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MILLERS Ltd.,
SOLE AGENTS FOR CEYLON

Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon.



"Eendracht maakt Macht"

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Contributions are invited from members on subjects calculated to be of interest to the Union. MSS. must be written on one side of the paper only and must reach the Editor at least a fortnight before the date of publication of the Journal.

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— THE —
DUTCH IN CEYLON

VOL. I.

BY

R. G. ANTHONISZ, I. S. O.

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THE CHANGING WEATHER.

The Weather provides the usual opening for conversation when strangers and acquaintances meet and are obliged to talk to one another. "A hot day", says one; or, "A chilly day"; or, "Queer weather for this time of the year." Indeed, for us the weather has been decidedly erratic: drought when rain was naturally expected, rain spoiling our crops at unseasonable times. It appears to be the same elsewhere. In England, we are told, there are days in summer this year when warm clothing has been found necessary.

Titania attributed the changes in the weather in her day to Oberon's bad temper:

"The spring, the summer,
The chiding autumn, angry winter, change
Their wonted liveries; and the mazed world,
By their increase, now knows not which is which.
And this same progeny of evils comes
From our debate, from our dissension;
We are their parents and original."

There are some who ascribe the changes of weather in these days to other quarrels than those between fairies; it is to the dissensions between real, substantial peoples, such as the recent Allies and the Axis. It is the War, they say, which is responsible for our climatic aberrations. What else could we expect from these continual clashes and crashes in the air convulsing the quiet atmosphere, these explosions of earth-shaking bombs destroying cities, these torpedoes and mines that irritate the waves and currents of the seas? And then there is the newly-discovered Atom force whose destructive action is felt miles and miles around. It is the War, and nothing else which has changed our weather conditions. With thousands this is an article of faith.

But the War has changed the weather in other respects—changed our political climate, for example. Vital changes are taking place in our form of Government. A new Constitution has been framed under which the old order will pass away. We shall cease to be a British colony, but ourselves, or rather the majority of us will be our rulers and shape our destinies. There will no longer be a

Board of Ministers, but a governing Cabinet with a Prime Minister and portfolios. There will necessarily be groups called Parties who may, or may not, form an united Opposition. There will be new electorates of voters, bristling with new ideas of a vague political transcendence called Democracy, and new methods of election, so arranged as to give the most illiterate voter a chance to express his own views.

These political changes must have their effect on our social and moral climate. Those who have begun to realize the power placed in their hands will learn to use that power. The poor will strive to reduce the inequalities of wealth and poverty. The privileges of capitalists and the highly-placed will gradually disappear, and Jack will assert himself to be at least as good as his master. Hence the strikes and the floods of political oratory which disturb the even current of our lives.

It is not only the majority community which has been actively conscious of a new, changed atmosphere. Every other community is awake, or rather has been awakened to a vivid realization of rights and duties which it has neglected in the easy times of peace. Most striking is the awakening of the Muslims who are convinced that wealth fails to bring about general contentment, that education is a source of power, and that social customs which had good reason for their establishment must be abandoned when they hinder a people's progress. The Indian communities cling to their claim to be Ceylonese citizens with the privileges belonging to born citizens. Then, there is the Woman's Cause, with its claim for equality with men in public as well as purely social matters. Many have been taken for service in Military establishments and even the Civil Government offices.

Even the literary (including the educational) weather has undergone a change. The older generation—there are still some left to be pitied or ignored—used to revel in the English Classics. In these they found instruction, entertainment, guidance, and inspiration. The old writers found delight in the old traditions of style, restraint, vigour, and orderly sequence. But the change was inevitable. Our novelists of today are most popular when they abandon all restraint and satisfy a gaping crowd of readers with personal details, particularly in matters of sex, which "leave no room for the imagination." Our new poets free-wheel without rhyme and sometimes without reason. Our newspapers delight in banner lines and spicy headings for little, commonplace paragraphs. And why not? Every age has its own characteristics, and this is the age of a new Freedom. Our education is known as Free Education—which only means that our children pay no tuition fees, and the schools come under despotic rules and regulations. The English language we speak is soon to be displaced by, or subordinated to, the vernaculars. Meanwhile, it is being Americanized.

Such are some of the changes in our weather.

L. E. B.

THE BOER PRISONER-OF-WAR IN CEYLON (1900—1902).

By R. L. BROHIER, F.R.G.S.

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(Continued from our last issue).

II

Boer Town ... Some Facts and Fallacies.

The portion of the Diyatalawa Camp which was ringed by the deep trench and barbed wire entanglements, very soon came to be called Boer Town. It was divided into two *laagers* or settlements. The one nearer the railway station was dubbed by the prisoners themselves Kruger's Dorp, and was occupied mainly by Transvaalers. The Burghers from the Orange River Colony occupied the other part, which they christened Steyn's Ville.

Several articles describing visits to Boer Town, many of them by eminent newspaper correspondents, found a place in the Press accounts of the period. Avoiding minor details which at this date have lost their sharpness of outline and interest, suppose we glean those particulars which materially help to construct impressions of the life of the South African Prisoners-of-War in these settlements, and to recall the poignant observations made at the time regarding the treatment accorded to them. Describing the surroundings, one visitor wrote: "Having passed through the well-guarded gate of the wire entanglement enclosure, we found ourselves in a scattered settlement of huts and tin-roofed sheds, not at all unlike one of those newly established townships one comes across in Rhodesia, or some other young colony. And indeed, it is a township, for this Boer community as I soon discovered, controlled by their own officers, manage everything for themselves, and have among them their own tradesmen and artificers of every sort, their shops and their schools and churches, all within the limits of the wire enclosure."

Another correspondent pictures the small shops of the Boer tradesmen, flanking the approach road to the settlements, within the enclosure, as being precisely like the "winkel" or village store in the Transvaal. "Here", he says, "the Boer barber and the universal provider had settled to do business, the one was to be seen trimming the black beard of a fellow Burgher, while the other was sitting on his tins and his boxes, with an air of placid content that the winkel-keeper on the veldt might rightly have envied."

"A motley crowd indeed," was the expression in general use to sum up the inhabitants collected in Kruger's Dorp and Steyn's Ville. Some, we are told, were refined and highly educated, others were of very mean intelligence. They were mostly Free Staters who had gone on commando with Olivier, the majority young men, with the beard just showing in ragged points on their chins; round, soft looking faces, bearing on them nothing of the stress or haggardness of war. Many were boys

scarcely in their teens, but all sturdy boys at that. Some of the captives were very old men.

There were Transvaal Burghers and Boers proper; Americans, Austrians, Belgians, Norwegians, Russians, Spanish, French, Germans, Greeks, with seven Englishmen and five Scotch, listed among them, a good many honest excellent fellows, some chivalrous enemies, a few with evil histories behind them. They were collected in groups everywhere, walking, or standing and talking; the majority had put aside the smasher hat of the veldt and wore solar topees. Now and again one saw some sour old Dopper irreconcilable, or ill-conditioned youngster who glared sullenly, but in general they were not only in good health but also contented and happy.

The thrift of the average Boer captive was reflected by the fact that while he wore his old clothes in camp, and masqueraded as a scarecrow in patches, most of them had good clothes packed away in boxes waiting for the day when they were to have their liberty again. It followed therefore that these thick-built men looked stolid and loutish in their rough slipshod attire. But when they were seen, thirty at a time, in the swimming bath they had built for themselves, fed with cold water from the hills, one noticed their fine physique, and realised that clothes do not make the man in war. It was only under these circumstances that their activity and endurance, which was apt to be hidden by the occasional round shoulder and careless gait, were revealed.

Some hysterical people sought to raise an outcry against the presence of children in the camp of the captive Boers. There were two hundred and fifty children in the camp at Diyatalawa, who were represented in some versions as victims of British oppression, in others, as heroes who outshone David in prowess.

The fact, however, discloses that these children had been captured with their fathers and their brothers and uncles, and were allowed to accompany them to Ceylon, as they had no other relative to look after them. A strong arm indeed would have been needed to tear them away from their relatives. Captivity must indeed have sat lightly on these youngsters. "We are afforded a glimpse of them" said one visitor, "trooping to school, looking as happy as children can." Dutch teachers had been provided at the expense of the Dutch South African Fund to educate these children. Comparing conditions, it was doubtless only too truly said that "they were better fed, better clothed, better taught and better housed than the majority of the children in the Transvaal at that moment."

The prisoners-of-war, with the exception of the officers, were housed in the long well-ventilated huts which are a feature of Diyatalawa to this day. Each of these zinc, barrack-room-like structures held 56 camp beds which were ranged on either side allowing for a corridor down the middle. This central space was furnished with mess-tables and benches. At each table sat 8 men, thus providing 7 messes to each hut.

There was hardly any other furniture, except these bare necessities, and a locker with which each captive was provided. All trace of

bareness was, however, effectively removed by an odd collection of bags, clothing and miscellaneous personal purchases of the inmates which were strung on the lower structures of the steel framework supporting the roof. In this orderly disorderliness one might have picked out sticks of sugar-cane, bunches of plantains and pineapples, even grasses and strange curios which had appealed to individual tastes.

Mid-day usually found the huts quite full, the prisoners lying about in a minimum of every-day clothing waiting for their meal. When they sat down to their food, it was to be expected that there would be large disappearances of the servings which were made to them, in a manner natural to hungry and heavily built men. They drew the rations ordinarily allowed to the British soldier, with a few extras on medical advice. Beef was issued six days in the week, mutton once a week, and the usual supplementary ration of potatoes, bread, sugar, tea and coffee. Official reports rather labour the point that the beef and mutton supplies were imported. The kitchens were separately housed in the vicinity of each living shed, and those occupying a hut took turns to do the cooking for their companions in a particular shed.

This recurring menu of boiled meat and coffee suggests a rather monotonous diet, but these campaigners of the veldt proved that they were not accustomed to variety in cooking. They expounded an axiom that if food be good in one way, it should always be good in that way. But there was apparently one point on which they made no compromise, being by custom great lovers of fat, succulent meat. In the early stage, while arrangements for adequate supplies of frozen meat and mutton from Australia were in the making, they complained bitterly of the coarseness of the beef and declared that the mutton was just goat! They could not reconcile themselves to the singular fact that it has always been so in Ceylon.

The sanitary arrangements in the settlement consisted of wash-houses and baths liberally scattered over the fringe of the dwelling huts, well-planned latrines worked on the dry-earth system, which were located in convenient situations, and the systematic transportation along a line of light railway of all refuse, garbage and solid excreta, with provision for their disposal by fire or burial. All the huts and kitchens were as a matter of routine cleansed and disinfected once a week by the prisoners-of-war themselves, the process consisting of the spraying of the walls with Jeyes solution and the dressing of floors with a 1 in 500 acid solution of perchloride of mercury.

These details, which throw light on bygone living conditions in a prisoner-of-war camp, where life in general was considered to be tougher, are interesting if not entirely amusing. Bugs were close companions, and apparently multiplied as rapidly as they are reputed to have done in modern concentration camps. However, those were days before the virtues of D.D.T. were discovered, and remedies were confined to a thorough sterilization of all bedding and clothing in what is stated to have been "a Thresh's disinfectant".

The Boer in his tropic camp lost nothing of his strong religious bent and the worshipful spirit nurtured in his homeland. As a matter

of fact their naturally austere religious character was considerably strengthened by the irksomeness of a captive life, by the weary monotony of awaiting release, and the constant thinking of home and friends.

Every night prayer-meetings were held in the open and a genuine chorus of praise rose in the evening air. Often during the day groups congregated in the shade singing Psalms, and sat listening to long sermons of which they never seemed to grow weary. Invariably too, the grim-looking, old, grey-beard, sitting apart silent and solitary, whom one passed with a poignant interest, held in his hands a time-worn, leather-bound book with heavy black text, which one easily recognised. Stolid and uncompromising in religion, as in war, these silent, dramatic personnel seemed to be alive to nothing else but the inspiration and comfort they were able to draw from the torn and well thumbed pages of their Bibles. Like most zealots, they did not scruple to look upon all amusements as sinful, or to resort to artifice for religious sake.

The story is told that the younger men built themselves a very fine recreation hall for that indoor pastime which in the confinement of a camp they so much needed. The older element asked the authorities for permission to hold a service there one night in the week. When this request was granted, they appealed for two nights to be set apart for services, then for three. Eventually they pressed for the consecration of the building. The authorities, perhaps, considered it better policy to humour the older generation, and the hall was consecrated. The climax came very shortly after this was done. The zealots insisted that indoor sport should not be permitted as the hall had been consecrated. Pressing their point, they gained entire possession, and a new recreation hall had to be built.

Yet another amusing incident arose over a difference of opinion regarding the band of the British regiment doing duty as guards at Diyatalawa. Nearly every night it used to play in a quadrangle adjoining the Boer settlement, and proved a source of relaxation to a large number of the prisoners-of-war. The old Boer die-hards lodged a protest declaring that the performance was ill-timed, because it drew young people away from the evening prayer-meetings and turned their thoughts to the frivolities of life!

Stranger still, about the same time there was an outcry that the military band had been sent up to Diyatalawa for the gratification of the "spoilt" Boer. So, weighted by the clamour of protest in the local papers, and the misdirected evangelical piety of some of the Boers themselves, the Regimental band ceased to play in the vicinity of the prisoners-of-war camp. Much to the disappointment of the "loyal communities" it was not however moved to the cities, but performed instead for the benefit of Tommy Atkins in the precincts of the Guard's Camp.

This phase of religious zeal was developing into a mania and it seemed obvious that something had to be done. Eventually, a medical board decided that all those captive Boers who did not conform to a self-appointed curriculum of athletic pastime should be sent out of the

camp daily, on parole under the charge of one of their officers, for exercise. By this means and in other suitable ways they were gradually distracted from intense preoccupation with religion.

Their normal spiritual wants were attended to partly by a special chaplain sent from South Africa, and partly by volunteer ministers from among themselves and from different religious bodies in the Island. Very naturally, the larger number of the prisoners-of-war belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church. Proportionately they were about 90% of the total interned. In lesser degree, every other denomination was represented, including Congregationalists, the Greek Church, and the French Reformed Church. A fairly large number called themselves "Protestants" and a few claimed to be "Lutherans". Only 29 classified themselves as followers of other religions. The majority of these professed the Jewish faith, the remainder included Spiritualists, Atheists, Free-thinkers, and two who claimed to be followers of Mohammedanism. There were five who confessed they had "no religion".

The picture of the Boer Camp Postmaster is interesting. He was a pure-blooded Burgher of the Free State, named Van Olst, a Justice of the Peace in his district, who was called upon to fight like the rest of his countrymen when the time came. It was his daily duty to collect the letters for the prisoners which had been passed and censored in the Camp Commandant's Office, and personally to deliver them to the addressees. Considering the large population he served, he seems to have faithfully performed his duties to the satisfaction of one and all.

Subject to the censorship referred to, the prisoners-of-war were permitted to communicate freely with their friends in or out of Ceylon. Apparently comparatively few letters or publications had to be detained or suppressed by the authorities. Among those which did not pass the Censor was a fiery little pamphlet, dated 1900, entitled "Our beloved South Africa in Fetters".

It is beyond the power of the pen to describe the thousand and one odd incidents of camp-life brought to the notice of visitors in the course of a day spent in these temporary "laagers". When we recall that nearly all these veldt-born Burghers must have led very busy lives in their home-land, it is not unusual to expect that they found time hanging very heavily.

Soon after the early contingents from South Africa moved up to Diyatalawa, a large number of them asked for work. In the light of circumstances which would naturally have made these captives petulant and impatient, the authorities decided to afford these volunteers the employment they craved for.

This happened about the time it was found necessary considerably to extend the camp. The available skilled labour was accordingly diverted on to these undertakings, and on the construction of additional reservoirs and water-works. The unskilled labour was detailed to carry out earth-works. The parade ground, which adjoins the main road leading at the present time to the Survey Camp, and the esplanade called the Polo Ground, both of them originally swamps—the former in particular an eye sore and the sole disfigurement of a well laid out settlement, were filled up and levelled by the captive Boer. The road which

traverses the valley between Diyatalawa and Bandarawela, was also both traced and constructed by them. Perpetuated by its name, the Boer Road, it is one of the few tangible links left to remind the average visitor to Diyatalawa of the sojourn of the Boer prisoner-of-war.

The labour supplied by the Boers was apportioned on a 7 hour a day basis. The prisoners were paid for the work they carried out, the maximum rate for the more skilled captive-artisan being Rs. 1/25 a day.

The varied talent concentrated in the prisoner-of-war camp is most illuminatingly revealed in the report of the Census of the Island, which happily came to be taken very soon after their arrival. No fewer than 152 different previous occupations were recorded. The list begins with Accountant and ends with Wine Merchant. Farmers were of course in preponderance, (3679), and there were by no means a few carpenters, black-smiths, masons and fitters. There was a Professor of Mathematics, 32 Engineers, 1 Attorney, 2 Advocates or barristers, several doctors and more interesting to reflect on, a conjurer, 2 pugilists and an undertaker.

As has ever been the custom of war-prisoners all the world over, a large number spent their time manufacturing curios to while away the dragging hours. Not having tools they devised planes out of table-knives, saws out of barrel-hoops, and with the aid of these and other improvised implements turned out souvenirs and multitudinous articles of utility, most of them from waste material.

Visitors recall that one of the most interesting features viewed in the camp was these groups at work. While in one corner of a temporary workshop three or four were assisting at a make-shift turning lathe of a very primitive fashion, in another there were busy sawyers of nadun or tamarind, or carvers at work on ebony and other hard Ceylon woods bought from Don Carolis. Although as stock-keepers and shepherds most of these craftsmen had never handled the tools they were putting to use, the skill shown in cabinet making and carving was surprising.

Ambling around, one came anon to the marts where the results of their labour were on show and for sale. There were paper knives made of bone and horn, inlaid chests and boxes, and walking sticks of all varieties. There were carved name-brooches which at the time were much in fashion, there were picture-frames, pipes and tobacco jars.

More ingenious handicraftsmen turned out models of ox-waggons and cannon—Long Toms especially, and Kruppers. One captive, who owned to Scotch parentage, made a complete model of a Johannesburg gold-crushing machine, which he displayed with great pride. Two rupees per item seemed to be the prevailing price; but as mementoes of a visit to the camp, apart from the carved inscription, "Made by Boer Prisoners-of-war", these articles were considered worth a good deal more than their intrinsic value. The immense interest displayed in the articles which the prisoners-of-war industriously manufactured eventually led to an Exhibition of Boer Curios in Colombo.

Three of the Diyatalawa prisoners-of-war, P. H. de Villiers, a native of Krugersdorp and nephew of a Chief Justice of Cape Colony,

Robertson, and Botha, were released on parole to superintend the preparations, and they provided an unique spectacle. One of the leading features of the Exhibition was the work in oils of a distinguished prisoner-of-war artist, including a canvas of the attack on Spionkop. The proceeds of the enterprise, which was largely supported by the public and was informally visited by the Governor, swelled the monthly remittances which the Boers were in the habit of transmitting for relieving the distress among women and children in the concentration camps in South Africa. Incidentally, the bulk of the exhibits were sent to England for further exhibition and sale, the late Mr. Christie Driberg taking no small part in making the necessary arrangements for both this and the Show in Colombo.

It was freely remarked at the time that many of the newly arrived Boers were very flush of money. The rumour was not unfounded, for a good deal of this money, mostly in Transvaal sovereigns, was deposited with the Camp Commandant. These sovereigns were exchanged at Rs. 15/25 for coin of the Island. They looked slightly larger than the British gold pound, but the gold was probably a trifle less pure. The "Kruger" money, and Transvaal postage stamps which were also brought in large numbers, were greatly sought after as mementoes. Eventually, very high prices were being asked for the few specimens which remained. A currency of rupee and cent notes, of value only inside the camp, had been introduced for purposes of trade. When as often happened, word was received that a sum of money had been placed to the credit of a prisoner-of-war in one of the South African banks, he was allowed to draw against it in these miniature bank-notes issued by the Camp Commandant.

III.

The Boers in Sport and Pastime.

There are thousands of people whom a recent war committed to exile, who will testify that homesickness and ennui are two of the most unconquerable forces of our natural emotions. It has played strange tricks in history before now, and who can doubt that ways and means of diverting its ache by occupation and pastime were greatly sought after by the Boer captive.

Besides the many prisoners-of-war who spent the hours of a hot eastern day in remunerative occupations, not a few of them beguiled their time with non-exertive pastimes. Skittles and Quoits were much in vogue. In the cool of the afternoon, tennis, cricket, and football soon became regular items in their programme of athletic pastime, and while a "Tommy" sat with loaded rifle at each corner of the ground ready for any emergency, the captives exercised their minds and bodies with the utmost unconcern.

Football in particular claimed a remarkable measure of enthusiasm, and it was specially noticeable how very keenly the Boer fell to this purely British game. In the beginning they were content to watch the soccer men of the garrison drible, or to applaud the dexterous handling

of the oval. Then they joined in during practice play and indulged in a primitive game of their own. It did not take them long to learn the intricacies of combinations, and ceasing to borrow the Gloucester Regiment's ball, they had nearly a dozen of their own. Matches which pitted the Transvaalers against the Free Staters, or the Doppers of the Back Veldt against the Johannesburgers, became the order of the evening's play. Several matches were in due course arranged against local clubs, and one which proved of special interest was played on the Racquet Court against the Bloomfield Cricket and Athletic Club.

Cricket was often indulged in all day long on an excellent ground within the Boer Camp, and matches were frequently played between Ceylon cricket clubs and the Boer teams. A good deal of publicity was given to an agitation over the leniency which allowed Boer prisoners out of detention to play cricket matches in public. The vast crowds which gathered to witness the matches, however, amply testified to the appreciation of this small act of conciliation towards an involuntary "guest". One match in particular between the Boers and the pioneer local club, the Colombo Colts, justly claims a place in cricket history. When the Boer eleven which travelled down from Diyatalawa arrived on the cricket grounds in the Cinnamon Gardens, their reception was described as "most cordial", for few crowds had been previously witnessed at any cricket match played in Colombo.

It is interesting to recall that the Boer team included two players, de Villiers and Koetsze, who had previously figured in contests against Lord Hawke's eleven; and who doubtless would have represented South Africa in international matches had they not taken up the sterner game of war.

The names of those who played for the Colts team call to life a procession of bygone cricket-worthies: A. Raffel, the captain, J. C. McHeyzer, Pollocks, J. Ludovici, C. E. Perera, J. Kelaart, L. Thomasz, W. D. Franz, E. A. Joseph, J. Forsythe and Tommy Kelaart. The proverbial uncertainties of cricket turned a comparatively poor display by the Boer batsmen on the first day into a game of spectacular cricket on the second. The Colombo Colts won the match by 141 runs, but of more import and greater interest than the scores were the extraordinary assurances of mutual good-will which the event kindled, and which the local and several leading London newspapers used to diplomatic advantage.

One of the sporting papers abroad referred to the match, which had the patronage and presence of the vice-regal party, and the leading Boer captive, General Olivier, as an example of the influence of the great English game, which made Briton and Boer forget the dark battle fields of South Africa and "join together in Cricket's manly toil".

The "Daily Chronicle" found room to pen-picture H. E. the Governor complimenting the Boer team upon their playing, and of the dense, closely-packed crowd which keenly enjoyed the sportmen's gesture, when, as their Excellencies were about to leave, Commandant Van Zyl, the leader of the visiting team, called for three cheers for the Governor, which Sir West Ridgeway acknowledged by turning and lifting his Panama.

Perchance that veteran "wizard with the leather", Tommy Kelaart of the Colts, still cherishes the token of goodwill which was presented to him by the interned Boer cricket team. It was a bone paper-knife. On the one side it bore an inscription tastefully engraved in gold: "To Tommy K, from G. P. Koetsze"; on the other the legend: "A Souvenir of the Boer-Colts Cricket Match".

Athletic sports, concerts and boxing were other distractions which helped to dispel the dullness and monotony to be expected in a prisoner-of-war camp. There were at least four men amongst the Boers reputed to have been able to hold their own in any company at the 100 yards hurdles, half mile, and the mile; and these races were, consequently classed as events which were well-worth seeing. But what was described as "the cracker" of these meets was a mile race for boys under 21, for which there were generally about 30 entrants who were able to go a mile as if it were a 220 yards race. Most of them ran bare-footed, their occupation before the war having been the driving of ostriches out to their pasturage, 20 miles off in the morning, and bringing them back at a hand gallop in the evening.

The fun of the day was provided by the Veterans' race, for which a noble array of plethoric old champions usually turned out. None had perhaps run on a racing track, but there were not a few among these old'uns who had done record time over the veldt from a wounded lion or rhinoceros. Household names their's are in Boer homes, and many a stirring tale they told of "moving accidents by flood and field" in the days when Paul Kruger was still a mighty lion hunter.

The Boer colony possessed two exceedingly skilled pianists, one of whom was said to be the finest in Ceylon in those times, and that easily. Among other unique souvenirs of the Boer concerts, is a programme of one which was organised by the Hollanders to celebrate Queen Wilhelmina's birthday, described as "the first during her loyal Colonials' captivity in Ceylon".

There were few entertainments more greatly enjoyed by the captive Boer than the musical "At Homes" given by Lady Ridgeway at Queen's House and frequently repeated, to which the leading local musical talent readily contributed.

One of the largest structures in the camp, known as the "Recreation Hut", was used for boxing practice at all hours of the day. Among the prisoners was an Irishman, Jim Holloway, who was the champion boxer of Pretoria previous to his capture, and had also won for himself a name in the boxing circles of the world. He found lucrative employment in giving lessons in the manly art to the Boer Officers and men at 10 shillings a lesson.

An endeavour was made to send an Africander Boxing Team, consisting of Holloway and two youngsters who had been trained by him in the Camp at Diyatalawa, to tour England and the States. One of them, Spenser Dryer, who was to come of age on his next birthday, was a middle-weight; and the other Jan Vanstadén, 23 years old, was a heavy-weight. Both were considered by their trainer and comrades to be well able to make an impression. Although the presence of the ex-South

African Champion, who was prepared to throw out a challenge of £1000 sterling to any boxer of 9 stone 13 lbs. for the light-weight championship of the world, was sufficient to assure the success of the proposed venture from a financial point of view, they could not gain their release in time, and the project fell through.

Boer photography, much of which was displayed to visitors, was yet another side line which filled the leisure hour. Most of this work, which was considered to be of no mean quality, was set up in artistic albums, and doubtless raised the envy of many a curiosity hunter. They invariably contained unique assortments of autographed portraits, and scenes of camp life of every description: comic, tragic and conventional.

There were many journalistic productions edited by the Boers themselves which were circulated and sold in large numbers at 20 cents a copy in the Camp. One of them bore the amusing title: "The Diyatalawa Dum-Dum". Another, a much more sparkling production with the censor's blots upon many of its pages, was suitably called the "Prikkelraad" (the Barbed Wire). The others were entitled the "Diyatalawa Camp Lyre", "De Krygsgevangene" (the Captive) and "De Strever". They consisted largely of a summary of the war-news, culled from the local press, and were, except the one named last, published in English with translations into German and Afrikaner Dutch. The pathos of their position often tempted contributions in a poetic vein. Besides these sonnets written by the captive poets, the paper usually contained a leading article by the Editor, letters, and a few humorous sketches and silhouettes.

Not the least amusing part was the advertisement column. For instance, one advertiser announced he has "always in hand Transvaal and Free State stamps, Kruger Money, curios etc. and is always ready to undertake raffles". An undertaker of another type announced: "You can be buried at a reasonable price. J. E. is still carrying on business as usual at same address". Pipe carving, palmistry, beer halls, and shooting galleries, were only a few of the other items advertised.

Rare humour underlay the writings in the column headed "Camp Sweepings". Picking up a copy of "The Dum-Dum" we read: "Another Wail! Our intelligent contemporary the 'Ceylon Observer' complains about the fearful rise in poultry and eggs. This is our fault, and we promise it will never, never happen again. The festival of Queen Wilhelmina's Birthday is over, and we assure the observant one, that the six skinny chickens sacrificed on the altar of patriotism will not furnish a precedent. Do forgive us!"

(IV)

Boer Personalities—Great and Little.

In a little cottage outside the barricaded Boer town, with its name "Roux Ville" displayed in white stones between flower beds, there lived the fighting parson of the Free State, General Roux. Spare of figure, well-groomed even to his short beard trimmed to a point in the fashion of a naval officer, he was an alert-looking man with quick piercing eyes. His light touch of humour and ease of expression in English,

are recalled in the reminiscences of a visitor who asked him what he thought of Lyddite—a form of explosive which the British first used in the Boer War. "We don't like it all" he readily replied, "it spoils the colour of our trousers!"

Despite the tendency promoted by the heated political and controversial issues of those times, the fact that the Boers were honourable prisoners-of-war, who had merely fought for their freedom—a sentiment so widely stressed in the grimmer perils of the present generation, rehabilitated them in the esteem of all right-minded Ceylon people. Neither is it entirely surprising that the initiative for extending hospitality to them when many of the officers and some of the men were in due course permitted the privileges of a leisured resident or visitor, should have largely fallen on the local community of Dutch Burghers. In that freemasonry of recognition of a common stock dating from the older days of power and conquest which have established Dutch names, Dutch houses and Dutch traditions in this tropical Island, where still the name "Burgher" can be correctly applied in an ethnological sense, it was mutual courtesy, although sometimes ironically misrepresented as pro-Boer; and no reflection whatever on the other communities, that the weight of entertaining the Boer prisoners-of-war was borne by them.

The story is told how on one of many days spent by General Roux in private homes, a hostess anxious to please her guest, had planned a menu of seasoned curries reminiscent of Dutch days. Having heroically stood his ground to the end of the meal, the General observed: "I have gone through many months of war without shedding a tear, but I very much feared I should do so to-day."

His wife, who came out to Ceylon and joined him later, used to recount how she herself had been on commando with her husband, and had used her rifle to much advantage.

Another Boer leader interned originally at Diyatalawa, was General Jan Hendrick Olivier. He was responsible for the British reverses at Stormberg. Without any trace of personal pride he recalled how this had been accomplished with only one gun quickly moved from point to point. He was a tall, sturdy, frank-looking man with a long flowing black beard faintly streaked with grey. Labouring to set his thoughts to English, he used to tell of the retreat he led along the Free State frontier where he was eventually taken with most of his commando by Ian Hamilton. Smiling significantly, and chatting in a pleasant and unrestrained fashion, he showed by simple diagrams how he was hemmed in for days, on the one side by the British forces, while on the other hordes of war-like unconquered Basutos watched him from the hill-tops, waiting eagerly for the violation of their border which would have justified attack. This, he added, was when the Boer General de Wet made the first of a series of sensational escapes which baffled his opponents.

One of the chief causes for reflection, which to this day must evoke many a regret, is that so little was done to utilise the vastly varied talent and scientific knowledge which the Boer prisoners-of-war could

have pooled for the benefit of Ceylon and its people. Foremost in this direction was their knowledge of farming and agriculture. General Olivier himself was before the war a stock-rearer and a large breeder of thorough-bred horses. An invitation extended to him by the Government to visit and advise on the horse-breeding venture at Delft, which had recently been systematically organised, was one of the few instances where the colony profited by taking advantage of the specialised knowledge available. Apart from confirming that the stud, which he said resembled an improved Basuto pony, and the conditions for breeding on this island off the Jaffna Peninsula afforded great possibilities for profitable development, he called attention to a poisonous herb of a variety found in Africa which grew on the grazing plains of Delft. This led to further investigation on behalf of Government, by another Boer captive who had established a claim to be recognised as an authority by research in South Africa.

There were few parts of Ceylon which General Olivier did not visit, and he was invariably accompanied by S. Gillingham, a Dublin man, who had long resided in the Transvaal where he occupied a responsible position, and held with his family at that time important mining interests. The "Colonel," the "millionaire," and "Old Sol," were degrees of familiarity applied to him in which the choicest spirits could hope to graduate.

Yet another scientific asset to Ceylon from the Boer captives was Commandant Krantz, a well known naturalist, through whose initiative chiefly the State Museum at Pretoria had been opened about six years before the Boer war. He was acclaimed one of the best shots in South Africa. Krantz, offered to mount specimens in the natural history section of the Colombo Museum while on parole. This offer was accepted under the authority of Government on the surprisingly modest remuneration of Rs. 300 per month. The scientific experience which this expert brought to bear on his work, with the assistance of another Boer, A. van der Zyl, a taxidermist, gave to the Museum its first group of mounted mammals, representing a buck of the spotted deer attacked by a leopard, with a faun looking on. All the material fell to the gun of Commandant Krantz on a Museum expedition to the Hambantota District.

"Vrouw Krantz," the wife of the Commandant, who followed her husband to Ceylon, was another Boer woman proud of having carried a rifle on commando. Guests at table in the hotel where she stayed often heard the good lady recount, without any suspicion of animus against the British, her bag of rooineks. Before they came to Colombo the Commandant and his wife were in residence at "The Refuge" in Lady Torrington Road, Kandy.

Another expert in his line employed by Government was the Boer, F. E. O. Mors, an Instructor in the State Bindery at Pretoria before he was made a prisoner-of-war. He helped considerably to improve the standard of work in this line carried out at the Government Printing Department.

There were several among the captive Boers bearing well-known names, members of the former Volksraad, lawyers and others. Of these, there was C. L. Neethling, ex-member of the Transvaal Parliament, who though 67 years of age ran a farm at Eikenhof near Johannesburg; Commandant Joubert, who was a son of the greatly respected Commander-in-Chief of the Boer army; one of the sons of Paul Kruger, and a nephew of the elusive de Wet, Commandants Boshoff, and Wilcocks who were taken with Cronje at Paardeberg, and Adjutant Boshoff, a son of the Commandant, were others listed among senior Boer officers.

J. T. Bain, the ex-editor of the *Johannesburg Witness*, who wielded a practical and clever pen in verse as well as prose, was another notable prisoner-of-war. A Scotchman by birth, he became a Boer by naturalisation and long years of residence in South Africa. Holding very strong views on the action of the Home Government, he took up arms against the English and was made captive at the fall of Johannesburg.

He was an intensively interesting conversationalist, and when asked the opinion he had formed of Ceylon, rather piquantly described it as "a land of good intentions", and added that the conviction had been slowly dinned into him that it was "too slow for a funeral!" He cited the jogtrot way its commercial world set about securing markets worth having.

[To be Continued]

CEYLON IN EARLY BRITISH TIMES.

As Seen Through Governors' Despatches

[The despatches written by the successive Governors of Ceylon to the Secretary of State are among the most important of the Early British records. Beginning from 1798 with the administration of the Hon. Frederic North, they continue up to modern times and provide a review of the Island's Civil, Military, Judicial, and other activities throughout the period of British rule. Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz, Government Archivist, has prepared for publication a series of abstracts or summaries of these despatches a few selections from which are given below.—Ed.]

30 Jan. 1800—Post of Secretary and Under Secretary to Government rendered vacant by the suspension of Cleghorn and the dismissal of McDowall. W. Boyd appointed to act for them. —Natural history fund—employment of Mr. Hamilton—Museum specimens—Sinhalese and Pali Literature—Resignation of E. Atkinson from the office of Commissary of Grain and Provisions—Capt. D. Blair appointed Barrack Master—Gavin Hamilton appointed Postmaster-General—Irregularities in Postmaster-General's department—A. G. Blake returns to India—H. Powney appointed in his place—Undesirability of recruiting officers for the Public Service from Madras—Building up of the Civil Service—Local opposition to North's measures of reform—Spirit of hostility among his subordinates—North's disciplinary action against them—Decrepit

state of Government House—North purchases a residence at Hultsdorp—Legislation—Proclamation reducing the rate of interest on mortgages—System of land tenure modified—Number of leasorins to be reduced.—Tribute to G. Gregory—Judicial establishment—Supreme Criminal Court opened on 6th December—Its composition—Court of greater appeal—Court of Lesser appeal—Inferior Courts—Training of Burghers for minor judicial posts—Criminal code in contemplation—Regulation of Judicial expenses—Increase in the revenue of the Island—Stamp duty.—Tax on Toys and Jewels—Salt—Cinnamon.—Chilaw pearl banks—Commerce—Proposed reforms in the cinnamon establishment—New markets for cinnamon to be opened in Asia—Large demand for arrack—Immense profits from coffee, arecanut and pepper—Toddy tax—Increased demand for copper coinage—Religious establishments—Sinhalese preachers appointed on fixed salaries—Number of parish priests for the Island limited to 20—Schools—Translation of the liturgy of the Church of England into Sinhalese and Malabar—Estimated cost of ecclesiastical and scholastic establishment—Seminary at Trincomalie—Madrisee or school for the education of Muslims—Charitable institutions—Committee for the examination of the claims of Dutch subjects—Increased cost of living—Military—Proposed effort to reduce military expenditure—Prospect of peace with Holland—Cattle breeding for the supply of beef to European troops—Pay of Malay corps—Strength of Malay corps increased to about 1000.—A. Bertolacci appointed Commissary of Musters for the King's troops—Fortifications at Colombo and Trincomalee—Alarm of an attack on Ceylon—Hostile attitude taken up towards North by his principal servants.

5 Apr. 1800—Epidemic of small pox—Fear of war with Kandy—Establishments founded for combating small pox—Attempt to open new cinnamon market in Eastern Asia—Court of Criminal Jurisdiction on circuit—Improved conduct of the public service—Suggestion to raise a corps of Malabar troops—Death of Dr. Ewart, Chief of the Medical Department.

30 Aug. 1800—Extensive insurrection—Its instant suppression—Its causes—First symptoms near Mannar—Lieut.-Col. Barbut sent to Mannar—Simultaneous rebellion between Colombo and Negombo—Movement suppressed by Capt. W. Vincent—Matara district in a state of general revolt—Capt. Honner disperses the insurgents—Tranquillity restored throughout the Island—Legislation—Proclamation regarding tenure of lands—Domestic slavery—Executive Government—Major Rodgers succeeded by Lt.-Col. A. Lindsay as Auditor General—Mr. Jonville appointed Surveyor General—Judicial Establishment—Working of the new system of jurisprudence—Supreme Court of Criminal jurisdiction—Governor becomes its president—Creation of the Fiscal's Court—T. Farrel appointed to be its second member—Religious establishments—Progress

of the school founded at Colombo—Charitable institutions—Leper hospital, appointment of Dr. J. Sansoni as its Superintendent—Smallpox hospitals, inoculation measures—Messrs. Christie, Orr, Carnie and Yates appointed Medical Superintendents—Revenue—Pearl Fishery—Mannar Pearl Banks—Joy tax estimated at one lakh of rix dollars—Woods and Forests—Salt—Messrs. Jonville and Orr commissioned to report on the salt production—Elephant kraal described—Commerce—Abundant cinnamon harvest—Large increase in exports—Military establishment—Smaller garrisons sufficient—Recruitment for Malay Corps—Formation of native companies in Galle and Matara.

20 Sept. 1800—Turbulent state of Batticaloa—Tribute to Mr. Burand—Administrative system at Batticaloa—Powers of minor headmen curtailed—Administration of civil justice in the Island—Report on the Mahagampattu—Decrepit state of public buildings—Lieut. Cotgrave appointed Civil Architect and Engineer and Superintendent of Public Works—Result of elephant hunt—Progress of smallpox hospital.

18 Feb. 1801.—Importation of cattle—Diligence of Mr. Hamilton, acting Paymaster General—Recent irregularities in military accounts—Proposed Board of Revenue and Commerce—Mr. Greenhill relinquishes the post of Commercial Resident—Peculiar features of the commerce and revenue of the Island—Cinnamon the only monopoly—Suggestion that the culture of cinnamon should be entrusted to the revenue department—Various sources of revenue—Ceylon divided into thirteen provinces—Administrative system created immediately after the occupation—Corruption and excesses of the amildars—Agents of revenue—Proposal to increase emoluments of public servants—Post of Commercial Resident to be suppressed—Deputy Commercial Resident to be made Warehouse Keeper—Reasons for creating Board of Revenue and Commerce—Lt.-Col. Barbut to be retained in his office—Commissioner extraordinary for the Northern Province and the Vanni—Capt. Younge appointed a member of the above board—W. Boyd to be a Deputy Secretary and member of the Board—Messrs. Gregory, Fraser and Alexander given seats on the Board with Messrs. Gabagen and Marshall as Secretary and Deputy Secretary—Appointment of Land regents or Residents in Batticaloa and the Mahagampattu—The collectors to be allowed three per cent of their collections in addition to their salaries—Lt. Jewell and Mr. W. Orr selected for the two foregoing appointments—Proposed commutation of the accommodessans of the native headmen and lascoreens—Similar reforms in Batticaloa and Jaffna—Messrs. Gibson, Laughton and Bagshaw appointed Master Attendants at the three different ports—Arrangements made for dispensing medical relief to the people—Thomas Christie's appointment

as Inspector General of Civil and Military Hospitals—Description of the ravages of smallpox in a village near Batticaloa—Inoculation hospital at Jaffna—Leper house at Colombo—Medical treatment of lepers by Dr. Sansoni—Precautions against the introduction of plague—Cattle murrain—Proposed reconstruction of the tanks in the Vanni—Body of tank builders established—Pay of Major General Mc Dowall inadequate—Capt. Blair's salary—Issue of Government promissory notes to the value of 75,000 rix-dollars—New survey establishment—Land tenure system: revised register to be issued containing an improved version of the Dutch thombu—Banksaal at Arippe completed by the Civil Architect—Lieut. Cotgrave engaged in reducing and fixing the price of building materials and the rate of labour—Details of public works—Repair of tanks in the Vanni—Building of barracks at Trincomalee and of public offices at Colombo—Clearing of the Colombo to Puttalam canal—Prospect of Island navigation from Calpentin to Kalutara—Natural history of the island and the report of Mr. Jonville—Sinhalese books relating to the history and antiquities of the island—Compilation of Sinhalese Dictionary—Budget estimates for the current year—Courts of Justice—Clearing of five years' accumulated arrears—Benefits resulting from the establishment of the Fiscal's Court—Supreme Court to decide only cases of importance—Practice of the English courts imitated as far as possible—Regulations compiled by Mr. Dunkin to meet local conditions—Confidence in Government methods results from the activities of the courts—Still necessary for the Supreme Court to make the Circuit of the Island—Improvement of the Police force proved by the prompt suppression of the rising caused by the introduction of the Joy tax—Merits of the Fiscal's court—Powers of this court extended—Mr. Farrel's report on the defects in the constitution of this court—Civil jurisprudence of the Island—Two courts of appeal—Statement of revenue—Drought and cattle disease—Difficulty of ascertaining the probable revenue of the Island—Additional revenue expected from wood and salt—Principles upon which duties on wood are to be collected—Mr. Wm. Orr appointed to superintend the manufacture and sale of salt—Elephant hunt—Prospects of profits from the pearl fishery in aummany—Prospects of the fishery for 1802 and 1803—Commerce—Prodigious export trade in betel, tobacco, coir, coffee, etc.—Abstract of exports and imports for 1800—Cinnamon gardens—Proposal to plant new cinnamon gardens at Kadirane—Building of a dyke round Kadirane—Reforms to be made in the cinnamon department—Departure of J. Greenhill, head of the cinnamon department—Proposed suppression of commercial department, its functions to be vested in a board of covenanted servants—Religion and religious establishments—Report of Rev. Cordiner—Regular salaries for schools opened—Proposal to build a church at Batticaloa—Committees set

up in the chief towns to superintend charitable institutions—Number of Dutch prisoners of war not much diminished—Wretchedness of their condition—Salaries of Dutch clergy continued—Their obstinate refusal to pray for His Majesty—Three chief schools at Colombo—Proposal to establish other schools at Galle, Jaffna and Trincomalee for the children of Burghers—Military establishment—Attempt to raise a native force in the Island—Five hundred recruits already enrolled—Lt.-Col. Barbut raises a corps of 100 Tupasses and Malabars at Jaffna—Meritorious services of Major General Mc Dowall and Lt. Darrell—Commissary stores at Colombo—Island in better state of defence than before—Repairs to the fortifications—Barracks for 1000 Europeans to be built at Trincomalee—Tribute to the Commandant, Col. Champagne, and Capt. Carr, the acting engineer—Measures for facilitating the supply of provisions to the Trincomalee garrison—Health of the troops—Outbreak of beri beri—Failure of the horse farm near Jaffna—General statement of troops serving in Ceylon—Elephant hunt at Negombo.

5 Oct. 1801.—Letter addressed to Lord Hobart, Secretary of State—Acknowledgment of letters received from Lord Hobart and the Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas—Legislation—Judicial Establishment—Proposed institution of a council to advise the Governor on matters relating to the administration—Membership to be restricted to the Chief Justice, the Commander of the Forces, and the Secretary to Govt.—Secretary to Govt. made head of the Board of Revenue and Commerce—Reasons for delaying the publication of the criminal code—Basis for new system of Jurisprudence—Subordinate codes needed—Objections to the application of English Law—Prevention of colonisation—Necessary to suppress the Landraads and vest their functions in an English Judge—Salaries of Judges—Cost of entire establishment less than £12,000—Alexander Wood as President of the Landraad of Chilaw—Messrs. Wood and Farrel to be made judges—Their powers—Indemnification of Dutch servants who took office under the English—Proposed method of recruiting officers for judicial posts—Principle of separating the judicial from the executive power to be maintained—Changes to be introduced in the system of land tenure—Impracticability of exacting gratuitous service from persons who held land by the tenure of such performance—Exemption purchased by bribery of headmen—Scandalous exploitation of poor classes—Commutation of accomodessans—Salaries of Mudaliyars and Muhandirams—Effect of these reforms—Executive Govt. of revenue established—Appointment of East India Co.'s agent to watch commercial interest—Personnel of the board of revenue—Governor as ex officio treasurer of the colony—Audit—Tribute to Mr. Boyd—Appointment of Messrs. G. Arbuthnot and David Erskine—Proposals for the reception and training of future recruits to the Civil Service—John

Angus—Messrs. Marshall, Powney, Gordon, Lusignan and Barry—Seats on the revenue Board to be considered the highest offices attainable in the Civil Line—Departure of Madras Civil Servants now serving in Ceylon—Messrs. Alexander and Gahagen—Capt. Young, Messrs. Gregory and Fraser—Civil Service Fund—Religious establishment—Need for toleration and for freedom of worship—Benefits from the schools founded by the Dutch—Success of the small pox establishment—Leprosy patients profit from the use of arsenic—Charitable institutions—Cotton spinning—Revenue—Failure to derive profit from the small pearl fishery—Cinnamon gardens—Plantations at Matara and Ekele—Camphor and cinnamon oil—Chalia caste—Increased cost of running the cinnamon department—Havoc wrought by the cattle plague and consequent fall in revenue—Customs revenue increases—Flourishing state of Batticaloa—G. Hamilton as agent of Revenue at Colombo—Agents of Revenue appointed as follows: Lt Johnson, Chilaw; L. Gibson, Matara; Smith, Galle; P. Marshall, Trincomalee—Annual amount of the island's finances computed at nine lakhs of rix dollars—Military establishments—Reduction of the pay of the troops—Rations—Beef at 4d. a pound—Issues of arrack—Colonial allowances to the troops—Half batta system—Ceylon markets the dearest in the world—Farming out of fishing rights—Commissary Department to be maintained—Work of Capt. Blair in that department—Ordnance and military stores—Need to repair fortifications—Strength of the forces in Ceylon—Foreign intercourse—Policy towards the Court of Kandy—Conduct towards the courtiers—Correspondence between the French and the Kandyan Sultan of the Maldives—Piratical conduct of his predecessor towards an English vessel—Miscellaneous—Revenue of the Island estimated at 900,000 to one million rix dollars—Budget deficit—Proposed method of meeting liabilities—£10,000 worth of paper currency in circulation—Copper coinage needed—Condemned cannon at Trincomalee used for this purpose—Rate of exchange between Ceylon and Bengal—The hane or hemp producing reed—Coir and cotton—Civil Architect Cotgrave—Repair of tanks in the Vanny—Road to be built from Mannar to Trincomalee—List of enclosures transmitted with this dispatch.

15 Dec. 1801—Tranquil state of the Island—Abundant harvest of rice—Mortality among cattle—Legislation and courts of law—Work of Law Committee—Labours of the Supreme Criminal Court—Punishments of a certain kind must have the sanction of Govt.—Civil jurisprudence—Smaller establishments of English or Scots judges—Petty cases to be decided by arbitrators—Powers of headmen—Religious and charitable establishments—Schools active—Schools for the children of Roman Catholics—Muslims—Governor in person judges cases in dispute between Muslims—Arrival of Sir E. Carrington awaited

—His intimate acquaintance with the codes of India—Proposal to abolish ooliam duty and substitute zacam or a two and a half per cent levy on property—Committee of Superintendence—Benevolent institutions—Hospitals—Numbers die following inoculation against small pox—Leper hospital—Executive Govt.—Delay in the arrival of remaining Civil Servants—All departments ordered to submit detailed statements of the number of writers and their allowances—System of allowances to be discontinued—Fixed salaries—Prospect of securing revenue from the woods—Salt pans—Pearls—Survey of oyster banks at Mannar under the superintendence of Capt. Masquerier—Misconduct of D. Rodrigo, head pilot—Hopes that territorial revenue will exceed nine lakhs of rix dollars—£60,000 due from Madras as payment for cinnamon—Revenue not equal to disbursements—Expenditure assessed at eight lakhs of star pagodas—Plan to issue paper currency—Dread of debt—Advantage of drawing bills on Bengal—Unwillingness to draw on H.M.'s Treasury—£10,000 worth of promissory notes in circulation—Madras agency offers to send specie to Colombo—Hopes of securing £50,000—Silver and copper coinage—Old cannon used for making coins—Rates of exchange—Nominal value—Captured elephants to be sent to Madras for sale to the Madras Govt.—Commerce—Cinnamon investment for the ensuing year to be suspended—Zeal of Mr. Jonville—Secret transport of cinnamon from the King's territory—Rich yield expected from the Maradana gardens—Able to satisfy world demand—Reasons which induced Govt. to enclose the Kadirane garden—Soil at Kadirane gardens cleared and replanted—Maradana to be reserved for pleasures of the capital—Work of Messrs. Jonville and Schwallie—Virtual abolition of Dutch system—Difficulty of procuring labourers owing to temperament of the people—Lack of speculators in cinnamon—Experiments on Hanne hemp—Cotton cultivation—Precious drug called Colombo root—Military—Reduction of field allowances—Alterations in the arrack farm and the effect on the troops—Half batta allowance—Reduction effected in military expenditure—Three companies of natives to be raised as gun and tent lascars—Malay detachment at Fort St. George—Exertions of Capt. Whittle in forming the Malay Corps—Their valour in action—Loss of Ensign C. Diolin, their adjutant—Colonels Champagne and Ramsay—Malay corps to be sent to Trincomalee—Independent companies to be raised at outstations—Defence of the Island—Accounts of the Govt.—Exertions of Mr. Fraser, Accountant General—Researches of Mr. Jonville, Surveyor General—Sinhalese Dictionary in process of compilation—Difficulty of teaching Civil Servants the Sinhalese language—Native school at Wolvendaal—Material change in the authority of the company in India—Harmony between Ceylon and India.

24 Nov. 1802—Resumption of accommodessans and abolition of service tenure based on practical experience—Ceylon still a burden on the national finances—Its revenue, however, has increased from £60,000 to £128,000 within the last four years—Reduction in the civil and judicial establishment—Property has no value (immediately after the capitulation)—State of turmoil following the acquisition of Ceylon—Improvements effected since the conquest—Executive Govt.—Reserved right of the Government in England in the appointment of Civil Servants—Details of various appointments: J. Dunkin, President, and T. Farrell, Junior Judge of the Provincial Court of Jaffna—Lt. Col. Barbut, Commissioner Extraordinary of Revenue and Commerce for the Northern Province—J. Jonville, Superintendent of Cinnamon Gardens, J. Tranchell, Junior Judge of the provincial court, Colombo—F. B. Mylius, Fiscal of the Supreme Court—Reasons for these appointments—Appointment of D. Erskine, Lt. Col. Robertson, Angus, Plasket and Cadell—Messrs. L. Gibson, J. Smitz, P. Marshall, Lieut. Jewell, Capt. Young, Lt. A. Johnston, Eusign Pendergast—Messrs. Dobree, Kirby and Smellie—Nomination of a new and extensive establishment—Careers offered by the Ceylon Civil Service—Messrs. Boyd, Scott, Hay and Tolfrey—Salaries of various officers—Abolition of the Dutch language—Pension fund for public servants; details of the scheme proposed—Cotton cultivation experiment by Mr. W. Orr—Fate of members of the late Landraads—Judicial establishment—five Courts of Civil justice, their constitution and working—Progress made by lawyers in English has superseded the expense of double translation to which litigants have been subject—Forged extracts from the thombus—New land registry to be established—Lack of Surveyors—Proposed taxes for the support of the police—Religious and charitable establishments—Ministers of the Anglican Church to be sent out from England—Aid from Dutch pastors—Rev. Gericke of Madras—The Kerkeuraad to disappear—Dutch system and the changes to be introduced therein—Smallpox hospitals abolished on the introduction of vaccination—Medical establishment—English taught in the school for boys of the principal Sinhalese and Malabar families of Wolvendaal—Great progress made by these students—They are entrusted with the work of translating into English the Sinhalese and Tamil petitions submitted to Govt.—Post of translator—Male and female orphan schools—Public servants to be encouraged to maintain as their first concern close touch with Europe—Schoolmasters in the interior entrusted with duties of a notarial character—Military affairs—Lack of artillerymen—Strength of the forces—Major K. Young—Urgent need to fortify Trincomalee etc.—Comparative expense of an English and Dutch regiment—Military officers to be paid salaries sufficient to enable them to maintain a fitting status—Revenue and commerce—Territorial

revenue estimated at 12 lakhs of rix dollars—Review of the finances of the Island—General de Meuron's committee—Profits from cinnamon, its quality—Payment of peelers—Cinnamon oil—Rate of exchange at 10 rix dollars to the pound sterling—Pepper packed with cinnamon—cotton plantations—Ooliam duty—Moormen and Chetties allowed to purchase exemption from forced service on payment of four rix dollars—difficulties attending the collection of salt—Cutting of Chilaw and Puttalam canal taken in hand—Malay colony established at Hambantota to work on the salt in the Mahagampattu—Comparative statement of the revenue from arecanut during late Dutch and early British times—New customs tariff—Land tax—paddy tax considered onerous—It has unfortunately for many years been a prevailing doctrine that the Sinhalese must be compelled to labour as there is no way of overcoming their natural indolence by encouragement—The Governor himself had imbibed that opinion; but by long continuance in the country the Governor was convinced of its being unfounded—The Sinhalese, like any other peoples, would rather be poor and idle than work for nothing—Malabar districts pay only one tenth of the crop.

AN ACCOUNT OF CEYLON.

By THOMAS PENNANT.

(Continued from page 29 of the issue for July 1946).

Most of the eastern side of Ceylon is guarded with sand banks or rocks*. Trincomale harbour is in Lat. 8° 30', a fine and secure port, protected by a strong garrison, consisting of about four hundred men. Such was the number in fort Ostenburgh, when it was taken by assault, on January 11, 1782, by our brave seaman, Sir Edward Hughes; which in August 26 of the same year, was wrested from us by his active and gallant rival Suffrein.

On September 2, the former came off Trincomale, and to his great surprise found the French colours flying on all the forts. Suffrein, with a superior squadron, sailed out of the harbour, secure, as he thought, of victory. Our brave admiral, and his officers, enraged at the loss of the place, eagerly accepted the offer of combat. The contending admirals displayed every proof of courage and skill. Suffrein's ship was reduced to a wreck, and he obliged to remove his flag to another. By some neglect of ours we lost the disabled ship. Night alone terminated the battle. Suffrein retired into Trincomale, crowding in without order. Thus secured, Hughes left him reluctantly, and sailed for

* Between the bay of Trincomale and the fort Calirauw is the country called Bedas, a tract of forest, comprehending a hundred and twenty miles. The habitation of the Bedas.

Madras with his shattered squadron. Our loss was inconsiderable, in common men, for it did not exceed fifty-one killed and three hundred wounded. In officers we suffered severely. The Captains Lumley, Watt, and Wood fell in the action. The loss of the French was enormous. Four hundred and twelve men were killed, and six hundred and seventy-six were wounded. The carnage on board the gallant Suffrein's ship, the *Hero*, was unheard in any fight of any age, it was an unparalleled carnage. Many of the French Captains had behaved ill, six were broke and sent prisoners to the island of Mauritius; and thus ended the unavailing slaughters in the Indian seas.

The Ganges of Ptolemy runs into this harbour.

Barticalo is the next port, lying in Lat. $70^{\circ} 40'$. This also has a strong fortress. Here the Dutch first landed in 1638, and took it by capitulation from the Portuguese. The mountain, the Monk's-hood—some leagues inland, is a remarkable sea mark. Barticalo may have been near the site of the town called by Ptolemy, Bocona; near it is a river which preserves the name, being called by the natives *Ko-Bokan-oye*, or the river of Bokan.*

From the mouth of Kobakan river, the land trends to the south west. Nothing remarkable occurs till we reach Malawe; between that place and Tangala, is a large plain, thirty miles in circumference, noted for the chace of elephants; their ancient place of embarkation, the *Geyrweys of Elyphants van plaets*, is a little further to the west.

A little more to the west is Matura, where the Dutch have a strong fortress; their policy is only to fortify the forts.

Dondra-head is next, that point is the most southern of any in the island. A little to the west is Tanawar, remarkable for having been the Daiana of Ptolemy, sacred to the moon; the place still has its temple, or Pagoda, highly venerated by the natives. Near it is one of the Dutch posts, of which they have a succession every ten or twelve miles, guards to the internal parts, and one may say, to the imprisoned Emperor. The garrisons are provided with flags, by which signals, either of internal commotions, or the appearance of ships, are conveyed all along the coasts, even to Colombo, the seat of the Dutch Government. Almost every one of these posts are near the mouth of some river or torrent, which rush on all sides into the sea, at short intervals from the lofty mountains.

Punta de Galle is a little to the north-west of Dondra-head, in Lat. 6° , turning almost due north. The town is strongly fortified, and is a place of great trade. The fleets return from hence to Europe and generally sail by December 25th. In Lat. 7° we find Colombo, the Dutch seat of Government, and chief of their cities, built in a beautiful and magnificent manner; it was as I have before mentioned, taken by them from the Portuguese. The death of their gallant General, Gerard Hulst, cast a gloom over their success, and caused their important acquisition, for a while, to be lost in their sorrow.

(Concluded).

*D'Anville, *Antiquite de l'Inde*, P. 146.

AN OLD CEYLON NEWSPAPER.

As is generally known, there were no newspapers in Ceylon in the ordinary acceptation of the term until 1833, the *Ceylon Government Gazette*, which was started in 1802, serving both as the official organ of the Government and as the purveyor of news other than official. It drew the line, however, at Poetry, declaring that "we have no Poet's Corner in our Gazette", and announcing its intention of confining itself to political and literary subjects. This state of things continued until 1831, when Sir Wilmot Horton arrived in the island in October of that year to assume the Government. Being of a literary turn of mind, he felt the need of a paper in which he could ventilate his views. He therefore founded the *Colombo Journal*, the publication of which commenced on the 1st January, 1832.

This paper was conducted avowedly under the authority of Government, and was printed at the Government Press. The Editor was George Lee, well known as the translator of the *Mahawansa*. He was assisted by Mr. Tuftnell, the brother-in-law of the Governor, and Sir Wilmot Horton himself contributed largely to the paper. During the publication of the *Colombo Journal*, the *Ceylon Government Gazette* also continued to be published, but it confined itself strictly to matters pertaining to the Government.

After the paper had been in existence for two years, and had been involved in an action for libel, it was announced that if anyone would undertake the establishment of a private newspaper, the *Colombo Journal* would give way to it, but as up to the end of 1833 no one came forward, it was decided that the connection of Government with the paper should terminate. This was done from that date, and the *Supplement to the Ceylon Government Gazette*, the paper with which we are now concerned, took its place. The scope and objects of the new paper were explained as follows:—"The Ceylon Government Gazette will be published twice a week as at present. It will contain no editorial leading articles, nor will we receive controversial letters of a personal character. In all other respects every effort will be made to supply it with new and interesting intelligence, and its columns will always be open to such local and statistical details as will improve our knowledge of the island. To do more might, not unjustly, be construed as prejudicial to the establishment of an independent paper, without securing to the public those advantages which we think have been derived from one which, though not independent of authority, has attempted to realise the advantages of a free Press".

The first issue of the *Supplement to the Ceylon Government Gazette* appeared on the 4th January, 1834, and thereafter bi-weekly on Wednesdays and Saturdays. It reflected the spirit of the age in which it was conceived, and would in our day be regarded as entirely colourless. On the front page Government notifications were given precedence. Then followed military notifications, and lastly mercantile and private advertisements. The rest of the paper was taken up with a little local news and a great deal of matter taken over from foreign papers. The

prominence given to the importation of spirituous liquors is very noticeable. We read that so and so (a firm) "has just landed a supply of Claret which may be had at their godown", or that so and so "has received a supply of Madeira Wine equal in quality to any of their former importations". Auction sales were regular features of this period. The law in those days did not frown on raffles, and we find an auctioneer of the name of J. C. Oorloff advertising "a most splendid and double plated Table Service with Silver Gadroon Edges", valued at Rds 3,000, the number of tickets being 30 at Rds 100 each. The Colombo Library was then in a flourishing state, the Secretary being Lieut. Deschamps, who in 1845 produced a work entitled "Scenery and Reminiscences of Ceylon", incidentally one of the largest in point of size. Absent-minded readers were then, as now, not unknown, and we find the Secretary calling for the return of an Army List, which had been taken off the Library Table.

Saltpetre was largely used as a cooling agent, and advertisements regarding this very necessary article find a prominent place. Tea was still not cultivated in Ceylon, the public being notified from time to time of the arrival of consignments from abroad. The Pettah being still a residential area, the principal emporium for men's and women's attire was situated in Baillie Street, where a firm under the name of Phebus and Fernando stocked a range of goods bearing names quite unfamiliar to us at the present day. Whisky as a drink was unknown, Brandy, Beer, Gin, Porter and Wines holding the field. The use of snuff was largely indulged in, and so we find silver snuff boxes advertised for those whose tastes ran superior to the ordinary tortoise-shell variety. An article, which has gone quite out of fashion, figured largely in the list of imports, viz., paper umbrellas.

The report of a meeting held in Jaffna in 1834 for the formation of a Temperance Society is interesting, some of those who took part in it being Mr. F. C. Grenier, Mr. J. G. Gratiaen, and Mr. J. T. Anderson. The object of the meeting was declared to be "to awaken the public mind to the magnitude of the vice of drinking ardent spirits, and to arrest its desolation (sic) by enrolling members who shall pledge themselves to an entire abstinence from the deleterious practice of drinking spirituous liquors, except as a medicine".

Occasionally house property was advertised for sale. One such advertisement was in respect of "that desirable and well-known garden and house at Orta-seda, the property of Mr. J. F. Conderlag". An advertisement of another kind was in respect of "a compact little horse, harness, and an English handy in excellent repair". A third advertisement, by Mr. Hippolyte Silva, informed the public that "he continues giving lessons in drawing at his house, No. 7, 1st Cross Street, Pettah, and will attend on any gentleman within the vicinity of Colombo". Mr. Silva was a well-known artist of his day, whose name underwent a strange metamorphosis. An investigation into the origin of his name, made by Mr. J. P. Lewis, led to the interesting discovery that it was originally Silva. Mr. Hippolyte Silva, to distinguish himself from his father, who himself rejoiced in the same Christian name, was in the

habit of adding the letter *f* to his name as an abbreviation of the French word 'fils', meaning 'son'. In process of time the public mistakenly assumed that the 'f' formed part of the surname, and Mr. Silva obligingly acquiesced in this addition to the spelling of his name.

The severity of the punishments inflicted in those days is very striking, lashes being the usual accompaniment of nearly every sentence of imprisonment. In a case of conspiracy and perjury, the prisoner was sentenced to 200 lashes, to be exposed twice in the pillory, and to hard labour in chains for four years. For retaining stolen property, the sentence was 50 lashes and hard labour in chains for two years. For perjury, 100 lashes, to be exposed twice in the pillory, hard labour in chains for four years, and to pay a fine of £7. 10s. One wonders if a return to those days would not be in the interests of peace and order.

Some three months after the starting of the paper, domestic occurrences began to be published in it. As shewing the tendency of the age, it may be mentioned that in the case of births, if the lady concerned was European, she was referred to as "the Lady of" so and so; if a Ceylonese, "the wife of" so and so. There were not many educational establishments, and a good deal was left to private enterprise. We find Mr. Charles Beling of Kandy announcing his intention to open a Day School in that town "for the instruction of young gentlemen, in Reading, Writing, Grammar, Geography, Latin, Arithmetic, and other branches of Mathematics, at £2 a quarter". The hours of attendance were to be from six to ten in the morning, and from three to five in the afternoon, clearly shewing that Mr. Beling was an early riser and an indefatigable worker, and expected the same of his pupils. His qualifications were that he had been a schoolmaster in Colombo, and could produce "unquestionable testimonials". He gave his address as Trincomalee Street.

As is well known, the Horton Plains, some 7,000 feet in height, were named after Sir Wilmot Horton. The story of its discovery is told in the issue of the *Supplement to the Ceylon Government Gazette* for 12th April, 1834. On clear days a distant plain had been observed from the summit of Pedro Tallagalla, lying in the direction of Balangoda, and appearing to be of higher elevation than the plain of Nuwara Eliya. Lieut. Watson, of the 58th Regiment, who afterwards came into much prominence in connection with the so-called Matale Rebellion, and Lieut. Fisher, of the 78th Regiment, the father of Lord Fisher, decided to explore this plain, and after a fatiguing journey succeeded in reaching it, passing on their way another plain, which, "in furtherance of the right of giving European names to places as yet unvisited by any of our countrymen", they named the Elk Plain.

As regards the Horton Plains, Lieut. Watson says: "To our delight and astonishment we at length found we had obtained the object of our search, and glad should I be could I describe the satisfaction and pleasure with which, after burrowing through almost impossible thickets, we beheld the beautiful scene before us..... This is, of all others in the

Kandyan Highlands, the most extensive, level and picturesque plain, with soil and climate that would favour the growth of every variety of European produce". Lieut. (afterwards Lieut.-Colonel) Watson was twice married, his second wife being the daughter of J. J. Staples, who was District Judge of Kandy. On Watson's monument in the Mahaiyawa Cemetery is the curious inscription, "When he was reviled, he reviled not again", the reference being evidently to the accusations made against him in connection with the "Rebellion" already referred to.

The postal arrangements in those days are strongly reminiscent of war-time conditions with which we are now so familiar. We find the Postmaster General notifying, under date the second April, 1834, that "a Packet is now open at this office for the reception of letters for England to be forwarded by the *Morning Star*, Captain Linton, expected to sail on or about the 1st May next."

A summary of the proceedings of one of the earliest meetings of the Legislative Council is published in the issue of this paper for 24th May, 1834. This was the first meeting conducted "with open doors", and reporters were allowed to be present. The Council was composed exclusively of official members, unofficial members not yet having been appointed, and one cannot help being struck with the incongruity of the Chief Justice, the Major-General, and the Auditor-General being members of the Council, but at the same time it is impossible to withhold one's admiration at the high tone of the debates. In the course of the discussion the Auditor-General had observed that "everybody knew the difficulty experienced in prosecuting a Civil action in this Colony". This evoked an apt and at the same time courteous retort from the Chief Justice, who said he "was sorry to hear such an imputation on the administration of justice in this Colony, and could only imagine that Mr. Marshall (Auditor-General) had been a most unfortunate suitor". A remark made by the then Colonial Secretary might have been made in this year of grace, so applicable is it to present day conditions. Referring to an extract from a despatch received from the Secretary of State, he said: "That extract had been on the table for ten days; if gentlemen did not choose to read the papers laid on the table for their information, he could not help it".

In view of recent constitutional changes both here and in India, the comments of the *Madras Mail* of 4th June, 1833, in noticing the proceedings of the Legislative Council are of more than ordinary interest: "The same Ministry that has given to this adjacent Island Colony a taste of popular Institutions, has rivetted upon the vast continent of India for twenty further lingering years the chains of her olden Government, unvaried save in enhanced despotic power given to her supreme ruler". The position has now been reversed, and India, after a hundred years, has forged ahead of Ceylon.

An appointment which marked an important departure from the established policy of Government was made at this time, when the Second Maha Mudaliyar, Mr. A. de Saram, was appointed to be Judge of

the District Court of Colombo, No. 5. This was the first instance of the appointment of a native gentleman to a superior judicial office. The appointment met with universal approval, not only on account of Mr. de Saram's fitness for the post, but as opening to His Majesty's subjects, whether European or native, the way to the highest civil offices. Unfortunately the Mudaliyar was not able to enjoy this distinction, his death occurring within a few days of his appointment.

Much more might be quoted from the paper forming the subject of this article, but enough has been said to give a glimpse of Ceylon in the early eighteen-thirties. The *Supplement to the Ceylon Government Gazette* ceased publication in 1837, when its place was taken by the *Ceylon Chronicle*, established by a few Civil Servants and privately assisted by Sir Wilmot Horton.

J. R. T.

NOTES OF EVENTS.

Summary of Proceedings of the General Committee—18th June 1946: (1) It was reported that the amount to the credit of the St. Nicolaas' Home Fund on 31st May, 1946, was Rs. 16,491.26, and that the Home Committee had decided that the Home should be run on the basis of a contribution being made a condition of admission and residence, no inmates to be admitted without such contribution. The General Committee approved of this principle. (2) The following were elected members of the Union:—Mrs. Ruth Anthonisz, Messrs. E. G. Joseph, S. E. L. VanLangenberg, S. D. A. de Vos and Dr. J. H. Sproule. (3) It was decided that an abridged statement of accounts should be published in the *Government Gazette*. (4) The payment of a sum of Rs. 250 for the purchase of the temporary structure sheltering the back verandah of the Union building was sanctioned. (5) It was reported that the full number of Schneider Scholarships available for Dutch Burgher children at St. Thomas' College was often not awarded owing to the dearth of eligible applicants. (6) It was decided that the hours for the Reference and Lending Libraries be the same as for the office.

16th July 1946:—(1) It was reported that the amount to the credit of the St. Nicolaas' Home Fund on 30th June, 1946, was Rs. 18,161.26. (2) Messrs. H. K. Deutrom, S. L. Deutrom, B. V. Deutrom, F. R. L. Ferdinands, E. L. G. Koch, F. E. Perkins and Miss M. Sansoni were elected members of the Union. (3) Mr. L. L. Hunter was co-opted a member of the Education Committee and Miss Grace VanDort of the Social Service Committee. (4) The resignations of Miss B. Wille, Mr. A. L. Fretz, Mr. J. K. Hunter, and Mr. C. P. C. Foender were accepted.

20th August, 1946:—(1) The question of the publication of the accounts in the *Government Gazette* in an abridged form was discussed. The President expressed the opinion that the legal responsibility for the publication rested with the Board of Trustees, who proposed to publish the entire accounts in an abridged form. The Committee concurred in

this view. (2) The following were admitted as members:—Messrs. H. O. C. Kriekenbeek, T. L. F. Mack, and T. G. Thomasz. (3) The amount to the credit of the St. Nicolaas' Home Fund on 31st July, 1946, was reported to be Rs. 19,460. (4) The question of the Union taking over the Tennis Club and running it as part of the activities of the Union was considered. It was decided to inform the Tennis Club that such a proposal would be favourably considered provided that all members of the Tennis Club, if 21 years of age or more, were members of the Union, and that if less than 21 years of age, would be eligible for membership on attaining that age. (5) The President reminded the Committee that at its meeting in May the scheme of office reorganisation had been referred for report by the new office bearers in August. He was glad to say that with adequate supervision, the existing arrangements were working very satisfactorily. The Committee therefore decided that those arrangements should continue.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Delimitation Commission. Although the recommendations of the First Delimitation Commission (S. P. xiii of 1946) do not effect us very intimately as a Community, they yet possess some interest for us in our capacity as voters in the general electorate, inasmuch as in areas in which there is a large concentration of the members of our Community, it may well be that our collective vote may be of considerable value in turning the scales in a closely contested election. Another reason why the Report has a special interest for us is that Mr. R. L. Brohier, acting Assistant Surveyor General, officiated as one of the Secretaries to the Commission, and helped largely in collecting material for the Report, not the least interesting part of which is Chapter IV headed "Historical Retrospect". We will allow the Commissioners to speak of the part played by Mr. Brohier in this respect:—

"The main burden, however, of the secretarial work fell upon Mr. R. L. Brohier, to whom we owe a heavy obligation. He had an exceptionally intimate knowledge of the geographical conditions of all parts of the Island and their history. He did not spare himself in the laborious task of collecting material for our use. He accumulated a multitude of accurate facts and figures by delving into Government records and files. His admirable collection and presentation of relevant material, both from representations made to us and from other sources, was of the greatest assistance to us. Without this exceptional assistance, it would not have been possible for us to have completed our work within the short time available to us for presenting our Report. We are conscious that he was subjected to an undue strain to produce the results desired by us. This could only have been avoided by asking for an extension of the period of time allotted to the Commission. Both he and we were reluctant to do this".

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