CHAPTER III
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER IN ASSAM COMMISSION

The treaty of Yandabo of 1826 placed the administration of Assam and the adjoining as well as intersecting hills to the charge of an Agent to the Governor General who was also the Commissioner of Assam. The North East Frontier of Bengal had been passing through a period of political turmoil between the years 1826-1835. In 1835 the Government of India finally took the decision to administer Assam and the adjoining territories of Khasi-Jaintia Hills, Cachar and Manipur effectively. Uptil 1835 the Personnel attached to the administration was awkwardly small. Since 1835 a larger body of officials was required to be appointed to the posts of importance in the different branches of administration. This body of officials in Assam was commonly known as 'Assam Commission'. The District Officers in Assam were known since 1861 as 'Deputy Commissioners' and they were invariably appointed from the Assam Commission.

The Khasi-Jaintia Hills were brought under a Political Agency in 1835. The Agency ceased to function on and from 1854 when Khasi-Jaintia Hills were attached to the Assam Administration as one of its districts. Thence onward the district officers were appointed to the Khasi-
STRUCTURE OF BRITISH INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE HERITAGE i THE EMERGENCE OF BUREAUCRACY:

The legacy of British administration in the empire, which once straddled the Indian ocean area, had created a common pattern in the Civil Services in India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, and Malaysia quite distinct from those in other commonwealth countries such as Canada, Australia, and the West Indies or even from the Civil Service in the United Kingdom.¹ Comparison have been made with the imperial Chinese Mandarinate,* but though there had interesting parallels, no serious scholar has ever been able to show that the British-Asian bureaucracy consciously adopted features from China.* British had no Philosophers of imperialism, and imperial or colonial government more often came from policies and action than a comprehensive statement of theory. India's conquerors were men moulded in an England untouched by religious or political reforms, in an aristocratic society unexcited by questions of morality. They conquered

* The office of a Mandarin; mandarins as a body. Mandarin was a generic name for all grades of Chinese officials, of which there were nine, each distinguished by a particular kind of button. (Vid3 the Oxford universal Dictionary Illustrated, p.1270.)
3. George D. Bearce, British Attitudes towards India - 1784-1858, p.35.
India but did not despise it. They knew from personal experience that traditional Indian society and political institutions were viable, and in many respects admirably and did not pretend that their military conquests had produced anything more than the ascendancy of a particular dynasty. The native model appeared to be convenient to them in the realisation of the two-fold objectives it had set before itself, namely the collection of revenue and the consolidation of its authority in an alien land. British India, had been for all practical purposes governed under a bureaucratic or quasi-bureaucratic form of government. This signified a marriage between the Mughal and the bureaucratic administrative institutions. The Indian tradition of territorial organization and the concentration of powers in the hands of local agents was blended with the notion and practice of centrally appointed, professional covenanted civilians resulting in the imposition of bureaucratic superstructure upon a monarchic foundation. The British District Officer came as an agent of centralization armed with power as extensive as those of his Mughal prototype. Indeed, he became the Anglo-saxon reincarnation of mansabdars - the embodiment of an oriental principle of government that there

6. AK. Ghosal, Civil Services in India under the East India Company, pp.1-2.
should be one officer in each of administration who should represent the government in that area and who should be responsible for that area. The Indian system of public administration was of the monarchical variety much more than a blending of 'Somerset House and the old Bailey/' and was perhaps, in its ultimate effects, closest to the French type«

The British colonial administration being based on the district system with a Collector at its head, was analogous to the French system of intendants that worked from 1660 to 1789. During the period, the Chief Administrative district was the 'Generalite' which was governed by an intendant appointed by the king and responsible to him alone. This system was used by the French monarchy as an instrument of centralisation and as a method to establish absolutism and liquidate local and corporate influences and professions. By 1670, the intendants had become a new type of permanent administration entrenched in every 'Generalite' holding a position which was not an office in the old sense of vendible and hereditary commodity, but a power revocable at will; dependent on the King and his ministers; the skilled and subtle instrument of the absolutist state^.

The system of local administration re-organised by Napoleon in 1800 retained the foundations of the pre-revolutionary French administration. In the new system, the perfect, under absolute central control, became the modern equivalent of the ancient regime and the Department became the revolutionary administrative area placed under the charge. The French practised this pattern of local administration in her colonies in Asia and North Africa. 12 This system came to be followed by such countries of Spain, Belgium and Poland in their colonial possessions in parts of Asia and Africa, and Britain, too, had to adopt it for her colonies because she did not then possess a comparable system of local administration within her own borders. 13 Reforms of her local government-system could not be completed before the late years of the 19th century. 14 At any rate, the nature and pattern of the English system of administration at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century - the period during which the British were busy forging their administrative system in India - were hardly any guide to the British-Indian administration. 15 The Napoleonic principle of active administration was a thing which was almost unknown in Europe. 15 Allied to this was the aggressive and authoritarian attitude of Britain to her colonial possessions in- the. Last -years of the 18th century and the

13. Ibid., pp.649-650.
beginning of 19th. Obviously, the pattern of British administration was found inadequate for governing their colonial Indian empire - a backward, oriental society, and they took over much of the centralised and hierarchical mechanics of French administration. The French system served the purpose as desired by the British in India. This had some similarities with the traditional Indian system of territorial organisation and, when applied to the Indian situation, had the great advantage of dispensing with the need for drastic institutional innovation which would have involved great cost, labour and ingenuity and would have looked like disrespect to existing indigenous institutions and established administrative usages. This however, neither implied British attachment to institutional toleration nor their belief in the natural organic growth of human institutions, appropriate to Government. The system had been thus described.

It was a despotism tempered by the depot's liberal upbringing and by knowledge of parliament's usually liberal attitude. But despotism, it was all the same as any system must be in which people are given what is given for them instead of what they want.


FRAME WORK OF THE SERVICE

The Principal features which distinguished the modern British Civil Service were open A based on academic competition; permanency of tenure irrespective of party political change; a division into grades or classes according to whether the function was responsible or merely routine; a regular graduated Scale of pay; and a system of promotion based on merit. None of these features could be detected, even in embryo in the Civil Service in the united Kingdom of the 18th century. White-hall functionaries moved from party political appointments into administrative office and back into politics. Appointment was by patronage, salary was attached to a specific appointment, some of the most lucrative being posts in the West Indies. Frequently, an ill-paid Deputy discharged the duties of the post attached to a very responsible position. No clear distinction was drawn between purely clerical posts, which might be ill-paid or richly-paid, and higher positions of responsibility. There was an epigram of Lord Dalhousie that

A member of the Civil Service in England is a clerk, a member of the Civil Service in India may be a proconsul.

Not until ~1870 did the Home Civil service begin to assume

20. Ibid.,
its present pattern which was largely derived from the
evolution of a superior civil service in India, but the
middle years of the 18th Century, the time of the Nabobs
and the shaking of the Pagoda tree, merely reproduced
in a more crude and lush guise the habits of contemporary
England. 22

The term 'Civil Services' was first used by the
East India company as a name for its establishment of non-
military, or 'civilian', employees in India, to distinguish
it from its military, maritime and ecelesiastical establish-
ments.0 These civilian employees were originally traders;
when the Company began to acquire territories, it was
gradually transformed into a government, and its civil
servants into administrators. The Charter Act of 1793,
referred to the 'covenanted civil service of India'*. This
remained the official designation of the service for about
a century. The word 'covenant' was dropped and replaced
by the Phrase 'The Civil service of India' as a consequence
of the constitution of Public Service Commission in 1886-
87. 23 The Act of 1793 by laying down that any civil post
falling vacant in a presidency must be filled up by a
civil officer serving 24 in that presidency," practically

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24. H. verney Lovett, "The Development of the--Services"
in H.H. Dodwell (ed.) , The Cambridge History of India,
Vol. VI, p.357.
divided the service into three separate parts, which were called respectively the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Civil Services. When it was laid down in 1878 that a civilian must serve wherever he might be sent, these names became meaningless. Even then these names continued in use for another twenty years preceding 1878, ultimately which were replaced by the term 'Indian Civil Service*. By virtue of seniority, it was the premier civil service in the Empire. By restricting all senior positions to the covenanted service, the British effectively eliminated the adventurers who had battened on Indian administration; this restriction also sowed the seed of a professional esprit de corps, while the changing spirit of the age - fed by the humanitarian zeal of evangelical Christianity and the reforming, scientific sense of Benthamite utilitarianism - was elevating the tone of government-service. The exclusiveness inherent in the new system also had the effect of eliminating Indians from posts of administrative and judicial esteem throughout the British territories in India.

Before 1784, no limits of age were prescribed for appointment to the company's civil service. Since the competitive examination was introduced in 1855, there had been no less than eight changes in the age limits. It would suffice to say that the minimum age was varried

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25. ASR, File No. 224 G of 1878.
between 17 to 22, and the maximum age between 19 and 24. The probationary period also varied; the age at which a civilian arrived in India had ranged between minimum of 18 to 23, and maximum of 21 to 25. During the 17th and 18th centuries, the only educational qualification which the Company demanded of its civil servants was a knowledge of commercial accounts. Lord Wellesley, realising that administrators must possess higher attainments than merchants, founded his college at Fort William to provide them such education. Soon it was reduced to a school of Oriental language, and the Directors founded a College at Haileybury in England which began to impart general as well as special instructions to the new recruits. On 31 January 1858 the Haileybury College ceased to function and it was ensured since then that most civil servants had been to a University. The appointment in the Civil service, under the company was by patronage. Admission to the Civil service lay with the Directors who, as a matter of courtesy, made over a proportion of nominations to the Board of Control. By Section 32 of the Government of India Act 1858 the power of regulating appointments to the Indian Civil Service was made over to the Secretary of State in Council who was to act with the advice and assistance of Civil Service Commissioners.

31. Ibid.,
32. Ibid., p.358.
The almost continuous territorial expansion during the period 1800-1850 created such a demand for senior officials that the covenanted service was unable to meet with all needs from its own cadre. The expansion of British power during the early 19th century led to the annexation of areas less amenable to rule by ledger and law books than Bengal or Madras. Such areas were excluded from the Regulation or Laws of the presidencies. Instead of the separation of judicial and executive functions between District Judge and Collector which became the rule in the Regulation provinces, in the non-regulation areas there was a concentration of powers at the district level in the hands of a Deputy commissioner, who exercised all the function of Government - Executive, magisterial and judicial. This system was extended to the Punjab, Oudh, the Central provinces, and Burma. It was also applied to certain backward areas within the Regulation provinces. Gradually, the Non-Regulation provinces and districts were assimilated to the regulation model, although even after independence in 1947 the distinction in the title of the head of the district as between collector or Deputy Commissioner was retained. Of more substantive significance was the fact that the covenanted monopoly of the higher administration did not apply in these areas. This was partly because the Cadre of the covenanted service, with its carefully controlled recruitment, could not cope with
the demands of the newly annexed provinces and districts. Some appointments in the Non-Regulation provinces went to the uncovenanted civilians, that is, to men who came to the front in a time of unrest and challenge, or on account of their special and peculiar knowledge and experience. 

Except in matters of pension they were treated practically on an equality with their covenanted colleagues, but were debarred by the operations of the statute of 1861 from holding the posts of Secretary and Junior Secretary to the local Government and were in practice very seldom appointed to the highest judicial offices. Normally, they were men of British descent or mixed blood - Eurasians.

But the major source of personnel for the administration of the non-regulation provinces was the army establishment of the company. The first great military civilian - the man who had a claim to be also called the first district officer in the new tradition - was Sir Thomas Munro, an officer of the Madras army and his contemporary, Sir John Malcolm, by his work in central India laid down the pattern for the military-political officer. Like their uncovenanted civilian colleagues, the military civilians were recruited in India. When the British rule came to the

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34. Ibid.,
36. Ibid.,
37. Ibid.,
39. Ibid,
Punjab the young Deputy Commissioners were drawn equally from the covenanted civilians of the frontier districts of the Bengal presidency/ and officials of the Bengal army. This continued to be the mode of recruitment in the non-regulation commissions.

The appointment of army officers in civil situations happened to be a result of a well calculated policy of the East India company's administration. The court of Directors were extremely jealous of the growth of military influence at their settlements, and turned their soldiers into civilians and their civilians into soldiers at discretion; that the purely military element might not assert itself in dangerous predominance. 41 It appeared to the Company that indifferent book-keepers and accountants might make very decent soldiers, and that if their civilians were trained to arms, an occasional hard bargain might be got rid of by the gift of a military commission. 42 This attitude was reflected in a letter from the court of Directors of 11 November, 1768 to the Government of Bengal,

As we have taken great precaution to establish the entire dependency of the military on the civil power, we shall deem you and the select committee highly responsible for any abuse of that power in the unequal distribution of favour and justice towards them ... we command your checking all encroachments on the civil power; but it is also essential that the commander-in-chief should appear to be supported by you in the due exercise of his Office. 43

41 John William Kaye, The Administration of the East India Company, p.68•
42 Ibid.,
The Court of Directors, on another occasion, in a Despatch of 7 May, 1778 directed to the Bengal authority that the orders of the commander in chief regarding military matters in Fort-Ratfilliam were to be communicated to the Governor General for his approbation, before they were issued to the troops, and the court's Orders regarding regimental details and military discipline were to be communicated to the Governor General for information at least 24 hours before being issued to the troops. In another despatch of the 21 July 1786 the court of Directors directed that in case of a meeting of civil and military servants, a senior Civil servant, irrespective of rank, was to take the chair.

In 1856, the Court of Directors, at the instance of Lord Dalhousie's Government, decided that one-half of the superior Civil offices in the Punjab and other newly acquired provinces should be filled up by covenanted Civil servants. On June 6, 1861, Charles Wood, Secretary of State for India, introduced a measure which became law under the title of the Indian Civil Service Act of 1861 (24 & 25 vict. C 54). Its object was to legalise certain appointments to civil posts which had in the past been made in contravention of the Act of 1793. Annexations of territories, growth in population, increasing resort to the law Courts, had compelled the appointments of military

46. ASR, File No. 193 G of 1882.
officers, domiciled Europeans, Eurasians and Indians, to posts which, under the statute of 1793, should have been held by covenanted civilians. \(^{47}\) Parliament decided that the Bill should include a schedule of offices reserved exclusively for civil servants except in cases where the Governor General in Council, for special reasons, desired to appoint other persons who must have resided in India for at least seven years. These exceptional appointments had required confirmation of the Secretary of state and a majority of his Council called together to consider each case. \(^{48}\) The appointments entered in the Schedule of the statute of 1861 as exclusively reserved for covenanted civil servants were almost entirely posts in the older or Regulation provinces; but later orders, passed in 1876 by the Secretary of State in Council, directed that the privileges conferred by statute in Regulation provinces should be extended mutatis mutandis to Non-regulation provinces also. \(^{49}\) In 1866 it was decided by the government that two-thirds, instead of one-half, of the superior services in the non-regulation or newer provinces should be filled up by the Civil servants. \(^{50}\) The reasons assigned for the increased proportion of civilian element in the appointment were two-fold. In the first place, the highest

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49. Ibid.,
50. ASR, File No. 193 G of 1882.
the highest authorities in England had decided upon selection by competition as the best mod of recruiting the covenanted civil service in India, and it was held that the best agency available ought to be more largely employed in the great nori-regulation provinces, and in the next place, it was found that Indian regiments and the Indian staff corps could no longer spare large number of officers for civil employment. In 1876/ the Secretary of State ordered for the restrictions, in future, of enlistment of military officers to the frontier commissions of the Punjab, Sind, Assam, and British Burma, to the proportion of one-fourth of the whole Commission. As the country was becoming more and more settled, the practice of appointing military and uncovenanted officers to the Scheduled posts fell in disuse; in 1876 the recruitment of soldier-civilians came to a halt in Oudh, the central provinces, non-regulation areas of Bengal, and the North-Western provinces, it was discontinued in Sind in 1885, in the Punjab in 1903, in Assam in 1907; but even after the World War I, the military civilians continued to be recruited in the administration of Burma and North Western Frontier provinces. Another restriction was imposed by the Home Government to the non-regulation Commissions prohibiting appointment of any one other than an Indian Civilian or a military officer. ASR, File No. 193 G of 1882. Hugh Tinker, _Op. Cit._, p. 28.
without sanction of the Secretary of State. To accommodate the Indian participation to the Scheduled appointments, an experiment was made with the 'statutory civil Service' which was constituted in 1879. The Statutory civilians being selected by the local governments subject to the approval of Governor General in Council were allowed to fill up the appointments of a proportion not exceeding one-sixth of the total number of covenanted civil servants appointed in any year by the Secretary of State. The experiment being a failure, the public service commission which was constituted in 1886 recommended that one-sixth of the listed posts for the Indian civilians would be reserved for the nomination of officers of the newly created provincial services.

The covenanted service had been divided into two parts - (i) a cadre and (ii) a body of probationers in training to enter it. The cadre appointments as suggested by Charles Bernard and subsequently listed on the draft resolution of Way 17, 1880, included all posts to which were attached a salary of Rs.800 per month or more. Historically, the cadre of the Indian Civil Service was not an All-India cadre service. Candidates recruited to it were

55. ASR, H.P(A), June 1874; *S of S for India to G.G. In C., No. Public 37 of the 19th April 1894.
56. ASR, File No. 193 G of 1882.
from its very beginning assigned to different provinces according to certain fixed principle. The Secretary of State for India in his despatch No. 10 (public) of 24 January 1876 ordered that every civil servant was bound to serve wherever the government, at any period of his career, required to go and serve. Even then, the transfers of civilians from one province to another were few and far between. After the Monford Reforms the entire service was, under the old practice, parcelled out among the major provinces in nine self-contained cadres.

All initial appointments were made by the Home Government, Local Governments having authority to promote officer of an All India services to any post borne on the provincial cadre of such services. The power to transfer officers of All India Service from any post to any other was borne on the cadre of such service or from any one part of the province to any other part, was vested in the local Governments. Removal and dismissal as far as members of the All India services were concerned were expressly excluded from the authority of local Governments and the Home government alone was to exercise this power.

A military in the Civil employment might not be reverted like his civilian colleagues from his appointment except

58. ASR, File No. 119 G of 1876.
60. ASR, Appt.(A), June 1925, No.62.
61. Ibid.
62. ASR, Appt.(A), December 1924, Nos. 44-68.
under the orders of the governor General in Council. 63

PATTERN OF RECRUITMENT AND INDIAN PARTICIPATION

r. Stanley Leathes, a representative of the civil service Commissioners, supplied to the Islington Commission two tables on the pattern of recruitment of European and Indian candidates for the Indian Civil Service between 1855 to 1891 and 1892 to 1913. 64 Accordingly 1533 appointments were offered during 1855 to 1891, for which 6977 Europeans and 127 Indians were examined and finally 1509 Europeans and only 24 Indians qualified for the appointments. From 1892 to 1913, 1204 appointments were offered for which 3438 Europeans and 400 Indians were examined and 1135 Europeans and 61 Indians came out successfully. The tables further ventilated that 60 times competitions were held under the period from 1855 to 1913 and Indians went blank totally for 26 times. Philip Woodruff, in a table furnished in his book, distinctly showed the utter inadequacy of Indian elements in the Indian Civil Service. 65 The prospects for the Indians were improving since 1922 when the government conceded to the demands for the holding up of simultaneous examination of the Indian Civil Service in England as well as in India. By 1935, nearly one-third of the

63. ASR, Appt.(A), June 1925, Nos. 62-66.
64. B.B. Misra, The Bureaucracy in India, pp.100-102.
members of the Indian civil Service were Indians.\footnote{66}

The Charter Act of 1833 had laid down that no native of India would be disabled from holding places, offices, or employments under the company, and this pledge was reiterated in Queen's Proclamation of 1858, even the Parliament declared its adherence to this principle in the later years. But there had been a great sleep between the cup and the lip. Native aspiration was belied under the company as well as the crown-government. It was settled fact that Indian civil Service had been a European organism and it was kept so deliberately. The process of anglicisation of civil service began with Lord Cornwallis. An earlier generation of Englishmen in India had indeed been prepared to accept Indian standard of value for India, Men like Elphinstone, Munro and Malcolm had envisaged an India in which the British did little more than to keep the peace.\footnote{70} Lord Cornwallis wrote to the court of Directors:

\begin{quote}
I think it must be universally admitted that without a large and well-regulated body of Europeans, our hold of these valuable dominions must be very in-secure.\footnote{71}
\end{quote}

The degeneracy in the European Society in India was one of

\footnote{66. Percival Griffiths, \textit{The British Impact on India}, p.195.}
\footnote{67. \textit{Ibid.}, pp.193-94.}
\footnote{70. \textit{Ibid.}, p.230.}
\footnote{71. \textit{Ibid.}, p.193.}
the chief reasons why Lord Cornwallis and his successors tended to keep all the higher offices in the hands of the Europeans. He observed that the native functionaries in the hands of the European colleagues, or superiors, might turn to a very mischievous tool - a ready-made instrument of extortion and he determined, therefore, not to mix up the two agencies so perilsly together. Until the end of the 18th century, India was a prize for European marauders and traders; Indian society was decayed and British Society lax. From the time of Hastings trial, however, in the wake of England's own moral revival, India became the object of interest, as well, to improving, reforming Englishmen. By the twenties of the 19th century a group of civilians came out and brought with them some of the new spirit which was causing a religious and social revival in England. They started a movement which tees to have considerable influence upon many of the pre-mutiny officials. A new leaven was working within the small English community in India, a new school of officials began to make its influence felt. The English began to believe that they had a moral mission in India, and that they represent a higher civilization, a better religion. In the era culminating in the reformist

73. Francis G. Hutchins, The Illusion of permanence; British Imperialism in India, p.viii.
Governor Generalship of Lord William Bentinck, 1828-1833, the English officials were imbued with the idea that they were, in Macaulay's phrase, undertaking the 'stupendous process' of reconstructing 'a decomposed society'; they were ruthless, spiritually arrogant, and less disposed to delegate any real responsibility to Indians.¹⁷⁵

Men such as Thomas Macaulay and C.E. Trevelyan, carrying the missionary impulses into every area of Society looked forward to a complete transformation of Indian life on an English model. There was literally no limit to their aspirations for India; within a generation or so, it was hoped, India's respectable classes would be Christian, English speaking, free of idolatory and actively engaged in the government of their country. The priorities might have been different, depending on whether one partook more of the Evangelical or the Utilitarian perspective. Evangelicals and utilitarians alike were committed to radical reforms and shared radical expectations of their success. India excited Bentham and Bishop Heber and James and John Stuart Mill. Reformers and Missionaries instinctively turned to India. India appealed to the imagination of the most radical elements in English life. Reformist impulses of radical and evangelical, generation spilled over into

India and many people hoped to see in India the fruition of Schemes frustrated by the conservatism of English life. The Court of Directors in their despatch forwarding the charter Act of 1833 referred the sentiment of the government in respect of dilatoriness in the Indianisation of the Company's Government in India:

We must guard against the supposition that it is chiefly by holding out means and opportunity of official distinction that we expect our government to benefit the millions subject to our authority... opportunities of official advancement can little benefit the bulk of the people under any government... it is not holding out incentives to official ambition but by repressing crime, by securing and guarding property, by creating confidence, by ensuring to industry the fruit of its labour/ by protecting men in the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights and in the uniettered exercise of their faculties that the government's best minister to the public wealth and happiness. In effect the free access to office is chiefly valuable when it is part of general freedom.78

Hence it was obvious that the mere removal of legal disabilities would not open the higher offices of the state to any class of men, so long as there were other barriers to their admission. Since 1833 there were, henceforth, to be no external disqualifications. The disqualifications were to be all from within. The Court of Directors felt, alike their officials that the people of India were yet to be ripe for employment in the highest branches of the

public services. It was desirable that the improvement of native mind was most essential task before the government. In December 1834, the court of Directors wrote on the Charter Act of 1833:

You will observe that its (clause 87 of the Act) object is not to ascertain qualification but to remove disqualification.\(^7\)

Reformist enthusiasm began to ebb in the years following the departure of Bentinck and Macaulay from India. Bentinck's successor Lord Aucland found India 'boring'. The legal codes devised by the law commissioners under Macaulay's direction lay neglected in the files. The era of 1840's and 1850's in India lacked a clear ideological cast. The old impulses had waned, while new ambitions and rationalisations had not been clearly formulated. India had meanwhile become involved with vested interests, a place of residence and profitable employment for a class of Englishmen reluctant to see themselves suplanted by Indians.\(^8\) The Mutiny of 1857 crystalised this situation. The Mutiny did not change the attitude of thousands of Englishmen overnight. The attitude had already been changed and only required this opportunity to find a confident expression. In the later half of the 19th century thinking about India bore a distinctly different face. While before the Mutiny reformers had looked to India for the realisation of radical hopes frustrated at "Home"/ in this period it

was the autocrat who sought in India a field to fulfil ambitions stymied in England. India attracted the persons who were disturbed by the growing democratisation of English life - not the men who hoped to make India more democratic than England. Once the target of reformers, India had become the hope of reactionaries. The men, thenceforward, came to India was likely to be men excited by the desire to rule rather than reform; the men to whom the permanent subjection of India to the British Yoke was not a repugnant thought. At a stoke, the Mutiny made India both grimly real and relevant to the People of England. Indian government, which had always been something of a closed preserve, a vested of service and enrichment for the segment of the population only, was now adopted as its own by the nation as a whole. By 1857 a sizeable body of English traders and planters had grown up in India and had organised themselves into a vocal pressure group. They felt the company was unsympathetic to British commercial interest and reluctant to take the side of the English against Indians. The efforts of Macaulay and his successors to initiate a measure of equality in the administration of justice had produced a violent reaction in the Calcutta press and a succession of memorials and petitions to parliament. The argument that the abolition of the company was to some degree a response to the pressure of white settlers and

traders in India. While the crown rule was debated in the parliament, a committee was constituted to examine the question of white settlement in India. On March 16/1858 parliament constituted a select Committee on colonization and settlement (India), desired to enquire into the progress and prospects, and the best means to be adopted for the promotion of European colonization and settlement in India, specially in the hill districts and healthier climate of that country. Parliament was really committed itself to the furtherance of European settlement in 1833, and instructed the company to implement and encourage this policy. One purpose the Parliament had in view to supersiding the company clearly was to reassure English settlers in India that their interest had not been forgotten and to provide a more secure and sympathetic framework for English commercial exploitation of Indian resources than had so far been developed under the company. At the time of the Charter Act of 1833, parliament instructed the company to open its settled territories to unrestricted exploitation by Englishmen.

The Company's abolition, however, had under cut the effort to treat English settlers increasingly identified their own interests in a common effort to maintain a privileged position. The Company's servants had been employed

84. Ibid., pp.97-99.
by an autonomous agency charged with the task of Indian reorganization; the officials of the crown served British imperial interests, including the protection of the interests of Englishmen residing in India. The civilians were assured that their services were employed in building up an enduring empire. The administration under the company made a deliberate statement that, in their opinion, England ought not to anticipate remaining in India for long. The officials under the Crown with equal deliberation felt that there was no compelling reason why India should be free or why they might not remain in India indefinitely.

Under the new situation, the government could not afford to delegate authority in the native-hand for the conduct of administration. Efficiency of the administration, political security of the empire and protection of the colonial interests of the Englishmen in India happened to be the three pivotal concerns for the Government. In spite of the liberal tone of the parliament while discussing Indian Civil Service Hill of 1861, Lord Stanley as Secretary of state for India, emphasised the importance of not diminishing the value of appointments to the Civil Service to such an extent as to deter men of intelligence and ability from joining it and thus raising men less intelligent and able to a position in life to which they

were not equal. Again, the Secretary of State in his Despatch (Judicial) No. 47 of 3 August, 1899 remarked,

No native officer should be trusted with double functions ... we do not see the same objection to the combination of magisterial and fiscal functions in the hands of our European officers, because we can better hope they will not abuse their powers...87

There was storm over the Ilbert Bill. Both the official and non-official Europeans opposed the Bill on the ground of European apprehension not to get justice in the hands of the natives and again that two races were not amalgamated in feeling or on a pari, in intelligence.88 Europeans had general qualities by which they had won, and could hold, the Indian empire, and the competitive examination was on the whole, good tests as between different candidates of European origin. But this principle could not safely be relied upon as regards the natives of India.89 On May 17, 1900 the Secretary of State for India, George Hamilton confided to the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, his belief that the inclusion of the words in the Queen's proclamation referring to the principle that perfect equality was to exist, so far as, all appointments were concerned, between Europeans.

87. ASR, HP (A), November 1900: Secy. Govt. of India to C.C. Assam, No.1444 of the 18th September 1900.
88. ASR, HP(A) May 1884; Offg. Secy., to the C.C. to Secy. India, Legislative Deptt. No.NIL of date nil June 1883.
89. ASR, H.P(A), December 1893? Secy. India to C.C. Assam, No.27 (Public) - 1088 of the 5th Aug. 1893.
and Natives was one of the greatest mistakes that ever was made. Again, the Government of India while commenting on the I.C.S. observed that the Civil Service in India was a corps D'elite occupying only a comparatively small of the most important posts from a period antecedent to the transfer of government to the Crown. In order to secure an administration conducted on Principles in harmony with modern civilization, it was necessary that this body should be essentially an English service, recruited from among candidates brought up on English methods and training and education. The safety of the empire reigned supreme:

It should never be forgotten, as there should be never be any hesitation in laying down the principle, that it is one of our first duties towards the people of India to guard the safety of our dominion. For this purpose we must proceed gradually employing only such natives as we can trust, and these only in such offices. And in such places as* in the actual condition of things, the government of India may determine to be really suited to them.

The resolution of the House of commons on the issue of simultaneous examination in India as well as in England met with vehement opposition. Even Lord Kimberley, Secretary of State for India observed:

It is indispensable that an adequate number of the members of the Civil Service shall always be Europeans, and that no scheme would be admissible which does not fulfil that essential condition.

91. ASR, HP(A), December 1893; Secy. India, Home Deptt. To cs Bengal, No.1838 of 22 August 1892.
92. Ibid., Secy.India Home Deptt. to CC Assam, No.27 (Public) 1088 of 5 August 1893.
93. ASR, HP(A), Despatch from Kimberley to G.G. in C, No public, 61 of 22 June 1893.
Civilian writers contrasted the axiomatic inefficiency of their own service with the chaos that would have supposedly ensured if educated Indians were given any wider measure of authority. H.E.M. James* formerly of the Bombay Commission, published an article typically characterising the educated natives as only an artificial creatures.94 C.H.T. Crosthwaite warned of dire consequences should Indians be given wider employment, and claimed that it was impossible to insure an efficient administration on British lines if the admixture of Asiatics became too large.95 He compared the 'self sacrifice' and 'devotion' of British officials to what he regarded as the purely materialistic impulse of the educated Indians to hold more numerous and higher posts in public service, and to abstain them on more easy terms than the existing regulations prescribed.96 The attributes of impartiality and fairness were the most crucial differences between the British and native administrators. Impartiality, they asserted, was a virtue universally present among British officials but just as equally absent among the Indian upstarts. The religious and social divisions of India, they said, made it impossible for Indians to rule themselves.97

96. Ibid., p.412.
fancied attribute of British officials, made all the more conspicuous by its alleged absence among educated Indians, was a vital concern for the masses of the Indian peasantry.98

THE I.C.S. MYTHOLOGY

British India, had been for all practical purposes governed under a bureaucratic form of government, in other words, by the Civil Services. At the top of the hierarchy stood what had come to be known as the Indian Civil Service — consisting of a little over a thousand officers forming a corps d' elite, once described by Lloyd George as the steel-frame of the Indian administration. This service, for a major portion of British rule in India, constituted both the 'Government' and the 'Administration' or 'both the policy-framing and the executive body'.99 The members of the Indian Civil Service posted in the district throughout the country exercised a general superintendence and control over the whole field of administration, while their compatriots at the headquarters of the provinces or at Calcutta or Delhi and Simla controlled the policy of administration. It would perhaps not be an exaggeration to say that until the emergence of responsible Government, India was governed by the 'Indian Civil Service' and nowhere its exact counterpart was available in the world.100 Lord Dufferin offered

100. Ibid., p.3.
the most flattering comments about the Indian Civil Service,

There is no service like it in the world. For ingenuity, courage, right - judgements disinterested devotion to duty, endurance, open heartedness, and, at the same time Loyalty to one another and their chiefs, they are to my knowledge, superior to any other class of Englishmen*109.

Among the protagonists of the emerging mythology were retired covenanted civilians. Among civilians the mythology constituted a defensive mechanism both against the clamour of Indian protest and against aristocratic or anti imperialist insults often received at home.102 Public reiteration of myths helped to reinforce the civilian self-image of superiority over Indians a belief of evidently increasing importance to civilians with the onslaught of nationalism. They convinced themselves that they, and they alone, could have adequately represented the true aspirations of the Indian masses.103 This public notions helped to assure the firm establishment of a romantic I.C.S. mythology. They increased in number and degree as the challenge to British rule intensified. The Simon Commission, working under the pressure of a second Gandhian non-cooperation campaign in 1930, produced some typically laudable conclusions concerning British Officials: civilians had been placed in circumstances that fostered initiative and

resource to an extent unknown, British bureaucracy, the Commission claimed, had developed highly personalised techniques, based on the special local knowledge of the officials and the truest of the mass of the population.

The appearance of the I.C.S. mythology in American Publications suggested another of its functions; namely the defence of British imperialism in the Court of world opinion. E»L. Godkin spoke of a continuous increase in examination-competitors and the resultant very high standards for admission. The civilians, he concluded, were the real pride and glory of England. Under their direction and within a period of only fifty years, the British had created in India a marvellously efficient bureaucracy.

Theodore Roosevelt in 1909 cited British administration in India as a prime example of overwhelming advancement achieved as a result of white or European rule among the people who dwelt in the darker corners of the earth:

In India (said Roosevelt) we encounter the most colossal example history affords of the successful administration by men of European blood of a thickly populated region in another continent. A greater feat than was performed under the Roman Empire ... The successful administration of Indian Empire by the English has been one of the most notable and most admirable achievements of the white race during the past two centuries.

105. _Ibid._
107. _Ibid._
Another pragmatic function of the mythology was the effort to shore up the recruitment programme in England. H.M. Birdwood, formerly of the Bombay council, asserted that I.C.s. recruits had certainly been equal in intelligence and performance to those employed in the 'Home Service*'. Covenanted civilians came from the same background, which met so completely the requirements of public life in England. The rigorous recruitment policy had been responsible for the high tone imparted to the civil administration. The I.C.S. continued to represent the visible presence of the British in India, and it was through its different branches that authority was wielded without them, it appeared difficult if not incredible that one would be able to speak of a British Empire in India.

Complete integrity in administration was a new thing, even in England, but by the middle of the 19th century it had there taken firm root. Young Englishmen from the universities had invariably brought to India a new tradition of incorruptibility, and their spirit was to permeate the services and give Indian administration a fresh start. The attitude of conscious superiority was a natural outcome of the mid Victorian outlook. The principle of relativity had not then undermined the strength of Englishmen's convictions or filled them with doubt as to the universal

110. Ibid.,
validity of their own beliefs and standards. 112

But it was felt that as India progressed towards responsible government the services must abandon their old place and accommodate themselves to the new situation. The Civil Service was no longer to be the 'Government', as before, but became merely the 'Administration'. 113 The position had already been changed materially in the provinces since the introduction of provincial autonomy in April 1937. The change could very well be indicated in the words of Ramsay Macdonald written long before,

The seat of authority in India is being removed from civil service to the legislature and we must build up the system of government accordingly. Wisdom compels us to see not very far off the end of the civil service as we have known it and that being so it also compels us to being without delay to create a new service which will carry us through the transition stage from a British to an Indian administration. 114

The I.C.S. mythology had been facing the test of time alone with the changing situation in India and the myth could not stand, for long, the heavy thrust of Indian national aspirations, and was shipwrecked on same rock

SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF THE CIVILIANS

(i) Social. - India had been, very often, regarded

as the brightest jewel in the imperial crown of Great Britain, but the lusture of the jewel shone only at a distance as throughout the Victorian era, any close connection with India appeared to have carried a definite stigma in the thinking of the aristocracy. People of that class had a tendency to regard anyone who shipped off to India, no matter how promising or how talented as somehow inferior and not acceptable in their circles. The aristocracy had assumed a responsibility for India with reluctance and disinterest.

India was a kind of "dinner bell" which cleared the aristocracy-dominated parliament and members of the House of commons, even, rarely debated Indian questions seriously. The prevalence of this attitude had unfortunate effects on attempts of the Government of India to enlist the services of promising Englishmen not only for the regular covenanted Civil Service but also special non-civilian appointments, including the viceroyalty. Efforts to find out a successor for Lord Landsdowne, for example, practically arrived at a total impasse. Members of the legal and business professions also viewed India with as much disfavour and distaste as the politicians. As a result the government found it difficult to enlist successful

116. George D. Bearce, British Attitude Toward India, 1784-1858, pp.42-437
117. Ibid., p.36.
English lawyers or fiscal experts for the legal and financial memberships of the Viceroy's Executive Council. In actual practice, statistics revealed that aristocratic representation (i.e. those recruits whose fathers were peers or gentry) had never been notable in the Indian Civil Service/ even when patronage was in vogue. Competition had produced the effect of narrowing even further the small representation of the aristocracy; its portion of recruits fell from about 27 per cent in the five years prior to competition to about 10 per cent in the twenty years after 1855. Information was occasionally received in England and in India revealing the social standing of recruits in the period from 1860 to 1874 based on the status or profession of their fathers. According to this statistics the recruits of 1875 were as follows: the total being 668 recruits from aristocracy 67 or 10 per cent; from the professional middle class 506 to 76 per cent from the lower middle classes or lower classes.

Philip Woodruff took an account of the recruitment in the I.C.S. and reached a general conclusion that most of the I.C.S. came from the professional classes; in the earlier years the sons of clergymen and army officers seemed to be pre-dominant; a fair number were the sons of merchants; but the I.C.S. itself never produced any large number of candidates.

As time went on, the field of recruitment widened; even in the early-years there was striking variety of candidature.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Recruits from the aristocracy</th>
<th>- 67 or 10%</th>
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<tr>
<td>(Fathers were either peers or landed gentry)</td>
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<tr>
<td>II. Recruits from the professional middle class</td>
<td>- 506 or 76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Army officers(45); Navy Officers(3); Civil Serviced 18&amp;; Ambassador(1)</td>
<td>- 65 or 9.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>B. Clergymen: Church of England(145); other ministers(39)</td>
<td>-184 or 27.5%</td>
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<td>C. Indian Civil Service(47), Colonial Civil Service (7) etc.</td>
<td>- 57 or 8.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>D. The Legal profession</td>
<td>- 49 or 7.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>E. The Medical profession</td>
<td>- 65 or 9.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Merchants, Industrialists, Bankers-</td>
<td>- 48 or 7.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>G. Educators</td>
<td>- 27 or 4.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>H. Architects and Engineers</td>
<td>- 11 or 1.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>III. Recruits from the lower middle classes or lower classes *&quot;</td>
<td>- 65 or 14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Accountants/ Agents, managers</td>
<td>- 20 or 3.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>B. Farmers, Surveyors, millers etc.</td>
<td>- 28 or 4.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>C. Printers, druggists, tailors, undertakers, storekeepers etc.</td>
<td>- 27 as 44.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>D. Clerks, ::Sewards, railway workers-</td>
<td>- 6 or 9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>E. Not specified</td>
<td>- 14 or 2.3%</td>
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Total 668

(Vide H.P., Public Branch,(A),June 1875 Nos.202-202A)

In four lists between 1859-1879 'fathers' included an upholsterer, a miller, a butcher, a draper, a druggist, an undertaker, and several tailors, ironmongers and clerks. J.S. Mill observed in 1852 that the I.C.S. had always displayed essentially a middle class character.

Though of middle class origin, the civilians had an aspiration and a tendency to imitate the distasteful habits of the aristocracy; they were by no means pacific. As Sir John William Kaye observed.

In India every war is more or less popular. The constitution of Anglo-Indian society renders it almost impossible that it should be otherwise.

Warfare was the simplest route of distinction, profit, and incidentally, aristocratic titles. Englishmen came to India, not to exemplify the supposed middle class virtues, but to acquire supposed aristocratic vices. Consequently, the English created for themselves in India a social world intended to be as much like-life in England as possible. It was highly an artificial society, so tightly knit that it exerted a compelling pressure on all its members. It was a society dedicated to keep alitfe the memory of English life in England, hence inclined to foster feelings of

125» _Ibid._, p.91.
self-pity and dissatisfaction with the imperfect replica - which was all that was possible under Indian conditions. Contained within the simple fact that such a life was possible, remote from Indians in the midst of India/ was an indication of the change which had taken place in Britain's imperial position. British India had become a settled fact/ and employment in India had become a career to which one was nominally to devote all his active years. The reconciliation to Indian residence as a permanent condition was facilitated by the discovery of the hill stations. The pleasures of hill station life was equally attractive to non-official Englishmen. A new society of hill-dwelling, estate managing Englishmen had developed. One result of the changed condition of British residence in India was an increase in the number of English women. The English woman's presence in India exemplified the more settled conditions of British rule. The presumed gentility of their women folk was a part of the British pretence of aristocratic status/ which Englishmen in India shared with American plantation owners. Englishmen used to come to India to make money, and the objective of obtaining money had usually been a rise in social status. The first merchant advanturers made vast fortunes in a brief span of years and returned to England with the ambition to move in aristocratic circles.- The sons of the

129. Ibid., p.107.
middle class who accepted positions in India in the 19th century were equally attracted by the lure of a large income. But the attraction had now become a large salary rather than the prospect of unlimited fortune, and entailed a career-long commitment to life in India. The salary was not so large as to stir ambitions of savings enough in short order to return to England with the means to lead like an aristocrat. The ambition of using India as an avenue of advancement in the English Social scale was not lost sight of; it was simply transplanted to Indian soil. Englishmen in India were thus committed, by the unwritten terms of the understanding which had brought them to India, to living in a manner well above the station from which they had sprung up in England. Virtually, Indian career turned Englishmen into "instant aristocrats."

The passion for gentility was prevalent even among the middle and lower middle classes of Europeans in India, every one of whom considered himself a 'Sahib' or Gentleman. And since the object was to become English aristocrat, the pattern had of necessity to approximate that of England as closely as possible. No collectors' wife will wear an article of Indian manufacture and all her furniture, even to her carpets—must be of English make."

131 John Beams, Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian, p.132.
The effects of such efforts, so far as actually impressing the English aristocracy at home was concerned, resembled that of most efforts of "imitation gentlemen."133 The 'nabobs' who had returned immensely wealthy from India had been able to buy their way into society, as well as into Parliament. British-Indian aristocrats who ultimately turned to a ruling caste had nothing substantial to support their claims than pretence. Their aristocratic posture was not transferable; they could live like aristocrats in India, but could neither live like aristocrats in India, but could neither live like nor pretend to be aristocrats in England itself.136 Fitzjames Stephen found Indian officials "a very sensitive and rather forlorn race ... who since competition and its results have not so many connections in England as they used to have and who felt that they are undevalued and snubbed in English society..."137

The transformation of the middle class character of the Civil Service into pretension-aristocracy found its origin in the nature of British imperialism. British imperialism, precisely because it was national, was inescapably characterised by rigorous social exclusiveness unlike the Roman imperial-heritage.138

136. Ibid.
liaisons were common between Englishmen and Indian women, the relationships were casual and children of mixed parentage were poorly provided for unlike their portuguese predecessors. Charles Grant spoke for every school of thought, both before and after his time when in 1792, showered his Praise on the efforts of Alexander the Great to make his European and Asiatic subjects "one people" he added,

It would never suit us, nor our subjects to act universally as Alexander proposed, we ought not to wish, that the distinctions between the two races should be lost.

what most distinguished British from Roman imperialism was not the fact that Britain was christian, reformist, or democratic, it was that British imperialism based on nationality rather than law. In the 18th century, when English merchant-adventurers, and scavenging on the dying Mughal Empire, contended that they should be Judged according to oriental custom, they were judged in England by very different standard. The assumption in England even at that time was that Englishmen in India were not simply independent predators but were essentially Englishmen, whose conduct was a proper concern of other Englishmen. The English nabobs did not dispute the contention; in fact they created the political issue of

139. A.C. Bannerji. History of India, p.489.
141. Ibid.,
of their conduct themselves by their insistence on recognition in England for their achievements in India. Robert Clive and Warren Hastings were just as alien to India as the civilian of a century later who sent his children to schools in England and sighed for his retirement home at Tunbridge wells. The English in India never became anything other than Englishmen, never were content with any form of honourable recognition other than that which their own country could have provided for. More often, personal and national predilections were the decisive actors. Improved communications made it easier for Englishmen in India to continue to think of England as home; they also made it easier for them to marry English women and, as was the habit of the Englishman wherever he went, to found little English colonies. The most important characteristic of British administration was its impersonality which produced a lack of sensitiveness to the feelings of the people and to new current of thoughts and desire. It bred a race of administrators who were accused of conscious aloofness. Indian politicians had often complained that though British officials worked jealously for the country they did not love or understand its people.

144. Ibid., pp.227-28.
(ii) **Educational** - The lowly social image of Indian service reflected on the recruitment of young men of desired educational background for the Indian Civil Service. Many writers of British-Indian history were convinced with the notion that Indian career was highly popular among university students in Great Britain, and that, as a consequence, the competitive examination system, emerged as a replacement for the patronage of the East India Company in 1855, which guaranteed a superior body of highly efficient administrators for British India. The fact was, however, that the Civil Service Commissioners themselves had voiced dissatisfaction with the calibre of recruits as early as 1858, only four years after the establishment of the competitive system. Their apprehension was resulted precisely from the realisation that original anticipation concerning the number and character of candidates who were to be attracted had not been fully verified. A substantial number of candidates and recruits did not hold a bachelor degree from Oxford or Cambridge Universities, as originally desired, and a surprising portion of the Candidates did ever attend any University, a phenomenon that became increasingly evident in later competitions. Among those talented University men who

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who came forward in the early years of competition, several after passing successfully found it more to their advantage to throw-up their Indian career and Indian prospect and remained at home. By 1866, as revealed in the examination result, competition failed to attract not only graduates but even University students.

There was a proportionate decline of University representation between 1855 and 1874. Actually the number of university candidates initially rose to a high of 138 in 1861 (23 per cent above the first year's total of 112) but in somewhat irregular fashion, it declined to about 62 per cent falling as low as 52 per cent in 1874, whereas there had been a ten-fold increase in non-University candidates from 22 in the first year to 214 in 1869. It was revealed in 1866 that 62 per cent of the recruits held no degree while in the following years the proportion of non-graduates rose to 79 per cent. The two great Universities of Oxford and Cambridge fell from a position of predominance to one of minimal significance, while the positions gained by Irish University youths and the non-university products of London Tutors, commonly called "Crammers" remained relatively high and eventually surpassed

147. Memorandum by C.J. Lyall, 17 May 1875, in papers relating to the selection and training of candidates for the Indian Civil Service, p.422, quoted in Ibid., p.18.
149. The table showing the non-University candidature in the examinations between 1855 and 1874, in Ibid., p.22.
150. Ibid.,
151. H.P. Public (B), 5 Dec. 1868, Nos. 33-37.
that of Oxbridge students. According to the table, the percentage of Oxford and Cambridge candidates declined from a high of 62 per cent in 1858 to a low of 8.2 per cent in 1874.

In 1864, Sir Charles Wood, one of those responsible for the shifting from patronage to competition, noted with disgust the unsatisfactory type of persons he thought were succeeding in the examinations. On the other hand, many pragmatic, thrifty middle class people doubtlessly questioned the merit of spending a great amount for a son's University education when a shorter, less expensive education at the Crammers proved sufficient to gain success at the examination. The more able university students simply declined to compete, and therefore non-university crammers had a more than even chance of success, as was clearly and increasingly demonstrated in the examination results. Lord Salisbury's reforms of 1876 made university attendance compulsory for two years, a period not sufficient for the attainment of a degree. There had been an improvement to the situation caused by the pre-1876 decline of university recruits, but excessively low number of competitors under the new scheme revealed an enigmatic countermanding weakness.

In January 1875, competition for the I.C.S. was combined

152. The Table furnished showing the relative position of different university candidates in the competition in Spangenburg, Op.cit., p.23.

53. Ibid., 7 May 1876.
with examinations for the first class clerkships in the Home Civil Service. Using the Home Civil Service as magnet, the Indian office hoped to attract a large number of promising university men to a consideration of an Indian career. The upturn was in itself ironically a measure of I.C.S. unpopularity since it clearly revealed that the magnetism of the Home service was the only meaningful reason for the new volume of candidates.154

Thus the lowly socio-educational profile of the civilians made the Viceroys to form derogatory evaluation of the I.C.S. Lord Lytton, who wrote most unkind remarks about covenanted civilians/ confided to Sir Fitzjames Stephen that he had formed the lowest estimate of the ability of these men (i.e. Covenanted civilians).155 Stephen replied with the amazing statement that "your greatest difficulty in India will be having to do first-rate work with 2nd, 3rd/ and 4th rate tools,"156 with others of his social class/ Stephen apprehended that increasing number of the competition-men among the higher ranks of the service would weaken its efficiency and competency/ since 19 civilians in 20 (were) the most common place and the least dignified of the 2nd and 3rd class Englishmen.157

155. Stephen correspondence/ Lytton to Stephen, Simla, 29 May 1877; quoted in Ibid./ p.35.
157. Ibid., 7 May 1876,
ASSAM COMMISSION

Immediately after the conquest of Assam the Civil Commissioner of North East Rangpur David Scott was made also commissioner of Assam. This new appointment having apparently been created by an executive order of the Government of India. Scott's powers as Commissioner of Assam was founded upon Stirling's letter of 2r May 1828. In 1829/ Regulation I of that year was passed creating the appointment of commissioner of Revenue and circuit in Bengal; and in this Regulation the 17th commissioner's division which was created (Sherpur and Sylhet) was placed under the commissioner of Assam and North East Rangpur. Not long afterwards, however, it was found necessary to transfer the 17th Division to the Commissionership of Dacca, and from that time the commissionership of Assam and North East Rangpur afterwards called Assam proper and Goalpara was confined to the valley districts and to so much of territory covered by the hill districts as, from time to time, the British succeeded in acquiring, for Executive purposes it appeared that the duties of the Commissioner of Assam were the same as those defined in Regulation I of 1829.

The officers of the Assam Commission subordinate to the Commissioner were originally styled - the senior or principal- Assistant Commissioner in charge of Districts,

Junior Assistant, and sub-Assistant, and they were thus designated in the Assam Code of 1837. In consequence of the additional duties imposed on the commissioner by the annexation of Upper Assam, from 1 April 1839, by an executive order, a Deputy Commissioner was appointed with powers of a civil and sessions Judge. In 1861 the designation of Deputy Commissioner of Assam was changed to that of Judicial Commissioner, and from that year the functions of the appointment became entirely judicial.

By the same notification the designations of senior or Principal Assistant, Junior Assistant and Sub-Assistant were changed respectively to viz. Deputy Commissioner, Assistant Commissioner and Extra Assistant commissioners.

In 1864, the Government of Bengal, by an executive order, constituted one amalgamated service comprising all officers of grades below the rank of judicial commissioner then attached to the non-regulation province of Bengal viz. Assam, Chotanagpur, Darjeeling and eschar, and the Deputy Commissioner of santhal Parganas. In 1866, the Government of India revised the covenanted Judicial service in Assam, and amalgamated it with that of Bengal.

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160. Ibid., Para 109, Govt, of India, Pol. Dept. to Com. of Assam, No.229 of 23 January 1839; Commissioner to Dy. Com. No. 69% of 5 May 1839.
162. Calcutta Gazette, 19 April 1864, p.782.
1872/ the Government of Bengal abolished entirely the judicial branch of the service in Assam. This policy of amalgamating the purely judicial branch of the service which/ prior to 1872/ had performed both executive and judicial functions/ was sanctioned by the Government of India in their Resolution No. 2029 of 17 December 1871, on the ground that the population structure and work-load did not justify for a sufficient work of a Munsif and a Magistrate.

Like all other non-regulation territories Assam was a mixed commission of civilians, soldier-civilians and uncovenanted civilians. From the very beginning Assam Commission was represented predominantly by the soldiers in Civil employment along with a few uncovenanted officers. But the things were always on the move and the structure of services in the non-regulation territories had been changing to attain a complete civilian character. In Assam further recruitment of soldiers in civil employment was officially discontinued since 1907, and since along before uncovenanted civilians were not considered for appointment in Assam. As there was no post of Assam Commission which was declared listed and open to members of the provincial service and statutory civilians ever had received berth in Assam, the bulk of the cadre appointments since 1907 onwards remained predominantly civilian.

On and from the date of creation of Assam as a separate province, an independent Commission was sanctioned from the complement of officers of the non-regulation districts of Bengal. As the province was too small its higher posts too few, and the prospects of service in it generally too unattractive to admit of its supporting a separate civil service, Civilians on the lower Bengal list were, therefore, deputed to Assam for a period of five years, after which they had the option of reverting to Bengal. The problems emanated partly from the system of recruiting Indian Civilians adopted for this province and partly from the fact that the non-regulation scale of pay in force in Assam was lower than the Regulation one in Bengal.

The result was that, owing to officers reverting to Bengal after their five years service in Assam, the prospects of the lower grades of civilians in Assam were kept on the whole fairly equal with those of their contemporaries in Bengal. But the system had three serious disadvantages: in the first place, Assam had to sustain loss of its senior civilians who constituted the backbone of the provincial administration; secondly, Assam had to sacrifice the special experience of the province which the men reverting to Bengal acquired during their stay in Assam; thirdly, the reversions to Bengal necessitated frequent transfers of officers in the Commission and specially

165. ASR, File No. 224G of 1878.
changes in headships of districts/ which were detrimental to good district administration* 167 The Commission at the close of the 19th century consisted chiefly of Junior Indian Civilians, only a small proportion (one fourth) of the posts being set apart for soldier-civilians* AS the administrative system in Assam had been yearly advancing in complexity and the situation of the province was such that headships of districts could not safely be entrusted to young and inexperienced officers without risk of discredit to the administration* 168

In a rapidly developing province like Assam, with a large European element, heterogeneous ethnic groups of populations and "wild barbarous tribes", efficiency of the administration much more depended on the personal experience and influence of the district officers than in a settled province like Bengal. There were certain branches of administration in this province which an officer coming from Bengal would, for a longtime, be able to deal with satisfaction, and long practical experience was required to master over them. There was, for instance, the very elaborate labour system established by the Assam Labours and Emigration Act I of 1882 controlled even in minute details by the District Officers, involving the management of large bodies of Europeans and the protection of an immigrant labour force of nearly half a million souls, and exposed to

168. Ibid.
much hostile and ignorant criticism outside the province. Moreover, this was a ryotwari province (excluding parts of Sylhet and Gowlpara districts), and the land revenue system, which was entirely distinct from that of Bengal, was getting more and more elaborate every year. The proper administration of this system, which was perhaps the most important part of the district officer's duties in Assam, and the supervision of the revenue and Land Record establishments required years of special training and experience. The Deputy Commissioners were also required in this province to do civil judicial work as subordinate Judges, in which capacity they had to try original cases and hear appeals from the decisions of experienced Munsifs. Officers coming from Bengal had no experience as civil Judges. For the charge of hill districts and frontier tracts in Assam, a man must be equipped with special training in frontier works and must inculcate enough maturity in controlling the affairs of the "wild" hill people. These could never be expected from junior and inexperienced officers devoid of specialised knowledge of the affairs of Assam to perform such duties and shoulder such responsibilities of such a magnitude without serious lapse.

Most of the Chief Commissioners of Assam had the apprehension that the province was being fed always by inferior lot of officers from the Bengal list. D. Fitzpatrick, Chief Commissioner of Assam while advocating for a separate
civil list for Assam ventilated the sentiment of Assam administration in this regard, in the following words:

I am inclined to think that the best plan would be to revert to what originally proposed, viz., a separate service for Assam, our men being selected in England for us, say, every second year, of course, we should get the men who pass lowest, or nearly lowest at the examination at home, but it by no means follows that these would be the worst working men of the year, and I would rather take my chance on them, such as they may be, than have to accept proved bad lots from Bengal.\(^{169}\)

The case of Assam was complicated by the existence of military and uncovenantanted civilians, who constituted one quarter of the cadre, and by the fact that these officers were permanently attached to the Commission, and must remain in the province for the whole of their service tenure. As their position thus differed from that of Indian civilians, who were entitled, after five years of service, to revert to Bengal, there was always a tendency that they would receive promotion with undue rapidity, and thus caused a block in promotion when they reached the position of first and second grade Deputy Commissioners. It was inevitable because owing to the policy of reversion senior civilians were replaced always by the junior ones from Bengal.\(^{170}\)

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169. ASR, File No.1622 G of 1888.

There were four grades of Deputy Commissioner ships in Assam drawing pay at Rs.1833, 9s.1666/and Rs.1000, respectively, while in Bengal there were grades of District Judges drawing pay at Rs.2500/- and Rs.2000/- and excepting a few headships of non-regulation districts three grades of Magistrate-collectors drawing pay at Rs.2250, H.?01800 and Rs.1500 a month. The cost of living in Assam was far higher than it was in Bengal, and the amenities of life were essentially not greater. When an officer had reached by length of service the position of the third grade Magistrate-Collector in Bengal, he was assured of a continuous salary of Rs.1800 (Rs.1500 pay and Rs.300 acting allowance), and it was to his advantage to revert to Bengal. As the salary of all grades of officers' service in Assam was, generally speaking, below that of their contemporaries in Bengal, owing partly to the fact that acting allowances for official in higher grades were larger in Bengal than in Assam. Thus on pecuniary considerations above, and apart from other drawbacks incidental to service in this province, it was to the advantage of nearly all the civilians who had completed their five years' service in Assam to leave the province.

The Assam Commission was unattractive because of its smallness.- Excluding one Commissionership, there was no

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172, Ibid.
post which a civilian in Assam could ordinarily look forward, during the later half of the 19th century, to beyond a Deputy commissionership of the first grade on Rs.1833. The only other offices which carried higher pay than this were the Judgeship of Sylhet and the office of Secretary to the chief Commissioner. The District and Sessions Judge of Sylhet was a member of the judicial branch of the Bengal service and was appointed from Bengal, and the Secretaryship was also specially treated, and appointments were made to it by the Government of India not necessarily from among the officers who had served in this province. After the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was constituted, few more avenues were opened up before the civilians for promotion in the new and separate civil list of the province. But the position of the Assam officials had gone hud to worse because the military officers belonging to the Assam Commission were to continue to form part of the personnel of the new service which seriously prejudiced the position of all but the most junior officers of the Eastern Bengal and Assam civil service. It was inevitable that, as the military officers were not, according to the present arrangements, entitled to be employed in the districts of Eastern Bengal, they virtually occupied by virtue of their seniority in Assam

service the coveted district appointments in Upper Assam and the hills. This farther reduced the already limited attractions of the province for civilians.\textsuperscript{174}

The Assam Commission happened to be a graded service. The system of distributing officers of the same service who were discharging similar functions into different grades in accordance with seniority, and of allotting different rates of pay to these different grades was manifestly a very rough and ready one, and only could work satisfactorily when the flow of promotion was fairly even and officers entered the different grades at approximately equal terms of service.\textsuperscript{175} Promotion in Assam was a much retarded the system which bound to produce the gravest discontent. This had been fully recognised by the Government of India, who in their Financial despatch No. 389, of 1 November 1906, observed.

Nothing makes an officer more discontented than to find that, though no fault of his own, his pay is less and his prospects worse than those of other officers no abler than himself and of the same standing as his own in other years and in other provinces.

This disparity in pay and promotion was rampant in the Assam commission all throughout. In the small cadre in Assam there had been a little officiating promotion in the

\begin{itemize}
  \item[175.] ASR, Appt(A), September 1913, Nos. 113-116.
  \item[176.] ibid.,
\end{itemize}
higher grades, and the officers generally used to draw the bare pay of the grade, whereas in the large cadres the senior officers were continuously officiating, but this was not the case in Assam. In Eastern Bengal and Assam, where promotion was usually accelerated, officers reaching the first grade after 17% years service, in Bengal it was on average 19% years; in the United provinces 18%4 years; but in Assam the officers had little hope of entering the first grade till they had completed from 23 to 25 years of service. The Chief Commissioner apprehended that the prospects of the Assam Commission would steadily grow worse in the reconstituted chief Commissionship:

in 1920, if the graded system were maintained, officers in the 21st year of their service would still be only third grade Deputy Commissioner ... and there would be five or six officers in the 11th or 12th years of their service still in the third grade of Assistant Commissioners of Rupees 500 a month. These officers will be men of 35 or 36 years of age, and will see their contemporaries in the public works and Forest Departments drawing higher pay than they do. If matters are left unchanged officers serving in Assam will draw much lower pay than has been in vogue during the last 20 years in Bengal...

Embarrassment had been constantly felt in an increasing degree on the desire of civilians to revert to Bengal since 1889, and the tendency had culminated in the departure in 1894 of five civil servants who had experience of the

177. ASR, Appt(A), Opccit., No.113-116.
178. Ibid.,
179. Ibid.,
province. The Chief Commissioner observed that, should the idea of transferring the Chittagong division from Bengal to Assam be carried out, it would have been possibly be found to leave a separately recruited and self-contained civil service in Assam no longer dependent on Bengal, and accordingly suggested a reorganization of the commission involving the assimilation of the Regulation scale of pay to the grades of Heads of Districts and their Assistants. In November 1895 the chief Commissioner was informed that the Government of India were not prepared to support, as a means of meeting the present exigency/ such general proposals as had been submitted for the assimilation of scale of pay in the two provinces of Bengal and Assam. To prevent the increasing reversion of experienced officers to Bengal, the Government of India recommended to the Secretary of State for India for a grant of personal allowance equivalent to the difference between the salary of each of such officers in Assam and that drawn by the officer next junior to him in the regular line in Bengal. It was purely a temporary measure for the coming two years, pending the consideration and disposal of the questions of general reorganization of the Assam Commission and the appropriation to it of a special branch of the Indian Civil Service, which was the only effectual and

181. Ibid.
182. ASR, H.P(A), September 1896, secy. India to C.S. Bengal, No.560 of 18 July 1896.
permanent remedy for the existing State of things in Assam.¹⁸³ The plan contemplated by the Government of India was the complete separation of the Bengal and Assam list of civilians, the rates of pay of the two sets of district appointments being fixed on the equal level, and the simultaneous discontinuance of the system by which officers, who had served their earlier years in the capacity of District Officer in Assam, returned to the general line in Bengal.¹⁸⁴ It was felt necessary to make some special provisions for the soldier-civilians in the Assam Commission who had not the same right or expectation with reference to the higher scale of salary prevalent in Bengal that the civilians had.

In his letter of 10 March 1897, Cotton, the Chief Commissioner expressed the opinion that it was not possible to separate Civil Service cadre for Assam, as the proportion of higher paid appointments would always be insufficient for the strength of the service, and apart from pecuniary considerations, members of the Indian civil Service would not be likely to remain contented and efficient if they were told off for permanent employment in Assam.³ The scheme of reorganization of Assam Commission received the sanction of the -Secretary- of State for India in due course.

¹⁸³. ASR, H.P.(A), July 1899, G.G. in C to Secy. of State for India, No.199, 14 July 1898.
¹⁸⁵. Ibid.
This scheme effected a re-adjustment of the number and grades of officers in the I.c.S. in Bengal and Assam, so far as to put those serving in the ordinary line in both the provinces as far as possible upon an equality in respect of pay and promotion. This scheme involved no distinction between civil and military officers of the Assam Commission, under the proposal the District Officer­ships including the appointment graded as such, the Bengal and Assam stood on the same footing. This reorganiza­tion was achieved by transferring six Assistant Commissioner­ships to the provincial services. In sanctioning the conversion, the secretary of state had suggested that, as the reduced staff for the Assam Commission (39 officers as compared with 47) should prove to be inadequate to provide sufficiently for the duties connected with tea garden inspections and the control of relations with "barbarous" tribes in Assam, the possibility might be con­sidered of reinforcing the ranks of Extra Assistant Commis­sioners by men of European descent, as in Burma and some other parts of India.

The Government of India had based the whole scheme for the constitution of the Indian Civil service in the

187. ASR, H.P.(A), August 1900: secy India to C.C. Assam No. 107 of 14 Feb. 1900.
188. Ibid., Govt, of India, Fin & Com. Deptt. to Secy of State, No.310 of 31 August 1899.
189. Ibid. Secy, of State to G.G. in C, No.174/Public.
190. Ibid.
new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam on the principle that the existing service as it stood in Bengal to be divided up in the exact proportion suggested by the number of superior appointments that had to be filled in each of the two provinces. The scheme thus evolved ignored an important principle which was adopted by the governments of the two provinces concerned, as the fair and equitable foundation for the division of the service between the two provinces. That principle was that the Bengal Government was to hand over to the new province the number of men required to fill the appointments actually transferred to it; the new posts to be created in the new province and the promotion consequent upon the creation of those new posts being matters which solely concerned that province, and in which the province of Bengal had neither part nor lot. This principle was agreed upon by Sir Fuller and Sir Fraser in the course of the negotiations that preceded the Despatch of the original letter to the Government of India. Thus, the new province began its career holding a joint cadre with Bengal civil list. But soon the Government of India recommended to the Secretary of State that eight candidates should be selected for Eastern Bengal and Assam at the open competition for the I.C.S. in 1907. This led to the gradual transformation of the cadre

191. ASR, Appt.(A), August 1906, Nos. 9-93.
192. Ibid.
193. ASR, Appt.(A), August 1912, Nos.8-11.
194. ASR, Appt.(A), September 1907. No.1
appointments of Eastern Bengal and Assam into a separate civil service. After the reconstitution of Chief Commissionership in 1912 Assam became an independent separate commission and a decision was taken to assign two of the sixteen posts of Indian Civil Service selected for Eastern Bengal and Assam at the open competition of 1911. But Assam's self-contained cadre of officers and a feeling of esprit de corps were yet to be fostered in the Assam Commission, until it was declared a Governor's province in 1921.

195. ASR, Appt.(A), July 1912, Nos. 9-10.
196. ASR, Appt.(A), September, 1913, Nos. 113-116.
**APPENDIX C**

*Assam Commission in 1894*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Designation</th>
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<td>Commissioner</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td>District Judge of Sylhet</td>
<td>2000</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>Deputy Commissioner 2nd Grade at Rs. 1666-10-8</td>
<td>8333</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Deputy Commissioner 3rd Grade at Rs. 1333-5-4</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Deputy Commissioner 4th Grade at Rs. 1000-0-0</td>
<td>3000</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Assistant Commissioner 2nd Grade at Rs. 700-0-0</td>
<td>4900</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Assistant Commissioner 3rd Grade at Rs. 500-0-0</td>
<td>8000</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>42233</td>
<td>5</td>
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APPENDIX D

Statement showing the salary and position, on the 1st July 1894, of D.Cs and Asst. Corns, in Assam, being members of the I.C.S. as compared with the officers in the regular line of active service next below them on the Bengal gradation list.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of officers</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Year of appointment</th>
<th>Substantive appointment</th>
<th>Offg. appointment</th>
<th>Pay Rs.</th>
<th>Acting allowance</th>
<th>Total salary</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<tr>
<td>R.B. McCabe</td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>D.C. 2nd grade</td>
<td>D.C. 1st grade</td>
<td>1666 1/2</td>
<td>166 1/2</td>
<td>1833 3/4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.J.S. Faulder</td>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Magistrate *afsL collector 2nd Grade</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Porteous</td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>D.Co 2nd grade</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1666 2/3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1666 2/3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.C. Arbuthnott</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.S. Greenshield</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.R. Pope</td>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Joint Magistrate 1st Grade</td>
<td>D.C. 2nd grade</td>
<td>900 1/3</td>
<td>733 1/3</td>
<td>1633 3/4</td>
<td>Belongs to Jdl .branch of the Bengal Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>W.R. Bright</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>M.C. 3rd grade</td>
<td>M.C. 2nd grade</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.W. Davis</td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>D.C. 2nd grade</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>on spl. leav*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.H. O'Brien</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>D.C. 2nd grade gra.de</td>
<td>1333 3/4</td>
<td>333 3/4</td>
<td>1666 2/3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.G. Colvin</td>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>M.C. 2nd grade</td>
<td>900 1/3</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Teunon</td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>D.C. 3rd grade</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>P.C. Lyon</td>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Int.Magistrate M.c.2nd grade</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>C.W.B. Pittar</td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>D.C.Third grad</td>
<td>1333</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1333</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.J. Monahan</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>on furlough</td>
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<tr>
<td>W.B. Brown</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Asst.Com 1st Gd.D.C.4th grade</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1000</td>
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<td>A.E. Harward</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>H.E. Ransom</td>
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<td>Jt.Magistrate M.C.third grade</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>533</td>
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<td>Asst.Magistrate D.C.2nd grade</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>773</td>
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<td>F.MacBlaine</td>
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<td>Asst.Com 2nd D.C.4th</td>
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<td>900</td>
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<td>J.Clark</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>H.Le Mesurier</td>
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<td>Int.Magistrate M.c.3rd grade</td>
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<td>700</td>
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<td>H.G.W.Herron</td>
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<td>Asst.Magistrte M.C. 3rd grade</td>
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<td>666</td>
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<td>700</td>
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<td>Asstt.M. &amp; C. M.C.(3)</td>
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<td>500</td>
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<tr>
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<td>F.C.French</td>
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<td>Asst ££ C.</td>
<td>Jnt. Magistrate (%)</td>
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<td>766\frac{2}{3}</td>
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<td>L.J.Kershaw</td>
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<td>Asst. Com(3)</td>
<td>Asst. Com(2)</td>
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<td>700</td>
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<td>Asst. Com(3)</td>
<td>Assam. Com(2)</td>
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<td>200</td>
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<td>Asst. M of C. Jnt. Magistrate(1)</td>
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<td>Jnt. Magistrate(1)</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>$266\frac{2}{3}$</td>
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<td>H.McPherson</td>
<td>Beng</td>
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<td>500</td>
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<td>Assam</td>
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<td>Asst-JA ££ C</td>
<td>Jnt. Magistrate(2)</td>
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<td>700</td>
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<td>H.Wheller</td>
<td>B.Eng</td>
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*ASR, H.P.(A) January 1895, Home Dept. Mt.1Bf.1 PS - 177-p, Dt.11 January 1895.*
APPENDIX E

Statement showing the position of salary, on the 1st Oct. 1894 of D.Cs fS; Asst. Corns in Assam, being members of the Indian Civil Service, as compared with the position of salary of the officers in the regular line on active service next below them on the Bengal gradation list.

(The salary of Assam officers shown below differs, in some cases from the figures shown in the Civil list; the latter have been corrected so as to show Promotions which fell due on or before 1st Oct. but were actually made late.r)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Native</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Salary Initial</th>
<th>Salary Mid</th>
<th>Salary Final</th>
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<td>D.C.2</td>
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<td>1666</td>
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<td>1878</td>
<td>D.C.2</td>
<td>1666</td>
<td>1666</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. Porteous</td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>1879</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>1879</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>J.M.1</td>
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<td>M.C.3</td>
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<td>1800</td>
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<tr>
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<td>D.C.2</td>
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<td>D.C.25</td>
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<td>J.M.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>W. Tennon</td>
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<td>1883</td>
<td>D.C.3</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>P. C. Dyon</td>
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<td>1883</td>
<td>J.M.1</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>1500</td>
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M.C. stands for Magistrate & Collector

Belongs to Judl. Bramch of Bengal Service on spLLeave

*J.M. stands for Joint Magistrate on furlongh
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<th>C.W.E. Pittar</th>
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<th>D.C.(3)</th>
<th>D.C.(2)</th>
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<th>1333</th>
<th>16665</th>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>1055%</td>
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<td>422^</td>
<td>1122^</td>
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<tr>
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<td>H. Le Mcsurier</td>
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<td>M &amp; C (2)</td>
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<td>1433i</td>
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<td>7662/3</td>
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<td>666</td>
<td>1 166</td>
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<td>A.G. Hallifox</td>
<td>&quot; 1889 &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
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<td>C.E .A.W.Oldham</td>
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<td>1891</td>
<td>Asst. M &amp; C</td>
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<td>766(\frac{3}{2})</td>
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APPENDIX F

Statement showing the position and Salary, on the 1st January 1895, of D.C.s 3st & Asst. Coins, in Assam, being Members of the I.C.S., as compared with the officers in the regular line on active service, next below the on the, Bengal, gnadation. List

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<th>1878</th>
<th>1879</th>
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<th>1881</th>
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<th>1883</th>
<th>1884</th>
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<td>D.C. (2)</td>
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<td>M &amp; C (2)</td>
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<td>Dist. &amp; Session Judge (2)</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>M &amp; C (3)</td>
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*For results in E. C. S. see Indian army returns.*