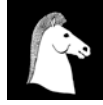




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# Utilitarianism and the Identity of the Indian Forest Service

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## ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the historical identity of the Indian Forest Service, the elite environmental organisation which controlled and managed nearly a third of India during the late nineteenth century. This organisation has been widely criticised by numerous authors, however it has rarely been analysed directly. Based upon an evaluation of the key voice of the forest service, the journal the *Indian Forester*, as well as the memoirs of various forest officers, this article will attempt to provide an outline of the identity of the Indian Forest Service in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Firstly, I demonstrate that despite some antagonism from the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Forest Service was initially structured along the same utilitarian lines. In particular, I show how, in the face of popular protests, the Indian Forest Service created and maintained its own *esprit de corps* through particular methods of recruitment and training. Secondly, I show that the Indian Forest Service had a crisis of identity and was at pains to distinguish itself from the Indian Civil Service, mainly through recourse to a more muscular definition of masculinity.

## KEYWORDS

India, forestry, utilitarianism, masculinity, power

## INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses the historical identity<sup>1</sup> of the Indian Forest Service, an elite organisation which has met with a great deal of criticism<sup>2</sup> but which few studies have attempted to critically analyse directly. Based upon an evaluation of the key voice of the forest service, the *Indian Forester*, as well as various memoirs, this article will thus attempt to provide an outline of the identity of the Indian Forest

Service.<sup>3</sup> In all of the recent attempts to construct some form of environmental history of India (mainly on the basis of its forest resources), the Indian Forest Service is seen as a major agent. In this opening section, I begin by reviewing the many recent critical historical studies of Indian forestry, before moving on in later sections to examine the actual identity of the Indian Forest Service in more detail.

Gadgil and Guha's *This Fissured Land* was one of the first of these environmental histories, and in this book they develop an analysis of different historical modes of resource use in relation to a critique of Crosby's thesis of 'ecological imperialism'.<sup>4</sup> Gadgil and Guha attempt to place the history of forest policies and practices within the context of the changing modes of resource use and the exacerbation of environmental problems in India. They point out that British imperialism marked 'an important watershed in the ecological history of India' and that 'the imperatives of colonial forestry were essentially commercial'.<sup>5</sup> They note that the work of the forest department affected every village in India, redefined property rights and led to important changes in the forest ecology as specific species were favoured.<sup>6</sup>

Similarly, in his seminal work *The Unquiet Woods*, Guha, charts the history of this mutual antagonism between the Indian Forest Service and other groups in the Uttarakhand area of the Indian Himalaya.<sup>7</sup> This work is particularly important in that it focuses on the subaltern resistance to forest policies and practices.<sup>8</sup> Guha argues that in the late nineteenth century, scientific forestry management was introduced along silvicultural lines in order to help extract commercially valuable species. Furthermore, British changes in the system of land tenure transformed commonly held forest resources into property owned by the State.

Grove, meanwhile, in his book *Green Imperialism* criticises Gadgil and Guha's work as idealistic in terms of the way in which it constructs a pre-colonial 'golden age' of ecological sustainability and common property when in fact in the pre-colonial era Indian forests were subject to control by both Mughal polities and dominant castes.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, Grove demonstrates that the environmental impact of British imperialism was not purely negative and points towards the need for a more open interpretation of British ecological imperialism. Whilst Gadgil and Guha argue that the imperatives of British forestry in India were essentially commercial, Grove argues that there was a strong element of environmental conservation and social control which should not be overlooked.

Whilst Gadgil and Guha's and Grove's publications are the most sustained accounts of Indian forestry, there have been a number of other publications which have been influential in terms of their various criticisms of forestry in India. The polemical work of Shiva from a feminist angle is a case in point. Like Gadgil and Guha she also attempts to paint a picture of sylvan harmony before the impact of British imperial forestry.<sup>10</sup> More importantly, Shiva stresses the importance of women to traditional methods of forest management in India, and,

conversely, emphasises the masculinity associated with scientific forestry in India. Whilst Shiva's work has generally been useful in highlighting the position of women within forestry in India, she has a tendency to essentialise relationships between women and nature and fails to develop a sustained account of the forest service. Nevertheless, the type of masculinity associated with scientific forestry is a point which I develop below.<sup>11</sup>

Taking a political ecology approach<sup>12</sup> Bryant has published a series of papers on forest policies and practices in colonial Burma. He argues that forest policy in this part of the Indian empire was far from neutral and was in fact an essential part of State regulation and control over both local populations and the meanings they gave to their forests. He argues that little attention has been focused on the ways in which foresters have articulated their visions of forest use: '...there is a need for an understanding of not only the ways in which colonial foresters conducted their work, but also the manner in which such work was summarised in official accounts'.<sup>13</sup> This article seeks to address this imbalance noted by Bryant by examining the construction of the identity of the Indian Forest Service.

In a rather more complex account of forest policy and practices in India which partially draws on Shiva's work, Jewitt has placed forestry within the context of the wider project of Orientalism and has attempted to demonstrate that British forest policies in India were not 'unitary' but open to contestation by sympathetic forest officers and missionaries such as Verrier Elwin.<sup>14</sup> In a similar paper Sivaramakrishnan again criticises Gadgil and Guha's work as overly simplistic and argues, in line with Jewitt, that 'What was happening in the forestry sector was to some extent a manifestation of the larger Orientalist colonial project of constructing India as knowable by representation. The enormous growth, change, and increasing complexity of such knowledge was of crucial importance to technologies of rule.'<sup>15</sup> Sivaramakrishnan's point is well argued, representations of India as cruel, primitive and barbaric fed into the reports written by forest officers. Indeed, fire became an element in such orientalist representations: '...fire in the Indian forests was firmly lodged in the colonial imagination as something rampant, random and reprehensible'.<sup>16</sup>

In subsequent papers Sivaramakrishnan further argues against accounts that overgeneralise with respect to Indian forestry. Instead he argues that there is a detailed regional geography of forest policy implementation that was the outcome of significant contestation. Thus, for example, he '...traces the causes and consequences of the uneven impact of forest conservancy in Bengal, specifically the production of a severely restricted regime of state forest control and management in southwest Bengal during the late nineteenth century. ... regions like southwest Bengal became zones of anomaly to forest reservation in the late 1800s...'<sup>17</sup>

This paper seeks to add to the above accounts by beginning to unpack the historical identity of the Indian Forest Service. Firstly, I shall demonstrate that despite some antagonism from the Indian Civil Service (about which much has

been written),<sup>18</sup> the Indian Forest Service was initially structured along the same utilitarian lines. In particular, I will show how the Indian Forest Service created and maintained its own *esprit de corps* through particular methods of recruitment and training. Secondly, I shall show that the Indian Forest Service was at pains to distinguish itself from the Indian Civil Service, mainly through recourse to a different, more muscular definition of masculinity.

#### UTILITARIANISM AND GOVERNMENTALITY IN INDIA

In order to more fully understand the identity of the Indian Forest Service it is necessary to first discuss the emergence of its underlying principles. Specifically, there is a need to understand the emergence of a paternal yet authoritarian version of utilitarian philosophy because its methods of competitive recruitment and training helped the Indian Forest Service to forge its initial ethos, its *esprit de corps*. Ultimately, this ethos helped to establish, distinguish and reinforce the identity of the newly formed forest service. The utilitarian system of inspection, meanwhile, helped to give the service its disciplinary power.<sup>19</sup>

By 1813 and the renewal of the East India Company's charter the relations between the British government and the Company had reached a situation where the Company only retained the outward appearance of having power, and, in effect substantive power had been transferred to the British government. But, although the British government held power there was little possibility of governing India from a distance because of the immense delays in communications imposed by the slowness of sailing ships. Any effective government of India had to be located in India rather than in Britain and hence there was a pressing need to create some new form of administration in India. This was no easy task, however, as each province was quasi-autonomous, and each had its own bureaucratic traditions, loyalties and philosophies. British rule had been imposed in different regions at different times, with the result that land settlements varied throughout India reflecting the contemporary ideological fashions, political problems or manpower constraints that impinged on the administration at the time.<sup>20</sup> But, despite the difficulties, by the end of the eighteenth century various administrative models began to be projected on to India as if it were a kind of social laboratory.<sup>21</sup>

The systematic governance of India was a state of affairs that James Mill for one was wholly in favour of, and, in a short space of time Mill in consort with Bentham would suggest a utilitarian programme to enlighten the Indian population and simultaneously transform the regime of the State from one of sovereignty to one of discipline.<sup>22</sup> For Mill, there was no question of the existing regime remaining unaltered. Greatly decayed by years of anarchy, its uncertainty and irregularity afforded scope for massive corruption and oppression resulting in a decline in cultivation and serious damage to State revenues. It was generally

agreed by the utilitarian supporters that order in India could only be restored by a formal definition of the distinction between public and private property rights coupled with the imposition of a rational administrative system. This would then allow both the State (in the form of the East India Company) and the Indian population to know where they stood in relation to one another and, more importantly, it would also allow the East India Company to more effectively control its Indian populace and draw upon the natural resources of the country by establishing disciplinary instruments of surveillance.<sup>23</sup>

Bentham's and Mill's utilitarian governmental principles had an obvious attraction to politicians in that they were both efficient and economic. Moreover, utilitarian thought gave a rational, scientific and philosophical basis to the geographical relationship between Britain and India. According to Bentham's utilitarian philosophy, the rightness of any action could only be judged by the contribution which it makes to the increase of human happiness or the decrease of human misery. He further argued that pleasure is the only attribute which is inherently good, and pain the only attribute inherently bad. Thus utility is the sum total of pleasure minus pain and every action must be viewed according to its consequences with the fundamental axiom being the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people.<sup>24</sup> This principle had been applied to the problem of administration by Mill in his *Essay on Government*, to conclude that aristocratic government must be bad, because it logically entailed that the general good was sacrificed to the self-interest of elites. For Bentham and Mill, people need government in order to defend their lives and interests from other people, however, any government is made up of people who will have an ulterior interest in exploiting their subjects – as had been the case so far in British India. Some kind of system was therefore needed to supervise and re-orientate what Mill called the 'sinister interests of government'.<sup>25</sup> The answer according to Bentham, lay in the creation of a utilitarian administrative system with firstly, a sufficiently rigorous *esprit de corps* through which each official would naturally seek to place the interests of the service above his own interests and, secondly, a disciplinary system of inspection.

In his proposed administrative system, therefore, Bentham had put forward a means to prevent the abuse of sovereign power and increase the utility of every official through a system of discipline. As I shall demonstrate later in this paper, the crucial forging of an *esprit de corps* was placed in the hands of a succession of training colleges. But Bentham had also argued that to make the most economical use of an official, to exact from him his full energy and sense of responsibility, and to guard against the abuse of power, each official employed must be held personally responsible for his actions. This accountability was to be reinforced in two ways; firstly, by making his official actions as public as possible; and secondly, by subjecting him to official inspection. These were Bentham's principles of publicity and inspectability. The first method aimed to lay the official open to the fullest public criticism through the press; the second

aimed to make him fully accountable to his superiors, by compelling him to keep detailed records and accounts and to submit frequent reports of his acts. Bentham's ideal Indian State was therefore envisaged as a hierarchy of individual officials, related to one another in a military form of subordination, with a perfectly clear chain of command and distribution of responsibility. Each main territorial region was to be divided into a number of districts, sub-districts, and smaller divisions, each area having an individual head.<sup>26</sup>

From 1828, Bentham's principles were gradually enforced by the new Governor-General of India, Bentinck, however the system as it was implemented was not as rational as either Bentham or Mill would have liked. In line with Bentham, Bentinck proposed that the territorial division under a new commissioner's command should be no larger than the area he could control by personal inspection. Moreover, the commissioner was to confine himself to the business of inspection, having under him native officers entirely subject to his orders. Initially, he was not to undertake any 'executive' decisions as had previously been the case when one European officer exercised all the local judicial, police and taxation powers. However, utilitarianism began to take on a different form in India as the earlier Orientalist paternal ideologies drew out the latent authoritarianism inherent in Benthamite doctrine.<sup>27</sup> Hence, for example, the Resident of Delhi, Charles Metcalfe argued that in practice:

Every functionary, from the highest to the lowest, ought to strive to make the administration of our Government beneficial and paternal; much, or rather most, would depend on superintendents of districts; and the happiness of the people would be greatly influenced by the degree of benevolence and affection felt by those officers towards them.<sup>28</sup>

In effect the administrative system that was imposed consisted of paternal yet authoritative district officers, each of whom, rather than being distant figures looked up to 'like deities in a temple', would act as both mother and father to a local population and monitor their everyday life. The resulting paternal and even romanticised nature of administration was thus due to the limits which utilitarianism encountered in a practical setting.<sup>29</sup>

## THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

Whilst the hierarchical structure of the Indian administrative system was thought to be important for good governance, the crucial factor in the continued influence of utilitarian thought was perhaps not just the original ideas of Bentham and Mill, but also the repetition and reiteration by comparatively obscure officials of easily remembered slogans and axioms learnt at training colleges.<sup>30</sup> For Bentham's disciplinary state to work, the Company's servants who had traditionally been given little formal training beyond a smattering of oriental languages, had to be

trained in utilitarian and scientific thought. More importantly, a sense of eliteness, an *esprit de corps* which would bond the officials and separate them from those they were being trained to rule had to be instilled in order to prevent corruption: each member would then seek to place the interests of the service over and above his own self-interest. This *esprit de corps* was to be inculcated through selective recruitment and training. The interaction between the mundane world of administration and the romantic call for a more responsible moral fibre would transform officialdom into a distinct way of life.<sup>31</sup>

After the brief experiment of a college in Calcutta, in 1805 a training college for the East India Company's administrators had been established at Haileybury in England. Initially Haileybury does not seem to have given much formal instruction beyond the confirmation of students own prejudices.<sup>32</sup> However, by the 1820s the romantic orientalist message propagated by Wellesley had given way to a direct transformative Anglican moral mission and a rational utilitarian training. Although officials would continue to be selected on the basis of a degree of patronage, it was thought that the utilitarian training would strengthen the reasoning faculties of the officials and instil in them the virtues of the lasting happiness of the mind over the immediate pleasures of the body. At Haileybury the emphasis was on arithmetic rather than oriental languages in order to foster a science rather than an art of government.

In 1854, however, training at Haileybury and the system of patronage was abolished in the face of the massive economic and cultural changes occurring in both Britain and India. Following the Indian Mutiny, in 1859 the East India Company was wound up and the constitutional basis of government in India became completely imperial with some three-quarters of the Indian continent coming directly under British rule and Bentham's administrative system consequently becoming extended. With the beginning of political activity among the Indian elite, new attitudes and relations between civil servants and Indians began to develop. As a result, the Northcote-Trevelyan report recommended the establishment of open, competitive examinations for civil service entry, something that James Mill had advocated back in 1832 in order to both reduce the potential corruption inherent in the former system of patronage.<sup>33</sup> The examination system, as well as testing the candidates underlying virtues would also emphasise the need for objective truth and empirical scientific knowledge within the administration.<sup>34</sup>

Initially the examination system attracted the best scholars in Britain but few athletes or gentlemen and was therefore deemed a failure in terms of its eliteness. Sir George Trevelyan argued that the Haileybury system of patronage was infinitely superior to the examinations system in terms of forging the *esprit de corps* thought necessary to prevent corruption.<sup>35</sup> He also complained that the young men who were then joining the Indian Civil Service lacked the 'physical dash and the athletic habits that are so essential in India' because they weren't sufficiently addicted to field sports such as pig-sticking and tiger shooting.<sup>36</sup> As



we shall see later, in contrast the Indian Forest Service recruits did not lack such addictions. However, following the reorganisation of the civil services in Britain and India under Gladstone, the emphasis in selection and training once again combined the cultivation of self with the technicalities of government. The older emphasis upon mathematics and the natural sciences was combined with a renewed emphasis upon both language and legal training for civil service recruits.<sup>37</sup> By the 1860s the position of the district officer had become sufficiently elitist and romanticised once again that he sat on his horse rather like a mythological figure at the centre of a web of untainted knowledge: the man who knew the country and had power over it.<sup>38</sup> However, he was no longer alone. Whilst the administration of justice and the collection of land revenue continued to be important jobs, many new skills were needed. The British government continued to firmly implement utilitarian principles through the building of railroads, canals and roads. Environmental health and the prevention of famine also became important considerations. As a consequence from 1865 the district officer would gradually be joined by members of the new Indian Forest Service.

#### THE INDIAN FOREST SERVICE

Whilst there had been previous attempts at forest conservancy in India, it wasn't until the second half of the nineteenth century that the British government recognised that the forests of India were being seriously depleted. In 1856 the Viceroy, Lord Dalhousie, appointed the noted German forester Dietrich Brandis to manage the forests of Pegu (Burma, but then part of India).<sup>39</sup> Subsequently, in 1864 Brandis was appointed to the post of Inspector-General of Forests, head of the newly created Indian Forest Service.<sup>40</sup> Interestingly, Brandis obtained this post partly through patronage: 'his future was undeniably determined by the circumstance of his marriage in 1845 to an English lady, Rachel Marshman, sister-in-law of general Havelock who was stationed in India. Through his wife, Brandis then became related to the then Viceroy of British India, Lord Dalhousie.'<sup>41</sup>

When the Indian Forest Service was created it was initially at pains to stress its eliteness in opposition to what is normally understood to be the work of a mere forester. Schlich, who rose to head the Indian Forest Service, pointed out that:

There are people who understand, under a 'forester,' a man who goes about with a heavy axe over his shoulder, and a couple of pruning instruments by his side, ready to cut and to prune as he goes along, and who, at certain times of the year, plants young trees where old ones have been removed. Such a man is, no doubt, a forester, in fact, a practical forester or woodman. At the same time, the State or other large owner would be very foolish to entrust the decision of all the intricate questions on which I have touched to a man of that class.<sup>42</sup>

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The forest officer, Schlich pointed out, was a manager of both forests and foresters; he was a scientific and technical expert in the employ of the State.

The Government of India seems to have been keen to have a well-educated and well-trained forest service because it was aware of the potential problems associated with deforestation. In 1865 admission to the Forest Service had not been based on technical knowledge because 'it was necessary at once to secure men in the country'. As a result, initially, 'officers were obtained from the Army and other sources, who in the pursuit of sport and adventure had acquired a love of a forest life and an intimate knowledge of the country, the people and their languages. On the whole these men did excellent work, and many exhibited administrative ability of the highest order, Brandis argued.<sup>43</sup>

Initially, then, the elite Indian Forest Service was composed of volunteers from the Indian Medical Service and the military. However, subsequently the Forest Service was divided into a controlling force of Europeans, trained in Europe, an executive or provincial force of Indians trained in India at Dehra-Dun and a protective or subordinate force of largely untrained Indians. Each major province in India was headed by a Chief Conservator of Forests, with the forests in all the larger provinces being divided into 'circles' and then into 'divisions'. Each circle was headed by a Conservator of Forests; each division was classified into either a major or minor 'charge' with the former being headed by a Deputy or Assistant Conservator of Forests and the latter having an Extra Assistant (Provincial) Conservator of Forests at its head. In turn, the divisions were divided into ranges and the ranges into beats, controlled by Forest Rangers and their Deputies or Foresters and Forest Guards respectively.

Nevertheless, by 1875 admission to the forest service was based on a number of criteria similar to that of the civil service, but different in important respects. Rule 2 was the same for candidates for the Indian Civil Service and stated that 'Applicants must be natural-born British subjects, and they must be above 17 and under 21 years of age. They must be unmarried, and if they marry before they leave the country for India, they will forfeit their appointment as Junior Assistants'.<sup>44</sup> It was thought that married men would not be able to bond and forge the necessary *esprit de corps* during training because of the distractions of married life. In addition there was an emphasis on the moral purity, not just of the candidate but of his family too; candidates should have had not just 'a first class life, but also a first class life history'.<sup>45</sup>

Initial selection, however, was on the results of an examination based upon that for entry into the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. Rule 3 of the selection regulations stated that:

Those candidates whose testimonials may be deemed satisfactory will, if passed by the Medical Board, be examined in the following branches of knowledge:

- I. English writing from dictation, and English composition.
- II. Arithmetic in all its branches.
- III. Algebra, up to and including the Binomial Theorem.
- IV. Geometry (1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th books of Euclid) and Plane trigonometry.
- V. Elements of Mechanics, Physics and Chemistry.
- VI. Surveying, Land Measuring, Plan Drawing, and the use and adjustment of Instruments.
- VII. A competent knowledge of French (to be tested partly by dictation), and with the facility of translating into that language.<sup>46</sup>

A basic, albeit private, education was thus all that was seemingly needed for entrance. However, in line with the selection process for civil service officers the need for men from the ‘right sort’ of families was emphasised; social class was an important issue. In contrast to the selection of civil service officers though, there was also an over-riding concern with the physical and mental fitness of prospective forest officers. Brandis’s own suggestions for recruitment as stated back in 1866 argued that:

Forest Officers in India frequently live isolated, far from their superior officers; they require tact, consideration and sound judgement in their constant, and often difficult, dealings with the local population. Moreover the fatigue and exposure, which the work necessarily entails, are great and the malaria in most of the forests is an undeniable fact. We require, therefore, pre-eminently picked men of high moral character, a good constitution, even temper and superior abilities, and it may be found, a rule, advantageous to give preference, *ceteris paribus*, to young men of good family connections.<sup>47</sup>

The last line is of particular interest as it shows that despite the introduction of examinations as the test of ‘moral character’, there was still considerable scope for patronage in the recruitment process. Indeed, in 1911, once again the social and physical status of prospective officers was emphasised:

...we [the Indian Forester editorial board] would prefer a boy of good social standing, of good general education, efficient in physical exercises, likely to eventually turn out a strong Officer in India, to a callow youth whose one object in life has been the possession of a science degree, in which, perhaps, as has been too often the case, some subject, such as Geology, of restricted use to him in India, has taken a prominent place. We should like to see the Board given the largest discretion in selecting candidates. ...the social status of a candidate is of the highest importance and has been at times neglected.<sup>48</sup>

Whilst social status was clearly important, the previous quotations also note that strong physical health was also a necessary criteria. After the academic examination, the bodies of candidates were thus given a thorough medical examination, with both height and chest measurements being taken. In addition, hearing,

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speech, skin, vision, and teeth were assessed, and, 'the limbs, feet and toes must be well formed and developed, with free and perfect motion of all joints.'<sup>49</sup>

It was also this criteria of physical fitness, rather than that of having good family connections, which was periodically used to deny the effectiveness of both Indians and the British lower middle classes for the Indian Forest Service. Despite the Government of India stating that they would give every encouragement to 'Native gentlemen' who wished to visit Europe in order to qualify for the Forest Service, in practice the selection process, which culminated in an interview prevented all but one Indian from becoming a forest officer until after 1913. Respected members of the Indian Forest Service, such as Ribbentrop, went further and argued against on the employment of 'Natives' on the grounds of utilitarian principles:

... I cannot accept, without a direct assurance to that effect, that the Government is bound to provide employment for educated Natives because they are educated Natives. It is, in my opinion, the duty of the Government to provide the State with the best servants for each kind of work, and to pay them at such market rates as will ensure the maintenance of an efficient service. Every other consideration must land us in uncertainty and doubt.

The admission of 'natives' to subordinate posts, however, was thus usually deemed 'eminently fitting'.<sup>50</sup> Ribbentrop further stressed that Indians lacked the physical fitness of European candidates:

It is a matter of regret, however, to see that a good many of the young men of pure Native extraction, who were at the School active cricketers and runners, give up their active habits after leaving that institution, and this circumstance is the more marked in the case of those who are placed in charge of timber depots or revenue stations, under which conditions they are apt to grow fat and comfortable. It frequently happens that the ordinary educated Native does not like the monotony, dangers, and vicissitudes of a forest life. He is afraid of tigers, of fever, and misses life in town. ... It is still ... a matter of considerable difficulty to obtain a sufficient supply of natives combining physically active habits and strength of character, with a liberal education.<sup>51</sup>

These racist remarks were echoed in 1922, against a backdrop of rising nationalist sentiment and a reduction in status of the forest service,<sup>52</sup> by an anonymous forest officer who argued that: 'So far as Indians are concerned, the disinclination to adopt a forester's career is possibly due to the fact that the life of the jungle is not spent sufficiently in the limelight and is frequently too strenuous to please the middle-class Indian youth, who prefers an easy road to competence and authority'.<sup>53</sup>

Whilst Ribbentrop and others advocated the employment of Indians in the subordinate forest positions, other members of the Indian Forest Service were unsure. For instance, in 1892 Hobart-Hampden argued that:

There seems to me to be a failure in the system of appointing 'Foresters'. The rules insist on them having passed the Middle Class Examination, no doubt in order to secure men of some general education. Unfortunately, mere general education is by no means sufficient for men who have such technical duties as have foresters – duties too, absolutely demanding experience. Almost the only men available under this examination rule are schoolboys or bazar bred individuals with flowing robes adorous of 'hing' and 'ghi' – Such creatures are, of course, impossible. Just fancy them controlling operations at a forest fire! The terror and hardships of a forest life are not for such as these. Give us straight men as hard as nails.

He goes on to suggest an alternative examination in which he would 'prevent morally inferior men from advancing by giving them minus marks in the moral subjects'.<sup>54</sup>

Having survived the selection process, forest service candidates were then trained. Those candidates first selected for the Forest Service in the 1870s had to undergo a two and a half year period of training at the School of Forestry in Nancy, France or at a similar institution in Germany. The course at Nancy was estimated to have cost the candidate some £450 for the two and a half years and ostensibly covered the management and science of forestry, surveying, road construction and the natural sciences. In France and Germany the forest service probationers were also to learn about the power of the State over forest land, something which could only be taught in Britain with great difficulty due to its degree of private forest ownership. In the State forests of Germany and France the students were able to become familiar with the three classes of forest property – State forest, communal forests and private forests – and the relation of the Government to these three classes. In addition, they became acquainted with forest legislation, and with the means used to gradually free public forests of indigenous rights which were thought to 'interfere with their good management'. This programme of training was in use up until 1885, when, forest training was transferred to the engineering college at Coopers Hill for a period of twenty years because of the obvious difficulties encountered in terms of the training of men in France and Germany during the preceding Franco-Prussian war. Training at Coopers Hill was then shifted on to several British universities and the Imperial Forest College at Dehra-Dun, India.<sup>55</sup>

Coopers Hill was described by one of the forest officers who taught there, Fisher, as,

an ideal place for a Forest School. ... With 100 acres of land, about 25 of which are woods, with splendid playing grounds, easy access to the river Thames, a good rifle-range and gymnasium, and excellent buildings for class-rooms, laboratories and the accommodation of students, a finer institution for the mental and physical education of young men could not have been established.

In 1890 the course at Coopers Hill had been extended from twenty-four months to thirty-four months, with the final term being spent in Germany. Writing, as he

was, on the eve of the closure of Coopers Hill, Fisher lamented its passing and remembered not just the training, but also the *esprit de corps* that had been created:

Cooper's Hill as a Forest School is no more, but the men trained at the old college have already begun to make their mark, while somewhat of the old *esprit de corps* of the United College of Engineers, Telegraphists and Foresters will remain at Oxford. Let us hope that the Indian scientific services will continue to remember the old bond of union between them and will further good government in India by working in concert.<sup>56</sup>

Other forest officers were more critical of the scientific content of the training they had received at Coopers Hill, for instance:

The Science course at Coopers Hill included a certain amount of higher mathematics (statics and hydrostatics), physics, chemistry, botany, entomology, and geology. None of these subjects were optional... In consequence what happened in many cases was that what should have been an interesting and profitable study developed into a wild struggle against awful odds to obtain the number of marks necessary to qualify. Many of us thus came to look on some of these sciences as enemies whose object was to endeavour to keep us out of the service instead of as friends whose design was to help us in our future careers. ... We may admit at once that all the above mentioned branches of science have a certain bearing on Forestry, but we must also confess that it is by no means necessary for every Forest Officer to be an expert in each one of them. We may, I think, go further still and say that a Forest Officer will be none the worse officer for being an expert in none of them. ... He must of course have an elementary knowledge of botany, but I think that if Indian Forest Officers were asked to state of what practical use to them have been the long hours they spent gazing through microscopes, the large majority of them would say none at all. The teaching of the other branches of science might be criticised on the same principles.<sup>57</sup>

In contrast to the training of civil service officers where languages and legal issues took precedence, sciences were emphasised in the training of forest officers.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, the hard scientific training was widely seen as relatively worthless for a career in the forest service with its strong administrative function. Nevertheless, whilst scientific training was seen as largely superfluous the bonding together was not and this officer also lamented the 'abolishing by a stroke of the pen ... the *esprit de corps*' of the service when Coopers Hill was closed.

On arrival in India, a European recruit was appointed initially as a Assistant Conservator of Forests, becoming after 5 years, a Deputy Conservator, any further promotion to Conservator and Chief Conservator being regulated by selection and vacancies. As of 1877, seniority in this arm of the Indian Forest Service had been regulated firstly according to the year of appointment and secondly according to the marks which candidates gained in the final examinations at the training school. (Previously, seniority had been regulated, according

to the date on which an officer joined his first posting in India, under which rule a man who stood low in the final examination list but who made the fastest passage to India, or whose province happened to be closer to England than that to which other men of his year were posted, would supersede other men who obtained better marks in the final examination.)<sup>59</sup> By 1900 the controlling branch of the Indian Forest Service was approximately 100 strong. The executive or provincial service, usually numbered around three hundred Extra Assistant Conservators, whilst the subordinate or protective force consisted of approximately 1600 Forest Rangers and Deputy Rangers, 2000 Foresters and 12000 Forest Guards.<sup>60</sup>

The creation of a forest service ostensibly with all the privileges of the Indian Civil Service, was initially met with opposition, as it challenged the power and status of the latter. Until 1865 the district officer had held sole control of all the land in his district and was able to use this power largely at his own discretion. From 1865 onwards, although they were unable to formally dispute, forest officers did begin to interfere in the district officer's decisions. As a result, considerable tension between the two services based upon both 'antagonism of interest and indifference of standpoint' was noted:

...the forest officer sees in the district officer a man willing to sacrifice the lasting well-being of the empire, rather than allow the people to suppose that he has ceased to be all powerful in his district, while the district officer, in his turn, regards the forest officer as full of crude and ill-digested notions, ignorant of, and indifferent to, the wants of the people, a clog to all true progress, and the cause of innumerable petitions and disputes.<sup>61</sup>

Scientific forestry in India at this time was in its infancy and the major conflict of interest was seen to be between the district officer's stereotypical consideration of how best to increase State revenue from the land, and the forest officer's stereotypical longer term silvicultural perspective on the resources of India. However, following the Forest conference at Simla in 1875 the work of the Forest Service became better known. Looking back, the second Inspector-General of Forests, Schlich noted that this conference was crucial in establishing forestry as an important subject alongside revenue matters because:

While the older members of the Forest Department were busy with important measures, the younger members mixed freely with Simla society, played and danced with the daughters of the leading men; in fact, the whole body was welcomed by Simla society. The department gained in popularity which led to the gradual disappearance of the opposition and facilitated the introduction of salutary measures in the future.<sup>62</sup>

Nevertheless, by 1893 rules had been drafted to clearly demarcate the positions of revenue (district) officers and forest officers. Through these rules forest officers were put in their place and subjected to a Benthamite system of inspection twice a month. For instance, Rule XX (b) stated that: 'The Collector

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shall not, as a rule, interfere in the technical management of the State forests in his district, but shall nevertheless exercise a general supervision, and may address the Conservator on any matters regarding, and suggest any change in, the technical management'. Rule XXXIII added that:

The Divisional Forest Officer shall, on the 1st and 16th of each month, draw up in his own hand a short but sufficiently full report or diary of all his movements, and of all business of material importance transacted by him during the preceding half-month. This diary shall include the substance of the more important facts recorded in the most recent diaries received from the Range-Officers, and shall be submitted to the Collector.<sup>63</sup>

Through this mechanism the forest officer's work was subject to continual inspection and surveillance.

More importantly, however, the work of the Indian forest officer was seen as much more physically arduous than that of a member of the civil service. It was this more muscular definition of manliness that helped to reinforce the identity of the Indian Forest Service in distinction to the Indian Civil Service. Members of the Indian Forest Service could expect to have to endure much harsher physical conditions than members of the Indian Civil Service. When the Inspector-General of Forests, Eardley-Wilmot argued to the contrary that: 'The extension of railways and the increase of population has remedied to a great extent the loneliness of the past, and the opening up of the forests and the construction of roads, houses and wells have so improved the sanitary conditions that, apart from the slight risks always facing the pioneers of civilisation, the forester, as a rule, is not called upon to endure greater hardships than his fellow workers in other branches of the Civil Service',<sup>64</sup> his comments were met by a swift and hostile riposte from more junior members of the forest service. In a series of letters written to the Indian Forester, Hodgson argued that promotion was virtually nonexistent, Watson argued that the hardships of a forest officer were physically and financially very great, whilst Hopwood pointed out that forest officers were still regarded as 'officially and intellectually' inferior to the Indian Civil Service. On the other hand, forest officers frequently lamented the lack of forest knowledge shown by Indian Civil Service officers: 'often he is a blind enthusiast in the cause of the countryside'.<sup>65</sup>

Looking back over her husband's life in the late nineteenth century, Olive Smythies, the wife of a forest officer, agreed with Watson above, and argued in her memoirs that the work of the Indian Forest officer was extremely varied:

What is a forest officer? ... to describe the work of a Forest Officer in a few words is impossible. ... [It] ... consists very largely of Administration – sitting in an office checking accounts, dealing with files, drawing up contracts, looking after his large subordinate staff (who seem to live in a whirl of burials, marriages and festivals, judging from their leave applications), compiling reports and returns, and interviewing all and sundry, from the clerk who wants a week's leave because 'his baby has



shuffled its mortal coils', as one applicant put it, to the wealthy contractor who works large areas of the forest. He sometimes plants trees, but more usually nowadays assists nature to grow the trees that are required. He may, at short notice, have to erect a turpentine factory or trout hatchery, or deal with a telegram from an agitated station master: 'Tiger on platform, traffic disorganised, please arrange'.<sup>66</sup>

Smythies thus emphasised the ritual administrative nature of forest work but also highlighted the degree of power and responsibility given to a forest officer. Similarly, in a much later recruitment speech broadcast on the All-India radio, another former head of the Indian Forest Service, Trevor, also attempted to answer the question – what does a forest officer actually do?

The answer is that a forest officer administers a large estate devoted to the production of timber as a crop. ... In addition to the cultivation and tending of forest crops the forest officer in charge of a division has the care of the estate in the shape of roads, buildings, boundaries, fire protection and has also the business side in the way of marking trees and sales to attend to. ... *A career in the Forest Service is not to be entered into lightly as it differs from the normal career to be expected in every other department of Government service. Most of your life will be lived in the remote places of earth, you will see little of towns or the amenities offered by the towns.* ... Those who enter the Forest Service should be somewhat like a pilgrim who undertakes the great journey to Kailash. He encounters many dangers and experiences great discomforts. Sometimes he is hungry, other times thirsty, the valleys are hot and the hills covered with snow, but ultimately as he gets to the end of his journey and sees the holy mountain, the goal of his hopes for many years, he forgets all the discomforts of the journey in the exultation of having at last obtained his desire.<sup>67</sup>

Trevor once again emphasised the adventurous nature of being a forest officer in comparison with other State departments and also pointed to the forest officer's desire to control and administer nature.

The adventurous side of being a forest officer was also epitomised by the importance of hunting or *shikar* in the construction of the forest officers' identity. As MacKenzie has argued:

Hunting required all the most virile attributes of the imperial male; courage, endurance, individualism, sportsmanship (combining the moral etiquette of the sportsman with both horsemanship and marksmanship), resourcefulness, a mastery of environmental signs and a knowledge of natural history.<sup>68</sup>

In addition, many forest officers claimed that hunting offered a kind of existential escape from the boredom and loneliness of everyday life. Best, for example, argued that:

Throughout my service I killed a great many [tigers] and I was mad keen on their hunting, studying the phases of the moon in anticipation of hunting them at night, and I looked forward to each camping site as a possible place of going in their pursuit. All

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of which sounds bloodthirsty – which it was. My excuse being that tiger *shikar* was at certain seasons of the year *my sole recreation in a very lonely existence*. The work was fascinating, of course, but something more was needed in a life where one spent months on end without seeing another European. Forest officers were rightly encouraged to shoot. They were responsible for the administration of game laws, and, like the bow-and-arrow men of the forests, could not be expected to take an interest in the animals unless they themselves were allowed close contact with them...<sup>69</sup>

There were, of course, various hunting practices or strategies which were important for the construction of the forest officer's identity in different ways. The first of these methods involved beating a tiger towards a line of sportsmen sat on the back of elephants, one of whom would shoot the tiger as it attempted to escape. This communal and highly organised method of hunting was particularly expensive. Indeed, Stebbing, reflecting on his life as a forest officer, acknowledged that it was a genuinely elite form of sport:

... it is the sport of kings and princes, bejeweled rajas, ... Viceroy's, and Lieutenant-Governors, the deputies of kings, and such minor fry as commissioners, moneyed globe-trotters, and suchlike. ... to enjoy this form of sport in its pristine excellence not only requires a long purse, but added thereto, more than a nodding acquaintance with the great powers that be...<sup>70</sup>

Hence, on these hunts certain tigers were known as 'Viceroy's Tigers': 'beasts that have been driven over time-honoured ground to a place where they are certain to come out for the brass hat to massacre,' Best noted.<sup>71</sup> Viceroy's tigers were inevitably larger than everyone else's as they were stretched during measurement. Forest officers, of course, were usually placed in charge of the organisation of these elite hunts, and as Benskin notes:

Those chosen to run shoots for V.I.P.s had to be experts in producing game at the right place, as well as sure and discreet longstops, so that the distinguished person got his tiger; tact, patience and diplomacy were essential qualifications.<sup>72</sup>

The forest officer himself, however, on the other hand, would also venture to go after tigers on foot in order to emphasise his masculine rationality and endurance:

Shooting tigers on foot is the cream of sport; it requires knowledge of the locality, careful planning, crafty stalking, good shooting and, in addition, entails considerable hardship in enduring the heat. Occasionally risks have to be taken if the tiger is to be bagged.<sup>73</sup>

Best also contrasted the knowledge gained from botany with that gained during *shikar* trips:

Botany is a useful subject to take up, we all had to know something of it, but as a principle hobby it bores me. If a forest officer is keen on *shikar* it means that he spends his leisure hours in the pursuit of game in the forests in the company of forest villagers

under his charge. He thus gets to know his forests and his villagers, which is all to the good.<sup>74</sup>

In the same vein Eardley-Wilmot, noted that tiger hunting often led a forest officer:

...to explore many places he might not otherwise have inspected; while the fear of surprise visits at inauspicious moments had a good effect in hindering the dishonesty of subordinates and contractors, and in preventing negligence...<sup>75</sup>

Accordingly, it was generally perceived that it was only really the hunter who could get to truly know rural India. More generally, hunting was seen as an instinctual part of the English national character. A character which was, *ceteris paribus*, caught up in a tradition of English fair play and sportsmanship. Hunting was seen as a healthy and, above all, manly pursuit which would provide excellent training for the English forest officer. To perform the physical activity involved in hunting proved a man was capable of higher things; it was a test of muscularity, manliness and morality.

## CONCLUSION

Whilst further research needs to be done into the work of the Indian Forest Service, for the moment we can conclude that the structural form of the service, like that of the Indian Civil Service was firmly influenced by utilitarian principles. However, the actual ethos of the forest service was developed largely in opposition to the Indian Civil Service with forest officers singled out for a tougher lifestyle and described as technical specialists. They were trained for a much harder life than the ordinary civil service officer and developed a unique *esprit de corps* through this training. Ultimately, they sought to use this *esprit de corps* to maintain their authority in the face of protests from both other branches of the civil service and members of the general Indian population. As a consequence, we can see that the identity of the forest officer was constructed around dominant nineteenth century representations of masculinity which emphasised independence and adventure as well as rationality. Indeed, the forest officer epitomised the late Victorian ideal of manliness: virile stoicism and muscular endurance.

## NOTES

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British Geographers, University of Exeter, January 1997 who commented on an earlier version of this paper. I am also grateful to my wife Julia, an anonymous referee, Dr. P. Shurmer-Smith and numerous other colleagues for commenting on drafts. However, I alone am responsible for any errors in this article.

<sup>1</sup> The term identity is here understood as socially and culturally constructed through specific discourses and practices, rather than a biologically determined outcome. For further elucidation see Shurmer-Smith, P. and Hannam, K. 1994. *Worlds of Desire, Realms of Power: A cultural geography*. London: Edward Arnold.

<sup>2</sup> See, Gadgil, M. and Guha, R. 1992. *This Fissured Land: An ecological history of India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

<sup>3</sup> In order to gain an understanding of the Indian Forest Service a number of sources were used as follows: the 'official' journal of the service – the *Indian Forester* and others such as the *Empire Forestry Journal*, the memoirs of past forest officers, key textbooks, government reports and miscellaneous publications of the forestry service. See, for example the official forest histories: Brandis, D. 1897. *Forestry in India: Origins and early developments*. Calcutta: Government of India; Ribbentrop, B. 1900. *Forestry in British India*. Calcutta: Government of India. (Both of these books have recently been re-issued by the publisher Natraj in Dehradun.) Stebbing, E. 1922. *The Forests of India*. London: John Lane. A fourth volume was written by Champion and Osmaston, see Champion, H. and Osmaston, F. (eds) 1962. *E. P. Stebbing's The Forests of India, Vol. IV. being the history from 1925 to 1947 of the forests now in Burma, India and Pakistan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. The strengths and weaknesses of each of these sources are considered in turn in my Ph.D thesis, which can be consulted for further details: Hannam, K. 1997. *The Indian Forest Service: A cultural geography*. Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Portsmouth. The recent article by Satpal Sangwan seeks to contextualise 'the role of the *Indian Forester* in creating awareness about the principles of forestry among both the learned few and the mass of the general public during the first 25 years of the magazine'. Sangwan, S. 1999. 'Making of a Popular Debate: The *Indian Forester* and the emerging agenda of state forestry in India, 1875–1904'. *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 36(2): 187–237. In his paper Sangwan makes some similar points to mine, unfortunately Sangwan's paper was published after this paper was written and submitted.

<sup>4</sup> Gadgil, M. and Guha, R. 1992. *This Fissured Land: An ecological history of India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, p. 64; Crosby, A. 1987. *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe 900–1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. For an account of India which follows Crosby's thesis see Desmond, R. 1992. *The European Discovery of the Indian Flora*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>5</sup> Guha, R. and Gadgil, M. 1989. 'State forestry and social conflict in British India'. *Past and Present* 123: 141–77. Quotes taken from p.142 and p.146 respectively.

<sup>6</sup> Tucker, has also written a number of papers which focus on the deforestation of India under British imperialism. See, Tucker, R. 1979. 'Forest management and imperial politics: Thana district, Bombay, 1823–1887'. *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 16(3): 273–300. Tucker, R. 1983. 'The British colonial system and the forests of the western Himalayas 1815–1814'. In Tucker, R. and Richards, J. (eds) *Global Deforestation and the Nineteenth Century World Economy*. Durham: Duke University Press; Tucker, R. 1984. 'The historical context of social forestry in the Kumaon Himalayas'. *Journal of Developing Areas* 18(4): 341–56; Tucker, R. 1988. 'The deple-

tion of India's forests under British imperialism: Planters, foresters and peasants in Assam and Kerala'. In Worster, D. (ed.) *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on modern environmental history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>7</sup> Guha, R. 1989. *The Unquiet Woods: Ecological change and peasant resistance in the himalayas*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

<sup>8</sup> See also his paper Guha, R. 1985. 'Forestry and social protest in British Kumaun, c.1893–1921'. In Guha, R. (ed.) *Subaltern Studies iv: Writings on South Asian History and Society*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.54–100.

<sup>9</sup> Grove, R. 1995. *Green Imperialism: Colonial expansion, tropical island Edens and the origins of environmentalism 1600–1800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.7.

<sup>10</sup> Shiva, V. 1989. *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development*. London: Zed, p.55.

<sup>11</sup> Rangarajan has similarly recently argued that: 'However simplistic the paradigm may seem, Shiva's concerns need more critical attention. This is all the more imperative because she articulates a widespread sentiment of the environmental movement, that the experience of colonial officials had nothing positive to offer. Not only would that amount to the mis-reading of the evidence, it would leave us with a mechanical view of state-society relations.' See Rangarajan, M. 1996. 'Environmental histories of South Asia: A review essay'. *Environment and History* 2: 129–43. Quotation from p.139.

<sup>12</sup> See, Bryant, R. 1992. Political ecology: An emerging research agenda in Third-World studies. *Political Geography* 11(1), pp.12–36.

<sup>13</sup> Bryant, R. 1996. 'Romancing colonial forestry: the discourse of "forestry as progress" in British Burma'. *Geographical Journal* 162(2): 169–78. Quote from p.170. See also: Bryant, R. 1994. 'Shifting the Cultivator: The politics of teak regeneration in colonial Burma'. *Modern Asian Studies* 28(2): 225–50. Quote from p.225. See also Bryant, R. 1994. 'The rise and fall of taungya forestry'. *The Ecologist* 24(1): 21–6; Bryant, R. 1994. 'Fighting over the forests: Political reform, peasant resistance and the transformation of forest management in late colonial Burma'. *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 32(2): 244–260.

<sup>14</sup> Jewitt, S. 1995. 'Europe's "Other"? Forestry Policy and Practices in Colonial and Postcolonial India'. *Society and Space* 13(1): 67–90.

<sup>15</sup> Sivaramakrishnan, K. 1995. 'Colonialism and Forestry in India: Imagining the past in present politics'. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37(1): 3–40.

<sup>16</sup> Sivaramakrishnan, K. 1996. 'The Politics of Fire and forest regeneration in Colonial Bengal'. *Environment and History* 2: 145–94. Quotation from p.146.

<sup>17</sup> Sivaramakrishnan, K. 1997. 'A limited forest conservancy in Southwest Bengal, 1864–1912'. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 56: 75–112. Quotation from p.76. See also his other papers on this subject: Sivaramakrishnan, K. 1996. 'British imperium and forested zones of anomaly in Bengal, 1767–1833'. *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 33(3): 243–82; Sivaramakrishnan, K. 1999. 'Transition Zones: Changing landscapes and local authority in south-west Bengal'. *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 36(1): 1–34. Other theoretically informed regional studies have also recently been published, for example, Rangarajan, M. 1995. *Fencing the Forest: Conservation and ecological change in India's Central provinces, 1860–1914*. Delhi; Damodaran, V. 1995. 'Famine in a Forest Tract'. *Environment and History* 1: 129–58; Mann, M. 1995. 'Ecological Change in North India: Deforestation and agrarian distress in the Ganga-Jamna Doab 1800–1850'. *Environment and History* 1: 201–20; Guha, S. 1996. 'Forest politics and agrarian empires: the Khandesh Bills, c.1700–1850'. *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 33(2): 133–53; Rangan, H. 1997. 'Property vs. Control: The

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State and Forest Management in the Indian Himalaya'. *Development and Change* 28: 71–94; Hardiman, D. 1998. 'Farming in the Forest: The Dangs 1830–1992'. In Poffenberger, M. and McGean, B. (eds) *Village Voices, Forest Choices: Joint Forest Management in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press; Poffenberger, M. 1998. 'The Struggle for Forest Control in the Jungle Mahals of West Bengal, 1750–1990'. In Poffenberger, M. and McGean, B. (eds) *Village Voices, Forest Choices: Joint Forest Management in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Cohn, B. 1966. 'The Recruitment and Training of British Civil Servants in India, 1600–1860'. In Brabanti, R. (ed.) *Asian Bureaucratic Systems Emergent from the British Imperial Tradition*. Durham: Duke University Press. This paper is also published in his 1987 collection, *An Anthropologist among the Historians and Other Essays*. Delhi: Oxford University Press; Spangenberg, B. 1971. 'The problem of recruitment for the Indian Civil Service during the late nineteenth century'. *Journal of Asian Studies* 30: 341–60; Dewey, C. 1973. 'The education of a ruling caste: The Indian civil service in the era of competitive examination'. *English Historical Review* 88(4): 262–85; Potter, D. 1973. 'Manpower shortage and the end of colonialism: The case of the Indian Civil Service'. *Modern Asian Studies* 7(1): 47–73; Beaglehole, T. 1977. 'From rulers to servants the ICS and the British demission of power in India'. *Modern Asian Studies* 11(2): 237–55; Misra, B. 1977. *The Bureaucracy in India: An historical analysis of development up to 1947*. Delhi: Oxford University Press; Van den Dungen, P. 1972. *The Punjab Tradition*. London; Dewey, C. 1993. *Anglo-Indian Attitudes: The mind of the Indian Civil Service*. London: Hambledon; Potter, D. 1986. *India's Political Administrators 1919–1983*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

<sup>19</sup> I use the term power here in the Foucauldian sense of how the specific relations of discourses and practices lead to forms of disciplinary power. Foucault saw power as co-extensive with the social domain; indeed, power is almost everywhere: consisting of multiple dynamic relations which help to constitute social and cultural identities. The emergence of an automatic and anonymous disciplinary power in the nineteenth century was the result of four main utilitarian elements. Firstly, there is a tendency for hierarchical observation, commonly referred to as the power of the gaze or the surveillance of individuals within specific institutions. At the basis of hierarchical observation is the notion that the person who surveys does so as an incumbent of an office and not as an individual; the observing is a duty not a pleasure. Secondly, there is a degree of scientific classification; censuses and surveys permit the management of the population as well as its observation. The collection of statistics can lead to the segmentation of individuals into formal categories even though the scientific procedures may seem disinterested and 'objective'. Thirdly, such classification involves what Foucault called 'normalising judgements' in order to define morally correct behaviour on the basis of rules and conventions. Fourthly, examinations of all kinds are employed to establish 'truth' and to provide the results for further segmentation. See Foucault, M. 1975. *Discipline and Punish: The birth of the prison*. Harmondsworth: Penguin; Foucault, M. 1982. 'The subject and power'. In Dreyfus, H. and Rabinow, P. (eds) *Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics*. Brighton: Harvester Press, pp.208–26; Foucault, M. 1984. 'Space, Knowledge and Power'. In Rabinow, P. (ed.) *The Foucault Reader*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

<sup>20</sup> Cook, S. 1993. *Imperial Affinities: Nineteenth century analogies and exchanges between India and Ireland*. Delhi: Sage, p.64.

- <sup>21</sup> MacLeod, R. 1975. 'Scientific Advice for British India'. *Modern Asian Studies* 9 (3): 346.
- <sup>22</sup> Both Mill and Bentham had attacked the East India Company's status as a 'sort of local monarchy'. See Majeed, J. 1992. *Ungoverned Imaginings: James Mill's The History of British India and Orientalism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. pp.24–5.
- <sup>23</sup> Sen, S. 1994. 'Colonial Frontiers of the Georgian State: East India Company's Rule in India'. *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7(4): 369–92.
- <sup>24</sup> Bentham, J. 1789/1931. *Principles of Morals and Legislation*. London.
- <sup>25</sup> Mill, J. 1821/1937. *Essay on Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- <sup>26</sup> Stokes, E. 1959. *The English Utilitarians and India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.73–4.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p.320.
- <sup>28</sup> *Parliamentary Papers* 1831–32, Volume 12, pp.407–8.
- <sup>29</sup> Raman, K. 1994. 'Utilitarianism and the Criminal Law in Colonial India: A Study of the Practical Limits of Utilitarian Jurisprudence'. *Modern Asian Studies* 28(4): 739–91. See p.740.
- <sup>30</sup> Dewey, C. 1993. *Anglo-Indian Attitudes: The mind of the Indian Civil Service*. London: Hambledon, p.9.
- <sup>31</sup> Misra writes that: 'In spite of diverse education the strong *esprit de corps* emerging from training at the East India College made the recruits interested more in the Service than the country where they served'. Misra, B. 1977. *The Bureaucracy in India: An historical analysis of development up to 1947*. Delhi: Oxford university Press, p.74.
- <sup>32</sup> See Cohn, B. 1987. *An Anthropologist Among the Historians and Other Essays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.544.
- <sup>33</sup> *Parliamentary Papers* 1832, Volume 7, p.54.
- <sup>34</sup> See Misra, op cit., p.83.
- <sup>35</sup> 1864, *The Competition Wallah*. London. pp.6–7.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.10–11. Misra also shows that candidates for the Indian Civil Service were increasingly been recruited with non-public school backgrounds. These recruits had instead attended private day schools, often referred to as 'crammers'. As a result: 'The old emphasis on disciplined conduct and character-building naturally began to lose its importance...' Misra, op cit., p.105.
- <sup>37</sup> 'The importance of the training of Civil Servants in Indian languages as well as law was realised with the extended activity of the state in the 1860s'. *Ibid.*, p.173.
- <sup>38</sup> Bayly, C. 1993. 'Knowing the Country: Empire and Information in India'. *Modern Asian Studies* 27(1): 3–43. See pp.3–4.
- <sup>39</sup> Dalhousie was firmly of utilitarian persuasion. See Ghosh, S. 1978. 'The utilitarianism of Dalhousie and the material improvement of India'. *Modern Asian Studies* 12(1): 97–110
- <sup>40</sup> See, Brandis, D. 1897. *Forestry in India: Origins and early developments*. Calcutta: Government of India; Ribbentrop, B. 1900. *Forestry in British India*. Calcutta: Government of India (both of these books have recently been re-issued by the publisher Natraj in Dehradun); Stebbing, E. 1922. *The Forests of India*. London: John Lane; Rawat, A. (ed.) 1991. *History of Forestry in India*. New Delhi: Indus; Negi, S. 1994. *Indian Forestry Through the Ages*. New Delhi: Indus; Srivastava, B. 1957. 'A brief history of the Indian Forest Service'. *Indian Forester* 83(8): 475–80; Rangarajan, M. 1994. 'Imperial Agendas and India's Forests: The early history of Indian forestry'. *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 31(2): 147–67.

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- <sup>41</sup> Saldanha, I. 1996. 'Colonialism and Professionalism: A German forester in India'. *Environment and History* 2: 195–219. Quotation from p.201.
- <sup>42</sup> Schlich, W. 1890. 'The Utility of Forests and the Study of Forestry'. *Indian Forester* 16(4): 212–34. Quotation from p.221.
- <sup>43</sup> Brandis, cited in McDonnell, J. 1929. 'Early days of forestry in India'. *Empire Forestry Journal* 8(1): 85–97.
- <sup>44</sup> Anon. 1932. 'The Training of Candidates and Probationers for Appointment as Forest Officers in the Government Service. Report of a Committee Appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies'. *Indian Forester* 58(3): 140–53.
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>46</sup> Anon. 'Particulars Respecting the Selection of Candidates for Nomination to Junior Appointments in December 1883. Forest Department of India'. *Indian Forester* 9, Supplement. By 1900, however, the entrance examination was changed to emphasise the scientific basis of forestry. Subjects were divided into two classes: 1. Compulsory subjects: Elementary mathematics, English composition, German, Botany. 2. Optional subjects: Higher mathematics, Latin, French, Greek, English History, Chemistry, Physics, Physiography and Geology.
- <sup>47</sup> Srivastava, T. 1986. 'Forests and Forestry in India'. *Indian Forester* 112(7): 563–72. Brandis is cited on p.568.
- <sup>48</sup> Anon. 1911. 'The recruitment of the Imperial Forest Service'. *Indian Forester* 37(8): 403–13. Quote from pp.411–12.
- <sup>49</sup> MacGlagan, E. 1912. 'Indian Forest Service: Regulations as to the appointment of probationers, 1912'. *Indian Forester* 38(2): 57–74. Quotes from p.69.
- <sup>50</sup> See, Government of India to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, 23rd February 1877, Calcutta; Her Majesty's Secretary of State, India to Government of India, India Office, London, 18 October 1877. Cited in *Indian Forester* 1878, 3(4): 295–308.
- <sup>51</sup> Ribbentrop, B. 1887. 'Note on the Question of the Admission of Natives into the Indian Forest Service'. *Indian Forester* 12(1): 332–38. Quotations from p.333 and pp.335–6.
- <sup>52</sup> The Indian Forest Service was 'provincialised' from 1925 onwards. That is it ceased to be an 'All-India' service, with recruitment and discipline being transferred to local governments in India in order to allow for greater Indianisation. For further details see Hannam, K. 1997. *The Indian Forest Service: A cultural geography*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Portsmouth.
- <sup>53</sup> Editorial. 1922. 'Forestry in Bombay'. *Empire Forestry Journal*, pp.178–9.
- <sup>54</sup> Hobart-Hampden, A. 1892. 'The Appointment of Foresters'. *Indian Forester* 17(2): 307–9. Quotations from p.307 and p.308.
- <sup>55</sup> From 1866 to 1886, 97 forest officers were successfully trained either in France or Germany. Between 1887 and 1906, 162 forest officers passed through Coopers Hill College. From 1906 till 1919, 113 forest officers graduated from Oxford, Cambridge or Edinburgh University with a diploma in forestry suitable for entrance into the Indian Forest Service. Source: Srivastava, B. 1957. 'A brief history of the Indian Forest Service'. *Indian Forester* 83(8): 475–80.
- <sup>56</sup> Fisher, W. 1905. 'The Forestry Branch at Coopers Hill'. *Indian Forester* 31: 679–86. Quotations from p.681 and p.683.
- <sup>57</sup> 'O.C.H.' 1912. 'The Training of Indian Foresters'. *Indian Forester* 38(1): 43–5. Quotation from p.44.
- <sup>58</sup> Misra, op.cit., pp.174–95.



- <sup>59</sup> See, Government of India to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, 23rd February 1877, Calcutta; Her Majesty's Secretary of State, India to Government of India, India Office, London, 18 October 1877. Cited in 1878 *Indian Forester*, 3(4), pp.295–308. Quotation from p.305.
- <sup>60</sup> Srivastava, B. 1957. 'A brief history of the Indian Forest Service'. *Indian Forester* 83(8): 475–80; Negi, S. 1994. *Indian Forestry Through the Ages*. New Delhi: Indus.
- <sup>61</sup> Amery, C. 1876. 'On the relation between District and Forest Officers'. *Indian Forester* 1(3): 294–8. Quotation from p.296.
- <sup>62</sup> Schlich, W. 1925. 'The Indian Forester 1875–1925'. *Indian Forester* 51(7): 291–301. Quotation from p.297.
- <sup>63</sup> Anon. 1893. 'The New Draft Rules regarding Settlement and the Positions of Revenue and Forest Officers'. *Indian Forester* 19(8): 469–80. Quotations from p.477 and p.479 respectively.
- <sup>64</sup> Eardley-Wilmot, S. 1916. 'Forestry in India: Entry into the service'. *Indian Forester* 42(7): 380–3. Quote from p.380.
- <sup>65</sup> Anon. 1935. 'Forest and public rights'. *Indian Forester* 61(2): 69–70.
- <sup>66</sup> Smythies, O. 1953. *Tiger Lady: Adventures in an Indian jungle*. London: Heinemann, pp.ix–x.
- <sup>67</sup> Trevor, G. 1937. 'A career in the forest department'. *Indian Forester* 63(7): 433–8. Quote from pp.436–7. By 1937 the forest service was having severe difficulties in recruiting what the hierarchy believed to be the right sort of people, partly due to nationalist unrest and partly due to the provincialisation of the service. Nevertheless, Trevor reiterates the point that the work of the forest officer is very different to that of the ordinary civil service officer.
- <sup>68</sup> MacKenzie, J. 1987. 'The imperial pioneer and hunter and the British masculine stereotype in late Victorian and Edwardian times'. In Mangan, J. and Walvin, J. (eds) *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class masculinity in Britain and North America 1800–1940*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.179. See also MacKenzie, J. 1988. *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, conservation and British imperialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- <sup>69</sup> Best, J.W. 1935. *Forest Life in India*. London: Murray, pp.161–2. My emphasis.
- <sup>70</sup> Stebbing, E. P. 1911. *Jungle by-ways in India: Leaves from the note-book of a sportsman and a naturalist*. London: John Lane, p.210.
- <sup>71</sup> Best, J.W. 1935. *Forest Life in India*. London: Murray, p.185.
- <sup>72</sup> Benskin, E. 1963. *Jungle Castaway*. London: Hale, p.118.
- <sup>73</sup> Best, J. W. 1931. *Indian Shikar Notes*. 3rd edition. Lahore: Pioneer, p.69.
- <sup>74</sup> Best, J.W. 1935. *Forest Life in India*. London: Murray, p.161.
- <sup>75</sup> Eardley-Wilmot, S. 1910. *Forest Life and Sport in India*. London: Edward Arnold, p.77.