth of view and train the mind and habits for intercourse with mankind. The evil is sometimes remedied in after life by contact with society in India; yet the remedy is too often wanting in outlying parts of the country, and, moreover, it does not always come in time, for habits become early formed and fixed, and the opportunity of acquiring the needed *savoir faire* is permanently lost. It will be seen that I look for the cure of this defect by the association of the selected candidates in some institution, which will make up for what was lost in Haileybury. Reserving the further consideration of collegiate training, I will first take up the question of age.

I should greatly regret any change that would raise either the average or maximum age at which a young civilian reaches India. On the contrary, I think that it might, with sensible advantage, be lowered, so that no one should have passed his 22nd year on landing in the country. The maximum for competitive examination should not exceed 19 or, at the utmost, 20. After the age of 21 or 22, (speaking broadly), the mind and habits become less and less flexible. Hence the younger the servants of Government come to India, the more usefully will their official character be developed by having their sympathies, associations, and language, moulded in conformity with those of the people, and the greater their power (an all-important faculty) of following native modes of thought, understanding native principles of action, and making due allowance for divergence from occidental opinion and influence, and even for prejudice and superstition. At a later age, moreover, I have observed a diminished inclination to bestow the affections upon India as the land of adoption and to identify life with its well-being. This is the decided impression I have derived from a tolerably wide experience of nearly eight-and-thirty years in India, and applies both to the former and the present systems.

When I was myself at Haileybury, the minimum age for entrance was 16, and many young men came out immediately they were turned 18. My experience is that those who came out at that age, or say under 20, had as a rule a decided advantage in these respects over more elderly men. Certainly some of the most distinguished officers whom I can call to mind,—men of the greatest breadth of view in reference to the wants and interests of the people, and of the highest aptitude for administration,—were of that age.

In coming out young, there is also the material advantage of a longer duration of that keen, energetic, active and unencumbered stage, which is of such essential importance in a young assistant for district work. It is a serious loss to the executive administration to have this term of life diminished, as it palpably must be if men arrive at a more advanced period of life. Moreover, it is an unquestionable benefit that in the earliest years of his service the assistant should be as light and free from domestic cares and burdens as possible. It is now not unusual for the young civilian to come out to India already married,—a thing which under the old *régime* was hardly ever known.

Further, I think it is a mistake to suppose that coming out young has a tendency to cramp the mind, and throw character and thought into a narrow official groove. On the contrary, the early consciousness of sharing in the responsibilities of a great administration has a direct and wholesome tendency to expand the views and rapidly mature the character of our public officers,—and that more powerfully than at a later stage of life. I believe that this has been one leading cause of the ability, devotion, and self-reliance which have so conspicuously characterised the Indian Civil Service. Thrown young upon their own resources, they have risen the more readily and



rapidly to the occasion, and proved themselves, as a body, equal to No 314 any emergency

Besides these considerations (the result of long observation on my own part), I find in the valuable reports now before Government a decided preponderance of opinion as to certain other evils attendant on an increase of age. The older men (it is said) are liable to be discontented with their position. Settled down into English life, and frequently used to academic habits and associations, they are all the more impatient of the isolation and strangeness of their new sphere. Advancing moreover in years, and burdened often with domestic cares, they too often find themselves still with the salary of juniors, and they chafe the more at their subordinate position.

I do not agree with those who would defer selection on the ground that capacity can best be tested at a later age. By 17 we can have quite sufficient proof of intelligence, ability, and industry, and that, after all, is what we require. The presumption, indeed, is that a youth who does well at that early age, has capacities which would have secured a still higher place at the age of 19 or 20. Further, the sooner the painful period of suspense and tension that precedes competition is got over, the better both for the mind and constitution of the candidate. I believe that the prolonged strain caused by the deferment and occasional repetition of the competitive trial tends often to produce injurious effects in the nervous system. The earlier this period of probation is ended, and the student, relieved of anxiety, but still with large motives of generous emulation before him, can enter on his special training for India, the better for the service and the better also for himself.

My conclusion upon this head is without hesitation that the minimum age of 17 should not be raised, and that the maximum should stand at 19 or at the most at 20, for passing the competitive examination.

I pass on, secondly, to the subjects for competitive examination. I concur in the objection that the number of subjects a candidate may take up is too large, and I doubt likewise whether the present system tests sufficiently the "general education" which the candidate is before his selection supposed to have completed. Surely, it is not an adequate standard of general education that a youth should be proficient, say in German, Italian, geology and chemistry, besides his own vernacular tongue. When in the North-Western Provinces I caused inquiries to be made as to whether certain candidates, who had passed only in subjects such as those just specified, were acquainted with the ancient classics, and I was given to understand that they were not. I think that it ought not to be *possible* under any system of selection that gentlemen should be admitted to the Indian Civil Service entirely ignorant of the classics, since without *some* acquaintance with these the knowledge of their own language must be inaccurate and defective.

With this view, I think that "general education" should be tested by making certain subjects obligatory—those subjects, namely, which by general consent form the ground-work of a liberal education. For example, in the education of an English gentleman, we should expect some acquaintance (even if it be not very deep or accurate) with Latin and Greek, Mathematics, English Literature and History. Such subjects should, as it appears to me, be obligatory, in so far that a moderate proficiency in all of them should be required of every candidate. This should be a condition preliminary to competition. It would, in fact, be equivalent to a moderate entrance examination. To secure this result, a low minimum of proficiency, say 100 marks, would be prescribed as the standard which every candidate must reach in all the obligatory subjects on pain of rejection *in limine*. It would be open to the candidate to take up any of these subjects for competition also.

The entrance examination might in that case be allowed to count, the No 314 minimum number of mark being deducted from his score

By this means we should be assured that every selected candidate had at the least some knowledge of those branches of learning which are essential to the education of an English gentleman, and over and above this we should have the competitive test besides. In case of candidates from India, Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian might be optionally substituted for Latin and Greek

With such a preliminary test, I think that the more limited the number of competitive subjects each candidate is allowed to take up, the better. I should regard great proficiency in one or two subjects a surer test of ability than some acquaintance with a larger number. It is true that some of our ablest men under the present system have been those who passed in a great number of subjects. But this is not really relevant. The point rather is whether *inferior* men do not also get through by being allowed to mark in a great variety of subjects, and thus exclude men of higher ability who would certainly have outstripped them had the trial been limited to two or three. I should be glad, therefore, to see the range of competition restricted (as proposed by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge) to four, or even to two or three subjects, with a provision that one of them at least should consist of (say) English Literature, the Classics, or Mathematics. The test would thus secure exhibition of the highest power in some one, two, or three subjects, the choice being left open that each might follow the bent and genius of his own mind; while the entrance examination would afford the guarantee that such special study had not been pursued to the detriment of the candidate's general education

Passing on, thirdly, to the training of the selected candidates, I am strongly impressed with the objections to the present system as epitomised in the despatch of the Secretary of State. The encouragement to live in London, which ordinarily implies isolated residence in lodgings, with no guarantees for supervision at such an age, is open to grave objection, and is much to be deprecated. Moreover, we have no security that in the interval opportunities are given of acquiring that knowledge of men and of the world which it is so necessary the young civilian should possess, and which, after a certain time of life, it is so difficult to gain, especially since (as I have remarked in the beginning of this paper) an officer is often, from the first, placed in India in a position where he can see but little of society. There is also, I am persuaded, a marked advantage in the selected candidates being thrown into one common society, and acquiring encouragement and strength from pursuing their special studies collectively, comparing their respective progress, and having, by association, the great object of their career kept constantly before them. The knowledge of one another, and the confidence and good understanding thus begotten, will also prove an incidental advantage of some value, since it will tend to more certain and cordial co-operation in their future service.

The choice appears to lie between the establishment of an Indian College and residence at Oxford or Cambridge.

The objections to Oxford and Cambridge are that the students would not be associated together, which, according to my view, is an object of essential importance. I think also that the duty of examination and declaring the student qualified must be left to the college authorities, in which case we should lack any common standard by which to test comparative excellence and the final place in which the candidates studying at different universities are to be ranked. It has been proposed to adopt the order of passing the competitive examination as final, but I question whether this would be just or expedient, since the final examination is a far surer test than the competitive of industry and of proficiency in those special subjects required to qualify

for Indian service Moreover, the stimulus of a generous emulation, No 314 which used to be most wholesome in the Haileybury course, would be lost I think also that the selection of the two English universities would be strongly objected to, if not regarded as absolutely unfair, by the other universities in Scotland and Ireland as well as in England It is true that the same conditions of collegiate residence and supervision may not be obtainable at present in other universities. But this, I apprehend, would hardly be a sufficient answer The want may also, at any future time, be supplied elsewhere, and if the liberty were hereafter given to reside at other universities, the evil of dispersion would be increased.

My conclusion is, that if the candidates are to have, as I think they ought, a collegiate training, in common, it must be at a special Indian College, like the old Haileybury If the limits of age be kept (as I have urged) low, I do not think that the students would find the college discipline irksome The expense has been objected to. But, surely, any such expense would be amply justified by the object, the good administration and well-being of all India depend upon it, and no reasonable expenditure to secure that result should be grudged.

I think that there might be a sensible advantage in combining the Civil Service College with that of Cooper's Hill The students of both would benefit The supreme control might be in one hand, and the Oriental classes might be common to all the students

If such a college is established, the allowance now given to the selected candidates should be withdrawn If the decision (which I earnestly trust it will not) be against a separate college, then the allowances should be continued, as they would then answer to university scholarships

In the course of study as at present pursued after the competitive examination, I think that less attention should be given to the details of the Indian codes of substantive law and procedure, and more to the general principles of jurisprudence in their relation to the Mahomedan and Hindu systems, and the modifications of these found expedient in the elaboration of our admirable system of Indian law The details of the codes, both civil and penal and of procedure, can be learned far more rapidly and easily by the young civilian in India, in preparation for the departmental examinations, and with the practice of the courts in daily experience

Similarly, I am strongly of the opinion that much time is wasted in the acquisition of the vernacular languages of India What is laboriously learned in two years at home can be acquired, with incomparably greater ease and accuracy, in a few weeks in this country with the daily intercourse and colloquial speech rendered necessary in the common concerns of life and in official business If Sanskrit for officers destined for Southern India, and Persian with a little Arabic for those destined for Upper India, be acquired in England (where they can be learned almost as easily as in India), the vernacular languages will follow without difficulty I would, therefore, either entirely give up the study of the vernaculars at home, or at the least limit it to a simple grounding in grammar and orthography and the power of reading easy sentences I hold strongly that the study of Persian should be made obligatory on all those whose sphere of duty is to be in Upper India Unless the ice be broken before coming to India, and some familiarity obtained in respect of Persian as well as of Arabic or Sanskrit, the offer of rewards, on which we now rely for their acquisition, is sure to fail Amidst the busy occupations of official life, there will generally be found neither opportunity nor inclination to enter on the new and arduous task of taking up the study of a strange language And I think it must be admitted that our civilians would have a far superior vantage ground and a higher influence with the better classes of Native society, if they found themselves at home in their classical languages Moreover, it cannot be

questioned that a full and perfect command of the vernacular languages of Upper India is not to be looked for without a moderate knowledge of Persian and of the Arabic roots and grammar. For these reasons, I would forego the study of the vernacular languages in England, and would substitute Sanskrit for candidates intended for Madras and Bengal, and Persian with a little Arabic for those intended for Upper India and Bombay. The selection for the different Presidencies might be made immediately after the competitive examination with reference to the marks then attained.

I agree with the great preponderance of opinion expressed in these papers that too much weight is attached to attendance at courts of law. It is the principles of jurisprudence, rather than the details of its application, which will assist the civilian in his judicial career.

In addition to the study of law and Oriental languages as above explained, I think that Political Economy, International Law, the History of India, and the History of Asia as bearing upon India and Central Asia, should complete the special course. With these studies might be conjoined the practice of reporting selected cases, and of making analysis or preparing précis of series of correspondence on any public matters, and writing short essays on questions of economical or administrative interest; an exercise which would prove a useful preparation for official work in any Department.

From the training at such an Institution, I anticipate, with confidence, that the Indian civil servant would derive the very greatest benefit, and would come to India better qualified for the great work before him.

*P. S.*—A good deal may, I think, be said in favour of Sir Alexander Arbuthnot's suggestion that all civilians should before leaving England be grounded in Hindustanee (*Oordoo*). This is the only language which can in any way be regarded as the *lingua franca* of India; and its acquisition would undoubtedly be of great advantage to the young civilian, whatever province he was destined for. The vernacular dialect would thus be left for acquisition after arrival in India.

W. M.

XXX.

*Minute by HON'BLE SIR A. J. ARBUTHNOT, K C S I., on selection and training of candidates for the Indian Civil Service,—dated 20th September 1875.* No. 315.

1. I have read with great care the voluminous papers which have been laid before the Government of India on the subject of the selection and training of candidates for the Civil Service in India, but as the Secretary of State wishes for an early reply to the enquiry made in his letter\* of the 8th April last, I will confine my remarks to a brief statement of the conclusions at which I have arrived on those points on which the members of the Government are not agreed.

2. First, as to the method of selection, including under that head the age at which the selection should take place. On the latter point I share the opinions expressed by Sir Richard Temple† and Sir William‡ Muir, by the Governor§ and two Members|| of Council at Madras, and with some qualification by the Governor¶ of Bombay. I think that it is very desirable to reduce rather than to raise the age at which under the existing regulations civil servants are at liberty to come to India. The result of my observations has been that the older men who come out now-a-days are, as a rule, less inclined for the rough work of the executive branch of the service than their predecessors were. They also, as it appears to me, have a greater hankering after leave to England and look forward with more eagerness to the time of their retirement, and are thus unconsciously led to identify themselves less closely with the people of the country. This is certainly the impres-

\* See page 1  
‡ See page 57

† See page 131  
§ See pages 56 & 60

¶ See page 332.  
¶ See page 81

sion of many of the most intelligent and observant natives The No 315 fact—if it be a fact—may doubtless be attributable in some degree—possibly in a great degree—to the greater, and as I venture to think undue liberality of the present furlough rules, which offer to the present generation of civil servants inducements to leave their duties to which their predecessors were not exposed. But however this may be, I entertain a strong impression that young men destined for service in India, whether Civil or Military, should be brought to the scene of their labours at as early an age as is compatible with their having received a sound general education and the necessary special training I would fix the maximum age for admission to the open competition—which for brevity I will designate as the preliminary examination—at twenty I prefer twenty to nineteen, as I consider that for the Indian Civil Service, as for other professions, the general education should in a great measure cease when the special education begins, and that for this reason it is desirable that candidates should be enabled to continue their general education up to the age of twenty For a similar reason, and also because it seems desirable that the intense strain of the preparation should not commence at too early an age, I would raise the minimum age to eighteen.

3 These alterations will render advisable a slight reduction in the list of subjects for the preliminary examination I would omit the Moral Sciences from the list, and would include this subject in the subsequent probationary course The branches of learning included under this head, *viz*, Moral and Mental Philosophy and Logic, are not well adapted for youths under twenty, but might, I think, be studied with advantage by the selected candidates It may be a question whether Natural Science should not also be excluded from the preliminary examination and constituted one of the subjects for the probationary course, to be taken up in lieu of Moral Sciences at the option of the selected candidate It appears to me that such a revision of the lists as I have here proposed, would practically meet the objection which has been urged against a reduction in the maximum age for admission to the preliminary examination as tending to interfere with the completion of the candidate's general education The attainments in the English language, History and Literature, in the classical and modern languages of Europe, and in Mathematics, which a young man of talent may acquire before the age of twenty, supplemented by a special course of study which will embrace either Moral or Natural Science, Jurisprudence and Political Economy, will, in my opinion, constitute a very satisfactory and amply sufficient general education for the future Indian civil servant The only further remark which I have to make with reference to the preliminary examination is that the marks assigned to Sanskrit and Arabic ought to be reduced There is, as it appears to me, no valid ground for retaining these languages in the preliminary examination except in the interest of Indian candidates It is notorious that the standard demanded in these languages is not high, and to a native of India the difficulties which they present are probably not greater than are difficulties presented by the modern languages of Europe to most of the English candidates I would reduce the maximum number of marks for Sanskrit and Arabic to 375, the number originally assigned to these languages by Lord Macaulay's Committee

4 The second question on which the opinion of the Government of India is required, *viz*, the manner in which the selected candidates shall be trained for service in India, may be considered under two heads—

- (a) The arrangements under which, and the place in which, this probationary training is to be conducted
- (b) The subjects of study

5 Regarding the first, I think it very desirable that during this period of special education the candidates should be subjected to the

discipline of college and to the associations of a university. On No. 315. the advantages of such an arrangement, and on the disadvantages of the present system in this respect, I have very little to add to what has been said in many of the papers now before us. The grave objections which attach to the present arrangement are well put in the paper\* written by Mr. Risley of the Bengal Civil Service. I would only remark that the change which is advocated would, in addition to the advantages referred to in the papers to which I allude, have the further beneficial effect of eliminating from the list of selected candidates some of the few undesirable persons—very few in number, I admit—who find their way into the service under the present system, but who would break down even under the light discipline enforced in our universities. This was one of the advantages of Haileybury, and the safeguard is probably not less necessary under the present system of selection by competition, open to all ranks of the community, than it was under the former system of selection by patronage. The plan which on full consideration I would recommend, and which is admitted to be perfectly feasible, is that the selected candidates should be required to go through their special training at any university in Great Britain or Ireland which may be willing to establish an Indian School or Faculty, regulating the studies with reference to the requirements of the Indian Service, as determined with the approval of the Secretary of State, providing the necessary teaching and examinations, and offering the advantages of college residence and discipline. The preliminary examination should be held, as at present, by the Civil Service Commissioners, whose certificate should be accepted as entitling the selected candidates to be received as members of the university, if not already belonging to it, and as exempting them from any further examinations except those prescribed for the Indian school. At the final examination the candidates who pass should be ranked in classes, as in the Moral Sciences and Natural Science tripos at Cambridge and the corresponding schools at Oxford, and probably there would be no objection to conferring the degree of the university upon each passed candidate, who should thereupon be appointed to the Indian Civil Service,—the certificate of the university being accepted in lieu of that now given by the Civil Service Commissioners. The relative rank of the candidates in the service would have to be determined by the preliminary competitive examination. This, I believe, is the best practicable mode of ensuring to the selected candidates the advantages of college discipline and superintendence and of university society. A vastly preferable, but, it is said, hardly feasible, arrangement would be to select for the special training of the selected candidates one of the two ancient universities of England, entrusting the preliminary, as well as the subsequent, examinations to the authorities of the university so selected, continuing the present stipends in the form of scholarships, which might be designated Indian Scholarships or Studentships, and which should be awarded on the result of the preliminary examination by Examiners appointed by the university. Such a change in the *locale*, and in the agency for conducting the preliminary examination, would probably lead to many university under-graduates, who at present hear little and know less of the competition for the Indian Service, resorting to the examination, and the arrangement would have the further advantage of affording the future civil servants opportunities of being associated together, which they cannot have if scattered among two or three different universities. But the opposition, however unreasoning and unreasonable, which such a plan would be certain to encounter, would, it is alleged, be fatal to its adoption.

6. It may be objected that the arrangement under which the rank of the selected candidates in the Civil Service will be determined by the preliminary examination, is calculated to impair the stimulus

\* See page 143

to study during the probationary course which is afforded by the No 315 present arrangement. There is possibly some force in this objection, but on the other hand it may be doubted whether the keen competition to which future civil servants are now subjected for periods, which in many cases extend over several years, is on the whole salutary, and whether the enforcement of a high fixed standard, coupled with prizes for marked proficiency such as are now given, and which it may be well to continue, and the ranking\* at the final examination in the university class lists, will not form sufficient inducements to careful study during the probationary course. Notwithstanding Sir William Gull's statement to the contrary, it is the conviction of many very competent judges in this country that the present competition system has produced in some cases disastrous effects on the physique of the young civil servants.

7 In regard to the subjects of study during the special course, I agree with Sir William Muir in thinking that Sanskrit for Madras and perhaps for Bombay, and Persian with some knowledge of Arabic roots for Bengal, should be made obligatory on the selected candidates. In all that Sir William Muir says of the great importance of requiring that Indian civil servants should acquire in England a knowledge of one or other of these languages, I entirely concur. As to the vernacular languages, I would prescribe Hindustani for all the selected candidates. Under the existing rules this language is prescribed for the candidates destined for Bengal and Bombay, while Telugu is prescribed for the Madras candidates. But Telugu is comparatively useless to a young civil servant appointed to a Tamil district, or to either of the two districts on the Western Coast, whereas throughout the Madras Presidency, though less probably than in Bengal or Bombay, Hindustani is in some measure a *lingua franca*—a knowledge of which is very useful to every civil servant. The ignorance of Hindustani, and the consequent inability of a great majority of the present Madras civil servants to communicate with Mahomedans, has long been recognised by the Local Government as a serious defect in the training of the service. I would not hold out any encouragement to the study of additional vernacular languages, either by offering prizes for them or by including them in the examinations. A careful study of Sanskrit or Persian and Hindustani will be quite sufficient to occupy all the time that the candidates can devote to the study of languages, without prejudice to the other important subjects included in the course—especially if, as I have suggested, the Moral Sciences and Natural Science be transferred to it.

8 I do not perceive that much change is needed in the other subjects. The rules regarding attendance at the law courts may have to be modified, but, not I think, to any great extent. I would strike out a great portion of the purely Indian law, retaining only the Hindu and Mahomedan Law. A knowledge of the Indian Codes and Acts is easily acquired by the civil servant in the course of his daily work. The course of special education should extend over two years, as at present. Any reduction of the time would, I think, be very inexpedient. It would tend in a great measure to defeat the main object with which it is proposed to require the selected candidates to reside at a university, and it cannot be said that two years is an unnecessarily long time for the course of study which is contemplated. It may be doubted whether a really useful knowledge of Sanskrit or Persian, pursued as the study of those languages will be in conjunction with other important and difficult subjects, could be acquired in a shorter period.

9 I agree with His Excellency the Governor General in consi-

\* The ranking might either be limited to the division into classes as at Oxford, the students placed in each class being ranked in alphabetical order, or the ranking within each class might be according to the order of merit, as at Cambridge. This is a detail which would probably have to be left to the several universities concerned.



dering it to be on the whole advisable that the allowances now given No 315 to the selected candidates should be continued

## XXXI.

*Minute by His Excellency the Viceroy*

No 316

There are few questions connected with the Government of India of more importance than the manner in which candidates for the Civil Service should be selected, and the selected candidates should be trained for service in India. Upon these questions we are invited in Lord Salisbury's despatch\* of the 8th of April last to make any observations which may be suggested to us by the correspondence which has passed between the India Office and the Civil Service Commissioners

2 In a matter of this kind no individual, however responsible his duties, and however large his acquaintance with members of the Civil Service, will be inclined to trust entirely to his own judgment. Accordingly, before answering the reference which was made to us, the opinions of a very large number of members of the Civil Service have been invited and obtained

3 Of the senior officers who entered the service before the system of public competition was commenced, we have the opinions of 17 belonging to the Bengal Civil Service, of 4 from Madras, and of 9 from Bombay. Of those who entered under the competitive system, we have the opinions of 71, comprising one or more of those who have entered the service in every year from 1856 to 1874. In all we have the opinions of 101 civil servants

4 It is generally agreed that the favourable judgment expressed 10 years ago by the Government of India of the system of free competition for the selection of civil servants for India has been confirmed by subsequent experience. For my own part, having had considerable opportunities of judging of the manner in which public business is conducted in England and in India in almost every department of Government, I have no hesitation in saying that the members of the Indian Civil Service, as a body, are excellent public servants. In almost every rank of the service and branch of the administration I have been brought into contact with men of distinguished ability, and I believe there are no duties which have to be performed in India for which competent men cannot be found. It seems to me that the opinions which have been expressed upon their own education and training will satisfy any one who reads them, however cursorily, of the good sense and ability of what may be considered a fair representation of the civil servants who have gained their appointments by public competition

5 In the following remarks I shall assume, first, that the system of free competitive examination for appointments to the Civil Service will be maintained, and, secondly, that the principles which were laid down by Lord Macaulay's Committee will not be departed from. As regards the maintenance of free competition, I do not perceive that it has been challenged by any high authority, and I do not think it necessary to discuss the subject. By an adherence to the principles laid down by Lord Macaulay's Committee I mean that the competitive examination shall be so arranged that men shall be selected for the Civil Service who have completed their general education; that is to say, the education of young men who are preparing themselves, not especially for service in India, but to fulfil the various duties of life

6 It is evident that the proposals which have been made in England by the Dean of Christ Church,\* and in India by some of those who have replied to the circulars addressed to them, that the present maximum limit of age for the competitive examination should be largely

\* Letter† to Lord Salisbury of 17th November 1874

• See page 1

† See page 4

reduced, are contrary to the principles recommended by Lord Macaulay's Committee. It cannot be held that a young man's education would be completed at so early an age. The successful candidates must either, as recommended by the Dean of Christ Church, pursue their general studies at an university after they have succeeded at the competition, or, as advocated by others, some new institution must be founded where they can be further educated, both generally and specially, before they proceed to India. In my opinion such a change would be inexpedient. When the system of public competition was first commenced there might have been something to be said for maintaining Haileybury, and for using that college as the place of education and training for Indian civil servants. I think the Government of the day were probably right in not maintaining Haileybury, but even if they were wrong there is a great difference between the maintenance of an old institution with all its traditions and with a tone and spirit likely to exercise a favourable influence over young men who enter it, and the foundation of a new college whose tone would mainly depend upon the accidents whether the staff is well selected, and whether the first people joining it are what is commonly called a good or a bad lot. Much more might be said upon this subject, but as the general weight of opinion is against such a radical change in the present system, I shall not discuss it further.

7 The present limits of age for candidates at the competitive examination are 17 and 21. Assuming that young men are to be chosen for service in India who have completed their general education, I agree with those who recommend that the higher limit should be raised to 22, and I think that the lower limit should also be raised, and that the future limits should be the ages of 19 and 22. I therefore agree with the opinion of Professor Jowett, the Master of

<sup>a</sup> Letter\* to Lord Salisbury of 27th December 1874

Balliol,<sup>a</sup> in respect to raising the limit of age, with the difference that I recommend that the extension of the higher limit shall not be confined to candidates who have resided at the universities and pass certain examinations, but that it shall be applied equally to all candidates. The effect of raising the limit of age to 22 would be to enable a young man to take his degree at an university before competing for the Indian Civil Service, and so to remove one of the present discouragements to university candidates. I may observe that this proposal would not only suit the educational course of Oxford and Cambridge, but also that of the Scotch and Indian universities, as will be seen from the answers given by Mr Justice† Nanabhai Haridas, Judge of the Bombay High Court, and by Mr W Jenkyns ‡. It will be seen further on that I propose to reduce the period of training in England from two years to one, so that although the maximum age at the competition would be raised from 21 to 22 the age of civil servants when they arrive in India would remain the same as it now is.

8 Several high Indian authorities recommend a reduction of the higher limit from 21 to 20. The change is apparently a small one, but I am satisfied that it would be followed by consequences which have been not sufficiently considered.

9 The real choice seems to me to lie between (1) making a radical change in the system of entry into the Indian Civil Service by fixing the limits of age at from 16 to 18 (the age at which boys leave a public school and enter the university, the army, or other professions in life) and requiring them to complete their education by a 3 or 4 years' study at a special college, and (2) maintaining the present system, which fixes the limits of age so as to ensure that the successful candidates shall have obtained a good general education, and limits the subsequent training to the special subjects required for Indian service. If the former plan is to be adopted, a reduction of the higher limit of age from 21 to 20 would clearly be insufficient. If the pre-

\* See page 7

† See page 129

‡ See page 244

sent system is to be maintained, the reduction of a year in the higher limit for the competitive examination seems to me to be open to more serious objections than the slight difference would at first suggest. No. 316.

10. The object is to invite candidates to compete for the Civil Service after finishing their general education, and it is obviously desirable to fix the age for the competition so as to admit men who have just passed through the ordinary course at the principal universities. Our universities should fill their proper place and provide that general liberal education which fits a man for Indian service as much as for other important duties of life. No one can, I presume, deliberately desire to discourage university education, and to force all candidates for the Indian Civil Service to resort to other expedients. It seems to me that this is precisely what a reduction of the higher limit from 21 to 20 would effect. It has been pointed out by the best authorities that even the present limit of 21 discourages university candidates, because many men do not take their degree until they have passed that age. It is obvious therefore that if the maximum age be reduced to 20, the discouragement will be still greater, and indeed it is highly improbable that any university man would compete. It may be said that he could do so, and afterwards complete his university course; but excepting in extraordinary cases I do not think this would occur, for the special course of training for Indian service ought to occupy the whole of the period allowed for such training, and leave no time for completing the ordinary university course.

11. Again, I do not think that those who advocate this reduction of the higher limit have fully appreciated the alteration in the scope of high education which has been made during the last 20 years, the longer time which is consequently devoted to education than was formerly the case, and the necessity of bringing out to India men of the highest attainments that the prospects of service in India can secure. To raise the maximum age by a year would tend to raise the general standard of acquirement of the successful candidates, while to lower it would have the opposite result.

12. As this is greatly a question to be determined by authority and experience, I have taken the pains to analyse the answers given by civil servants, and I find that a very large majority have expressed their opinions against reducing the higher limit of age. Out of 101 officers of all ranks 5 either do not refer to the subject of age, or give replies of doubtful import. Of the remaining 96, only 27 recommend a reduction of the present higher limit, 36 would retain the present limits, and 33 would raise the maximum age, most of them adopting Professor Jowett's suggestion that it should be raised to 22.

13. One of the reasons given by those who wish to reduce the age of candidates is that civil servants are more likely to be satisfied with their lot in life and to adapt themselves to an Indian career if they come to India younger. This does not appear to be borne out by the opinions of the men themselves. Taking the more junior civil servants I find that of the men who came out to India in and after the year 1861 only 11 out of 53 wish the age lowered. The opinions of the most junior men are almost unanimous. Out of 26 men who came out in and after 1870, only 2 recommend a reduction of the age, 15 would leave the present limits as they are, and 9 would raise the maximum.

14. With every deference for the opinion of those who would reduce the age, I am disposed to believe that the junior civil servants are the best judges of the question, and I think that whatever small advantage might possibly result from men coming to India a year younger than now would be dearly bought by the lowering of the standard of education which must follow from reducing the higher limit, and by the great discouragement to university education which such a change would involve.

15 Some questions have been raised as to whether the marks No 316 allotted to the different subjects in the competitive examination have been properly arranged. Upon these questions I have to express my general concurrence with the opinions\* given by the Civil Service Commissioners in reply to Sir Louis Mallet's letter† of the 31st of July 1874. The Commissioners appear to me to show that they have paid careful attention to the distribution of marks, and they have answered so conclusively the prevalent accusation that what is commonly termed "cram" has been carried on to an injurious extent that no further remarks from me are required on that part of the subject.

16 It has been suggested by Professor Jowett that the number of subjects to be taken up by a candidate should be limited to four. I do not agree with this suggestion. It has been made with the very proper object of discouraging superficial acquirements and encouraging that accurate mental training which is assumed to be only secured by the necessity of thoroughly mastering a few difficult subjects. It

\*Mr T H Thornton  
 „ J Geoghegan  
 „ H LePoer Wynne  
 „ H S Beadon  
 „ D Fitzpatrick  
 „ H M Birdwood.  
 „ W Wedderburn  
 „ B H Powell  
 „ P Whalley  
 „ J R Naylor  
 „ J Westland  
 „ C E R Gardlestone  
 „ L H Griffin  
 „ A Mackenzie  
 „ C J Lyall

seems to me that the Civil Service Commissioners have supplied the best answer to this objection by the list\* which they have given of men now in the Civil Service who have taken up a large number of subjects. That list will be found in Appendix L† to their letter to Sir Louis Mallet, and it contains the names of 15 men who have taken up from 6 to 8 subjects. I happen to have a personal knowledge of the work of many of the men whose names are upon the list, and I have no hesitation in saying that if I had been called upon to mention the names not only of the most able but of the most accurate and thoughtful rising civil servants who have come under my notice since I have been in India, I should have mentioned the names of six at least out of the list.

Mr Geoghegan was Under Secretary to the Government of India in the Home, and afterwards in the Revenue and Agricultural Department, and distinguished himself by his accuracy and ability.

Mr Wynne having been Under-Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department was acting as Secretary in that Department last year, when he died of cholera at Calcutta. He was undeniably one of the ablest of the civil servants of his standing, and he was particularly remarkable for the accuracy with which he studied complicated questions of foreign policy.

Mr Fitzpatrick is now Deputy Secretary to the Government of India in the Legislative Department. He has taken up the study of law, the work which he has had to do has been difficult, and he has shown a thorough mastery of all the subjects with which he has had to deal.

Mr Westland was Under-Secretary to the Government of India in the Financial Department. He possesses remarkable mathematical attainments, and has dealt ably with difficult questions of finance and accounts.

Mr Mackenzie was Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, and during the famine I had personal opportunities of judging of the thorough and accurate manner in which he performed his duties.

The last gentleman on the list—Mr Lyall—is now Under-Secretary to the Government of India in the Revenue and Agricultural Department, and his accuracy and ability are quite as distinguished as those of the rest.

I know enough, by reputation, of most of the other gentlemen mentioned in the list to be satisfied that those who have a more intimate knowledge of their work would be able to give an equally

\* See page 9

† See page 1

‡ See page 37

high report of their qualifications, and I think that this practical No 316 experience is the best answer that can be given to those who fear that to allow candidates to take up more than a limited number of subjects will foster superficial habits of thought.

17 It has been proposed that a knowledge of the classical languages shall be made compulsory. As an Oxford man I am not likely to depreciate the value of Latin and Greek, but I do not agree with this proposal, because, if adopted, it would limit the area of competition, and I see no reason why a young man who could succeed in the competition without any knowledge of the classical languages might not be perfectly well qualified for service in India.

18 The only other observation I have to make with respect to the subject of the competitive examination is that I do not agree with the objection of the Civil Service Commissioners to the proposal of Professor Jowett that Political Economy and Jurisprudence should be included among the subjects for examination. It seems to me that both are subjects upon which the minds of young men might be exercised at least with equal advantage as upon Logic and Metaphysics. I would include these subjects in the programme of the competitive examination. Perhaps they might be placed under the heading now described as Moral "Sciences."

19 If, as I believe, the medical examination of the candidates is held after the competitive examination, I would make a change and hold it before, so that no man who is not fit in point of health should be allowed to be examined. There is all the difference in the world between rejecting a candidate before he has been examined and rejecting a successful competitor. A sound and vigorous constitution is one of the most essential qualifications for Indian service. This is likely to be overlooked at home, but every one who has been in a responsible position in India has had practical experience of the injury to the public service caused by frequent changes of officers owing to failure of health. There might even be some advantage in allowing candidates to be medically examined some time before they would come up for competition, so that a young man whose health is feeble might be prevented from looking forward to India as a career.

20 Having made such observations as occur to me with regard to the competitive examination, I now come to the manner in which the successful candidates should be trained.

21 Upon this subject I think the opinions of the members of the Civil Service are entitled to very great weight. I append in an Appendix to this Minute an analysis of those opinions, and they confirm my own opinion that it has been a mistake to encourage the residence of the candidates in London, to leave them without any supervision, and to give them no material assistance in their studies. Only 20 out of 101 gentlemen who have been consulted recommend that the present system shall be maintained intact, and the great majority think that it would be a good thing if the successful candidates could pursue their studies in association with one another or with other young men of their age.

22 With this object it has been proposed—first, that a college should be founded either in London or in the neighbourhood of London where the successful candidates should be trained. I am against this proposal, which has met with but little support from the junior civil servants\*. The plan might, as I have observed before, deserve consideration if it were decided to reduce the limit of age and entirely to change the character of the education for the Civil Service, but I can see no reasonable prospect of success for such a college if the present limits of age be maintained, and still less if, as I have suggested, the maximum limit be increased to 22.

\* Only 13 out of 69 civil servants who have entered the service by competition recommend a special college.

23 Secondly, it has been proposed to establish a separate college No 316 at one or other of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It is certain that the universities not selected as the site of the separate college would strongly oppose such a proposal, and I think it exceedingly improbable that it would be carried.

24 But apart from other objections to these proposals I do not consider that the assembly of all the selected candidates at the same college would be attended by unmixed advantage. I prefer the proposal, which has received more general support from members of the Civil Service than any other, that the candidates should reside at one or other of the principal universities, if the universities make arrangements—as I believe from the correspondence which has been forwarded to us they are prepared to do—for training the candidates in the special subjects required.

25 I therefore recommend that it shall be a condition in future competitive examinations that the successful candidates shall, so soon as the necessary arrangements have been made with the universities, reside at some university for the purpose of continuing their studies in the additional subjects required. I would permit them to choose the university to which they should be attached, provided that such university possesses colleges or other arrangements whereby students can enjoy the benefit of association with other students and be subject to university or collegiate discipline.

26 I am satisfied that the association with young men of the same age, instead of the comparative isolation in which many of the civil servants are placed at private tutors before they go up for the competitive examination, and instead of the isolation in which most of them are now kept after they have succeeded in the competition, would be of great advantage both to themselves and to the public service.

27 It appears to me that there need be no difficulty in arrangements being made by the universities for the reception and training of these young men.

28 It is probable that, if the maximum limit of age for the competitive examination is, as I propose, raised to 22, and if it becomes necessary for successful competitors to reside at an university, there will be a considerable increase in the number of university men who will compete. A man who has taken his degree, say at the age of 21, and who afterwards succeeds at the Indian Civil Service competition, would naturally pursue his studies at the university to which he belonged. I can hardly think there would be any difficulty in instituting examinations comprising the subjects of Law, Political Economy, Indian History, and Oriental languages which the Indian civil servants have to master. Indeed I believe that little requires to be done in order to provide such examinations at Oxford and Cambridge.

29 In the case of men who have succeeded at the competitive examination without being members of an university, I should hope that the universities would make such statutes as would enable them to become members of the universities and to join as students without passing other examination. They would then be admitted equally with the other students to the examinations in the special subjects which they are required to master before proceeding to India. Their names might appear in the class lists, and they might receive an university certificate, but I would not ask the universities to confer upon them the honour of a degree, which should be confined to students who pass through the general university course. I think that the duty of testing the qualification of the candidates in the special subjects which they are required to master before their appointments

\* See the letter from the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University of the 15th of December 1874, and the letter† from the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University of the 13th of May 1875.

\* See page 5

† See page 53

to the Indian Civil Service are confirmed might be left to the universities in communication with the India Office, and the Civil Service Commissioners might be relieved of the duty of dealing with the training of the successful candidates after the competitive examination. The only difficulty that I see in this arrangement is to secure uniformity in the minimum acquirements to be fixed at the different universities, in default of which a candidate would lose his appointment to India. No. 316.

30 After reading the papers before us I have been impressed with the opinion that the present scheme of studies and examinations after the competitive examination might be considerably modified with advantage. It is generally agreed that much benefit is derived from the acquisition of some knowledge of the classical languages of the East in England. The instruction in those languages in India appears to be inferior to that which is to be obtained in England, and some knowledge of Sanskrit, Arabic, or Persian should, I think, be required of candidates. But considerable doubts have been expressed whether instruction in the vernacular languages is so well obtained in England as in India. No difficulty is found by officers of the Army in acquiring a knowledge of the vernaculars in India, and I do not see why members of the Civil Service should not be required to do the same.

31. I do not think that the study in England of Acts of the Indian Legislature is necessary except as illustrative of the principles of Jurisprudence. Any man who takes pains can easily and quickly master the Acts of Parliament which he has to administer, and it appears to me that this part of the home training might well be omitted, especially as junior civil servants are required to pass examinations in India as to their knowledge of the Law of India.

32. So far as I am able to judge, I agree with those who think that undue importance is attached to attendance at English law courts and to making reports of civil and criminal cases. It must be remembered that, when this subject was first dealt with, the Indian Codes had not assumed their present complete shape. There are now considerable differences between English and Indian Law and Procedure, and, while I think it is desirable that some knowledge of the practice of English courts of law should be acquired by a young man before he comes to India, I think that more is required than is necessary, and that the number of marks allotted to this part of the training is much too great. Several instances have been adduced to show that even the present requirements can be met by a young man residing at an university, and I should think that there would be no difficulty at all if those requirements should be reduced. Every year will create a broader line of separation in India between the administration of Civil Law and the executive duties of Government, and the time given to the details of Civil Law must be thrown away in the case of a large number of young civilians. In short, I concur with those who think that the legal training should be confined to principles and avoid technicalities.\*

33 The alterations in detail in these studies and examinations require more attention than I have time to bestow, and more knowledge than I can pretend to possess, but I feel confident that such modifications might be made as would enable a young man to complete his training in one year from the date of his passing the competitive examination, and I think that he should be required to do so. It might be well to allow a man who could not pass within the year an additional six months for the purpose, but I would not extend the time beyond a year and a half from the date of the competition, or so as to allow a civil servant to come to India above the age of 24, which is the present limit. The extension which I recommend of the

\* Upon this subject a great difference of opinion will be found in the answers of civil servants. Out of 49 officers who have given opinions, 32 are in favour of modifying the present requirements, while 17 are for maintaining the present system or extending it. The opinions of Mr Justice\* Bayley and Mr. Justice Kembell† of Bombay should be read.

\* See page 83.

† See page 90.



higher limit of age for the competitive examination would thus not No 316 raise the average age at which young civilians now arrive in India. The order of seniority in which civil servants would come out to India under the new system would require consideration, but I cannot suppose that it would present any serious difficulties. The most simple arrangement would be to grade them in each year according to their place in the competitive examination, those who fail to pass within the proper time being put at the bottom of the list of men of their year.

34 The changes I have proposed would bring out successful candidates a year sooner than at present, and would consequently send to India at first one year's supply more than is required. This excess would be corrected by the suspension of the competitive examination for one year, which, coupled as it would be with the extension of the maximum limit of age by a year, would not entail any serious hardship upon candidates who are preparing for examination.

35 The only other subject which is brought to notice in the correspondence which we have been asked to consider is whether the allowance now given to successful competitors should be withdrawn. I agree with the Civil Service Commissioners and with almost all those who have given their opinions upon the subject that this allowance should not be withdrawn. It should be recollected that before the allowance was given young men came out to India at once, and were detained at the Presidency towns for some time in order to pass certain examinations, and that during that time they received allowances higher than those which are given to successful competitors. It is only because the subjects in which they are trained can be acquired better in England than in India that successful candidates at the competitive examination are not sent out to India immediately, and several authorities of great weight even now recommend that this should be done. They are detained in England because it is more for the interest of India that they should be trained at home than in India, and I therefore think it is only fair that they should receive a sufficient allowance to enable them to carry on their training.

36 It may be thought that to withdraw the allowance would prevent the admission to the Civil Service of men of inferior social position and small means.

37. In the first place I should regret that any man should be debarred from entrance to the Indian Civil Service who possessed such energy and ability as to enable him, in a humble position of life, to succeed at the competitive examination. Such a man would, in my opinion, be likely to be an useful, if not a distinguished, public servant, and it would be to the advantage of India that he should form one of the Civil Service. The residence at one of the universities, which I propose to make necessary after the competitive examination, would tend to rub off any little roughness of manner and habits, and it must be remembered that in order to succeed at the competitive examination a man must possess what is commonly called the education of a gentleman.

38. But in the second place I do not think that withdrawing the allowance would have the effect of excluding such candidates, its only effect, as it seems to me, would be to force young men of small means into debt during the time of their training. A man who has succeeded in the competitive examination would find no difficulty in borrowing, although probably upon hard terms, the money necessary for his subsequent training, and he would come to India saddled with a burden of debt which it might take him some time to throw off. Nothing in my opinion would be more to be regretted than that young civil servants should come out to India in debt.

39. So far from reducing the present allowance, I should be No 316.  
inclined somewhat to increase it in consequence of the expense which would attend a residence at one of the universities. Unless that expense has been considerably reduced of late, I do not think that £200 a year would be too much to allow for the period of training. I would propose that the allowance, which would take the form of a scholarship to be held at one of the universities, should be given for one year only, and should cease if the candidate is unable to pass his examinations within that time.

40. To conclude, the opinions I have formed upon this interesting and important subject are—

*1st*—That the system of free competition for the Indian Civil Service should be maintained intact.

*2nd*.—That it would be inexpedient to lower the maximum limit of age for the competition.

*3rd*—That the limits of age should be raised from 17 to 21 to 19 to 22.

*4th*.—That the present arrangements as to the competitive examination are satisfactory, with the exception that Jurisprudence and Political Economy should be added to the subjects.

*5th*.—That the medical examination should precede the admission of a candidate to the competitive examination.

*6th*.—That the present system of training candidates after the competitive examination should be modified.

*7th*—That successful candidates should be required to reside at an university in order to complete their training, and that it is not desirable to found a special college for the purpose either at one of the universities or elsewhere.

*8th*—That the course of training should be revised and limited to one year, and that the test of qualification might be left to the university authorities in communication with the Secretary of State for India in Council.

*9th*—That the allowance now given to successful candidates during training should not be diminished.

41 A most important means of securing the supply of good candidates for the Indian Civil Service is alluded to incidentally by the Civil Service Commissioners, and in several of the other papers before us; that is, that the prospects of advancement of civil servants in India should be sufficient to encourage good men to compete. This is too extensive a subject to be discussed with advantage on the present occasion, especially as the Secretary of State has requested us to furnish our answer to his reference in the month of October. Moreover, the subject will come before the Government of India in connection with some memorials which have been received from the Civil Service as to their present position and prospects. I will content myself therefore with saying that I think that whatever temporary stagnation in promotion there may now be, and from whatever causes it may arise, there is no ground to anticipate that the career of an Indian civil servant will in future present less inducements, either in a pecuniary point of view or in regard to the interest and importance of the work, than have served up to the present time to produce a body of administrators and statesmen second to none in the world.

NORTHBROOK.

September 22nd, 1875.

As I attach great importance to the opinions of members of the Civil Service themselves upon the subject of the manner in which the successful candidates should be trained, I have analysed their opinions with the following result —

Sixty-two members of the Bengal Civil Service have given their opinions

Twenty-seven are for university training —

F M Lind (1841); C B Saunders (1) (1843); Sir Henry Davies (2) (1844), H S Reid; Sir Richard Temple (3) (1846), R Simson (1847), R E Egerton (1849), R B Chapman (4) (1850), E Colvin (1855), C U Aitchison (5), R M King, J G. Cordery (1856), A P Howell (6) (1858), L H Griffin, W. H Smith (1860), F Henvey (7); W Coldstream, P Whalley (7a) (1861), C J Lyall (8) (1867), E J Sinkinson, D C Ibbetson, C E Buckland (1870), C L. Tupper, R. H Pilcher (1871), A. R Birks, H. H Rusley, T R Wyer (1873)

Nine are more favourable to university training than any other, or recommend it equally with training at a special college —

J F D Inglis (9) (1840); W C Capper (1851); C H Crosthwaite (1858), W. C. Benett (1867); F C. Anderson; C. H. Irwin (1871), E Stack, R. H. Finch (1872); A C Bambridge (1873)

Six are in favour of a special college —

B. W. Colvin (1850), J. S Mackintosh (10) (1867), T J C Plowden (11), A. Macmillan (1868), A U Fanshawe, A Christie (1871)

Of these several recommend university training in default of a special college

Sixteen are in favour of leaving the present system of training as it is —

P S Melvill (1846), J H Morris (12) (1847), T H Thornton (13) (1856), W Tyrrell (1859), W Blennerhasset (1865), H Luttman-Johnson (14) (1867), R Smeaton (1868), W Jenkyns (1870), Henry Gillon (1871), A H Haggard (1872), H C Fanshawe; F C Berry; L Hare (1873), R M Dane, J A Jeffreys, R. F. Gibbon (1874)

Of these many recommend the removal of what they consider to be obstructions now interposed to the admission of university candidates, and particularly that the maximum limit of age at the competitive examination should be raised to 22.

Three recommend that successful competitors should be sent out straight to India —

Sir John Strachey (15) (1842), A. R Thompson (16) (1850), W. Oldham (1856)

One has given no opinion

From the Madras Civil Service we have 17 opinions.

Thirteen are for university training —

W Robinson (17) (1842), R S Ellis, (18) (1844), W Huddleston (19) (1845), R A Dalyell (20) (1850), A J Stuart; H E Stokes (21), C A Galton (1863), H G Turner, L A Campbell (22), H B. Grigg, L R Burrows (1864), A. T Arundel, C. D Maclean (1865).

Two are favourable to university training —

F Brandt (1862), T Weir (1867)

- (1) Resident, Hyderabad
- (2) Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab
- (3) Lieutenant Governor, Bengal
- (4) Secretary to Government of India, Financial Department.
- (5) Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department
- (6) Acting Secretary to Government of India, Home Department
- (7) Under Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department
- (7a.) Under Secretary to Government, North Western Provinces
- (8) Under Secretary to Government of India, Revenue Department.
- (9) Acting Chief Commissioner of Oudh.
- (10) Under Secretary to Government, North Western Provinces
- (11.) Under Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.
- (12) Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces
- (13) Secretary to Government, Punjab
- (14.) Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Assam
- (15) Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces.
- (16) Acting Chief Commissioner, British Burma
- (17) Acting Governor of Madras.
- (18) Member of Council, Madras
- (19) Acting Member of Council, Madras
- (20) Acting Chief Commissioner, Mysore
- (21.) Under Secretary to Government of Madras.
- (22.) Under Secretary to Government of Madras.

One is for a special college —

W Logan (1862).

One is for no change —

H. M Winterbotham (1869)

From the Bombay Civil Service we have 22 opinions

Seven are for university training —

A Rogers (23) (1845), J E Oliphant (1848), C. J. Kemball (24) (1850), E. P Robertson, A. E D Grey (1851), T C. Hope (1853), W. Lee-Warner (1869)

Three are favourable to university training,—

J Gibbs (25) (1846); J B Pale, W. G. Pedder (26) (1856).

Seven are for a special college —

E W Ravenscroft (27) (1851), A R Nairne (1857), H E M James (28) (1865); E M H Fulton, J. M. Campbell (29) (1869); F H Elliot (1870); G G Turner (1872).

Three are for the present system —

C B Izon (1860), C B Winchester (1873), A. Cumine (1874) \*

Two have given no opinion

Summing up the whole, there are 101 opinions from the Civil Service, 3 do not refer to the question

Out of the 98 remaining officers, 20 would maintain the present system, 3 would send the successful competitors out to India at once, 75 advocate the association of successful candidates either at the universities or in a special college. Out of the 75, 47 are distinctly for university training, 14 are favourable to it, and 14 prefer a special college

The opinions of officers who entered the service from Haileybury and by competition are as follows —

	Haileybury men	Competition men,	TOTAL
For the present system . . .	2	18	20
For association after competition . . .	24	51	75
Out of whom—			
(a) For the universities . . .	22	39	61
(b) For a special college . . .	2	12	14

Taking the more junior ranks of the service, of the men who entered the service in 1861 and since, there are —

For the present system . . . . . 15

For association after competition . . . . . 41

Of whom—

(a) For the universities . . . . . 30

(b) For a special college . . . . . 11

Of the men who entered the service in 1870 and since, there are —

For the present system . . . . . 11

For association . . . . . 17

Of whom—

(a) For the universities . . . . . 13

(b) For a special college . . . . . 4

The weight of opinion, both in numbers and otherwise, is greatly in favour of association and against the present system both among the Haileybury and competition men. The opinion from Madras is almost entirely in favour of university training. There are more advocates of a special college from Bombay than else-

(23) Member of Council, Bombay

(24) Judge of the High Court, Bombay

(25) Member of Council, Bombay

(26) Acting Secretary to Government of Bombay

(27) Acting Secretary to Government of Bombay

(28) Under Secretary to Government of Bombay

(29) Under Secretary to Government of Bombay

where The most junior officers are more in favour of the present system than the officers of longer service, but even among the former there is a decided preponderance in favour of association

22nd September 1875.

N

XXXII.

*Minute by the HON'BLE A. HOBHOUSE, Q C*

No 317

I feel somewhat ashamed to proffer any opinion on this complicated and difficult subject in the very short time allowed for its consideration. The work of only a few days largely broken in upon by other pressing business, is not sufficient for the complete digestion of the voluminous papers submitted to us, many of which are worthy of repeated perusal. It has, however, been a great advantage to have the subject sketched out as it is in His Excellency the Viceroy's note of the 13th instant. I shall content myself with expressing my agreement with him on these vital points—

(a).—That the service is very well manned under the present system,

(b) —That the outcry against cramming is a groundless one, and on the following minor points —

(c).—That no limitation should be placed on the subjects taken up by the competitors in the examination

(d).—That no subject should be made obligatory on the competitors.

(e).—That the allowances given to the probationers should not be withdrawn

On two minor points I disagree, thinking—

(f).—That it is not desirable to add to the subjects of competitive examination two such wide provinces of learning as Jurisprudence and Political Economy

(g).—That it would be inexpedient to require a medical examination of the competitors.

But these two matters are of comparatively small importance, and can be as well judged of from the English as from Indian points of view, so I do not take up time by discussing them. On other points, such as—

(h) —The adjustment of marks at examinations,

(i).—The languages to be studied by the probationers,

I do not feel competent to form any opinion.

2 The only points on which I shall dwell with any degree of particularity are the two very important ones of—

(j) —The age of the competitors ;

(k) —The treatment of the probationers ,

and I will first make one or two general observations on the position of the controversy.

3 •I have before said that the service is very well manned under the present system. I may go further, and say that, in my judgment, it is better manned than it was under the system of nomination. My opinion is founded, so far as regards the rank and file, on the evidence I find in the papers now circulated and, so far as regards the prominent men, on personal observation. I am far from saying that the prominent men of the new system are better than the prominent men of the old, but, making due allowance for age and experience, I think they are as good, and entirely and sincerely as I respect the great abilities of my colleagues and their zeal and earnestness, in their business, I have not the least fear but that when their time comes to

pass away, their places will be worthily filled. Indeed, supposing a system to have life in it at all, and nobody can doubt about the vigorous life of either the old system or the new, there will hardly be much difference between eminent individuals under the one or the other. Men of exceptionally great powers rise above systems. It is among the middle and lower ranks that the effects of systems are mainly seen. Now there is a strongly preponderant body of evidence, though not entirely uncontradicted, that the rank and file of the service are more accomplished, and that there are among them fewer of the Queen's bad bargains than used to be the case. If then a change of system improves the lower ranks of a service while it leaves the upper ones as good as before, we may be well content with it.

4 Of course it does not follow from the foregoing observations that we may not improve our position still further. But I look to see why the present arrangements are called in question, and I find that underlying the whole enquiry is an assumption that the results of the present system are bad, and that its failure is due mainly to two causes—the prevalence of a faulty style of education, and the exclusion of university men. This assumption has been made without ascertaining the facts, and when they are ascertained it is shown to be baseless, and the case for general revision of the system has broken down. It is clear to my mind that we are not justified in attempting any radical alteration of the principles now at work.

5 Even with regard to such proposals as those of the Master of Balliol, which are thoughtfully designed for the improvement of the present arrangements, while not departing from the main principles of Lord Macaulay's Committee, I apply the same observations to a limited extent. I say that even he has assumed that the service has been impoverished by cramming and by the lack of university men, that the evidence does not support this assumption; that the general excellence of the service should make us very cautious how we make any large alteration in the mode of manning it, that the burthen of proof always lies on those who advocate change, and that when the thing to be changed is a good thing, one may perhaps say the best thing of its kind that has been seen, the burden ought to be very clearly and conclusively discharged.

6 Upon the comparative advantages as between younger or older recruits, and as between university men and others, there is in these papers—unless my hurried examination of them has misled me—more of general opinion, speculation, and *à priori* reasoning, than of deduction from observed instances. I should have thought that the present arrangements had been working for a time long enough and on a scale large enough to admit of tolerably trustworthy comparisons being made between the actual success of younger recruits as compared with older ones and that of university men as compared with others. But very little detailed comparison of that kind seems to have been made.

7 Mr. Burrows, of Madras, has seen the importance of such enquiries, as supplying the firmest ground we can get in such a controversy as this, and he has himself made one, so far as the range of his own experience goes. He gives it as his judgment that the younger recruits are more successful men than the older, though he does not think it a necessary inference that the maximum age should be lowered.

8 Mr. Campbell, of Bombay, has made a similar enquiry on the subject of health, and he finds that a great many more men take leave on medical certificate than used to be the case. How far this may be due to age, how far to over-study, how far it is the simple consequence of more easy communication with England, we have not the means of judging.

9. So with regard to university men. Supposing that education at an university impresses on men a peculiar type of character, how

does that type show itself in Indian work, and do we want to have it exclusively, or in great abundance? Take the case of the gentlemen mentioned by Mr Griffin, who may be considered as exhibiting the mental results of an university education as distinguished from that which is required by the Civil Service Commissioners. Is it desirable to attract many such men to the Indian Service or not? When we talk of university men, we are often thinking of those who have distinguished themselves highly in life, forgetting that most of them are men who have entered life with many advantages, natural and social. Whatever Lord Macaulay's Committee may have hoped, there is no chance now of getting such men for India. We can get at best but second-rate university men. Under all the circumstances it seems to me exceedingly doubtful whether we want our ranks to be filled or even half filled with university men, though it is good to have some of them. But no evidence could be so cogent on this point as a careful comparison, extending over a large area of space and time, of the working of those university men whom we manage to get with that of other men. No 317

10. Mr Whalley, of the North-Western Provinces, refers in general terms to the Civil List for proof that university men are the more successful in India. - Mr E Colvin of the same Province appeals to experience to prove the same thing with respect to one point, *viz*, subordination and adaptability of conduct. Mr Lee-Warner, of Bombay, refers to the university men of the year 1856 as winning a reputation for that year. Mr Robinson, Governor of Madras, refers to the men who came out in the period 1863-64, and says that from the university men of that period Madras has drawn the *elite* of her junior service. Mr Risley, of Bengal, says that the moral influences exerted by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are very favourable as compared with those of a residence in London, and he intimates that he could prove his position by instances if it were not for the delicacy of the subject. (See paragraph 13 of a very able paper\* by that gentleman)

11. On the other hand, Mr Crosthwaite, of the North-Western Provinces, is clearly of opinion that the university man as such has no advantage over his fellows in the Indian Service. And of the same opinion are Mr Haggard, of Bengal, and Mr. Thornton, of the Punjab, two gentlemen who have not only sent in very thoughtful papers on other points, but who seem to have applied their minds to this important point of comparison more closely than any other contributors to the controversy. (See paragraphs 7 to 15 of Mr Haggard's paper,† and paragraphs 2 to 6 of Mr Thornton's).‡

12 I confess that my own general experience is very much in accord with the special experience of Mr Thornton and Mr Haggard. I am myself an Oxford man, and I entered my profession with strong prejudices in favour of university men, especially such Universities as Oxford and Cambridge. But I have been taught that, setting aside the first-rate men whom we shall never attract from the universities, the rough work of life is done at least as well by men who have not been at Oxford or Cambridge, provided they have had a good training elsewhere. Nor have I found that residence at Oxford or Cambridge for young men of one or two and twenty is materially more calculated to keep them "moral" (by which term I take the virtues of sobriety and chastity to be usually meant) than a residence in London, while I think it is more calculated to give them idle, listless and luxurious habits,—habits which are usually found to be a more insidious and durable kind of immorality than the coarse vices I have indicated. As for knowledge of the world, and the power of self-guidance and self-reliance which results from it, I can hardly understand a serious comparison between the fuller and more vigorous atmosphere of thought that surrounds a man in London, and the

\* See page 148

† See page 133

‡ See page 230



more varied society, male and female, which he may find there, with the far more limited range of Oxford. Those who reside at Oxford to take part in the work of the place are like those who have their work elsewhere, their lives are full, and it is sufficient for them. But those who having attained the full age of manhood remain there merely for education, find, as a rule, that the sphere of their interests is too contracted for their age, and suffer accordingly. With the greatest deference for the Master of Balliol, I must express dissent from him upon this part of the case. No 317

13 I do not apologise for dwelling so long upon topics of a somewhat general nature, because it seems to me that they underlie the whole discussion, and that we cannot well make up our minds, either on the question of age or on that of the treatment of probationers, unless we first determine whether we are to endeavour at all events and risks to import into the service a larger share of the influence of such places as Oxford and Cambridge.

14. The question of the age for competition is two-fold—there are those who would reduce it, and those who would raise it. To the former it seems to me to be a conclusive reply that it would make an essential change in what is probably the most essential part of the system laid down in 1854, and that there are no bad effects which should induce us to demand such a change. We should adhere to the principles that the probationers are to take leave of their general education and enter upon a special one, and that at least the bulk of these should have reached an age at which a sound general education may ordinarily be completed. I think it impossible to affirm that the 19th year is such an age, though there may be exceptionally forward boys, or to deny that the 21st year is such an age, though there may be exceptionally backward men.

15 Those who would raise the age proceed, all or nearly all, on the ground that we should thereby get more university men. This leads me to enter into somewhat more detail on that subject. And I speak first of the increase of the maximum age.

16 In the first place it appears to me that if we are to raise the limit of age so far as to open the competition substantially to graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, we must raise it to the completion of the 23rd year at least. I went to Oxford in the month of October 1837, when I was a little under 18, and I passed through the schools at the earliest moment, in the month of November 1840, when I was just 21. So far as I know the age of my equals in university standing, I was rather younger than the majority of them, especially those who competed for honours. Now we want men who have the ability and industry to compete for honours. At least, I cannot say for myself, that I attach any value to a mere pass degree. I believe that the tendency of late years has been to defer the average age of passing through the schools both at Oxford and Cambridge. I cannot think, therefore, that to raise the age for competition to 22 would be of any material effect for the intended purpose. I observe that Mr Ibbetson, who speaks with knowledge, says that few men take a degree before 22. Perhaps, however, these observations ought to be confined to Oxford and Cambridge. Mr Jenkyns, of the Punjab, thinks that the age of 22 would be convenient to the students at Scotch Universities.

17 But if we let in university graduates, what sort of graduates shall we get? I agree that it would be worth while to risk many other things in order to get the crack men of the universities, for they would be the crack men of the kingdom. The reasons why we cannot do so will be found stated with more or less fulness in many of the papers, nowhere better I think than in a very good paper by Mr. Ibbetson, of the Punjab. Shortly stated, the reasons are these—

that the prizes of success are actually smaller than they were, that their smallness and other drawbacks of the service are loudly and constantly proclaimed, that in England there has arisen a much greater demand for men of good general education in several walks of life, and that there has been created a class of skilled trainers who give what used to be got only at the universities, and give it in better fashion. The early successes in attracting some prominent university men are accounted for by the novelty of the plan, and by the circumstance that the prizes offered, if not actually greater, were then much extolled and not decried. That these considerations substantially represent the true state of the case I have no doubt. The result is that we can expect to get no man who has a competence in England to fall back upon, no man who has connections in business there, and no man whose success at the university is such as to hold out ambitious prospects in the competitive professions, or such as to lead him to fit for a fellowship. I agree with Mr C J Lyall in thinking that if we raise the maximum of age to catch Oxford and Cambridge graduates, we shall catch only the unsuccessful ones. And I would sooner take my chance of getting better men among the competitors whom the various chances of life, residence, expense, connection, or what not, have turned to an Indian in preference to an university career.

18 It may, indeed, be said that the examination will shut out the inferior men as surely as the altered rule will let them in. But I do not think that at all certain for age tells in examinations, and a youth of inferior metal at 21 or 22 may easily beat a superior one at 19 or 20. At all events the examination would only shut out the undesirable ones with any certainty by dint of raising the average age of the successful competitors. The average age of successful competitors has a tendency to come very close upon the maximum age for competition. At present it is  $20\frac{1}{2}$ , and we have to consider the consequences of raising it to  $21\frac{1}{2}$  or  $22\frac{1}{2}$ .

19 The present standard brings recruits out to India at an average age of nearly 23 the maximum must be nearly 24, beyond which age the Government of India has objected to receive men. Looking at this question from the Indian point of view, not only do I find a large body of high authorities who think that the age of recruits is already too high for Indian purposes, but their arguments, especially those connected with the subject of marriage, seem to me of more weight than the arguments of those who would raise the age on Indian considerations. I should expect to find very strong objections to arrangements which deferred the average age of arrival in India to nearly 25, or to nearly 24.

20. Then we must consider the effect on parents. Every additional year of delay materially increases the expense of training, and removes the time of fruition, and that must tell upon those who feel that their sons have abilities to succeed in other paths in which less risk and effort may be demanded of them.

21 If it is thought desirable to have university graduates at all hazards, and possible to get those of high scholastic rank, I think it would be better to empower the Secretary of State to offer appointments to men who have taken a certain amount of honours, such for instance as a first class in the final schools at Oxford, or one among the first five and twenty wranglers at Cambridge, with corresponding limits for other universities. That would, at any rate, soon put to a crucial test the question whether the Indian Service had attractions for high class university men. Also the plan of the Master of Balliol might be adopted, by which a man who takes certain honours would be allowed to compete. In either of these cases the term of probation should be dispensed with or shortened, and the age arranged so that the recruit might come out to India by the time he is 24. I suspect that the numbers gained by such

methods would be very few, but they might be valuable men, specially under the former method, where men might be tempted by the absence of an examination, and then their general excellence might more than make up for any lack of special preparation No 317

22 There remains the question whether the minimum limit of age should be raised to 18, or higher as some wish. It seems to me undesirable to exclude those who are probably very clever boys, though I do not forget that a very clever boy of 17 or 18 may not maintain his superiority. I find it stated that only 13 lads below 18 have been elected since the year 1859, and 116 below 19, the total numbers being 817. Before raising the minimum age, we ought to know that the achievements of these 13 or 116 (as the case may be) are not satisfactory. The only bit of specific evidence that I find is that of Mr Burrows, and that is in their favour so far as it goes. He thinks that the younger recruits do their work better. If the fact is that there is some variety of character, and not merely differing degrees of excellence, between the younger and the older recruits, that is no disadvantage. In a service so large and with such a diversity of work to perform, some diversity of qualifications beyond what is produced by differences of individual character is useful—an observation which is applicable also to other points in this controversy.

23 I come now to the question how the probationers should be treated. It is proposed to apply to them what seems to me the somewhat violent change of compelling them all to reside either in a college or under the shadow of some college or university. There are several degrees of stringency in the several proposals. The least stringent is that of the Master of Balliol, and as I object even to that, I will take it as the one for consideration.

24 The Master of Balliol proposes that, as a condition of receiving his allowance, every probationer shall reside at some college or university. Whether he contemplates an in-college residence in any case does not appear, but it is unlikely. That he contemplates out-college residence in many cases is clear. He also contemplates that the probationers may take degrees. I do not discover whether he means such a degree to be instead of an examination by the Civil Service Commissioners, or in addition to it, or whether he thinks that the university should periodically examine the probationers in addition to or in lieu of the Civil Service examination. It is clear, however, that some of those who advocate his plan look upon the proposed university course as a simple addition to the present course of probation.

25 As between absolute compulsion and that modified form of it which the Master of Balliol would apply, I think that, though I should prefer the latter, there is no very broad distinction to be taken. It is certain that either would be looked upon as a hardship. All those who reside with their parents or relatives in London, or its neighbourhood, would find their expenses very much increased by residence elsewhere. These appear to be few, but in a minor degree the case would be the same with the larger number who live at home for 7 or 8 months in a year, and go up to London for a period before each examination. In speaking of numbers, I am following Mr H C Fanshawe, a gentleman who has taken great pains to base his opinions on the facts he has observed, and has sent in what appears to me to be one of the most instructive papers\* in the whole series. The suggested plan is supposed to be in the interest of the isolated and friendless probationer. But there must be very few such, otherwise we should find them coming forward on this occasion. Mr. Fanshawe says he is altogether a myth. To most others the compulsion would be a hardship and every additional hardship tends to contract the range of candidates, telling most upon the most desirable ones who most readily find other paths to follow.

\* See page 220.

26. The danger of defaulters also seems to me a very sensible one No 317  
 I think that the Master of Balliol has under-rated the force of the great external beauty of college life at Oxford and Cambridge, and perhaps, the attractiveness of academical studies for many minds just arriving at maturity. I feel confident that proximity to such powerful magnets coupled with the repelling force of exile would draw many to try their chance of an university career. The ablest would succeed, and we should lose them, the others, who fail, would still have given a large part of their energies to university subjects rather than Indian ones. The Master of Balliol weighs the pecuniary advantages of a fellowship and the Civil Service one against the other, and says that the former would kick the beam. I doubt even that but I am sure that with men of the age in question, the money matter would look small by the side of the other matters to which I have referred.

27 Then we are told to rely upon bonds to keep men to their engagements. But bonds must first be obtained, and they require sureties, and every requirement of this kind creates difficulties, and each additional difficulty thins the ranks. Then bonds, to be efficacious, must be enforced, and enforcing them, especially against sureties, is a very odious and usually a very quarrelsome process. I know no class of persons more pugnacious than sureties, who have nearly always been told, and perhaps have believed that their signatures were mere matters of form, required by some pedantic red-tapish rules, and not intended to have any practical consequence. It is not much more pleasant to enforce a bond against such a principal debtor as we should have, thereby perhaps rivetting a millstone round the neck of a promising young man on his start in the world. For I feel sure that the risk would be run, notwithstanding all the devices of Nerius or Cicuta, and a thousand obligations into the bargain.

28 Then we have to ask why should we incur these risks? There are three principal reasons assigned—the superior morality of university life, its superior polish, and its efficacy in giving a professional or corporate spirit to the service.

29 But is the service deficient in these things? As regards morality, I find no evidence beyond one or two obscure and very vague hints of such deficiency, and a great deal of evidence the other way. As regards polish, it is said that there are a few, and they appear to be very few, men who come out deficient in tact and in knowledge of their fellowmen, and to give the remark any force at all, it must be meant that there were fewer or none such formerly, or that there are fewer or none such elsewhere. As regards the corporate spirit, it is no doubt a very powerful factor in the world, but it is also one of the most easy to create and most easy to have in excess. I believe that it exists in great force among the whole service at this moment. As for my Haileybury friends, I speak as one who, though proud of his connection with them, has also affinities with outsiders, such for instance as lawyers, and it seems to me that, if they do err in this matter of corporate spirit, it is on the side of excess.

30 If this review of existing facts be sound, we are asked to make an important alteration of our system on surmises almost entirely unsupported by evidence. But suppose that there were evidence of shortcomings in all the respects indicated (and there is some about deficiency of manners), would the proposed change bring a remedy?

31. I have before intimated my opinion on the subject of morality. If an in-college residence is contemplated, the kind of restriction it involves may, in some degree, prevent hurtful relations with women. But it is quite unsuitable to those who have attained manhood, and taking a broad view of human nature, is calculated

rather to weaken than to strengthen the habits which a man must rely on to carry him through temptations of all kinds. Even in the single matter of the sexes, I think that for a man over 21, to live with his own family, or even to live in London lodgings, with a moderate range of acquaintance and consequent association with female as well as male equals, is far better as a rule than to live in college. However, what we have to consider is an out-college residence. I do not suppose that good colleges at either Oxford or Cambridge could find rooms for our probationers. And if a man is attached to King's College, University College, or an Irish or Scotch University (and I learn from Mr Dane, that nearly half the probationers are Irish or Scotch), he will not reside within the walls of a college. How out-college life can afford the superintendence supposed to be so beneficial, I hardly understand.

32 The subject of manners is closely akin to that of morals, though I would invert the old motto, and rather say that "Man makyth manners" than that "Manners makyth man," or adopt Guinevere's saying, that

"Manners are not idle, but the fruit  
"Of loyal nature and of noble mind"

If a man has got the essentials, contact with the actual world of business will soon prevent mere externals from being much hindrance to him. I do not believe that, in the case of a man over 21, residence even in a college will do much to reduce an angular nature to a round one, to say nothing of out-college residence. Each seems to me far less likely to be effective than residence in a family, or contact with the various influences of a great city, including female society.

33 As for the corporate spirit, I do not see how such a plan as that of the Master of Balliol could have any effect in increasing it.

34 I need not say much about the plan of a single college, because if my reasons against the general university plan are of any force, they bear still more strongly against that of a single college. It might, indeed, tend to increase the corporate spirit, but there is quite enough of that now.

35 I think, however, that the Civil Service Commissioners should not discourage university residence as it seems they do now. When it suits a man's circumstances or the bent of his mind, it is a pity that he should not have the benefit of it. It is impossible to lay down a universal rule which shall be the best for everybody, and perfect freedom of choice seems to me to be the wisest and safest principle to adhere to.

36 If any alteration is to be made in the present system, I should say that the time of probation might beneficially be shortened. I have not hitherto dwelt on the inexpediency of subjecting probationers to more examinations than they now go through, because I have argued on more comprehensive grounds against the plan of engrafting university residence and discipline on our system. But I do feel strongly that to keep a man continually under the harrow of examinations is calculated to injure him. Mr Oldham, of the North-Western Provinces, speaks forcibly on this point. It is good for school-boys to examine them in the work of every term, but the older a man grows, and the wider his studies are, the less fit a subject he is for examinations. I do not see, at any rate, why a probationer who can satisfy the Commissioners that he has sufficiently mastered his special subjects should not be at once sent out to India, though he may not have completed two years of probation. But further than that, I feel very sceptical about the great value of attendance on law courts, and of the study of our Codes of Procedure. What is said by some high authorities about dropping the study of vernacular languages, commends itself to my understanding though not knowing the subject. I can form no independent opinion about it. I should fancy that a

smaller range of special instruction might be chosen, say, by way of example only—(1), Indian History, (2), Law, taking criminal jurisprudence with our Penal Code as a text book, or the principles of evidence with our Evidence Act as a text book, (3), a classical Asiatic language, as Sanskrit or Persian. Probably the majority could pass a qualifying examination in such subjects within a year after their election, and then might be sent out, with gain to themselves in point of money and anxiety, and gain to the service which would get fresher and younger recruits.

37 My opinions on the points I have been examining may be summed up thus —

- (a) —The present state of things is so far satisfactory that we should not make any radical alteration of principle in it, and should be cautious how we make any alterations
- (b) —There is no good reason shown for altering the present limits of age for competitors generally
- (c) —There is no good reason shown for making any great alteration in order to attract men from the universities.
- (d) —It is an allowable experiment to admit men who have taken certain high honours at an university, either to competition or to nomination by the Secretary of State, adjusting their age and the conditions of their probation so as to bring them out to India by the time they are 24
- (e) —It is not desirable to place any compulsion upon probationers to reside at a college or university
- (f).—It is probably desirable to shorten the term of probation and to contract the range of special subjects now required of probationers

38 Before closing this Minute, I wish to add that the present opportunity seems a favourable one for giving consideration to the plan propounded by Mr FitzJames Stephen for educating some of our Civilians to be Barristers (See his Minute on the administration of justice in British India, printed as No. LXXXIX of the Selections from the Records of the Government of India, pages 47-48) It seems to me to afford the best chance of solving the very difficult problem how to get our legal business conducted in a satisfactory way

ARTHUR HOBHOUSE.

*The 22nd September 1875.*

XXXIII.

*Minute by the Honourable MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H. W. NORMAN, K C B*

No. 318.

The limited time at my disposal, and the necessity for a reply being sent almost immediately to the Secretary of State, prevent my going at any length into these important questions, but I have gone through the papers which have been circulated, and have arrived at some general conclusions which I will now briefly give —

I —That no arrangements should be made by which gentlemen appointed to the Civil Service should come out at a later age than at present. I agree with what is said on this point by Sir W. Muir and Sir A. J. Arbuthnot

II —I think with Sir W. Muir that a moderate knowledge of Latin and Greek, Mathematics, English Literature and History should be obligatory on candidates, and that the subjects beyond these for the competitive examination might very well be limited to three.

III —Notwithstanding the disadvantages which may accrue to some young men from studying in London after they have successfully competed, and while fully acknowledging the advantage of a residence at the universities, there seem to me to be many practical difficulties in the way of obtaining this advantage for all, and I do not think it would be well to establish a new and special college for the candidates. I therefore am disposed to think that little alteration can be made in the present system of training

IV —As respects the subjects for study before the final examination, I have no remarks to offer, except that I think study in the Oriental languages should be confined to Sanskrit, Arabic, or Persian. If any other language is to be studied, I think it should be Hindustani, and Hindustani only, on which point the remarks of Sir A. Arbuthnot seem to me to have weight.

V —I would certainly not withdraw the allowance now given to candidates while undergoing training.

H W NORMAN

*The 22nd September 1875*

XXXIV.

*Minute by the Honourable SIR A. CLARKE, K C M G*

No 319

I am in favour of passing candidates into the Indian Civil Service by a modified competitive examination (adjusted to age) in not more than *four* of certain fixed subjects—*two* only of which need be obligatory, namely, Classics and Mathematics.

These candidates must have previously received from a Board of Medical Officers a certificate that they are in every way physically fit for active life in the tropics.

I would fix the limit of age at a minimum of 17 and a maximum of 20 years.

If, at the time of passing, not already a member of any university in Great Britain or Ireland, the passed candidate should immediately matriculate at one or other of these universities, and the nomination to appointment in India should be assigned on the candidate's obtaining, before the age of 22, his degree, together with certain approved honours or distinctions in the ordinary examinations of the universities.

In addition he should pass a qualifying examination in Political Economy, Jurisprudence, and Hindustani, and also in either Persian, Sanskrit, or Arabic.

The present subsistence allowance should cease, but on annual certificates of fair progress and satisfactory conduct from the university authorities certain grants may be made, the student entering each year into a fresh engagement to adhere to an Indian career.

On final nomination a liberal allowance for outfit should be given.

Precedence in rank should be regulated by the date of arrival in India. In cases of students arriving simultaneously who had entered at the same examination, seniority will be accorded to the place then taken.

ANDREW CLARKE

*The 23rd September 1875*

XXXV

*Minute by SIR A. J. ARBUTHNOT, K C S I*

No 320.

I wish to say a few words in further explanation of the suggestion made in my Minute\* of the 20th instant, that while providing for the selected candidates pursuing their special studies at a university, the maximum age for selection should be reduced to 20. It is alleged

\* See page 337



that such a reduction of the age would have the effect of discouraging university education on the part of candidates for the Indian Civil Service and would force them to resort to other expedients, and it is proposed to raise the maximum age for selection to 22, in order that a young man may take his pass degree at the university before competing. I readily admit that the proposed reduction of the age will debar university graduates from presenting themselves at the competition, but I do not regard this as a serious drawback to the proposal. In the first place I do not attach any great value to a pass degree either at Oxford or Cambridge. As a test of the attainments and intellectual capacity of the candidate, the examination for a pass degree is of little value in comparison with the examination which the candidates for the Indian Civil Service have to undergo. The case would be somewhat different if it were probable that the increase in the age would induce graduates in Honours to compete, although the objection on the score of age would equally remain, but it seems doubtful whether an examination at the maximum age of 22, which means an average actual age of  $21\frac{1}{2}$ , would not be too early for graduates in Honours, who, as a rule, are over 22 before they go into the schools. But supposing this difficulty to be got over, there would be, I apprehend, far less probability of attracting to the Indian competition the class of men who go out in Honours, if the examination were deferred until after they had gained their Honours, than there would be if the examination were held a year or two earlier. In the one case the success already achieved, with its attendant prospects in the shape of fellowships and other rewards of academical distinction, would be very likely to disincline the student from turning to an Indian career. In the other case the achievement of distinguished academical success would still be a matter of uncertainty, and the Indian service would gain recruits who, were their university career prolonged to its ordinary close, would be tempted away from it. Therefore it appears to me that we are more likely to attract the class of men we need, by fixing the competition before, than by fixing it after, the age required for taking a degree.

In my opinion what we want in the candidate for the Indian service is not the possession of an ordinary degree in Arts, representing as it too often does, attainments and capacity of a very mediocre stamp, but the possession of the abilities which would have ensured to the owner a good place in the class lists, had academical distinction been the object of his ambition. And the part in this matter which we should ask the university to perform is not to prepare the candidates for a degree previous to the competition, but to provide for those who are selected that course of special education which is deemed expedient for the future Indian Civil Servant, accompanied by the benefits which we hope the young men will derive from residing at a university. If such residence be, as I think it is a desirable thing for the young men in question, that object, I submit, will be more certainly attained by requiring every selected candidate to go through a special course at the university extending over two years, than by reducing the period of the special course to one year and raising the age for competition, in the hope that the latter measure will lead to a larger influx of university candidates.

A J ARBUTHNOT

*The 28th September 1875*

### XXXVI

From the Government of India, to Her Majesty's SECRETARY OF STATE for India,—No 57, dated Simla, the 30th September 1875 No 321

We have the honour to acknowledge Your Lordship's despatches (Public) No 47\* of 8th April and Nos 63 and 64 † of 27th May

2 In these despatches our opinion has been asked upon certain questions regarding the examination and training in England of

\* See page 1

† See page 53

candidates for the Indian Civil Service Our attention has especially No 321. been drawn to the correspondence between Your Lordship and the Civil Service Commissioners and certain high authorities of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge We have received from the Governments of Madras and Bombay copies of their replies to the despatches addressed to them by Your Lordship upon the subject, and we have invited the opinions of a great number of officers of the Bengal Civil Service We desire to call Your Lordship's particular attention to the ability and good sense of the replies which we have received, and which form the enclosures to this despatch

3 With regard to the general result of free competition for the Indian Civil Service, we consider that the experience which has been gained since the Government of India expressed their opinion in despatch\* No. 25 (Public) of the 5th of May 1866, that the result was satisfactory, amply confirms the favourable judgment then expressed. In our opinion the Civil Service is filled by officers of merit and ability, and we are confident that they will be found fully competent to discharge the duties which they have to perform, and to supply statesmen and administrators of high distinction in the different branches of the administration.

4 We concur generally with the views expressed by the Civil Service Commissioners in Mr. Walrond's letter† to Sir Louis Mallet of the 16th of March last with regard to the system of examination for the first competition, and we are satisfied that such changes as it may be desirable to make from time to time in that system may safely be left to the Commissioners in communication with Your Lordship in Council

5. With regard to the present arrangements for the training in England of the successful candidates, we are of opinion that considerable modifications are required In our judgment—which has been confirmed by a great majority of the members of the Civil Service—the present system under which successful candidates are detained for two years in England without any fixed place of residence and under no supervision is not satisfactory We believe that it would be desirable to substitute some system under which the successful candidates may be associated with one another and with other young men of their age during the period of their training in England Such a system would, in our opinion, not only be advantageous to the candidates themselves, but would also be of benefit to the public service.

6 Considerable differences of opinion exist as to the manner in which this object can best be secured On the whole we believe that the best plan would be to require the candidates to join some university at which arrangements have been made for the prosecution of the special subjects which they have to study, and where the students are required to reside and are placed under university or collegiate discipline.

7. We think, moreover, that some alterations might be made with advantage in the course of training of the successful candi-

\* Not printed

† See page 9

dates, that too great value has been attached to attendance in English Law Courts and to the study of the details of English and Indian Law, and that undue importance has been given to learning the vernacular languages of India in England. If the course of training be modified, we believe that the qualifications of candidates in the subjects required of them may be tested by the universities in communication with Your Lordship in Council, and that the Civil Service Commissioners may be relieved of the duty of supervising the training of the candidates.

8 Sir Henry Norman and Mr Hobhouse would make no substantial change in the present arrangements for the training of the candidates. Minutes recorded by them are transmitted herewith as well as Minutes written by His Excellency the Viceroy and other Members of Council, in which the subjects before us are discussed more at length. Your Lordship will find, as might be expected, some difference of opinion with regard to the limits of age fixed for candidates at the competitive examination, and to other particulars relating to their examination and training.

*List of papers to accompany Public Despatch from the Government of India, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India,—No 57, dated the 30th September 1875*

From Government of Bengal, No 263 E, dated 10th August 1875, and enclosure

Ditto ditto, No 1803 C S, dated 17th August 1875, and enclosures

Ditto ditto, No 1809 C S, dated 18th August 1875, and enclosures

Ditto ditto, North-Western Provinces, No 1520 A., dated 23rd August 1875, and enclosures

Ditto ditto, Punjab, No 3140, dated 25th August 1875, and enclosures

Ditto Chief Commissioner of Oudh, No 3731, dated 9th August 1875, and enclosures

Ditto ditto, No 3814, dated 14th August 1875, and enclosures

Ditto ditto of the Central Provinces, No 19, dated 2nd August 1875, and enclosures

Ditto ditto, British Burma, No 355, dated 12th August 1875, and enclosures

Ditto ditto, Mysore, No 3976, dated 14th August 1875, and enclosure

Ditto ditto, Assam, No 2563, dated 21st July 1875, and enclosures

Ditto Resident at Hyderabad, No 46, dated 3rd August 1875, and enclosures

Memorandum by Mr C J Lyall, B C S, dated 17th May 1875

Ditto by Mr W Coldstream, B C S, dated 18th May 1875

Ditto by Mr F Henvey, B C S, dated 21st May 1875

Ditto by Mr C U Aitchison, B C S, dated 21st May 1875

Ditto by Mr R B Chapman, B C S, dated 24th May 1875

Ditto by Mr T J Chichele Plowden, B C S, dated 8th June 1875

Ditto by Mr A P Howell, B C S, dated 26th August 1875.

Minute by the Honourable A Eden, dated 15th September 1875

Ditto by the Honourable Sir W Muir, dated 18th September 1875

Ditto by the Honourable Sir A. J Arbuthnot, dated 20th September 1875

Ditto by His Excellency the Viceroy, dated 22nd September 1875

Ditto by the Honourable A Hobhouse, dated 22nd September 1875

Ditto by the Honourable Sir H W Norman, dated 22nd September 1875.

Ditto by the Honourable Sir A Clarke, dated 23rd September 1875

Supplementary Minute by the Honourable Sir A J Arbuthnot, dated 28th September 1875.

## XXXVII.

From Her Majesty's SECRETARY OF STATE for India, to His Excellency the Right Honourable the GOVERNOR GENERAL of India in Council,—No 19 (Public), dated India Office, London, the 24th February 1876

I have received your despatch \* of the 30th September 1875, No 57, with reference to the selection and training of candidates for the Indian Civil Service I have carefully considered the valuable reports which you have transmitted to me, together with your own comments and those of your colleagues in Council thereupon

2 With respect to the principle of competition itself, the evidence you have collected sufficiently shows that it cannot be disturbed without injury to the public service The expressions of opinion which I have received from competent judges in England lead me to the same conclusion. Of its success as a mode of selecting persons fit to serve in the Indian Civil Service there seems to be no reasonable doubt. The ability which it collects is not the same in kind as that which distinguished the Service appointed under the previous system, and there may be truth in the allegation for which some of your officers contend, that under it instances of the most conspicuous ability are more rare But this difference, so far as it exists, may be reasonably attributed to a different cause Great powers are developed by great occasions, and these have been of very rare occurrence since the present limits of the Indian Empire have been reached On the other hand, it is generally admitted that, if exceptional powers are rarer than in older times, exceptions of an opposite kind have almost disappeared.

3 Some writers speak in their reports to the physical inferiority of the candidates selected under the new system On this point a conflict of testimony exists While the evidence of actual observers, supported by the comparative sick leave statistics, appear to incline to the less favourable view, there are distinguished medical witnesses in England upon the other side The question appears to require further examination It is possible that sufficient weight in the competition has not been given to physical qualifications, but this charge, if true, would not be an objection to the principle of competition, but rather to the mode in which it is applied On the whole, Your Excellency's personal testimony, based on a wide experience of the public service, and the prevalent opinion among the officers whom you have consulted, sufficiently establish that selection by competition has been successful in furnishing an efficient Indian service, and that whatever defects may be noted are not such as to justify any fundamental change of system.

4 While it is generally agreed that the selection by competition should be upheld, there is a large preponderance of opinion in favour of material changes in the treatment of candidates after the selection has been made The competition is almost, if not entirely, limited to subjects which are generally taught in English public schools The wise aim of those who founded the system was to obtain as large a

\* See page 362

field of choice as possible, and at the same time to secure that the candidates, up to the time of their being chosen, should have received the common education of English gentlemen. This was not in itself enough. Special acquirements in language, law, and some other subjects were necessary before a civil servant could enter upon an appointment in India, but it was decided, when Haileybury was abolished, that these should be obtained after and not before the competition. During the first ten years of the new system, the selected candidates were sent to study law and languages at the Presidency towns. This plan was abandoned in 1864 for very conclusive reasons, and arrangements were made for enabling the selected candidates to complete their special studies in England. The highest age at which a man could compete was fixed at 21, his Indian career was to commence at 23, and the intervening two years or more were to be spent in the special studies, in which his advancing proficiency was to be tested by four half-yearly examinations.

5 This is the system which prevails at present, and there is, as Your Excellency shows, a preponderating opinion both in weight and authority against its continuance. The arrangement is such as almost to preclude a candidate from receiving a university education. The age at which he must compete is so fixed that he cannot, according to ordinary arrangements, receive his university education either before or after the competition. The consequence is that, as a rule, the selected candidates spend their two years of preparation studying by themselves in lodgings in London. This is the feature of the existing system which has been generally condemned in India. The nature and extent of that prevalence of opinion is best described in the figures in which you have analysed the reports.

6 The opinions of officers who entered the service from Haileybury and by competition are as follows —

	Haileybury Men.	Competition Men	Total.
For the present system	2	18	20
For association after competition	24	51	75
Out of whom—			
(a) For the Universities	22	39	61
(b) For a special College	2	12	14

7 It is obvious that, if the theory upon which Lord Macaulay and others founded the competition is right, the exclusion of university education cannot be defended. If the object be to obtain civil servants who have received the ordinary education of English gentlemen, it is not reasonable to omit the part of that education which is most peculiarly English, and which exerts the most powerful influence in the formation of character. But the absence of it in this case has evils of a special kind. The peculiarity of a civilian's career, during all its earlier years, is its isolation. As far as European society is concerned, there is scarcely any seclusion more complete than that of

an up-country station, to which a young civilian is usually appointed; and it is a seclusion which often lasts till he has reached to middle age. It is to him therefore more important than to the members of other professions that his education should not be solitary, but that, in the company of others of his own class, he should receive the invaluable training which consists in the knowledge of the thoughts and characters of other men. If he does not obtain it at that time, he has not the chance which is open to others of repairing the omission later. The older civilians received this training in common at Haileybury, and their unanimity in extolling it deserves to be carefully noted. Individuals may err in estimating the circumstances which have furthered or have hindered their success in life, but such an error can hardly be attributed to a whole class of able and experienced men.

8 The eulogies which the older civilians bestow upon the Haileybury education depends, no doubt, in some degree upon a feeling which the universities may not be able so completely to satisfy. The close friendships formed there, which softened the rivalries of after-life, and secured devoted instead of perfunctory co-operation in those who were, far apart, working together for the same cause, were an important advantage of that education. The universities being many, and each containing many colleges, will not necessarily bring the future civilians into the same close daily contact. It is probable, however, that the candidates will be naturally thrown together without any formal arrangement for that purpose. A certain competition in Indian teaching will be set up in the universities, special excellence will be attained in particular colleges, and to them it will probably become the habit for Indian candidates to resort. The opportunity of forming close acquaintance with future colleagues, if not so constant as it was at Haileybury, will be far greater than that which the present system affords.

On these grounds, and in view of the strong preponderance of Indian opinions, Her Majesty's Government confidently agree with Your Excellency in the opinion that the candidates should be encouraged to receive a university education.

10 The detailed arrangements by which this result is to be effected have been the subject of some controversy. The Dean of Christ Church, carrying with him the opinion of the university of Oxford, and apparently that of Cambridge, is of opinion that the university education should be given after the competitive examination and not before, and as it is admitted on all hands that a young civilian must not leave for India later than he does now, it will be necessary for this purpose to reduce the maximum age of competition to 19. The Master of Balliol, on the other hand, would wish the university education to precede the competition, and therefore, would raise the limit of age to 22. Your Excellency is in favour of Dr Jowett's scheme, while Indian opinion generally is divided upon the point. Your own view is followed by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. On the other hand, the Governors of Madras and Bombay and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal prefer the plan which has found favour with the two universities. In Your Excellency's

Council, Mr Eden is in favour of raising the maximum limit of age, No 140 Sir W. Muir, Sir A. Arbuthnot, and Sir A. Clarke desire to lower it. Among those of the Service generally who have touched upon the subject the proportion is somewhat reversed,—33 being in favour of raising the age, 27 in favour of lowering it.

11. It is obvious that, on a question on which opinions are so divided, there is much to be said on both sides. After careful examination of the various opinions and arguments that have been recorded, Her Majesty's Government have come to the conclusion that the view recommended by the universities is to be preferred.

12. The most cogent argument for taking this course is that a university education cannot be ensured for the candidates by any other. Much has been said against the system of special training under which most of the selected candidates have been prepared. In itself, it is undoubtedly an incomplete and partial form of education, but, such as it is, it is an inseparable accompaniment of selection by competition, especially when the competition is severe. The candidates can spare neither time nor energy for any other subjects of instruction than those which will tell upon the examination. Every hour spent upon irrelevant learning is an advantage gratuitously presented to a rival. Teachers, therefore, whose mode of instruction is exclusively designed to obtain success in the examination, and who recognize no other object of endeavour, must necessarily be preferred to those who have a larger aim. The university course, which must provide for other pupils besides the candidates in the Indian competition, can never be so perfect an instrument for gaining marks at that examination as the instruction of the special teachers. Candidates, therefore, before selection will not willingly resort to it. No such difficulty hinders a residence at the university after selection. The further examinations through which the candidates have to pass will not be competitive, the special subjects are such as can be studied there with peculiar advantage, and a powerful encouragement can be offered to a university residence, by restricting to those selected candidates who frequent the university the subsistence allowance given by the Government. It would obviously be impossible to offer any similar inducement to the whole mass of candidates previous to the competition.

13. A lower limit of age is recommended by another consideration of importance. Out of the number who present themselves for competition, it is certain that four-fifths must fail, because the candidates are usually more than five times as many as the vacancies, and no prudent parent, in selecting a profession for his son, will leave this certainty out of consideration. Some professions are absolutely closed, others are almost impossible, to a man who thinks for the first time of entering them at the age of 22. A man, therefore, who competes for the Indian Civil Service at that age, undoubtedly strives for a valuable prize, but does it at a formidable risk. He stakes in a measure his chance of self-support upon the result of a competition in which it is certain that four-fifths must fail. It is more than probable that such a risk must weigh strongly with parents, and diminish



the field of competition, especially among the professional class But No 140  
no such apprehension will be possible if the limit of age is fixed  
at 19

14 The minimum of age will remain at 17, as before.

15 The first competition at which the maximum limit of 19 will  
be enforced will be held in July 1878 This delay in bringing the new  
arrangement into operation is necessary in order that the requisite  
preparation may be made, and that those whose age will then exceed  
the required limit may present themselves at the previous competi-  
tion

16 The selected candidates will be required, as heretofore, to  
become probationers for at least two years, and to pass periodical ex-  
aminations in special subjects of study to be prescribed to them  
Attendance at law courts will still be required, and probationers will  
be examined in respect to that attendance, but I propose, in confor-  
mity with an opinion expressed by Your Excellency, and by many of  
those whose reports are before me, to introduce modifications into the  
arrangements which are now in force

17 The probationers, having passed the necessary examinations,  
will be required to report themselves to their Government in India,  
not later than the close of the 4th December after their selection  
This arrangement will make the age of twenty-two and a half the  
latest at which a young civilian can commence his Indian service  
In most cases he is likely to commence it younger An allowance of  
£150 will be given during each of the two years of their probation to  
all candidates selected in July 1878, or later, who pass their probation  
at some university (to be approved beforehand by the Secretary of  
State), at which moral responsibility for the conduct of the students  
is undertaken and rules of discipline are enforced.

18 These are the principal changes in the existing system which  
it appears to Her Majesty's Government expedient to sanction Some  
alterations of subordinate importance in the studies pursued by the  
probationers may be desirable, but upon these it is not necessary that  
I should trouble you at present

19 I desire that Your Excellency in Council will furnish the  
Governments of Madras and Bombay with a copy of this despatch

Endorsement by the Home Department,—Nos 18—891 to 901, dated Simla, 17th May 1876

* Government of Madras	† 998, dated 7th August 1875	See p 55	Copy for- warded to the * for inform- ation, with reference to their letter No †
Ditto Bombay	2653, do 2nd Sept 1875	” 127	
Ditto Bengal	1809, do 18th Aug 1875	” 157	
Ditto the N W Provinces.	1520, do 23rd ditto	” 166	
Ditto the Punjab	3140, do 25th ditto.	” 199	
Chief Commissioner of Oudh	3314, do 14th ditto.	” 258	
Ditto Central Prov	19, do 2nd ditto	” 259	
Ditto British Burma	355, do 12th ditto	” 273	
Ditto Mysore	3976 do 14th ditto †	” 289	
Ditto Assam	2063, do 21st July 1875	” 295	
Resident at Haidarabad.	1046, do 3rd Aug 1875	” 302	