

Civil Service Reform During Colonial Rule

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Abstract—The concept of civil service came into prominence when British, in search of creating a framework to hold the territories of India, created the much coveted 'Indian Civil Services'. Many changes took place in the Indian civil services since Lord Cornwallis introduced it in India. The Indian civil service was created to foster the idea of unity in diversity.

Index Terms—Civil Service, Committees, Commissions, Colonial Rule.

I. INTRODUCTION

The various Committees and Commissions setup since the days of colonial rule and the recommendations made are elaborately discussed in this chapter. All these Commissions have been set up from time to time to reform the civil services. The reforms introduced in respect of All India Services have been highlighted in this chapter.

The concept of civil service came into prominence when British, in search of creating a framework to hold the territories of India, created the much coveted 'Indian Civil Services'. Many changes took place in the Indian civil services since Lord Cornwallis introduced it in India. The Indian civil service was created to foster the idea of unity in diversity. The service was expected to give continuity and change to the administration amidst the changing political scenario and turmoil affecting the country. By and large, the Indian civil service has played the part of giving this continuous support to the nation.

Civil Service Reform is a deliberate change effort by government to improve its capacity effectively and efficiently to execute policies. Reforms in the civil service across the globe have occurred ever since the Chinese invented bureaucracy they are a continuous process with no general starting point, and equally no end.

During colonial rule the British introduced limited reforms to the civil service which were initiated on the basis of the recommendations of committees and commissions set up from time to time.

The first was the Committee on Indian Civil Service under the chairmanship of Lord Macaulay, set up by the Board of Commissioners of the East India Company in April 1854, to suggest the courses of study, the time to be allowed for residence at Haileybury (the training institution for civil servants of the East India Company), the scheme of examination and other related questions. The Committee recommended the replacement of the patronage civil service system of the East India Company with a meritocratic system. As O'Malley observes, "What was of more permanent value was the principle which the Committee laid down that a high standard was to be set and maintained and that the examination should be so conducted as to ensure the selection of candidates with thorough and not merely superficial knowledge"¹. To know one subject thoroughly was to be of more account than a smattering of several; knowledge of wide surface but small depth was to be discontinued. The new recruits to the Service were given the hybrid and somewhat derisory name of Competition Wallaha sobriquet which has survived chiefly because of the charming book. The Macaulay Committee gave India its first modern civil service the structure of which continues even today.

The recommendation of the Macaulay Committee was accepted by the Board of Control of the East India Company and regulations were framed governing the selection of candidates whose appointment to the civil service proceeded from the Court of Directors. With the passing of the Government of India Act (1858), the Secretary of State in Council acquired the executive power to make regulations for the conduct of examination and admission to the Indian Civil Service, and recruitment became centralized under the direct

control of the Imperial authority. The constitution of the Indian Civil Service was derived from various enactments of the British Parliament recognizing its statutory rights, and protecting the Service from political influence.

The Indian Council, constituted to advise the Secretary of State for India, set up in 1860 a committee called the Special Committee on Civil Salaries, to examine 'whether it will tend to further good government of India to repeal or modify those portions of (the Charter) Act (of) 1833 and 1853 which vest certain appointments (i.e., posts) in India in the Covenanted Civil Service'.

The Committee held the view that it was not only just but also expedient that Indians were employed in the administration of India to as large an extent as possible, consistently, no doubt, with the maintenance of British supremacy over India. Technically speaking, Indians were not debarred from entering the public services of the country. Practically, however, they are excluded. The law declares them eligible, but difficulties opposed to a native leaving India, and residing in England for a time, are so great, that, as a general rule, it is almost impossible for a native successfully to compete at the periodical examinations held in England. The committee examined two proposals to give effective opportunity to Indians to obtain governmental jobs.

The first is, by allotting a certain portion of the total number of appointments declared in each year to be competed for in India by natives and by all other natural-born subjects of Her Majesty resident in India. The second is, to hold simultaneously two examinations, one in England and one in India, both being, as far as practicable, identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list, according to merit, by the civil service commissioner. The committee have no hesitation in giving the preference to the second scheme, as being the fairest, and the most in accordance with the principles of a general competition for a common object. The committee, however, are decidedly of opinion that the examination papers on which the competition is to proceed in India and England should be identical; but they think in justice to the natives, that three colloquial oriental languages should be added to the three modern European languages, so as to give the candidates the opportunity of selection.

The Committee stood for a completely closed (or 'exclusive', as it chose to call it) civil service, allowing virtually no room for lateral entry into it.

We consider that the continued maintenance of an exclusive civil service (if, indeed, that ought any longer to be regarded as an exclusive service, entrance to which may be gained by competition by any natural-born subject of Her Majesty) is essential to the good government of India. By this we mean service into which every member must enter at the bottom and, after serving a long apprenticeship in subordinate positions, rise gradually to offices of increased importance and emoluments, the highest posts being filled by selection from the whole body of those who have evinced the greatest capacity and merit. We scarcely deem it necessary to endeavour to justify this opinion. Its soundness is, we think, amply proved by the experience of the past, and by the fruits which this system has produced at every stage of the history of India. We confidently assert that, as a general rule, the system which has been established in India not only affords the most efficient checks against nepotism, favouritism, and abuse of patronage, but under the improved tests of qualification of late introduced, likewise secures, to a very large extent, competency and efficiency. The last remnant of patronage was swept away when the system of entrance by competition in its most unrestricted sense was substituted for that of direct nomination; and the noble bearing of the civil service of India generally, during the recent eventful crisis, has ratified the verdict repeatedly pronounced by historians, statesmen, and senators, as well as by travelers and foreigners, in favour of its general merits and adaptation to the very peculiar and difficult position in which we are placed in India".

The Committee made a recommendation in favour of throwing open certain specified departments and offices to 'all natural-born subjects of Her Majesty, European and native, whether in the Covenanted Service or not'. It is also of significance to note that it laid great emphasis on residence in India and acquisition of knowledge of at least two 'native' languages.

The Macaulay Committee's recommendation that the competitive examination to the Indian Civil Service should be open to the candidates in the age group 18-23 had been accepted in 1855. Five years later, i.e., in 1860, the maximum age for admission to the

competitive examination was lowered to twenty-two and, in 1865, to twenty-one. In 1866 the minimum age was also reduced from eighteen to seventeen.

The working of the system of selection and training of candidates for the Indian Civil Service was made the subject of review in 1874 when the British government set up a committee, called The Committee on the Selection and Training of Candidates for the Indian Civil Service, under the chairmanship of Liddell who was the Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. This Committee submitted its report in 1876. It was of the view that a competitive examination was better suited to a younger age. It felt that the age of entry into the Indian Civil Service was too high and needed to be lowered. It, therefore, recommended that the candidates between the ages of seventeen to nineteen only should be allowed to take the competitive examination to the Indian Civil Service. 'A lower limit of age is recommended by another consideration of importance. Out of the number who present themselves for competition, it is certain that four-fifths must fail, because the candidates are usually more than five times as many as the vacancies; and no prudent parent, in selecting a profession for his son will leave this certainty out of consideration. Some professions are absolutely closed, others are almost impossible, to a man who thinks for the first time of entering them at the age of twenty-two. A man, therefore, who competes for the Indian Civil Service at that age, undoubtedly strives for a valuable prize, but does it at a formidable risk. He stakes, in a measure, his chance of self-support upon the result of a competition in which it is certain that four-fifths must fail. It is more than probable that such a risk must weigh strongly with parents, and diminish the field of competition, especially among the professional class. But no such apprehension will be possible if the limit of age is fixed at nineteen".

The British government, accordingly, fixed the maximum age of admission of candidates to the competitive examination at nineteen but also retained the minimum age at seventeen. Thus, the upshot of the Liddell report was an age group of 17-19 alone being admissible to the competitive examination during the period 1878-91. The first competition at which the maximum limit of nineteen was to be enforced was held in July 1878. This delay in bringing the new arrangement into operation was necessary in order that the requisite preparation may be made, and that those

whose age will then exceed the required limit may present themselves at the previous competition. This Committee also recommended a probationary period of one year, which was accepted by the government.

The first Public Service Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Charles Aitchison was constituted in November 1886 'to devise a scheme which might reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality and to do full justice to the claims of the natives of India to higher employment in the public service. The Commission recommended that the general administrative staff in British India should be divided into three branches: the Indian Civil Service, the Provincial Civil Service, and the Subordinate Civil Service.

The recruitment to the Covenanted Civil Service, redesignated as the Indian Civil Service, continued to be by open competition in England from all natural-born British subjects. The recruitment to the uncovenanted civil service, now the Provincial Civil Service and called by the name of the particular province to which it belonged, was conducted separately in that province. The Provincial Civil Services now included 108 posts that were previously reserved for the Indian Civil Service, and also higher posts held by the old uncovenanted service, the lower posts being relegated to the Subordinate Civil Service. The contribution of the Aitchison Commission was to ensure that the Provincial Civil Service was reorganized on a rational basis. Organizationally, the Provincial Service with 108 scheduled posts attached to it, became an integrated whole, duly structured and reasonably rationalized. It consisted of a connected and graduated series of offices, and provided for promotional opportunities from subordinate posts to a higher level of posts on the basis of ability and competence". The reform to the subordinate civil services consisted of rationalization, introduction of limited competition, a regular cadre, uniform grading, promotional opportunities and security of service. The Commission thus succeeded in improving the quality of the subordinate civil services so that the subordinate officers could assist the Indian Civil Service in routine work and minor details.

The other contribution of the Aitchison Commission was in reducing the Indian Civil Service to a corps d'élite by limiting its number to fill control posts at the higher levels and junior posts in order to provide on

the job training to new entrants to the Indian Civil Service.

The Second Public Service Commission, under the chairmanship of Lord Islington, then Governor of New Zealand, and with Ramsay MacDonald (subsequently Prime Minister), G.K. Gokhale, Sir Valentine Chirol, Lord Ronaldshay, and H.A.L. Fisher as members, was constituted in 1912. The Islington Commission submitted its report in 1915 but due to the First World War and the altered conditions in India arising out of the 1919 Act, the implementation of recommendations of the Commission was delayed.

The recommendations of the Islington Commission provided the basis for discussion on issues relating to organization, recruitment, training, salary and service conditions of the civil service. Although the Indian Civil Service was continued as the premier service, it was made even more of a corps d' élite. the schedule of posts reserved for the Indian Civil Service came to be restricted to superior posts only, and all the junior posts which had earlier been included for purposes of training were deleted from the Third Schedule of the 1919 Act.

The Islington Commission expanded the scope of recruitment to the Indian Civil Service. There were now three methods of recruiting candidates to the Indian Civil Service: selection of candidates on the results on annual competitive examinations in England, selection on the results of similar examinations held in India for selected Indian nominees, and direct appointments of Indians made by nomination in India.

The Islington Commission made a significant contribution to the Indianization of the Indian Civil Service. The Commission recommended that there should be an increase in the Indian Civil Service posts to be held by Indians, and that this should be fixed at 33 per cent, with an annual increase of 1.5 per cent until the position could be reviewed by a Parliamentary Commission to be appointed at the end of ten years. The percentage was accordingly fixed in 1920 at 33 per cent, rising by 1.5 per cent annually until 1930, when the proportion of 48 per cent would be reached.

On the recommendation of the Islington Commission, there was further rationalization of the Provincial Civil Service: the officers promoted from the Provincial Civil Service to posts in the Indian Civil Service cadre would henceforth have the same opportunities for

promotion as those directly recruited to the Indian Civil Service. The officers of the Provincial Civil Service who were promoted to posts in the Indian Civil Service were, however, not permitted to write Indian Civil Service against their names, although they could, from the date of their appointment, take rank with Indian Civil Service officers and be eligible with them for all posts borne on the Civil Service cadre. In other words, the old system of listing posts to be made available to the officers of the Provincial Civil Service in the Indian Civil Service was abandoned. Henceforth the number of superior posts only was to be specified, not the posts themselves. In the matter of reforming the mode of recruitment, the Islington Commission was guided by a desire to remove disparity among officers recruited from different sources.

The Islington Commission made a number of recommendations to improve salary and service conditions of the Indian Civil Service. The most important recommendation of the Commission was a time scale with overseas allowance which increased the salaries in the Indian Civil Service by an estimated 15 per cent.

The British government appointed, in 1923, the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India (Third Public Service Commission) under the chairmanship of Lee of Fareham. Besides the Chairman, the Commission had eight Members out of which four were Indians; Bhupendranath Basu, M. Habibullah, Hari Kishan Kaul and N.M. Samarth. It submitted its report in 1924. The Commission was asked to bear in mind 'the necessity for maintaining a standard of administration in conformity with the responsibilities of the Crown for the Government of India, and to the declared policy of Parliament in respect of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and in view of the experience now gained of the operation of the system of government established by the Government of India Act in respect of the superior civil services in India'. And to undertake, within this framework, an enquiry into:

- 1) The organisation and general conditions of service, financial and otherwise, of those services;
- 2) The possibility of transferring immediately or gradually of their present duties and functions to service constituted on a provincial basis;
- 3) The recruitment of Europeans and Indians respectively for which provision should be made

under the Constitution established by the said Act, and the best methods of ensuring and maintaining such recruitment; and to make recommendations.

II. THE MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS MADE BY THE LEE COMMISSION ARE: 2012

The All-India Services were the principle focus of the Commission's enquiry. It may be worth recalling the names of these services in existence at the time when the Lee Commission was conducting its enquiry. These were as follows:

Name	Sanctioned Strength	Actual Number
Indian Civil Service	1,350	1,290
Indian Police Service	732	739
Indian Forest Service	399	348
Indian Educational Service	421	345
Indian Agricultural Service	157	109
Indian Veterinary Service	54	38
Indian Forest Engineering Service	18	17
Indian Medical Service (Civil)	420	373
Indian Service of Engineers	728	716
Total	4,279	3,975

It would thus be revealed that the All-India Services also existed in fields which had been transferred to the popular ministers. While they worked under the ministers the members of these services were appointed by the Secretary of State for India and could not be dismissed except by him, and even their salaries were not subject to the control of the provincial legislatures. This was an anomalous situation. The logic of the constitutional changes under the Government of India Act, 1919, demanded forthright disbandment of the All-India Services operating in the transferred field. The Commission recognized the anomaly and recommended the stopping of recruitment to the Indian Educational Service, the Indian Agricultural Service, the Indian Veterinary Service, the Indian Forest Service (in some provinces) and the Indian Service of Engineers (roads and buildings branch). 'The personnel required for these branches of administration should in future be recruited and appointed by local governments'. The personnel for these areas should be recruited by the provinces which should be empowered, through

delegation of powers by the Secretary of State, to make the necessary rules for regulating their public services. The Commission also recommended that the provinces should take immediate steps to pass public service legislation regulating the provincial public services so as,

- (i) to secure selection over the widest possible field on merits and qualifications and to reduce the risks of political interference,
- (ii) to lay down the procedure for punishment and appeals,
- (iii) to provide satisfactory conditions in regard to such matters as pensions, promotions and leave.

It is of significance to note the Lee Commission's recommending the continuance of the Indian Medical Service although public health was in the transferred field; such a service was to ensure European medical attendance for the European members of the civil services. 'The almost universally expressed anxiety of British members of the services in India to have access to British Medical advice for themselves and their families is intelligible and, in our opinion, its provision is vital to their contentment'.

As regards the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service, the Indian Service of Engineers (irrigation branch) and the Indian Forest Service (except in Burma and Bombay), these should continue to be appointed and controlled by the Secretary of State for India. The Lee Commission has recommended:

We are agreed that in present conditions the appointment of and control over these services must continue to vest in the Secretary of State. Some of our members think that this conclusion follows inevitably from the principles implicit in the Government of India Act. Others of our members are not prepared to accept this view, and hold that such a transfer is contemplated by the provisions of the Act. In spite, however, of this inability to agree on the constitutional position, we are agreed that the Secretary of State should for the present retain his powers of appointment and control of the 'all-India services'.

The Commission examined the method of recruitment to the central services and observed: Subject to the provisions of the Government of India Act, the Secretary of State retains powers of superintendence, direction, and control in regard to the field of administration in which the central services are employed. Appointments to some of these services are

made entirely by the Secretary of State; to others the Government of India makes all appointments, and in a third group, appointments are made partly by the Secretary of State and partly by the Government of India. So far as appointments are not made by the Secretary of State, his control over the services is restricted; for, under Section 67A (3) (iii) of the Government of India Act, the salaries and pensions of officers not appointed by him are subject to the vote of the legislative assembly. We understand that the extent to which the Secretary of State finds it necessary in practice to exercise his powers of direct, as distinct from ultimate, control is less in the case of some of these services than in others, and it seems to us unnecessary that he should retain his power of appointment to the former class, particularly as the tendency is more and more to make appointments to them in India".

The Lee Commission stressed the need for an establishment, 'without further delay', of a public service commission at the central level. It remarked: Wherever democratic institutions exist, experience has shown that to secure an efficient civil service it is essential to protect it so far as possible from political or personal influences and to give it that position of stability and security which is vital to its successful working as the impartial and efficient instrument by which governments, of whatever political complexion, may give effect to their policies. In countries where this principle has been neglected, and where the 'spoils system' has taken its place, an inefficient and disorganized civil service has been the inevitable result and corruption has been rampant. In America, a civil service commission has been constituted to control recruitment of the services, but, for the purposes of India it is from the Dominions of the British Empire that more relevant and useful lessons can perhaps be drawn. Canada, Australia and South Africa now possess public or civil services Acts regulating the position and control of the public services, and a common feature of them all is the constitution of a public service commission, to which the duty of administering the Acts is entrusted.

It was this need which the framers of the Government of India Act had in mind when they made provision in Section 96C for the establishment of a public service commission to discharge 'in regard to recruitment and control of the public services in India such functions as may be assigned thereto by rules made by the

Secretary of State in council'. To further underscore this point the commission wrote: 'we regard our recommendations under this head as one of the cardinal features of our report, and as forming an integral and essential part of the whole structure of our proposals for the future of the services. We therefore trust that effect to them may be given as soon as practicable'. The Public Service Commission should be an all-India body and consist of five members of the highest public standing detached from political associations and possessing, in the case of two of their numbers at least, high judicial or legal qualifications. The commissioners should be full-time officers and their emoluments should not be less than those of High Court judges.

The Lee Commission envisaged two categories of functions for the Public Service Commission: (i) recruitment of personnel and establishment and maintenance of proper standards of qualification for admission to them; (ii) certain functions of a quasi-judicial character connected with the disciplinary control and protection of the public services. The following functions were spelled out for the Public Service Commission:

1. The Commission should recruit personnel to the All-India Services as the agent of the Secretary of State so far as recruitment is made in India.
2. It should recruit personnel to the central services as the agent of the Secretary of State for India or the central government. Also, it should recruit for the provincial services, if a province so desires, as an agent of the provincial government.
3. For all kinds of recruitment - All-India Services, central services or provincial services - made in India, the Public Service Commission should be the final authority for determining the standards of qualification and the methods of examination. This function is to be performed in consultation with the Secretary of State, the Central Government or the provinces as the case may be.
4. It should be consulted by the central government on appeals made to the Governor-General-in-Council against such orders of the provincial governments as are declared by the Governor-General-in-Council to be appealable. The Public Service Commission should report to the latter its judgment on the facts and, also, its recommendation as to the action to be taken.

5. The Public Service Commission should certify a case as a fit one for appeal to the Secretary of State if an aggrieved officer is dissatisfied with the order of the central government. Appeals from the central government which under the prevalent rules lay with the Secretary of State should, in the first instance, be referred to the Commission in the same manner as in the case of appeals to the central government and should submit its report to the Secretary of State.
6. The Public Service Commission should certify that his case is *prima facie* a fit one for adjudication by a civil court when a breach of the legal covenant between an officer and the appointing authority is alleged.
7. The Public Service Commission should also deal with any questions referred to it by the central government or the provincial governments. 'For example, it (the Commission) might advise in cases in which the interpretation of regulations is in dispute; or on general questions of service conditions particularly if legislation is contemplated'.

III. THE LEE COMMISSION OBSERVED

In making these proposals, we have conceived the public service commission as primarily concerned with the all-India services and the central services. We are not suggesting, save only with regard to the determination of standards of qualification and method of examination, that it should be concerned with the provincial services. We are aware that any proposal that a central public service commission should be empowered to interfere on its own initiative in provincial administration would be regarded as violating the principle of provincial autonomy. In our view, therefore, the public service commission should not forcibly be intruded into the provincial field; its knowledge and experience should merely be placed at the disposal of local governments. We are confident that the public service commission will become in course of time the recognized expert authority, in India, on all service questions.

The Lee Commission devoted one full chapter to the Indianization of public services and concurred with the view of the authors of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms that the success of the new policy, 'must very largely depend on the extent to

which it is found possible to introduce Indians into every branch of the administration', and that a largely increased intake of Indians into public services was necessary if the latter 'are to be substantially Indian in personnel by the time that India is ripe for responsible government'. Indeed, the importance given to this issue of Indianisation is apparent from the following cryptic observation of the Lee Commission: 'In the days of the Islington Commission the question was how many Indians should be admitted into the public service?' It has now become what is the minimum number of Englishmen which must still be recruited? While making its recommendations on the Indianisation of the services the Commission bore in mind the following four principles enunciated in the Report on Indian Constitutional

IV. REFORMS

- (i) The traditional characteristics of the public services should be maintained, and there should be no such sudden swamping of any service with any new element that its whole character suffers a rapid alteration.
- (ii) There are essential differences between the various services and the various provinces.
- (iii) There should be, so far as possible, an even distribution of Europeans and Indians between the different grades of the same service, i.e., that the cadre should not be disturbed by haphazard stratifications.
- (iv) A demand should not be created in excess of supply.

The Lee Commission recommended an increase in the rate of recruitment of Indians in each of the All-India Services, and the higher intake of Indians was sought through direct recruitment as well as promotion from the provincial services. The precise rates of Indianization for each service as recommended by the Commission are:

Indian Civil Service: For Indian Civil Service a proportion of fifty per cent Europeans and fifty per cent Indians in the cadre should be attained within about fifteen years from the time that the new rate of recruitment recommended comes into force. Recruitment on the basis of forty per cent Indians directly recruited, and twenty per cent Indians

promoted from the provincial service, would produce that result.

Indian Police Service: For Indian Police Service out of every hundred recruits, fifty should be Europeans directly recruited, thirty should be Indians directly recruited, and the remaining twenty should be Indians chosen by promotion from the provincial services. On certain assumptions regarding abnormal retirements, the corresponding cadre of 50:50 should be attained in about twenty-five years from the time that the new rate of recruitment comes into force. In any year in which the full quota of thirty per cent directly recruited Indians is not obtained by open competition, the balance should be made good by additional promotion, preferably of young officers of not more than five years' service who have been directly recruited as deputy superintendents of police.

Indian Forest Service: For Indian Forest Service recruitment should be in the ratio of seventy-five per cent Indians and twenty-five per cent Europeans in those provinces in which forest administration is reserved.

Indian Service of Engineers: For Indian Service of Engineers recruitment for that portion of the cadre working entirely in the irrigation branch in provinces in which it has been separated from the cadre working in the buildings and roads branch should be in the ratio of forty per cent Europeans, forty per cent directly recruited Indians and twenty per cent Indians promoted from the provincial service. In those provinces in which no division of the cadre has been made there should be no change in the existing ratio of recruitment for the combination cadre.

Political Department: To Political Department twenty per cent of the total number of officers recruited annually should be Indians, who should be, as at present, from the Indian Civil Service, the Provincial Civil Service and the Indian army.

Imperial Customs Service: For Imperial Customs Service recruitment should remain on the present basis, i.e., not less than half the vacancies are to be filled by appointment in India of statutory natives of India.

Superior Telegraph and Wireless Branch: To Superior Telegraph and Wireless Branch recruitment should be twenty-five per cent in England and seventy-five per cent in India.

State Railway Engineers, Superior Revenue Establishment, State Railways: The extension of the

existing training facilities in India for these services should be pushed forward in order that recruitment in India may be advanced so soon as practicable up to seventy-five per cent of the total number of vacancies in the Railway Departments as a whole, the remaining twenty-five per cent being recruited in England. Recruitment for the remaining central services should be at the discretion of the Government of India.

The Lee Commission, which found that the disparity of remuneration between a commercial and official career had become extremely pronounced made a number of recommendations to increase the total emoluments of the civil servants. The Commission's recommendations were bountiful by any standard so much so that they were referred to as 'the Lee Loot'. The Commission made an important recommendation about the pension system. Before the Lee Commission, the members of the Service had to pay part of their pension themselves by monthly contributions of 4 per cent of their pay. The Commission recommended that the deduction of 4 per cent should be paid into a provident fund for the benefit of the officers on their retirement. The effect of this change was to increase the quantum of pension for the new entrants from 1000 to 1250 pounds a year.

A review of the civil service reforms undertaken during the British rule shows that the reforms succeeded in achieving what they set out to do: the creation of a meritocratic civil service, a corps d'élite, that attracted the best talents with handsome salaries, control posts specifically reserved for them, and a clear run to the top. Macaulay's dream of getting the best and brightest of the system to further and sustain the imperial interests was never compromised.

The reforms during the British rule also ensured that the Indian Civil Service numbers were kept down. In fact, at no point of time during its existence did the Indian Civil Service numbers exceed a little more than a thousand. The progressive reduction in the number of 'listed' posts by the successive Public Service Commissions was largely instrumental in keeping the Indian Civil Service lean, limiting its numbers to what was necessary to fill the control posts in the state structure.

The reforms suggested by the Aitchison, the Islington and the Lee Commissions in Indianizing the civil service helped transform the Indian Civil Service into what Donald Kingsley has called a representative bureaucracy. What was really remarkable about the

process of partial Indianization of the Indian Civil Service is that while it helped placate the educated Indians, it did not detract from the quality of the Indian Civil Service as an effective instrument of imperial rule.

The recommendations of the successive Public Service Commissions in progressively enhancing the remuneration package of the Indian Civil Service had the effect of making the Indian Civil Service one of the best-paid civil services in the world. In this respect, the Commissions succeeded in what the Lee Commission called the process of 'removing disparities between a commercial and an official career'. The recommendation of the Lee Commission in enhancing the remuneration of the Indian Civil Service might have cost the exchequer a hefty 125 million rupees but it achieved its purpose: after the recommendations of the Lee Commission were implemented, the number of Europeans entering the Indian Civil Service increased from a mere 3 in 1924 to 20 in 1925, 29 in 1926 and 37 in 1927.

V. CONCLUSION

The Public Service Commissions while making their recommendations, ensured that the numbers of the Indian Civil Service had suitable assistance from the Provincial and Subordinate civil services. Since these civil services were manned by 'natives' who were likely to indulge in subversive behaviour, it was necessary to ensure that they were appropriately motivated. The successive Commissions, starting with the Aitchison Commission, took care to see that the subordinate services were rationalized with regular cadres, uniform grading, promotional opportunities, and security of service. The recommendations of the commissions had the effect of building the subordinate services into an integrated whole, reasonably rationalized and suitably motivated with increased compensation. The result was that the provincial and the subordinate civil service looked after the execution of routine work and minor details, leaving the Indian Civil Service free to concentrate on imperial interests.

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