

INDIA (CIVIL SERVICE CANDIDATES)

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

AND

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA,

RELATING TO

THE AGE AT WHICH CANDIDATES FOR
THE CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA ARE ADMITTED FOR
COMPETITION IN ENGLAND.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.



LONDON

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Correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India, relating to the Age at which Candidates for the Civil Service of India are admitted for competition in England.

No. 1.

LETTER from the GOVERNMENT OF INDIA to the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, No 69 (Public), dated Simla, 1st October 1883.

MY LORD,

WITH reference to the correspondence marginally noted, we have the honour to transmit for your Lordship's consideration, copies of the papers cited in the annexed list, together with the memorials therein enclosed from certain Associations in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, praying that the maximum limit of age up to which candidates for the Covenanted Civil Service shall be allowed to compete for appointments may be raised to 22 years, and that the open competitive examination for that service may be held in India, as well as in London.

2. We desire to observe in transmitting these memorials that we consider the present time inopportune for reopening the discussion as to the limit of age for admission to the Covenanted Civil Service or for inviting the opinions of Local Governments thereupon; but should your Lordship decide that the question is to be reopened, we trust that you will afford us an opportunity for expressing our opinions after full enquiry as to the practical working of the present system in this country.

3. His Excellency the Viceroy and the Honourable Mr. Ilbert have expressed their views upon the subject in separate Minutes, which are annexed to this Despatch.

We have, &c.
(Signed) RIPON.
" D. M. STEWART.
" T. F. WILSON.
" C. P. ILBERT.
" S. C. BAYLEY.
" T. C. HOPE

Enclosure 1 in No. 1.

LETTER from F. B. PEACOCK, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial, Political, and Appointment Departments, to the SECRETARY OF INDIA, Home Department, No. 1491A, dated 26 March 1883.

I am directed to forward the accompanying memorials from the Indian Association and Burdwan Association, addressed to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, praying that the maximum limit of age up to which candidates for the Covenanted Civil Service shall be allowed to compete for appointments may be raised to 22 years, and that a definite proportion of the appointments, as may be determined upon by the authorities at home from year to year, may be offered for competition in India.

2. I am to observe that as the Secretary of State so recently as 1878 decided the points which the memorialists raise, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks that he is not, perhaps, called upon to state his views on the matter. The opinion he held upon the question of age, when this subject was under inquiry in 1875, will, however, be found recorded at pages 370-373 of the "Papers relating to the selection and training of candidates for the Indian Civil Service," published in 1876.

Enclosure 2 in No 1

To the Right Hon. the EARL OF KIMBERLEY, Secretary of State for India in Council.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THE Committee of the Indian Association venture to approach your Lordship with the following observations on the questions of the open competitive examination for the Civil Service of India —

2 The late Secretary of State the Marquis of Salisbury by his order dated the 24th February 1876, reduced the maximum limit of age for the open competitive examination from 21 to 19 years. This reduction in the limit of age was made in opposition to the opinion of a large body of officers and administrators experienced in the government of India and of several educational authorities of distinguished position. The Committee have no desire to refer at great length to the controversy which this measure at the time called forth. They, however, cannot refrain from quoting in this place the opinion of the then Viceroy of India, who is now a distinguished member of the Cabinet, and who, in all matters relating to India must be considered as a great authority. Lord Northbrook observed —

“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 whatever small advantage may 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 the reducing the higher limit, and the great discouragement to University education which such a change would involve.”

3. Lord Northbrook gave it as his deliberate opinion that the limit of age, instead of being reduced, should be actually raised to 22 years, and the Committee of the Indian Association would now humbly press upon your Lordship the importance of reconsidering the question and of deciding whether it is not necessary, after the experience that has been gained since the rule has been in operation, to raise the maximum limit of age to 22 years, or at any rate to 21 years, which was the former limit.

4. Many of the apprehensions which had been entertained when the limit of age was reduced are now being almost literally fulfilled. It was feared at the time that the severe strain of a competitive examination would operate prejudicially upon the health of the youthful candidates. It now appears from the remarks of Mr. Wren, a most competent witness, who, the Committee understand, has addressed a letter to your Lordship in Council, that these difficult examinations have in many cases been ruinous to the health of the candidates, who under the new rules are obliged to compete at an age when the physical powers are least able to bear over exertion. It will be sufficient to quote in this place one extract from Mr. Wren's letter. —

“The question how to get the best man, is the question. The cutting down of the age is what does the mischief. The prizes are great. The competition is severe. The more the age is cut down the more severe is the competition. The old regulations prevented ‘cramming’. The new ones make it compulsory. You cannot put five years work into three; you cannot make boys with immature brains do young men's work without injuring those brains. The medical reports of the successful competitors are, I am informed, far less satisfactory than they were of the candidates of higher age. I believe it to be a well-established fact that the percentage of mortality among young officers and young civilians is higher than that among older men. The class from which candidates are chosen is a more limited one. The more limited the class the more limited the number of competitors, *ie*, there are fewer good men to choose from. The fewer the competitors the lower the average of quality. The racing of yearlings is known to be ruinous to those raced. The risks to the mind from too early racing are greater and worse than those to the body.”

5 The chief reason that was urged in favour of the reduction of age was that it would help candidates to obtain University degrees. All the weight of experience was against this assumption, for in former years when the limit of age was 23 years, the percentage of selected candidates who were University men was higher than when the age was reduced to 21. In 1858, when the limit of age was 23, out of 20 men selected for the Civil Service, 18, or fully 90 per cent, were University men, *ie*, from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and Trinity College, Dublin. In 1874, however, out of 40 selected candidates, it would seem that only 6, or just 15 per cent, were from those Universities, *ie*, taking the five years from 1870 to 1874, out of a

total of 186 selected candidates, only 19, or less than 11 per cent., were from those institutions, and only 35, or less than 19 per cent., were from all the Universities taken together.

6. These are the facts gathered from the reports of the Civil Service Commissioners previous to the enforcement of the rule reducing the limit of age. Since the rule has come into operation the results point to the same truth, viz, that it is not by reducing, but rather by raising the limit of age that a large percentage of University men could be tempted to join the Indian Civil Service. From the Bengal Civil List, the Committee find that from 1877 to November 1881 there were only two gentlemen with University degrees who were appointed members of the Covenanted Civil Service of this province. It, however, appears that from July 1873 to November 1876, when the higher limit of age prevailed there were so many as eight gentlemen with University degrees who were appointed to the Civil Service of this province. And it would indeed seem that the two civilians with University degrees graduated before the new rule came into force, for they entered the service in 1878, and therefore probably passed the open competitive examination before the maximum limit of age was lowered. What is true of Bengal is probably true of all the other provinces, and the reduction in the maximum limit of age has therefore failed to secure the object sought to be attained by it, viz., the admission of a larger number of University men into the Civil Service.

7. These are the general considerations which make it desirable that the limit of age should be raised. It is evident that if the present rules remain in force they cannot fail seriously to impair the efficiency of the Service, and to weaken the character of the Indian administration. The Committee, however, would also beg leave to point out that the reduction in the limit of age has proved disastrous to the prospects of Indian candidates. It is now nearly six years that the rule has been in force, and though several have competed, only a single native of India has successfully passed the open competitive examination. If it be urged that there is the Native Civil Service, where the people of this country may employ their talents and show their usefulness, the Committee would reply that that Service, with the career which it offers to Indian youths, and with its mode of appointment, has failed to give public satisfaction. The Committee will not hesitate to say that the Native Civil Service is looked upon by the great body of educated Indians as a perfect farce, and in no sense is it calculated to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people. The appointments are made by nomination, and the Committee fear that in every case the best men have not been nominated. They need only quote in support of their statement an extract from the Bombay correspondent of the Hindu Patriot newspaper, who makes the following remarks in reference to the recent appointment to the Native Civil Service of that Presidency :—

“ The unpopularity of the system of nominations to the Covenanted Civil Service of this Presidency is increasing year by year as the nominations are announced. Whatever may be the case on your side of the country, we in the Bombay Presidency have a great deal to complain of the scandalous disregard to fairness, of jobbery, and favouritism which appears to guide the Government in their selections. This year's nominee is Mr. Cuisetji Ratanji Ramanji Dubash. His title to nomination appears to be that he is the son of a rich Parsi Dubash or purveyor of stores to ships' agents.”

8. The fact that appointments to the Native Civil Service are made under a system of nomination, and that admission to the European Civil Service is regulated by the results of a difficult competitive examination, must necessarily create a difference in the status of the two services. Moreover, the highest offices in the State are not open to the members of the Native Civil Service. It is only a limited number of subordinate appointments that they are entitled to hold in common with the junior members of the European Civil Service. Practically, the Native Civil Service forms only another branch of the subordinate judicial and executive services. It is clear that a service thus constituted can never satisfy the legitimate and the growing aspirations of the educated community of India. At the same time it must be obvious that so long as the open competitive examination is held in London alone, there will be found very few natives of India proceeding to England at an immense cost and at very great sacrifice upon the mere chance of passing successfully a most difficult examination with competitors who have the advantage of being examined in their own language and in events connected with their own history. In the words of a distinguished English writer, Professor Newman, “ To require Indians to come to England for the chance of being elected, is not to treat them on fair and equal terms. What would our youths think of the boon of going to Calcutta in order to be examined, with a total uncertainty of being chosen.

“ Evidently, as we ought to set aside a definite minimum percentage of offices in every grade to be of necessity filled by natives, so ought we to enact that for every primary admission the examinations for a certain minimum percentage should be held in India, and for the rest in London.” The candidates, after selection, may be required to proceed to England to complete their period of probation

9. The Committee would therefore respectfully suggest that your Lordship in Council would be pleased to direct that the open competitive examination for the Civil Service of India should be held simultaneously with that in London, in some centre or centres in India, where a definite proportion of appointments, such as may be determined upon by your Lordship in Council, may be competed for year after year. If your Lordship should be pleased to give effect to this prayer, and also to direct the raising of the maximum limit of age to 22, or at any rate to 21, years, the order would be hailed with universal gratitude by the people of India, and would satisfy those anticipations which the accession of the Liberal Ministry to power had awakened in the minds of the people of this country. For the Committee cannot but recall with gratitude the memorable words of Mr. Gladstone on the occasion of the presentation by Mr. Bright of a memorial from the people of India to the House of Commons, embodying a precisely similar prayer.—

“ There is the question of the Civil Service. I think it is difficult to resist the force of those arguments urged on behalf of the Indian people and by Indians themselves, as they were indicated to-night by my right honourable friend the member for Birmingham, from the petitions he presented with regard to Civil Service appointments. I think we must not be turned aside by apprehensions such as those the Under Secretary of State put forward, namely, the fear lest we repel from seeking Indian appointments the class of men we require. In the first quarter of a century of my lifetime every Government and every Parliament was firmly and in a masculine spirit set upon economy. (Hear.) I am sorry to say, that I cannot congratulate recent Governments or recent Parliaments upon having acted upon similar principles.”

I have, &c.,
 (Signed) A. M. BOSE,
 Barrister-at-Law,
 Honorary Secretary Indian Association

Enclosure 3 in No. 1.

To the Right Hon. the EARL OF KIMBERLEY, Secretary of State for India in Council.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THE members of the Burdwan Association in the District of Burdwan, Bengal, beg most respectfully to submit the following for the consideration of your Lordship in Council, in connexion with the question of open competitive examination for the Civil Service in India.

2. It is nearly seven years since the limit of age for candidates for the said Service was reduced from 21 to 19 years by the late Secretary of State for India, the Marquis of Salisbury. The order by which the new departure was introduced was dated the 24th February 1876.

3. The principal reason, so far as the Association understand, on which this change was founded, was the hope that would it bring a larger number of University graduates to the ranks of the Indian Civil Service.

4. Experience, however, proves that this reason was based upon a mistake. The Report of the Civil Service Commissioners and the Civil Lists of Bengal conspire to show that while in 1858 the percentage of University graduates who were appointed members of the Civil Service was 90, it was only 19 from 1870 to 1874, when the limit of age was 21, and in Bengal after the further reduction effected by the Marquis of Salisbury, it has come down to only two. Far from any increase therefore of percentage having taken place, the above figures clearly demonstrate that the result has been quite the reverse.

5. These consequences, which have been verified by actual experience, did not fail to be perceived and pressed upon by the authors of the change at the time it was still in contemplation. And protest against it was offered, not only by many of the non-official population of India, but also by the very highest officers in whose hands the administration of the Government of this country was vested. Lord Northbrook's opinion was as emphatic as it well could be. "With every deference," he said, "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 whatever small advantage may 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 the reducing the higher limit and the great discouragement to University education which such a change would involve."

6. The Association venture to submit that upon *a priori* grounds it might well have been anticipated that one disastrous result of reducing the age would be to seriously impair the efficiency of the Service and weaken the character of the administration. The difficult examinations through which a candidate must pass before he finds a place in the Civil Service of India, tax his mental powers to the utmost; and it is of the last importance that everything should be done to prevent their being over-taxed. But the policy of Lord Salisbury's change has quite an opposite tendency. In the language of Mr Wren who, the Association understand, has addressed a letter on the subject to your Lordship in Council. "The race of yearlings is known to be ruinous to those raced. The risks of the mind from too early a racing are greater and worse than those of the body."

7. And in special connexion with India, the Association beg humbly to point out that during the seven years which have nearly elapsed since the reduction of age was effected in 1876, only one Indian candidate has been able to gain admission into the Civil Service of his own country, and this result, deplorable as it is, is not at all to be wondered at, if sufficient attention is paid to the circumstances under which an Indian youth under 19 years of age, has at present to go to a distant country like England after enormous expenses to compete at an examination, in which, if he fail, his whole trouble and expense would go for nothing; and he will have to return to his own country with disappointed hopes and darkened prospects, and on such return to encounter immense social difficulties and caste feelings struggling fearfully to keep him out of the pale of the Hindu community. These are serious evils, which the Association venture to hope will receive earnest consideration at the hands of your Lordship in Council.

8 The Native Civil Service, comparatively a recent creation, is not a cure at all for these evils. The appointments to that Service are made by nomination, and the nominees in this province have, in some instances, the qualification of birth only. In fact, the Native Civil Service has proved a mere sham. Its members cannot aspire to the higher posts in the Government service, and there is little guarantee that the most deserving will get a footing in it

9 Under these circumstances, the Association venture to suggest that the best means of remedying these evils will be to hold competitive examinations in London, and also in some centre or centres in India, in regard to a fixed proportion of such appointments as may be determined upon by your Lordship in Council for each year.

10 The Association therefore most respectfully pray that your Lordship in Council may be pleased to direct that the present limit of age for candidates for the Civil Service of India may be raised from 19 to 22 years, and that a definite proportion of the appointments which may be fixed year after year may be competed for in some centre or centres in India

I have, &c
(Signed) SAJANI KANT CHATTERGEE,
Secretary.

Burdwan,
the 24th February 1883.

Enclosure 4 in No. 1.

To the Right Hon. the EARL OF KIMBERLEY, Secretary of State for India in Council.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THE Sadharan Hitashadhini Sabha, of Tarash, in the district of Pubna in Bengal, venture to approach your Lordship with the following observations on the question of the open competitive examination for the Civil Service of India.

II. The Marquis of Salisbury, the late Secretary of State for India, by his order, dated the 24th February 1876, reduced the maximum limit of age for the open competitive examination from 21 to 19 years. The reduction in the limit of age was made in opposition to the opinion of a large number of experienced officers and administrators of India, especially of the then Viceroy of India, who observed.—

“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 whatever small advantages may 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 the reducing the higher limit, and the great discouragement to University education which such a change would involve”

III. Lord Northbrook deliberately gave out his opinion that the limit of age, instead of being reduced, should rather be raised to 22 years, and the “Sabha” would humbly request your Lordship the importance of reconsidering whether to raise the maximum limit of age at least to 21 years is necessary or not.

IV. The limit of age was reduced from 21 to 19 years with the expectation, which proved quite delusive, that the selected candidates would try to obtain University degrees after passing the competitive examination. Experience shows that the number of civil servants holding University degree was much greater when the maximum limit of age was 23 years than since the age was reduced to 21 years. In 1858, when the limit of age was 23, out of 20 men selected for the Civil Service, 18, or fully 90 per cent., were University men,—men, *i. e.*, from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and Trinity College, Dublin. In 1874, however, out of 40 selected candidates, it would seem that only 6, or just 15 per cent., were from those Universities, or, taking the 5 years from 1870 to 1874, out of a total of 186 selected candidates, only 19, or less than 11 per cent., were from those institutions, and only 35, or less than 19 per cent., were from all the Universities taken together

V. It appears from the writing of Mr. Wren that the competitive examinations act prejudicially upon the health of youthful candidates, who are obliged to compete at an age when their physical powers are not sufficient enough to bear over exertions. It is not out of place to quote an extract from Mr. Wren's letter—

“The question how to get the best men is the question. The cutting down of the age is what does the mischief. The prizes are great. The competition is severe. The more the age is cut down, the more severe is the competition. The old regulations prevented ‘cramming’; the new ones make it compulsory. You cannot put five years' work into three; you cannot make boys with immature brains do young men's work without injuring those brains. The medical reports of the successful candidates are, I am informed, far less satisfactory than they were of the candidates of higher age. I believe it to be a well-established fact that the percentage of mortality among young officers and young civilians is higher than among older men. The class from which candidates are chosen is a more limited one. The more limited the class the more limited the number of competitors, *i. e.*, there are fewer good men to choose from. The fewer the competitors the lower the average of quality. The racing of yearlings is known to be ruinous to those raced. The risks to the mind, from too early racing, are greater and worse than those to the body.”

VI. A letter recently appeared in the columns of the “Times” newspaper in connexion with the question of open competitive examinations, strongly supports Mr. Wren's statement, an extract from which the “Sabha” ventures to lay before your Lordship.—

“Since the institution of competition, out of the hundred odd civilians appointed to this Presidency, nine have died, and two were forced to retire on account of physical debility; ten more were considered quite unfit for their work on account of their bodily

weakness ; two others were dismissed for inability to ride, and uncouth manners; and eight have positively become insane. It is this symptom which is creating almost a panic here, especially last few years, during which the standard of examination has been raised, as is necessary under the competitive system, to the highest pitch. The most anxious scrutiny is now made of each new batch of young civilians as landed, and their physical and mental condition is at once reported to Government."

VII. Since the date of the reduction in the limit of age, only a single Native of India has passed successfully the open competitive examination for Civil Service.

VIII. These considerations make it indispensably necessary for the "Sabha," to pray to your Lordship to raise the maximum limit of age to 22 or at least 21 years.

IX. It is also evident that so long as the open competitive examination is held in London alone, few Natives of India will be bold enough to go to England at an immense cost to compete for an examination which is most difficult for them, who are neither examined in their own language, nor in events connected with their own history.

X. The "Sabha" would therefore respectfully beg that your Lordship would be pleased to direct that the open competitive examination for the Civil Service of India should be held in some centre or centres in India as well as in London.

XI. If it be said that there is the Native Civil Service in which the Natives of India may show their qualifications, the "Sabha" would humbly answer, it makes no good to the Indians in general. There is no competition in the Native Civil Service. It is open only to a few chosen individuals who are not always the best men.

XII. If your Lordship be pleased to give effect to these prayers the order would be hailed with universal thanksgivings and applause, and would satisfy these anticipations which the accession of the Liberal Ministry to power had roused in the minds of the people of this country. For the "Sabha" cannot remain silent without quoting the memorable words of Mr. Gladstone, on the occasion when Mr. Bright presented the memorial from the people of India to the House of Commons, containing a prayer of a similar nature :—

"There is the question of Civil Service. I think it is difficult to resist the force of those arguments, urged on behalf of the Indian people, and by Indians themselves, as they were indicated to-night by my honourable friend the member for Birmingham, from the petitions he presented with regard to Civil Service appointments. I think we must not be turned aside by apprehensions such as those the Under Secretary of State put forward, namely, the fear lest we repel from seeking Indian appointments the class of men we require. In the first quarter of a century of my life, every Government and every Parliament was firmly, and in masculine spirit, set upon economy (Hear.) I am sorry to say, that I cannot congratulate recent Governments or recent Parliaments upon having acted upon similar principles"

I have, &c.
(Signed) KRISHNA CHUNDER MOJUMDER,
Secretary.

Enclosure 5 in No. 1.

MINUTE by HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY, dated 26 September 1883.

1. I agree with the opinion entertained by the majority of my honourable colleagues that the present is not a favourable moment for re-opening the question of the maximum limit of age for persons desirous of competing for admission to the Covenanted Civil Service; but I cannot allow the present Despatch to be sent home without recording my own belief that the reduction of that limit from 21 to 19 was a mistake, and that it would be desirable at the first convenient opportunity to return to the arrangement formerly in force.

2. Personally I have always been opposed to the alteration which was made in 1876. It was carried out in opposition to the advice of the majority of the members of the Government of India, including the then Viceroy (Lord Northbrook), of a majority of the officials consulted in India, and of the Civil Service Commissioners at home; and so high an authority on questions of education as Professor Jowett expressed a strong

opinion in favour of raising, instead of lowering the upper limit of age. It is true no doubt that there was a considerable difference of opinion both among persons connected with education in England and among officials in India on the subject, but the weight of authority appears to me to have been decidedly against the change. In his Despatch of the 24th February 1876 the Secretary of State, Lord Salisbury, conveys his decision in favour of lowering the higher limit of age in the following words.—“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.”

3 I can find nothing in the papers available to me to show that the University of Cambridge ever did recommend the reduction of age. The University of Oxford undoubtedly did so, and the recommendation was in accordance with the views entertained by the Dean of Christ Church, Dr. Liddell, who was then Vice-Chancellor, but it was, as I have already mentioned, directly opposed to those of the Master of Balliol. The Secretary of State gave two reasons for the decision at which he arrived. The first, and “most cogent,” that “a University education could not be ensured for the candidates by any other;” the second that the consequences of failure in the competition are more serious at 21 or 22 than at 19, and many parents would be deterred from reserving their sons for competition from fearing that in case of failure it would be difficult to find them a career.

4 With respect to the first of these reasons, I would point out that the experience obtained up to 1876 went to prove that a reduction of the higher limit of age would have an exactly opposite effect to that anticipated by Lord Salisbury. Professor Jowett, in his letter to the Secretary of State of the 27th December 1874, says,—“During the first ten 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 proportionately diminished;” and although of late years the greater part of the young civil servants have gone up to the Universities, they have only remained there, as I am informed by Professor Jowett (with a very few exceptions), for two years, because they have been anxious to proceed to India without further delay or expense, and they have consequently been unable to obtain the full advantage of a University career and to take a degree before leaving England.

5. The second reason given in Lord Salisbury’s Despatch relates to the alleged unwillingness of parents to reserve their sons for competition from fearing that in case of failure it would be difficult to find them a career. This argument was met by anticipation by Professor Jowett in the letter to which I have already referred, in which he says,—“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.” This expectation has been to a great extent realised, as since the age was lowered the number of candidates has fallen off considerably. The truth appears to be that, instead of parents disliking to “reserve” their sons till 21 before deciding whether to adopt an Indian career for them, the real fact is that parents are very unwilling to fix on India as the destination of their sons at the early age of 15 or 16.

6. The grounds, therefore, which were put forward in 1876 in justification of the change then made have not received support from the experience obtained during the seven years which have since elapsed, and I have reason to believe that if inquiries were now made of those persons in England who have had to do with the Indian students admitted under the present regulations, a large body of opinion in favour of a return to a higher maximum limit of age would be found to exist amongst them. This is, I know, the view taken of the question taken by Professor Jowett, now Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, by Dr. Markby, by Mr. Platts, by Mr. Wren, and others, as it was also by the late Mr. Arnold Toynbee. The change of age has almost excluded from the competition members of the English and Scotch Universities, while, as I have stated above, on the authority of Professor Jowett, very few of the young men now admitted remain long enough at the University to enable them to obtain a degree,—a privilege which, as I am informed, they would highly value. Indian candidates may in many respects be compared with the young men who enter the Home Civil Service after a competitive examination. They come from a similar class. But the limit of age fixed for the Home Civil Service is, I believe, not 19 but 24. It must be borne in mind that the limit in question is a maximum; the average age of candidates will of course be below that maximum; and while, therefore, if the former limit should be restored, young men of

exceptional ability and early maturity of character will be just as able as they are now to enter the Indian Civil Service, an opportunity will once more be afforded for men who have passed through a regular University career, or have been called to the Bar, to leave that Service by their solid learning and careful training. That a proportion at least of such men should be admitted to the Covenanted Civil Service seems to me highly desirable, and it is a very strong argument against the present system that it practically excludes them. Again, in the case of a competitive examination, a reduction in the number of candidates, such as has taken place of late years, means a lowering of the standard of excellence,—a result in itself greatly to be deprecated. It has sometimes been urged in favour of reducing the age of candidates that there would be no longer any need for the services of the eminent private teachers who are commonly, though somewhat invidiously, called “crammers.” I must plead guilty to thinking that a great deal of nonsense is often talked upon the subject of “cramming,” but be that as it may, the reduction of age has not, as I understand, diminished the practice of reading with private tutors in London; as a matter of fact, considerably more than half the successful candidates during the last few years have been pupils of Mr. Wren and Mr. Scoones; while the real dangers which are connected with a residence in London have been increased, as the candidates are now exposed to the temptations of a London life at an earlier age.

7. Looking at the subject from an English point of view it appears to me that the change made in 1876 has failed to secure the objects for which, according to Lord Salisbury's Despatch, it was introduced, and I have every reason to believe that if steps were taken at home to ascertain the views of those persons whose positions in the Universities, schools, and other educational institutions in England enable them to speak with authority on this question, it would be found that the great weight of opinion was in favour of again raising the higher limit of age. But in considering this subject it is impossible to overlook its bearing upon the question of the admission of Natives to the Covenanted Civil Service. The effect of the change in this respect has undoubtedly been altogether to shut the door of the competitive examinations in England to Natives of India. No Native has gained admission to the Covenanted Civil Service by competition since the new regulation came into force. There is a widespread belief in India that one object of the change made in 1876 was to exclude educated Natives from the Civil Service; but there is nothing in any papers which I have seen to show that there was any such intention on the part of those who advocated the alteration, or even to indicate that the way in which the new regulation would affect Native candidates was ever considered at all. Whatever may have been the intention there is no doubt about the effect. Natives are now practically excluded from the home competitions altogether. In my judgment this result is greatly to be regretted; it has created great dissatisfaction in the minds of the educated Natives; it has practically deprived them of the right of admission to the Covenanted Civil Service on equal terms with the rest of Her Majesty's subjects, which they had enjoyed ever since the establishment of the competitive system in 1854; and it has, by indirect means, effected a change which, as Lord Cranbrook pointed out in his Despatch of 7th November 1878, would have had no chance of success in Parliament if it had been proposed in the direct form of an alteration of the law. If the exclusion of Natives from competition was one of the objects with which the new regulation was adopted, of which, as I have said, there is no proof, then it seems to me that the end sought was inconsistent with the intention of the law, and that the only legitimate mode of attaining it was by an application to Parliament to change the law; but if the exclusion of Natives, which has resulted in practice from the present regulation, was not contemplated by its authors, the sooner steps are taken to restore to Native candidates the privilege which Parliament undoubtedly intended to confer on them, and of which they have been accidentally deprived by the action of the Executive Government, the more consistent it will be with due respect for the intentions of the Legislature, and for the claims which are founded upon those intentions.

8. A belief is sometimes expressed that if Natives of India are admitted freely to compete in England for admission to the Covenanted Civil Service they will enter that service in large numbers. It appears to me that neither the experience of the past nor the probabilities of the case justify this belief. From the first establishment of the competitive system to the present day, only 11 Natives have competed successfully; and so far from their having entered the service in increasing numbers up to the time when the new regulation shut them out, the years just before that regulation came into force, showed a falling off in the number of successful competitors. But, apart from the actual experience of the working of the competitive system, is it probable that Natives

of this country, however intelligent and well-educated they may be, will ever be able to go to England and win their way in large numbers into the service in a competition against the pick of the intelligent youths of the United Kingdom carried on at their own doors and based upon the educational system of their own schools? I cannot believe it, for it could not come to pass unless the Natives of India were possessed of intellectual qualities greatly superior to those of the English, Irish, and Scotch competitors whom they have to meet before the Civil Service Commissioners, to require Natives of India to compete in England is to handicap them heavily in the race, and that any but men of exceptional ability can succeed under such circumstances seems to me to be out of the question. The idea, therefore, that a return to the old regulation as to age would, as is sometimes said, "flood the Civil Service with Natives," is to my mind altogether unsubstantial.

9 For the reasons thus briefly stated, it is my desire to see the old limit of age restored. As a preliminary measure, I should be glad if the Secretary of State would institute inquiries at the Universities and among persons connected with education at home as to their opinion upon the working of the existing system. I have every reason to believe that many of those best qualified to judge of the question would be found to give opinions in accordance with those expressed above. Men like Professor Jowett, Dr. Markby, Mr. Wren, and others, could speak with great authority on the subject, and if they should pronounce in favour of a return to the old arrangement, a strong case in its favour would be established. It is probably too soon to form any reliable opinion in India upon the young men who have joined the Service during the last four or five years, but if, as I believe, those through whose hands they have passed at home doubt whether they come up to the full standard of excellence attained by their predecessors, it would be most unadvisable to go on filling the ranks of the Service with youths possessed of less high qualifications than might be secured under a different system. And when to this view of the case is added the consideration of the just claims of the Natives of India to the enjoyment of the privilege of competition which Parliament deliberately granted to them, it appears to me that a case of the strongest kind is established in favour of a return to the limit of age which prevailed before 1876.

(Signed) RUPON

Enclosure 6 in No 1.

MINUTE by the Hon. C P ILBERT, dated 27 September 1883.

1. I agree generally with the views expressed by His Excellency the Viceroy, and, in particular, with the opinion that it would be expedient, as a preliminary measure, to institute the limited inquiries suggested by him. The change which was effected in 1876 constituted a great departure from the principles laid down by the founders of the competition system, and does not appear to me to have been warranted either by the evidence of facts or by the preponderance of authoritative opinion. It has caused general and serious dissatisfaction among the educated Natives of India, and has given ground for a complaint that they have been excluded by indirect means from a competition to which they are admissible by law. This complaint might be fairly met if it could be shown that the change to which objection is taken was justified by the paramount consideration of improving the supply of English candidates for the Civil Service. So far from this having been shown, it is alleged by persons peculiarly qualified to form a judgment on the matter that under the new system the quality of those candidates has deteriorated and is likely to deteriorate. I think that we cannot afford to disregard an allegation of so serious a nature.

2. If it should appear that the limit of age for competition could not be raised without abridging the subsequent period of probation and special training, it would be worth while to inquire whether an abridgment of this period would not, under the circumstances, be advisable.

(Signed) C P ILBERT

No. 2.

COPY TELEGRAM received from the VICEROY on the 17th April 1884.

IN my minute of 26th September last, on the subject of limit of age for competitors for Civil Service, I expressed agreement in the opinion that that time was not favourable for re-opening question. Reasons which induced me to concur in that opinion then have now in my judgment no force. They were connected with controversy regarding Criminal Procedure Bill, and that controversy having been brought to a close, they do not appear to me any longer applicable. I request that in the event of the papers relating to this subject being published this telegram may be appended as a note to my minute.

 No. 3.

DESPATCH from the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA to the GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA, No 40, Public, dated India Office, 15th May 1884.

MY LORD MARQUIS,

WITH reference to your Excellency's letter No. 69, of the 1st of October last, transmitting to me memorials from the Committee of the Indian Association, the Burdwan Association, and the Sadharan Hitashadmi Sabha of Tarash, on the subject of certain questions connected with the regulations for the competition for appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service of India, I enclose herewith, for your Excellency's information, a statement containing the substance of the answer which I gave to a deputation which waited on me at this office on the 3rd of April on the same subject, and I shall be glad if your Excellency will communicate a copy of that statement to the memorialists above mentioned.

I have, &c,
(Signed) KIMBERLEY.

 Enclosure in No. 3.

SUBSTANCE of Lord KIMBERLEY'S ANSWER to the DEPUTATION on the 3rd of April 1884.

Lord Kimberley said that, at the time when the regulations were altered by Lord Salisbury, he had been disposed to regret that the limits of age had been changed; but the question he had now to consider was whether such conclusive proof had been shown of the failure of the present regulations as to require a return to the former system.

Now he found that the result of careful inquiries which had recently been made in India, as to the allegations that the men sent out under the new regulations were physically inferior to those admitted under the old system, was that, as far as the short experience had shown, no inferiority was observable in the successful candidates under the new regulations.

The papers on this subject had been laid before Parliament.

Then with reference to the fact, which he quite admitted, that the majority of the opinions of members of the Civil Service recorded at the time Lord Salisbury made the change was in favour of the higher age of candidates, he would point out that this applied specially to the younger men in the service, who would naturally have a predilection for the system under which they had themselves been appointed. On the other hand, the older men in the service, among whom he might quote no less an authority than the late Lord Lawrence, were decidedly in favour of the civilians joining the Service in India at an early age.

He believed that one of the reasons for the change had been the grave inconveniences which were found to arise from the young men whilst studying in this country not being under sufficient supervision, and one of the advantages claimed for the new system was the placing the men under supervision during the period of probation.

He would next advert to the complaint of the exclusion of Natives from the competition by the new rules; and here he would observe that although there had undoubtedly been a considerable diminution in the number of Native candidates, the falling off had commenced before the change in the rules.

During the last five years of the old regulations there were 28 Native candidates in all, but in each of the two last of those years there were only three.

In the six years of the new regulations there had been altogether 10 Native candidates. He must further remind the deputation that, under the rules for what was called the "statutory" Civil Service, provision had been made for admitting, in India, one-sixth of the whole number of civilians appointed in every year, so that ultimately one-sixth of the service would be Natives; and this was not, as was supposed in some quarters, admission merely to the Uncovenanted Service, for though not technically, the statutory Civil Service was, in point of fact, one with the Covenanted Civil Service.

He was quite aware that the arrangements for the "statutory" Civil Service were capable of amendment, and he was in communication on the subject with the Government of India, with a view to improving the system of selection of candidates, but, at all events, it was impossible to maintain that when provision had been made for the admission of Natives to the service to the extent of no less than one-sixth, the intention of Parliament with respect to the employment of Natives has been disregarded; and the proportion of one-sixth was certainly as high as the Government felt justified in establishing.

On the whole, the conclusion he had arrived at, after very careful consideration, was that the new system having been only in force for the last six years, and no sufficient proof being adduced of its having broken down, he would not be justified at the present time in again altering the regulations so as to revert to the former limits of age.

No. 4.

LETTER from the GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Home Department (Public), to the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, No. 51, dated Simla, the 12th September 1884.

MY LORD,

WE have now the honour to forward copies of the replies of the Local Governments to the reference made to them under the sanction conveyed in your Lordship's Despatch* No. 128 of the 22nd November 1883, on the subject of improving the working of the Statutory Rules regulating the admission of Natives to offices ordinarily held by members of Her Majesty's Covenanted Civil Service of India. We also enclose a copy of the circular addressed by us to the Local Governments.

2. It will be seen that, although we did not invite discussion upon the general question of the success or failure of the present statutory system, the local authorities, and especially the larger Governments, which have had most experience of its working, are seriously dissatisfied with its results. Some of them have indeed recorded criticisms or proposals the acceptance of which would necessitate radical changes in the existing rules, or lead even to their absolute withdrawal, while the large majority are distinctly opposed to the method of applying and working the rules prescribed in the resolution of the Government of India in the Home Department, No. 59—2324—2330 of 24th December 1879. It will also be observed that none of the suggestions put forward in our circular entirely commend themselves to the Local Governments generally as sufficient to meet the exigencies of the case.

3. We ourselves should have been glad if it had been possible to avoid disturbing arrangements settled so comparatively recently by the Government of India in communication with the Home Government of the time, but the opinions of the Local Governments are in themselves so strong, and there is such a practical unanimity as to the necessity of some considerable change, that we have been compelled to review the whole question afresh.

4. At present there are two modes by which Natives of India are admitted to the Civil Service of the Crown in this country. They may become members of the regular Covenanted Civil Service by success in the London competitions, or they may be appointed under the Rules of 1879 as "statutory civilians." We are of opinion that both these modes of admission should be considered together, and that the latter should be regarded as supplementary to the former. The annual competitive examinations in England should be the first door of entrance to the Civil Service, and resort should only be had to the statutory system in order to make up the due proportion of Natives to Europeans in the service, as it may be determined from time to time.

5. We agree with the Madras Government and the other authorities who hold that the most satisfactory Native Civil Servants will be those who enter by the door of the

open competition established under the provisions of 21 & 22 Vict. cap. 106. Not only have we in their case an ample guarantee of educational attainments, but we may assume that Native youths who have faced the difficulties at present attendant upon a visit to Europe, and who have passed two years or more at an English University, and mixed with English society of a superior class, will have something of that force of character and knowledge of the principles actuating our Government which it is desirable that our administrative staff should everywhere possess.

6. We think, therefore, that all proper facilities should be afforded to Native students to enable them to proceed to England, and there to compete on reasonably equal terms with other candidates for appointments in the Indian Civil Service. We are not satisfied that this is at present the case. Your Lordship is aware that the reduction to 19 of the maximum limit of age for intending candidates, effected in 1876, is universally declared by the Native community to be an effectual stumbling block in the way of students educated in this country. On this subject we have received numerous memorials from all parts of India, which we take this opportunity of submitting for your Lordship's consideration. We have no doubt that the low limit of age does seriously interfere with the success of Native candidates at the London examination. It will be observed that not a few of the authorities consulted by us on the question of the Statutory Rules express opinions favourable to raising the limit of age for Natives, though this matter was not in any way put before them. We feel, however, that there might be grave objections to establishing a differential age for one class of candidates at the open competition. But we think sufficient grounds have been shown for reconsidering the age question; and we believe that to fix the limits of age for all candidates alike at from 18 years, as the minimum, to 21, as the maximum, would remove much of the objection urged against the present rule by the native community, without relinquishing the advantages of the arrangements now made for probationary study at home, to which we attach importance, and without defeating the objects of those who think that English candidates should come out to India at a comparatively early age. We would also suggest a reconsideration of the position assigned to the Eastern classical languages—Arabic and Sanskrit—among the subjects of examination. It would seem to be only fair to Indian students that these subjects should be put upon a par with Latin and Greek in the schedule of marks, the standard of examination in all four subjects being made equally high.

7. It may be doubted whether, even if these facilities are granted, any large number of Native candidates will succeed in gaining admission to the Service. But the chance of a disproportionate recruitment of Native civilians would be guarded against by the adoption of the arrangement to which we have alluded above for reducing the number of statutory appointments in each year in proportion to the number of admissions of Natives to the regular Covenanted Civil Service at the English competitive examination. At present the proportion of Natives admitted under the Statutory Rules is one-sixth of the whole recruitment of the year, and a certain number do from time to time obtain appointments through the open competition. In fixing a percentage of the whole recruitment to be at once reserved for Natives we feel bound to recognize the effect of this double mode of admission, and on a scrutiny of the results of past years, we think that this percentage may fairly be taken at 18 per cent.

8. We would then look to the open competition to supply, as far as possible, the required number of Natives for the superior Civil Service. To make up the difference between the number thus appointed and the full 18 per cent., we must fall back upon the Statute of 1870.

9. As to the best mode of selecting candidates under the provisions of the Statute, there are, it will be seen, great differences of opinion among the local governments. On one point, however, the great majority are agreed, namely, that the attempt made by the resolution of the 24th December 1879 to confine the selections to young men of high family has practically failed. It certainly appears to be the case in Bombay, Madras, and Lower Bengal that suitable young men of the class desired are not in fact forthcoming. The candidates for appointments in those provinces differ in no respect from the class which willingly enters the Uncovenanted Service. Even in other provinces, though less difficulty is perhaps experienced in finding men belonging to the ranks of the land-owning and upper middle classes, members of the highest families are not prepared to accept the subordinate offices offered to them, or to enter upon the drudgery and training necessary to qualify for higher appointments. We must therefore abandon the system of exclusively confining our selections to candidates of high birth, and admit the principles of selection on the grounds of intellectual capacity and

educational attainments, or on the ground of proved merit and ability shown in the service of Government.

10. We agree with the majority of the Local Governments that, when selections are being made in India, men who have exhibited marked ability on sufficient trial in the upper Uncovenanted Service have a strong claim to appointments under the Statutory Rules, and are likely to make useful civil servants. There is ample evidence that we shall find in the Uncovenanted Service suitable material for the recruitment of the superior ranks. In Bengal young men of good family have always been ready to accept uncovenanted appointments, and the rest of the recruits belong to those literate and professional classes who everywhere supply the persons best suited for administrative and judicial work of a subordinate character. Of the Punjab, Mr Lyall, the Chief Commissioner of Coorg, who served long in the former province, writes thus: "Numbers of well-educated young men of best Sikh and Mahomedan families are most anxious to be appointed tehsildars and munsiffs, and are quite ready to take lower appointments, such as that of naib tehsildars, of police deputy inspectors, and of clerks of the courts." "In Madras" (he adds) "young men of good birth and graduates of universities are eager to take clerkships in Government offices, revenue inspectorships, and other appointments on very small pay." The Bombay Government remarks the same thing, and has raised the standard for its minor appointments to the University degree. In fact, admission to the Uncovenanted Service is now in all provinces, made dependent on the passing of educational tests, and we shall, if our proposals are approved, satisfy ourselves that these are everywhere made sufficiently stringent. Actual service in the uncovenanted appointments will be an excellent preparation for work in the superior offices and will afford those proofs of "merit and ability" on which the Statute of 1870 lays marked emphasis.

11. The younger men promoted from the Uncovenanted Service will of course, at starting, be posted only to the lowest grade of covenanted appointments and their further promotion will depend upon their individual merit and capacity. But it is desirable also to promote occasionally men of more senior standing who have earned consideration by a long course of faithful and distinguished service. Such officers can only be suitably provided for by appointing them to superior covenanted offices. We believe that we shall be able to draw up hereafter, in communication with Local Governments, a scheme which shall make arrangements for such exceptional appointments (by seconding or otherwise) without prejudicing the flow of promotion in the regular Covenanted Service or involving the State in any additional expense.

12. Filling up, then, the percentage of Native appointments, as far as possible, from the successful candidates at the open competition, we would leave to the Local Governments a wide latitude in their arrangements for securing suitable outside candidates when required to complete the total native recruitment of the superior service. Some Governments may prefer, as a rule, to promote men from the Uncovenanted Service, or to select them from the learned professions. In some provinces it may be found desirable to select by limited competition among a number of nominated candidates, and to stipulate for a course of study in England before or after selection. Other Governments may prefer to select their candidates from among young men who have already been studying in England. In other provinces, again, the Local Government might prefer to have recourse to simple selection. But whatever rules the Local Governments may adopt, they should all be subject to the control and approval of the Supreme Government, and be based upon certain general principles to be laid down by us, one of the most important of which would be the requiring of a sufficiently high standard of educational attainment.

13. These are the general principles upon which we should wish to see the recruitment of the Native portion of the superior Civil Service regulated for the future.

14. We have so far dealt only with the Service as a whole. It would of course be necessary to secure also a proper distribution of the Native element in the different provinces. The number of statutory appointments would have to be distributed annually, under the orders of the Government of India, between the different provinces, having due regard to the birthplace, &c of the candidates who succeeded in the open competition in England, so that no province shall on the whole obtain an undue preponderance of Native candidates. It will be seen that the up-country Governments deprecate any free admixture in their superior service of Natives from other provinces. But there will be no real difficulty in controlling the distribution by executive orders.

15. We have not overlooked the suggestion in paragraph 4 of your Lordship's despatch of the 22nd November, regarding the advisability of encouraging probationers for the Civil Service to complete their education in England. It would not be possible, nor would it perhaps be desirable, to insist upon this in the case of men promoted from the Uncovenanted Service. But we are quite in favour of encouraging young men entering the Service for the first time to proceed to Europe for purposes of study. We are also prepared to allow probationers under the statutory rules to visit England during the term of their probation, on such conditions and with such allowances as may be hereafter determined, and we have reason to hope that place may be found for others who have already been studying in Europe in the ranks of the Uncovenanted Service, from which they may hope to rise to the superior Service under the system above described.

16. We believe that all the changes above suggested in the mode of recruiting the Native element in the Civil Service can be carried out under the statutory rules sanctioned in 1879. Change is required in the mode of interpreting and applying those rules rather than in the rules themselves. If your Lordship should be of the same opinion, we think no time should be lost in making public the principles upon which the Government proposes in future to deal with this important matter.

17. On the general question of the maximum limit of age for competitors at the Indian Civil Service examinations in London His Excellency the Viceroy has recorded his views in a separate minute, of which we enclose a copy.

We have, &c.,
 (Signed) RIPON.
 " D. M. STEWART.
 " J. GIBBS.
 " T. F. WILSON.
 " C. P. ILBERT.
 " S. C. BAYLEY.
 " T. C. HOPE.
 " A. COLVIN.

Enclosure 1 in No. 4.

EXTRACT LETTER from J. NUGENT, Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Revenue Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Home Department, No. 4744-127 (Confidential), dated Bombay Castle, 12th June 1884.

WITH reference to the very general appeal from the Native press and public against the early limit of age fixed for candidates for the Indian Civil Service who appear at the competitive examination in London, I am to state that the Governor in Council would recommend that in the case of Native candidates the limit should be raised one year in order to enable them to compete on terms of greater equality with the English-born candidates.

Enclosure 2 in No. 4.

EXTRACT MINUTE of the LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE PUNJAB on the Appointment of Natives of India to Offices ordinarily held by Members of the Civil Service, dated Simla, 7th July 1884.

I FOR one have never ceased to regret the reduction of the age for competition for the Civil Service. The more we have departed from the principles laid down in Macaulay's Report of 1854, the more we have created difficulties for ourselves. The object aimed at by the Parliament of the day was to secure for the Indian Civil Service men who had received "the best, the most liberal, the most finished education," and then to train them specially in those branches of knowledge which it is essential an Indian civilian should possess. "Such an education," the Report of 1854* went on to say, "has been proved by experience to be the best preparation for every calling which

* Report dated November 1854 from the Committee requested to consider the subject of the examination of candidates for the Civil Service of the East India Company. (Blue Book of 1876, Appendix A.)

“ 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 * * *.” The reduction of the age was not a mere alteration of detail; it was an essential change of principle. Instead of giving to India men who have received a finished education, it gives half-educated schoolboys specially trained for an Indian career, while it has practically closed the door to the admission of Natives of India by competition and opened the side door of charity, and nomination, and patronage with the attendant embarrassments.

I cannot enter here upon all the reasons for reverting to the former system, but I will notice the chief arguments adduced for the present maximum limit of 19 years. These are stated in paragraphs 12 and 13 of the Secretary of State's despatch No 19, dated 24th February 1876 (page 523 of the Blue Book of 1876). The age, it appears, has been lowered that the men may be sent to a University, and because (so it is said) a University education cannot be ensured for the candidates by any other course. Whether or not it is desirable that *all* the candidates should receive a University education is a point on which opinions may well differ, but in the argument as stated, there is a confusion of ideas. University education is one thing; University residence another. The benefit of University education is its breadth. The boys of 17 or 18 or 19 now recruited do not get the benefit of a University education because they reside at Oxford or Cambridge for two years while prosecuting their special studies. There is not magic enough even in these venerable abodes of western learning to evolve culture out of Indian Law Books and the Urdu alphabet. If the young man has not been generally educated before he passes the open competition, he never will be. Obviously the general education which it is the function of the University to bestow should come first. The limit of age has been lowered in order that the general and special education may be mixed up together. The University education which is sought is not only not attained, but made impossible, for all are too young to have gone through it. All that is attained is University residence for youths who have been compelled to break off their general education just at the time when its effect on the mind is of most consequence.

The second argument is that four-fifths of the competitors will fail, that many professions are almost or quite closed to men of 22; and that the risk thus run of failure for all professions will deter parents from selecting the Civil Service for their sons, the field of competition being thus diminished. In the interests of India, I think this argument is quite indefensible. Manifestly it is our duty to the people of India to get the best men we can. It seems to me chimerical to suppose that the dread of failure will limit the number of really eligible candidates. That cause will operate in an inverse ratio to the capacity of the men. In recruiting the Indian Civil Service, we have no right to deliberately adopt a system which may not bring the best recruits to India, simply because the best system might throw sons on the hands of parents at an awkward age, and leave young men who had failed in the competition at a loss for an opening in life. The interests of Indian administration should not in any degree be sacrificed to the interests of unsuccessful youths and their parents. The interests which we have to guard are, in my opinion, sacrificed so long as the limit of age

* *Limits of Age*

1. Haileybury	- 17 to 21
2. 1851 to 1859	- 18 to 23
3. 1859 to 1866	- 18 to 22
4. 1866 to 1876	- 17 to 21
5. 1876 to date	- 17 to 19

is 19. For obvious reasons the lower the limit, the narrower is the field of selection. If the maximum limit is fixed at 23, as it was at first,* the men who will enter the service will be men who have completed their general education; and amongst them I should expect to find many of those University men who stand next after the winners of the open fellowships.

For these and various other reasons (many of them connected with the changes which have taken place in the educational arrangements of the United Kingdom since 1854) I sincerely believe the departure from Macaulay's system to have been a serious mistake, full of practical evil consequences, and very unjust to the people of India. I entirely sympathise with the present agitation among the Natives to raise the age. I think they are right in rejecting the statutory system and resenting it as an unjust imputation upon their capacity and intellectual ability, and in demanding that the conditions of competition shall be so framed as to make it possible for them to enter the competition on a fair footing as regards their European fellow-subjects, and to win by their own exertions an honourable position in the Civil Service. I therefore cordially support the

prayer of the petitions submitted, though I would rather have the maximum limit of age fixed at 23 than at 21; for I believe that the nearer we can return to the position of 1854 the better will it be for the country, the more just to the people, and the less need will there be to have recourse to the statutory arrangements, which, if defensible at all, are only defensible as a very temporary means of admitting Natives of India to appointments now practically closed to them by the present rules for the open competition

(Signed) C. U. ARCHISON,
Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab
and its Dependencies

Enclosure 3 in No 4.

MINUTE of the VICEROY, dated 10th September 1884.

1 Several of the replies which have been received from Local Governments, in answer to the circular on the subject of the present system of admission to the "statutory service," contain references to the reduction made in 1876 in the maximum limit of age for competitors at the examinations held in London for candidates for the Covenanted Civil Service, and various memorials have also been received from different parts of the country, praying that the limit of age may be raised again to at least 21 years. Under these circumstances, the Government is bound, as it seems to me, to consider the question carefully. The reasons which induced me last September to express my agreement with the opinion entertained by the majority of my honourable colleagues that that was not a favourable moment for reopening this question are no longer in force. They were connected with the excitement which existed at that time upon the subject of the amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code then under the consideration of the Legislative Council, and that excitement having subsided, arguments which had weight during its continuance do not now apply. I am therefore of opinion that the time has come to examine upon its own merits the subject of the limits of age which ought to be laid down for persons desirous of competing for admission to the Covenanted Civil Service, and the reports recently received from Local Governments show, I think, that it would be convenient and desirable to do so in connexion with the question of the reform of the "statutory service"

2. In order to form a correct judgment upon the question to which I now invite attention, it will be desirable, in the first place, to inquire what was the view taken of it by the authors of the competitive system of admission to the Covenanted Civil Service and by Parliament at the time when that system was first established in 1853. The debates upon the Bill of that year do not contain many allusions to the question of age, which was left to be settled by the regulations to be framed by the Board of Control, but in the course of the discussion in committee on clause 32, some weighty observations were made by Lord Stanley (now Earl of Derby). He said:—

"He did not think that, on the whole, they could have a better or fairer test than that which was furnished by competition at the age at which academical degrees were usually granted, namely, at about 20 or 21 years of age, but it would be a different thing if the test were applied three or four years earlier, and if the competition was a competition between boys, and not between young men. He did not believe that the accidental distinction which one might obtain at the age of 17 or 18 was any great test of real ability, because, obviously, distinctions at that age depended more frequently on the effect of cramming and artificial training than on the spontaneous efforts of the mind. He thought, then, that the principle of competition, as against the principle of nomination, was one which deserved the sanction of the House; but at the same time it was very important to see that the period of competition was not fixed at too early a period of life" (Hansard, Vol CXXIX., p. 664.)

3. By the Act then passed (16 & 17 Vict. c. XIV.), the system of competition was first introduced, and was made open (see section XXXVII.) to "any person being a natural born subject of Her Majesty," though it was contemplated at that time that the successful competitors should go through a course of instruction at Haileybury before proceeding to India. In the course of the discussions in Parliament it was fully understood that the competitions then established were to be open to Natives of India. Lord Granville distinctly declared that "he had not the slightest hesitation in saying that if

“ natives of India arrived here ” (in England) “ competent to pass the required examination, they would gain the appointments awarded in free competition the same as if they had been born in Europe ” (Hansard, Vol. CXXVIII, p. 48.) Mr. Macaulay said —

“ Under the proposed system it would depend on the Natives themselves, and upon them alone, at what time they should enter into the Civil Service. As soon as any young native of distinguished parts should, by the cultivation of English literature, have enabled himself to be victorious in competition over European candidates, he would, in the most honourable manner, by conquest, as a matter of right, and not as a mere eleemosynary donation, obtain access to the Service. It would then be utterly impossible for his European fellows to look down upon him; he would enter the Service in the best and most honourable way; and I believe that in this mode, and in this mode alone, can the object which so many friends of the Native population have in view be attained in a manner at all satisfactory.” (Hansard, Vol. CXXVIII., p. 758.)

Mr. Lowe, secretary to the Board of Control, stated that “ the principle of the Bill was that if Natives could be found to enter into competition and to undergo the test of examination with the educated youth of Haileybury, they were to be allowed to do so.” (Hansard, Vol. CXXIX., p. 787) There can, therefore, be no doubt that it was the clear intention of the Government and of Parliament in 1853 that the words which I have just quoted from section XXXVII. should not be a dead letter, but that the competitions for the Civil Service should be really open to Natives of India.

4. After the Bill became law, Sir C. Wood appointed a committee consisting of Mr. Macaulay, Lord Ashburton, Mr. Henry Melvill, Mr. Jowett, and Mr J. G. Shaw Lefevre, “ to take into consideration the subject of the examination of candidates for the Civil Service of the East India Company,” and that Committee sent in its Report in November 1854. In it they discuss very fully the age for admission to the examination, and give their opinion in the following terms:—

“ 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.

* * * * *

“ 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 connexion 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 catchery.”

5 This report was accepted by Sir C. Wood, and he determined at the same time that it was inexpedient permanently to maintain Haileybury College. In communicating his decision to the Court of Directors, he wrote thus —

“ 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 youths 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 even entered upon their studies for the bar.”

6 In January 1855 the Regulations for the admission of candidates to the Civil Service of the East India Company were issued, and the first of them commenced as follows .—

“ Any natural-born subject of Her Majesty who shall be desirous of entering the Civil
 “ Service of the Company will be entitled to be examined at such examination, provided
 “ he shall, on or before the 1st of May 1855, have transmitted to the Board of
 “ Commissioners :

“ (a.) A certificate of his age being above 18 years and under 23 years.”

The right of Natives of India, being subjects of Her Majesty, to compete was thus fully recognised, and the limits of age recommended, after very careful consideration, by the eminently competent men who composed Mr. Macaulay's Committee were prescribed.

7. In 1858 the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown by the 21 & 22 Vict., c. 106, and although that country had in the meantime passed through the convulsion of the Mutiny, the right of the Native subjects of Her Majesty to compete for admission to the Civil Service was reaffirmed by section 32 of that Statute. Fresh Regulations for the competitions were issued by the Civil Service Commissioners, and the limits of age laid down in 1855 were retained without alteration. In 1859 the maximum limit was lowered to 22, but, as Mr. Walrond observes in his letter of 16th March 1875, “ 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, *i.e.*, about 22½.” In 1864 a further change was introduced, and the upper limit of age was reduced to 21 years. This reduction appears to have had its origin in a correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India concerning a

perfectly distinct question relating to the training to be provided for young civilians upon their arrival in India, and to have been resorted to mainly in order to counterbalance the addition, then first introduced, of a second year's probationary training in England (*see* Mr. Walrond's letter just quoted)

8. In the year 1874 the question was re-opened, and Lord Salisbury, who was then Secretary of State for India, invited the opinion of the Civil Service Commissioners upon it, in common with a variety of other subjects connected with the system of admission to the Indian Civil Service. The Commissioners, in their reply to this reference, (*see* Mr. Walrond's letter of the 16th March 1875), pointed out that a reduction of the maximum age to 18 or 19 would alter completely the rules then in force, and they went on to say:—

“ 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 ”

Thereupon the Secretary of State referred the question to the Government of India and the Governments of Bombay and Madras, by whom a great body of opinion was collected which disclosed much difference of view among the persons consulted, but which, as it seems to me, left the weight of authority against a farther reduction of the upper limit of age. The majority of the Government of India, including the Viceroy (Lord Northbrook), were opposed to it. Lord Northbrook wrote:—

“ 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 Balliol,* 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 passed 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 Haidas, 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 three or four 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 present 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.

“ 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 acquirements
 “ 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 five 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 two
 “ recommend a reduction of the age, 15 would leave the present limits as they are, and
 “ nine would raise the maximum.”

Mr (now Sir Arthur) Hobhouse recorded his opinion as follows:—

“ 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.”

The quotation made above from Lord Northbrook's Minute shows that out of
 101 officers of all ranks consulted on the subject, 69 were opposed to a reduction of age,
 27 were in favour of it, while the remaining five gave no distinct opinion on the subject.
 And if we turn from the consideration of numbers to examine the names of those who
 expressed views unfavourable to the proposed change, we find among them Sir C.
 Aitchison's, who says:—

“ 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.”

Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Peile, and Mr. Pedder were also opposed to any lowering of the maximum limit of age, as was also Mr. T. C. Hope, who was of opinion that.—

“2. As regards age, there appear to be decided advantages in candidates coming to India with ‘more matured judgment’ and ‘wider experience of 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

Age should be from 18 to 22 “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.” Sir C. Turner, Sir H. Davies, Sir L. Griffin, Mr. P. S. Melvill, Mr. C. L. Tupper, Sir R. E. Egerton, Mr. J. F. D. Inglis, Sir J. H. Morris, Colonel Keatinge, Mr. Luttmann-Johnson, Mr. C. J. Lyall, Mr. Henvey, and Mr. A. P. Howell took the same view. It would not be easy to pick out from the ranks of the Civil Service a more distinguished list of persons. At the beginning of the year 1876 Lord Salisbury decided to reduce the maximum limit of age from 21 to 19; but, as the facts stated above show, that decision was taken in opposition to the advice of the majority of the members of the Government of India, of a majority of the officials consulted in India, of the Civil Service Commissioners at home, and of Professor Jowett, the Master of Balliol, whose authority upon all questions of education is so high, and who was the only surviving member of the Committee which, under the presidency of Lord Macaulay, laid down in 1854 the original scheme of competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Service.

9. It is necessary, therefore, to consider the grounds upon which a change opposed by so much authoritative opinion was introduced. They are to be found stated in Lord Salisbury’s Despatch to the Government of India, dated 24th February 1876, and are, first, that the change was “recommended by the universities”, second, and “most cogent,” that “a University education could not be secured for the candidates by any other” course, and, third, that the consequences of failure in the competition are more serious at 21 or 22 than at 19, and that prudent parents are deterred from reserving their sons for competition till the age of 21 from a fear that, in case of failure, it would be difficult at that period of life to find them another career, and that this risk must “diminish the field of competition, especially among the professional class.” With respect to the first of these statements, I must point out that the expression “the Universities” in Lord Salisbury’s Despatch appears to be limited to Oxford and Cambridge alone, and that I can find no proof in any of the papers that the University of Cambridge ever did recommend a reduction of age. Oxford, speaking through the Vice-Chancellor, the Dean of Christ Church, Dr. Liddell, did so no doubt; but, so far as I know, Cambridge expressed no opinion on the subject. The Civil Service Commissioners, indeed, held that the Cambridge view of the matter was that the then existing limits of age were not liable to objection, for Mr. Walrond, in the letter from which I have already quoted, writes.—

“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.” It would seem, therefore, that the Secretary of State’s decision was founded upon the recommendation of the University of Oxford alone, and that one at least of the greatest authorities of that University upon such a question, Professor Jowett, dissented from the recommendation.

10. The second ground alleged for the change "is that a University education cannot be ensured for candidates by any other" course. This language is somewhat wanting in precision, because it is not clearly explained whether the University education referred to is the education given by the Universities to their own members, or special education to be given at the Universities to young men intended for the Indian Civil Service. Lord Salisbury in his Despatch seems to claim Lord Macaulay's authority for the new arrangements which he introduced, for he says in paragraph 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." But nothing can be clearer than that the University education which Lord Macaulay and his colleagues of the Committee of 1854 had in their minds was the regular education of the Universities, for their desire was that the Indian civil servant "should have received the best, the most liberal, and the most finished education that his native country affords," and that "a considerable number of the civil servants of the Company should be men who have taken the first degree of arts at Oxford or Cambridge." The theory, therefore, upon which their scheme was founded cannot be satisfied by merely giving the men, who have passed the competitive examination, a special training at one of the Universities. Such training will not supply them with the most *finished* education which the country affords, and so far from securing that a considerable number of Indian civil servants shall have taken the first degrees of arts in our Universities, the adoption of this system was calculated to produce an exactly opposite effect. What the authors of the system introduced in 1853-54 wished was that the Indian competitions should be, as Lord Derby urged in the debate on the Bill of 1853, competitions between young men and not competitions between boys, and that the competitors should be men who had already received the best general education provided by our schools and Universities. The change made in 1876 involved an entire reversal of this system; it altered completely, as the Civil Service Commissioners pointed out, the rules previously in force, and instead of maintaining "the theory upon which Lord Macaulay and others founded the competition," it abandoned it altogether. Up to the date of the change more than 66 per cent. of the men appointed to the Civil Service since 1856 had, as I shall show presently, been educated at one or other of our Universities, and it is therefore difficult to understand what the Secretary of State meant when he said that "a University education cannot be secured for the candidates by any other" course than that of lowering the upper limit of age. Under the regulations as to age as they stood in 1876, two-thirds of the successful candidates had received a University education; if it was desired to secure that education for a still larger number, the most effectual method of effecting that object would have been to raise the age to that originally fixed by the Committee of 1854, a course for which there is a great deal to be said. This was evidently Professor Jowett's opinion, for in his letter of the 27th December 1874 he says:—

"During the first ten 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 proportionately 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."

11. If the changes made in 1876 were meant to apply "the theory upon which Lord Macaulay and others founded the competition" more perfectly than had previously been the case, they have completely failed; if they were intended to introduce a new theory, they are open to serious objections, as I shall hereafter endeavour to show.

12. The third ground put forward in Lord Salisbury's Despatch relates to the alleged unwillingness of parents to reserve their sons for competition from a fear that in case of failure it would be difficult to find them a career. This argument was met by anticipation by Professor Jowett in the letter to which I have already referred, in which he says—"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." This expectation has been to a great extent realised, as since the age was lowered the falling off in the number of candidates has been remarkable, as is shown by the following statement —

Total number of competitors in—

1873	-	-	-	204	for	35	appointments	
1874	-	-	-	205	„	38	„	„
1875	-	-	-	198	„	37	„	„
1876	-	-	-	202	„	30	„	„
1877	-	-	-	203	„	30	„	„
1878	-	-	-	{ 69	„	13	„	Under the old conditions
				{ 134	„	13	„	Under the new conditions
1879	-	-	-	181	„	28	„	„
1880	-	-	-	194	„	27	„	„
1881	-	-	-	147	„	31	„	„
1882	-	-	-	140	„	39	„	„

13. From these figures it appears that in the four years before the change was introduced, the average proportion of competitors to appointments was almost exactly 6 to 1, while in the four years since the change it was a fraction over $5\frac{1}{4}$ to 1. It will also be observed that, although the number of appointments to be competed for has been increasing during the last three years above referred to, the number of competitors has fallen off, until in 1882 the proportion of competitors to appointments dropped to $3\frac{3}{8}$ to 1, or not much more than half the rate before the limit of age was lowered. The truth appears to be that, instead of parents disliking to “reserve” their sons till 21 before deciding whether to adopt an Indian career for them, the real fact is that parents are very unwilling to fix on India as the destination of their sons at the early age of 15 or 16.

14. It seems to me, therefore, that the three grounds alleged by the Secretary of State in 1876 for the change then made are not supported by the facts of the case, or borne out by the results of experience. There is nothing to show that the change was recommended by more than one University, that of Oxford, the University education which the new system encourages is a special education at a University, not a University education in the true sense of the word in which it was used by Lord Macaulay and his colleagues on the Commission of 1854, University education in this latter sense has been so discouraged by the system that members of the Universities are now almost excluded from the competition, and so far from parents being more willing than formerly to let their sons compete for the Indian Civil Service, the proportion of competitors to appointments has so seriously diminished since 1878 that at the last competition of which I am in possession of the details, that of 1882, the proportion of candidates to appointments was little more than half of that which prevailed before the reduction of age.

15. But, although these are the only grounds brought forward in the Despatch of the 24th February 1876, others have been urged by the advocates of the present arrangement in the course of the discussions to which it has given rise. I will now proceed to refer to some of them. And first it is said that unless men come out to India very young they do not “take to Indian life” and devote themselves earnestly to their duties in this country. What are the facts in regard to this question? What has been the career of the men who have gone up late for competition? Have they turned out less capable servants of the Government than their younger rivals? Let us see how does the list stand from the beginning of the competitive system? I give in the

* H J Reynolds	-	Age 23	C. H T Crosthwaite	-	Age 22	who went up for competition at ages
C U Aitchison	-	23	H LePoer Wynne	-	22	beyond the present maximum limit, and
J G Cordery	-	22	W. Tyrrell	-	21	I would ask whether any one will
J B Peile	-	23	W Wedderburn	-	21	venture to say that they, and many
J. D Sandford	-	23	L H Griffin	-	20	besides who come within the same
W B Jones	-	22	W. E Ward	-	21	category, have shown any inability to
W. G Pedder	-	23	J W. Edgar	-	20	accommodate themselves to Indian life,
R West	-	23	M A McConaghey	-	21	or to perform the duties of the important
W Young	-	23	E C Buck	-	20	offices which they have filled with emi-
J W. Quinon	-	22	J O’Kinealy	-	20	nent advantage to the public service
J W S Wyllie	-	21	W W Hunter	-	20	It seems to me that no answer, other
C A Elliott	-	21	S O B Ridsdale	-	20	than this appeal to facts, is needed to
J B Richey	-	23	A C Tupp	-	21	refute the argument to which I am now
D G Barkley	-	22	H W Bliss	-	21	referring, but I shall have occasion here-
W Duthoit	-	23	D M Barbour	-	20	
A P. Howell	-	23				

after to give my reasons for holding that it is very desirable that men should come out to India older than they do now

16 It was again contended that by lowering the age of examination the resort to "crammers" would be stopped. I must acknowledge that I do not share the feelings of unmitigated abhorrence with which many persons regard the "cramming" system. That system has its evils, no doubt, like any other; but they are easily exaggerated and may be successfully met to a great extent by a well devised scheme of examination. I cannot do better than refer to the "Observations on Cramming" which form Appendix O. to Mr. Walrond's letter of the 16th March 1875. The result may be summed up in Mr. Walrond's own words—"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 or their friends may think on the subject." I have every reason to believe that this statement is quite correct; if it is not, the true remedy lies, not in a reduction of age, which only makes the evils of cramming greater, but in an improvement of the examinations. But in regard to this matter also let us apply the test of fact. Has the reduction of the maximum limit of age driven the "crammer" out of the field? The recent Reports of the Civil Service Commissioners prove most conclusively that it has not done so. These Reports did not show regularly before 1879 the number of successful candidates "specially prepared," but since that date the figures stand as follows:—

	No of successful candidates	No specially prepared	Percentage
1879	28	16	57
1880	27	20	74
1881	31	18	58
1882	39	23	59
Total	125	77	61.6

Some reduction in the number of candidates attending "cramming" establishments appears to have taken place, for I find it stated in one of the Civil Service Commissioners' Reports, that out of the 110 last candidates who passed under the whole system, 88 had received special preparation, but the difference is not very great, and it will be observed that the figures given above show that in 1880 the percentage of specially prepared boys was nearly as high as that which prevailed before the reduction of age, and that it was higher in 1882 than in 1879 or 1881. Resort, therefore, is still freely had to 'cramming,' while the real dangers of the system are much more serious than before, inasmuch as candidates are now exposed to the temptations of a London life at an earlier age.

17 I have now replied briefly to what I understand to be the principal arguments put forward by the advocates of the present limit of age. I proceed to state some of the reasons, which may, as it appears to me, be urged against it. The question divides itself into two branches; the first relating to the manner in which the existing arrangement affects European candidates; the second, relating to its operation in respect to Native candidates. I will deal with each of these subjects separately. I hold that the present system works injuriously in the case of European candidates for the following reasons —In the first place it has fundamentally altered "the theory upon which Lord Macaulay and others founded the competition." That theory, as I have shown above, was that the Indian Civil Servant ought to receive "the best, the most liberal, and the most finished education that his native country affords," and also that it is "desirable that a considerable number of the Civil Servants of the Company should be men who have taken the first degree in arts." I find from Mr. A. C. Tupp's Indian Civil Service List for 1880 that of 903 persons who entered the Service between 1856 and 1879, 618, or more than two-thirds, were University men, and that at least 324 or 36 per cent. of the whole number were graduates. Up to this period, therefore, the regulations devised by Lord Macaulay's Committee had fully answered their purpose. The education of the candidates had been a liberal and finished education, and a considerable proportion of those who passed into the Civil Service were graduates of some University. Since 1878 the highest percentage of graduate has been seven, and the lowest, that of the last year for which I have information, has been three. So that we have now a system under which boys who have only just left school are the competitors, and University graduates are almost entirely excluded from the Service.

18 Secondly, I object to this system, because it has substituted a competition among boys for a competition among young men, for I entirely agree with what Lord Derby said in the passage which I have quoted above from his speech of 1883 that "he did not believe that the accidental distinction which one might obtain at the age of 17 or 18 was any great test of real ability, because, obviously, distinctions at that age depended more frequently on the effect of cramming and artificial training than on the spontaneous efforts of mind." I am but expressing the opinion of one of the highest educational authorities in England when I say that "the great defect in the present system is the youthfulness of the candidates. They are too unformed in manners and character, they are not matured men, but boys who have passed the last three or four years before going out to India in working for examinations. Being two years younger than formerly, they have 'two years' less education, less physical strength, less knowledge of the world. Their moral principles are also likely to be weaker, as the extreme limit of age is 19, probably on the average they are about 18, or somewhat less, at the time of receiving their first appointment, and reach India soon after 20. But very few young men are fit to hold responsible positions at so early an age." The difference between the two kinds of competition is of the most substantial kind, and the qualities tested by each are essentially distinct, to put the matter shortly, the one tests mainly the skill of the teachers, the other the real qualities of the pupil. The successful boy overstrained by premature effort is only too likely to subside into a listless unenergetic man; the youth who wins by the "spontaneous efforts of mind," excited at an age when that mind can bear the strain, will in all probability maintain his superiority throughout his career.

19. The low limit of age is inconsistent with the views which have always been held by those who have taken the strongest interest in the system of competitive examinations. In their Report of 1853 upon the organization of the Permanent Civil Service, Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Charles Trevelyan wrote thus upon this point—"With regard to the age of admission, we are of opinion that in the case of candidates for superior situations the limits should, as a general rule, be 19 and 25; in the case of candidates for inferior offices 17 and 21." The regulations for admission to the Home Civil Service have ever since been framed upon these general lines. It is clear that Sir Charles Trevelyan has not changed his mind upon this matter, for I observe that he signed the memorial which was recently presented to the Secretary of State by the Indian Association in London, and which prayed that the maximum limit of age might be raised.

20. And, thirdly, I object to the present system because I am strongly convinced that it is becoming every day more and more important that the men who enter the Indian Civil Service should be men trained by the best English methods and thoroughly imbued with the highest English thought. The influences to which English youths are exposed in this country are to no small extent of a narrow kind, powerful in a limited society, but not calculated to keep alive the best tendencies of English opinion. The boy whose real education is stopped at 18 or earlier, and who, after that age, instead of receiving the widest and most complete education of the day is thenceforth to be trained specially for an Indian career, will not have acquired before he arrives in India that grasp of sound principles, moral, economical, and political, which it is of the utmost importance that as the future representative of English opinion and feeling among the Natives of India he should possess. What we want in India are English men in the best and fullest meaning of the term, able to hold their own in the midst of narrowing influences and local prejudices, not English boys, who are too young and too unformed in character not to fall as a rule into the current of the opinions in the midst of which their lot is cast.

21. My fourth argument against the existing arrangement is that by lowering the proportion between competitors and appointments, it tends directly to lower the standard of the examination. It requires no discussion to prove that in a competitive examination the fewer the competitors the lower will be the educational standard of those who pass. I have shown above that the proportion is now little more than half of what it was before the change, and there can, therefore, be no doubt that the present examination is less testing than the old one used to be. This I regard as a serious matter.

22. Turning now to the question of the way in which the change of 1876 has affected Native candidates, the facts of the case are plain, up to the year 1883 only one Native has been successful in the English competitions since the limit of age was reduced. It is not that Natives have retired sulkily from the competitions because of their dislike

of that reduction, or have not done their best to overcome the serious difficulties which it placed in the way of their success. They foresaw the probable results of the change so far as their interests were concerned, and their views upon the subject were clearly and forcibly stated in the memorial of the British Indian Association dated the 1st December 1876, in which it is pointed out that "the result would obviously and practically be the closing of the competitive door to the people of this country." In spite, however, of the belief that the new conditions of the competition were such as to close the door against them, Native candidates were still found to make the trial. It appears that in the six years of the new system, 10 Native candidates have presented themselves for examination, though but one of them has passed. The forebodings of the British Indian Association have been therefore largely realised. I do not say that it was the intention of the Secretary of State in 1876 to close the door to Natives; there is nothing in any of the papers which I have seen to show that there was any such intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government of that day, or even to indicate that the way in which the new regulations would affect Native candidates was considered at all before the change was made. But there is undoubtedly a widespread belief in India that one object of the alterations made in 1876 was to exclude educated Natives from the English competitions, and this belief has been confirmed in the minds of many persons by a passage in a Despatch of Lord Lytton's Government to the Secretary of State, dated 2nd May 1878, in which it is said that "the recent reduction of the standard of age for the competitive examination will practically render the competition of Natives, educated in their own country, a matter of exceptional difficulty." It is argued that these observations show that the Government of India of that date, who were admittedly in favour of closing the English examinations to Natives, were content to leave that matter to the decision of the Secretary of State, because they were satisfied that, whatever that decision might be, the reduction of age did practically render it impossible for Natives to compete with success. But whatever may have been the views and wishes of the Government of India, it is impossible to suppose that Lord Cranbrook, who in 1878 had succeeded Lord Salisbury as Secretary of State, had any desire to exclude Natives from public competition for the Civil Service, because, in his Despatch of the 7th November 1878, he rejected the proposal of Lord Lytton's Government for the establishment of a close Native Service, and the suggestion that the Covenanted Civil Service should be no longer open to Natives, on the grounds that those recommendations would "involve an application to Parliament, which would have no prospect of success, and which he certainly would not undertake." It is clear, therefore, that Lord Cranbrook did not in 1878 consider the door of admission to the London competitions to be closed to Natives of India. He can never have meant to allow that to be done by a side wind, which he felt would not be sanctioned by Parliament, if it were openly applied to on the subject. I am bound, therefore, to reject the idea that Her Majesty's Government in 1876 or 1878 intended to exclude Natives of India from the competitive examinations for the Covenanted Civil Service. But whatever the intention may have been, about the effect of the new regulations upon Native candidates there can be no doubt. Six years have elapsed since these regulations were introduced; Native competitors have put them to the test and have shown that the fears entertained from the first as to the consequences which would flow from them were only too well founded; and a return to the old system is now asked for in consequence not of any *à priori* conceptions, but of practical experience of the working of the system now in force.*

23. The case of the Natives appears to me to be very strong. Parliament, as I have shown in the earlier part of this Note, intended to give them free admission to the Covenanted Civil Service through the door of competition in England; this right was secured to them by the Act of 1853, and was removed by the Act of 1858. Lord Cranbrook in 1878 felt that any application to Parliament to reverse that policy would have no chance of success, and yet six years' experience has demonstrated that it has been almost totally reversed, not by the deliberate decision of Parliament but by an India Office regulation, not meant, as it would seem, to have that effect. As I said in my Minute of the 26th September last:—"If the exclusion of Natives from competition was one of the objects with which the new regulation was adopted, of which, as I

* Stress has been laid by the advocates of the present system now upon the fact that from the first institution of the competitive examinations up to 1883 three Natives under 19 years of age have been successful in the London competitions, and since this paper was first written news has been received that two others have passed in London. I append a note upon the subject which shows how very exceptional the cases of these gentlemen are, and that only one of them, that of Mr. Khairegat, can really be made to afford support to the existing regulations.

“ have said, there is no proof, then it seems to me that the end sought was inconsistent
 “ with the intention of the law, and that the only legitimate mode of attaining it was by
 “ an application to Parliament to change the law, but if the exclusion of Natives, which
 “ has resulted in practice from the present regulation, was not contemplated by its
 “ authors. the sooner steps are taken to restore to Native candidates the privilege which
 “ Parliament undoubtedly intended to confer on them, and of which they have been
 “ accidentally deprived by the action of the Executive Government, the more consistent
 “ it will be with due respect for the intentions of the Legislature, and for the claims
 “ which are founded upon those intentions.”

24. I have received a memorandum on this subject from Syud Ahmed, C.S.I., a well-known Native gentleman, in which he says,—

“ A kind of political discontent has arisen among the educated classes of the Natives
 “ of this country on account of the reduction of the limit of age for candidates for the
 “ Indian Civil Service. When this measure was brought forward, the educated Natives
 “ thought that the real object of Government in doing so was to exclude Natives from
 “ the Civil Service appointments, and by this means the Government wanted to deprive
 “ its subjects of one of their rights. They also thought that even the then existing
 “ difficulties were more than could be borne, and when some Natives bravely bore those
 “ difficulties the Government thought that similarly other Natives will also be encouraged
 “ to bravely meet those difficulties, and consequently secured its object by
 “ reducing the limit of age, and thereby debarring the Natives from trying to obtain
 “ those appointments. Some good-natured people said that we should not be suspicious
 “ of Government in such a way; but when the Natives saw the Despatch of Lord
 “ Lytton, dated the 2nd May 1878, which contained the request that ‘the ordinary
 “ ‘Covenanted Civil Service should no longer be open to Natives,’ they were confirmed
 “ in their suspicion, and that political discontent has since then taken a firmer root, and
 “ I consider it the duty of everyone who is loyal to his Government to pray to God to
 “ erase the root of that discontent. Though the Secretary of State did not entertain
 “ the request contained in that Despatch, yet the Natives think that, while the limit of
 “ age was reduced, it was altogether immaterial whether or not to grant that request.”

25. Putting aside the question of Parliamentary obligation, I would ask whether it is wise or politic to keep up this “kind of political discontent,” especially among men from whose ranks are drawn the writers in the press, the speakers at public meetings, the pleaders before our courts, and not unfrequently the officials of Native States. If it could be proved that the former system had not produced suitable European candidates for the Indian Civil Service, if the men who had come out to India under it had been found as they rose to high positions to be wanting in the qualities of intellect or of character required for the efficient discharge of the duties of such positions, if the new system were now sending us young men of more complete education and more finished English training than those who came to us under the old, I should admit that the desires and aspirations of educated Natives must be met in some other way than by the abandonment of regulations which had been proved by experience to conduce to the greater efficiency of the main body of the Civil Service, but if I have been successful in showing in the first portion of this Minute that none of these things can be proved from experience, and that they are really contradicted by facts, or even if it should be thought that I have only so far succeeded as to show that it is difficult to determine on which side, (as far as English candidates are concerned), the arguments predominate, then the Government is bound, as it seems to me, to give full weight to the case of the Native candidates, and to allow the arguments from their point of view to turn the scale.

26. But farther I believe it to be of great importance in itself, apart from any consideration of the interests or wishes of the Native community, that the Native portion of our Civil Service should, at all events, be leavened by the presence of such men as are admitted by the testing method of competition in England, and whose admission can be secured by that method alone. The test involved in competition in England in English with able young men from England, Ireland, and Scotland is so severe as to make it surprising that any Native of India can pass it, and as to render it certain that any Native who does pass it must be possessed not only of high intellectual attainments, but of great force of character. It seems to me unquestionable that the door of competition in England is the most searching entrance to the Civil Service through which Natives of this country can pass. Those who succeed are necessarily the cream of educated Indians, and I am thoroughly convinced that in the great majority of instances

the men who get through the ordeal of competition at home will be the very best recruits you could possibly have for the Service.

27. In spite of the experience of the six years during which, although Natives have competed, only one has passed, doubts are, I believe, expressed occasionally whether it is really impossible for Indian youths to compete now just as well as formerly, and the precocity of Easterns as compared with Europeans is brought forward in support of this view. In order to test the value of objections of this kind, I consulted Mr. R. C. Dutt, of the Bengal Civil Service, an officer of acknowledged ability, who passed third in the competitive examination and second in the final examination. I annex the interesting memorandum with which he has furnished me, and which he winds up by saying,—“Under the present limit of age they” (the difficulties which beset the Indian candidate) “cannot be overcome, and the doors of the Indian Civil Service are practically closed against the Natives of India” Indian youths may be precocious, but their precocity must be great indeed if they are often able, before the age of 19, to master a foreign language so completely as to secure success in competitive examinations conducted in that language over young men who have spoken it from their earliest youth.

28. But then it is said that since the institution of what is called the “Statutory Service” the admission of Natives to the Civil Service is sufficiently provided for by that means, and that they have, therefore, no right to complain of being to a serious extent shut out from the examinations in England. Upon this argument I would remark, in the first place, that for the reasons which I have given above it must be held that Lord Cranbrook intended that Natives of India should gain admission to the Civil Service through both modes of entrance, by competition at home, and by appointment to the Statutory Service, and that to close either of them is to withdraw an advantage which the Secretary of State in 1878 meant to leave to the Natives. In the next place, the men who enter the Statutory Service are not the same kind of men as those who go to England to compete. At present the two classes are, generally speaking, very wide asunder; the changes which are now proposed in the mode of appointment of Statutory Civilians will give greater weight than is given at present to the claims of education, but there is no chance, and indeed no possibility, of their affording any such means as the English competitions afford of sifting out the pick of the educated classes. As Sir A. Lyall says in his Minute of the 10th July 1884, “The open competition gives us the best men procurable by educational tests” The men supplied by the two methods will always be different, and will be differently regarded by the public and by their own class. That the new system would not be accepted with satisfaction by the Natives of India was foreseen as long ago as 1870, when the Act under which the scheme of Statutory Civilians was subsequently established was first passed by Parliament, for in the debate on the second reading of the Bill in the House of Commons, Sir C. Wingfield, a distinguished Indian civilian, who held high offices in this country, and was finally Chief Commissioner of Oudh, spoke as follows:—

“He feared, however, that the selection of the Native candidates for appointment and promotion would hardly fail to create dissatisfaction; that if the appointments were not made exclusively by competition nomination would degenerate into favouritism, and invite jealousy between those who had entered the Service by competition and those who had gained appointments by interest. Besides this, the disposition among young Natives to come to England and enter into competition would receive a check, and this was the more serious when it was considered that no training was so excellent for a young man destined to administer the laws in India as a study of the workings of English law and life in this country. Last year four Natives of India obtained Civil Service certificates. Natives of India were, however, placed under a disadvantage as compared with Englishmen, in being obliged to reside here, at a distance from their friends and at great expense, while preparing for their examination, and it was desirable to find out, if possible, a means of relieving them from that disadvantage, and placing them on a more equal footing with Europeans * * *

“From conversations with Native gentlemen prosecuting their studies in England, and from articles in the Native Indian Press, he gathered that the Native educated opinion was by no means in favour of a nomination system. They asked for no favour. They were prepared to compete with the youth of England. But they would prefer that the first competitive examination should be held in India, a certain number of appointments being allotted to India, and that the selected candidates should be required to reside in England until they passed the final examination, during which time they would receive 100*l* a year. This proposition, although he did not mean to say he

“ gave in his adhesion to it, appeared to him to be at all events worthy of consideration
 * * * * *
 “ He feared that although it might be in a small way, the principle of competition was
 “ affected by the clause, and he should be sorry to see the principle imperilled. His
 “ experience of the working of the competitive system in India was that it had raised
 “ the average of ability and attainments in the Civil Service in a great degree. He did
 “ not say that it would produce men more eminent than some whom the nomination
 “ system had given us, but it had raised the average of efficiency, while the instances
 “ of glaring inefficiency which under the nomination system were not infrequent, were
 “ now entirely unknown.” Experience has amply established the correctness of
 Sir C. Wingfield’s views, and no arrangement likely to be made under the Act of 1870
 will compensate the best educated Natives for the obstacles now interposed to their
 competition for admission to the regular Covenanted Civil Service.

29. The communications which we have recently received from Local Governments upon the subject of the present system of admission to the “ Statutory Service ” afford a confirmation, the more important because it was unsought, of the views which I have expressed above :

The Bombay Government say,—

“ With reference to the very general appeal from the Native press and public against
 “ the early limit of age fixed for candidates for the Indian Civil Service who appear
 “ at the competitive examination in London, I am to state that the Governor in
 “ Council would recommend that in the case of Native candidates the limit should be
 “ raised one year in order to enable them to compete on terms of greater equality with
 “ the English-born candidates ”

Mr. Peile writes,—

“ The statutory nominee will no doubt be all the better for a training in England, but
 “ is it worth while to go to considerable public expense for travelling and maintenance,
 “ and to undertake the trouble of holding competitive examinations as a means of
 “ carrying out the *plan of direct nomination*? The result is not a proceeding under
 “ statute 33 Victoria, chapter 3, section 6, at all, but a left-handed branch of the
 “ competitive system with the peculiarity that it is open only to Natives. The question
 “ occurs, if all this is to be done, why not apply the same money and trouble to remove
 “ any disadvantages which now handicap Natives in competing in the regular ordeal
 “ with the rest of Her Majesty’s subjects? It seems to me that a nominee-competition
 “ (wholly or partly separated from qualification of birth) for one-sixth of the Civil
 “ Service appointments is a plan which India, in regard to its own best interests, should
 “ decline. Odium would always attach to the nominations; the nominee-competitors
 “ would always be under a stigma of inferiority as men who have entered the service by
 “ the back-stairs, and yet few Natives would have the resolution and self-respect to
 “ refuse to seek for a nomination and devote themselves to the more arduous ordeal of
 “ the really open competition. The result would be altogether demoralizing to the self-
 “ respect of the Indian student. I should prefer to limit nomination as I have suggested
 “ in paragraph 6, extend it as I have suggested in paragraphs 7, 8, &c, and remove any
 “ disqualifications under which Native candidates for the open competition can now be
 “ proved to lie, and give them reasonable help in money and facilities for residence at an
 “ English University when preparing for examination.”

And again in a subsequent minute Mr. Peile says—

“ If it is found to be true that the present limit of age is unfair to Natives because
 “ they have the additional task of learning English and studying and being examined in
 “ English, then I think Natives should be allowed, say, a year more than English
 “ competitors. I think it is possible to put English and Native competitors on an
 “ equality at the door of the English examination room by giving the latter allowances,
 “ and if this can be done, I think the same ordeal for both is better for India than any
 “ separate, which will always be deemed an inferior, ordeal ”

The Secretary to the Madras Government writes,—

“ I am to remark in passing that this Government would be much pleased to see
 “ greater facilities given to young Natives of India for proceeding to England and
 “ entering the service by the channel of ordinary competition. They believe that
 “ youths who had beaten at their own weapons English schoolboys, and who had shown
 “ the force of character required for undertaking a journey to England, would form a

“ better element in the administration of India than can be obtained by any system of selection of young Natives in this country.”

Sir F. Roberts says,—

“ The first of these three ways is, in my opinion, the best, and the one by which the larger proportion of Natives should enter the Covenanted Civil Service. * * *
“ It may, perhaps, be necessary to increase the maximum limit of age from 19 to 20, and this, I think, should be done in fairness to the Natives of India.”

The Secretary to the Bengal Government writes,—

“ The examination should be in every detail the same as that to which English youths who are candidates for the service are subjected; but in the matter of age Mr. Rivers Thompson is not sure that an advantage would not be secured in raising the limit as regards Native competitors.”

Sir Charles Aitchison gives his opinion as follows:—

“ I for one have never ceased to regret the reduction of the age for competition for the Civil Service. The more we have departed from the principles laid down in Macaulay's Report of 1854, the more we have created difficulties for ourselves. The object aimed at by the Parliament of the day was to secure for the Indian Civil Service men who had received ‘the best, the most liberal, the most finished education,’ and then to train them specially in those branches of knowledge which it is essential an Indian civilian should possess. ‘Such an education,’ the Report of 1854† went on to say, ‘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.’ * * * The reduction of the age was not a mere alteration of detail; it was an essential change of principle. Instead of giving to India men who have received a finished education, it gives half-educated schoolboys especially trained for an Indian career, while it has practically closed the door to the admission of Natives of India by competition and opened the side door of charity, and nomination, and patronage with the attendant embarrassments.

* * * * *

“ I entirely sympathise with the present agitation among the Natives to raise the age. I think they are right in rejecting the statutory system and resenting it as an unjust imputation upon their capacity and intellectual ability, and in demanding that the conditions of competition shall be so framed as to make it possible for them to enter the competition on a fair footing as regards their European fellow-subjects, and to win by their own exertions an honourable position in the Civil Service. I therefore cordially support the prayer of the petitions submitted, though I would rather have the maximum limit of age fixed at 23 than at 21; for I believe that the nearer we can return to the position of 1854, the better will it be for the country, the more just to the people, and the less need will there be to have recourse to the statutory arrangements, which, if defensible at all, are only defensible as a very temporary means of admitting Natives of India to appointments now practically closed to them by the present rules for the open competition.”

The Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces writes,—

“ But the present system of open competition in England affords, or could be made to afford, all necessary opportunities for candidates of this class.”

The heads of the minor Local Governments have given no opinion upon the subject in their reports on the “Statutory Service,” but I am in a position to state that Mr. Crosthwaite (Central Provinces) and Mr. Elliott (Assam) are in favour of raising the present limit of age, while Mr. Bernard (British Burma) is opposed to a change of the existing rules.

30. It is sometimes argued, however, that the difficulties now thrown in the way of competition by Natives constitute a mere sentimental grievance, and that after all only some 12 Natives have succeeded in the competitive examinations since they were first established. But it must be remembered that what are called “sentimental” grievances are often those most keenly felt, and that the motive which prompts men to prefer to

† Report dated November 1854 from the Committee requested to consider the subject of the examination of candidates for the Civil Service of the East India Company. (Blue Book of 1876, Appendix A.)

enter the service of the Government by the difficult path of open competition rather than by favour of any kind is an honourable motive which it is important to encourage. The fact also that the right of the Natives to compete has been granted to them twice over by Act of Parliament makes any interference with it more hard to accept and leaves on the minds of those who desire to enter the lists of the English competitions a sense of being kept out of what the law intended to give them, which it would be sound policy to remove.

31. The argument to which I have just adverted rests on the supposition that if the maximum limit of age were raised again, Natives would not be more successful in the examinations than they were in former years. But some persons object to a return to the higher limit of age upon an exactly opposite ground. They fear that if the English competition were again freely opened to Natives they would enter the Service in large numbers to the exclusion of Europeans. Past experience, it will not be denied, is against this belief, neither does it appear to me that the probabilities of the case justify it. The consideration which I have given to this subject since I wrote my Minute of last September has strengthened the opinion which I then expressed, and I cannot think it probable that the Natives of this country, however intelligent and well-educated they may be, will ever be able to go to England and win their way in large numbers into the Service in a competition against the pick of the youths of the United Kingdom carried on at their own doors and based upon the educational system of their own schools. I cannot believe it, for it could not come to pass unless the Natives of India were possessed of intellectual qualities greatly superior to those of the English, Irish, and Scotch competitors whom they have to meet before the Civil Service Commissioners; to require Natives of India to compete in England is to handicap them heavily in the race; and that any but men of exceptional ability can succeed under such circumstances seems to me to be out of the question. The idea, therefore, that a return to the old regulation as to age would, as is sometimes said, "flood the Civil Service with Natives," is to my mind unsubstantial. But if it be desired to take precautions now against such a possibility, this may be done by proportionately diminishing the number appointed to the Statutory Service.

32. There is one more argument against altering the existing system at the present time to which I must advert before I bring this Minute to a close. It is said that it may have been a mistake to have made the change in 1876, but that we have not as yet had sufficient experience of its effects to render it desirable to alter it again. What, I would ask, is the kind of experience required? If it is the experience of those persons who have had most to do with the Indian Probationers in England, I have every reason to believe, as I stated in my Minute of September last, that that experience has been unfavourable to the arrangements now in force, and that those best qualified to judge are of opinion that we are not getting the sort of men most fitted for an Indian career. If what is wanted is experience of the effect of the new regulations in regard to Native candidates, we have it ample and conclusive; their chances of success in the competitions have been most seriously impaired. We have also quite sufficient experience, as I have shown above, to prove that the objects for which Lord Salisbury introduced the change have not been attained. But if when we are asked to wait for further experience, it is meant that we should wait until the men, who have come in under the new system, rise to positions in the Service in which it will be possible to pronounce a fair judgment upon their qualifications as a body, we must wait for 5 or 10 years more, and during the whole of that time the Service will be filled up under the present plan, and if that plan is giving us men less good than we might otherwise get, we shall in the end find ourselves burdened with a body of inferior officers who may depress the character of the Service for a whole generation. This would be so very serious a result that it seems to me that if there is good reason to believe that the new system has failed to secure the purposes for which it was established, and is open to substantial objections, it ought to be modified without delay.

33. The conclusion, therefore, at which I arrive upon the whole matter is that the regulations of 1876 by which the upper limit of age was reduced from 21 to 19 have failed to attain the objects for which they were introduced; that so far as the European candidates are concerned the education which they now receive is fundamentally different from that which was contemplated when the system of open competition was first established, and is much less well calculated to bring into the Indian Civil Service the kind of men with whom it is most desirable that it should be filled; and, lastly, that those regulations have rendered it, to use Lord Lytton's words, "a matter of exceptional

difficulty" for Natives of India to compete successfully in England for the Covenanted Civil Service, and thus tend to deprive them of a privilege which Parliament deliberately conferred upon them and upon which they set a high value. I am, therefore, strongly of opinion that the maximum age for competition should again be raised.

(Signed) RIPON.

APPENDIX No. 1.

HISTORY of the FIVE NATIVES of INDIA who have passed successfully in the LONDON COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS for the INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE when under the age of 19

1 *Mr. Cursetjee Rustomjee*—passed 1874. Was taken to England when a little over 11 years of age. Was first placed at a boarding school in Chiswick, and stayed there from two to three years. He then studied at King's College School till he passed the Matriculation Examination at University College, London, in January 1872. Then went to Mr. Scoones, and worked at his chambers till March 1874, when he passed the open competition.

2. *Mr P. Ratnavélu Chetty*—passed 1874. Was educated at the Presidency College, Madras. He began the study of English at an unusually early age, seven, and, being precociously intelligent, made very rapid progress. He matriculated at the Madras University at the age of 13, and graduated at 16, the average age of matriculation being 16, and of taking the B.A. degree 20. He went to England in the spring of 1873, studied at Mr. Wren's establishment, and passed the open competition in March 1874. He obtained the highest marks given at the examination for Mathematics, for which he had a remarkable turn. His tutor at Madras mentions that he was fairly strong in other subjects, but particularly good only in Mathematics. His severe early study injured his health, and he died prematurely soon after returning to India.

3. *Mr. Munchersha Pestonji Kharegat*—passed 1882. Was born in Bombay 18th December 1864. Entered the Bombay Proprietary School 3rd February 1871, and left in December 1878. He then went to the St. Xavier's College. Matriculated at the Madras University in December 1880. Returned to Bombay in January 1881, and, having gained a Gilchrist Scholarship, he left for England in May 1881. He attended classes in the London University, and took lessons in Biology and other subjects under a tutor of the name of Ashton. He passed the Civil Service Examination in June 1882, coming out 26th in a list of 39. Besides English, he is proficient in Latin, Persian, and Sanskrit, and has some knowledge of French and Arabic, but Mathematics and Science are his special *forte*.

4. *Mr. A. G. Chuckerbutty*—passed 1884. Went to England as a child, and has been brought up there. His mother was not a native of India. He never learnt any of the Vernacular languages of India, and was never at any school in India.

5 *Mr Loken Palit*—passed 1884. Was born in September 1866, and went to England in September 1878 with his parents. His father took a house in London, and brought his whole family there, remaining with them himself for 18 months, and leaving them there when he returned to India. Mr. Loken Palit studied in University College School, London, and under special tutors at home. He learnt Latin, French, and German, and was well up in Mathematics. He afterwards went for a year to Mr. Wren's, and passed the open competition in 1884.

APPENDIX No. 2.

NOTE of R. C. DUTT on the LIMIT of AGE prescribed for CANDIDATES for ADMISSION into the INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE, dated 6 May 1884.

The lowering of the limit of age from 21 to 19 has practically resulted in excluding Indian candidates from the open competition for the Civil Service of India. In the open competition held in 1869 three natives of Bengal and one native of the Bombay Presidency were selected. One native of Bengal was selected in 1870, another in 1871, and another in 1873. Some candidates from the other Indian Presidencies also obtained admission before the limit of age was lowered. No native of Bengal has succeeded since then, and I do not know if any candidates from any other Indian province has been selected.

2. The subjects in which candidates for the Indian Civil Service are examined are pretty much the same as are prescribed for boys in the public schools in England. Natives of India commence study of these subjects at a somewhat later period of their life, *i. e.*, after they have learnt a little of their own vernaculars and their own system of arithmetic, and they also find them more difficult to acquire because they are mostly taught in English. At the age of 16 or 17, or even 18, the Indian boy is still hopelessly behind the English boy in the subjects which are prescribed for the open competition. The former has not, in most cases, yet learnt to write correct or decent English, or to master the difficulties of that language, which is admittedly a difficult one for foreigners to acquire. In history and the sciences, mental and physical, which are all taught in English, the Indian boy at 17 or 18 has necessarily made less progress than the English boy of the same age. The former has an advantage in learning Sanscrit in school, but the latter has a far greater advantage in learning Latin, Greek, and French, which are taught in English schools, and not in Indian schools. At 17, or even at 18, the Indian candidate is, therefore, hopelessly behind his English rival in the subjects of examination for the Indian Civil Service.

3. The case is somewhat altered when young men of 20 are allowed to compete. The ablest and brightest among the young men of the Indian Universities have then some chance against the average men from the English institutions who generally compete for the Indian Civil Service. The Indian University man has then had time to acquire some knowledge of the English language, and of the other subjects of study which are taught in English. The odds are still greatly in favour of the English candidate, not only because he has learnt Latin and Greek and French, and probably German and Italian, but also because the English is his native language, and he has had an earlier start in the English subjects of study, and, therefore, ought to be still ahead, other things being equal. Nevertheless, when candidates are allowed to compete at 20, the Indian candidate of extraordinary parts has had time to overtake the average English candidate, and has, therefore, some chance of success. The chances would be still more equalised, and probably a better educated class of candidates would be obtained if the limit of age were raised to 23.

4. The open competition takes place in London, and it is nearly impossible for Indian candidates to appear there at the early age of 17 or 18. At that early age he has probably just passed his matriculation examination, he has not formed any plans of his future career, and he has probably not entertained any higher aim than to pass the University examinations with credit. The idea of leaving home, of performing a long journey by sea, of residing in a foreign country, and competing with hundreds of educated Englishmen for admission into the Civil Service, comes later in life, and the will to act upon this ambitious idea comes later also. It is no reproach to the Indian youth, who has always lived in his home, that at the early age of 17 or 18 he has not yet formed the idea or the determination of undertaking so hazardous a task. In the rare instances in which he may be prepared to act thus, he is not so completely his own master as to be able to disregard the wishes of his guardians, and his guardians naturally feel a hesitation in sending so young a man to Europe, with no experience of life, and probably with no friends to advise and help him there. Difficulties of a social nature also come into operation; the young man of 17 or 18 is often unable to break through the prejudices of his orthodox relations against a visit to Europe, and in the rare instances where such prejudices do not exist he is probably not yet sufficiently strong to break through the bonds of time-honoured custom which bind him to Hindu society and to his

home. The difference of two years at this period of the Indian student's life makes an enormous difference in all these respects. At 20 the student has completed, or nearly completed his University education; he has made a fair estimate of his chances of success, and has formed his plans of life, he is to a great extent his own master, and if money is forthcoming, he can in most cases act for himself, or induce his guardians to consent to his plans. The able and educated Indian youth of 20 will, therefore, sometimes be equal to the task of leaving his home and travelling to Europe to compete with educated Englishmen for the Indian Civil Service, but the young lad of 17 or 18 can scarcely be expected to undertake this work, and will scarcely be trusted by his guardians to undertake it. Should the limit of age be raised to 23, as has been recommended by very high authorities on the subject, the difficulties alluded to above would be still further lightened, and graduates of the Indian Universities, as well as of the English Universities, would find it possible to compete for the Civil Service of India.

5 Unlike the English candidate, the Indian candidate has to incur a heavy outlay in voyage, &c., before he can hope to compete, and he incurs this merely for the chance of success, which experience has proved to be a poor chance. The Indian youth is more likely to find this requisite outlay at 20 than at 17 or 18. If he is poor, as is often the case, he has a better chance of obtaining a scholarship, or the assistance of some friends, at a more advanced age; while if his parents are men of competence, they are more likely to risk a large outlay for him, after he has finished his University career with distinction and credit, than when he is a mere lad and his chances of success are wholly unknown. The risk in the latter case is so great that it is seldom undertaken. The chances of obtaining pecuniary assistance would be greatly improved if the limit of age were raised to 23, and the Premchand Roychand Scholarship for instance, which at present does little good in the way of promoting study, would then be available for candidates from India wishing to compete for the Indian Civil Service.

6 To sum up:--The Indian candidate for the Civil Service of India labours under many special disadvantages as compared with the English candidate, and all these disadvantages are increased many fold under the present limit of age. The Indian candidate has to compete with Englishmen in the English language and in English subjects of study, and he is hopelessly behind his English brethren in these subjects at 17 or 18. The Indian candidate again has to leave his home, travel some thousands of miles by sea, and live in a foreign country before he can appear at the open competition, and he can scarcely be expected or trusted by his guardians to do all this at 17 or 18, when his experience, his self-reliance, and his strength of will have not been matured, and his plans of life have not been formed. And, lastly, the Indian candidate has to incur a heavy initial outlay for voyage and foreign residence for the mere chance of success, and he is unable to find this at the early age of 17 or 18. All these difficulties will still exist if the limit of age be raised, but the difficulties will be lessened, and lessened very considerably, if the limit be raised to 23, and it will be then possible sometimes to overcome them. Under the present limit of age they cannot be overcome, and the doors of the Indian Civil Service are practically closed against the natives of India.

(Signed) R. C. DUTT.

No. 5.

DESPATCH from the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA to the GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA, No 1, Public, dated India Office, 8th January 1885.

MY LORD,

Para 1—I have received the letter of the Government of India, No. 51, dated 12th of September last, proposing certain changes in the system under which natives of India are admitted either to the Covenanted Civil Service of Her Majesty under Statute 21 & 22 Vict., cap 106, sect 32, or, under Statute 33 Vict. cap. 3, sect. 6, to offices formerly reserved exclusively to members of that Service. I have considered this letter and its enclosure in Council with the care due to the strong interest which the late Governor-General manifestly felt in this subject, to the memorials relating to it which

have been forwarded to me from a considerable number of native gentlemen, and, above all, to its intrinsic importance. There is no question more intimately connected with the good government of India, and, indeed, with the stability of the Indian Empire, than the question of the best mode of recruiting the Civil Service.

2. The changes proposed by the Government of India, although they would affect all candidates for the Indian Civil Service, are in the main intended to regulate the admission of natives of India to that Service, and in particular to give additional facilities for their admission through the competitive examination in London. These proposals may be thus summarised. The number of natives of India admitted in each year to the superior Civil Service is to be limited to 18 per cent of the total number of admissions. For the purpose of supplying this percentage, the competitive examination held in London under Statute 21 & 22 Vict., cap. 106, sect. 32, is to be primarily relied upon. If it becomes necessary to make up the difference between the number of native candidates succeeding at this examination and the full 18 per cent, the Government of India would fall back on Statute 33 Vict., cap. 3, sect. 6, as providing a secondary mode of recruitment. But in order that a sufficient number of natives may pass through the competitive examination, the specially Oriental subjects, Arabic and Sanscrit, are to be marked as highly as Greek and Latin; and the age of competition, now fixed at $17\frac{1}{2}$ to $19\frac{1}{2}$, is to be altered into 18 to 21.

3. For the purpose of carrying out these proposals, very material alterations would have to be made in the regulations for the examination deriving their force from Statute 21 & 22 Vict., cap. 106, sect. 32. It is necessary for me to observe that the power of making or modifying these regulations is not part of the ordinary mechanism of Indian government, but is a special power confided by Parliament to the Secretary of State in Council, who can only exercise it with the advice and assistance of the Civil Service Commissioners. Before, however, the Secretary of State invites the opinion of the Civil Service Commissioners on any proposals for change, it is manifestly his duty to satisfy himself that these proposals do not contravene the letter or spirit of any Act of Parliament, and are not open to any grave objection of policy. I am desirous, therefore, of asking the attention of your Excellency in Council to difficulties which have occurred to me in regard to the plan submitted to me by the Government of your predecessor, more especially as to its consistency with the intentions of Parliament.

4. I have pointed out to your Excellency that the London examination for the Indian Civil Service is held under direct Parliamentary authority. The Act clearly prescribes that it is to be a strictly competitive examination. The candidates are to be recommended for appointment "according to the order of their proficiency as shown by the examinations;" and the Secretary of State is directed to appoint to the Civil Service such persons only as are so recommended. The proposal which I am now asked to transmit to the Civil Service Commissioners is, not only that the age of competition should be raised, but that the marks allotted to Arabic and Sanscrit shall be considerably increased; and the avowed object of the proposal is to afford to a particular class of candidates greater facilities for succeeding in the examination. Now, the marks assigned to the various subjects have been fixed by the Civil Service Commissioners with the utmost care, presumably on the principle of giving to each a number of marks corresponding to what the Commissioners believe to be its value as a test of intellectual capacity. If, however, the marks are changed, not on any principle applicable to all the subjects, but solely with a view of giving an advantage to a particular class of candidates, however deserving on special grounds, I have difficulty in regarding such a change as consistent with the nature of an open competitive examination, and, therefore, with the intentions of Parliament. The precedent, moreover, independently of the question of legality, is one which might be followed hereafter by very mischievous results.

5. I entertain still graver doubts of the possibility of working out, consistently with the directions of Parliament, any scheme for using the open competitive examination in London as the primary mode of recruiting Natives of India for the Civil Service, and of limiting at the same time the number admitted. We may suppose that, in some one year, the total number of Natives to be admitted under the two Acts of Parliament before mentioned is to be seven, as against 36 other candidates. The case is always conceivable and possible that eight Natives may obtain the number of marks requisite for success in the competitive examination, and in that case there is no power of rejecting the eighth candidate. The Civil Service Commissioners, in the first instance, know the candidates only by designating numbers, but when their names are ascertained, the Commissioners must recommend all the successful candidates for appointment in the order of

their proficiency in examination; and the Secretary of State must appoint the persons recommended to the Civil Service. It is of great importance to understand clearly that, in the present state of the law, if the open competitive examination is so modified as to give advantages to Native candidates, every Native who succeeds in the open competition must, if he passes the probationary examinations and is not physically disqualified, be accepted as a member of the Civil Service of India.

6 The Government of India appear indeed to doubt whether, even if the facilities suggested by them were granted, any large number of Natives would succeed in gaining admission to the Service by the competitive examination. On the whole, I am inclined to dissent from this view. It is true that the information before me does not point to any certain conclusion respecting the effect of the age of selection on the success of Native candidates. The figures—as to which, I may observe, the Native gentlemen who have memorialised the Government seem to labour under considerable misapprehension—show that when the limit of age was 23, that is to say, from the first competitive examination in 1855 to 1859, no Native candidate presented himself. Between 1860 and 1865, when the limit of age was 22, six Natives in all competed. During the eleven years, between 1866 and 1877, when the limit was 21, the average number of Native candidates competing annually was a little above five; the number reached a maximum in 1874, when 12 Natives competed (of whom two succeeded); but, before the limit of age had been further lowered, it had declined to two candidates. It would further appear that, of the whole number of Native gentlemen who, since the establishment of the system by the Charter Act of 1853, have obtained admission to the Service through competition, one half succeeded at an age falling between the present limits of $17\frac{1}{2}$ and $19\frac{1}{2}$. These numbers are, it must be admitted, so extremely small as to render any conclusion from them uncertain; but, on the whole, having regard to the earlier development of Natives of India, I am disposed to think that the extension of the limit of age would increase an advantage which they now enjoy as compared with home-born candidates for the Civil Service. But that the change proposed in marking the subjects of examination would produce a material increase in the number of successful Native candidates, I cannot doubt. The subjects most highly marked at present are Greek and Latin and mathematics, pure and mixed. For mathematics, several of the Native races have great capacity, and, if Arabic and Sanscrit have given to them the marks now allotted to Greek and Latin, the examination would be very favourable to Natives of India, even when they have received a minimum of European education. Indeed, it would be a substantially Oriental examination.

7. The proposal that the competitive examination should assume this character raises a question to which it is all the more necessary to attend now, because it must have engaged the attention of Parliament. If it be desirable that the Natives of India should be admitted to the Civil Service through a substantially Oriental examination, how is it possible to justify the condition that they should cross the sea for the purpose of passing it? The bulk of the population of India is Hindu, and it is matter of common knowledge that the bulk of the Hindu population regard crossing the sea as a breach either of religious or of social obligation. There is much testimony to this effect in the papers before me. Thus an officer of high distinction who possesses singular knowledge of the Natives of India, Sir A. C. Lyall, observes (in para. 5 of the letter from the Government of the North-west Provinces, dated 16th July 1884), that “until the repugnance of orthodox Hindus to cross the seas has lost its force, a time apparently still distant, the effect of a compulsory residence in England, either before or after selection, would be to exclude from these appointments the very considerable and important class of Hindus whose scruples still prevent them from adopting foreign habits and ways of life;” and this opinion, which is attributed by the Lieutenant-Governor to the majority of the officers he has consulted, is stated in very strong language by one of the Native gentlemen whose views are recorded in those papers, Raja Shiva Prasád “Orthodox Hindus of High caste,” writes the Raja, “who still form the largest, the strongest, and the most influential, though a somewhat silent, class in this country, will not cross the sea.” But the evidence for the existence of this scruple does not exist entirely in opinion. You will observe that what is most remarkable in the numbers of the Native candidates quoted above is their extreme smallness, a smallness all the more striking as contrasted with the vastness of the Indian population subject to British rule, usually estimated at 180 millions. It would appear from these figures that the number of Indian families hitherto practically willing to send their sons across the sea to compete in London has its measure in a maximum number of 12 candidates in one year. It would be very difficult to defend on any ground a system under which a native of

India was forbidden to pass an examination in two Oriental languages, and in pure mathematics, until he had violated a rule of his religion. But such a system would be open to a far more serious objection, if it tended to confine the privilege of entering the Indian Civil Service to a relatively small class of Natives, and thus to lead the Indian Government into one of the greatest dangers to which it is liable, the danger of governing the country in the interest of minorities.

8 It is undoubtedly true that several very high authorities have entertained serious objection to holding an open competitive examination in India, even in the subjects hitherto prescribed, partly from political considerations, and partly from some misgivings as to the view which the Indian population might take of this method of selection, when it came to be understood. Among these authorities was the late Lord Lawrence, during whose government a strong desire had been expressed by many of the educated natives that copies of the papers set in London should be sent out under seal to India, so that the competitive examination might be held simultaneously both there and in England. This movement led to a correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State in 1868 and 1869, which ended in the submission of a measure of relief to Parliament. This measure became law as Statute 33 Vict. cap 3, sect 6, and its enactment was announced by the Duke of Argyll to the Government of India in the following words:—"I have now to inform your Excellency in Council that a Bill has been passed by Parliament during the present session, the provisions of which will effectually carry out my desire that natives of India should be appointed to such high

* Educational Despatch of 31st March 1870, para 7.

“ offices under Government, as they may be fitted for by their qualifications.”* The Act passed in 1870 is in fact the remedy provided by Parliament itself for any inconvenience or injustice which the natives of India might be shown by experience to suffer through the necessary adaptation of the examination in London to the circumstances of home-born rather than of Indian competitors for the Civil Service. I beg your attention to this statement, because I cannot but see that the nature of the Act of 1870 has been somewhat misconstrued in India, through the discussion which has arisen on one particular set of rules made under its provisions. Even allowing that the particular application of the Act, criticised in many of the papers forwarded to me, may be open to objection, nevertheless the Act itself remains a measure of remarkable breadth and liberality. It empowers the Government of India and the Secretary of State in Council, acting together, to frame rules under which natives of India may be admitted to any of the offices hitherto reserved to the Covenanted Civil Service, and appointments made under such rules will override the restrictive provisions of any older Act of Parliament. The opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown was subsequently taken on the construction of the Act of 1870, and it would appear that there is no method of selecting natives for higher employment in India which the provisions of Sect. 3 would not allow to be attempted.

9 Your Lordship will therefore perceive that I do not take the same view as the Government of India of the principles which Parliament has prescribed for your guidance and for mine in dealing with the subject before me. Looking at the action of Parliament as a whole, I do not think that it intended the examination held under Statute 21 & 22 Vict. cap. 106, sect 32, to be the primary method of selecting natives of India for the Civil Service, nor did it mean the provisions of the Statute 33 Vict., cap 3, sect. 6 to fall into a secondary place. The opinions of Lord Macaulay and other eminent persons quoted by the late Viceroy in the early portion of his minute, unquestionably show that, at the establishment of the competitive system, they hoped and expected that a certain number of natives would gradually qualify themselves for an examination open to all subjects of the Crown, and that they would succeed in it; but these opinions strongly suggest to my mind that the examination contemplated was to be one adjusted to the conditions of English education, and not one so manipulated as to be specially suitable to Oriental candidates. The mature judgment of Parliament must, however, be collected from its later legislation. The Act of 1870 is the Parliamentary remedy for any defects which may show themselves in the competitive system first established in 1853, and it is the plain duty of both branches of the Indian Government to exhaust this remedy before undertaking the possibly impracticable task of completely adapting competitive selection in England to the circumstances both of European and of Indian candidates. No information before me leads me to suppose that a certain number of natives will not from time to time succeed in the English examination, as they have done hitherto; but, for the purpose of doing full justice to their claims on the Indian public service, your Excellency will only comply with the directions of

Parliament in giving your fullest deliberation to the Act of 1870, and to the question of effecting the utmost possible improvement in the rules deriving force from its provisions. There is no experiment in methods of selection which the law does not permit you to try, and the field of your experiments will not be limited through the operation of a religious prejudice of unknown force, but will extend to the whole of the great Indian population, while they may be varied according to the circumstances of the various races which that population comprises. In the long run the best means will be discovered of carrying out the object which Parliament and your Excellency and I have alike at heart, the admission of the natives of India to the higher appointments of the public service, in numbers determined by their capacity for administration and consistent with overruling political considerations.

10. As the proposals of the Government of India appear to me to be founded on an erroneous view of the legislation of Parliament respecting the Indian Civil Service, your Excellency will see that I am unable to accept them. I have, therefore, no alternative but to ask your Excellency in Council to reconsider the mode in which the Act of 1870 should be applied, and I refrain for the present, from discussing in detail the letters from the local governments and the other correspondence which accompanied the Despatch of the 12th September 1884. Meanwhile, I must request that no new statutory rules, and no directions respecting the application of the rules already in existence, may be issued without having been submitted to me. Your Excellency will observe that, for the purpose of giving unimpeachable legal validity to any rules made in virtue of the Statute of 1870, it is necessary that the previous sanction of the Secretary of State in Council should be obtained before they are put into operation.

11. The memorials received with the letters indicated in the margin* relate to the age of competition at the open examination in London.

* Dated 12th September 1884, No 51
 " 6th October " " 52.
 " 13th " " " 54
 " 20th " " " 60
 " 10th November " " 66

† See Despatch from Secretary of State to Government of India, dated 15th May 1884, No 40

So far as the proposal to change it affects the home-born candidates, I have already informed† the Government of your predecessor that no evidence before me leads me to think that the rules prescribed after much consideration by Lord Salisbury in 1876 have failed, or justifies me in interfering with them. I desire, therefore, that

the memorialists may be informed that, after giving my fullest attention to the whole subject to which their representations refer, I have found myself unable to accede to them, but that I have expressed a hope that the mode of advancing Natives of India to higher employment in the public service provided by Parliament in 1870, may be so used as to do full justice to their claims.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) KIMBERLEY.

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