CHAPTER II

THE IMAGE OF THE I.C.S AS AN INSTITUTION
People usually think that an institution is a lifeless organisation. But such an opinion is far from truth. Any institution, whether political, commercial, social or administrative achieves a charisma of its own and imposes this charisma on its members.

Whether the character and personality of individuals who comprise an institution lend it its lasting quality or whether the institution achieves its characteristic feature on its own is an unanswerable riddle. In a sense the individuals contribute to the institution's image, while at the same time it must be accepted that the image of the institution makes its members what they are. The interaction is mutual.

To a large extent, the character and image of an institution, especially in its early stages, depends on the purpose for which it is created and also on the character and personality of its founder-members. The Indian Civil Service as an administrative institution is no exception to this rule.

A brief summary of the origin and development of the Indian Civil Service will amply prove that the stamp of the worth that it gained over its long years of tenure is responsible in a large measure to the original aims and objectives of the institution.
For the Indians who joined the I.C.S. there was a perennial dilemma. On the one hand, the I.C.S. is a 'Steel Frame' which is a metaphor for the strict code of conduct and discipline, enshrined and practised within the ambit of the institution. Even minor deviations which went against the imperial interests and the accepted superiority of the British Officer over the native Sahibs were not tolerated. But at the same time, when compared to the other gifted Indians who were serving as administrators and Dewans in native princely states, the I.C.S. was a 'Heaven-born' service with rights and privileges unimaginable and unattainable in any Indian princely state under any munificent princely Head.

It was a Janus-faced existence for the Indian I.C.S. because on the one hand, they were always haunted by the fact that even within the institution they were being given only secondary importance and that they were only serving the British Master and his iron discipline. They could not identify themselves with the service completely nor were they willing to quit because the service offered excellent perks, privileges, prerogatives, power, security, emoluments, fixed tenure and a good pension.

A brief historical survey of the origin of the I.C.S. and its development and growth will explain its aims. It was a unique Civil Service in India introduced by the British for manning the higher branches of administration, consisting exclusively of the British. "The Indian Civil Service is,
however, not altogether a civil service in the English sense of that term. It is only one, but the highest of the public services in India, a corps d'élite responsible for the higher branches of the administration and filling judicial as well as executive offices.¹

It was the second pillar of the British strength in India. Before the starting of the I.C.S., the East India Company carried out its administration by employing British assistants who were half servants of the company and half traders. In due course the company acquired territories in India and assumed the charge of responsibilities of government. As a result, "Its civil servants were transformed from traders into administrators."²

Appointments were made by the Directors of the Company. The appointees were "to sign a covenant for the faithful performance of duties".³ Appointments were sold for high consideration and this practice came to an end in 1798. To provide general education to young men intended for the civil service in India, the Directors started in 1809, a college and housed it in Hailebury. The age limit was also raised from seventeen to twenty years and later to twenty-one as the upper age-limit. "The creation of a civil service in the modern sense of the term may be said to have been the work of both Warren Hastings and Lord Cornwallis. The former laid the foundation on which the latter built up a superstructure."⁴
In 1853, the covenanted service was thrown open to competition. Lord Grenville suggested the principle of competition as early as 1813. The scheme was not put into practice and with the connivance of the Board, the Directors "cleverly and quietly cheated parliament and they retained their patronage until 1853". By 1854, both racial disability and patronage had been abolished by law. "In 1858, when India came under the Crown, the competitive system was embodied in the act''. At the time of the transfer of government from the company to the crown, the frame of the organisation of the civil service was in many respects the same as at present''. The scheme of examination, drawn up by the Macaulay Committee of 1854, was designed to suit the conditions of the British education system and the needs of British competitors. It did not provide Indians with additional employment facilities. Its scheme of examination was bound to place them at a great disadvantage.

The principle of equality between Indians and Europeans in matters of appointment was re-affirmed in the Queen's proclamation of Pi November 1858. It was quite natural that educated Indians should have looked upon the proclamation as the Magna Carta of their rights. "Fitness, wholly irrespective of racial distinction, was henceforth to be the criterion of eligibility".

Since the examination was held only in London, only well-to-do parents were able to send their sons to England and this
limited the number of Indian candidates. A Committee appointed in 1860 by the Secretary of State for India recommended simultaneous examinations both in India and England but it was not accepted.

The question of Indianising the service became the subject of controversy. It was Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the first Indian member of Parliament, who carried the demand in England. He founded the East India Association which submitted a memorandum to the Secretary of State, asking not only for simultaneous examinations but also for the institution of scholarships to be held by young Indians in Great Britain. As a result in 1869, nine scholarships each of £200 year were offered to enable Indian students to go to Great Britain and study for the Indian Civil Service and other public services in India. Upto 1870, there was only one Indian among the 916 members of the service. This was Mr. Satyendranath Tagore, a member of a well-known Bengal family, who joined the service in 1864 and was posted to the Bombay Presidency. In 1871, three Indians (all Bengalis) joined the service - an achievement which was regarded remarkable. The first Muslim who got into the I.C.S. was Mohshi Tyabji, in 1887.

But the demand for the fuller Indianisation and for simultaneous examinations was persistently pursued. The House of Commons passed a resolution in 1893 in favour of
simultaneous examinations to be held in India and England. The Government of India did not give effect to it on the ground that it was indispensable that an adequate number of the Civil Service should always be Europeans. The provincial governments were also against it except the Government of Madras.

Again the question of Indianisation was referred to the Islington Commission appointed in 1912. Regarding the question of Indianisation, S.V. Ramamurthy, a noted Indian I.C.S. man says, "It was as the result of sustained agitation for several years that Indians could appear for the I.C.S. Competitive examination in England, yet owing to so many social and economic difficulties only a few Indians could do so successfully. Upto 1911, when I passed the examination, not more than three came out successfully in a year. In 1912, however, ten Indians passed it".  

It was announced later that "the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration was declared to be the policy of the British in August 1917". The next year following this declaration, Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, expressed that "the system of recruitment in England must be supplemented by fixing a definite percentage of recruits to be obtained in India".
The demand for the simultaneous examinations in England and in India was met only in 1922. A probation of two years at an English university was made compulsory for the Indian candidates selected on the results of the competitive examination held in India.

Only during this period, the principle of nomination for appointments of Indians to the I.C.S. was introduced. It was done in order to secure representation of various provinces and communities in India.

The Royal Commission under Lord Lee of Fareham appointed in 1923 once again went into the question of Indianisation of the superior civil services in India. At that time there was a serious falling off of British recruits to the Indian Civil Service due to the World War. After the war there was a further reduction of the British recruits since the pay was not attractive. In addition, the prospects of the service were dimmed as more reform schemes were introduced. In 1924, the Lee Commission made the following recommendations: "Of every hundred Indian Civil Service posts, forty should be filled by the direct recruitment of Europeans, forty by the direct recruitment of Indians, and twenty (superior posts which would be "listed") by promotion from the provincial service, so that in fifteen year's time (i.e., by 1939) half (including the "listed posts") would be held by Indians and half by Europeans".15.
The above recommendations were given effect to and the Simon Commission later endorsed it.

From 1923, onwards more and more Indians passed into the I.C.S. and their number steadily increased.

As K.L. Mehta says "It was no longer attractive for young Britishers to compete for the I.C.S. in the open examination. The 'winds of change' were blowing fast in India. Many thought that independence could not be long delayed. Whitehall, therefore decided to fill the British vacancies in the I.C.S. by nominations". 16

As R.P. Noropha says "At the end of 1939, the total strength of the I.C.S. in India was 1299, out of whom 759 were British and the rest Indians.... A handful of officers were recruited in 1940, 1941 and 1943 but the number is so small as to make no difference to the overall picture. There was no recruitment thereafter until the end of war. The figures of 1939 may therefore be taken, for all practical purposes, as representing the situation that prevailed on the eve of Independence in August 1947". 17

A few recruitments were made to the I.C.S. during the war time (from 1940 to 1943) by competitive examination. "Because of the war, I.C.S. batches from 1940 to 1943, the last I.C.S. batches were trained at Dehradun and not at Cambridge and Oxford as done till 1939. The duration of training period was
also reduced from two years to one year for these four batches due to the exigencies of the war". 18

No more recruitment was made further after 1943. "On 14 August 1946 the Cabinet in London made the decision to cease recruiting both Europeans and Indians to the I.C.S. and the Indian Police and to cancel the offers of appointment already made earlier in the year". 19

On 22 March 1947 Mountbatten came to India as Viceroy. On 22 March Mountbatten arrived to take over as Viceroy. One thing he had finally secured from the Cabinet before coming was a decision on generous compensation for the Secretary of State's Services". 20

Indian leaders like Nehru opposed the scheme of compensation because it would encourage the I.C.S. men to leave their posts when "the new Government wanted the I.C.S., both Indians and Europeans, to stay on". 21 Patel also talked to the Viceroy in a similar manner and was also adamant that the I.C.S. Indians would not be kept on if they accepted compensation". 22

At last a compromise had been reached and "the compensation scheme was announced on 30th April 1947 both in New Delhi and in London". 23 According to the scheme, "I.C.S. Europeans would get compensation in full; as for Indians, it was announced that the Government of India feel that the
sentiments of patriotism will naturally impel Indian Officers to continue to serve their country..."\(^{24}\)

"All services were given a choice between opting for work in India or Pakistan".\(^{25}\)

"We also got Government of India (Partition Office's) letter dated 21st June, 1947 reiterating that both future governments (viz., of Pakistan and the rest of India) had accepted the guarantees. We were all given the option to opt for the country of our choice or the province in each country or retire voluntarily or getting the prescribed compensation and pension as given in the 'Tables of Compensation'.\(^{26}\)

Almost all European I.C.S. men opted to retire. Most of the European members of the Indian civil service opted to retire, either immediately or eventually. There was also screening of the Indian members of the I.C.S. to see whether they were fit to be retained under the new conditions or whether their services should be terminated after paying them compensation and pension as for European members. Only three Indian members of the I.C.S. in Madras state had their services terminated thus. The rest were retained. The first received a provisional notice that it was intended to retain them after 15.8.47 on the same
terms and conditions as before, and later on, they received a final notice to the same effect. Of course, they too were given the option to retire on pension, full or proportionate, and compensation wherever they were eligible, like the Europeans. None of those retained did so; both patriotism and expediency dictated this course. 27

Almost all Muslim I.C.S. Officers opted for Pakistan except two and all Christian Officers remained in India except two who opted for Pakistan.

As for European Officers, R.P. Noronha says, "And all of them, with less than half a dozen exceptions, belatedly obeyed Mahatma on 16 August 1947; they Quit India". 28 Only three European I.C.S. men stayed on and left in 1952.

"The principal reason why they did not stay in India is that political support from the Congress was lacking. The Congress both at the centre and in the provinces gave no special encouragement to I.C.S. Europeans to stay, that is, the Congress did not bar I.C.S. Europeans in principle, but neither did they encourage them". 29

"The I.C.S. was dissolved on 15.8.47 after nearly a hundred years of extremely useful work". 30
All those Indian I.C.S. men who opted to serve in India, continued to be in service in free and Independent India after 15.8.1947. Their salaries, pensions and other service conditions were guaranteed in the constitution.

"These solemn and written guarantees were given further 'constitutional' protection under Article 312 of our constitution, when it was drawn up for the first time by the founding fathers at the instance of Sardar Patel, notwithstanding some reservations in this regard on the part of Nehru".31

After twenty-five years (that is, in 1972), it was felt that the privileges enjoyed by the members of Indian Civil Service should be abolished in view of the changed social order and economic and political conditions.

So all the special privileges of the I.C.S. were abolished by the 28th amendment of the constitution. "The constitution was amended and thereafter an act called "Former Secretary of State Officers (Conditions of Service) Act 1972 was enacted under which we had to retire on reaching the age of 58 years."32

Three main changes took place in the I.C.S. after 15.8.1947.

Firstly the I.C.S. became a truncated and depleted service, and further recruitment
to it was stopped, recruitment being thereafter only for the Indian Administrative Service (I.A.S.) with different duties and different scales of pay. So, the end of the I.C.S. was certain, though the existing members would continue to carry on with ever diminishing numbers till the end came. Secondly the I.C.S. men ceased to have any part in policy-making which was thereafter left to the Ministers and politicians, the I.C.S. men only carrying out the policy laid down by them, like the members of the British Civil Service. From little kings within their jurisdiction, they became dignified administrators. Thirdly, the I.C.S. men ceased to be recruited to the judiciary, though the existing members on the judicial side continued to be appointed as District Judges and High Court Judges in their turn. 33

"Over the years I.A.S. men and women gradually moved in as I.C.S. men moved up and then out with the retirement of the last I.C.S. man, Mr. N.K. Mukharji, in March 1980 the handover was complete". 34

The I.C.S. was one of the best services introduced in India by the British. It was noted for its various distinguished and excellent features such as efficiency, integrity, honesty, incorruptibility and industry. Hence it
was also called the Heaven-born service. K.L. Mehta says, "I returned from England to take up my career in the 'Heaven-born Service', the I.C.S.".

While talking about his cousin Abdul Hasan Quraishi's success in the I.C.S. examination, M.A. Quraishi, another I.C.S. man, says that "it was the first time that any one had succeeded in the coveted so-called 'heaven-born' service....". It was also considered "the best and top-most service in India and one of the best in the entire world. Sky was the limit for promotion, not only as Governors of States but one could become a member of Viceroy's executive Council, which ruled India". As an occupation, it was "still a most prestigious occupation - The I.C.S.". It was a body of excellent executives. "It operated as a closed coterie of top executives". In short it was "a distinguished service". It was considered that "being a member of the I.C.S. in those days was quite a feat".

The full meaning of the I.C.S. is succinctly brought out by A.S.P. Ayyar, in his autobiography:

He says:

A member of it has to be Indian in spirit whatever his race. Several European members of this service, like Vincent Smith, Brown and Galletti have identified themselves with India and done yeoman
service to the country, writing about its history, religion, languages, ethnology and culture, and district manuals for every district, which Indians themselves had not done so far. The World Civil is opposed to incivility of all kinds and not merely to the term military. Lastly the word serve means that the motto is to serve others, as in the case of the boy scouts, while also serving oneself. 42

The service had as a whole three distinguished features "a dedicated sense of duty born of tradition and training; an independent outlook; and complete identification with the interests of the people of wherever we were sent to serve". 43

Another most striking feature of the I.C.S. was that "for the first time in Indian history, an honest, efficient, and incorruptible civil service was constituted, capable of doing all kinds of work, executive, administrative and judicial and recruited strictly by open competition, irrespective of caste or class. One curious thing is that cowardice is an offence in the I.C.S. or I.P.S. Officer, though it is not an offence for clerks and other judicial officers". 44

"The Indian Civil service .... had a distinguished tradition of integrity and efficiency". 45
The I.C.S. was the steel frame of Indian administration. Its importance and prominence was well highlighted by Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of England in 1922. "I can see no period when they (Indians) can dispense with the guidance and assistance of the small numbers of the British Civil Service. They are the steel frame of the whole structure". K.L. Mehta is of the same opinion, "We were indeed the 'Steel Frame of the British Empire'. To get into the I.C.S. was considered to be a challenge to one's intelligence. "My father also challenged me to sit for the I.C.S. examination". "It was a challenge to my intelligence to compete in the examination and succeed". Only men of high intelligence were able to pass the I.C.S. competitive examination. Hence "in those days there was a 'halo' around the I.C.S. . . . . The I.C.S. meant a great deal in India, both from the point of view of emoluments and prestige". B. Sivaraman I.C.S. says "All I knew was that it meant having a permanent government job for thirty-five years at a good salary, and at the end, a pension for life of a thousand pounds per year, which in 1932 looked quite sumptuous". During the interview for the I.C.S., R.P. Noronha said that there was no attraction in the I.C.S. except the salary. "Apart from the salary, is there any attraction?" Defending the high pay for the I.C.S., A.S.P. Ayyar says "For an impartial and fearless civil servant, you have to pay adequately. It will be miserable if he has to walk to his office while the profiteer, black marketeer and
swindler, whom he convicts, goes about in a car.... that an adequate salary is the sine qua non for efficiency, courage and impartiality". Mathews, (I.C.S. C.P.) says, "I was greatly attracted to it — especially to be frank, by the high rate of emoluments and security offered".

It also provided enough freedom for its members, unlike in other government services. "The Indian civil service on the other hand promised freedom from the petty pinpricks of government....as well as liberty to pursue one's quest". The freedom of speech allowed by the service was much emphasised by persons like A.S.P. Ayyar. They were allowed to express their opinions in clubs and among friends. "That is the glory of the I.C.S., this freedom of speech in private conversation". It also widened their mental horizon and enabled them to see things in their proper perspective. "The I.C.S. alone has widened my imagination and made me see things in their proper perspective. Otherwise I might have remained an orthodox Brahmin with no vision of India as a unity". It "had also produced the single largest body of knowledge in any branch of Indology in the widest sense: From anthropology to zoology". The work in the service "calls forth inherent qualities or produces certain habits which make for success in any calling, such as business-like methods, organising capacity, adaptability to different conditions and readiness to take responsibility...."
Naturally the Indians who got into the I.C.S. were those "who came from comfortable professional and service-class family backgrounds". The Indian officers were a class apart. Most of us were the sons of teachers, lawyers, doctors, government servants and other engaged in urban occupations. "The Home Department noted in 1919 that practically all the (Indian) candidates came from the professional middle class".

They were also educated in city colleges. "We were the products of English education in city colleges". The service was manned only by the graduates of various universities both foreign and Indian. Non-graduates were not eligible to compete. "In those days, most of the Indian and British members of the I.C.S. had either studied at Oxford or Cambridge or gone there for their probation. It was a sort of status symbol and perhaps still is". Indian members of the I.C.S. like S.V. Ramamurthy and C.D. Deshmukh were the students of Cambridge University. Others like A.S.P. Ayyar, K.P.S. Menon were the graduates of Oxford University. Indian universities also contributed their quota to the service. Dharma Vira and T.N. Kaul were products of Allahabad University and the latter and K.I. Mehta did their probation in London University. From Madras University B. Sivaraman, S.Y. Krishnaswamy and S.K. Chettur came and the last completed his probation in Oxford. Another two men, Y.D. Gundevia and Badr-bd-Din Tyabji graduated from Bombay University and the latter underwent probation in Oxford University.
E.N. Mangat Rai was a student of Delhi University and in Oxford he underwent his probation. Asok Mitra, a product of Calcutta University, completed his probation in Oxford. E.N. Mangat Rai was a student of Delhi University and in Oxford he underwent his probation. So the members of the service were the brilliant students of famous universities. "Data on all I.C.S. Indians recruited between 1919 and 1939 show that 22 per cent were graduates of Madras University; Allahabad, Bombay and Punjab Universities each supplied 14 per cent; 12 per cent came from Calcutta University; 12 per cent attended one of the several other universities, and the remaining 12 per cent had worked for a degree at a British University".

Indian recruits, if they entered the service through the Examination in London, spent a year on probation at a British University and two years if they entered via the examination or nomination in India. "'The Chief object in sending the (Indian) probationers home', it was privately noted in the India office in 1920, 'is that they may be, to put it crudely, to some extent Europeanised'". During the probationary tenure they were taught subjects like criminal law, Indian history, a second Indian language other than one's mother tongue and phonetics at the School of Oriental Studies, London or in English Universities like Cambridge, Oxford or London. "Naturally the English probationers took the studies
seriously, but the Indians took them in their strides, as it were, as a necessary nuisance to be endured." An interesting story is narrated by S.Y. Krishnaswamy:

As he was one of the speakers on behalf of the students of the school, he was placed near the centre of the long dining table and not, as his rank warranted 'below the salt'. A distinguished old gentleman seated next to him, asked him from which part of India he came from. He told him that he came from Madras. He replied that he knew quite a bit of Northern India, but his knowledge of the south was meagre. He then told the old gentleman a great deal about South India, to which he listened with patience and what my friend thought was good understanding. After a while, my friend asked him what he had been doing in India. He smiled and said casually 'my name is Chelmsford. I used to be the Viceroy of India'. During the rest of the dinner, my friend concentrated on the meal and did not utter a single word.

The hardest part of training was horse-riding for which they were sent to school at Woolwich. The sergeant in charge cracked a set of jokes every year. "We fell off frequently and he always came out with the statement 'Say, who gave you permission to get off or to someone clinging to the horse for
dear life, Mr. Please don’t sit on your ball-bearings and the only army you will get into is the salvation army'".  

S.V. Ramamurthy offered Tamil as a second language for his I.C.S. probation and was tested by his examiner, who had been a Collector of Madras and “learnt both Tamil and Telugu but did not know which was which”.  
Whenever S.V. Ramamurthy did not know a Tamil word, he gave a Telugu word. “So he thought all that I said was Tamil and gave me 396 out of 400 marks”. The English probationers found Tamil very difficult to learn and especially its pronunciation. They could not utter the letter ‘Zh’. “It is said that one foreigner who wanted to learn the language was asked to say ‘Vazhai pazham pazhuthu azhugi kozha kozha vena vagi kizhe vizhundathu’ and promptly gave up all desire to learn it”.  

F.N. Mangat Rai questions the idea behind the probation. “Was it an attempt to make good English man of the Indians and better Englishmen of the Europeans?... The Indian was exposed to Britain's autonomous and even radical universities”.  

During the probationary period in England, the recruits were given an allowance £ 350, “more than sufficient to pay the modest fees at the School of Oriental Studies, London”. After the probation was over, they were posted to various provinces in District Head quarters for further training.
"The real training of a young civilian started only when he joins the service in India. On arrival he is made an Assistant Magistrate with the powers of the lowest class. He is posted to the Headquarters of a district where to learn his work under the supervision of a Collector." 78 Before he is given higher magisterial powers, he was required to pass departmental examinations, with language of his province, in criminal law and revenue law as his subjects.

As soon as the new recruits reached India, "shaping began immediately". 77 They usually called on the Chief Secretaries of their respective provinces and their meeting was varied and amusing. S.K. Chettur met the Chief Secretary in Madras and the latter asked "How did you occupy your spare time in London? I was keenly interested in the stage. Ah! At the stage door, I presume?". 78

S.K. Chettur explains his pleasant experience with the Collector of Tanjore, Mr. Thorne (I.C.S. Madras) "who was extremely kind and good and to me. He took me out touring with him for nearly a fortnight, Mrs. Thorne being away at the time in England. I had the opportunity of watching a Senior Collector's life at close quarters and of trying to model myself on his fine example". 79

There are some who did not like this exposure. When appointed Assistant Commissioner, Nagpur in the Central
provinces and Barra. R.P. Noronha says, "I called on all my seniors, without regard to colour. The care with which they scrutinised me recalled the jungle book, 'Look well, Ye Wolves' I did feel rather like a wolf cub being sniffed over by the pack".

Further, he was attached for training to the sub-divisional officer, Rehli. And R.P. Noronha observes jocularly:

I learned much from him that was to be useful in my future career, all the tricks of the lazy officer which must be detected during inspection. Periodically he cleared his files by marking them to the tahsildar for enquiry and report. He was also an expert in dismissing cases in default, taking pains to call a case as soon as he saw that the applicant had gone to the urinal. His field inspections were made without ever visiting a field, with the help of the village map and the Patwari.

K.P.S. Menon expresses that he learnt nothing about district administration in 1923 from his first Collector, Macqueen, in Trichinopoly District. "Percy Macqueen was my Collector. It used to be said that an I.C.S. man's career was often made or marred by his first Collector. Macqueen
neither made nor marred me.... He was not one of those masterful bureaucrats who were out to mould the young lives entrusted to their care after their own pattern. Macqueen had a healthy doubt whether his own pattern was worth holding up as an example. In fact, he was as nervous of having to train me as I was to be trained by him".

Regarding his treasury training, E.N. Mangat Rai says that "the only thing I learnt during treasury training was to greatly abbreviate my initials".

These jokes apart, it must be admitted that the new I.C.S. recruits started immediately to identify themselves with the I.C.S. as a separate institution. They were in need of much shaping and paring. The Collector under whom they were placed for training groomed them to that end. They taught them many valuable elements of norms and behaviour patterns. Dharma Vira was in Aligarh where Percy Marsh was the District Magistrate. He gave some valuable advice to Dharma Vira. "Two things you must do always. One is to take a decision and take it quickly, right or wrong. Most often you are likely to be right in your decision.... And the second thing is that you are an executive officer. You should keep your mouth shut as far as possible.... Talking is the task of politicians you will be judged by your action and not by your talks".

S.K. Chettur narrates an episode which took place in Thanjavur when he was under training. His house-owner got him
into a scrape with the Collector. He was an Inamdar and told that a certain file in which his property was being grossly mishandled in the Collector's office. He further requested Chettur to re-examine that file and do justice to him. He called for the file, examined and wrote a note showing that there was a mistake in the earlier noting and recommended an order in his favour. Thorne, the Collector dealt with it the next morning and the note came back with the Collector's order stating no case for reopening that. "A month or two later, of his own accord, Mr. Thorne told me that the particular house-owner of mine had a most discreditable character in Thanjavur and that he was notorious for attempting to get his way by illicit means.... I was also very pleased at the extremely gentle way in which he had taught me a well deserved lesson in official ethics." 85

"In those days, the senior civil servants took the freshers in hand and talked to them like uncles or elder brothers as they were genuinely interested in shaping their careers." 86

The golden rule of silence on controversial matters was one of the main features of the service. This was conveyed to T.N. Kaul when he called as a young I.C.S. recruit on Mr. C.W. Gwynne, I.C.S. Chief Secretary to Uttar Pradesh, Government of Lucknow. Kaul with his friends gave a press interview during their overland journey in Quetta saying that Purdah was still
observed in the villages by women. The Turkish Government took exception to it. The Government of India did not favour civil servants making public statements. "I told Gwynne that what we had stated was there. He did not contest but advocated the golden rule of silence on controversial or inter-state matters". 87

Young entrants were invited by Governors to stay with them at Government Houses. It gave them "a chance to know the senior-most members in the hierarchy and vice-versa". 88 In this way T.N. Kaul was invited by the Governor of Uttar Pradesh, Sri Haig, to stay and dine with him. Kaul wished "to attend a session of the legislative assembly and call on the Chief Minister.... Both were arranged". 89 K.L. Mehta had similar experience in 1937. He says that "there was a brief stay for all new entrants to the I.C.S. at the Government House with Sri Hary Haig at the helm of affairs, with all the paraphernalia which went with the post of a Governor." 90

When training was over at district headquarters under a Collector or Deputy Commissioner they were given independent charge of a sub-division. After a few years they were promoted as Collectors or Deputy Commissioners of districts. "For an I.C.S. officer, taking charge of his first district was rather like coming of age and inheriting a large estate. There was something momentous and challenging about it. I felt I had every opportunity to do something positive, to make
the life of the people of my district more content and secure, as well as to satisfy my ego by worthily discharging the responsibilities that I had personally assumed towards them. 91

The service imposed certain rules of etiquette on its members. They were bound to follow and practise them and violating them would reflect on their professional culture and conduct. Such violation would be resented by all.

An important etiquette was "that every body in the I.C.S. was equal". 92 To illustrate this, S.K. Chettur cites the following instance:

For example, one of my colleagues, an Assistant Collector whom I shall for convenience call Periaswami, wrote to the then Chief Secretary, Mr. A.Y.G. Campbell, I.C.S. as follows:

My dear Campbell, I shall be glad if you will let me take ten days' casual leave...

Yours sincerely

He addressed the letter correctly at the foot to A.Y.G. Campbell Esq., C.I.E. I.C.S. etc., within a couple of days he had the Chief Secretary's reply as follows:
Dear Mr. Periaswami,
You may certainly have the casual leave that you have asked for .... Periaswami, however saw the point of his being addressed as Mr. Periaswami. He wrote back at once and apologised to Mr. Campbell for having used his name without the proper prefix of 'Mr.'.

Another etiquette usually followed by all ICS men was that in their letters addressed to whomsoever, they invariably subscribed "I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant." A New British Civilian joined a certain state and got much disturbed by this form of subscription as it meant servility and obsequiousness. He wrote a letter to the Chief Secretary stating that when he wrote to a minor non-official he did not "feel inclined to subscribe himself as that gentleman's servant nor was he particularly obedient to him". The Chief Secretary replied: "My dear Ramsbottom, (Of course Ramsbottom was not his real name). When I use the form of words 'My dear' with which this letter begins I am not animated by any sentiments of affection towards you and, thank Heaven, you are not mine."

Another important etiquette in the I.C.S. covenant was that the I.C.S. men should not leave their province without prior permission of the Government. But the Sub-Collector of
Palghat was permitted by an order of Government to pass through two bits of the former Cochin state "during his tours to Ponnani and Charghat but there was no general permission for the Sub-Collector, Hosur, who was within 25 miles from the Mysore border to go to Bangalore and return"....

Another etiquette was connected with one's behaviour at the Government House. The I.C.S. Officers were invited to the Governor's Garden parties in Madras. "It was the unwritten law that nobody should leave the garden until H.E. had left, that is after 'God save the king' was played".

While speaking about the code of conduct in the service, K.L. Mehta observes that "...We learnt what was expected of us in the service - Esprit de Corps, etiquette, the 'Do's and Don'ts' evolved during the long period of the Raj. The thing to do was to set an example - the seniors to their juniors and they in their turn to a large number of staff over whom they presided almost as soon as they got their first posting".

The service had evolved a set of Do's and Don'ts for its members. Regarding method of work, R.P. Noronha says the following:

'Don't slop around in your bungalow office....'
'Don't think you know everything about anything....'
'Don't be afraid to take decisions. 'Don't be lazy'.
And further he catalogues a few Do's also.

'Do be patient and give every one a fair-hearing....'
'Do remember that there is no good work that is not inspected'....
'Do take the trouble to correct and explain rather than to merely condemn and criticize'.
'Do treat the heads of other offices in the district as equal partners in a common enterprize....ensure that your wife behaves in the same way with their wives...'

As regards attitude to public, he continues to convey the following Do's and Don'ts:

'Do identity yourself with the hopes and inspirations of the people you serve....'
'Do learn all you can 'about people....'
'Do turn a deaf ear to back-biters, tale bearers and flatterers....'
'Do retain your sense of humour....'
'Do implement all Govt. policies with dedication and to the best of your ability....'
'Do state your views honestly....'
'Above all Do remember the phrase caveat emptor and take nothing on trust....'

Some of the Don'ts are as follows:
'Don't lose confidence in yourself. 'No Crisis can last for ever....'
'Don't be afraid of being wrong....'
'Don't give false hopes to the public....'
'Don't ask for favours....'
'Don't talk too much....'
In conclusion he emphasises the importance of the training one receives during the first few years of service. "What makes or mars an officer is the first few years of training, not the academic training that he gets when he joins the service but the practical training he receives at the district level." 104

One of the main criticisms of the service was that it bred snobbishness in its members. "One of the common criticisms of the service was that we were snobs". 105 But isolation or exclusiveness was an inevitable part of it in view of "...the kind of power a member of the I.C.S.... wields". 106 It was the main reason for others not being allowed in their clubs. It was also an insurance against undue influence being brought on them. "Isn't it harder to say 'no' to a chap with whom you had a drink yesterday, than to a stranger?" 107 Too much sociability bred crookedness which ultimately led to corruption. To protect against all these evils, the members of the I.C.S. kept themselves aloof. "The convention of exclusiveness was carried so far that I.C.S. Officers in the judiciary had very little to do with the rest of the service, as a precaution, I suppose, against being inadvertently influenced in their official duties". 108

The service inculcated a sense of objectivity and fair mindedness in its members. They followed the principle of justice in their judgement of any matter they were called upon
to do. It was well brought out when they worked out the scale of compensation to the I.C.S. officers who chose to quit the service on the eve of India's Independence. "The least compensation was admissible to the seniormost officers on the ground that they had completed most of their service and had correspondingly less left to compensate for. And these were the very men who had drafted the scheme! But that was the I.C.S. of 1947".

The service was an independent one. Its members were independent, sticking to their guns once they were convinced of any matter. "The I.C.S. continued to be independent". In proof of this, R.P. Noronha cites the example of S.N. Mehta in Sagar who "refused to collect the land revenue because the crops failed. He got a rocket; he still refused. In the end the Commissioner had to see for himself and he agreed with Mehta". Another Deputy Commissioner opposed violently a collective fine imposed by orders from his superiors. He replied to the orders thus "your letter of the-instant, which is before me will shortly be behind me in another capacity. I am, Sir, your most obedient servant".

The service was an all-India one. Its members originally were posted to the provinces in British India as per their choice. But in due course they were shifted from their provinces and posted to various places outside their provinces especially in the Central Government in Delhi or as Dewans in
the native princely states and outside India as Agent-General for India or as Ambassadors. K.P.S. Menon, was first posted as sub-collector to Tirupattur. Then he was shifted "as Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon". In due course he came to the Central Government. "...I was appointed Deputy Secretary to the Government of India in the department of education, Health and lands." 

Darma Vira started his career in the united province in Aligarh as an Assistant Magistrate. And in a few months, he got transferred "to Almora as a joint Magistrate" and was there till 1936 and then acted as "the Officiating District Magistrate of Bareily". Then he came to Delhi as the Deputy Chief Controller of imports. He says "I was appointed as the Deputy Chief Controller of imports..." Then he left for Bombay "as the Textile Commissioner with the rank of a Joint Secretary".

Though he belonged to the United Province I.C.S./Cadre, he quickly moved out of the province to the centre. Again, after Independence he became the Prime Minister's Principal Private Secretary.

Not stopping with their service within India, they were even posted outside India. In the case of Dharmavira, he worked in London from April 1950 "as the Minister (Commercial)
at our High Commission". From London, he was appointed Ambassador to Czechoslovakia. "At the end of 1953, I was asked to proceed to Prague as India's Ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

Even within India their services were not confined to the British India alone. Their services were made available to the native Indian states as Dewans or Chief Ministers. Similarly S.V. Rammurthy served as the Prime Minister of Udaipur. Men like K.P.S. Menon were permanently seconded to the Foreign and Political Department.

Similarly many I.C.S. Men like T.N. Kaul were permanently shifted to the Foreign Service.

So David C. Potter is right when he says that the I.C.S. men were employed at all levels in the districts as Collectors or SDOS, in each provincial headquarters in the Secretariat or in some other leading capacity and at the centre.... A few political ICS men had been permanently seconded to the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India in 1919, later (in 1938) the Indian Political Service; most of them were serving in Princely States, not in British India.

Even a cursory reading of these autobiographies reveals that the I.C.S. was in real terms an All-India Service linking
the administration from the localities to the centre. The
I.C.S. men held an astonishingly wide variety of posts
representing the whole gamut of a country's administration.

Some of them even became Governors. S.V. Ramamurthy
became a Governor "under the British regime". Similarly,
Dharma Vira became the Governor of Punjab, West Bengal, and
Karnataka after Independence.

Another singular post was the Governor of the Reserve
Bank of India and C.D. Deshmukh became its first Indian
Governor.

The civil service during the time of Company's rule was
completely manned by the Englishmen. So long as the East
India Company was associated with the Government of India, the
Civil Service was exclusively British. When the I.C.S.
was started, only the British were appointed to it. "In
the early stages the I.C.S was naturally manned by the
British". Only when India was brought under the rule of
the Crown, Indians were allowed to enter the service by
competitive examination. Initially only a few Indians were
able to pass the examination, "owing to social and economic
difficulties...." They were nothing but carbon copies of
their British Counterparts. "...The Indian members of the
service were all for practical purposes only Brown copies of
their white British Counterparts".
The number of Indians in the service grew more and more in due course. There was no real equality between Indian and British members. They remained quite apart from each other.

The Europeans did not allow Indians to become members of their white clubs. Later, they were allowed with no voting rights. "They had been permitted to join the white club (The C.P. club) but without voting rights ...." 127 In fact, the I.C.S. cadre was a divided one. "The I.C.S. cadre in the Central provinces at Nagpur was at the time almost equally divided between British and Indians ...." 128 The Indian members started their own club namely "the Gondwana Club, a purely Indian club where entry of Europeans was banned.... the two clubs were mutually exclusive". 129 At the district headquarters there were two clubs, one for the English and the other for Indians. About this K.L. Mehta says "At the district headquarters for example, whether at Benaras or Moradabad, there was the station club, the membership of which was restricted to the British and a few Indians belonging to All India Services or the Army. There was another club consisting entirely of Indians.... It was considered infra dig for members of All India Services to visit the Indian club and to mix with physicians, lawyers and others. 130

"We had no social relations with English Officers". 131 Even when Indians were invited for dinners by European officers, it was more so in the line of duty. "The invitations extended to us were also in the line of duty,
rather than a social gesture.\textsuperscript{132} Whenever they gathered together, "there was an awkwardness in the conversation, and if other English officers were present, they talked among themselves...\textsuperscript{133} The English officers talked among themselves regarding transfers and promotions and the domestic affairs of other officers and home leave...\textsuperscript{134} An Indian member of the service in their midst was a fish out of water. Hence there was no real social and personal relationship between the two. In fact, "We, the Indian officers, naturally had no part in this life".\textsuperscript{135} This kind of schism existed between them. On account of all these differences, Indians could not feel at home within the service and the Europeans continued to maintain their superiority over Indians.

Indians remained Indians. They were not really 'Brown Sahibs'. "Perhaps a few Indians would fit the label of 'Brown Sahib', but as a general description it is seriously misleading. I.C.S. Indians were Indians and proud of it".\textsuperscript{136}

Indian officers like T.N. Kaul and E.N. Mangat Rai did not enter the service with full faith and confidence in the service and equality and fair treatment to Indian officers. T.N. Kaul got into the service due to the persuasion of his father and as advised by his well-wishers. "My father also challenged me to sit for the I.C.S. examination, on the plea
that I was being a coward and was afraid of not passing the test. In his heart of hearts, he wanted to join law chambers as a junior to "Sri Tej Bahadur Sapru, one of the most eminent constitutional lawyers, at Allahabad, as also Dr.K.N. Katju, a leading advocate and Congress leader". Even after passing the I.C.S. examination he was in divided mind to join the service. "I still toyed with the idea of chucking the I.C.S. and going in for teaching and practising law". In spite of security of service and pay, he was not fond of the I.C.S., because "it meant working under foreign rulers".

The Indian I.C.S. men, when posted in India, were always in a dilemma because they were suspected both by the British Government and the nationalists. "Among the Indian members of the services there was another form of ambivalence. The Indian Civil Servant was all the time on trial.... The British closely watched his loyalty to the crown. To them he was the Trojan horse in the outfit". The nationalists did not completely trust them because they were recruited by the British and "were expected to serve the British loyally...."

Right from the beginning of the service, they suffered from this dilemma. Dharma Vira again says that when he joined the service in 1930, "he was 'in a bit of fix' because he was bound' to maintain the prestige of the crown', yet he could not
be totally oblivious of the legitimate desire of the country to be free and for the British to depart'. So, he says 'We had to balance our existence between the two extremes'.

Some of the Indian I.C.S. men who were strongly nationalist-minded could not continue in the service because of this dilemma and resigned from the service. "Some like my friend H.V. Kamath even left the service".

The British used to make use of Indian officers to suppress the Independence movement. These Indian officers were not considered equal to the British Officers. They were simply tolerated. Even the British Army officers could not tolerate Indians as the District Magistrates. Dharma Vira was sent to Bareilly as District Magistrate and Collector. As such he was the ex-officio president of the club and also "the recipient of all honours at the time of parades and celebrations". It was a bitter pill to swallow for the army officials who protested to the higher authorities against my continuance in Bareilly as the District Magistrate.

Important and key posts were held only by the British. It was the place where the British practised discrimination against Indian I.C.S men. The British officers held "the Key posts" and they thought that "the steel frame was British". Regarding discrimination K.L. Mehta says "if the British practised any discrimination, it was in the matter of postings, the more interesting and key jobs such as those of
the Chief Secretary and the Home Secretary as a rule going to the British members of the service." Indians were given only secondary importance, not treated equally. If any Indian got any of these posts, he was either much too good to be ignored without appearing to be blatantly partial or his loyalty to the government had to be absolutely total and exemplary.  

Sometimes one or two persons were given some important postings, but soon they were removed. Badr-ud-Din Tyabji was appointed as an Under-Secretary in the Government of India Defence Department. "The Defence Department at the time was an exclusive British preserve" He was "the first Indian officer in it". But he was not allowed to continue for long. After the outbreak of Second World War, he was suddenly removed. "I did not last long in the Defence Department after War broke out".

The British generally thought that the Indians were better suited to the judiciary.

In general any ICS officer, if found not fit for the executive side, was moved to the judicial side. "It was understood that an officer, British or Indian, who did not quite fit into the mould would not as a rule, be kept on the executive side. An ICS officer transferred to the judicial wing of the service would become a District and Sessions Judge". The British officers should not marry Indian
ladies and if they did so, it was considered a let-down by his British colleagues. As a mark of disapproval of such action, they were transferred to the judiciary. "William Broome did marry the daughter of Sri Hari Sing Gour. The powers-that-be did not approve of it and showed their displeasure by moving him to the judiciary". 154

"The judicial system drew a large number of top personnel from District and Sessions judges upwards from the ICS. In service evaluation of the time in spite of identical and even better emoluments, in case you became a High Court judge, the judicial line was regarded with a degree of contempt. The best civil servants were allotted to the executive. There was thus a scramble on the part of the I.C.S. Officers assigned to the judiciary to get out of it". 155

In proof of his point, he further gives the story of Boswell Smith, an I.C.S. Officer of Punjab who "threatened to cut off his right forefinger so as to avoid the judiciary. This would have made writing impossible in days when it was unavoidable in the judiciary as shorthand was little used". 156 Judiciary was thus not generally preferred by the I.C.S. men. Further in those days being posted to the judiciary was a mark of one’s inability to administer. "In those days, being sent to the judiciary was considered in the I.C.S. as a blot against one’s capacity to administer". 157
T.N. Kaul says,

I realised then that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to work in partnership and equality with the British, as long as they ruled India. I did not believe in the repressive policy of the British and wanted to get out of the magisterial circuit. But I did not want to join the judicial side either, although I held a master's degree in law. The judge, as we called it, was the dumping ground for the inefficient.

Indian Officers even when they were efficient, honest and talented, were not treated on an equal footing with British Officers. To illustrate this, S.V. Ramamurthy says that when a vacancy arose for an under-secretary, it was usually filled up by appointing officers of four years' experience. "When I found that I was not so selected, though I was first in my year in Madras and second for the I.C.S. in All India, I sent a protest to the Chief Secretary. I said it was against the esprit de corps of the service to which we belonged that Indian officers however well they were ranked in the service and however well they did their work could not expect to be treated on a par with British Officers".

They did continue in the service, but their existence was a Janus-faced one, in the sense that they could not identify
themselves with the service, nor could they expect fair and equal treatment in the service. But at the same time they were not able to quit the service probably because of the security of the job, emoluments and pensionary benefits. They were eagerly waiting for the dawn of India’s independence to assert their equality, do away with the superiority of the British and dedicate themselves to nation building tasks.

During the Independence movement, the Indian National Congress and its leaders were against the service. "The I.C.S. was the instrument of the imperial power, and the leaders of the Indian National Congress had made it clear during their struggle for Independence that they wanted to abolish I.C.S. and all it stood for". It was the Indian National Congress which opposed the raj and the I.C.S. "The main opposition to the raj and to the I.C.S as its agent came from the Indian National Congress". Further the service was not in the good books of national leaders like Vallabhbhai Patel and Nehru. Expressing his opinion about the I.C.S, Jawaharlal Nehru was 'quite sure' in 1934 that 'no new order can be built in India so long as the spirit of the Indian Civil Service pervades our administration and public services' it being therefore 'essential that the I.C.S and similar services must disappear completely". Other politicians were more critical than Nehru about the I.C.S. "To them we were neither Indian nor Civil nor a service".
But when the new Indian Government was installed with Nehru as its Prime Minister, the I.C.S was not abolished but retained. Yet when the British left in 1940s and the new Indian Government took over with Nehru as Prime Minister, the I.C.S Indians (with their tradition) were invited to stay on. One of the reasons for retaining the ICS Indians was that they did not want to disturb the existing system of bureaucracy.

The new Government was more concerned with other urgent national issues and it could ill afford to deal with the bureaucracy. "It was no time to start tampering with the bureaucracy." Patel realised the importance of the I.C.S. "Sardar Patel was quick to realise that India could ill afford to be without the Indian members of the ICS." Nehru and Patel opposed the compensation scheme for the ICS who opted out of the service because it would encourage the ICS men to leave their posts.

Then they introduced Article 314 in the constitution, "Providing guarantees for those Civil servants who were recruited in the past by the Secretary of State—that is the ICS...." When this article was debated in the Constituent Assembly some members criticised it severely. "Ayyangar for example characterized the guarantee as extraordinary."
Still some "others said the ICS was' heaven born' and excessively 'pampered'—why tie the parliament's hands for the future regarding this particular service?" Sardar Patel rose and defended the I.C.S, lauding their actions since the transfer of power. "In point of patriotism, in point of loyalty, in point of sincerity and in point of ability, you cannot have a substitute.... After Sardar's speech the Constituent Assembly adopted the guarantee and placed it in the Constitution. At last the I.C.S was safe in free India.

The withdrawal of the British enabled such of those Indians in the Indian Civil Service after Independence to get rid of their split personality and divided loyalty and to serve in the making of modern India with a free conscience and with full political and national support.
2. O'Malley, "Forward" by Letland, p. viii.
7. O'Malley, p. 65.
10. Ibid., p. 211.
11. Ibid., p. 209.
12. S.V. Ramamurthy, p. 23.
17. R.P. Noronha, p. 61.
18. M.A. Quarish, p. 47.
20. Ibid., pp. 140-141.
23. Loc. cit.
25. Loc. cit.
32. Ibid., p.390.
35. K.L. Mehta, p.15.
36. M.A. Quraishi, p.5.
37. Loc. cit.
41. T.N. Kaul, p.52.
42. A.S.P. Ayyar, pp.150-151.
43. R.P. Noronha, p.62.
44. A.S.P. Ayyar, p.151.
45. S.Y. Krishnaswamy, p.31.
47. K.L. Mehta, p.89.
49. B. Sivaraman, p.472.
51. S.Y. Krishnaswamy, p.43.
52. B. Sivaraman, p.472.
53. R.P. Noronha, p.3.
55. Quoted in David C. Potter, p.102.
56. Asok Mitra, p.91.
58. Ibid., p.355.
60. O'Malley, p.258.
64. S.Y. Krishnaswamy, p.37.
68. S.Y. Krishnaswamy, p.43.
69. Ibid., p.44.
70. Loc. cit.
71. S.V. Ramamurthy, p. 10.
72. Loc cit.,
73. S.Y. Krishnaswamy, p. 48.
74. E.N. Mangat Rai, p. 41.
75. S.Y. Krishnaswamy, p. 43.
76. O'Malley, p. 255.
77. David C. Potter, p. 104.
79. Ibid., p. 2.
80. B.P. Noronha, p. 2.
81. Ibid., p. 9.
82. K.P.S. Hegde, p. 68.
86. Dharma Vira, p. 13.
88. Ibid., p. 61.
89. Ibid., p. 62.
90. K.L. Mehta, p. 89.
91. Badr-ud-Din Iyabji, p. 130.
93. Loc. cit.,
94. Loc. cit.,
95. Loc. cit.
97. Ibid., p.113.
98. Loc. cit.
100. R.P. Noronha, p.88.
101. Ibid., pp.88-89.
102. Ibid., pp.70-71.
103. Loc. cit.,
104. Ibid., p.73.
105. Ibid., p.64.
106. Loc. cit.
107. R.P. Noronha, p.64.
108. Loc. cit.
109. Ibid., p.87.
110. Ibid., p.63
111. Loc. cit.
112. Ibid., p.63.
114. Ibid., p.128.
115. Dhrarn Vira, p.15.
116. Ibid., p.18.
117. Ibid., p.20.
118. Ibid., p.23.
119. Ibid., p.56.
120. Ibid., p.65
122. S.V. Ramamurthy, p.136.
123. O'Malley, p.205.
124. Dharma Vira, pp.11-12.
125. S.V. Ramamurthy, p. 23.
128. Ibid., p. 1.
129. Ibid., p. 2.
132. Ibid., p. 38.
133. Ibid., p. 30.
134. Loc. cit.
135. Ibid., p. 39.
136. David C. Potter, p. 117.
137. T.N. Kaul, p. 31.
139. Ibid., p. 34.
140. Loc. cit.
141. R.P. Noronha, p. 4.
142. Dharma Vira, p. 17.
143. Loc. cit.
145. Dharma Vira, p. 17.
146. Loc. cit.
147. R.P. Noronha, p. 81.
148. Ibid., p. 82.
149. K.L. Mehta, p. 83.
150. Dharma Vira, p. 12.
151. Badr-ud-Din Tyabji, p.87.
152. Ibid., p.96.
154. Loc. cit.
155. E.N. Mangat Rai, p.84.
156. Ibid., p.92
158. T.N. Kaul, p.85.
161. Ibid., p.121.
165. Ibid., p.125.
168. Loc. cit.
170. Ibid., pp.148-149.