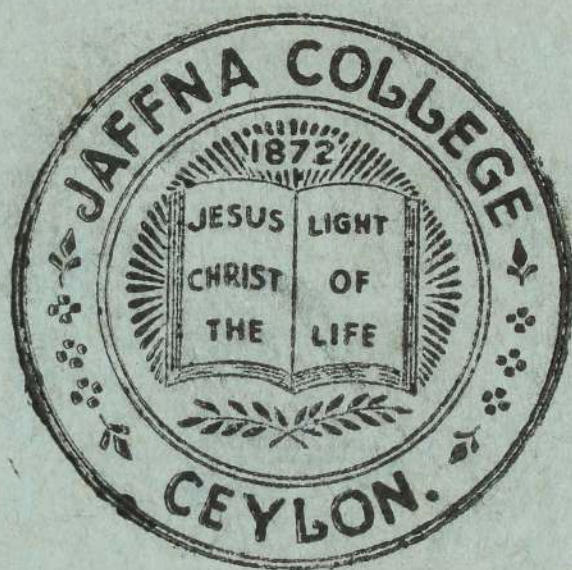
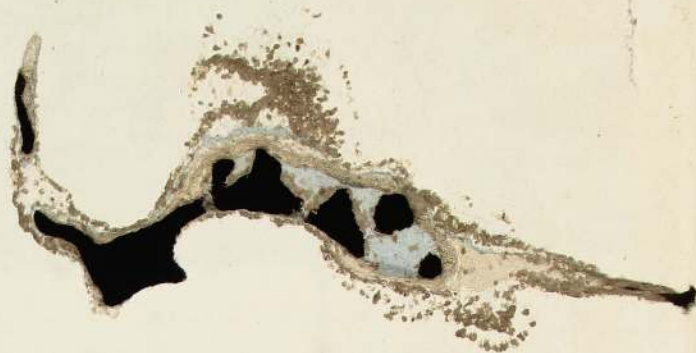


**A
HISTORY OF JAFFNA COLLEGE
(1923 – 1980)**



SABAPATHY KULANDRAN
(Formerly, Bishop Jaffna Diocese)

1983







The Rev. John Bicknell

A
HISTORY **JAFFNA COLLEGE**
(1923 - 1980)

DEDICATED
TO THE MEMORY OF
THE REV. JOHN BICKNELL
1883 - 1953
SABAPATHY KULANDRAN
(Formerly, Bishop Jaffna Diocese)

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DEDICATED
TO THE MEMORY OF

THE REV. JOHN BICKNELL

Professor — **1902 — 1905**
Principal — **1915 — 1936**

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PREFACE

This book tells the story of Jaffna College from 1923 to 1980; it takes it up from where Mr. J. V. Chelliah's book published in 1923, under the title, "A Century of English Education", leaves it and brings it up to the present.

It will be noticed that there is a difference in the method of treatment between the one book and the other. Largely, this is due to the difference between the periods covered; they are due, to some extent, to some other reasons also of which the readers will be told later.

Though Mr. Chelliah's book purports to cover a century, it actually covers only a period of 85 years, for the old "Batticotta Seminary" was closed down in 1855 and what is known as "Jaffna College" was started only in 1872. But whatever be the length of the period covered, a good deal of it was beyond the recall of those living when Mr. Chelliah's book came out. Few could have remembered the days of the Seminary; and it so happened that not many were living who could remember the early days of the College and their recollection was rather dim. Mr. Chelliah, therefore, was like an archaeologist digging up the past and could be content with making known only the main facts, collating them round the Principals, who had held the reins of administration from time to time, without being concerned too much with details.

I, on the other hand, joined the College in the very year with which my story starts; and many of my contemporaries are still living. Those who came in later are, of course, beyond count. All these would look into my book for a record of the events they knew and a description of the personalities with whom they had come into contact. Details did not come very much into Mr. Chelliah's sphere of concern; they come very much into mine.

I had, therefore, to go not merely decade by decade but literally year by year. This may make my book look very much like a Diary. But every history is at bottom a Diary, in that it

has to follow a time-sequence; otherwise, it ceases to have any purpose at all. Only, my history is more obviously so, in that it is written for those who know the time-sequence only too well. But certainly a Diary is in itself not history; there must be comments on the significance of the events concerned, attention drawn to movements and the ideals they embedded, a tracing of effects from causes, spot-lights thrown on personalities and comparisons and contrasts drawn between them. This I have tried to do; otherwise, I would have written no history at all.

The writing of a detailed survey covering sixty years of an Institution is an enormously difficult task. Hundreds of facts, dates and figures had to be gathered from various sources, collated in their proper order, checked and re-checked for accuracy. This often meant my constant walking up and down from my office to various sources of information on the Campus and to a considerable extent justified my jibe that I was writing history on my feet.

In bringing in as many details as I have done into my book, I am, of course, laying myself open to an obvious charge, that I have not exercised my responsibility of selection, and have included what was irrelevant along with what was integral. I have pointed out that I am writing for those who have a general picture of the whole period. About certain facts there can be no doubt that they are integral; on many other points, there can be much difference of opinion as to what is relevant and what is not; and I might be accused of discrimination in my choice. I have, therefore, exercised my own discretion and this I have a right to do.

The second point of difference between the two books arises because we are dealing with two different periods of time which are entirely different in kind. The Victorian and the Edwardian era is looked upon, as the Augustan era in ancient times, as a time of great calm and quietness. Ours, on the other hand, is one of most tumultuous known to history, filled with national and international commotions, wars, revolutions and

other dire events Mr. Chelliah could, therefore, have written his history without glancing at what was going on in the world outside; because it would always have been the same kind of world. I could not do it; to have done so would have been unrealistic, artificial and dishonest; and my book would scarcely have been worth looking at.

The third point of difference on the score of time is that in those days Governments and Educational institutions lived in two different compartments. Governments ruled and Educational institutions taught. During the last fifty years this situation has changed radically, till now we have come into the era of the Welfare State, which considers that Education is one of its primary concerns. Its interventions in educational matters, therefore, are looked upon as natural and normal. But we with our own ideals and long-established traditions had to wage a constant struggle to maintain our independence and keep these interventions at a minimum. This always creates problems and complications. All these never arose in Mr. Chelliah's time.

I have already said that there were other reasons besides the respective periods that are responsible for the difference in the methods followed by my predecessor and me. The first of these (though this also is influenced by the difference between the periods) is that the subject matter of the two periods is different. He was dealing with a Jaffna College very different from that with which I have been dealing. Through the greater part of the time he was dealing with, first the Seminary and then the College, whether we were affiliated to a University (as we were for sometime) or not, we were of Collegiate standing that is, doing mostly post Secondary work; the number of students was mostly round a hundred (sometimes more and sometime less) and they were all boarders; the Athletics which were chiefly gymnastics and did not involve any competition with other institutions. It was a sheltered little institution existing by itself.

We, on the other hand, though we ran an Intermediate class for sixteen years, a full Undergraduate Department for

seventeen years, have been mainly, in the period I am covering, a Secondary school, one of the many Secondary schools in the Peninsula and the Island, thrown open to the four winds of heaven, subject to pressures of public opinion and movements, having to hold our own in all respects with other schools like ourselves. Our numbers have usually stood round a thousand; and most of these were day-students. To cater to the various needs of these students our range of activities had to be stretched over a wide gamut. It has been impossible to cover all these activities; but one thing is clear that the Jaffna College of 1980 is very different from the College of 1880—though it is still, of course, the same Institution, justifying continuous history (through the two volumes)

The other point (apart from that of time) that makes my writing vary from that of Mr. Chelliah's is that he was writing as an Insider and I as an Outsider. Mr. Chelliah joined the College as a student in 1889 and retired as Vice-Principal in 1935. So the greater part of his life was spent inside the College walls, as a student or a teacher. He knew all the Codes and regulations that were operative from time to time and was in intimate touch with the inner working of the College and knew it first hand. My career as a student and a teacher here was very brief. Though as a Minister of the Church connected with the College and as a member of the Board of Directors for quite some years, I have been in continuous touch with the institution, compared with Mr. Chelliah I must be considered an Outsider.

However, the advantage that Mr. Chelliah enjoys, though very considerable is not altogether one-sided. An Insider, just because he is an Insider, often can form only partial and fragmentary views. An Outsider can view situations as a whole and achieve a better perspective; so my situation also has something in its favour. In fact, histories are usually written by those who were not living in the periods of which they were writing.

It will be observed by readers that I have throughout this book used the word "Ceylon" when referring to this

country, though the term now in vogue is "Sri Lanka". The Institution had existed for very nearly a 150 years before Government introduced the new term; and the new term has been in usage for only eight years during the period covered by this book. Therefore, to have used the new term for earlier years would have suggested an impossible gift of anticipation. To have suddenly started using the new name for the last eight years might have given the impression that the College had changed its geographical location. In the circumstances, a consistency in terminology was deemed desirable.

In writing this book I have had to draw from various sources. First, of course, there were the official documents, like the Miscellanies, the Minutes of the Board of Directors and to some extent the Minutes of the Round Table. But the Miscellany, after 1960 was published only triennially would therefore often tend more to misguide than to guide. The Minutes of the Board, always authoritative, do not always keep pace with the events.

Outside these, there were the three hefty volumes published by Government in the Sixties, entitled "Education in Ceylon", various books on the recent history of Ceylon and copies of the various Parliamentary Acts. But my never failing friend was the "Morning Star", for the existence of which we can never be too grateful. It pins down every occurrence to its proper date and gives all the necessary details, clearing away all doubt. Only, in regard to the "Morning Star", one must already know where to look for what one wants. Besides these definite documents, I have had to conduct much correspondence with those outside for eliciting exact information on many points.

Apart from all written documents, a writer of recent history has one invaluable aid: memory, his own and that of his friends. This, however, while always helpful cannot be depended on for accuracy and exactness and, therefore, has had to be carefully verified. Nevertheless, its helpfulness is beyond doubt.

Among the persons to whom I must express my gratitude, the Principal comes first; and this is but natural. At any

hour of the day I would pop my face at his window with a question on my lips and he was always ready with an answer. He was never wearied at my importunity nor ever tended to be impatient. The next person to whom I must express my gratitude is Mr. T. Anandaratnam, who always had the answer to questions about recent Ceylon history on his finger tips. I am also grateful to Bishop Ambalavanar for letting me have access to copies of the "Morning Star" which were not in the College Library. For help in correcting proofs, I am indebted chiefly to Dr. R. G. Porter and Mr. A. I. Sinniah.

As I conclude the story of the College during these troubled times and find that College has not merely survived, not merely refused to be overwhelmed by repeated attempts to emasculate it, swallow it, or eliminate it altogether, but still stands erect, vibrant with life, free and independent of Government support or control (except in regard to departmental regulations) and shows that it can still continue to attract so much attention and patronage, it makes one feel a spirit of deep thankfulness.

I can only thank God for having given me the privilege of writing the history of this Institution.

January, 1983.

S. Kulandran
Bishop

THE CENTENARY AND JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS

The Batticotta Seminary (the term "BATTICOTTA" was an Anglicised form of Vaddukoddai then prevalent) had been founded in 1823. It had been closed later, and Jaffna College was its continuation. Therefore, the centenary of the original Institution was due in 1923. Jaffna College under its present name was started in 1872; so its Golden Jubilee fell due in 1922. It was felt that both Anniversaries had to be celebrated; for to celebrate only one would have been a sign of serious disrespect to the other. What further complicated matters was that the Principal's furlough was long overdue and he was leaving for home early in 1923. In the circumstances, the Colombo Old Boys arrived at a neat solution: telescope both celebrations into the end of 1922 and the beginning of 1923. The celebrations duly took place on the 31st of December 1922 and the 1st and the 2nd of January 1923.

The 31st of December fell on a Sunday, and so the celebrations could appropriately start on a distinctive religious note. So the first item in the programme was Divine Service at 9.30 A. M. (which in those days was about the normal hour for its commencement) at the Vaddukoddai church, Mr. C. H. Cooke, Acting Pastor of the church, conducted it, assisted by the Rev. K. A. Kandiah. The Rev. J. J. Banninga, the Principal of the Pasumalai Theological Institute, who represented the Madura Mission, that had been founded by Dr. Daniel Poor, the first Principal of the Batticotta Seminary, preached the sermon. He preached on the text, "For me to live is Christ" (Phil. 1:21).

In the afternoon there was a Reunion of old members of the Y. M. C. A., who held a meeting of their own. The Rev. M. H. Harrison, the outgoing President, was in the chair and Mr. A. M. K. Cumaraswamy of Trinity College, Kandy, was the chief speaker; but others also spoke.

The Praise Service took place at 6.00 p. m., and the Preacher was the Principal, Mr. Bicknell, a superb orator,

both in the pulpit and on the platform, and who could rise to any occasion. On this occasion particularly he was in his element. The saying that half a preacher's task is done, when he has chosen his text may not be altogether correct, because much depends on what he says on it. The preacher must also (humanly speaking) be equal to the text. With sure judgment he chose for the occasion the words of the College motto, "Jesus Christ the Light of Life". It must have been a great performance. Even now reading it in cold print gives one a thrill. When it came by word of mouth, its impact on the congregation that night must have been tremendous. He said that Jesus had uttered these words at the Feast of the Dedication of the Temple of Jerusalem which commemorated the liberation of the Jews from tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes (reigned 175-164 B. C.) who had attempted to desecrate the Temple. For the Feast, the Temple and the city would have been a mass of light. Standing in the midst of it all, Jesus says, "I am the Light of the world". He does not want agreement with any special creedal statement; nor does He demand the acceptance of any Western notion of Christ. The saying simply sets forth Jesus Christ as the Light of the world. The sermon must have been an impassioned utterance and the occasion was such that the effect must have been profound.

The Vaddukoddai church had been rescued from ruin by the early Missionaries and had played a large part in the history of the College and had been, in fact, been used as the College Chapel to start with. Therefore, those in charge of arrangements decided that as much of the celebrations as could be held in the church should be held there. To those of the present generation, who have grown into a different tradition, the idea of having any function that is not purely religious in a church would look heinous; but those living at that time belonged to the Congregational Denomination and it did not strike them as in the least inappropriate.

On Monday the 1st of January 1923, at 9.30 a. m., there was a Public Meeting (also in the church) presided over by Mr. W. E. Hitchcock, who had been Professor and Vice-Principal at the College, with one single break, from 1878 to 1908

He could welcome the sons and grandsons of Seminary Graduates. Greetings were given by Mr. A. Lockwood of the Methodist Mission, Mr. Nevins Selvadurai of Hindu College, Mr. A. M. K. Cumaraswamy of Trinity College, Mr. Peiris of Richmond College and Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam of Wesley College.

The chief speakers were Mr. K. Balasingham, Advocate, and Mr. Nevins Selvadurai. Both spoke of the ideals that had guided those who founded and carried on the Seminary and of the great results that had been gained by their wisdom.

In the afternoon, there were private meetings of the Old Boys; from 3 to 5 Mr. and Mrs. Bicknell gave a reception. This was followed by a football match between the Past and Present boys of the College. As in all such matches, the result must have been a foregone conclusion and, of course, was not of the slightest consequence.

At 6-30 in the evening, the Prize Giving was held, presided over by the Government Agent of Jaffna, Mr. B. Constantine. It had been arranged that the two prodigies, who had in the previous year passed their London Intermediate exam. in Arts, viz., Mr. Handy Perinpanayagam and Mr. Lyman Kulathungam should deliver orations on the occasion. But as Western dress had been prescribed for the orators, and Mr. Perinpanayagam had conscientious objections to it, only Mr. Kulathungam could perform the task assigned to him. In his speech he made certain observations highly displeasing to the Chairman. Mr. Bicknell read the Principal's Report which covered the activities of the College during the previous year.

On Tuesday the 2nd at 9-30 a. m., there was a large public meeting than on the previous day. The Chairman was the Hon. Mr. W. Duraisamy, who in 1921 had been elected representative of the Northern Province to the Legislative Council, under the Reformed Constitution, which for the first time had placed representation in the Legislature on a territorial basis. There were three major speeches:

“The College in the 19th Century” by Mr. T. H. Crossette, M. A.

“The College in the 20th Century” by the Rev. J. K. Sinnatamby, B. A.

“The College of Tomorrow” by Mr. J. V. Chelliah, M. A.,
by Rev. J. Bicknell, B. A., B. D.

In the afternoon there were two functions. At the first Mrs. Bicknell unveiled a portrait of Mr. E. A. Kingsbury, member of a well known family, who had taught Mathematics in the College from 1875 to 1901. Mr. C. H. Cooke, a student and colleague of his and Mr. C. H. Kathirvelpillai, an old student, both spoke on the occasion. At the second function the Old Boys of Malaya presented Mr. C. H. Cooke with a gold medal. Mr. Cooke had taught Logic and History from 1879 to 1919, but was still in good health, and was only in his 62nd year; but a long developed habit of looking older than he was gave him a venerable appearance. The Principal paid a tribute to Mr. Cooke.

At 4-30 there was a Pageant to depict the progress of the Institution from the start to the present. Though it was afternoon, artificially induced darkness and torch-lights at various moments were used to show the different stages through which the College had advanced. The final scene ended in a blaze of light.

The Alumni Banquet which was held at the Ottley Hall wound up the celebrations. Mr. J. V. Chelliah improvised for Mr. Constantine who should have presided. Mr. A. S. Arulampalam announced that the Jubilee Fund had safely swung the half-way mark of Rs. 25,000/-. Messrs T. H. Crossette, Bates Vallipuram, Proctor Thambiah, S. R. Rasaratnam, K. Kanagaratnam, A. M. Brodie and Nevins Selvadurai, made speeches.

Much effort had been made to maintain every item in the proceedings through the three days at the highest level; and as a celebration it was complete. The Past and the Present had been brought together. To the students and the teachers as it was all a dream, but a dream that was very much in touch with reality.

THE PAST THAT WAS CELEBRATED

Jaffna College had just celebrated a Centenary and a Jubilee; that is, it had celebrated its past. Yet it must be realised that the Jaffna College that had done it was not the same kind of institution as the Seminary whose Centenary it had aimed at celebrating, nor, through most of its history, like the College whose Golden Jubilee it was celebrating. The Seminary always and the College, most of the time, had been of collegiate standing; that is, whether they presented candidates for the B. A. Examination, as Colleges are expected to do, or not, they were of the standard that could do so, if the necessary facilities were available, or if they felt like doing so. The Jaffna College that conducted the celebrations in 1923 was only a Secondary School (though with a small post-Secondary appendix). It had simply continued to call itself a "College", according to the custom prevailing in this Island, by which that name was meant to give satisfaction for the absence of facilities for University education.

The founders of the Seminary had issued their prospectus indicating that their intention was to found "a College for Tamul and other youth". A College may grant degrees; but for the degrees to have any value there had to be a Charter of authority; and it was only the Government of the country that could grant such a Charter. In our case, the Government of Ceylon at that time was by no means willing to encourage an American enterprise with such a purpose. Balked in their attempt to get Government sanction for their enterprise, but still determined to go ahead with their project, the Missionaries decided to call their institution a "Seminary", a term to which no objection could be taken by anyone.

At the Seminary, a large number of subjects were taught, almost breath-taking in their range and variety, and were taught at a very high standard. The whole idea was extremely novel in this country, which was largely illiterate. It was also novel

to a number of distinguished, individual Englishmen, who visited the place, because in spite of centuries of culture, England could still boast of only two Universities. So they could not help expressing their surprise at what was being done here. Among such visitors were Sir Richard Ottley, Puisne Justice (1819—1827) and later Chief Justice (1819—1827), Sir Wilmot Horton, Governor of Ceylon (1831—1837) and the famous Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta (1823—1826).

Sir Emerson Tennent the Colonial Secretary (i. e. Lieutenant Governor) himself a no mean scholar, who visited the Seminary in 1848, has left his opinion on record. He says,

“The knowledge exhibited by the pupils was astonishing; and it is no exaggerated encomium to say that in the course of instruction and in the system of communicating it, the collegiate institution of Batticotta is entitled to rank with many European Universities.”

Another testimony to the standard of education maintained at the Seminary is what occurred in the case of two graduates of the Seminary who went to Madras. In 1857 the British Government had set up a University there; suitable candidates had to be found to sit for the Entrance Exam; and who but these were the only ones fit for the role? Three months later, the University had to prove its standing as a degree-granting institution; and the only candidates available to sit for the B. A. Exam. were the two young men from Jaffna, who had sat for their Entrance a little while earlier. Thus it was, that it came about that the first two graduates of the Madras University were Caroll Visvanathan and C W. Thamotherampillai of Jaffna.

It may be seen, therefore, that educationally the Seminary had been performing a high degree of service. And this was the institution that was closed down in 1855 by the Deputation sent down from America, headed by Dr. Rufus Anderson, because it felt that whatever service it may have performed educationally, in regard to the primary purpose for which the Board in Boston had set it up its achievement fell far below the mark. To the people of Jaffna the act of closure did not so much create a void, as open up an unfathomable abyss.

Nor were the people of Jaffna alone in their attitude; most of the Missionaries were also on their side. They had from the start approved of the policy followed by the Seminary. In fact, the action of the Deputation was a categorical vote of No-confidence on the Missionaries themselves. Therefore, the people of Jaffna when they wanted to remedy the situation had the Missionaries behind them.

A public meeting was held at Vaddukoddai at the end of 1867 to resolve on the establishment of a higher educational institution of the same kind as the Seminary; but the money, of course, had to come from America. So the proposal had to be such as would not violate the conscience of those who would favour the object in America: and yet it had to be such that it would ensure that any action similar to that of the Anderson Deputation would not be repeated. So the first resolution laid it down that the institution would be "conducted on principles of Protestant Christianity and under the management of Christian instructors and Trustees". The appeal for funds was to be made not to the American Board of Missions, but to friends—thus absolving the Mission Board from any financial responsibility, yet securing their goodwill. If the Board was not financing it but merely furthering it, who was to be in charge of it? Here came the master-stroke in the whole concept that soon took shape. A local Board of Directors would be responsible for the management here, while a Board of Trustees in America would handle the Endowment Fund there. Those in charge of the Endowment Fund, however, made the stipulation that they would have the power to withhold interest from the Fund, if in their judgment there shall be any departure on the part of the Directors or the Faculty from strictly "evangelical Christian principles".

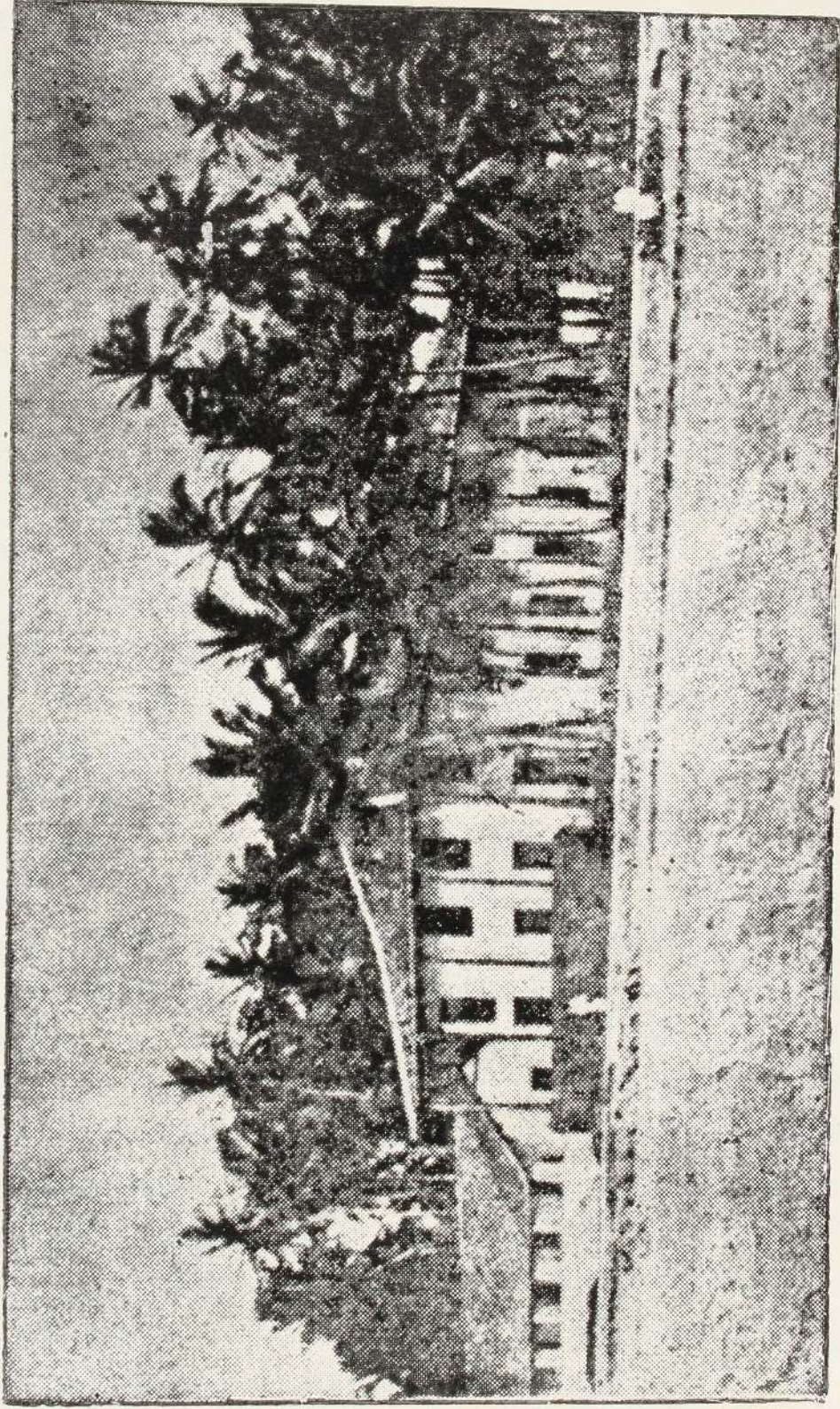
As a result of four years of effort, the new Institution was opened in 1872, with the Rev. E. P. Hastings, the last Principal of the Seminary, as the first Principal of Jaffna College. He was a brother-in-law of Grover Cleveland who sometime later was twice President of the United States. (The mahogany trees planted on either occasion are still standing in front of the Principal's Bungalow). Mr. J. V. Chelliah says of Mr. Hastings

that "he was a prince among men born to rule". It is reported that when once the Governor of Ceylon visited the College, he considered it outside his duty (or below his dignity) to go and receive him at the gate.

The curriculum of studies of the Seminary had been exacting enough; but that of the College strikes one with dismay. There were four languages: English, Tamil, Latin and Sanskrit, besides Philosophy, Moral Sciences, Rhetoric, Logic, History, Geography, Astronomy, various branches of Natural Sciences, like Botany and Zoology and Physics, with other branches thrown in. It is intrinsically impossible that every student would have been compelled to study all these subjects. The list, we believe, indicates the courses available. How many of these subjects were compulsory we do not know; and the standard expected may not have been high by the reckoning of the present day, but must have been formidable enough by the reckoning of those days. As for teaching this astounding variety of subjects, the Faculty available was not adequate. So the Rev. S. W. Howland, the Rev. T. S. Smith and Dr. William Paul came from outside to help; and there was an appeal from the Principal for further assistance from America.

We may well ask what the idea behind this awesome range of subjects was. The answer is, it was to form the curriculum of a University. But when there were already three Universities in India, why should we not get affiliated to one of them? Affiliation with any of them was not sought, because the proud and imperious American at the head of affairs here had nothing but scorn for the Indian Universities. He wanted his College to be a University in its own right.

From the outset, the Missionaries do not seem to have appreciated the difficulty of getting a Charter here; for in America these things are done more easily, since such matters are in the hands of State governments, with whom arrangements are made more easily. Here, on the other hand, the matter was entirely in the hands of the Governor "in Council" in Colombo; and those hands refused to move. Repeated efforts proved to be of no avail. When Prince Edward



Jaffna College in the Nineties



(later Edward VII) visited Ceylon in 1875, the request was laid before him; and, as anyone in his position would have done, he refused to intervene in a matter that was being handled by the local authorities. A final effort was made when Sir Arthur Havelock, the Governor of Ceylon, visited us in 1890. With typical British diplomacy, he side-tracked the issue by saying that he hoped that the example set by Jaffna College would soon induce the Government itself to set up a University of its own. (This hope was realised only thirty years later).

In the meantime, the demand for recognised degrees was becoming stronger day by day. And Dr. S. W. Howland, who had succeeded Dr. Hastings and who was more amenable to local currents of thought than his predecessor, affiliated the College to Calcutta up to the F. A. in 1891 and up to the B. A. in 1893. Surprise may be expressed that a distant University like Calcutta should have been chosen in preference to the nearby University of Madras; but what must be remembered is that in those days Calcutta was the capital of India (which it ceased to be only in 1911); and its University was the Metropolitan university.

Dr. Samuel Howland, the Principal, who occupied that position from 1889 to 1897, was according to Mr. Chelliah a walking encyclopaedia, possessed of vast learning and an expert in many subjects, not merely on the high-ways but the bye-ways of knowledge. He could even lay down the law to Hindus on their own lore and was therefore locally called the "Sastri Iyer". There were six classes in the College: the pre-Entrance, Entrance, First year F. A., Second Year F. A., First Year B. A., and Second Year B. A. Under him, the number of students rose to 173. When he left in 1897, a suitable successor was difficult to find and the numbers began rapidly to decline.

Then the blow fell. Lord Curzon who was Viceroy of India (1898-1905) appointed a Commission to go into the complaints against Indian Education. The Commission made its Report in 1902; and the second clause in its Report recommended that

Colleges should not be affiliated at random but should be affiliated to the nearest University. This meant that Jaffna College should switch from Calcutta to Madras. This became law in 1905.

What was the blow involved? Calcutta had allowed a pass in each subject taken up, if 25% marks were secured, and an aggregate of 33% was secured in the whole exam. Madras demanded that a pass in English, which was compulsory, would require 40% and a pass in the other subjects 35%. To those living now, after 60 years of University education behind them, the demand of Madras seems modest; but to those living then, it seemed like wanting to make a camel go through the eye of a needle.

As a result of Lord Curzon's University Act, we are told, most Indian Colleges had to be re-shaped. In 1906 Jaffna College sent up students for the Madras exams, and the results were disappointing. There is a tradition that the Madras University sent down a Deputation here to report on Jaffna College and that the Deputation did not find the existing educational facilities afforded here were satisfactory and that it recommended to the College authorities that Jaffna should form a College run by all the Protestant Missions and recommended to the University that a five-year period of probation be given to the College. The writer was told of the visit of the Deputation by one who claimed that he was an eye-witness to it.

However, all literature now available of the time makes it out that all action bearing on the issues arising out of our relation to Madras was taken locally. The Board of Directors on its part, decided that while the setting up of a "Union College" was desirable, it presented insurmountable difficulties. Dr. Howland, the former Principal from his home in America, considered that a "Union College" would be controlled by Missionaries and was, therefore, quite undesirable. In the circumstances, the College authorities explored a new avenue. When Sir Henry Blake, the Governor of Ceylon, visited us in 1905, he was asked whether Government would

start a University of its own. Colonial Governors could never make promises on their own, since they could not be sure of the opinion of their advisers nor of the attitude of the Home Government.

Therefore, the College had to make a critical decision about its future. The new Principal, the Rev. G. G. Brown who assumed duties in 1908, was a giant of a man with a kindly disposition, but possessed of an indomitable will and persistence. He accepted the Principalship on the condition that he would be allowed to work for a "Union College", but he was sufficiently realistic to face the fact that in the meantime and that an educational institution which had formerly taught only post secondary classes could not exist in a vacuum.

Mr. Brown, therefore, while making strenuous attempts for getting the other Protestant Missions to join in the venture of a "Union College", went ahead with the task of making the College a Secondary School. And to be on firm ground, he registered it as a "Grant-in-Aid School"; and as soon as he came, he abolished the time-honoured compulsory residential system and opened the doors to Day students; and in 1909 he started sending up students for the Cambridge exams, like other Secondary Schools. However, as a Secondary School now, there was only one short-coming at Jaffna College; there were no Lower classes. This he made good by incorporating into the College the "Batticotta High School", across the road, which till then had been under private management.

By 1911, in spite of Mr. Brown's hopes and efforts, the sands had run out and all official connection with Madras had to cease and Jaffna College could no longer be called a "College" in the real sense of the word.

More than three decades before the Government of India could rouse itself to do anything for higher education here in Ceylon the founders of the Batticotta Seminary had set up an institution of Collegiate standing. And the founders of Jaffna College in 1872 had begun to do the same fifty years earlier what the Government of Ceylon was to think of doing later. For

nearly twenty-five years the graduates of the College had been able to boast of the proud privilege of having the right to add the magic letters "B. A." to their names, which students in other institutions in Ceylon could not; and the honour implied by these letters in those days was awesome. This privilege came to an end in the early years of this century.

When Mr. Brown registered the College as a "Grant-in-Aid Secondary School", the act represented a radical break with the past. In the past, both as Seminary and as College, it had been of Collegiate standing. Now it had been forced by circumstances "to come down in life"; instead of being the one institution in the Island sending up candidates for the B. A. exam., it had to join the large crowd of Secondary Schools sending up students for the Cambridge Junior and Senior exams. This was the Jaffna College which celebrated the Jubilee and the Centenary. It had had a career as a Secondary School only for fourteen years; yet the past it was celebrating was largely that of a Collegiate institution. Had it a right to do so?

In the case of an individual, a man at fifty is not what he was at twenty-five; he might have become richer or poorer and even his whole character may have changed; yet he celebrates his fiftieth birthday and nobody questions his right to do so. Nations go through revolutions; monarchies become republics; yet they consider themselves the same nations that they had been; because in spite of changes, however sweeping they might have been, there is an identity that is never lost.

In the case of an Educational Institution is there an identity left? If so, what is it? It is an identity of spirit, of ideals and of traditions. So that Jaffna College of 1923, whatever be the changes that might have come over it, may trace a line of continuity with the Batticotta Seminary and with what it had been under its own name before 1908.

Whatever might have been his private feelings in the matter, Mr. Brown had not been slow to make his terms with the new situation. Having already fulfilled the requirements for putting the institution on the basis of a Secondary School, he proceeded to make the necessary adjustments involved. He



The Rev. G. G. Brown



The Boy of the Brown

knew that a Secondary School would mean a much larger number on the roll than a Collegiate institution and, therefore he started putting up the row of classrooms south of our main Quadrangle (alongside the Karainagar Road). Mr. Brown's instinct about the increase in numbers proved to be correct; the enrolment when he came was 81; in five years it had risen to 273.

The religious needs of the students were being met by the Y. M. C. A., which was founded in 1884 and was the first of its kind in any Eastern country.

Mr. Brown also felt the need to raise the cultural and intellectual standards also. So in 1909 he founded "The Brotherhood", which has had an important place in our history; it was meant for the Senior students. It edited a Tamil newspaper and an English one also; but these have now been given up. But the Brotherhood still carries on invigorating debates on all conceivable subjects. The Lyceum for the Junior class was founded the next year; the Forum and the Academy came later. Anyhow, it is obvious that it was Mr. Brown who first saw the necessity for these Associations.

In another respect also, Mr. Brown made a wise move. During its Collegiate status, for physical exercise the College had specialised in Gymnastics; but during the early years of this century Cricket and Football had begun to creep into Jaffna, and for a Secondary School they were an absolute necessity. So in 1914 Mr. Brown opened a Football Field, still known by his name. Gymnastics, however, continued as a sideline for some years; and feats on the trapezium by the College students used to make the blood of those who had come for cricket matches curdle.

Though Mr. Brown had done his best to accommodate himself with the new status of the College, his heart was not in it. Whilst engaged in this very task, he was waging a ceaseless battle both within and without the Board for a "Union College". When he knew that he had not succeeded and would never succeed, Mr. Brown resigned his position suddenly early in 1915 and went back into Mission work,

which had been his chief love always. (He died of typhoid fever early in 1920 and is buried in the Mission graveyard at Uduvil). In the writer's opinion he was the greatest Missionary who had come from America to Ceylon in this century.

Mr. C. W. Miller, who had come out in 1914, acted as Principal till the Rev. John Bicknell arrived in November 1915 and relieved him. During his term as Acting Principal Mr. Miller founded "The Round Table", an Association for teachers to discuss subjects of common interest among them.

Mr. Bicknell had been here from 1902 to 1905 as a Professor in the College; but when he came back, he knew that a radical change had occurred in the interval. He had come to take charge of a Secondary School; and a good Secondary School he would make it. The parents now knew where they stood; here was a good Secondary School under a determined Principal and it was a place to which they could send their children with confidence. In five years time the number on the roll which had stood at 273 in 1915 passed the mark of 400. A rule was made that those taking up the London Matriculation and the Cambridge exams had to be boarders. The long upstairs block on the Western side of the main Quadrangle, now used for Laboratories and Art Classes (but formerly as dormitories above and classrooms below) was begun in 1916 and completed in 1920. The row of classrooms now forming the Northern side of the Quadrangle was begun in 1921 and completed the next year. Since the barbarous custom of using cement concrete bricks for building purposes had fortunately not come into vogue, buildings took time to complete in those days.

By 1922, the old Gymnasium had disappeared and the Dining Hall which had been on the Western side of the present Tennis Courts had been shifted to what is now the Parish Hall of the Vaddukoddai church; the kitchen was the row of rooms which form the present Diocesan Offices. By "a settlement", which is hard to justify now, the present Parsonage was transferred to the College. The settlement was signed on behalf of the church by Rev. M. H. Harrison as

Pastor and J. V. Chelliah as Secretary, both of course being also important members of the College Staff. The purpose of the acquisition will be seen shortly.

In the field of Sports, with no elderly persons to cramp their style, the students could compete on equal terms with the other Secondary Schools. In 1916 one of the students secured the prize given to the best bowler in Inter-Collegiate Cricket. By 1920 our teams were attaining an outstanding status in Cricket and Football. The year 1921, however, was their best year, when they obtained the Football Championship after a historic match with St. Patrick's. The Captain of the year S. Sabaratnam, thereafter always called "Captain Saban" to the end of his life (1959), played right extreme with superb skill. We have won the Football Championship many times since then, but that of 1921 has always continued to be cherished, because it was the first. The next year we just missed getting it. Anyway, both in Cricket and Football, if we were not at the top always, we were now usually very near it.

We now, no doubt, had a Lower School; but that Lower School could cater only to the local community. We wanted material for the Upper classes to be supplied from the whole Peninsula. So the little village English Schools which had been under the Mission were brought under the Management of the College. Karainagar and Manipay came in 1916; Pandateruppu the next year; and the rest of the lot—Tellippallai, Atchuvely, Kankesanturai, Udupidy and Chavakachcheri in 1921. These were considered "feeder schools". It was realised that their support would cost money, but it was felt that it was worth it.

As Principal of a Secondary School, it was beyond doubt that Mr. Bicknell was taking things in his stride. But was this all that Jaffna College could do? It had done much more once; could it not do more than it was doing now? Calcutta and Madras were out of the question; but they were not the only Universities in the world. The Government was setting up a University College and was beginning to present candidates for the London University examinations; but Government itself was finding it difficult to get candidates, because the gap between

the Matriculation and the Intermediate exam was a great one. Why should we not try presenting our candidates who succeeded in the Matriculation for the London Intermediate exams? So Mr. Bicknell made his first experiment in 1921; but it did not come off. In 1922 he presented two candidates, and, as we saw in our report of the Jubilee Celebrations, both were successful. The Intermediate classes had come to stay. There had been a set-back to Mr Bicknell's plans when Mr. Allen Abraham, the great Astronomer, whom he had depended on to teach Mathematics, died about the middle of 1922. But the event affected only one subject in one department of studies. Mr. Bicknell felt he could meet the situation. It was obvious the Intermediate classes were going to attract students. If that was so, a home had to be found for them; they could not stay in the dormitories. And this was the reason why the settlement to take over the Vaddukoddai Parsonage was made.

The General management of the College was under a Board of Directors, the Chairman of which was the Hon. Mr. K. Balasingham. In academic matters the Faculty acted as an Advisory Council to the Principal; the qualification to be a member of it was to be a graduate of at least one year's standing. By the end of 1922 the Faculty consisted of the Principal the Rev. John Bicknell, the Rev. M. H. Harrison, Messrs J. V. Chelliah, L. S. Ponniah, J. C. Amarasingham, A. C. Sundrampillai, C. W. Phelps and E. G. Nicols. Besides these, on the Upper School Staff, there were ten others and on the Lower School Staff thirteen more.

There were 487 students: and there was a Library (then housed in a large room on the Northern side of the Quadrangle) of 4,000 volumes.

This was the College that celebrated its Anniversaries at the end of 1922 and the beginning of 1923.

A FRESH START (1923-1929)

In January **1923**, when the term opened, Jaffna College started on the second century of its life as an institution founded for Higher Learning and the second half of its century under its own name. It was still the same place, the same buildings, the same Staff and more or less the same students, except for the normal changes that take place at the end of one year and the beginning of another. Yet everything seemed new; it was as if a new era had dawned; there was a freshness and an expectancy about the whole atmosphere. It almost seemed that you could greet the era with the words with which W. Wordsworth had greeted the beginning of the French Revolution :

Bliss it was then to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven.

There were nine members on the Faculty, D. S. Sanders having become qualified to enter the group of the elect. Of these, four were Americans and five nationals. The Upper School Staff, besides these, consisted of ten and the Lower School Staff of thirteen. Mr. J. N. Appadurai presided over the Lower School as Supervisor.

Lord Mountbatten, the famous World War II hero, has said, "There are not good soldiers and bad soldiers; there are only good officers and bad officers". By this he meant that in a battle the issue depends on the officers; it is not that the soldiers do not matter, but everything depends on how they are led. So it is with a school; a good school may be judged chiefly by the leading members of its staff. It is they who set the pace and give a tone and quality to the school. When Jaffna College reopened in 1923, who were the chief personalities on the Staff? The writer may be open to the charge of invidiousness in his selection, but he must be willing to face it, if he is to write authentic history.

The Principal is, of course, the most important member not merely of the Staff but of the entire community of any school. He cannot help imparting his characteristic qualities to it; and Jaffna College at this time was particularly fortunate in its Principal, the Rev. John Bicknell. He was a product of Yale, one of the foremost Universities of America. He had, as we saw, been here in the early part of the century as a Professor. At the end of 1915 he had come back to be the Principal; and he had already been Principal for fully seven years when the Jubilee and Centenary celebrations had taken place.

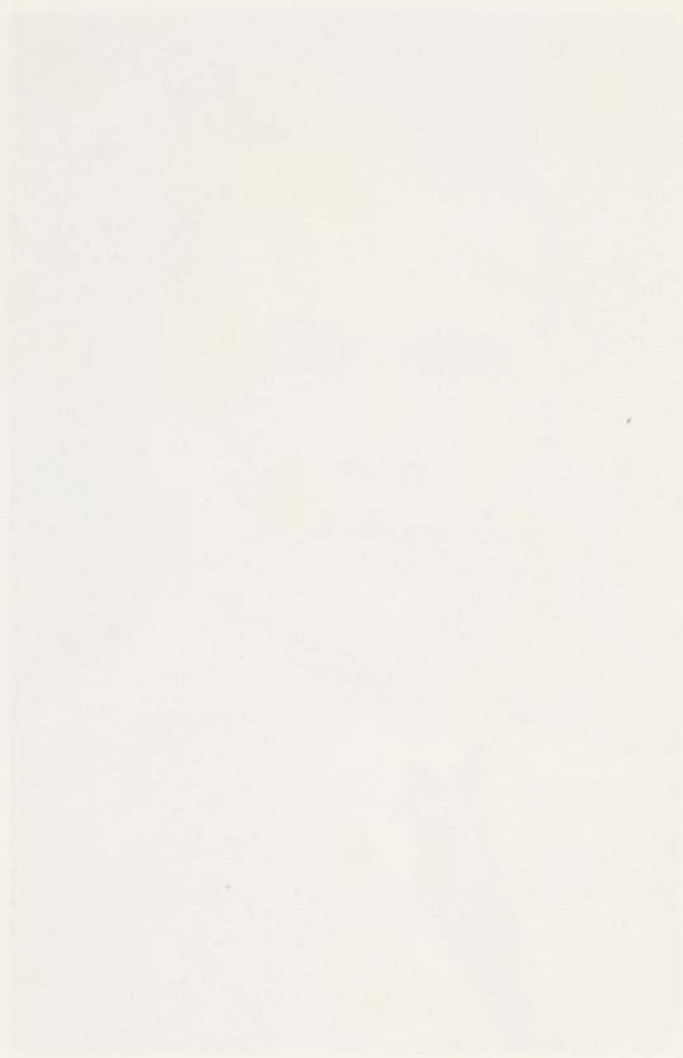
In 1923 he was a little more than 45 years of age and, therefore, at the height of his powers. The seven years that went before and the thirteen years that were to come may specifically be called "The Bicknell Era", not because he was the Principal but because he dominated it. Tall and handsome, he had a vibrant personality that compelled attention. Even when he was still and silent, his presence could by no means be ignored. When he rose to speak, there was no doubt of this compelling quality. He dominated every group or assembly or meeting in which he was.

Though he could have dominated an assembly, even if he had been a strong and silent personality, he had a gift which enabled him to project his personality, the gift of oratory; when he cleared his throat and opened his lips, he could traverse the whole gamut of public speech at will. Humour and pathos, irony and sarcasm, anecdote and impassioned utterance came to him easily and naturally. Every speech of his was eloquent; humour merely punctuated it. When the occasion was high and notable he could be depended on to rise to it without effort. One such occasion was the large public rally on the Police grounds to celebrate the conclusion of the Versailles "Peace Conference" in 1919, after the end of World War I.

As head of a school he was in his proper place. He might have been a good teacher, if he had cared to specialise in any subject; which he had not. He had taught earlier and did even later; however, one supposes that whenever he did, the students went away more inspired than edified. But as an administrator both in the office and as supervisor of the various activities



J. V. Chelliah



J. V. Chelliah

of the school, he was hard to excel. It was his habit to walk down the verandahs every morning to see how the classes were getting along. He would often walk into a class and sit alongside the students to see how the teacher taught and later would send him a note of his comments. If a teacher happened to be absent he would walk straight to the teacher's table and attempt to carry on, more or less allowing the students to teach him. Thus arose the story (true or false) of his getting stuck on the question of whether the word "of" was a preposition or conjunction. Nor did he miss the playing fields and would be present at all the chief matches.

His most important qualification for his task however was his entire dedication to the school. He expressed this in a curious manner when he was speaking about his colleague, Mr. J. V. Chelliah. He said that in a cricket match, if a Jaffna College boy lost his wicket, both he and Mr. Chelliah somehow would feel that that ball was a "no ball".

The next most important person on the staff was Mr. J. V. Chelliah. He had joined the College in 1889 as a student, had obtained his F. A., in 1894 and joined the Staff as a junior member. He had graduated in 1897; he obtained his M. A. degree in 1908 by sitting for the exam in Calcutta itself (and had reached home after a ludicrous attempt of the Police to arrest him as a terrorist). He was two years older than Mr. Bicknell.

There were resemblances and differences between Mr. Chelliah and Mr. Bicknell, the differences being more marked than the resemblances; but even in the resemblances there were differences.

The first resemblance lay in the fact that both were devoted to the College. Mr. Chelliah joined the College as a student; and here his whole life was spent, till he retired on reaching the age-limit prescribed for teachers. He had aspired for no career outside, which would have been easily open for a man of his qualifications in those days; after retirement he did develop temporary political ambitions, but he was never serious about them. His interest in the school was consistent and unflagging; but compared with Mr. Bicknell's interest it was mild; Bicknell's interest was a passion.

The second resemblance was that both were good speakers but Mr. Chelliah had an advantage over Bicknell, in that he was a good speaker in two languages, and was, therefore, in greater demand on platforms. But Mr. Chelliah, though always pleasant to hear, and though when moved by emotion could rise to great heights, generally spoke in a conversational style, as if he were merely talking to his hearers. Bicknell was an orator, even when he was humourous or telling an anecdote.

The differences between the two were greater. In the first place, Chelliah was essentially a teacher. Bicknell was essentially an administrator. Good teachers can also be capable administrators; but in Mr. Chelliah's case, his gift or lack of the gift for administration largely contributed to his being a supreme teacher. The prime need for an administrator was an eye for details and an interest in them. In this Mr. Chelliah was conspicuously lacking. His interests and preoccupation were in the intellectual field; he thought details were not worth any attention. Numerous stories were told of his constant obliviousness to them: of his searching frantically for something in his hands, of his slapping a student whom he himself had sent out to bring someone from the dormitory who was making too much noise. There was some suspicion that this was all pretence, intended to impress others. But that suspicion was by no means true, because often these incidents took place, when there was no one to be impressed; but this much is true that he was by no means discouraged or ashamed about it; he was once most happy, when a student in a class on Macaulay's "Younger Pitt", explained Pitt's total indifference to the wastage in his house by saying that great men did not pay attention to small matters.

Curiously enough, his great qualification as a teacher lay not in the fact that he taught efficiently, but that he was possessed by the subject. It was an enthusiasm which was infectious and the students also caught it. He was not concerned with the syllabus but with the subject. He always dwelt in superlatives: every poet was the greatest poet and every character the best or the worst



Dr. M. H. Harrison



Dr. M. H. Davidson

If he was often carried away by his subject, he was also constantly carried off his subject, by a designing question; then he would launch into monologues on current subjects. And as the First World War was raging then, his students would often get him to speak about it (since newspapers were then rare) and not on the subject in hand. This became such an unconscious habit that a wag who sang a song on the members of the Staff at a prize Giving at the beginning of World War I hit it off aptly in the following words,

“Chelliah John, like Kitchner, now lectures on the War,
While Chelliah Cooke, the Premier, guides the ‘Morning Star’.

The other main difference was that Mr Chelliah was a scholar, who valued learning for its own sake. To Mr. Bicknell scholarship was an instrument; to Mr. Chelliah it was an end in itself, he lived and breathed in that atmosphere.

The third important personality on the campus that we shall speak about was the Rev. M. H. Harrison. He had come out in 1919 and in 1922 had married Minnie, daughter of Richard Hastings and the grand daughter of E. P. Hastings. Every man differs from every other man; and so differences between him and the other two we have considered were natural; but he differed from both as they were jointly and from either individually.

Both Bicknell and Chelliah had a glamour about them and were quite at home before the footlights. Neither of them could be accused of shyness. Harrison had no glamour and was never at home before the footlights. He could certainly speak on a platform, but public speaking was not his forte. Chelliah was a scholar no doubt, but Harrison was a far greater scholar and over a far greater range. Walking into his office one day, we were awed to find on the table a big volume entitled, “The Rig Veda” (in Sanskrit). He knew nine languages. But though his scholarship was profound and though he had his specialities, it is questionable whether he was carried away by his enthusiasm for any particular subject.

When Harrison was recruited in America, he was told that he would be required to teach Experimental Science (which he

could have done); when he arrived in Colombo he was told that he would have to teach Milton and Shakespeare. What he did when he arrived in Jaffna was to teach Latin and Logic.

The present writer has had a long career, academically and theologically, in Ceylon, India and for some time in the U. S. A., and he can safely say that Mr. Harrison was one of the best teachers he has come across. When you studied a subject under him, you really studied it; there could be no "bluff" about it. Particularly, in the subjects which he taught "bluff" was an easy way out; in Latin (and in all other classical languages) it is the endings that are important. It is easy for the student to come out clearly with the first part of a word and quietly suppress the ending; and this was exactly what Harrison would be on the watch for. What he aimed at was thoroughness.

I wonder if it would be a criticism on the teaching of a man from whom I learnt so much to say that he was a good teacher of those who wanted to study. And in those days, I really wanted to study the subjects that he taught. His style of teaching could not arouse the enthusiasm of an indifferent student.

Harrison's wife Minnie, was of a different stamp altogether. A graduate of the exclusive College of Wellesly, Mass., her scholarship was one that aimed at refinement, wit, an appreciation of good literature and enthusiasm for all the finer things of life. She taught Latin and English to her old students at Uduvil during 1923.

Carl Phelps, another Missionary teacher, had arrived in November 1921 with his newly married wife. He was a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, then not very well known in this part of the world, but now known as one of the greatest institutions of scientific learning in the world (except perhaps in Russia). He taught Chemistry and Physics as he had learnt them, (and as they should be learnt), and as they are taught now; but in those days when we were concerned with what was laid down in the British text books, he was considered as teaching not above the standard, but away from the standard. His speech was very brusque, crisp and full of Americanisms (which have become quite common now).

Though Phelps was a Science teacher, he was chiefly known for his activities in the Sports Field. He revolutionised the old style followed in playing Soccer, of "marking the man and leaving the ball". When one player's body touched another's and if it happened deliberately, Phelps would immediately blow the whistle for a "foul". Though the practices he introduced were looked upon as utterly outlandish then, they have now become the recognised rules in the game.

We have commented above only on five personalities; there were others also in the Staff. And of course, as time goes on, the personnel of the Staff would be gradually changing till it would become entirely different from what it had originally been. We cannot comment on each one. But on some we shall be commenting as we go along.

We found that in 1922 Mr. Bicknell had proved that his dream of setting up Post-Matriculation classes was not a mere idle fancy, but quite a practicable scheme. It is curious that the other Protestant Missions, which had shown great reluctance to accept the scheme of a "Union College" earlier now began to have a change of heart in the matter, either because the personalities involved in the struggle had changed or because times had changed. Anyway, in November 1922 Central and St. John's Colleges wrote to our Board to say that they were willing to join in the Scheme. But the idea was not pushed forward with any vigour and Jaffna College went forward with its own plans.

An Inter Science class and an Inter Arts Class had been set up in 1922 to sit for the exams in the middle of June 1923. Mr. D. S. Sanders filled the vacancy created by Mr. Allen Abraham; Mr. Phelps, of course, looked after the Science side. For the Inter Arts, Mr. Chelliah did the English and Mr. Harrison Latin. Mr. Bicknell had done Logic and British Constitution in 1922, but soon had to make other adjustments.

At the beginning of 1923 the Inter students, 15 in all, were housed in the building newly acquired from the Vaddukoddai church. Mr. D. S. Sanders was made the Warden. As Warden Mr. Sanders was extremely popular, because his supervision was minimal and the students enjoyed perfect freedom. They were treated as Undergraduates and not as school boys.

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In teaching these students, however, there were some gaps which had to be filled. Mr. Bicknell was soon to go on furlough. With an easy conscience, he handed over Logic to Harrison; but a man had to be found for British Constitution. For this he got down from Travancore, India, a person called M. I. Thomas, who had an M. A. Degree of the Madras University. Mr. Bicknell could have searched high, he could have searched low, he could have found no better man for the job. Mr. Thomas had a consuming passion for the subject and threw himself into it like a hunter who had sighted his quarry. When his students went to Colombo for their exam the next year, they found that they knew almost ten times more of the subject than their counterparts from the University College of Colombo. Of course, during the rest of his time, Mr. Thomas did History for the higher classes in the Secondary School. His bookish phrases and ornate language (sometimes ironical but often unconscious) were a source of much amusement to the students. Throughout his stay of nearly twenty five years he was a great asset to the College.

From another point of view, for sometime a certain demand had been forcing itself on the Board of Directors; part of the reason behind the demand was due to the political atmosphere and part of it was personal. Because of the Indian National Movement, the justice of the Nationals taking a greater part in the administration of things had begun to be keenly felt. Apart from this, it was being increasingly felt that a recognition of the claims of Mr. J. V. Chelliah, whose academic qualifications were high and whose association with the College was long, could not continue to be ignored, without the situation becoming a scandal.

Mr. Bicknell was not happy about the prospect of having a Vice-Principal; he felt that the administration should be in the hands of just one person. But the Board was being left with no alternative; the Old Boys' Associations of Colombo and Jaffna had made the request and many individual Old Boys both from Colombo and here were also insistent. So when the Board met on the 17th of February 1923, Mr. Bicknell himself moved that Mr. Chelliah be made Vice-

Principal. But lest there should be any mistake about it, Mr. S. C. Arnold moved that the duties of the Vice-Principal should be such as were delegated to him from time to time by the Principal (or the Actg. Principal). The appointment met the demand of the Old Boys; the definition of the duties involved satisfied the Principal.

The next day when Mr. Chelliah entered the class room the present writer, then being new to the College and anxious to establish himself in the good books of the powers that be, much to the surprise of Mr. Chelliah, made a speech congratulating him and saying what a great scandal it would have been, if there had been no recognition of the claims of one who in this country was "the greatest living master of the English language" (a phrase he had picked up from a compliment to Benjamin Disraeli in the last century).

The official celebrations of the event came off on 8th March. Through the years, the present writer has witnessed many functions at the College; but it is his opinion that for sheer fervour and enthusiasm there has been nothing like what was displayed on that day 60 years ago.

Mr. Chelliah and Mrs. Chelliah were brought from their house, north of the Brown field, with music, under a movable pandal. The public meeting was held on the Eastern verandah of Ottley Hall and the audience was accommodated on seats below in front. Mr. S. R. (later M. S.) Rasaratnam represented the Old Boys, Mr. L. S. Ponniah and Mr. Handy Perinbanayagam the staff, S. Kulandran the students, Mr. A. Sabapathy and Mr. (later Sir) W. Duraisamy the Public. The teachers and students presented an address. Mr. Chelliah replied. I had heard him more than once before and have heard him many times after; but I do not think he ever rose to greater heights than on this occasion. Mr. M. Thiruvilangam proposed a vote of thanks to everybody. Mr. and Mrs. Chelliah were escorted home, round the College, with music and fireworks.

Many appointments like this and higher and carrying far more power and responsibility, take place in our Schools now a days, without creating a ripple. But the world of sixty

years ago was a different world; it was the world of the white-man; even engine-drivers of railway trains were recruited from England. Nationals could do assigned work at a subordinate level; but they were nowhere in the picture. Hence the fuss over the "first National" recognised in any sphere.

Another event of a different and minor kind that took place about this time was a lecture by Mr. T. Z. Koo, who later became an important figure in Nationalist China. Though Mr. Bicknell was still on the campus, Mr. Harrison presided. On the 10th of March Mr. and Mrs. Bicknell were given a farewell function and the administration passed into the hands of Mr. Harrison.

The Acting Principalship of Mr. Harrison was just what might have been expected. Nothing went wrong; nothing new was attempted; no new principle was introduced; everything went on as usual. Perhaps all Acting heads follow such a pattern; but the pattern was more pronounced in the case of Mr. Harrison, who always followed copy book rules. In such cases, there could be no compliments and there could be no complaints either.

The outstanding event on the campus during the year, which took place in August, had nothing to do with the College; the College was merely the venue for it; but it was a big event. The churches of the American Mission community here constituted the Jaffna Council of the South India United Church; the latter was composed of eight such Councils. It held its General Assembly meetings once in two years, choosing the venue in rotation. Since the S. I. U. C. had been formed only in 1910, our turn was not late; but owing to the difficulties of travel there was some reluctance about holding it in Jaffna. The authorities, however, gave way before the persistence of the Jaffna delegates.

Due preparations were made here. Mr. E. G. Nichols of our staff wrote a Hand Book for the guidance of visiting delegates. The enthusiasm and expectancy prevailing at this particular meeting of the Assembly were very high, because a Scheme of Church Union had come before the Denomination of the South

India United Church some three years earlier, which envisaged great possibilities. There was to be a Union not merely to include non-episcopal Churches, like the Congregationalists, Presbyterians and the Methodists, but the episcopal Denomination of the Anglicans. Such a Union after the Reformation of the sixteenth century was unprecedented. It was actually to materialise only 24 years later; but in 1923 the difficulties to be overcome were not realised and the Union was felt to be round the corner; hence the spirit that prevailed at that time. Everything here was done on a grand scale. It is recorded that at lunch on Sunday, 26th August, 1,300 were present. It was a good experience both for the boys and the public, who knew of India only by name, to be confronted with this invasion. It was 18 years before the Assembly came to Jaffna again.

Academically, of those who sat for the London Intermediate exams; from the College W. W. Muthurajah passed in full on the Arts side and K. A. Selliah on the Science side. Some others got "referred" each in one subject. Since the University College of Colombo had now become a going-concern and was presenting candidates for the B. A. and B. Sc. exams., the candidates who passed and most of those who were "referred" in particular subjects migrated there.

In the field of Sports, Volley ball and Basket Ball had been introduced. Athletics were also coming into the picture and interest was taken in running various distances, jumping over heights (with or without a pole) and over varying lengths; these were called Track and Field events. These, of course, did not attract the same attention as the old favourites, viz, Cricket and Football. But in none of these did we do anything spectacular at this time. It is evident that in no field were we doing anything worthy of special mention; but this does not mean that we were just limping along. We were going steadily forward according to schedule. Though Carlyle's dictum, "Blessed is the country that has no history", must be accepted with reservation, it at least shows that life can go on without attracting any special attention worthy of record.

One sign that the College was making steady progress is that the number on the roll had risen from 529 to 604 in **1924**. In the Intermediate examinations of 1924, S. Kulandran and P. W. Muthiah got clear passes on the Arts side; Messrs. M. M. A. Rahim and S. R. Kanaganayagam got "referred" passes. I. P. Thurairatnam, who was at the University College, Colombo, got through the subject in the Inter Science in which he had been "referred" here. In the Intermediate classes for the academic year of 1924 to 1925 there were 18. This number was somewhat unrealistic, because everybody at that time who had sat for his Senior or Matric and had not decided on his future simply enrolled in the Inter classes.

The Faculty had an accession of one more member. Mr. C. O. Elias had moved into the ranks of the chosen. Mr. Handy Perinbanayagam who had gone to the University College the previous year and had been allowed to sit for his B. A. in one year, because he had been a teacher when he went, came back after his exam. (with a B. A. degree) and rejoined the Staff in 1924.

An event that took place that year that might go unnoticed, but was fraught with great significance for the College, was the appointment of Mr. K. Sellaiah, usually called "Kandy Sellaiah" as Librarian. He was rather small-made, very unassuming and taciturn. Before he took up duties, the Librarianship of the College had been on a very casual basis. Students and teachers looked upon the Library as a pile of commodities, from which they were free to pick up what they liked and carry it home and return it, if they felt like doing so, or keep it back and forget all about it. Mr. Sellaiah brought the whole affair under control, built up the Library with loving hands, year by year, for thirty six years and when he retired he left it a source of pride to the College and a source of envy to others.

Mr. Bicknell was spending his furlough usefully by working for his Master's Degree in Education at Harvard. He had got his Bachelor's degree at Yale. One supposes that he went to Harvard to see whether the rival University had anything to teach him. Mr. Harrison here was teaching, supervising, keeping

his accounts in order and seeing to it that he would be able to hand back his stewardship unimpaired. In the meantime, of course, he was plunging deeper and deeper into his recondite studies.

In 1924 it is necessary here to refer to the inauguration of two movements each of an opposite kind to the other, neither of which was integral to the College, but both having an impact on it.

The first of these was the founding of the "Students' Congress" (later called the "Youth Congress"). It was due to the effort of some of the younger members of Staff—in fact, chiefly to the effort of one, viz., Mr. Handy Perinbanayagam. They were the days of the Gandhian movement in India. That movement was going through various vicissitudes but the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi had created a deeply disturbing impression on all the people in this part of the world.

Even before the Gandhian movement had begun, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam in Ceylon had started his "Reform League" and in 1919 had started "The Ceylon National Congress" which stressed the unity of the two races in Ceylon. But soon he turned his back on it and had in 1921 started "The All Ceylon Tamil Congress" which stressed the difference between the two races. The Students' Congress was a reply to the All Ceylon Tamil Congress. It was an attempt to rally the young men influenced by the Gandhian ideals to resist what were looked upon as the forces of reaction as represented by their elders. So Mr. Handy Perinbanayagam got his friends from Jaffna College and the University College to join him.

The first meeting was held in the Ridgeway Hall, which stood on the site of the present Jaffna Town Hall. The first President was Handy's old teacher and exemplar, Mr. J. V. Chelliah. The chief planks on which the Students' Congress stood were Political Independence, Inter-racial harmony and Social Uplift. It continued to be an important influence in the life of the young people of Jaffna, till an ill-advised speech in the early forties at the height of the Second World War, brought down the wrath of the Government on it and ended its career. But while it lasted it had been an ennobling and invigorating influence.

The other movement that began in 1924 was of an opposite kind. It swept over Jaffna and its effects continued for years; even now one wonders whether its effects have died down altogether, because they are occasionally revived at the election meetings of Parliamentary candidates. Oddly enough, the flaming torch of the movement was Mr. S. R. (later M. S.) Rasaratnam, who at one time had been on our Staff and among other things had been in charge of our Sports.

The aim of this movement was to cripple the Christian Missionary enterprise; and its *modus operandi* was to launch an attack on what had been one of the chief contributions of Christian Missions to Jaffna, viz., its educational project. This was the very thing for which the Jaffna public had once pleaded.

Fiery meetings were held and inflammatory speeches were made throughout the Peninsula. The effect on our Vernacular schools was disastrous: but one thing saved us, the existence of the so-called "untouchables". Since the high caste children of the new Hindu schools preferred to be exclusive, we were left with the so-called untouchables. Still the American Mission alone lost fifty schools. The effect on the English schools was, however, minimal, not through any lack of desire on the part of those who were carrying on the campaign, but simply because English schools could not be built up overnight and their upkeep cost much money. Apart from its effect on Education, for the first time in our society a vertical wedge had been driven between Christians and Hindus. In 1921, when Sir P. Arunachalam had held his meeting of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress, most speakers on the platform had been Christians: J. V. Chelliah, J. K. Chanmugam, W. D. Niles and M. A. Arulanandan. As a result of the campaign now started, for long years a Christian could not be elected even to a Village Committee.

At the end of 1924, Mr. Bicknell arrived from America, having collected an M. Ed. degree: it was not that he was in need of further degrees than those he had, but we suppose, he felt a rare degree like the ones he had acquired would set him apart in the Educational world. As for carrying on his School nothing of the sort was needed. His untroubled belief in his own competence was his real asset.

During **1925**, Mr. L. S. Ponniah who had taught Latin and Tamil from 1907, left owing to ill-health to become Headmaster at Atchuvely. In July Messrs I. P. Thurairatnam and Mr. K. A. Selliah, who had both taken up the London B. Sc. exam. joined the staff; both of them were to make their mark in later life, one as Principal of a Sister School and the other as Principal here. Mr. P. W. Ariaratnam, who for long was to be Supervisor of the Lower School here, joined the staff of the Lower School. Mr. E. G. Nichols, having got a scholarship at Union Seminary, New York, left for the U. S. A. His place was taken later by Mr. S. P. Hieb, whose father had been Y. M. C. A. Secretary in Colombo many years previously.

In 1925, having completed some small building, Mr. Bicknell cast his eyes around to see on what next he could lay his hands, Mr. Harrison once said that Mr. Bicknell was never satisfied, unless he was pulling down or putting up something. The Ottley Hall was, of course, the most obvious building in the College; and we wonder whether he was already harbouring any intentions towards it.

By the middle of 1925 a fair apparition might have been seen flitting about the grounds of the College; people might have noticed the figure of the apparition, but could not have realised what it portended for the future. The Vice Principal, already having a son at the Medical College, could not afford to put his daughter into the University College in Colombo, though she had obtained a Government scholarship to go there, having come out first in the Senior Cambridge examination in the Island. He had, therefore, put her into the London Intermediate Class here. So Lilly Chelliah (now Mrs. D. R. Gunasegaram) was the first grown-up girl student ever to enter our portals; there had always been little girls in the Lower School across the road (usually Teachers' children); but nobody paid them any attention. This, however, was in the heart of the College. Even on the campus a girl in the Intermediate class might have been considered, outside the regular structure of the College. Nevertheless, a precedent had been set.

It used to be said that there had been an agreement between the Principal of the College and the Principal of the Uduvil Girls' School that no girl would be admitted here into the Secondary School; but the agreement seemed to be receding into the background. Other teachers also began to put their daughters in; and what was begun by the teachers was followed by others, with what results we may now see.

There used to be a time when the College ran a theological class. When the United Theological College, Bangalore, was started in 1910, we had surrendered our class to it. But the College had always in some way helped to contribute to the ministry. In 1924, we had parted with G. M. Kanagaratnam; and Mr. J. C. Amarasingam always seemed to be making up his mind to follow. Mr. Bicknell never liked to part with students or teachers, except in regard to the ministry.

There are some who hold that the performance of a school on the playground is also a sure index of its academic quality; nor is it an opinion that can be altogether discarded; because the prestige of a school in one respect brings it before the public eye, and people come to the conclusion that a school good in one respect must be good in other respects as well, and start sending their (intelligent) children to that school. It may be seen that the process works in a cycle.

By **1926** the term "Sports" had definitely widened in meaning to include both athletics besides Cricket and Football and we had risen in our mastery of all these. The present generation can scarcely understand what place Cricket and Football had in the life of a school in these days, the interest they evoked in the minds of the public nor the hero-worship that was evoked by those who excelled in these games.

There were three who, at that time, specially distinguished themselves in this respect: J. C. Arulambalam was very versatile; he played centre forward in Football; but he was supreme in Track events (races) in Athletics; V. Muttu a very good half back in football, but in field events, such as

pole vault and throwing the cricket ball he was an all-island figure; and E. A. Devasagayam will always hold a place in the history of football in Jaffna. As a full back he was superseded only by P. Sri Skanda Rajah, who had played some years earlier; but he has not been equalled since then.

Mr. J.V. Chelliah always liked to write or produce plays for the stage. He had during the previous two years staged the Ceylon Legislative Council in session and also the Indian National Congress, in which Mr. C. Subramaniam (later Principal of Skanda Varodya) acted the part of Mahatma Gandhi. In 1926 he decided to do something more adventurous. He put on the stage Sambanda Mudaliyar's famous Tamil play, "Manohara": It is interesting after a lapse of 54 years to look at the *dramatis personae*, later very familiar in the life of the College. S. A. Visvalingam (d.1952) played the hero's part P. W. Ariaratnam (d.1976) played the part of the old king. A. M. Brodie (d.1970) that of the Prime Minister, B. K. Soma-sundaram (d.1966) and I. P. Thurairatnam played the female parts. The play was acted before the Vaddukoddai public and later in Town. Students always like to attend dramatic performances; but they do so with a guilty feeling; but when the College itself stages them they could feel virtuous attending them.

A ceremony in 1926 gave us an opportunity to dip back into history. It was arranged by the O. B. A. Though it was not meant as a prelude to many similar functions, its inspiration was undoubted. At that ceremony a large portrait of Mr. J. R. Arnold, who had been a Professor here in the last century was unveiled. Mr. Turner, the American Consul presented and opened the portraits of three American Presidents: George Washington, Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt. It is a consolation that these pictures have not been worm eaten; but merely stowed away in a corner of the Library. It is merciful that the havoc played by time has not been greater.

We have referred to Mr. Bicknell's architectural pre-disposition and have suggested that Ottley Hall might have been what he was settling in his mind as the next thing to lay hands on. The matter was clinched, when Sir Hugh Clifford paid the College

a visit on June 11, 1926. Physically a Titan, he was a man of legendary abilities, an administrator, orator, and writer, more fitted perhaps to have been a Roman Proconsul than the Governor of a small British colony. He was accompanied by Mr. K. Balasingham, Chairman of the Board of Directors, and a political figure. One account says that Mr. Balasingham appealed for help from Government to the College to put up a Hall and that the Governor replied that Mr. Balasingham himself could take steps for it in the Legislative Council. Mr. Chelliah's own account is that at the end of the visit, the Governor asked Mr. Bicknell what he could do for the College and Mr. Bicknell replied, "Come again"; turning to Mr. Chelliah in high dudgeon, he repeated the question and Mr. Chelliah replied "Sir, we are thinking of building a Hall"; and the Governor said, "I know what to do". Since both versions come from authoritative sources, it is difficult to discriminate between the two; but nor can both be correct; but it remains a fact that the Governor recommended to the Legislative Council a vote of Rs. 50,000/- to the College; but this proposal was manhandled by that body which finally voted Rs. 10,000/-. However, as to whether the Ottley Hall was going to see some changes had been settled.

An important feature of College life in those decades was the Sunday Evening Service in church, which was in the hands of the College; unlike the case of the Morning Service, attendance at this of Boarders, whether they were Hindus or Christians, was compulsory. The preacher of the day, unless there was a distinguished speaker from outside, was usually a member of the Faculty. A sermon by Mr. Bicknell was always an event; to say it was eloquent was to add an unnecessary adjective. The College Miscellany, every term, duly recorded the names of all preachers at the evening Service. Through the week all the students retained the inspiration of the Sunday evening sermon.

In the meantime, in the country outside, the demand for a change which was making itself felt in the political sphere began to make itself felt in the educational sphere also. The new Legislature which had come into existence appointed a high-powered Commission in July 1926 to bring in recommendations on the subject of educational reform. Most members of the

Commission were political figures; but there were education-
alists also in it: The Principal of the Government Training
College (for Teachers), Mr. P. de S. Kularatne, Fr. J. B. Meary
and the Rev. John Bicknell.

The questions to which the Commission was to bring answers
were as follows:—

1. What should be done to extend the scope of vernacular
education?
2. Is it practicable to make Sinhalese and Tamil the media
of Instruction?
3. What should be done to improve the standard of Oriental
Languages in English schools?

It may be said that all three questions amounted to just
one question and expected only one answer. It may be seen
that the basis of a policy, which was to take legal form later,
and the results of which we are experiencing now was being
laid as early as 1926.

The Commission felt that though the terms of reference
were only on the Language issue, there lurked behind them the
religious issue. So Prof. W. H. Kilpatrick, a famous Education-
alist (and rationalist) from Columbia University, U. S. A., who
happened to be in Ceylon, was called to give evidence. His view
was that it was not the duty of a school to teach religion or
a theory of the Universe, but to teach right practice (morality).
The Professor was ignoring Mathew Arnold's famous dictum
that the chief problem of ethics (morality) was the question of
motive. I may be asked to be good but why should I be good?
And when the Commission turned its attention from the lan-
guage to the religious issue, it was faced with the following
startling figures:

Northern Province :

The number of school-going children — 49,000

Of these, the number of Hindu children were — 38,000

Of these, a large proportion went to non-Hindu schools.

Ceylon as a Whole :

The number of Hindu children in schools	—	61,000
Of these, those going to Hindu schools	—	15,000
Buddhist School-going children in Ceylon	—	305,000
Of these those going to Buddhist schools	—	45,000

Many years later, the Government was to solve this problem also in its own radical and uncompromising manner. But it is obvious that once a public Commission had these figures, sooner or later, changes would be coming. The activities of the Commission would bear fruit in due course, but for the present it may merely be said that attention had been drawn to the situation.

In 1927 the College Faculty consisted of twelve members: Messrs S. H. Perinbanayagam, K. A. Selliah, I. P. Thurairatnam and S. P. Hieb having moved up; there were ten additional teachers in the Upper and twelve in the Lower School; the total number of students in the College was 533. The Harrisons had left on furlough in December of the previous year, and now Mr. Harrison was at Harvard University on a Dodge Missionary Fellowship. In the College there were twenty eight students in the Junior and Senior Inter Classes. Mr. D. S. Sanders having got married in 1925, Mr Handy Perinbanayagam had been installed as the new Warden of the Inter Hostel. In 1927 there was also a change in the Lower School Staff. Mr C. C. Kanapathipilai, a First Class Trained Teacher, came and took over duties as Supervisor, thus relieving Mr. Appadurai.

In the writing of history the practice is to shift from one notable event to another. If we are better historians, we also pay attention to their causes and consequences. But below all these factors which attract public attention are things which shape a nation or an institution; they are a leavening influence, which is at work all the time, which no one heeds but which in the long run leaves things different from what they were.

In the case of Jaffna College, can we single out any such factor? "A true University", says Thomas Carlyle, "in these days consists of books". While various activities were going

on all round, the Library under K. Sellaiah's curatorship, was slowly gaining a considerable place in the College. From 3000 volumes, by urgent persistence he had taken up the figure to 5,000; and what is more books were getting properly catalogued and indexed. The return of borrowed books had become normal and compulsory (even in the case of teachers). Libraries can of course, consist merely of books available in the market; Sellaiah, however, wanted to make his Library distinctive and was trying to get rare books and all books written by our Old Boys. The fact of our distinctive Library was making us distinguished.

As far as events were concerned, the principal one in the year 1927 was not internal but external. In November of the year Mahatma Gandhi paid a visit to Ceylon and wound it up with a visit to Jaffna. Our special source of pride in the matter was that it was at the invitation of the Jaffna Youth Congress that he had come; and the Youth Congress meant Mr. Handy Perinbanayagam and his friends. Of course, when the Mahatma was in other parts of the Island they did not manage his programme; but in Jaffna they did. Mr. I. P. Thurairatnam of our staff was, in fact, the Secretary

There was hardly anyone present at the Jaffna Railway Station that morning in November, who did not feel a thrill, as they saw the spare figure of the Mahatma standing up in his compartment, as the train drew up at the platform. To those living now Mahatma Gandhi is merely a name. But from 1919 for nearly thirty years his words and actions dominated the affairs of India and its surrounding countries. He had become a legend, the subject of story and song. Now for the first time our people were able to see him in flesh and blood.

The Mahatma visited most of the important schools and also addressed public meetings. On the way to his assignments he was often stopped for impromptu receptions. His official reason for visiting Ceylon was to collect money for his Kaddhi (hand-spun cloth) Fund. At public meetings many Addresses were presented to him, which he promptly put up for auction for his Fund. His visit to Jaffna College was one of his last engagements.

Apart from the value of being able to see a historic figure, it was a purificatory experience for all to have seen the embodiment of so much goodness, purity, sacrifice and dedication to the truth. And many who lived at that time would have felt that their sight of the Mahatma was one of the landmarks in their life.

As in the previous year, our record in Athletics stood quite high. J. C. Arulambalam was easily at the top in Track events. V. Muttu and T. Visvalingam performed their parts quite well.

In **1928** Harrison was already at Harvard working on his Doctorate. In March 1928 Mr. Phelps also left on furlough and expected to do a course in Springfield, Mass (obviously in matters highly physical). Locally, Mr. Bicknell had been able to put into operation his ambition to get started on Ottley Hall.

Ottley Hall, as it stood, was a two storied building put up in 1826, largely because of the substantial help received from Sir Richard Ottley. The upper storey had been used as a dormitory and the lower as the College Hall. To generations this building signified Jaffna College itself. However restless might have been Mr. Bicknell's architectural urge, he could not have the whole building razed to the ground; so he conceived the idea of leaving the downstairs building to be used as the Library and concentrate his attention on the upper storey, which he wanted to turn into a large and commodious hall. He gave a blank cheque to the contractor to use his discretion about the form it should take. Obviously, the preliminary work of destruction was proceeding fairly fast; for writing in September 1928 he says that the building looked "as if some Chicago thug had dropped a bomb in and around it."

In November 1928 the Harrisons arrived in Jaffna with their son, Richard. Mr. Harrison could, wherever he might have been, have been depended on to use his time to the utmost profit. He had obtained his Doctorate at Harvard on a thesis on the Advaita School of Hinduism, later published by the Oxford University Press under the title "Hindu Monism

and Pluralism". It largely deals with the school of Sankara with bits of Ramanuja thrown in and runs into more than 300 pages. It is not a book to sweep the reader off his feet; but it definitely is one that would have left the examiners with the feeling that if this candidate did not deserve a Doctorate, no one else did. To the discerning eye it was obvious that the days of Dr. Harrison's connection with a Secondary school were numbered.

Instruction imparted in any school or college forms only a part of its activities, though of course an important part. There are also other activities to be taken account of; various Societies are at work and their work also always forms part of our work. At Jaffna College, the Y. M. C. A. was carrying on its local activities with sincerity; but its annual "evangelistic" expedition to Eluvaitivu had become totally denuded of all religious significance and had become a picnic. "The Inter Union" Society, as its name signifies, was meant for the highest classes of the College. "The Brotherhood" founded in 1909 was getting on vigourously, settling world affairs to its satisfaction. "The Athenaeum" founded as a Literary Association developed general cultural interests but does not seem to have been a regular society. "The Forum" catered to students just below the standard of the "Brotherhood", and the "Lyceum" to those of between the Fourth and Second forms. Except for the "Athenaeum", the other Societies are still functioning regularly; but the "Inter Union" has changed its name to the "Academy". Of course, as in all departments of activity, a change has now occurred in the medium in which debates are conducted.

In **1929** there were 516 pupils in the College of whom 149 were boarders. There were 32 teachers. This means there was one teacher to every sixteen students. There were 1218 pupils in the Affiliated schools. But these schools were certainly costing the College some money. Annually their upkeep called for Rs. 16,000/-; besides this, the erection of buildings for them during the previous year alone had cost the College Rs. 19,000/-.

The Board of Directors at their meeting this year made two decisions worthy of note, in name if not in fact. The first was that the Board should select a teacher to be sent

at its expense to England for higher studies and the other was that Mr. K. Balasingham should be Manager of the College hereafter, instead of a Missionary, as heretofore. Neither decision amounted to much in effect. It was six years before a teacher was sent to England; and he had to find his own passage and he was paid merely his monthly salary of Rs. 250/- which amounted to only a fraction of his expenses there; he, therefore, had to borrow from the College what he needed and keep paying it back in instalments through the years. As for Mr. Balasingham being Manager, he was a busy politician and lawyer in Colombo, seldom coming to Jaffna; so he supplied Mr. Bicknell with a rubber frank of his signature to be used on official documents. Mr. Bicknell was, therefore, Manager in fact.

On 26th February 1929, the world famous Prohibitionist of America, Pussyfoot Johnson, made a speech to the boys. Since the nickname suggests one who crept about softly and silently about, doing his work without attracting any attention, the Principal was amused by the inappropriateness of the nickname for this lion of a man with shaggy hair, given to fierce outbursts of speech. (If the writer is not mistaken, this was his second visit to Jaffna.)

In March, Mr. S. B. Hieb married an American Nurse at Inuvil and soon after sailed for U. S. A. In August the Phelps were back here. Work on Ottley was nearing completion.

Academically, the College was undergoing the travail of what was known as the "Triennial Inspection". A team of Inspectors, consisting of Messrs Vanderwall, Kandiah, H. S. Perera, W. R. Watson, Kathiravelu and Krishnapillai descended on the College. Inspections by officers of the Education Department had ceased to have the fateful significance that they had in the last century. So the students had begun to look upon them as occasions for a little frolic, sometimes subtle and sometimes open. The Inspectors left with the opinion that the students were quite capable but should be taken in hand by the Staff.

In October of 1929 the Biennial meeting of the General Assembly of the South India United Church took place in India, during the course of which Mr. J. V. Chelliah was made Moder-

ator of the Denomination. The duties attaching to the office were not onerous, but the office gave him a status. This was the first time that any man from Jaffna had been chosen to fill the role; but considering the fact that the Denomination was only nineteen years old, it was not much of a reflection on us. We shall see how his election at this time, in particular, gave him an opportunity that he otherwise would not have had.

Thus we come to the end of 1929, the end of a decade. It may strike us as curious that centuries begin with a 01 and end with 00, whereas decades begin with a "0" and end with a "9". Thus the 19th century began in 1801 and ended in 1900, and the 20th century began with 1901; but the twenties of this century do not begin with 1921 but with 1920. One supposes that this is due to the fact that when centuries began to be reckoned, there was no conception of a "zero" in Europe. This was introduced into Europe only after the Crusades in the 12th century. The custom of marking decades, therefore, is of later growth and so they begin with a zero.

In concluding the survey of this decade, it may be worthwhile to draw the attention of my readers to three phenomena.

The first is with regard to the nature and composition of the Board of Directors. There had been a Board ever since the College was founded, well before the Act of Incorporation of 1894 made it compulsory for the administration of the College. But nothing had been said as to how the Board should be composed. One does not know how the original Board before the Incorporation Act was constituted. But in the Schedule attached to the Constitution submitted along with it to Government in 1894 says that the number was not to exceed 18 nor fall below 15. Members were to be divided into groups, each elected for 3 years at a time; but everyone was entitled to perpetual re-election. This method of doing things had two disadvantages: first, no fresh blood could come in nor a new view point arise; secondly, when the Principal is dealing with the same batch of persons year in year out, with vacancies that arise being duly filled by his nominees, he learns very well how to deal with the Board and twist it round his thumb.

In the second place, the powers of the Board and the Principal were not defined or delimited. Since, in the nature of things, the Principal had to run the College, he could satisfy requirements, if he consulted the Board once a year on a few points and the Board usually would give its consent without too much opposition to what was wanted. If one compares the sheets of typewritten minutes that a member gets twice a year now and the sheaves of reports, accounts etc, after each Annual Meeting and Semi-Annual Meeting of the Board and after each Executive Meeting with a scraggy hand-written minutes running into a page and a half of the Minutes Book of the old days, one realises what little part the Board played in those days.

These two phenomena make it clear that the Principal was not merely the Principal but was, in effect, the Board also. We have also pointed out the curious position about the managership, which means he was, in fact, manager also. The whole situation represents not merely a constitutional anomaly, it also represents what might be deemed a personal contradiction. What that was will be explained later.

III

THE SUNSET; AND THE TWILIGHT OF A NEW DAWN

(THE THIRTIES)

We shall in this Chapter deal with the events in the College from 1930 to the end of 1939. We have used the above intriguing title, because the regime that began about the close of 1915 was to come to a sudden and unexpected end and expire in a blaze of glory—and what a blaze it was. Though there is no hard and fast rule about it, generally the word 'regime' is used of a period of time when a person or group of persons is dominant and play a decisive role; and the term 'era' of a period when a group of ideas, ideals and purposes is dominant. The periods denoted by either word may coincide or they may not.

In this Chapter we shall deal with a regime that did definitely come to an end, but in regard to which we cannot say that the era with which it was associated did; and which may still be said to continue. But another regime did begin which has its own merits. In the twilight of its morning we shall catch a glimpse of the fullness of the day into which it was to grow later.

Two deaths took place early this year (1930) of which any history of this College should take note. Mr. L. S. Ponniah had joined the staff as a Graduate Teacher in 1907 and had taught chiefly Latin. He was a man of astute mind and incisive speech, treated with deference by the students and respected by the teachers. He was the special patron of the servants to whom his word was law. He had left the College in 1925 owing to failing health and he had been Head Master of the English School in his native village of Atchuvely since then.

The other death was that of Mr. J. K. Chanmugam, who was never associated with this College as a Teacher. He had been a student here in the seventies of the last century, had later migrated to India and come back as Head Master of Jaffna

Central College. He was a vehement personality and had thrown himself heart and soul into the life of his school. Though interested in public causes and occasionally appearing on public platforms, he lived for his school and made it a great institution. We had taken pride in the fact that he was one of our Old Boys. He died at the end of March 1930.

The above incidents had occurred outside the College; but an event that happened within the College in the early months of 1930 is worthy of note. Two distinguished persons came to us not as visitors but in their own right; they were Professor and Mrs. Irwing Wood. Mrs. Wood was the daughter of E. P. Hastings the first Principal of the College and was born here; she was of course a sister of Richard Hastings, a later Principal. Prof. Wood spoke to the boys and preached at the Chapel.

The Board of Directors which met on March 15th met under its reformed Constitution. The reform, however, was not very far-reaching. Formerly the Missionaries had been elected to the Board in their individual capacity; now the American Ceylon Mission had the right to send five representatives ex-officio; and, of course, they would have been the same persons. But an important decision that was made at the meeting was that the Vice-principal should also be an ex-officio member of the Board. In a normal Secondary School even the Principal is not a voting member on the Board of Governors, because his emoluments and similar matters would be discussed in it. But in a Missionary Institution the full ex-officio membership of a Missionary Principal (whose terms of appointment and emoluments were outside the purview of the Board) was taken for granted. The appointment of the Vice-Principal to the Board was a personal tribute to Mr. Chelliah's long service and high standing. There might also have been another reason for it, as we shall see.

But after all, reforms in the Constitution were concerned with a body that met once a year and perhaps for a few hours. Something else that happened during the year has more historic interest. As we saw, Mr. Chelliah had been elected Moderator of the South India United Church, which body consisted of Congregationalists and Presbyterians. Once in ten years

the Congregationalists of the world held a Conference called the International Congregational Conference. In 1930 it was meeting at Bournemouth, England, and Mr. Chelliah was the natural representative of the South India United Church. It was also equally natural that he should avail himself of the opportunity of going to America and strengthening the links between us, the Trustees and others who had any connection with the College.

To us living fifty years later this kind of a visit is rather commonplace. Every month now some acquaintance of ours is going to England or America to represent some Society or other. Such visits often do not last for more than two weeks and the persons concerned are soon back with us pursuing their normal duties. In those days these visits took longer and were an experience both to those who undertook them and also to those who received them in the West.

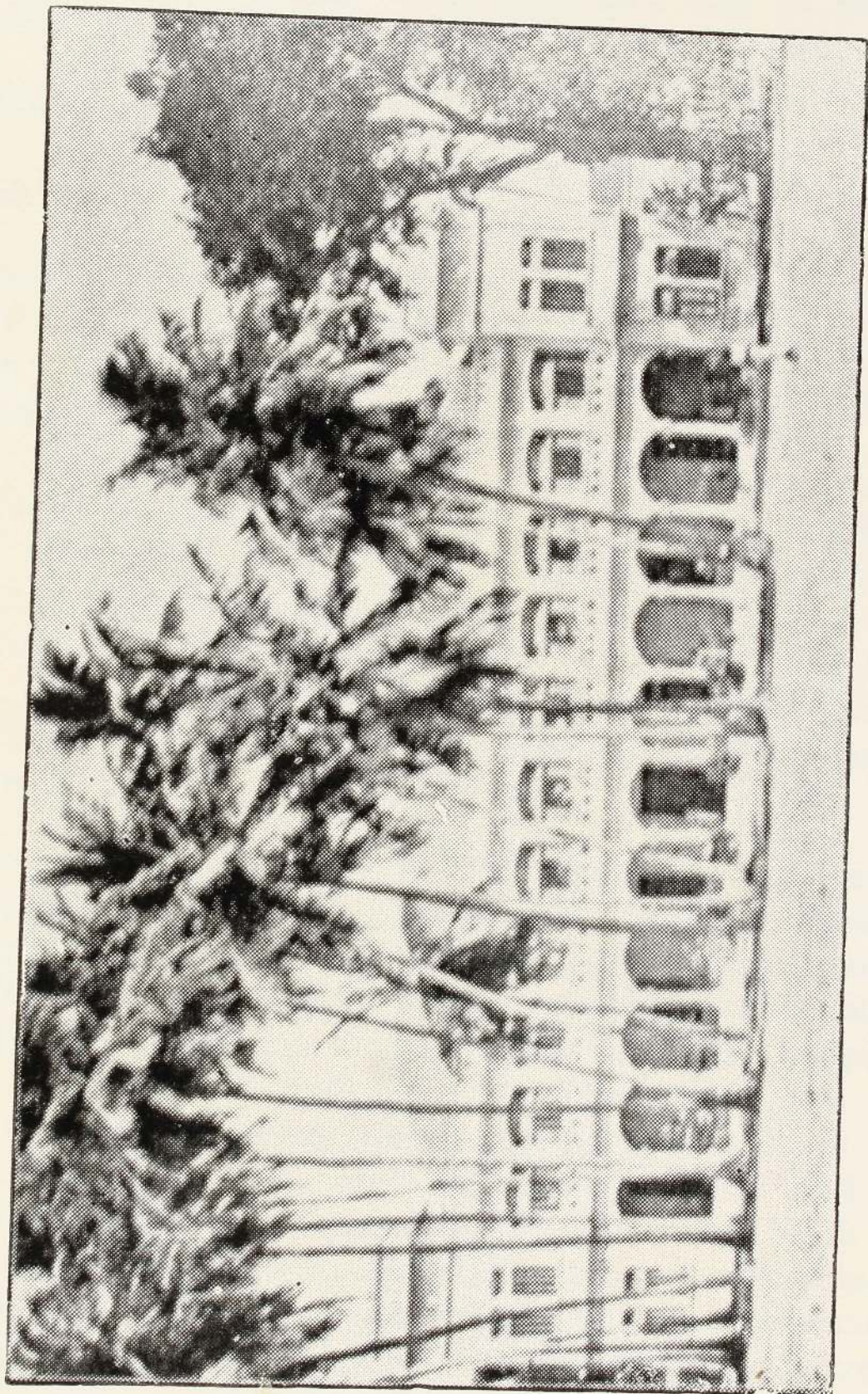
In two successive issues of the Miscellany, Mr. Chelliah gives a vivid description of his trip. He left here on 10th April, 1930. His feelings as he saw the waters and lands beyond Aden may sound naive, if not comic to those living now. But to the present writer (who had read his English and Roman history) they sound familiar; because that is exactly how he himself felt in the same circumstances some years later. 1945 was not very different from 1930 in this respect.

Since there was time enough before the Bournemouth Conference, Mr. Chelliah decided to finish his visit to America first. He broke his journey for a week in England and then sailed for America and for the time-being based his headquarters in New York in the house of Mr. E. G. Nichols, who had been here only a few years earlier. Soon he shifted to Boston, for the simple reason that it was the head-quarters of the American Board; and there he was welcomed by Dr. Barton, who had headed a Deputation to Jaffna about the turn of the century and who was now the General Secretary of the Board. The other Secretaries, Strong, Eddy and Clark were also happy to see him. He attended meetings of the Prudential Committee of the American Board and a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the College, all at No. 14, Beacon Street. He was allowed what he deemed the rare privilege of going in and out of the Board Rooms.

During his activities in Boston, he lived in the Home for Retired Missionaries in the near-by suburb of Auburndale. There he was able to meet Mrs. Scott who had left in 1913 and the Millers who had left about 1926 and the Wards, who were still Jaffna Missionaries but were just then in the States. From Auburndale he had to motor only a little distance to see Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Hitchcock. The Hitchcocks had left Jaffna only five years earlier, but represented a lot of history to Mr. Chelliah. Mr. Hitchcock had joined the College in 1879 and left in 1908 to go into Mission service. He was also able to meet Mrs. Smith, who had married the Rev T. S. Smith in the Seventies and left with him in 1898. What to Chelliah was the most sacred part of his American Tour was, as it would be to everyone interested in Christian Missions, his visit to the Hay Stack Monument in Williams College, Williams Town. It is a pillar surmounted by a globe and stands where five undergraduates in 1806 had gathered under a haystack and after prayer had decided that the gospel should be preached throughout the world. One of them, James Richards, came to Jaffna in 1816; he died early and is buried in Tellippalai (like Daniel Poor). Williams College itself is noted as a pioneer of University Education in the U. S. A. But its chief attraction now to outsiders is that it was the *fons et origo* of the Missionary movement in America.

Two other points of interest in his tour was, first, a visit to the Congregationalist church, where Dr. H. R. Hoisington, who had been Principal here from 1836 to 1849, had served after he returned to the States. There was an old lady who remembered seeing him when she was a little girl. The second was his visit to Dr. H. C. York who had served under Brown and had left in 1913.

Mr. Chelliah's participation at the Bournemouth Conference has no direct bearing on us. But the writer cannot resist recording here that Mr. Chelliah told him that the greatest speech he had ever listened to in his life was that of Rev. Nehemiah Boynton in replying to Mr. Lloyd George. Mr. Boynton's son told me later, that it was largely impromptu and that its impassioned eloquence was a reaction to the pessimistic tone of Lloyd George's speech. In an article in the Miscellany Mr. Chel-



**The New Ottley Hall
when opened in 1930**

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Chelliah says that Lloyd George's speech represented the new style of oratory, consisting of short and pithy sentences, whereas Boynton's consisted of the rounded periods reminiscent of Edmund Burke and Gladstone.

In an indirect sense, Mr. Chelliah's stay in England had a bearing on the College, because English Literature, which he taught came to be a living thing to him thereafter, as he was able to see for himself the places associated with the great names in English Literature: like Shakespeare, Milton and Thomas Gray.

About the middle of 1930, Dr. M. H. Harrison and his wife slipped out with characteristic quietness from the life of Jaffna College. We said earlier that when he returned with a Doctorate in Hindu Philosophy from Harvard, it was unlikely he would remain here much longer. But Hindu Philosophy was not the only branch of knowledge in which he was versed. His learning had a wide range and covered many recondite subjects, which made him somewhat out of place in a Secondary School. He first went to Manamadura, from where he was transferred to the United Theological College, Bangalore, the Principal of which he subsequently became. That, of course, was the place for him.

The most notable event in the College during the year was opening of the remodelled Ottley Hall. It was notable, indeed, because, as we have said earlier, it had been for more than 100 years so much part of our history that for many of the older generation it was itself the College. But much had happened since it was built that it had come to be realised that what was meant for a small community could no longer serve the needs of an institution that had expanded so much and was still expanding. The wise retention of the downstairs block consoled the sentiment of the older generation, the commodious magnificence of the upper-storey convinced the new generation that the College was keeping step with the march of time.

The ceremony of opening took place on the 2nd of August (1930) and was so elaborate as to consist of fifteen items; first, a procession of the Staff and students arrived on the scene

The Principal then offered a preliminary prayer, after which Mr. J. D. Brown, Government Agent, formally declared the building open. Mr. A. Lockwood, Chairman of the Methodist Mission, pronounced the Dedication Prayer. The Hon. Mr. K. Balasingham Chairman of the Board, was called upon for a few remarks, after which the Principal made a statement, the chief point of which was that the new was the same as the old, in all essentials. He disclosed that the building operations had cost a little more than Rs. 50,000/- (which was big money in those days). Of this Rs. 10,000/- had come from Government; the Old Boys had given Rs. 6,000/- and the Trustees in America also had given a grant (sum unspecified) and with dry humor he reported that the balance in the account was met by a debt.

The speech of the evening was made by Dr. (later Sir) Paul E. Peiris. He was a Graduate of Cambridge, where had also obtained his Doctorate. He had held and was to hold many high positions under Government at various times. He was an uncle of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike who was to rise into prominence later.

Dr. Peiris spoke of the vitality and antiquity of Dravidian civilisation, "a civilisation", he said "only the remote outskirts of which we have begun to touch". It had produced great thought; and Dravidian figures have been found in the Pyramids of Egypt. Dravidian conceptions of architecture hence made the efforts of Europe in mediaeval times look puny. Some of its remnants are to be seen in Elephanta, Ellora and Mahabalipuram.

Dr. Peiris said, "When we in Ceylon came, our softer Buddhist civilisation was throughout guided by Dravidian influences. Go and look at the few specimens of so-called ancient Sinhalese Art to be seen in the Colombo Museum, then turn to South India for their proto-types". A speech like this by a Sinhalese person of high standing is unthinkable now; but those were different times. (A summary of it may be found in the Jaffna College Miscellany of September 1930.)

Mr. C. H. Cooke proposed a vote of thanks and there was a tableau which concluded the proceedings. The hall when it was opened on that day would not have appeared to the

on-lookers as it does today, with a big Administration Block in close proximity to it. The latter building had not been erected then. The remodelled Hall would then have had an impressiveness of stark majesty.

While these recorded events attract attention, what keeps the College going is the routine that lies behind them: the classes being taught, the travail of students and teachers involved, their physical diversions on the field of sports, and their extra academic pursuits in the various Societies and Associations. A sustaining influence also that keeps a school going is the continued interest of the Old Boys. In this we have always been fortunate. Both the local O. B. A. and the Colombo O. B. A. were always active. There is a photograph of the O. B. A. Colombo, taken in 1930 with Mr. Bicknell at the centre, Mr. Balasingham on his left and the Rev. F. Kingsbury on his right.

By the 20th of March **1931** Mr. and Mrs. Bicknell were due to leave on furlough and he was anxious to have the Prize giving before he left. The significance of this Prize Giving was that it was the first one after the Jubilee Prize Giving in 1923. Why such functions had not been held during the whole of that period, is not known; but when Jaffna College did hold a Prize Giving it was always done in style; i. e., the highest and the best person possible was somehow compelled to be the Chief Guest. The function came off on March 17th and on the occasion that role was played by Mr. B. H. Bourdielion, the Acting Governor. He spoke chiefly on the need for an independent University for Ceylon, the University College in Colombo being only an institution affiliated to the London University.

The Principal in his Report disclosed that the College had 549 pupils of whom 150 were boarders; there were 40 in the Inter Classes. The Staff was well qualified and most of them were in their prime; half a dozen of them were bachelors. The teachers were not shut up in the academic world but were faithfully carrying out duties of social, political and religious responsibility. There were eight Affiliated schools with a total of 900 pupils.

Two days later, Mr. and Mrs. Bicknell were given a farewell. Unlike many principals of subsequent times who look upon their Missionary duties as merely a stint to be put in, before returning home to "hold a good church" there for the rest of their lives, he belonged to an older tradition that looked upon the Missionary career as a career that must be pursued to the end. He had already been Principal for 15 years and was to spend the rest of his life in the same role.

And so the mantle of Principalship finally descended for the time being on the shoulders of Mr. J. V. Chelliah. When we referred to the unusual event of his being appointed to full membership of the Board, while he was still the Vice-Principal, we hinted that there might have been other reasons for the step besides his long service and high standing; and this was the reason. Dr. Harrison had left and Mr. Bicknell was due to go on furlough; Mr. Chelliah had, therefore, perforce to act for him. So it had been thought wise to prepare for the eventuality by making him a full member of the Board well ahead.

Much ado was made about the first National Principal of Jaffna College. Now a days when we are accustomed to none but National Principals the significance of the thing looks trivial. But as we said when dealing with his appointment as Vice-Principal seven years earlier, those were days when only the white man was considered (and often rightly) to be fit for any high responsibility. There were, of course, Hindu and Buddhist schools with National Principals but even they, if they could have had them, would have preferred English Principals.

The Faculty at the time consisted besides Mr. Bicknell (who was on furlough) of Messrs J. V. Chelliah, D. S. Sanders, A. C. Sundrampillai, C. W. Phelps, C. O. Elias, M. I. Thomas, S. H. Perinbanayagam, K. A. Selliah, I. P. Thurairatnam, S. T. Jeevaratnam, L. S. Kulathungam, K. E. Mathiapparanam and K. A. George. There were 17 additional teachers. Mr. C. C. Kanapathipillai presided over the Lower School.

In the Chapter headed "A Fresh Start", while contrasting the characteristics of Mr. Bicknell and Mr. Chelliah, it was observed that Mr. Bicknell was essentially an administrator, and

Mr. Chelliah essentially a teacher. Now Mr. Chelliah had for the time being become the Principal; and the chief duty of the Principal is administration.

It is possible for a good teacher to be a good administrator as well; but it was pointed out that Mr. Chelliah had certain qualities, like lack of interest in details, a lack of concern for them and how he had (or behaved as if he had) a conviction that they did not matter and how he was almost proud about it. His principle was to be *maximus in maximis* (great in great matters) not *maximus in minimis* (not great in small matters). It is not a reflection on a great man to say that he was not cut out to be an administrator. William Temple (1881--1944) the great Archbishop of Canterbury, who was headmaster of Repton for four years, felt that he was not cut out to be a Headmaster, though his father Frederick Temple had been a great Headmaster at Rugby and was also a great scholar. But it is not given to everyone to shine in both fields.

So, though Mr. Chelliah had very much wanted to sit in the Principal's chair, he soon realised that he had bitten off more than he could chew. The whole thing involved too many intricacies, in which he did not feel at home. During this period he once compared himself to a little boy, who had been in the habit of peeping into a deep well, whom his father once let down into the well in a bucket at the height of the rainy season. But he strove manfully to put up a brave show and, of course, to carry out the routine duties expected of a Principal.

It might be thought that in regard to finances Mr. Chelliah carried a really heavy burden. Fortunately, however, though the *de jure* responsibility for them rested with Mr. Chelliah, the *de facto* responsibility was under the ever-watchful eye and in the unerring hands of Mr. S. S. Sanders, a man of extreme care and unquestioned probity, who had handled them through the years, and the equally dependable hands of Mr. S. S. Sinnappah, his assistant; so the unpredictabilities of Mr. Chelliah's mental processes had no bearing on the financial side of the College.

Mr. K. S. Saravanamuthu, who had been with us for nine years, left at the end of the First Term, to take up duties as Headmaster of the Driberg School at Chavakachcheri. Mr. Bicknell's parting instruction to him had been that he should not make it a Secondary School. The passage of time and rapidly changing circumstances, however, justified his disregard of Mr. Bicknell's injunction and made him build up that institution into a high class Secondary School.

An event that occurred in July of the year 1931 created a great gap in the Christian community of Jaffna; it was the sudden death of the Rev. J. K. Sinnatamby. He passed the F. A. from here in 1894 and had joined the Staff. In 1900 he passed his B. A. and soon after had left to join the ill-fated Tondi Mission in South India; he came back and joined the Staff again in 1903 but left in 1908 to join the Ministry. From 1909 he was on the Board of Directors and in 1913 succeeded Dr. T. B. Scott as its Secretary, which position he held continuously till his death. He was also President of the Church Council (except for about one year) from the time of Rev. S. Eliyathamby's death in 1921. He had supreme gifts of diplomacy and occupied a large place in the community.

About the middle of 1931 the elections for a new Legislature, on the basis of the new Constitution drawn up by Lord Donoughmore and his colleagues (who had been here in 1926) took place. The Jaffna candidates boycotted them, owing almost to the physical pressure brought on them by the Youth Congress. But the elections, nevertheless, took place and the new Legislature came into being.

Under the new scheme the Legislature was divided into seven Committees, each to be responsible for one of the various branches of administration, like Health, Education, Home Affairs, Transport etc. The Chairman of each Committee was appointed a Minister. The Government reserved for itself general oversight of everything, under a Chief Secretary, a Legal and Financial Secretary. Of course, on top of it all was the Governor himself. This was the form of Government under which we were till 1948. For three years the candidates from Jaffna held out and then came in.

In September of the year the College staged a play. There is no other English poet who has suffered so much by the National movement and the change of the medium of instruction in Eastern countries as Shakespeare. Other English poets also were, of course, studied here in the old days; but a play of Shakespeare was a text book for each of the Cambridge classes every year. And schools thought that the best way to teach these plays to the boys was to stage them. And Mr. Chelliah was not merely a Shakespearean scholar but one who was somewhat "struck with the stage fever". Since he assumed higher responsibilities, however, Mr Chelliah left the matter in other hands. In September 1931, "The Midsummer Night's Dream" was put on the stage. Mr. L. S. Kulathungam though ill, played the part of Lysander and, it is reported, did it extremely well. Certain other characters who might mean something to the present generation were: Theseus—Duke of Athens—C. E. Rajasingham; Bottom—A. M. Brodie (father of the present Mr. A. M. Brodie); and Titania—A. T. Vethaparanam.

About the beginning of **1932** there were two new accessions to the Staff: Mr. A. Sitlinger and Mr. P. W. Ariaratnam. The former was a short term Missionary and the latter was returning to us after completing his course at the Government Training College for teachers and served us till he retired in 1963.

Early in 1932 the Phelps left us for good; Mr. Phelps was to take up the Headmastership of the Kodaikanal Missionary School in South India. They had been with us from November 1921 and apart from teaching Chemistry and Physics, Mr. Phelps had, as said earlier, revolutionised the game of football. Often he was as active in the sports field as the players themselves. His unconventional methods of tackling situations and his highly expressive and racy Americanisms in speech had always caused much amusement and appreciation. The departure of the Phelps was sincerely regretted. Mr. Phelps has visited us twice since then and old friends were genuinely glad to see him.

We have referred (we believe more than once) to the annual "evangelistic" expedition to the island of Eluvaitivu. This had gone on for fifty years. In 1932 the Fiftieth Anniversary was due, in the month of February. It is supposed that

it was with a view to making due preparations that the Jubilee expedition was postponed to July this time and duly took place accordingly. The bulk of the party arrived on the island on Friday 22nd in the evening.

The main function was a public meeting on Saturday afternoon, presided over by Mr. J. V. Chelliah, the Acting Principal. An important feature of the meeting was the presence and participation of Mr. Lambert Kandiah and Mr. A. S. Arulampalam, who had gone out in the first party fifty years earlier. Mr. Handy Perinpanayagam, the Manager of the Island school, also spoke. There was a Thanks giving service on Sunday morning. The party returned home on Sunday afternoon.

The Old Boys' Day and the Annual Prize Giving were telescoped into one day, the 20th of August. At the Prize Giving Mr. K. Balasingham presided. The principal guests were Dr. S. C. Paul, the eminent Colombo surgeon, and his wife. The Principal, in his report, revealed that it was Dr. William Paul, father of the chief speaker of the evening, who having failed to get Dr. E. P. Hastings to get the College affiliated to the Calcutta University finally persuaded Dr. S. W. Howland to do it.

According to the Acting Principal's Report, the Staff consisted of 15 Graduates: 4 M. A.s, 6 B. A.s, 5 B. Sc.s, and 6 Government Trained Teachers, besides others, of course. What was important in the student world was the beginning of the slow invasion of the other sex: there were 41 in the Lower School (which was natural) one in the Intermediate (which did not matter) but as many as 8 girls in the Upper School. Though these were probably daughters of College teachers, it was significant that a liberal interpretation was being put on the agreement with Uduvil.

For a Prize Day speaker, Dr. S. C. Paul made a very sensible speech. He asked the College not to dabble with vocational training but to stick to general education and the development of character. As for unemployment, he said, it was a good thing, as it would teach us the dignity of labour.

On 21st of October 1932 the College staged "The Twelfth Night", the part of Molvolio was played by that consummate actor, L. S. Kulathungam, and the part of Sir Toby Belch by P. W. Ariaratnam. The performance was greatly appreciated.

In the field of Sports, though we did not do so well in Cricket or Football, we became Champions in Athletics. It is ironical that we should have waited till Mr. Phelps left us to do this; but Mr. Phelps' duties had devolved on Mr. I. P. Thurairatnam, who might have been depended on to put his heart and soul into anything that he took up.

Mr. Bicknell, in the meantime, was in the U. S. A. He had no need to collect any further degrees; how then was he spending his time? The only information on the subject is derived from what he told one of his favourite younger teachers. He had (though a Democrat) gone to see (the Republican) President Hoover open a bridge and what he saw was the sight of that eminent person sitting in a corner with his friend Henry Ford surreptitiously consuming pea-nuts. He was due to arrive in November with a young short term Missionary called Porter French.

When **1933** opened, it was found that Mr. and Mrs. Bicknell had arrived sometime earlier than they were expected and were already on the campus. The students decided that they had no right just to creep in unnoticed. Accordingly, on 13th January (1933) they took Mr. and Mrs. Bicknell in a procession to the Ottley Hall, and the Chairman of the Village Committee read an Address of Welcome. The last phase had begun.

The Faculty at that time consisted of seventeen members; Mr. A. Sitlinger was the new-comer among them. There were 17 additional teachers, the new comer among these being Mr. Porter French. From the Library 3870 books had been loaned during the previous year. The Librarian himself had gone for a course of training in Calcutta. All the Associations were functioning with regularity.

Electric lights were first introduced into the College this year. They were due to be switched on at the Annual Prize

Giving on the 14th of October. This was to be done by Mr. A. J. Wilkinson, the Acting Government Agent of Jaffna. He unfortunately was rather late in coming and the gathering had to wait in gloom, when the situation was relieved by that ever irrepressible personality, viz. Advocate S. R. Kanaganayagam, walking up to the platform and making a joke; he himself has forgotten what the joke was: and the recollection of others of what it was varies so much, that I merely record the fact of the joke; everyone laughed and the ice was broken. In the meantime Mr. Wilkinson arrived and the lights were switched on.

Ever a personality to be reckoned with, there was gathering round Mr. Bicknell an atmosphere and authority that made him stand out from others to a high degree. This may be illustrated by the fact that the guest speaker of the evening was Mr. K. P. S. Menon, one of the wittiest and most polished speakers in this part of the world at that time. He had spoken the previous year at a Prize Giving in another school and I have vivid recollections of most of that speech. Yet in subsequent years I did not have the slightest idea that he was the speaker of the day at Jaffna College on this occasion, till I saw it in print, while writing this. But through 57 years I have had the clearest remembrance of Mr. Bicknell reading his Report and his joke, while quoting John Maynard Hutchins, the President of the Chicago University, saying that Chicago (which was noted for gangsters then) had a University also and his joke when mentioning that the number of girls (whose presence the Inspectors had referred to the previous year as a refining influence) saying that this influence of "refinement" (I remembered it as "light") had been reduced during the current year.

In the field of Sports there were two encouraging facts that might be noted. One was that the land east of the grave-yard (which had been bought by the College) and which once had been good paddy-yielding ground, was being filled up to be the School Playground. However, judging by the time taken before it was ready to be opened, the time taken for the work seems unconscionably long. Anyway, it was being done. The other was the winning of the Inter-Collegiate Championship for a second year in succession.

The year **1934** had a certain contradictory character: some events occurring being sorrowful some joyful (others being of a neutral character).

The College reopened for the First Term on 8th of January and almost the first news that was heard was that Mr. W. E. Hitchcock, a former Professor and Acting Principal of the College had passed away in America. He had left the College as early as 1908, but had remained in Jaffna in Mission service till 1925 and was, therefore, a living memory to many in 1934. While serving at the College there was hardly a subject he did not or could not handle. English, Latin, Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry were all taken in his stride. He was a saintly and kind-hearted man and the way the students of the F. A. and B. A. classes at the turn of the century exploited his innocence (though amusing) seems very heartless now. But he left behind him the memory of a precious and unsullied soul.

On 13th of January the students and Staff bade farewell to Mr. Handy Perinbanayagam. Mr. Perinbanayagam was not merely a teacher at Jaffna College, but the recognised political leader of the younger generation and had been a live-wire in all its movements. Here he had taught Latin, been Warden of the Inter Hostel and a great figure in the Y. M. C. A. But regret at his parting was considerably assuaged by the almost certain knowledge that after attending the required number of lectures at the Law College he was sure to come back.

At another level there was a parting of a more permanent nature. Henry the old servant, who was a familiar figure, when the present writer joined the College in 1923, passed away. He was the eldest son of Jacob, who as a boy of 6 had witnessed the coming of the first American Missionaries in 1816 and old and blind had been carried to the Centenary Celebrations of the Mission in 1916. Henry's own eldest son, Moses, also served the College till about twenty years ago and his son is still in our service. So the family may be said to hold in its hands the thread of the history of the American Mission in Jaffna.

The death however, that caused a real pang of sorrow in the heart of everyone was that of Mr. J. N. Appadurai soon after the end of the First Term of 1934. He had taken charge

of the Lower School as soon as he came from Penang in 1914. In 1927 he had been relieved of his task in that capacity by Mr. Kanapathipillai but continued to teach, specially English. He had lost a son three years earlier and his wife a year later. He had a family of 6 children, all under 13 years of age. Having been in good health, he took ill suddenly and died. How the family made good, nevertheless, is one of the epics of our time, but does not belong to the history of the College as such.

In June of the year the great Indian Poet Rabindranath Tagore paid a visit to Jaffna with a troupe of his students trained in singing and dancing. To those who had read his works it was a great experience to see him in flesh and blood. Even others were highly impressed with the sight of the tall, remarkable figure, with his well trimmed beard, looking every inch a poet. Tagore was not merely a poet in his own right but a major figure in the cultural renaissance of India that began in the eighties of the last century. Though he did not pay us a visit, Mr. Bicknell took some of his students to see him at the residence of the Government Agent, with whom he was staying.

We have called the year 1934, a year of sorrows and joys. We have recorded our sorrows. What were our joys? We shall find that some of them were wrought by us and some came to us unasked. Our joys consisted, in the first place, of our winning both the Cricket and Football Championships. It is said that the Cricket Championship was expected and the Football one had to be fought for very hard. One came during the first term and the other during the third term. The Championships as our efforts do not stand by themselves. They were an index of the spirit that prevailed about this period. In the second place, our joys consisted in having to celebrate two Jubilees; so much so that the Editor of the Miscellany could not resist the pun that it was a "Jubilant Year". What these were we shall soon see.

The first was the Silver Jubilee of the Brotherhood. It took place on 14th July and in a peculiar fashion. The guest speaker Mr. Nevins Selvadurai, Retired Principal of Jaffna Hindu College, addressed the gathering on Mr. Brown, who had formed the Brother-

hood. After that, a large portrait (probably the one that now hangs in the Library) with Mr. J. V. Chelliah and D. S. Sanders sitting on either side of it in a car was taken in procession with music. This was followed by a public meeting at which Mr. J. C. Amarasingam and Mr. J. V. Chelliah were the chief speakers.

The other Jubilee was the Golden Jubilee of the Y. M. C. A. This function came off on 27th October. The College Y. M. C. A. had a right to be proud of its history. When John R. Mott (1865—1954), that towering figure in Christian Church history, for nearly 60 years and President of the World Y. M. C. A., had paid us a visit in 1895, he had said that the Jaffna College Y. M. C. A. was not merely the oldest of foreign Y. M. C. A.s, but one of the best.

The occasion of the Jubilee was availed of to lay the Foundation stone for a Y. M. C. A. Building. This was done by Mr. C. H. Cooke, who had actually been a teacher in the College when the Y. M. C. A. had originally been started. The foundation stone, which has since been built over will, I trust, be soon uncovered; but the building itself which lies to the north of the present Administration Block, is now used as Laboratories for "Bio-Sciences".

The Rev. D. T. Niles who held a special place in the Ceylon Y. M. C. A., brought his greetings. The chief speaker was Mr. R. O. Buell, Secretary of the Colombo Y. M. C. A. and closely identified with the whole Y. M. C. A. movement in Ceylon. At present owing to the rise of the Student Christian Movement (of which John R. Mott was himself the originator) there is a tendency for the Y. M. C. A. and the S. C. M. occasionally to lose their identity in each other; but sometimes they do assert their distinctiveness,

The Annual Prize Giving for the year took place on 5th October (1934). The Chief Guest was the Rev. Macleod Campbell, Principal of Trinity College, Kandy. His figure was such that there was a myth that when he first came out to Ceylon, he brought a car, which had to be specially built for him, as no ordinary car could accommodate him. He was also a powerful speaker. One remembers Mr. Bicknell escorting this gigantic

figure to the platform. Yet all else that one can remember of the function consists of a few snatches of some impromptu remarks made by Mr. Bicknell. I think, after Mr. Campbell's speech; such was the effect that Mr. Bicknell's personality had created in people's minds.

Though other events did take place during the year **1935** the period, speaking in general terms, it may be characterised as a year of Goings-Out and Comings-In; but all these exits and entrances did not have the same importance.

The first going out was that of Mr. I. P. Thurairatnam. He had been a student here from 1915 and ever since then, except for a break at the University College from 1923 to 1925, had been connected with us. When Mr. Phelps left early in 1932, he had stepped into his shoes as Director of Physical Instruction and it was largely because of his efforts, that our teams were putting up such a good show. Since the exigencies of Mission service required him elsewhere, he was willing to pull up his tent and depart to his new station. A record of his career belongs elsewhere; but it could be taken for granted that he would succeed in every thing he undertook. By his drive, energy, daring and efficiency he built up Union College at Tellippalai into a considerable institution. On 6th of February, a farewell was given him by the College and it is significant that the Rev. H. Peto, President of the Inter-Collegiate Sports Association, was one of the speakers. Mr. Thurairatnam's place as Sports Master was taken by Mr. R. J. Thurairajah, who held that position till he retired 34 years later.

Two of the younger American Missionaries also left us about this time. Mr. Porter French had left in December of 1934 and Mr. A. J. Sitlinger in June of 1935. There was another Going-out and since it was the most important event of the year we shall come to it later.

There were a number of Comings-in. Mr. Handy Perinbanayagam who left a year earlier to enter the Law College, quietly got back to us after putting in the required number of lectures, which would enable him to take up his Law exams later and enter the legal profession. He was to leave us

a decade later ; but his experiment with a legal career after that was not encouraging and he got back into the teaching profession again. Dr. S. Durairajah Singham of Malaya says somewhere in one of his many writings that Mr. Handy Perinbanayagam was the greatest person ever turned out by the College. We are afraid that there might be other competitors for this status ; but there is no doubt that Mr. Perinbanayagam was a person of deep intelligence and tremendous intellectual versatility, a writer with a grasp of any subject he wrote on and a speaker, who could be relied on to be cogent and effective.

It is, however, no reflection on him to say that the ability to make good in the Law Courts was not in the repository of his varied talents. Lord Reading (once Lord Chief Justice of England) said on one occasion that the three qualities necessary for a good lawyer were, first, second and third, "Rough animal spirits". We are not treating Lord Reading's pronouncement as infallible, but whether it was true or not Mr. Handy Perinbanayagam's talents were not such as to establish him as a great lawyer. When he took to teaching again he became Principal of another Secondary School which he built up successfully.

In place of Porter French and Sitlinger, Mr. Theodore Oppenheim came in. He was a graduate of Yale and also had a B. D. Degree. During his stay in our midst he was able to contribute much.

In November we had the privilege of welcoming four American Negroes ; Professor and Mrs. H. Thurman and the Rev. and Mrs. G. G. Carroll. Prof. Thurman was a distinguished Zoologist and was highly irritated, when the invitation to him said that he should be prepared to sing "Negro Spirituals". It was no fault of ours either ; because that was the one thing with which our people had learnt to associate American Negroes.

The chief event of the year, however, was a departure to which we referred earlier but on which we did not expatiate ; it was the departure of Mr. J. V. Chelliah, the Vice-Principal. Mr. Chelliah was born in 1875. He had been a teacher in the College from 1894. But as the prescribed age of retirement for teachers in Assisted Schools was as operative in his case also, as in that of every other Teacher, we had to bow to the inevitable.

In the matter of giving him a farewell, the Colombo O. B. A. anticipated us by a couple of months or so and held their function in June. Messrs Nevins Selvadurai, T. B. Jayah, R. O. Buell and K. Kanagaratnam were the speakers.

Ours took place in style on 7th of August. Mr. & Mrs. Chelliah were brought to the College grounds in a decorated car in procession. At the public meeting the Principal took the Chair. The speakers were Mr. D. S. Sanders on behalf of the Staff, S. R. Kanaganayagam on behalf of the younger Old Boys, Mr. T. C. Rajaratnam, on behalf of the Board of Directors; Mr. K. S. Arulnandhi on behalf of the Educational world and Mr. P. Vaithilingam, District Judge of Batticaloa on behalf of the public. The Hon. Mr. W Duraisamy, his old classmate, on behalf of the public presented him with a Tea Set and gold-nibbed fountain pen. Mr. Chelliah suitably replied.

Though the retirement was inevitable, so much had he been part of the College and for so long, that Jaffna College without him was hard to imagine. He had been with us through thick and thin for 46 years; he had not been cast down, when the College was floundering under Acting Principals and temporary Principals, nor overthrown when the doors of Calcutta were closed to us and Madras refused to open its doors. He had taken his courage in his hands and proceeded to Calcutta, where he got his M. A. Degree.

Thenceforward he was a power in the classroom and on the public platform. He was a teacher of English *par excellence*; his achievement, as Mr. S. R. Kanaganayagam pointed out, was to steer his students clear of American English and Indian English (and perhaps Ceylonese English). When he taught Shakespeare or Macaulay, it was not that he commented on them, he thought and spoke with them.

Mr. Chelliah's retirement was not merely an event in Jaffna College; it was an event in the educational world of Jaffna. In the 25 years or more preceding, that world had been filled with great luminaries. They had fallen out one by one and Mr. Chelliah was the last to leave the field. Mr. T. P. Hudson had died in 1916, Mr. Allen Abraham in 1922, M. J. K. Chanmugam of

Central College had died in 1930. Mr. T. H. Crosette had been retired for some time and Mr. Nevins Selvadurai was no longer in the teaching profession. And now that Mr. Chelliah had also left, it seemed that the galaxy had been rubbed out from the sky.

These were our reactions to Mr. Chelliah's retirement. How did he take his retirement? A wise man in his retirement creates new work for himself to do; but others are also quite willing to oblige in the matter by finding work for him to do.

We shall presently find what work he took up on his own. Meantime we shall see what work was thrust on him by others. At a critical meeting on 16th October 1937 he was asked to take charge of the management of the Affiliated Schools; and the arrangement seems to have held till 1944. In the second place, as he had been doing English for the Inter Arts, he was asked to continue doing it. He did this for four years.

How did he express his own interests?

- (1) He started and ran a fortnightly paper called "The Spectator" devoted to views and comments and not news. How long the paper lasted, I cannot say; but the life of any paper that does not have a settled clientele is never long.
- (2) He continued to be an active member of the College Board and acted as Chairman during the frequent occasions of Mr. Balasingham's absence and then in his own right. From the early forties he carried on a crusade for taking up our post Secondary education up to the B. A. and B. Sc. level.
- (3) He continued his interest in Christian affairs both at the local level and in India. After 1941, he gave up attending the General Assembly meetings of the S. I. U. C. in India, but in affairs of the local Council he was active almost to the end.
- (4) He wrote a play in English called, "Poothathamby", based on the tale of a Tamil chief who had tried to plot against the Dutch in the 17th Century. It was put on the boards in 1941 not merely here but in Colombo also.

- (5) Largely, however, he spent his time in exploring the literature of the pre-classical period of Tamil, called "Sangam Works". He delivered lectures on them, wrote articles and published an English Metrical version of one of these works, called "Pattu Pattu". This is very highly thought of in University circles in South India.
- (6) He seems to have stepped into other periods of Tamil literature also; for he told the present writer that he had written a book on Thaiumanavar, the 18th century Tamil religious poet; but the book never saw the light of day.
- (7) He was, however, ambitious to do some creative work of his own and, therefore, mastered the rules of Tamil prosody and composed religious songs of his own which he published in book form.
- (8) Nevertheless, he would not have been human if he had resisted the temptation of all old people, of button-holing younger men (in his case, old students) and unburdening himself of monologues on diverse subjects.

In 1935 the College finding it had got 15 passes out of 19 in the Matric, decided to give up the irrelevancy of the Cambridge exams and stick to the Matric. In the Football season our boys repeated their performance of the previous year and became Champions once again. The Annual Prize Giving took place on 26th October and Mr. P. de S. Kularatne, Principal of Ananda College was Chief Guest.

During the Christmas week on 1935 I got a printed card from Bicknell. It was actually a New Year card but under the number of the old year. The words were taken from verses 6 and 7 of the First Chapter of II Timothy and ran as follows:

"For which cause I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up into flame the gift of God which is in thee. For God gave us not a spirit of fearfulness but of power and love and discipline."

under it were the words,

“Here is a message that may
bring faith and inspiration
for a Happy New Year.”

On the other side were the words “From Mr. Bicknell”.

Of course, we all receive many cards during such a season. We glance at the names of the senders and put them by; and after a week or so the cards disappear one by one from our table. But the words in this card were so arresting and scripturally so authoritative, that I did not part with it. I have often used the words of the text in my sermons. The appositeness of the message is compelling enough always; but the poignancy of subsequent events was such, the card grown yellow with age, is still with me; and looking at it always gives me fresh courage.

By the beginning of **1936**, Mr. Bicknell had put in 22 years of uninterrupted service as Principal; but had he not put in three years of service earlier? Therefore, everybody decided this was the year of his Jubilee. So to use a word used by the Editors of the Miscellany everybody in the College was living in a “jubilant context”. In fact, a Committee in Colombo had begun to think of doing something in the matter as early as 1934. The Jaffna O. B. A. being nearer, things, decided about the matter only at the end of 1935 and the decision was to celebrate it in July 1936. Anyway, the year 1936 was to be the year in which Mr. Bicknell was to ride triumphantly into glory.

In January King George V of England died and since we were then part of the British Empire, the College was closed for the rest of the day after receipt of the news. He had not been a colourful monarch, but a king is a king and so due honour had to be paid. But the working of the British Constitution is so smooth that when such an event takes place it is always said, “The king is dead; long live the King”. Into such a line of thought we fell in with the greatest ease.

Early in the year, two of Mr. Bicknell's Old Boys, S. S. Selvaratnam and S.T. Asirvatham were ordained into the Ministry of the S. I. U. C. And one of the stoutest friends of the College, W. Duraisamy had the privilege of being returned unopposed to the Legislature, a thing rarely possible in this country. His success did not stop there. He was soon elected "Speaker" (i. e. the President of the House). The Cricket Team in its field wanted to make its own present to the Principal and tied with St. Patrick's for the Championship and both teams got bracketed as joint-champions.

And Mr. Bicknell in person received the compliment of being elected President of the Church Council at its Annual Meeting held in March. It was the first time since the Congregational Council, which later became the Jaffna Council of the S. I. U. C., had been formed in 1904 that a Missionary had been elected to the post. The nationals had usually left the Treasurership to Missionaries and had elected themselves to every other office (nor did the Missionaries mind it very much). This, therefore, was a unique event.

Mr. Bicknell was also becoming a well-known figure throughout the Island. He had regularly attended meetings of the Colombo Old Boys and had been prominent in various Educational Committees and Conferences. His personality and powers of speech had impressed everyone. He was also now President of the All Ceylon Head Masters and Principals' Association. So by this time he had become an outstanding all-Island figure.

Theodore Oppenheim had already joined the Staff and Mr. and Mrs. Edson Lockwood were soon arriving and they were Missionaries of standing. After all, however one might love the people of one's adopted country, there is nothing like a little bit of the "old country" around you. Albert Schweitzer always took German Doctors with him to Lambarene in Africa.

But nothing gladdened Mr. Bicknell's heart so much during this year of his life as the arrival of his son with his bride about the middle of 1936. John Walter was his only son and had received the privileged status that those in that position always do. Those of an earlier generation would remember that

when a Cricket or Football team was about to be photographed (with Mr. Bicknell as the central figure; he would usually climb up to his father's knee and sit there unchallenged. Abraham Lincoln used to hold that "children should have a good time"; and on that principle an only child should have even a better time.

John and his bride arrived here on 22nd July and were met at the Moolai Junction by the parents, followed by a large gathering of Staff and students, and were escorted to the College with music. That night there was a fire-works display.

The next evening the parents gave them a public reception. Practically all Jaffna was there. The present writer and his friends narrowly missed being absent; because the Railway gate-keeper (with one wooden leg) at the Chundikuli level-crossing very considerately left the gate on our side open and inconsiderately closed the gate on the other side, leaving us on the railway line; and there was a train coming on. We were able to attend the function, because it was a local train and not an Express and pulled up in time.

The beaming smile on Mr. Bicknell's face as he introduced the couple to each of the guests, as they went up to meet them, with the words, "John and Evangeline Bicknell" was the expression of a parent who had reached the summit of his ambition. To the public the function was not an item in the life of John and Evangeline but an item in Mr. Bicknell's own life. It was another item in the Jubilee Celebrations.

The official celebrations of Mr. Bicknell's Jubilee had been fixed to take place in July, but had been postponed, probably because of the wedding reception, and took place on 8th of August. The Old Boys, who were in the habit of telescoping their own celebration with the Annual Prize Giving, this time telescoped it with the Jubilee celebrations. So there had been a programme from morning.

The chief functions of the celebration took place in the afternoon. There was a garden party in the College Quadrangle attended by a vast throng. A select band of Tamil singers kept the gathering entertained.

The finale was a public meeting in the Ottley Hall presided over by the Hon. W. Duraisamy, Speaker of the State Council. The Rev. Fr. Long, Rector of St. Patrick's, was the first speaker and called Mr. Bicknell the foremost educationalist in Ceylon, and said that every student who passed through his hands received his stamp. Dr. A. E. Duraisamy, who spoke next, represented the Old Boys of Malaya. He said Mr. Bicknell was a master builder; he had rebuilt practically the whole College. He was a great builder of character too. He disclosed that the Old Boys in Malaya were planning to raise a considerable sum to provide the nucleus of a Bicknell Scholarship Fund.

Mr. Nevins Selvadurai spoke of the change that had come over the Campus which he had known as a small boy. Mr. Bicknell had built proud and lordly buildings in place of the humbler ones he once had known. He had espoused the cause of the down-trodden and had always stood for equality and fraternity and he praised the spirit of freedom that pervaded the College.

Mr. S. R. Kanaganayagam read an address which was presented to Mr. Bicknell in a beautiful silver casket by Mr. C. H. Cooke, the oldest Old Boy who was there, who also presented Mrs. Bicknell with a gold chain and pendant.

Mr. Bicknell as usual made a masterly speech. He spoke of three verses in the Bible which had always guided him:

1. **Keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.**
2. **Walk by the Spirit and be not entangled in the yoke of bondage.**
3. **Men shall come from the East and the West and shall sit in the Kingdom.**

In regard to freedom, he said that what mattered more was not what you were free from, but for what you were free. On the third verse he said there should be tolerance between the rich and the poor, the high and the low.

The Chairman wished Mr. and Mrs. Bicknell a great and happy future. Mr. Handy Perinbanayagam thanked those who

had been present. Mr. and Mrs. Bicknell were then taken in procession with fireworks and music to the bungalow.

It would be a mistake to suppose that so important a function connected with Jaffna College could be celebrated only in Jaffna. Though the College was situated in Jaffna, most of its distinguished alumni were in Colombo and they had started planning for the Jubilee some years ahead; but they let us get on with it in Jaffna first, as it was the natural place for it to start with.

The Jubilee Celebrations in Colombo took place on 28th November. The Hon. W. Duraiswamy, would naturally be the Chairman in Colombo also, as he had been in Jaffna. Mr. M. Ramalingam presented Mr. Bicknell with a pair of gold cuff links. Advocate T. K. Curtis read the Address.

The speakers consisted of a formidable batch: Prof. C. Suntharalingam of the University, Mr. W. R. Watson, Asst. Director of Education, Mr. P. de. S. Kularatne, Principal of Ananda College, Mr. K. Balasingham and the Rev. R. W. Stopford, Principal of Trinity College (and later Bishop of London).

Mr. C. Suntharalingam said that boys who had passed through Mr. Bicknell's hands had three qualities; they were great idealists, they had unbounded optimism and had honest convictions. He proceeded to pay a compliment to Mr. Bicknell as a Master of rhetoric and as an American edition of Warden Stone of St. Thomas'. This, we think, was a very inapt comparison, as no greater contrast could be imagined than that between the rather taciturn, cynical Englishman with his subtle sense of humour and the exuberant American master of rhetoric with his broad sense of humour. Mr. P. de. S. Kularatne said that though he had a reputation for not liking Missionaries, he could not help liking Mr. Bicknell. Mr. Stopford said that the Head masters and Principals could not have elected any President except Mr. Bicknell.

Mr. Bicknell was in a humorous mood when he made his reply. He said he had prepared himself for the ordeal of the day by reading the previous night the Biblical story of Daniel

in the lion's den. He thanked the "Old Boys" for getting up the function and said he was willing to forget all their past misdemeanours, (like the Speaker of the State Council climbing cocoanut trees at night) in the joy of watching them grow up into responsible men. Mr. P. Nagalingam proposed a vote of thanks to everybody.

Mr. Bicknell was so moved by the expressive sense of gratitude shown during the year that he wrote,

"No one could ask for more; no reward could be greater".

While the event of the jubilee overshadowed everything in the College, it must not be imagined that nothing else was taking place inside or outside. Characteristically, Mr. Bicknell had wanted a magazine in which the boys could express their own ideas on men and matters. And so a magazine called the "Young Idea" had come into being on March 27th 1936. It was to be published twice a term. At first, it was edited by a teacher, but was soon taken on by the boys. It is still going on. At the end of the Second Term Mr. K. A. Selliah had left for higher studies in England, according to a resolution of the Board six years earlier. In America Dr. J. L. Barton, for many years General Secretary of the American Board, who had paid a visit to Jaffna at the turn of the century, died.

Mr. Bicknell himself was now 59 years of age physically and mentally in high form; he had gained Island-wide recognition for his gifts and abilities and had become high and lifted up among the Principals and educationalists of the Island and an object of respect and admiration throughout the country. Few therefore were prepared for what was to follow.

About the middle of December he had a slight attack of illness which kept him in bed for two days. It is said that long ago he had had an attack of rheumatic fever which had affected his heart; but, consistently through the years he had played regular games of tennis, including six vigorous weeks of it at Kodaikanal and was none the worse for it; so no one was prepared for what was to happen. The 17th of December was the last day of term when he should have normally addressed

the students in the hall; but his temperature had shot up in the morning but began unexpectedly to drop, and at the end of it the heart stopped beating.

We had imagined that the events of 1936 were the splendour of noonday. Everything supported such a view. It proved to be the glory of the setting sun. While the glory still lingered, the sun was no longer there. The news of the event stunned the country.

The funeral Service was held at the Vaddukoddai church and the burial took place in the Mission Grave yard at Uduvil. The arrangements for the services left much to be desired. Over his grave (where the ashes of his wife were also later buried) his son has caused a giant tombstone to be erected with the words that Mathew Arnold wrote, as he looked at the grave of his father Thomas Arnold, in the Rugby Chapel:

*O strong soul, by what shore tarriest thou now?
For that force surely, has not been left vain!
Somewhere, surely, afar
In this sounding labour house vast
Of being is practised that strength
Zealous, beneficent, firm.*

Mathew Arnold's tone is perhaps a little too sceptical to have been approved of either by his father or by Mr. Bicknell. But Thomas Arnold was certainly a person to whom Mr. Bicknell may rightly be compared.

Death is a concrete fact as far as this world goes; and a solid tombstone is testimony that the earthly life of John Bicknell is over. His was a magnificent presence but it is gone; he was a great orator, but his voice will be heard no more; he put up many buildings, but somebody hereafter may pull them down and erect new ones; his association with the College was long, but others have since taken his place.

But there are other facts equally concrete, over which death has no power. The spirit, the ideals and the attitude to things that a person bequeaths are stronger than death. The earthly career of John Bicknell was over but not the influence of the

heritage he left behind. The Bicknell regime had ended but not the Bicknell era.

What was the heritage he left behind? I think it consisted of three principles;

1. To do the right, "as God gives us to see the right", not so much with a disregard of consequences but with an entire willingness to take the consequences. In 1917 he had for the first time admitted into the school a boy from the so-called 'depressed classes'. This at that time was looked upon as an intolerable act of iconoclasm. Class after class left and Mr. Bicknell sat there writing out certificates and the venerated Alan Abraham went to him and said, "How long are you going to do this, Mr. Bicknell?" and Mr. Bicknell said, "Mr. Abraham, will not that boy stay?" "He will", said Mr. Abraham. "As long as he stays, I shall go on doing this", replied Mr. Bicknell. Much has been made about his solicitude for the Depressed Classes. It was certainly there. But what is more important is the principle that actuated Mr. Bicknell: his willingness to run the school with one boy, because he was doing what he thought was right. He was prepared to take whatever consequence that followed by acting on that principle.
2. That every boy should be allowed the right to grow into the fullness he was capable of. There was once a boy so incorrigible that everybody wanted him "sacked". "If we don't reform him, who will?" asked Mr. Bicknell. So the boy was allowed to stay. He never reformed; but he might have.

It is often said that the independence of minds formed in Jaffna College students is due to Mr. Bicknell. This is more than true. He tolerated those whose views differed from his, views for which he had no sympathy; he tolerated atheists and agnostics. Sometimes he carried this too far; I certainly think so. Mr. Bicknell's point of view was, however wrong a boy might be now, he might correct himself later. Human personality should not be trampled under foot; it has the right to adjust itself, correct itself and grow into the fullness of which it is capable.

3. The necessity of having ideals. Professor Sunthralingam said that Jaffna College students were characterised by strong convictions. Convictions are different from opinions; both are different from ideals. A man may have convictions and do nothing about them; a man having ideals does something about them; he tries to achieve them; ideals mean higher purposes. On the walls of his office, there used to hang a picture of Jesus having one arm over the shoulders of a young man and with the other pointing to the world. I asked him whether the young man was St. John, he said, "No, it is any young man".

Jesus was pointing out the world to the young man and in effect saying, "There lies the whole world before you. Go, make it better". The world lies before one, the need is not to make the most out of it, but to make it better. For this it is necessary to have high ideals. (The picture now hangs on the platform of Ottley Hall).

The legacy of those principles will, I think, continue to wield their influence. The Bicknell regime has passed into history, as all regimes do; but it cannot be said that his era has passed away. The attitudes, the atmosphere, the principles and the spirit that characterised that era still persist.

At the end of the last Chapter we commented on the fact that Mr. Bicknell was Principal *ex officio*, the Manager *de facto* and, in effect, the Board also. We pointed out that this was a Constitutional anomaly; we found even in the appointment of a Vice-Principal in 1923 how reluctant he was to accommodate such a position in the situation that prevailed. This would indicate how Mr. Bicknell liked to have all power in his hands.

We also said that besides the anomaly there was a personal contradiction here and that the matter would be commented on later. What was the personal contradiction here? Lord Cromer, the famous British administrator, speaking about the Elder Pitt, the great Lord Chatham, in his "Essays Political and Literary", says Chatham was both a despot and a democrat. He was against the Taxation of the American Colonies and

also was for individual liberty at home. But he also said, "I know I can save this country and that no one else can" and would brook no interference from King or colleague; this means that those who stand for liberty for others may be very strong-willed persons who are despotic in carrying out their ideal. Anyway, it was so with Mr. Bicknell.

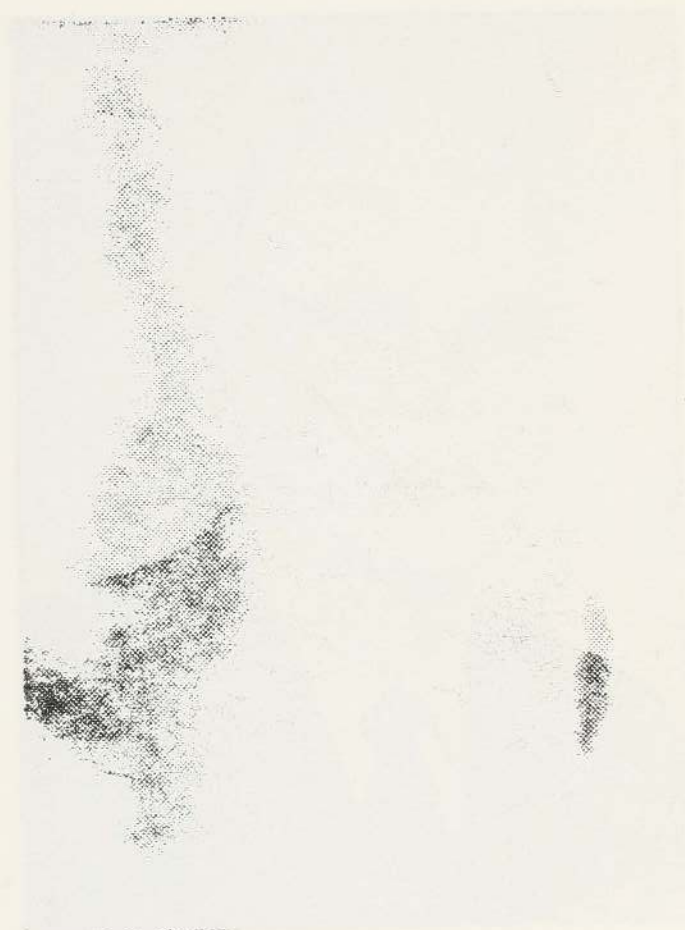
The second of Mr. Bicknell's qualities we enumerated was that he wanted independence for his students and teachers. Yet in his own field he wanted no interference from others and had the whole administration of the College in his own hands; that is, he wanted to be in control in his own field; in other words, he was autocratic or despotic so as to enable others to have control in their own fields. He certainly never abused that control; and he was quite genuine in his desire to exercise it to promote the control of others in their own fields; that is, their independence. He was despotic to promote democracy.

There used to be a legend in America in the last century that as the winds swept over the boundary line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, the voice of Daniel Webster (1782—1852), the great pre-Civil War protagonist of the Union, whose body lies buried there, might be heard asking, "How stands the Union?" and would not be satisfied, unless the reply was, "Rock-bottomed, copper-sheathed, one and indissoluble." So, if the spirits of the departed still take an interest in the affairs of this world, does the spirit of Mr. Bicknell still hover about the familiar grounds at night asking of those who cannot see him, "How goes the College?" Does he still occasionally stride down the verandahs, as he used to? So much had he loved the College that the fancy that he does, may not be altogether idle.

The Board of Directors, taken completely by surprise, met a day or so after Mr. Bicknell had passed away to consider how the vacancy could be filled. The Staff had asked that Mr. D. S. Sanders, their senior member should be appointed Acting Principal. The Board, however, was more concerned with a permanent Principal and decided to examine possibilities, and it tried to sound Dr. Harrison, who was at



E. C. Lockwood



E. C. Johnson

Bangalore. It met again on the 9th of January and decided that Mr. E. C. Lookwood should be appointed Acting Principal and, since Dr. Harrison had refused to be tempted, that the Trustees be written to, to find an ordained person with high academic qualifications. Mr. J. V. Chelliah was made Manager of the Affiliated Schools.

Mr. E. C. Lockwood was a graduate of Brown University, Rhode Island, and had been a classmate of Quentin Reynolds, who subsequently attained to great fame as a War correspondent. He had already served in the American Mission College in Madura. As a teacher, his subject was Mathematics. In his new position, he knew that he was only a *locum tenens* and therefore, did not try to do anything new. The routine of the College was kept going. He was not an out-going personality, but his wife more than made up for him in this respect. But he grew so fond of the College that, except for a break during the War years, he served us till his retirement in 1969.

The number of students at the College was 509, of whom 98 were boarders. Mr. C. C. Kanapathipillai who had been Supervisor of the Lower School went to Tellipallai to take charge of the English School there; but his parting from us proved temporary. He was succeeded in that position by Mr. P. W. Ariaratnam, who occupied it for 26 years till his retirement in 1963.

In the year **1937** the College received a singular honour. The Hon. Mr. W. Duraiswamy, one of our most loyal Old Boys and the Speaker of the State Council, had been selected as one of the representatives at the Coronation of the new King George VI; and there received the honour of a knighthood. At one time a knighthood was a very high honour indeed, so much so that Queen Elizabeth I had said, "When I have knighted a man, I have no higher honour to confer on him". Then peerages were mostly inherited and not conferred. It was the Younger Pitt who at the turn of the 18th century scattered Peerages right and left. After that they became common in England. Our country never got beyond the Elizabethan stage and a knighthood was the highest honour that a subject of the Crown in a colony could receive.

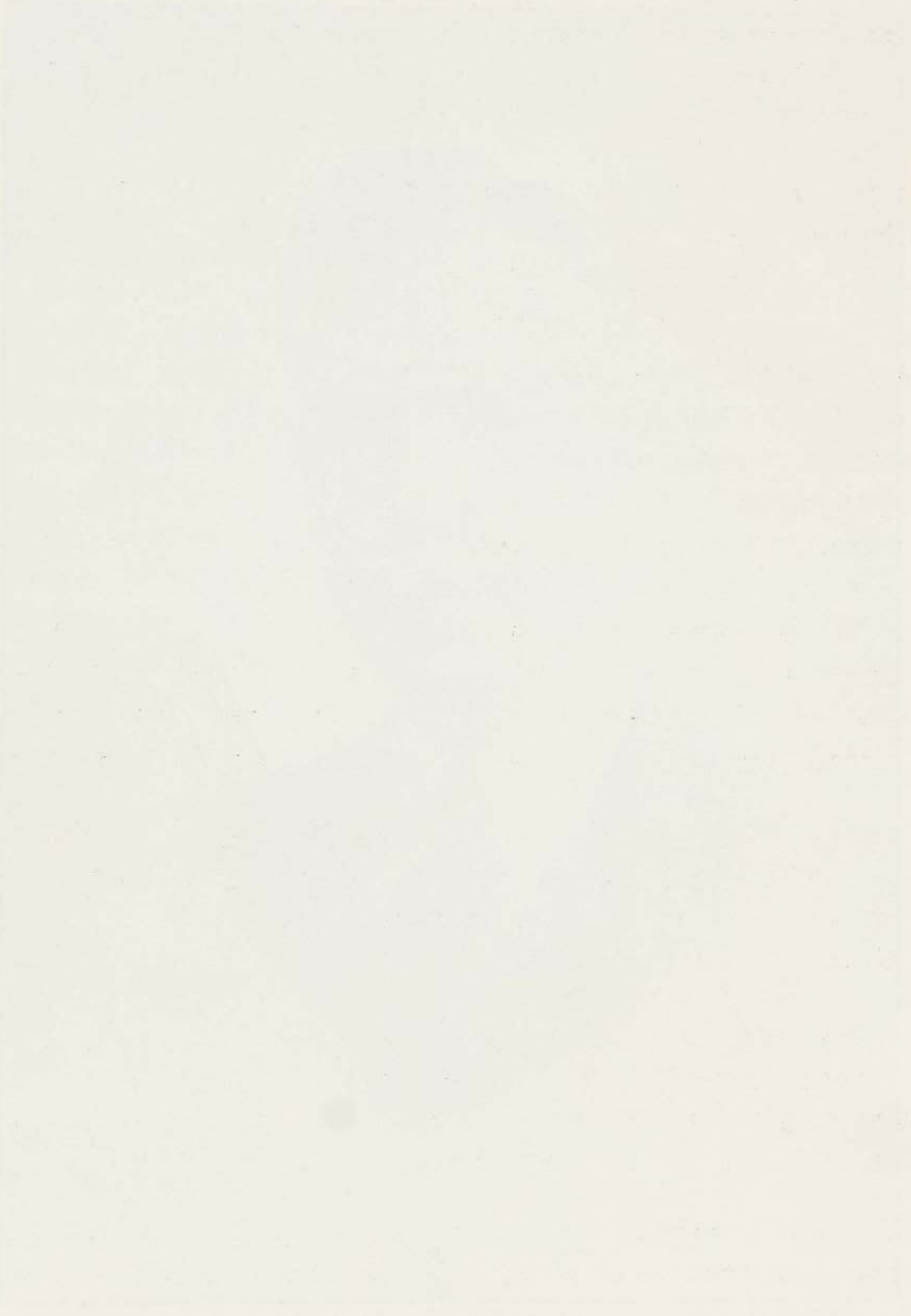
In the field of sports the year 1937 is noteworthy in our history chiefly for one achievement; and it was the achievement of a single individual, V. G. George (later Major). In Pole Vault he became All Ceylon Champion by clearing 10 ft. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ th inches. In high jump he did still better by breaking the English Public School Record by clearing 5 ft. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ th inches. The "Ceylon Observer" called his feat a credit not merely to Jaffna Schools but to the whole of Ceylon.

On October 15th the Board of Directors learnt with great satisfaction that the Trustees had found a suitable candidate for the Principalship in the person of the Rev. Sydney Kiteridge Bunker. The present writer has half a recollection that Mr. Bunker's father told him in Boston eight years later that when Mr. G. G. Brown resigned in 1915, he himself had been approached in connection with the same post. It would appear that the Board of Directors seems to have been apprised of the selection of the Trustees only after Mr. Bunker was half way on his journey here; but as soon as it learnt of their selection, it hastened to appoint him formally. He arrived in Colombo with Mrs. Bunker on 30th October and was in Jaffna on the 1st of November. He was to be the head of the institution for a much longer period than Mr. Bicknell himself.

Sydney Bunker had been born in 1904 in Natal, South Africa, where his father was a Missionary, had received his Elementary education in a Mission School there, his Secondary education in Ohio, had graduated from Oberlin College and done his B. D. at Union Theological Seminary, New York, at that time the best Theological College in America. He had also been selected as a Rhodes Scholar—a high honour in the Anglo Saxon world—and had done two years of study at Oxford, where he obtained the B. Lit. degree.

We have earlier in this book done some comparisons between persons; and since Mr. Bunker succeeded Mr. Bicknell it is unavoidable that such a task should be undertaken in this case also. We have in previous instances pointed out both resemblances and differences.

As far as resemblances went, there was only one between both. Both were Americans—this itself should be noted with a qualification. The writer once remarked to an English friend that



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The Rev. S. K. Bunker

all of Mr. Bunker's reactions were English and not American. "I have myself noticed it", he said. One could not have talked for one minute with Mr. Bicknell without becoming distinctly aware that he was an American and a New-England American; one could have talked with Mr. Bunker for an hour without knowing that he was American, unless he had told one so himself. But both were Americans by nationality; and here the resemblance ends.

Mr. Bicknell was a tall, powerful and domineering personality, with an Olympian air about him. Mr. Bunker was a modest, unassuming and an invitingly accessible person. Mr. Bicknell was an orator, eloquent and often rising to impassioned heights. Mr. Bunker was a pleasant speaker, who never even slipped into eloquence. He did not sway an audience; he merely "made a contribution" to the knowledge of the subject in hand. Work was with Mr. Bicknell a passion and he threw himself into it with a flaming zeal; Mr. Bunker regarded it with a cool detachment, bordering on distaste. Mr. Bicknell revelled in administration; Mr. Bunker looked upon it as a regrettable necessity. Mr. Bicknell lived in the world of action; Mr. Bunker in the intellectual world; he was not a scholar, in the sense that Dr. Harrison is. A scholar is one who specialises in certain branches of knowledge, while having a fair competence in a few others. Mr. Bunker was a man of culture, at home in quite a few branches of knowledge without any definite specialisation. With Mr. Bicknell knowledge was an instrument needed for action; with Mr. Bunker it was an end in itself. Mr. Bicknell may never have hankered after power, but he appreciated it when he had it; Mr. Bunker took it up, turned it over in his hand and decided it was not worth it.

For the work that he had to do Mr. Bicknell wanted no colleague; Mr. Bunker would hardly get on without one. In the era that was coming on in Jaffna Mr. Bicknell would certainly have been out of place. He belonged to the line of New England Missionaries of the 19th century accustomed to dominate and rule. Mr. Bunker would feel quite at home in the new era that was coming on.

When Mr. and Mrs. Bunker arrived on the 1st of November 1937, they were met at the Moolai junction and escorted with music in a horse-drawn carriage to their bungalow and from

there to the Ottley Hall, where Mr. Bunker addressed the students. The Annual Prize Giving took place a few days later (10th November), at which Sir W. Duraiswamy was the Chief speaker. Mr. Lockwood read the Principal's Report.

Mr. Bunker's regime is associated in people's minds with certain definite features, on different planes. Some of them came into being because of the differences in the character of the two Principals. In such cases, it does not mean that the changes were necessarily prompted by the new Principal; but they did take place, because the atmosphere had become different and the changes fitted naturally with the new order of things. The other changes, though they occurred at this time, did so, as mere historical accidents. But what is surprising is that most of these features came into the picture quite early in Mr. Bunker's regime.

A slight clue to what was coming may be found in a somewhat trifling incident that occurred early in 1938. A body called the "Student Council" had existed in an anaemic fashion for ten years already. It was now revived, given charge of discipline among boys and the duty of acting as a liaison agency between the students and Faculty. It consisted of representatives from the First Form upwards. What was characteristic of the new regime was that in the very first photograph of the Student Council taken after its revival, Mr. Bunker is seen standing unnoticed in a corner—a thing inconceivable in the time of Mr. Bicknell. Though a slight clue, it was a definite clue to what was coming on.

It is natural that the differences between the central figures of the two regimes should be reflected in the administrative machinery. We shall see how radical they were.

The Act that incorporated us in 1894 put the College under a certain body of persons called the "Board of Directors", who would form a "body politic for the purpose of effectually transacting all affairs of the said College". That is, the management of the College was put in the hands of the Board of Directors.

There is a long schedule attached to the Incorporation Ordinance; and there the Principal's function is confined to his concern with teaching. The Board was the body whose duty it was to administer the affairs of the College. It cannot be said that Mr. Bicknell reversed the roles; for he never let the Directors have anything to do with teaching; but there is no doubt that in his time the administration of the College which had been assigned to the Board by the Ordinance was in his own hands.

The situation arose owing to certain definite reasons. In the first place, the Board was a self-perpetuating body. As we have pointed out earlier, a self-perpetuating body has a tendency to deteriorate and often does deteriorate, because the same Principal and the same Board are seeing each other all the time and an amicable agreement springs up between them. Also, vacancies that arise are usually filled up by the Principal's nominees; so in course of time the opinion of the Board is simply the opinion of the Principal.

In the second place, the Board met only once a year (except in special cases) and members could hardly be expected to remember what exactly had happened a year previously. Judging from what was the practice in other contexts, even the Secretary probably compiled his minutes a year after the events had happened; and that was when the next meeting was due. So the Board would think it had done its duty by sanctioning what was put before it at any meeting.

In the third place, one is not sure of what the Executive Committee was doing in Mr. Bicknell's time. There is usually a record of its appointment each year; but there is no record of its doings. There was no one to bring up new business and no one to watch what was going on, besides the Principal himself.

Nobody challenged this method of doing things; and nobody could. So the system had continued. But once the masterful personality round whom the system had revolved disappeared from the scene, things were bound to change,

During the interregnum, Mr. T. Oppenheim had given notice of a constitutional change regarding the length of service any member could put in. On 10th July 1938 he duly moved that:

“No elected member of the Board of Directors, whether elected under Article 4 or 6, shall be eligible to serve for more than two terms as a member of the Board. In application, the current terms of members shall be considered their first terms.”

The reference is to terms and not years; and therefore, it does not mean that every person could serve for six years thereafter. If a person had served for two years of his term already, he could have four more years to serve; and therefore, the first vacancy on the Board, under this rule, would occur in 1942. And, of course, there would have been a complete change at the end of six years. Also, new members could come in within the period owing to other reasons.

At the same meeting Mr. J. V. Chelliah gave notice of a motion that the Board should hold a Semi-Annual Meeting late in the Second Term. This was passed at the Annual Meeting of the following year. This meant that the Board would have a sufficient number of things to discuss and decide upon twice a year. Things which had formerly been done without any reference to the Board would now come to constitute the agenda.

Another change made about this time was that hereafter the Mission that was ceasing to be fully American should give two out of the seats to which it was entitled to members of the Church Council. The Church Council was a power to be reckoned with now; and the introduction of its members would take the Board a long way from what it had been.

What gave reality to the new status of the Board was the fact that Minutes began to be typewritten. The first meeting of which the Minutes were typewritten were oddly enough those of January 9th 1937, which passed the vote of condolence on the death of Mr. Bicknell. It is not that typewriters had not been available earlier; in fact, Mr. Bicknell had hammered out

everything on an old typewriter. It just had not occurred to members that Minutes of the Board should be typed. Now their eyes were opened to the possibilities of typewritten Minutes. On the 16th of October the same year it was decided that typewritten copies of the Minutes should be circulated among members. Hereafter, the members could have in their hands an exact record of what had happened at previous meetings, could themselves ask questions about them and consider further suggestions.

At the meeting of January 1938 it was decided that the Principal should give an Annual account of his Income and Expenditure. The Incorporation Ordinance requires that this should be done; but the fact that such accounts are not recorded in the Minutes and the fact that a resolution had to be passed on the subject in 1938 make it evident that this had ceased to be a practice. It became also habitual hereafter for the Principal to give an account of his general administration to the Board. This no doubt would be different from the literary documents to which the public was treated at Prize Givings.

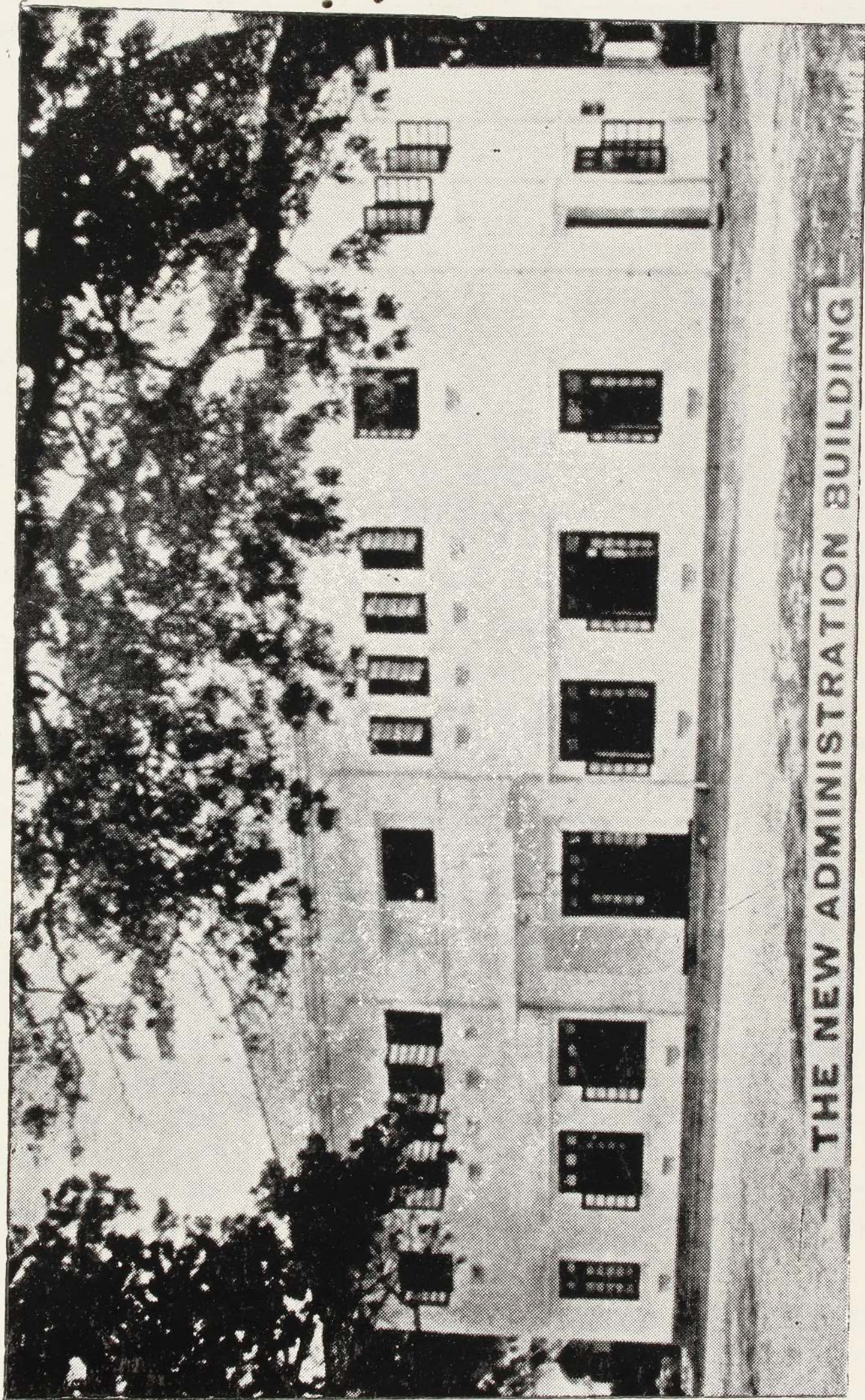
Another significant development generated by the new atmosphere is that the Executive Committee of the Board now ceased to be a name and became a reality. In the days of the meagre hand-written Minutes also it had existed. But whether it did anything is unknown. Probably it met once between meetings of the Board and was consulted on a few topics. Now it began to meet often—too often it seems to me—and its decisions were also in typescript and were circulated to members.

The sum total of the changes that had come over the procedure is that hereafter no Principal could be a despot. What is curious about it is that these changes should have come about exactly when a new Principal had come into power, who could never have harboured the slightest wish to be despotic. It may be said that they came about because of that very reason. Earlier, such changes might have been difficult to introduce. Now it became possible to put the rights of the Board in detail on a constitutional basis; and no Principal in

the future could afford to disregard them. After these changes in the late thirties the Minutes of the Board read like those of the present time. Things were decided by the Board. The variety and range were the same as now.

There were also other factors which we said were associated with the new regime; and these were not due to the differences in character between the two Principals, but to historical accidents. One of these was Mr. Bunker's residence. More or less, everyone who thinks of Mr. Bunker thinks of him as always, living in the house south of the Cathedral now occupied by the Bishop. But his going in there was an accident. The Principal of the College had always lived in the house now occupied by the present Principal; Mr. Bicknell had died in it. Now, however, after Mr. Bicknell's death, Mr. and Mrs. Lockwood were living in it. It would not have done to push them out; so it was decided to build a house on the foundations of the "American Guest House", which had been lying uncared for. Who decided? If formerly the Principal could be despotic, it would look as if now others also could be. Chiefly it was Dr. W. Jameson (then Superintendent of Green Hospital) who conceived the plan. Work on it went on furiously and so Mr. and Mrs. Bunker were able to go into occupation of it on 4th June 1938. There was no ceremony, religious or otherwise, to mark the occasion.

Two more of these features associated with the Bunker regime should be mentioned now: the opening of the Bicknell Playing Fields and the opening of the new Administration Block. In Mr. Bicknell's time Football had been played on the Brown field, which was good enough for just that one purpose and for nothing more; Cricket had been played in the space between the road and the present Administration Block; this had not been satisfactory at all. So as we had seen earlier, Mr. Bicknell had bought some land covering a little more than 100 lachams (16 lachams = 1 acre) of paddy fields east of the grave yard and was getting it filled up. It was ready to be used two years after he had been in his grave and was opened by Miss L. G. Bookwalter, Principal of the Uduvil Girls' School on 28th of January **1939** at 4.30 p. m.



The Administration Block when opened in 1939

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The other of these features is the Administration Block. Everybody who had been here in Mr. Bicknell's time had been used to seeing him in the spacious room which formed the southern end of a long low roofed building, working away on his typewriter, with Mr. S. S. Sanders in the background. When exactly its substitution by a new building was first contemplated it seems to be difficult to find out. But in March 1938 it had been decided to destroy the old building.

The old building had come down to us from the 17th century. It had been the residence of the Dutch clergymen when they ventured out on their periodical visits to baptise and solemnize marriages in this area. For in the intervals they left the propagation of the gospel to the local vernacular teachers they themselves came only to perform ecclesiastical functions. That house had harboured the earliest missionaries and even in Mr. Bicknell's time, except for his office, it had been the residence of subsidiary missionaries.

The New Administration Block, that is, the present one that you see, was opened on 26th September 1939, by Mr. J. V. Chelliah. He was the proper person to do it, as he was a bridge between the old regime and the new, for he was Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors.

Other things were also, of course, going on during the time. In the field of Sports we were holding our own; V. G. George was setting up records in Pole Vault and annexing the Parson's Challenge Cup. 1938 was the third year in which he had repeated his achievement in succession: and in Athletics we were declared Joint-Champions along with St. Patrick's. (At the Annual Prize Giving in July 1938 Sir Baron Jeyatilake had been the chief speaker. At the Prize Giving in March this year Professor C. Suntharalingam was the chief speaker. As far as the Staff was concerned, Mr. C. C. Kanapathipillai, who had gone as Head Master of Tellippalai came back and rejoined our staff in 1939.

At the end of 1939 the Directors decided to take seriously the common shibboleth uttered by Prize Day speakers about, "going back to the land". According to the old Economists

land was the source of all wealth; and even according to modern knowledge it accounts for most of it; but whether it is for a Secondary School to venture on agriculture is another matter. But the Board of Directors on 25th November 1939 decided to risk Rs. 1,500/- on a farming project: it was, of course, a substantial sum in those days.

I have been dealing with the changes that resulted because of the new regime and with certain features that have been associated with it but which were incidental occurrences that synchronised with it. But I have not finished with all the features associated with the new regime; in fact, the most important is yet to come.

We have paid a lot of attention to administrative changes, but the life of an Educational Institution is much deeper than mere administration. In 1939 there occurred a change, which was but a prelude to further changes along the same line, that involved a radical departure from the system with which, it would seem, Missionary education is fundamentally connected. In 1939 an Ordinance entitled "Ordinance No. 31 of 1939" was passed and the particular section we are concerned with was called "The Conscience Clause."

This clause forbade the authorities of a school to compel any student to attend any service of worship or ceremony belonging to any religion that was not his own or attending any class of instruction in any religion except his own, without the express permission of his parents. This was resented by the Christian Missions as an undue interference with the natural and normal form of running a school; and on the other hand, it caused much rejoicing in the opposite camp as a blow struck at the very roots of Christian education. Both these were natural reactions at that time.

This clause was to be worked upon later and the teaching of the religion to which a student belonged was to be made compulsory. Here we are concerned with the Conscience Clause of 1939.

It cannot be denied that the hands of Christian Missionaries were dyed deep with the blood of education; throughout

the 19th and early 20th centuries they had been the chief educators of the country; and the conducting of classes in Christian scripture and of services of Christian worship had been an invariable feature of that education. In seeking to find the impact of the Conscience Clause on Christian schools, it is good to ask why Christian Missions had involved themselves so deeply in education. There were three reasons:

In the first place (as the present writer said in his Prize Day Address at the College in 1963), the American Missionaries were children of the "Enlightenment"; that is, of the 18th century movement in Europe that went back to the Greeks for its inspiration. Socrates, the Greek thinker, had said that right knowledge led to right action. This had been misinterpreted in the 18th century; and the early American Missionaries believed that the existence of non-Christian religions was due to Ignorance and that once they put up schools and disseminated knowledge they would dispel Ignorance and people would forthwith become Christians. But this belief had two defects about it:

- (a) The knowledge of a subject could lead to right action only in that field. The dissemination of a knowledge of History, Geography, Mathematics, etc., would not necessarily induce the minds of students to embrace Christianity.
- (b) The existence of non-Christians religions cannot be equated with ignorance, but has to be equated with a different kind of Faith; and, therefore, the dissemination of knowledge in general may steep students more deeply in their own faiths.

In the second place, the Christian Missions had involved themselves in education because they believed that it was a valid and necessary expression of the spirit and purpose of their religion. In this respect, there was no ulterior motive. In establishing a hospital they do not expect to make the patients Christians. They simply think that it is their duty to heal. They thought that teaching was their necessary duty.

And the third reason for the Missionaries putting up Schools is that they were pestered with requests from every part of the land to do it. It may be remembered that when the Seminary was closed down in 1855, it was the public of Jaffna that clamoured for its resuscitation. Jaffna, after all, is not very big and there have been three Protestant Missions working in it (apart from the Roman Catholics). But as early as 1848 the American Mission alone had 16 English schools and 105 Vernacular schools in Jaffna. This was due to the entreaties of the people.

We have seen the reason for the engagement of Christian Missions in education. Now that the dust of controversy stirred up by the "Conscience Clause" of 1939 has disappeared, what may be said to have been the effect of the clause on the causes which had made the missionaries to run Schools? In the first place, by 1939 the belief of the Missionaries themselves in educational evangelism had died down. In regard to the second reason, we had become aware of the rising consciousness that education was the business of Government. And as for the third, after 1924, the Missions were no longer pestered by people to start schools.

Quite a few of the matters which we have spoken about just now as factors associated with the new regime merely synchronised with it. But the event we shall now deal with is part of that regime and an essential part. Mr. K. A. Selliah, as we found earlier, had left for England at the end of the second term in 1936. In England he had spent one year in the Imperial College of Science, London, and devoted the second year to the study of the Science of Education in the London University and had obtained a First Class in the final Diploma. He had come back at the end of 1938.

In our comparison and contrast between Mr. Bicknell and Mr. Bunker, we said Mr. Bicknell never wanted a colleague, while Mr. Bunker wanted one badly. The one could not have got on with a colleague or partner; the other could not have got on without one. Mr. Bunker had had his eyes on Mr. Selliah for a year and finally pinned him down. On 25th November 1939 the Board appointed him Vice-Principal.

The old clauses relating to the Vice-Principal and Principal still stood: (1) that the duties of the Vice-Principal would consist of what were assigned to him from time to time by the Principal. (2) that he would have an *ex officio* place on the Board. Mr. Bicknell was given a *de jure* colleague in 1923 but he hardly assigned to him any administrative duties, except when he was on furlough once. Mr. Bunker would have assigned to his Vice-Principal almost anything. From November 1939 till the middle of 1966, it was not the Bunker regime but the Bunker-Selliah regime, not merely in name but in fact.

Each supplemented the other. Mr. Bunker supplied the moral grandeur and prestige, as the successor to the great line of Missionaries starting with Daniel Poor and coming through E. P. Hastings and John Bicknell, and the cultural glamour of the best Western Universities. He presided over the whole enterprise with an air of good-humoured and an easy and effortless humanity. Mr. Selliah did all the work that needed to be done.

All the elements required for his work Mr. Selliah possessed to the fullest degree. In the first place, he was devoted to the interests of the College, and was steeped in them practically to the exclusion of anything else. One day when he had to fill up a form giving his wife's full name, he had to send home to find it out. Even now, after years of retirement, he has scarcely any other topic of conversation, except the College.

Secondly, he loved work, loved to attend to all the details it entailed. Perhaps, a fault in his attitude was that he could not distinguish between work of major importance and that of minor importance. As the present writer mentioned in his speech at the Farewell given to him years later, when Mr. Selliah saw a cow walking across the ground in front of the Administration Block, it was to him what the German armies walking through Kent or Sussex would have been to Winston Churchill in 1941. Mr. Selliah loved every phase and every detail of his work: the assignment of classes to teachers, their supervision and the scrutiny of all College expenses.

In the third place, the secret of his success was his friendliness towards the teachers and his interest in the students. There was no wedding or funeral among relatives of the Staff or students which he did not attend. He does it, even now, to the best of his ability. So much liked did he become by one and all, that no teacher could withhold his co-operation; and the parents would do his slightest wish.

The partnership of the two was most successful and lasted for 26 years. But the success that resulted from the partnership depended not merely on the fact of the partnership as such, but on the very able, willing and enthusiastic Staff behind it. There were hardy veterans to handle each of the important subjects besides, of course, those who could fortunately turn their hands to anything. It must also be said that circumstances, as we shall see, also played into our hands. Altogether, this period, taken all in all, is undoubtedly the most shining chapter in our whole history. Never had the College attracted more attention and admiration than during these years.

We have called the closing years of this decade "The Twilight of a New Dawn". The dawn was to grow more and more into the fulness of a more perfect day in the coming years.

IV

AN EVENTFUL DECADE

(THE FORTIES)

THE FACULTY IN 1940

- Rev. S. K. Bunker, B. A., B. D., B. Litt. (Oxon.), *Principal*
Mr. K. A. Selliah, B. SC. (Lond.), Dip. Ed., *Vice Principal*
Mr. D. S. Sarders, B. A. 1st Class Trained
Mr. A. C. Sundrampillai, B. sc.
Mr. M. I. Thomas, M. A.
Mr. C. O. Elias, B. A.
Mr. K. A. George, M. A.
Mr. S. T. Jeevaratnam, B. SC. (Lond.)
Mr. L. S. Kulathungam, B. A. (Lond.)
Mr. K. E. Mathiaparanam, B. A. (Lond.)
Mr. L. S. Williams, B. sc.
Mr. S. H. Perinbanayagam, B. A. (Lond.)
Mr. E. C. Lockwood, M. A.
Mr. C. A. Gnanasegaram, B. A. (Lond.)

STAFF

- Mr. M. Rajasundram, B. SC. (Hons.—Lond.)
Mr. K. V. George, B. A.
Mr. R. Stuart Wright, M. A.
Mr. W. L. Jeyasingham, B. SC. (Lond.)
Mr. A. M. Brodie 1st Class Trained
Mr. C. R. Wadsworth „ „ „
Mr. C. C. Kanapathipillai „ „ „
Mr. D. S. Devasagayam „ „ „
Mr. E. J. J. Niles „ „ „
Mr. C. S. Ponnuthurai „ „ „
Mr. P. W. Ariaratnam „ „ „
Mr. S. A. Visvalingam 2nd Class Trained
Mr. T. P. H. Arulampalam Man'l. Training Certificate
Mrs. L. C. Williams
Mrs. E. G. David
Mr. K. Sellaiah (*Librarian*)

We have listed the Staff as it was at the beginning of 1940. There were 18 Graduates and 8 First Class Trained Teachers. The new-comers were Mr. Stuart Wright (American) and Mr. W. L. Jeyasingham. The number of students, including those in the Post Matriculation and Inter Classes, stood at 636. As the decade progresses, we shall find a startling increase in the number of both the Staff and the students. This may be attributed in part to the occurrences both internal and external that happened during the period, but more generally to the atmosphere that came to prevail in what was perhaps the most eventful decade in our history.

In Europe a War had broken out in 1939 between Germany, on the one hand, and England and France on the other. However, nothing was happening on the War Front for many months; and for that reason it was called the period of 'phoney (bogus) War'. Hitler was preparing and the Allies were wondering. Anyway, we were not disturbed. In May 1940, however, things began to happen; but even after that, for two years when Britain was fighting for her very life, though our ideological sympathies were mostly with the Allies—because nobody approved of Hitler's aims or methods—the War was to us a distant event.

In the College, the year opened quietly and peacefully; but two new facts had come into being. The first was that after nearly five years there was now a Vice Principal; but two interesting, if not important, points may be noted about this fact. The first point is that, whereas Mr. J. V. Chelliah's appointment had been greeted with a fervour, amounting to frenzy, Mr. K. A. Selliah's appointment to the same position did not create the slightest stir. Times had changed. The second point was that the powers of the Vice-Principal, if they had existed then, were nominal; the powers of the Vice-Principal now were real. The persons (i. e. the Principals) had changed.

The second new fact about the new situation that had come into being was that, whereas in Mr. Bicknell's time the Board had existed only in name, now it had become the real power that governed the College. As we have seen, this is what the

Incorporation Ordinance envisaged. And there is enough evidence to show that before Mr. Bicknell's time the Board did count; but in those days there were Missionaries who could stand up to the Principal. In Mr. Bicknell's time the Board had become a mere shadow. With his passing, and a different type of a Principal and a different type of members coming in, the Board ceased to be a name and became reality. This change had come to stay.

In 1940 with the consciousness of its newly acquired power the Board seems to have been somewhat over-anxious to exert its rights. The Executive Committee, which hardly counted for anything in Mr. Bicknell's time met three times between the beginning of the year and the Annual Meeting in February. The doings at each meeting are duly recorded.

The Board's newly acquired consciousness of its rights seems to have been a salutary experience, because under the influence of that consciousness, the Board set up a pattern of relationship between the academic side and itself from which deviation would be impossible. The Principal had to submit a report of work every year and the accounts for the preceding year; and the Budget for the coming year had to be passed by the Board. And of course, the Board would meet twice each year.

The new partnership between the Principal and Vice Principal started with a good academic record behind it. The results of the Intermediate exams had boosted our morale. Five out of the eight candidates presented had passed. This naturally attracted a sizeable contingent to the Inter Classes, and before the end of 1940 there were 50 in the Junior Inter Classes and 30 in the Senior Classes. The general results were also good.

In the field of Sports about this time, our achievements were so spectacular that we have not ceased to boast about them even after the lapse of forty years. This was after K. V. George's feats in Field events for the three previous years in succession; his brothers were now catching up with him. Even the Principal in his Prize Day report commented on the intimate relationship between the achievements of a school in Studies and Sports.

The Annual Prize Giving took place on the 1st of March, Mr. E. L. Bradby, Principal of Royal College, being the Chief Guest. Mr. Bunker reported that he had now 636 students on the roll which number was 40 more than had been reached ever before. This was a sign of the increasing confidence placed in us by the public.

A significant action on our part may be noted. Those were the days of Ceylonese nationalism; by which is meant the aspiration of all races and communities in the Island to form one united nation. As a result of this spirit, we engaged a Sinhalese Teacher to teach the Sinhalese language to our students. To start with, the study of this language was confined to the Forms I and II, but we were progressively to introduce it into the higher forms. So genuine was our effort and that of other schools in Jaffna in the matter, that later (in 1952), when the Prime Minister of the time visited Jaffna, he could say that our students spoke better Sinhalese than the Sinhalese students themselves in the South. The spirit behind the effort was then considered an act of high statesmanship on our part.

The Editor of the "Miscellany" was, however, wise enough to sound a note of caution; he said that this represented only one side of the bargain and that the other party should also make a similar response. That response was never made; and the whole concept of Ceylonese nationalism was to be later stamped out and another concept of nationalism to be set up instead. But we had acted up to the highest insight that we then had.

So high was the spirit of Ceylonese nationalism then, that one of our young teachers thought that spirit necessarily demanded an anti-British attitude in all matters; and at the very time when the position of the British seemed utterly desperate in Europe, launched an all-out attack on the British War effort. This was to be more "royalist than the king", for when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had visited Britain in 1938, he had said that Britain's unwillingness to fight Hitler showed her utter unworthiness to be a great world-power. The Executive Committee of the Board made haste to disown the views of the teacher and got an undertaking from him not to indulge in such irresponsibility thereafter.

In October of the year 1940 the Executive Committee of the Board decided to purchase the Palmyrah grove in the south eastern corner of the Bicknell field. This now provides part of the site of the Pavilion. But at that time the act was probably not due to any thought of a Pavilion but to a desire to eliminate the scragginess of the southern boundary line of the field. Altogether now the Bicknell field covers an acreage of 112 lachams.

During the year we sent Mr. K. E. Mathiaparanam for his M. A. in Tamil at the Annamalai University. In the field of Sports we just missed the Championship by losing the match against St. Patrick's in a "ding-dong" match. In Foot ball we were Joint Champions with St. Patrick's.

At the Annual Prize Giving in 1941, the Hon. Mr. G. C. S. Corea was the Chief Guest. The Principal reported that the number on the roll was more or less the same as that in the previous year; but the number of girls had increased and now stood at 19% of the total.

The Principal was not happy about the tendency that lay behind this. Parents, he said, were sending their girls to the nearest available school; we were not a co-educational school, offering equal facilities for both boys and girls. Therefore, it meant that the girls were joining a boys' school. The result would be that the ground was being cut under the Girls' Boarding Schools; and for another, that the girls were missing the "richness of curriculum and fullness of school-life which Girls' schools provided and which mixed and day schools either cannot or do not" offer.

This year (1941) our boys got the championship in Cricket by winning the match with St. Patrick's. The match with St. Patrick's is the real test for any school in Jaffna; for students look upon the players of St. Patrick's more or less as professionals in the matter; but for us, the match with St. Patrick's is not merely a game but a social event and the match is called "the Battle of the Golds", as their colours are gold and green and ours gold and red. At this social event we were glad to be on the winning side.

We have already referred to a statement of the Principal on the connection between Sports and Studies. This is a connection we stress only when it suits us. This year we could well afford to do it; for we had sent up 28 candidates for the London Matriculation exam and 24 of them passed. Even those unconvinced about the relationship between the two sides of a school's life could scarcely cavil now.

The Old Boys of Jaffna College have always been proverbial for their loyalty and keep up the promise that they made at school when singing the College Song: "Wherever we roam, our College Home, We always hold most dear". But they had one grievance against us and that was that, though members of the Board of Directors were usually Old Boys, they were not in the Board as such; that is, the Old Boys were not directly or officially represented in the Board. So a delegation from them met the Board. The snag was that, ever since its foundation, it had been understood that membership of the Board should be Christian and the Constitution submitted to the Legislature had so laid it down. Nevertheless, the justice of their demand was accepted and the Board promised to amend the Constitution, as the Constitution was not part of the Incorporation Ordinance but merely attached to it.

The Board at its Annual Meeting also took another step which had become somewhat over due. We have already seen members of the Faculty being distinguished from other members and placed in a higher category in the enumeration of the staff. The duty of the Faculty was to advise the Principal in regard to matters of internal administration. It had till now consisted of graduates of at least a year's standing. Now, however, the number of graduates had become so large that a body so constituted could scarcely act as an effective administrative instrument. Therefore, the Board reconstituted it, so that thereafter it would consist of the Principal, the Vice-Principal, six graduates elected by the Staff and two by the Board. Though the composition of the Faculty has been frequently changed since then, the three basic principles of the reconstitution have remained: the standing of the ex-officio members, the smallness of the size and the elective principle.

The Bunkers had been away in India during the Second Term, to provide Mr. Bunker with an opportunity of studying Tamil. We are not sure that his knowledge of the language made any appreciable advance during the period; but he got back here in time for the biggest event on the Campus for the year.

We have seen how in the year 1923, the General Assembly of the South India United Church (S. I. U. C. for short) had held its meeting here. It was pointed out that the S. I. U. C. was constituted of eight Councils and that it held its General Assembly meetings only once in two years; and that therefore, its next meeting in a certain area after it had held it there once would occur only after the lapse of years. The turn of Jaffna had come once again and the meeting was scheduled for September 1941. Owing to the inconvenience of travel only a 100 delegates from India were present, though Constitutionally far more could have come.

There were, of course, quite a number of items in the agenda: but most of them were formal, because the Assembly had no administrative authority. So all attention was usually focussed on the Scheme of Church Union. Though in 1923 the Scheme seemed to have a good chance of going through easily, by 1941 it had been encountering rough weather. Two thirds of the Councils had to favour the scheme. Two Councils were dead set against it; while that made only one-fourth and not even one-third of the total number, what complicated the problem was that the Jaffna Council refused to enter the Union leaving the other two behind; this greatly heartened the opponents of the Scheme. And some members of the two Councils which were stoutly against the Scheme could raise one objection after another. So the discussion was high-spirited and vehement.

The Rev. G. H. M. Marsden, Principal of Scott College, Nagercoil, was the President. Mr. J. V. Chelliah, who had been one of the chief protagonists of the Scheme, though a delegate from Jaffna, took hardly any part. The Rev. J. J. Banninga, who had been Secretary of the Joint Committee of Negotiations for many years, was appearing on the platform for the last time.

The Jaffna Council gave a Garden Party in honour of the delegates. The Government Agent of Jaffna welcomed them on behalf of the public. The party was enlivened by dances and songs and the Indian delegates were highly pleased. The arrangements for the function were in the hands of Mr. P. W. Ariaratnam, who for many years was usually in charge of such matters.

During the same month the Brotherhood put on the stage an English drama entitled "Poothathamby", written by Mr. J. V. Chelliah, embodying all the distortion current in the Tamil legend that had grown round a true event that had happened in the 17th century, when the Dutch snatched power in Jaffna from the Portuguese. It was staged again on the 1st of November, this time in Colombo, under the patronage of Sir John and Lady Tarbat and won golden opinions from everyone. A mention of the Dramatis personae may be interesting, as all of them were with us till recently and some are with us even now.

Poothathamby	—	Selvadurai Rajaratnam
Alagavalli	—	K. J. Chelvarajan
Andrado	—	R. Thavarajah
Commandeur	—	Sanders Arulrajasingham
Baldaeus	—	Joseph George

At the end of September Mr. S. R. Beadle, who for 21 years had looked after our Boarding Department, retired. His tall, spare figure, walking about the Campus, with his closed umbrella, had been such a familiar sight that it seemed a pity that he should no longer be with us. But we were spared that necessity by his taking on work in another capacity on the Campus.

As we were peacefully bringing our academic year to a close, we were suddenly plunged into the marginal area of the mighty cataclysm that was soon to engulf the whole of the Eastern hemisphere. During the World War I, except for the brief episode of the cruiser "Emden" on the Indian Ocean we had been left alone; this time we were not to be so fortunate.

On the 7th of December 1941, while the Japanese delegates were still in Washington negotiating a treaty of friendship with America, without any declaration of war, the Japanese aeroplanes suddenly attacked and completely destroyed the American Pacific Navy, based at Pearl Harbour in the Hawaiian Islands. Thereafter, the Japanese forces were free to overrun all lands lying South: the Pacific Islands, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaya and Burma. The Allies were deprived of their source of rubber in Indonesia and Malaya and their supply route to Australia had come under imminent threat. We were deprived of all contact with our kinsfolk in Malaya; and our chief source of supply of rice and oil, which was Burma, was also now out of bounds. We had come into the war zone all right and had to suffer all consequent hardships as long as the War lasted.

On the 31st of January **1942**; the Rev. R. C. P. Welch died suddenly. The event belongs more appropriately to the history of the Church, in which he had been an outstanding figure for many years. But he had also been closely connected with the College and had been on the Board of Directors from 1923 and would probably have been the one person who did not oblige Mr. Bicknell with his permanent assent to his suggestions. In the Christian community at large his passing created a great void.

During 1942, the proposal of Mr. T. Oppenheim about a Sabbatical year in Board membership began to operate; and naturally the first persons to be affected would be the most important members of the Board. Accordingly, with the Annual Meeting Mr. J. V. Chelliah had to stand down for a year. Mr. K. Balasingham thought it best to terminate his somewhat tenuous connexion altogether.

Mr. Balasingham had been Chairman of the Board continuously from 1920; nor had his connexion started only then. He had been a student here himself and had been a classmate of Mr. J. V. Chelliah in the early nineties; and his father Wyman Kathiravelpillai had been one of the most brilliant products of the Seminary. Mr. Balasingham had established himself in legal practice in Colombo. So outstanding were his gifts, that before

the introduction of electoral representation, he had for years been one of the two members representing the Tamils in the Legislative Council; and so well had he acquitted himself in his role, that he had been made a member of the Executive Council also. With all the calls on his time made by his legal and political duties, he must have felt the need to attend our Board meetings increasingly difficult and was probably glad to retire gracefully when the opportunity came; so gracefully did he want to do it, that he did not even want to be present when the rule started operating and kept away from the Annual Meeting of 1942. His connection with us had been tenuous but it had certainly conferred honour on us while it lasted.

In the world outside, the Japanese had occupied Malaya; but there was a distance of 1577 miles of the Indian Ocean between us and Malaya. So it seemed that there was no need for undue worry. Then it happened. As Christian congregations were coming out of churches in Colombo on Easter morning (1942), they found an unusual bustle on the streets. The Japanese planes were bombing the jetty. Fortunately, a reconnaissance plane had warned the authorities earlier of the approach of the Japanese Navy, and Sir Geoffrey Layton, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief sometime earlier, threw the few planes he had into the fray and put up an impressive show. Four days later there was another attack, this time on the Naval installations in Trincomalee; this was also duly met.

The natural conclusion that people drew from these raids was that a Japanese invasion was inevitable. So there was a large-scale exodus from Colombo to other parts of the Island and school-going children accompanied their parents. Every school in Jaffna had its quota of evacuee children; ours was about 50. Air raid shelters sprang up everywhere and all students were taught the elements of air-raid precautions. The College itself put up Air Raid shelters.

Rumours began to filter through of the brutal treatment meted out by the Japanese to all white men. So on the 10th of April, the Executive Committee of the Board appointed

Mr. K. A. Selliah Principal and Treasurer for the time-being letting Mr. Bunker know that his continued presence in the Island would be decidedly inconvenient for him.

This action and all other action we took in anticipation of a Japanese invasion seemed panicky to some, as through the rest of the War it so happened that no such invasion did indeed materialise. But it is only now that it is revealed what a serious view the British authorities took of the matter. For in a recently published book ("Japanese Assault on Ceylon—1942" by Michael Tomlinson) it is revealed that when Winston Churchill was asked what was to him the most fearful moment of the War; Germany's entry into Poland, Rommel's victory in Egypt or the fall of Singapore. He said "No, it was the advance of the Japanese Fleet to Ceylon; for with the capture of Ceylon we would have lost control of the Indian Ocean and would have been ringed round".

It is now obvious how Sir Geoffrey Layton's gamble had paid off. The life line of the Japanese was already stretched too far; the limit was almost being reached and they had wanted to see whether they could take Ceylon also in before the limit was reached. The show that Sir Geoffrey Layton, with his slender resources, had put up so impressed them that they decided that it was time to stop.

But Geoffrey Layton could not guess that the Japanese had withdrawn permanently, and true to a Commander's responsibility, never relaxed his vigil. His Coast Guards kept him informed of all shipping movements round the Island and his search-lights pierced the night almost to the end of the War. The country was on a war-footing all through; rationing of all articles was in operation; and military vehicles running up and down the roads were a common sight.

In spite of the perilous situation that prevailed during the early months of 1942, the Lockwoods decided to go on their furlough. Not all who embarked on distant voyages at this period reached their destination; but the Lockwoods did and lived to come back to us, to retire and live long enough in their own country.

It is a sobering thought that while wars, which are recorded in history books as the chief events during certain periods, were going on, mankind also has had time for other things. Perhaps this was easier in earlier periods when wars were fought by professional soldiers and did not engage the total energies of the nations concerned. In modern times when everybody is concerned when a war is on, it may look strange that a large-scale operation outside the war effort should be launched anywhere in the sphere of the war. Perhaps that such an operation should be launched in Ceylon may be explained by the fact that we were not in the vortex of the war, but only on the margin.

When it was decided that Ceylon should have a University of its own instead of a University College, affiliated to London, there was considerable debate as to what kind of a University it should be. The State Council had decided that it should be residential and run on the pattern of Oxford and Cambridge and that it should be sited at Peradeniya, near Kandy. So Professor Marrs, Principal of the University College, who was on the other side in the controversy, finding his counsels rejected, resigned and went away and in 1941 was succeeded by Sir Ivor Jennings, who had earned great fame as a writer on Constitutional matters.

Sir Ivor was not merely a scholar, but a man of determination and energy. He knew the difficulties of setting up a University during war time; but he decided that, all difficulties notwithstanding, the University should be set up and persuaded the authorities to take up the matter. So on the 9th of June 1942 "The Ceylon University Ordinance, No. 20 of 1942" went on the Statute book. The task of shifting a University from one site to another and giving it shape, form and content, as a higher institution of learning would, of course, take a little time. But once a thing had become law, implementation could be expected to follow.

Where did the establishment of a University of this nature leave the Jaffna student? The proposed University was 200 miles away from his home; it was residential and therefore

expensive; and Sir Ivor had made it clear that he would also be very strict in regard to admissions. Both these factors made it clear that the prospects for higher studies were rather bleak, as far as Jaffna students were concerned.

In the meantime, at Jaffna College in the London Matriculation exam out of 47 candidates presented 27 had passed, 7 in the First Division. And what was more important was that in the Inter Science exam 2 out of 5 had passed and in the Inter Arts 8 out of 9 had passed. It is not strange, therefore, that the question whether we should not do something to help out the Jaffna students in their higher studies should occur to us. It is not clear when the subject first came before the Board as there is no early reference to the matter in the Board Minutes either. However, the Principal in his "Notes" in the Miscellany at the time (1942) considers whether we did not have a responsibility in the matter; the question, was therefore beginning to be a live issue.

In view of the ever present possibility of Japanese intrusion the continued presence of Missionaries in the Island was a problem which had to be faced. In the case of Mr. Stuart Wright, the Government or he himself solved it for us. Working in the (A. R. P.) Air Raid Precaution Office in Jaffna, in his correspondence with one of his relatives in the U. S. A. he had described in detail all the conditions around him. A strict censorship was prevailing at the time and the Principal was asked to send him off immediately; which was done in October 1942.

Hardly any of the Missionaries working under the American Ceylon Mission were now staying behind. The Lockwoods, as we have seen, had left already, the Bunkers oscillated between here and India; and in July 1942, the Board had given Mr. Bunker permission to stay on in India till October. During his various periods of absence in India. he found the College was still carrying on satisfactorily; and he began to wonder whether his participation in the administration from the position he occupied was really necessary.

So before a Special meeting of the Board on 28th November, 1942, he put forward the proposal that he should withdraw into the background and be a kind of "Provost" (that

is, more or less, a Patron), a post in certain of the Public Schools in England established in bygone centuries; and that the Vice Principal should be made the Principal and run the College. The proposal no doubt revealed a rare degree of large-heartedness and generosity of mind. But it also revealed his total unawareness of what his Principalship meant to the College, of the status conferred on it by its being under a cultured and benevolent Missionary, whose conduct was not governed by Departmental regulations and did not come up for consideration of the Ceylon Head Masters' Conference.

Hardly any Principal had ever been in a more unenviable position before the Board of Management of his own Institution than Mr. Bunker on that day. One member of the Board, in particular, subjected him to about 20 minutes of absolutely withering invective. The Board would not look at his proposal; and he was told that if he found any of his duties particularly irksome he could devolve it on somebody else, but that the Board would hold him solely responsible for the administration of the College.

Though special meetings are held to consider a special subject, by common consent of members, other subjects of pressing importance are also often taken up. And the extra subject that was taken up at this meeting may cause some surprise to most of my readers. The present generation that is accustomed to such a tremendous concentration on the "Bio-Sciences" may imagine that the teaching of these subjects in Jaffna has a long history. Chemistry (of some sort) seems to have been taught at Jaffna College even in the nineties of the last century, but the teaching of "Physical Sciences" i. e., Chemistry and Physics, was taken up in Jaffna schools only at the beginning of the second decade of this century. At the meeting of the Board on November 28th 1942 it was resolved that arrangements should be made to teach Botany and Zoology. Such a short history has the teaching of these subjects here had.

In 1942, two of the George brothers, Joseph and Kurien, upheld the tradition of outstanding achievement set up earlier

by their elder brother, V. G. George. Their performance was in regard to Hurdles and Hop-Step and Jump items. But we failed to get any championship.

Mr. Oppenheim's rule about a Sabbatical year had already begun to operate in the Board; and natural causes had also taken their toll. So the membership of the Board shows a decided change from the "obedient Senate" that had listened to Mr. Bicknell's laws. We are giving below the names of members present at the Annual Meeting **1943**. Some names may mean little to the present generation; but they are names of persons who had risen to eminence in many walks of life, who had a will of their own and could have given a good account of themselves in any discussion. The Principal, instead of being a dictator, had become the Executive Officer of the Board.

The following constituted the Board: T. Buell (Chairman) A. R. Subramaniam, J. C. Amarasingham, T. C. Rajaratnam, W. H. T. Bartlett. A. W. Nadarajah, W. P. A. Cooke, I. P. Thurairatnam, J. F. Ponnambalam, Miss. L. K. Clarke, Revs. S. Kulandran and G. D. Thomas and S. K. Bunker and Mr. K. A. Selliah (ex-officio).

After this meeting Messrs. T. Buell, A. R. Subramaniam and L. K. Clarke had to retire; and their places were taken by Messrs. R. O. Buell, J. V. Chelliah and Miss A. H. Paramasamy. Rev. D. T. Niles was also certainly a member of the Board at this time, though his name is missed out in the Minutes; because we find him in one of the Sub-Committees of the Board.

The Annual Prize Giving for 1943, was held on 26th February, the Rev. Fr. Peterpillai, Rector of St Joseph's College, Colombo, being the Chief Guest. The Principal in his Report revealed that the number on Roll had reached 685, of whom 147 were girls. Included in this number were students of the Inter classes, who amounted to 77.

In March of this year Mr. C. C. Kanapathipillai of our Staff died after a brief illness. He had come to us in 1927 from one of our Affiliated Schools and been made Supervisor

of the Lower School. In 1937 he had been sent to Tellipallai but had returned to us after two years. He was distinguished for his excessive stature, his extreme mildness and his passionate addiction to Daniel Jones, the phonetist. Daniel Jones whose book on the correct pronunciation and articulation of English words has now gone through about 77 editions and is still considered the final authority in such matters. Mr. Kanapathipillai was an ardent disciple of his even in those days. A Service of Thanksgiving was held in his memory on June 20th.

In the meantime, how were our Collegiate aspirations going on? My firm belief and vague recollection is that the project of undertaking Collegiate work had by now come into the Board. That the Minutes of the Board make no reference may be accounted for by the fact that the discussions were never conclusive. But my remembrance is that before a definite decision was made later, there had been prolonged and heated discussions on the subject for months. This was but natural before such an important and expensive step was undertaken.

The chief protagonist of the project was Mr. J.V. Chelliah. The chief point that weighed with him was, I think, the desire that the College should regain the status it had enjoyed when he was young. We had lost it through the accident of an Act of the Government of India; and here was a golden opportunity of regaining that status. And Mr. Chelliah had weighty support in his crusade.

The chief opponents of the scheme were D. T. Niles and myself. I cannot exactly recall the reasons why we fought so hard against it. Perhaps, we thought that the College, as it was, was geared to Secondary School work and was getting on well and that any attempt to take an extra load would prove an undue strain. That the Board did not come to a decision on the subject at that time was due to the procedural methods employed by that superlative tactician, D. T. Niles.

Looking back on those days, I find that there were good reasons why we need not have undertaken the project. In the first place, when we had undertaken Collegiate work in the last century there had been no one else to do it; even Government

had refused to undertake it. Now Government had established a University; why should we then compete with Government? Secondly, when we had done it earlier, we had done it within a definitely Christian framework; this had now become impossible. Thirdly, teaching up to the B. A. and B. Sc. level was a different proposition from teaching up to the Inter level. With a little more effort a Secondary School Staff could cope with Inter work; but doing B. A. and B. Sc. work required lecturers highly specialised in their subjects. A University devoted entirely to this kind of work could do it easily; could we with a Secondary School also to carry on, do it?

Early in October 1943 the news reached us of the death of Clara P. Brown, widow of the Rev. G. G. Brown (who had died in 1920). When Mr. Brown was Principal here, she had associated herself actively in his work and she is found in many of the pictures taken at the time. She was a benevolent presence in that regime. So devoted was she to the people of the land, that she stayed on in Jaffna for some years after her husband's death, continuing the Missionary work in which he had been engaged after he had ceased to be Principal here in 1915; and even after her return to America she had continued to take an interest in our people and kept up a steady correspondence with many of them till she passed away. A Service in her memory was held on October 24th.

The pace of events in the educational world of Ceylon was now beginning to quicken. On 6th November (1943) the Report of the Special Committee on Education (appointed by Government) burst upon the country. It was not the suddenness of the publication that caused us to use the term "burst" as the utterly revolutionary nature of its chief recommendation. The publication itself was not an unexpected event at all. The Committee had been sitting under an Ordinance passed in September 1939. Since then it had held 90 meetings. So long had its proceedings dragged on, that six members had for one reason or another resigned. So that the publication of the Report had long been expected, but not its content.

In this story of the College we shall be calling more than one event as having created modern Ceylon; but it always

takes more than one event to create a new order of things and each is a contributory factor of greater or less degree; and one such event was the revolutionary proposal contained in the Report that all education in the country from the Kindergarten through University should be free. Its bearing on our history cannot be exaggerated. The proposal was not a unanimous recommendation nor one to which the Committee had given long and careful consideration. It had been agreed almost from the outset that all education up to the VIII standard should be free. It was only at the 88th meeting of the Committee that this proposal was sprung upon members. Mr. F. R. Jayasuriya writing in the Government publication, "Education in Ceylon" (p. 653, Vol. II) says that when the proposal was brought up so great was the excitement that many threatened to walk out.

If the proposal was sprung as a surprise on members, who sprang it? It was the Minister of Education, Dr. C. W. W. Kannangara. It took others by surprise, but to him it was the culmination of a carefully thought-out and well planned scheme. It was "the expression of the driving passion of his life". He might have wanted free education for all, but that was not the driving passion of his life. That passion was to root out Christian Missionary influence, embodied in and wielded by the Denominational System. He knew that if Government paid all salaries and expenses in schools, the Denominational system would be doomed.

Why then did Mr. Kannangara not bring up his proposal earlier? He was waiting for a favourable opportunity. There was a global war going on; all the energies of Britain and her Empire were involved in it. When the fortunes of war were strongly against Britain or the issue seemed doubtful, to ask one of its Colonies to commit itself to the total expenditure on Education in the country would have seemed extremely unwise, if not positively outrageous.

But during the year 1943, the situation both in the West and the East had definitely turned in favour of the Allies. Rommel had been brought to his knees in Africa by Gen. Montgomery in one of the swiftest campaigns of the War

and Gen. Eisenhower had landed on the west coast of the Continent and was marching forward to meet Montgomery. In Italy Mussolini, Hitler's staunchest ally, had fallen. In the East, on the Pacific, the Americans had recovered from their initial disaster, had defeated the Japanese in two decisive battles and were now masters of the sea. So though our country was still on a war-footing, like most other countries, we could afford some post-war planning. Therefore, Dr. Kannangara's proposal, though far-reaching, could still look legitimate.

When the Committee's Report came to be signed, of the 17 members who still remained on it, 11 added riders on one point or another. Sir Ivor Jennings, a very important member held that the Committee had been tricked and refused to sign. But Mr. Kannangara's purpose had been served; his main proposal was before the country. It was now simply a question of time as to when it would come into force.

During the war years the prestige of the College had been growing steadily and while its strength could lead it to wonder whether it should not launch on further and bigger projects, it had also to do some heart-searching about its nature and fundamental purpose. The College had become highly popular and was attracting very many students, and the service it was performing was drawing a good deal of attention; but the question as to why it was performing it had receded into the background. The atmosphere was so rife with problems of the present and the immediate future, that there were many who felt that any thought about the ultimate goal was irrelevant and that we should continue to do our daily work and thus eventually become a secular community-institution.

The Aim of the College Defined

Mr. Bunker therefore, felt it his duty to set forth the purpose of the College beyond the possibility of any doubt. And at the Annual Meeting of the Board on 26th February **1944** made the following statement:

“We consider the College to be primarily a Christian Institution, founded to witness through its educational work to the Grace and Truth of God as revealed in Jesus

Christ. We give a general education to all children who come to the school. We do not give instruction in Christianity in the school except to Christians and others whom their parents wish to be so instructed; but we do aim to give the Christian interpretation of life in all our work. Within the limits of these terms, we welcome the support of friendly-disposed parents, being fully aware of how much of the success of the College in the past is due to the loyalty of the Non-Christian alumni and the confidence in the value of our instruction and atmosphere on the part of non-Christian parents."

It must be said that Mr. Bunker was answering a public question in private. But the Board was the governing body of the institution and it was just the body before which the governing principle of the institution should be clarified and defined.

Within the College a significant event during the year was the absence of an event. For more than 60 years the annual evangelistic expedition to Eluvaitivu, under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A., during the First Term of the year had been an important feature of College life. We have a little earlier seen how the Golden Jubilee of its commencement had been celebrated. This year the expedition did not take place at all; and this was not due to accident but to purpose. As the years had gone by the expedition had become anything but evangelistic. It had become not merely an empty formality but a farce. The Head Master of our school in the Island, who was our representative, had become a pillar of Hinduism (and I believe one of the Managers of the Hindu Temple there) and the Manager of the school on this side had ceased to be a Christian. In these circumstances, it was felt that the most Christian thing we could do about the expedition was to drop it.

The Semi Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors met on 16th June (1944); and the Directors had to come to a decision on a point which had been for some time engaging their attention as well as that of others, namely, the setting up of an Undergraduate Department. Those present were

Messrs. J. V. Chelliah (Chairman), T. Buell, W. P. A. Cooke, I. P. Thurairatnam, R. O. Buell, G. G. Crossette-Thambiah, K. A. Selliah, J. F. Ponnambalam (Secretary), Misses L. G. Bookwalter and A. H. Paramasamy and Revs. S. K. Bunker, D. T. Niles, S. S. Selvaratnam and S. Kulandran. Mr. Chelliah felt he could render greater service to his cause by temporarily vacating the chair and thus free himself from the need to hold the scales even.

It is recorded that after a lengthy discussion the following Committee was appointed to bring up its recommendations: Messrs J. V. Chelliah, I. P. Thurairatnam, K. A. Selliah, Miss L. G. Bookwalter and Revs. D. T. Niles and S. Kulandran.

They were asked to look into the following suggestions:

1. Founding a Collegiate Department on a National basis, in co-operation with men of all faiths.
2. Founding it on a "Union" basis, i. e., the three Protestant Missions working in Jaffna and running it on a Partnership basis.
3. Founding it by the Board of Directors of Jaffna College.

Whichever of the three suggestions was adopted, the Committee should make plans for an adequate staff; and the Secondary School was to be reorganised to make it consonant with the new development and become more effective.

Mr. Chelliah had won his fight; whichever of the suggestions was adopted, an Undergraduate Department was to be set up. And since the idea of an Institution on a national basis was fantastic and that of running it in conjunction with other Protestant Missions would involve almost insuperable difficulties, it was obvious that Jaffna College was going to undertake the project.

And undertaken it would be, though it would take another three years to do it. However we might assess the project now when we no longer have an Undergraduate Department, as a matter of history it would open up one of the most

brilliant periods in the life of the College. It was not merely that we would be able to send out a few graduates each year, but the very fact of an Institution teaching from A. B. to B. A. would be a unique phenomenon in the country. It would give such a tremendous prestige to the College that students from the most diverse backgrounds would begin to flock to us.

Soon after this meeting of the Board, the Bunkers left on furlough. It being war-time, sailings were infrequent and irregular and they had to wait in Bombay till August; they finally reached home in September. During Mr. Bunker's absence Mr. K. A. Selliah acted as Principal and Mr. D. S. Sanders as Vice-Principal.

During 1944 there were considerable changes on the Staff. During the first term Mr. C. A. Gnanasegaram, who had been with us for 14 years, left to join the Government Educational Service. He had taught English, Latin and similar subjects and had been the founding Editor of the "Young Idea", the student journal. Two new teachers were taken in, Messrs A. R. Abraham and C. R. Ratnasingham.

The highlight of the year was the function held on the occasion of the visit to the College on the 28th of July (1944) of Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, then Civil Defence Commissioner. The office he held at that time carried immense power. He was just under the Commander-in-Chief and was responsible for all the civilian side involved in the war effort. That we were able to get him at all was due to the accidental fact that Mr. K. Kanagaratnam, one of our most devoted Old Boys, was Sir Oliver's Assistant.

We were entertaining Sir Oliver to lunch and he was expected to arrive at 1 p. m. He arrived at 3 p. m., having been subjected to a number of unscheduled receptions on the way. So the lunch went on till 5 p. m. Since Mr. Bunker was away, Mr. K. A. Selliah presided. Responsible for Food control in the Island and finding himself before a table loaded with food, Sir Oliver was in a highly humorous mood.

Round the function the Old Boys, always on the lookout for important occasions with which to link their own doings, had woven their own celebrations. They held an Exhibition which had been opened the previous day by Mr. Kanagaratnam. On the evening of this day they held their Elocution Contests for students.

At the end of the Second Term (August 1944) the Staff sustained a severe blow. Mr. Handy Perinbanayagam left us for good. He was the chief person on whom Mr. Chelliah had banked, when he started his crusade for an Undergraduate Department. Latin, as a classical language, was compulsory for the Inter Arts and in the teaching of that subject Mr. Perinbanayagam had few equals. Once he had presented 18 students for that exam and all the 18 had passed, surely an achievement that was hard to parallel.

When Mr. Perinbanayagam signified his intention to the authorities they tried various inducements to make him stay back. But he had ceased to be a Christian and there was nothing to hold him back; and his mind was set on becoming a political figure.

If the College had depended on Mr. Perinbanayagam a good deal, it was a pity that he did not realise how much his own position in public life had depended on his connexion with the College. Jaffna College had been the chief source of his strength. It was the support and encouragement of his students and his colleagues that had pushed him as far as he had gone and had upheld him. Once he shed his environment, he shed his strength. He was to live for another 35 years after leaving us, but his achievements thereafter were not consistent with his expectations.

To fill Mr. Perinbanayagam's vacancy the Directors hurriedly called back Mr. L. S. Kulathungam, who had been sent as Vice-Principal to Driberg College, Chavakachcheri, and who was also a teacher of Latin (and besides could turn his hands to almost anything). We also at this time took on Mr. S. V. Balasingham. He had been born and bred in Malaya and was

a nephew of Mr. J. V. Chelliah. His special subject was History, which he could handle with consummate skill. He was to qualify himself still further and rise higher among us.

In the field of Sports, this year and the next year W. T. Sanders was smashing various records in Track events (races), winning the Parson's Cup both years and was to be sent to represent Ceylon in India. His achievement coupled with that of V. G. George, is still a matter of pride to the College.

In the progress of the War, in June 1944, the Allies having subdued the Germans in Africa and made themselves the masters of Italy, launched their long-expected invasion of German-occupied Europe by landing on the beaches of Normandy. Soon they were sweeping relentlessly towards the heart of Germany and the collapse of that country was inevitable. Britain therefore, was in a position to honour the pledge signed in the Atlantic Charter of August 1941, to give self-government to its Colonies. So it sent out a deputation here, headed by Lord Soulbury to report on the matter.

In the year **1945** nothing extraordinary was happening in the College; but extraordinary things were to happen in the world. The surrender of Germany in April terminated the European war; the war with Japan was dragging on and would soon come to a close, as we shall see.

During the first part of the year the Soulbury Commissioners went from place to place, listening to the representations of various groups in the Island. But never was a farce more solemnly and seriously maintained; for the conclusion that the Commissioners were to arrive at in regard to the future Constitution of the Island had already been arrived at for them in a Scheme drawn up by Sir Ivor Jennings, the Vice-Chancellor of the Ceylon University, under the aegis of Mr. D. S. Senanayake the most masterful personality in the political sphere in Ceylon at that time and his lieutenant, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, the subtlest brain the country has ever produced.

Sir Ivor rightly enjoyed the reputation of being the greatest expert in Constitutional matters in the British Empire. It was not realised that the very qualification which had raised him

to such eminence might also be a very serious disqualification from another point of view. One who is an expert in travelling long distances on a flat terrain may be totally disqualified by that very fact, when confronted with a terrain beset by mountains and rivers.

When Solon, the wise man of ancient Greece, was asked what was the best possible Constitution, he said, "Tell me the country and tell me the age"; he was not merely humble, he was wise. He knew he had to take account of the differences between one country and another, one age and another, if he was to draw up a suitable Constitution. Sir Ivor, however, was a cock-sure man, who thought that a Constitution that he had drawn up against the background of his own knowledge would suit any country or any age; and that Constitution was, of course, on the pattern of the British Constitution. And this cock-sureness caused all the Constitutions that he had drawn up to be later either totally scrapped or to encounter serious difficulties.

In June 1945, Sir Henry Monck Mason Moore became Governor of Ceylon; but in view of the common knowledge that the days of Colonialism were numbered, the advent of a new Governor ceased to have any meaning.

At the Annual Prize Giving held in September 1945, Sir Alan Rose, the Attorney General who was the Chief Guest and knew what was coming, registered a passionate plea on behalf of the retention of English, emphasising that Ceylon was too small a country to stand aloof and disown what had become the *lingua franca* of the world. He recalled how soon after the beginning of the War, Stalin and Ribbentrop, the Foreign Minister of Germany, had signed their treaty in English.

How the World Changed

We said that the year 1945 was to witness extraordinary things in the world. What were they? As the year progressed it was obvious that the staying power of Japan was fast declining. But nobody (except those in the inmost counsels of the Allied powers) bargained for the weird circumstances in which the War with Japan was to be brought to a close.

Those with a training in Scientific matters had known for a long time that the atom is the ultimate constituent of the universe and therefore contains within it the power that keeps the universe going. That this power could be unlocked had been discovered in the Thirties of this century. When the fate of nations hung in the balance, it was natural that Scientists on either side should have been bending their energies towards harnessing that power for destructive purposes, each side against its enemy. America and Germany had been running a race in the matter and America had won. So on the 6th and 9th of August two Atom bombs were dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki respectively. The destruction caused was complete. The surrender of the Japanese followed in a few days.

If such bombs could be dropped once, they could be dropped again and they could possess far greater power. And Scientists have in fact been busy increasing the power of such bombs a millionfold. So that as Sir Winston Churchill said, since then, "Annihilation and Existence have become twin sisters". But we know which of them has the upper hand. Annihilation does not have to depend on Existence for its occurrence, but Existence has to depend on the mercy of its twin sister for continuance. Annihilation now broods over the entire world; and a question mark is poised over the future of mankind.

The possibilities of the Atom Bomb or the Hydrogen Bomb which has grown out of it are of a significance that transcend history; they are cosmic. We cannot hereafter look at the continuance of history with the same confidence as we did before. We cannot hereafter take history for granted; but in the meantime it exists.

And in the purely historical sphere what were the overall results of the World War II?

- (i) It ended a regime conceived by a disposition of unlimited tyranny. Formerly there had been individual tyrants; but Adolf Hitler had not merely organised a tyrannical system of administration, he had tried to impose it on the world and had almost succeeded. He had tried to impose a nightmare on the world. The attempt had been crushed.

- (ii) The era of Colonialism which began with the Romans had ended. Before the Romans, victorious powers had either annihilated the vanquished or carried them off as captives to their own land. The Romans began the system of peacefully ruling the countries that came under their power, either through Roman officers or petty rulers of the smaller powers themselves, owing obedience to the paramount power. In recent centuries there had been a succession of Colonial powers. This War ended that system.
- (iii) The newly enfranchised nations and other small nations, emerged as a factor, called "The Third World", each conscious of its separate identity, sometimes anxious to assert themselves as one unit, but each always anxious to be recognised as a distinct entity in its own right.
- (iv) The emergence of a multitude of nations was a fact; but it was also a fact that these nations were small. The existence of a large number of small nations does not, however, exclude the emergence of big nations; in fact, it invites such an emergence. So the War that led to the emergence of a multitude of small powers also led to the emergence of certain Super-powers, who though they do not administratively exert themselves over the smaller nations, do play a decisive role in world affairs; these Super-powers are America and Russia.
- (v) Before the War, Communism had merely been an ideology practised in Russia. After the War it not merely made itself the ideology of a certain compact group in Russia and surrounding countries, but made itself a creed capable of spreading anywhere, irrespective of national or geographical boundaries, and introducing standards and principles different from those which have prevailed till now, and necessitating different methods of procedure in dealing with countries and individuals holding it.
- (vi) The War also led the nations of the world to establish an Organisation, called "The United Nations", by which they seek to settle disputes by debate without resort to force. "The League of Nations" established at the end of World War I "had no teeth", i. e., had no power.

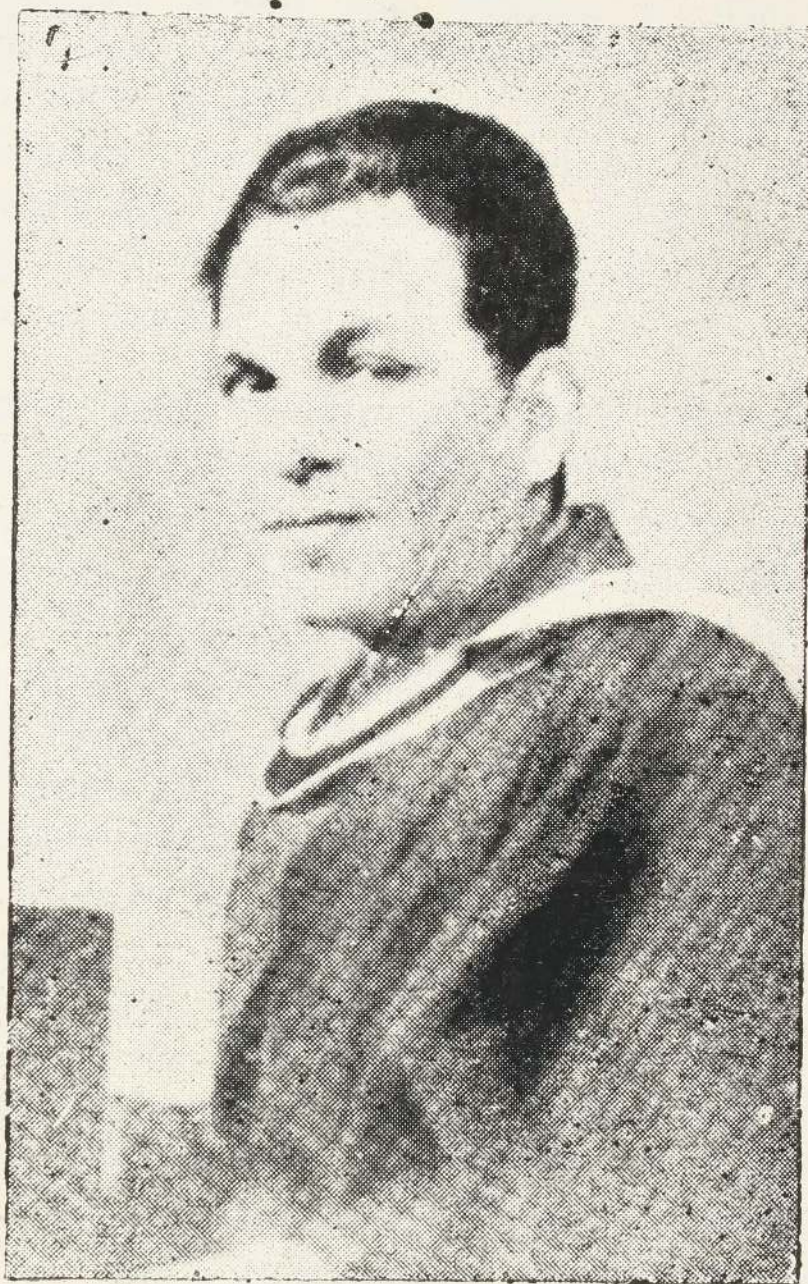
This new Organisation, though it has not solved all disputes, still has been a useful instrument in promoting peace. Many disputes which in the old days would have led to war are now referred to the United Nations; and verbal warfare takes the place of armed warfare.

So the World after 1945 is a new world, a different world from the one before that.

However, there was one person to whom none of these things mattered, namely, Dr. C. W. W. Kannangara, Minister of Education in Ceylon. Whoever lost or won, whatever happened to the world, what mattered to him was the carrying out of his life's mission. The Report of the Special Committee had been arrived at after 90 meetings. To put its recommendations into the shape of a Bill would take time; but Mr. Kannangara was a man in a hurry, so he persuaded his colleagues to allow him to bring up the more "innocuous" of the Committee's recommendations before Parliament. The proposals he brought up were called "The Revised Grants Regulations". They were introduced into Parliament in March 1945.

What were these "innocuous proposals"? They embodied the central proposal of the whole Report, namely, Free Education from Kindergarten through to University. It had been opposed in the Committee; and he knew that if he allowed time to lapse, his opponents would marshal their forces; and so he decided to forestall them. But, as we shall see, he was not merely anxious to put through the Free Education Scheme; he was after what in his opinion was bigger game.

From totally State-supported schools to totally State-controlled schools is but a step. In the Committee he had tried to scrap the Denominational System; but there were too many Denominational stalwarts there and he had not succeeded. This, however, was Parliament; and no one would vote against Free education in Parliament; and once he got that through, the rest he thought would be easy. In Parliament he got through his Free Education proposal all right. Then he moved an amendment that since the State paid all expenses, the Denominational system should go. The amendment was lost.



K. A. Selliah



K. A. Bellish

(“Education in Ceylon Vol. II—p. 642”). Parliament was willing to go with Mr. Kannangara up to a point, but not further. It must be remembered that it was still a Parliament in a British Colony.

A recommendation about the medium of instruction was also got through; but the recommendation only laid down that Primary education should be in a national language. This may look meaningless, since Primary education had always been in the vernacular. Mr. Kannangara however, knew that a process legally and duly initiated was bound to progress with inevitable momentum.

As things stood now, Government paid expenses but did not take over control. So private management could continue. It was, therefore, natural that a very large number of schools, whether controlled by denominations or by individuals should take advantage of the opportunity and accept the Scheme. But the Board of Directors of Jaffna College was wary; it knew that having come thus far, it was easy for Government to take the second step which Mr. Kannangara had wanted all along. So at a Special Meeting held on 14th September, it decided not to join the Scheme but to wait for further developments.

The number on our Roll which had been 675 during the previous year shot up to 750. Why? It might have been due to an upsurge of desire for education. It might have been due to the belief that we ourselves would enter the Scheme. But there might have been a more flattering reason; and that was, that since we were going to be a College teaching up to the B. A. and B. Sc, education here would be of a higher standard than that of an ordinary Secondary School. Whatever might have been the reason, the authorities were not at all happy about such a heavy increase; because it interfered with efficiency. They would have liked to restrict the numbers to five hundred. But in this matter, people obviously had a different opinion.

By the beginning of **1946** Mr. C. B. Paul who had been with us from almost the beginning of 1942 left to resume his connection with the Anglo-Chinese School, Singapore, where he

had served for long years. He had done us great service here, particularly in the religious sphere; he had been President of the Y. M. C. A. and had contributed much to it. He had also been an enthusiastic Scout-master.

Since the world was coming back to normal, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent out a deputation to report on the changes that might become necessary in their work in the post-war world. The Deputation was headed by the Rev. Albert Buckner Coe, one of the leading figures in the Congregational Churches of U. S. A. at that time. He was the Guest Speaker at our Prize Giving held on February 12th 1946. I have been told by one, who, because of his position, has attended most of our Prize Givings through the years, that his speech was the best ever delivered at any of our Prize Givings; and I can well believe it, since I had heard him in America, just before he sailed for the East from there.

In March we had to part with another teacher, who had been with us much longer than Mr. C. B. Paul and that was Mr. S. S. Selvadurai, who had been with us for 16 years. Since a Vice-Principal was needed for one of our Affiliated schools, the A. C. M. College at Udupidy, he was promoted to that post and sent there. He would, in course of time, become Principal and serve there till his retirement at the end of 1970.

We move Up

When dealing with the year 1944 we recorded that the Board had appointed a Sub-Committee to decide on which of three possible bases an Undergraduate Department could be set up and we said that since two of these were more or less out of the question, it was a forgone conclusion that the College itself would be doing it.

The Sub-Committee had arrived at the very same conclusion and reported accordingly to the Annual Meeting on 29th July 1946. On this Report the Board made the following decisions:

1. That we definitely plan to start Degree classes in July 1947.

2. That the Principal should inform the Trustees in America of our plan and ask them for funds for the purpose.
3. That we approach our Old Boys and friends for a sum of Rs. 150,000/-.
4. That the Rev. J. E. Jessop of the Methodist Church (who was a member now) and Bishop Lakdasa de Mel approach the Methodist Church to provide us with a Professor of English and Latin.

It may be noticed that the last resolution gives an assignment to Bishop Lakdasa de Mel, who had been elected a Member of the Board only this year. This is an indication that the Board had realised that owing to our new undertaking the membership of the Board should hereinafter be drawn from wider background than hitherto. Bishop Lakdasa de Mel (who was later to become Metropolitan of all India, Burma and Ceylon) was to be our Chairman for five years in succession. And all the time we had an Undergraduate Department, the membership of the Board was drawn from a wide galaxy of highly distinguished men from various walks of life from all over Ceylon, who would have been an adornment to the Board of Governors of any educational institution.

1947 – An Eventful Year

We have entitled this Chapter “The Eventful Decade” We have seen that in 1945 there were events of a far-reaching significance for the world at large; but the year 1947 was packed with events that come specially within our immediate purview. There were five such events; and these we shall record in due order.

(1) Ordinance No. 26 of 1947

The Special Committee had published its Report in 1943; the War had been over in 1945 and the Government therefore had had enough time to digest the Report and give legal shape to the make-shift Act of 1945. The Bill which it now brought forward for this purpose received the Governor's assent on June 11th 1947 and was called by the above name. What were its main implications?

(a) Religious Instruction

The Education Ordinance 1939 had allowed the giving of religious instruction to a student in any religion other than his own, with the consent of his parents (Secs. 30-3). But much water had flowed under the bridges since then. Dr. Kannangara had been at large and had persuaded various organisations to come round to his point of view that in no circumstances should Christianity be taught to non-Christian students. He had not taken up the point earlier because, as we said, he was after bigger game. But since the Denominational System was to stay, he wanted to pull its teeth out.

If Parliament wanted the Denominational System, Dr. Kannangara wanted the Denominations to see that under conditions now laid down it would not be worth their while to run schools any longer. So Section 4 of Clause 29 of the new Bill laid down three injunctions:

- (a) That the permission of parents to have their children taught in Faiths other than their own would no longer be accepted.
- (b) That every child should be instructed in the Faith of his parent (father).
- (c) That such instruction should be done by a person belonging to that faith.

While most Clauses in the Ordinance applied only to schools which had entered the Free Scheme, the above Clauses applied to all schools. Sub section (5) Clause 29 sees to it that there should be no mistake about it; for it warns that any school breaking the regulation will have its Registration cancelled.

To forbid Christian Schools to teach Christianity to non-Christian students is one thing, to demand that they should teach non-Christian religions to non-Christian students is another thing altogether. If there had been such a rule in the 19th century, it goes without saying the Missionaries would not have started their schools and Mr. Kannangara himself could not have received any education. And when the Missionaries

started their Schools, they wanted no money; money was forced on them later. Now they were asked to observe this rule because they had accepted Government money; the alternative given was to extinguish themselves. Having got too heavily involved in the whole complex of Education, it was too late for the Missionaries to contemplate such an act.

(b) Free Education

Free Education had come with "The Revised Grants Regulations" of 1945. The Ordinance of 1947 merely repeated the offer and the concession of 1945. That is, Schools could voluntarily accept payment of expenses by Government and still retain their freedom. With the passing of the 1947 Ordinance, out of 3,079 of what had been Assisted Schools in 1939 an overwhelming majority had come within the Free Education Scheme. Only 115 Schools stood out.

Our School had stood out in 1945 and continued to stay out in 1947; we were one of 115 to do so. No doubt, Government was promising us autonomy now. In spite of this promise, however, we had a feeling that once in the scheme Government control would begin to increase. And Clause 29 of the Ordinance of 1947 had made it clear which way the wind was blowing.

Of the great bulk of schools which had gone into the Scheme, it must be remembered that many were privately owned, and had stood for no particular ideal. They, therefore, had nothing to lose and everything to gain by joining in the Scheme. We, on the other hand, had something to lose by keeping out; but we might have had everything to lose by going in. So, in spite of the pressure of friends who professed to be well meaning, we were not tempted (for the time-being).

(2) Mr. J. V. Chelliah's Death

The first event of the year we have reported here was of a distant and impersonal nature. The second was personal and much nearer home. Mr. J. V. Chelliah had been connected with the College in one capacity or another from 1889. He had been a student, a teacher, a Professor, Vice-Principal and

Acting Principal. He had for long years edited the Miscellany and written the History of the College (1823—1922). Nor had he allowed his retirement from the Staff to interfere with his interest in the College and continued to be a member of the Board (except for his "Sabbaticals") to the end, sometimes holding office as Chairman, and for some years as Manager of the Affiliated schools. It was chiefly his exertions, as we have seen, that were responsible for our decision to set up an Undergraduate Department. His attachment to the College never flagged; he had even been present at the Annual Meeting of the Board in February 1947. For more than fifty years, he had been in the words of Virgil "a great part" of all that had gone on in the College,

But his wife, who had run all his affairs outside the sphere of his official or public duties, had died in 1944; and his children had all married and gone their own ways. He was not merely feeling lonely, but feeling incapable of dealing with the duties of running a home. He must have felt the position increasingly difficult.

He had been taken ill sometime in April and passed away on 20th June. A man who had lived so intensely would have not merely achieved much, but would have had a number of unfulfilled hopes; but in his case, these were mostly on the verge of fulfilment. It was with this aspect that the present writer dealt, when he paid his tribute to Mr. Chelliah at his funeral, comparing him to Moses who had stood on Mount Pisgah and seen the land of Canaan, which he could not enter, but which his people soon would. The Undergraduate Department for which he had fought hard would soon be set up. Church Union for which he had striven for years would be consummated within a few months. Independence for the country for which he had longed (though he had begun to have reservations about it, when he found what form it was going to take) was more or less round the corner.

We buried him by the side of the Bishop's present house. As far as the College was concerned, we buried one who had embodied in his person much of its history.

(3) The 125th Anniversary

The third event was of the kind dearly loved by the Staff and students of any College and probably by the whole world—a Jubilee. The term “Jubilee” originally referred to the 50th year or anniversary of anything. But the modern world was not willing to wait for the 50th Anniversary of anything, one reason being that, in that case, they could usually see only one such anniversary: so a 25th Anniversary was also harnessed to the calendar of Jubilees. Between 1922 and 1923 we had celebrated the 100th Anniversary of the foundation of the Seminary which was normally called the “Centenary Celebration” and the 50th Anniversary of the College; so 1947 could be conveniently looked upon as the 125th Anniversary.

Five days from July 17th to 21st were, therefore, set apart for the purpose. There was, however, a vast difference between the Jubilee of 1922 and 1923 and that of 1947. That was looked upon as the end of an era, whose beginning was lost in antiquity and the beginning of another era. It had an apocalyptic atmosphere about it. This was just another College celebration, no doubt of an elaborate, if not luxurious, nature, but carrying no overtones either of past history or future imaginings.

The celebrations started with a College Service on the Saturday afternoon 17th conducted by Mr. D. S. Sanders in Ottley Hall. This was followed by the Inter House Sports meet under the patronage of Mr. P. J. Hudson, Government Agent, Northern Province.

On the morning of the 18th Dr. S. Subramaniam, Retired Provincial Surgeon, opened an Exhibition of School work, Health, Industries etc. It is said to have attracted a stream of visitors through the day. The chief event of the day however, was the Prize Giving at which Canon de Saram, Principal of St Thomas' College, Mt. Lavinia, was the Chief Guest. His speech was devoted to expounding the implications of Intellectual Honesty. It was an intellectually impressive performance. After this, there was an One Act play, entitled “Physician in spite of Himself”, a comedy which was thoroughly enjoyed by everyone.

On Saturday 19th, first the Alumni had their fling. At 10 a. m. there were Elocution Contests and in the afternoon the Annual General Business meeting. In the evening the Jubilee Banquet was held; the Rev. S. K. Bunker presided and Justice C. Nagalingam was the Chief Guest. Toasts were also proposed and responded to by the following: Mr. V. V. Giri, Representative of the Government of India in Ceylon, Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam, Mr. S. V. Balasingham of our Staff, Fr. T. M. F. Long of St. Patrick's, Dr. Chas. Ratnesar and Mr. E. R. de Silva of Richmond College.

On Sunday at 5 p. m. the Thanks-giving Service took place; the Principal led the Service. Greetings were brought by the Rev. George Mendis of the Methodist Church the Rev. C. H. Ratnaike of the Baptist Church, the Rev. J. T. Arulanandan of the Anglican Church and Rev. B. C. D. Mather of the S. I. U. C. The sermon was preached by the Rt. Rev. Lakdasa de Mel, the Chairman of our own Board of Directors, on the text "As ye have, therefore, received Jesus Christ the Lord, so walk ye in Him, etc."

The grand finale was on Monday evening. The programme consisted of a Garden party in the Quadrangle, a Variety Entertainment, and a public meeting at which Dr. Kelleck, Principal of Wilson College, Bombay, was the chief speaker.

Though the matter has no intrinsic connection with the Jubilee, it should be mentioned here that this year no less than ten members of the Staff completed twenty five years service and, therefore, earned the customary right of being called "Jubilarians": A. C. Sundrampillai, somehow always regarded a veteran, L. S. Kulathungam of whom something has been said already and more will be said later, S. T. Jeevaratnam, quiet and unobtrusive, but as a teacher of Chemistry *par excellence*, C. O. Elias, hardly unobtrusive in any respect, and a teacher of many subjects, T. H. P. Arulampalam, teacher of woodwork, K. V. George, teacher of Art and Botany, Mrs. E. G. David and J. S. Sinnappah (the latter being one of those who kept the College going, so that others could teach). These minor jubilees must have made the major jubilee more meaningful to those who celebrated both.

(4) The Setting up of the Collegiate Department

The disadvantage of a Jubilee is that it does not last for ever. Once it is over, life gets back to normal. In the case of this Jubilee, however, the occasion marked also our effort to rise above the normal. As we have seen, the Board had decided that an Undergraduate Department be set up by July 1947. With the Jubilee we had launched that programme.

We had already begun to collect a staff for the purpose; but since such a staff is not easily come by, what we had done was to free some teachers in the Secondary School specially qualified in certain subjects to teach those subjects in the Undergraduate Department during certain periods. At the Jubilee Prize Giving, Mr. Bunker had definitely outlined the character of the new undertaking. He had said that it was far from our intention to compete with Government. We could not pit our resources against those of Government. He said our purpose was much more modest. We were merely trying to impart instruction for the general degrees in Arts and Sciences of the London University to those who came to us. He was, however, wise enough to say that he was laying down no permanent limitation; and he was careful to add, "Jaffna College is a Christian College".

A picture of the Staff and students of the class that was set up in 1947 is given in the Special Jubilee Number of the Miscellany. The group consists of three students and seven instructors; of these, two students were in the Junior B. A. and one in the Junior B. Sc. But both the students and staff were to increase greatly in numbers as the range of subjects widened.

The setting up of an Undergraduate Department by what had long been a Secondary School meant not merely the superimposition of some new classes on top of those already existing. It also meant a considerable change in the administrative structure. As a Missionary Institution we decided that a Missionary should be at the top of that structure; but as the Collegiate Department required special attention he was given responsibility of devoting his labours chiefly to looking after that Depart-

ment and was given the title of "President". Former heads of the College had always been called "Principals", even when we were teaching only Undergraduate Classes. Now that there was an Undergraduate Department and a Secondary School, it was felt that a distinction was necessary. So it was decided that the Head of the Secondary School was to be called "Principal". In his own sphere, however, he was to be given perfect *de facto* autonomy. The decision of the Board at its Semi-Annual Meeting of 1947 was quite clear on the topic :

The head of the College hereafter shall be the "President" who shall be responsible to the Board for all the work of the College. He shall be in direct charge of the Collegiate Department and shall have authority over all matters affecting the relations of the Department or affecting the College as a whole. There shall be a Principal under the general supervision of the President, who shall be responsible for the work of the Secondary School.

Mr. K. A. Selliah was, of course, appointed Principal. In practice as was expected, each would leave the other alone; but the Board wanted it to be clear that it was Mr. Bunker who was at the head.

A Principal needs a Vice-Principal and as to who should that be also there was not the slightest doubt. More perhaps than most educational institutions in the East, Jaffna College could boast of many families who from father to son had devoted themselves to Mission service. Mr. D. S. Sanders was the second of the three sons of one of our Pastors, all three of whom had entered the service of the College. The youngest had died early; the eldest was of course in charge of our accounts. Mr. D. S. Sanders had entered the College as a student in 1907 and, except for his higher studies had never severed his connexion with the College since then. His chief qualification was his ability to get on with anyone, his unfailing good humouredness and his imperturbability.

We had now deliberately made ourselves a unique institution teaching from "A. B to B. A.". We had done it, because the circumstances demanded it and we had felt we could not

shirk the responsibility. And we had tried, as far as lay in our power, to equip ourselves for the task.

(5) The New Diocese

The Missionaries who had founded the Seminary in 1823 were ‘Congregationalists’; that is, they belonged to a Denomination that believed in the principle of the independence of the local churches or congregations (though their congregations had a habit of forming Councils). In the first decade of this century, the Congregational Councils and the Councils of the Presbyterians, (who believed in the principle of government by Councils, Presbyteries, or Synods), had in South India come together into a body called the ‘South India United Church’. It was a Federal Union and not an organic Union; that is, each of the uniting bodies left the others alone and came together only for mutual consultations.

We found that the General Assembly of the South India United Church had its General Assembly meetings here in 1923 and 1941; and we said also that the chief subject of its discussions was the Church Union Scheme. It was a Scheme of organic Union; but that was not its chief point. For the first time in 400 years it sought to bring together into organic Union non-episcopal Churches and episcopal Churches. Episcopal Churches were those under the administration of Bishops (Greek, *episcopos* = Bishop or overseer); but a Bishop was not mere overseer or superintendent but one in a historic succession from Apostolic times. And the Episcopal Churches believed that that form of administration constituted the legitimacy of a Church.

The Scheme of Union for South India arose from the assumption that all distinctions between Christian Churches or Denominations (here, in any case) were artificial and that the differences between them could be settled amicably. Basically the agreement reached in South India was that non-episcopal Churches would accept the system of Bishops in historic succession, without committing themselves to any theory about it; but that the Bishops should carry out their duties not in an autocratic manner but in a constitutional manner; and that

in all other matters each of the uniting Churches or Denominations should be free to preserve its own distinctive traditions.

The Scheme embodying the agreement had been on the anvil from 1920 and was perfected only during the early part of 1947. It was settled that five Dioceses of the Anglican (Episcopal) Church, five Districts of the Methodist Church and the S. I. U. C. (with one of its eight Councils standing out) were to form what was called, "The Church of South India".

As Jaffna was considered too small an area to be demarcated as a separate Diocese in the new Church, the understanding all along had been that we were to form part of the Diocese of Madura. However, as we were one of the Councils of the S. I. U. C. we were in a position to dictate terms to our own Denomination and insisted that unless we were recognised as a separate Diocese, we would not enter Union. After so much labour and discussion on matters of Faith and Order for so many years, this was too small a matter for the Negotiating Committee to haggle over and our request was granted.

The inauguration of the new Church of South India on the 27th of September took place at St. George's Cathedral, Madras, in the presence of a vast throng of people from all parts of the world and in an atmosphere of awesome solemnity, laden with joy and hope. It was hailed the world over as the "greatest event in the history of the Church since the Reformation". Some of the 14 Bishops who were to take charge in the new Church, were already Bishops; but eight new Bishops had to be consecrated, among them the one for Jaffna; this happened to be the present writer.

It had been decided that the Vaddukoddai church was to be the Cathedral of the Jaffna Diocese; and the installation of the new Bishop of the Diocese took place at an impressive and vastly attended ceremony on 10th October 1947. This, of course, was a big event in the history of our churches.

What makes this an event of the College? The Seminary had been founded by Missionaries; the College itself had been founded by Missionaries at the request of the people;

but the Directorate of the College was expected to be Christian (though we had made an exception later); and the Principals had always been Missionaries and now the President was a Missionary. There had always been Missionaries on the Board. Latterly a membership of five had been held by the Mission and the Church Council. Our Affiliated Schools had been turned over by the College to the Mission; and the membership of five in our Board was held in common between the Mission and the Church Council. The new Diocese now took the place of the Mission and the Bishop would soon be made an ex-officio member of the Board (exempt from Sabbatical retirement).

The main significance of the event was that the relationship between the Church and the College, always close, became closer, because the Church in the form of the Diocese was a more definite body; its influence in the counsels of the College, always a recognised element, could now, under a recognised leadership and a well-knit organisation behind it, become a factor that could not be ignored.

We have called 1947 the "Eventful Year" and have reported above the chief events that took place in it. But the normal activities of the College were going on as usual; otherwise, the events would not have been pertinent to anything. It is because such activities were going on, that the events themselves have a meaning.

The Events Thereafter

The events of 1947 do not by any means exhaust the events of the Decade. For we shall find that the year **1948** presents us with two events of outstanding importance one for the whole world and the other for our own Island.

Death of Mahatma Gandhi

From about 1920, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi had been leading the struggle for Independence in India against the British. Because of his saintly character he had been given the title of "Mahatma" (great soul); and it had practically become his name in India. He was venerated in his country and had become the subject of a whole body of literature in

prose and verse. Increasingly the world itself had come to recognise in him a unique personality worthy of admiration.

In India his long struggle had come to a successful conclusion in August 1947 (though at the price of the grant of separate independence to a part of the country under the name of "Pakistan"). For the part he had played in the struggle he was looked upon as the "Father of the Country". However, there were some fanatics who took a very dim view of his lenience to the Muslims in granting them the right to secede under the name of "Pakistan". But such fanatics were very few. So the country and the world were not prepared for what happened.

On 30th January 1948 as the Mahatma was walking up to the platform to conduct his usual evening prayers, he was shot at four times by a fanatic, called Godse, and succumbed. The news stunned India and shocked the world. Most public ceremonies of every sort were cancelled in this part of the world and everything came to a stand-still for the time being.

What was the measure of the Mahatma's achievement? His economics of self-reliance through Cottage Industries on which he himself had placed the greatest importance, are largely discarded now. They were discarded by his own successor Nehru, as inconsistent with the demands of a world based on an inescapable net-work of technological give and take. It may be said that it lay in the achievement of independence for India; but it must be realised that Britain, on its own part, after the Second World War, would have found it impossible to hold India.

It may seem odd to say, but it is nevertheless true, that his greatest contribution to India lay not in the fact that India gained Independence through him, but that by struggling for it he, to a large extent, created the Indian nation. Before the British came on the scene, India had consisted of separate units, races, principalities and regimes. The British had made India a single administrative unit; the Mahatma had made it a national unit; he had welded the various races into a nation.

In the second place, Gandhi made that nation fit for ruling itself. No doubt, things in India after Nehru's death do not make pleasant reading. But of one thing we do not read: internecine conflict; though of conflict between personalities and parties there has been much. But for a country constituted of such entirely diverse races, speaking sixteen major languages, India has been entirely free of internecine conflicts. The Mahrattas have not risen against Bengal; and Utter Pradesh has not risen against Madhya Pradesh. Hindus, who are in an overwhelming majority in India, do not persecute the Muslims. Gandhi not merely created the Indian nation but has taught it to continue to live as one nation. In doing this in India, he had shown other countries that diverse racial and linguistic elements can be welded into one.

Nor can we forget the service he did to those he called the "Harijans", or the depressed classes. In a country that for 3,000 years was dominated by the Brahmins, self-government might have meant Brahmin-rule instead of British rule. But now the Harijans hold high posts and Brahminical hegemony is kept in severe check.

The Mahatma's death cast a gloom on the College; and well it might.

The Grant of Dominion Status to us

The second important event of the year was the Grant of Dominion Status to us. The term means Independence with a tenuous connection with the British Crown, the very retention of which being in our hands could be dispensed with at any time. The Duke of Gloucester, a brother of the King, came down for the purpose from England and on the 4th of February announced that grant on behalf of the British Government. On the 10th of February he formally opened the first Parliament under the new Constitution. Lord Boothby, a British politician of high standing, was one day witnessing in a newly enfranchised country the ceremonies that usually attend the sitting of the House of Commons in England and said, "I hope, I hope we were right" (in setting up the British form of Government in a totally different country).

Ceylon asked for self-government and Britain was finding it difficult to carry on the load of the Empire on its shoulders after the War; so it gave Ceylon what it wanted. But should it have been on the British pattern? Sir Ivor Jennings who practically drew up our Constitution said, "Why not? We are working it, why not these people?" It might be said in theory of any Constitution that it can work anywhere. But in practice every Constitution does not work successfully everywhere; because conditions, situations and attitudes are different in each case; the peoples and their traditions are different.

In India people might have had various complaints since the grant of Independence; but they have none against the Constitution. So that it may be said that the Constitution, as such, has been a success in India. Very definitely this is something that cannot be said of Ceylon. Besides complaints about other things, there has been a sustained and bitter complaint against the Constitution itself. That Constitution has been changed twice since 1948; but the complaint is that the basic feature of the Soulbury Constitution still remains. Why has the new Constitution of India been a success and that of Ceylon has not been?

(1) The person who drew up the draft of the Indian Constitution, Dr. Ambedkar (besides being a legal expert) was himself a member of an utterly despised and persecuted caste. He knew from experience the tendency of those having power to oppress those who did not have it; and he knew it from the whole history of India. With Independence he wanted a new deal for everyone, so that no one community could oppress another. He wanted to ensure that the Constitution would work. He was drawing up a Constitution to suit India-

(2) The draft drawn up by Ambedkar was before a "Constituent Assembly", comprised of representatives of every community. Major communities and minor communities could have had their say in the Assembly. In fact, the minor communities would have had the advantage, as no one could get up and ask for the right to oppress another community. The Constituent Assembly was at work on the document for two years; and every point that might cause trouble was

under scrutiny and every objectionable feature was removed. And the Supreme Court was made the guardian of the Constitution, to ensure that even the Government should not go against what had been agreed upon by everyone.

(3) Mahatma Gandhi had for three decades, by constant exhortation and frequent fasts, trained the various races of India to look upon themselves as one nation and not to look upon any race, caste or community as being more privileged than another. He had put all people through a strict discipline.

In Ceylon the draft was drawn up by an Englishman. He was not drawing up a Constitution for Ceylon; he was drawing up a document that would be legally correct. His question was not whether it would work, but why it should not. The Soulbury Commissioners listened to representations from various people, but never submitted a document to them. The document they drew up was published three or four months after their return to England and approved of by the British Parliament forthwith. In Ceylon, in the first place, it was passed by a Parliamentary majority; and the very instrument which should have been guarded against in a Constitution, to be worked in a country with different racial, linguistic and religious traditions, was the instrument for passing it.

Secondly, Ceylon had not gone through the Gandhian discipline which had taught the multifarious and disparate groups of India that, if they wanted to be self-governing, they had first to be one nation, all pulling together, and politically sinking their racial differences.

The upshot of the grant of Independence to Ceylon was that a minority race was permanently handed over to the tender mercies of a majority race. A Constitution drawn up in imitation of the British Constitution which in Britain conferred power on a Parliamentary majority in Ceylon conferred it on a racial majority. The difference between the result of Independence in India and that in Ceylon is that Independence in India put an end to inter-communal strife; in Ceylon it may be said to have started it.

In fairness to Sir Ivor Jennings, it must be said that he never bargained for such results to follow from the adoption of his Constitution. He had found that people wanted self-government and, therefore, imagined that they would work any Constitution right, if it conferred self-government. It never struck him that account should be taken of the diversities of race, language and religion. In drawing up laws it is always wise to take account of the worst contingencies; people do not generally murder one another, but the Penal Code is drawn up on the assumption that they sometimes might. Sir Ivor never faced up to the contingencies that might arise when a Constitution has to be worked through the years in a country populated by diverse communities. Sir Ivor Jennings has passed away, but we continue to pay the price for his mistaken confidence in human nature.

The affairs of the College were taking their normal course. The Annual Prize Giving took place on 12th March. In keeping with our tradition to go in for the best, Sir John Howard, the Chief Justice, was our Guest Speaker. In his speech Sir John pleaded for a spirit of tolerance. Both the President and Principal read reports.

In the Undergraduate Department there were seven students in the Arts Classes (including, I believe, the Inter students) and in the Science one. The chief problem for the President was that of finding residential accommodation for the students and he planned for the erection of what are now the Students' Flats on the western side of the College. For their teaching, Mr. P. T. John had been taken for Physics, Mr. K. P. Abraham for Chemistry and Rev. W. R. S. Sussbach for Economics. Dr. W. R. Holmes was coming to do History and Mr. Lockwood to do Mathematics. The English Lecturership was vacant at the time; but during the course of the year, the place was filled by one of the best candidates available viz. Mr. S. P. Appasamy, the scion of a well-known Indian Christian family, who had swept the boards in regard to prizes at the Madras University and had obtained his M. A. at Harvard. For Zoology we were able to secure Mr. S. J. D. Isaac.



D. S. Sanders



L. S. Kulathungam

The Affiliated Schools, once considered "feeder schools", and therefore, entitled to our continued support had now become self-contained, capable of catering to all the students they got. But since their financial resources were not adequate for the purpose, they were to be given a "dowry" and turned over to the Diocese which had just come into existence.

Here at the College the existence of a Secondary School by the side of an Undergraduate Department was of mutual and reciprocal benefit. In the first place, the Staff in the one could help out at the other. In fact, a number of the most highly qualified teachers of the Secondary School were the main stay of the Undergraduate Department. But Mr. M. D. Balasubramaniam who, for some reason had been recruited to do Sanskrit in the Secondary School, went on to the Undergraduate Department. He was exceptionally qualified for his work, having come out first in his field of studies in all South Indian Universities. Since a classical language was compulsory for the London Intermediate, Sanskrit was necessary and came to be preferred to Latin; and Mr. M. D. Balasubramaniam, who in addition to his Sanskrit scholarship had very versatile gifts was a dazzling figure on the campus for some years.

During this period though the Undergraduate Department depended largely on the resources of the Secondary School, the traffic was not one-sided. Dr. Holmes and the Rev. Sussbach of the Undergraduate Department helped out the Secondary School in their subjects.

In the second place, the existence of an Undergraduate Department on the same campus lent prestige to the Secondary School. There were in all 755 boys and 301 girls in the Upper and Lower Schools put together. Of these, 185 were in the boarding; the strain of accommodation was undoubted, but as an index of the confidence in us it was equally undoubted.

The Secondary School Staff had also been reinforced by the coming back in May of Mr E. J. Niles who had gone to the United Theological College, Bangalore, for a year to equip himself to be in charge of our religious work. Mr. K. C. Thurairatnam who had been doing work in English at Oberlin College, U. S. A. returned in October.

Two events happened during the year which gladdened our hearts. Mr. K. Kanagaratnam, our ever dependable and most loyal of Old Boys, who had been elected to Parliament the previous year, was made Junior Minister of Education when the Cabinet system came into operation with the grant of Independence. A more glamorous appointment was that of Mr. S. R. Kanaganayagam as Senator (the Soulbury Constitution instituted a bi-cameral legislature, consisting of two Houses of Legislature). Mr. Kanaganayagam belonged to a later generation than that of Mr. Kanagaratnam, had been a contemporary of most of us as a student and counted many close friends among us. So we decided that he should be honoured with a public dinner. This was held at the Town Hall, Jaffna, on the 22nd of November (1948); covers were laid for 80. Mr. L. S. Kulathungam, Advocate V. K. Kandaswamy and the present writer were the speakers.

We have seen that one of the regular features of life in the College is the completion year by year of one batch of teachers after another, of their twentyfifth year of service in fact, we miss the item about "Jubilarians", when there is no reference to it any year. This, of course, is a privilege enjoyed by a private School, as against a Government School whose teachers would normally serve about five years there at a time. This year the following attained to the rank of Jubilarians; Messrs M. I. Thomas, S. A. Visvalingam, A. T. Vethaparanam, and S. Sellaiah the Librarian. About each of these veterans much can be said, but in a record like this biographical interest must be subordinated to the historical.

When a teacher retires because he has reached the age of retirement, it is accepted as inevitable. Even otherwise, when anybody leaves for any good and sufficient reason no one can say anything. But at the end of 1948 it came as a real shock to us that Mr. M. I. Thomas, who had been with us from 1923 and for that reason had become entitled to the sobriquet of a "Jubilarian", and who by many was considered the best teacher of history in the Island, was leaving us. His reason was health. His health had been failing for some time and he had become a sick man. Mr. C. S. Ponnuthurai

on the other hand, may be said to have left for the opposite reason. He was a much younger man, at the height of his powers. He had been invited to be Principal of Christian College, Kotte, and had accepted the invitation. Miss Leela Ponnambalam left to join the Staff of the Methodist Ladies College, Colombo.

We have given the names of only three teachers who left in 1948; but for one reason or another, seven had left. The College solved the problem of filling the seven vacancies with the peculiar equation of taking twelve teachers to fill them. The reason was that the number of students was growing. Of those taken in were K. C. Jacob (for Physics), V. Koshy (for Economics) and W. N. Thevakadacham (for the Lower School).

The Prize Giving for **1949** was held at the unusually early date of 29th January to suit the convenience of the Chief Guest, Mr. Felix Cole, the American Ambassador. Mr. Cole made a sustained defence of what is called the 'Gadget Civilisation of America'. Those who read Dean Inge's Essay on "Consumptionism", which means people are made to use more things than they need, and his Essay on "Spoon Feeding", in which he points out how gadgets undermine man's self-reliance, may not find Mr. Cole's defence of the System too convincing.

In the Undergraduate Department there were 6 who would sit for the B. A. Examination that year and 3 who would sit the next. The numbers in the Intermediate classes were naturally larger: 14 in the Inter Arts and 21 in the Inter Science. Junior Intermediate classes had also been formed. Latin which had proved a terrible hurdle for Arts students in earlier generations had, as we have said earlier, practically given place to Sanskrit; but since not many students had done it earlier, that itself was proving something of a hurdle, but because of its kinship with Tamil, an easier hurdle. Besides the two recognised branches of study, the Undergraduate Department launched on a new venture, namely, the Intermediate in Economics; there were five students in it. That Economics by itself should form a separate branch of study was a new step in the academic field. As a course it had been

recognised in British Universities due to the efforts of Alfred Marshall only very late in the last Century; but it had become extremely popular and Mr. Bunker found his students easily. The problem of finding accommodation had been seriously tackled. The new Hostel for them was half complete and the students saw no reason why they should not go into occupation of the ground floor, giving the upper one to the Staff.

The Undergraduate students had by now found their identity. They had organised a "Union" of their own for discussion of recondite themes. Occasionally they called in outside speakers. On looking into the list of the speakers who obliged, I find, hardly the name of any rising politician of the day missing. It must have been an intellectually stimulating experience to listen to them; because they belonged to diverse schools of thought.

While the President was concerned with attracting more and more students into his new department, the Principal was concerned with the opposite task of keeping out as many students as he could from the older Department. At the beginning of 1949 he had succeeded in keeping out 75% of those who had applied for admission. But even as it was, he had 1,034 students in his hands: 592 in the Upper School and 442 in the Lower. The point was that an old institution like ours had, like the older Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, been planned to cater to a select number of students and found it difficult to adjust itself to the trends created by modern conditions. "When education is free in Government Schools, why can't you go to them?" was the Principal's complaint. The students however, knew the difference between the two types of Schools.

Meanwhile, our Library was trying its best to cope with the situation created by the establishment of a section for the Undergraduate Department. It was busy adding to it books on English, History, Tamil and Biology. In 1949 it had accumulated 10,000 solid volumes and more than 5,000 booklets. The public was also seeing the need for the enlargement of the Library; Rs. 500/- was given in memory of Mr. C. D. Singaratnam, Proctor and an anonymous donor had given Rs. 700/-. These sums were "big money" in the days before

inflation lowered the value of our currency. Mr. C. H. Cooke donated his entire library to the College; in view of his long connection with the College his gift would have included much material of historical interest.

During the year we had a valuable and historic accession to the Board of Directors in the person of Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam Q. C., M. P. In 1949 he had not attained to the peak of almost inaccessible venerability he reached later, but was already not merely a considerable political figure but one held in high esteem all over the Island.

In July 1949 there was an interesting addition to the Staff in the person of Mr. K. C. Chelvarajan. It was interesting for two reasons. He was the grandson of Mr. J. V. Chelliah; and he was also one who had received all his education here; for he belonged to the first batch of students who had joined the B. A. Class two years earlier.

The new Flats for the Undergraduates were ready by now and the problem of accommodation was unwilling to wait for its solution till the formal opening. Mr. Bunker, therefore, had the flats dedicated by the Bishop and let the students go in, allowing the ceremonial opening to wait till the next year. On December 5th, we had a visit from Sir John Kotelawela, a future Prime Minister. Three days later, the Round Table gave a dinner to the Football Team; one is not sure whether the purpose was congratulatory or consolatory, because the team had just missed the Championship.

At the end of 1949, Mrs. E. G. David had to retire because she had reached the age of 55, which at that time was the prescribed age of retirement for women. She had served us for 27 years, chiefly in the Lower School. She had entered our service at a time when it was considered unseemly for a woman to teach in a Boys' School. She had weathered the storm and stuck it out.

We thus bring to an end the review of a decade, which had witnessed our College change somewhat for the time being, our country change a good deal for a long time to come and the world change profoundly for all time.

V

SUNLIGHT ON THE UPLANDS AND CLOUDS BENEATH

(THE FIFTIES)

We purposely gave the names of those who constituted the Staff in 1940 and now give the names for 1950 to show how the College had been growing since the days of 1922:

- The Rev. S. K. Bunker, B. A., B. D., B. Litt. (Oberlin & Oxon.)
Mr. K. A. Selliah, B. sc., (Lond.) Dip. Ed. (Lond.)
Mr. D. S. Sanders, B. A. (Calcutta) 1st Class Trained.
Mr. A. C. Sundrampillai, B. sc. (Cal.)
Mr. C. O. Elias, B. A. (Cal).
Mr. L. S. Kulathungam, B. A. (Lond.)
Mr. K. E. Mathiaparanam, B. A. (Lond.), M. A. (Annamalai)
Mr. S. T. Jeevaratnam, B. sc. (Lond.)
Mr. L. S. Williams, B. sc. (Cal.)
Mr. K. A. George, M. A. (Madras)
Mr. K. V. George, B. A. (Cal).
Mr. Thomas John. M. A., B. sc. Hons. (Madras)
Mr. W. L. Jeyasingham, B. sc. (Lond.)
Mr. P. Navaratnam, M. A. (Annamalai)
Mr. T. J. Koshy, B. A. (Travancore), M. sc. (Benares)
Mr. B. K. Somasundram, B. sc. (Lond.)
Mr. K. C. Thurairatnam, B. A. (Lond.)
Mr. S. V. Balasingham, B. A. Hons. (Lond.)
Mr. E. C. Lockwood, M. A. (Brown).
Dr. W. R. Holmes, M. A., Ph. D. (Illinois)
Mr. K. P. Abraham, B. sc. (Lond.), M. sc. (Lucknow).
Mr. S. J. D. Isaac, M. A. (Madras)
Mr. S. P. Appasamy, M. A. (Madras & Harvard)
Mr. V. Koshy, M. A. (Madras)
Rev. W. R. Sussbach, M. A., B. D. (German equivalent)
Dr. A. Fritz, Ph. D. (Gratz).
Mr. E. J. Niles, 1st Class Trained.

Mr. A. M. Brodie,	1st Class Trained
Mr. C. R. Wadsworth	„ „
Mr. A. T. Vethaparanam	„ „
Mr. S. A. Visvalingam	„ „
Mr. P. W. Ariaratnam,	„ „
Mr. C. R. Ratnasingham	„ „
Mr. A. R. Abraham,	„ „
Mr. R. J. Thurairajah,	Trained Physical Culture
Mr. K. C. Chelvarajan,	B. A. (Lond.)
Mr. K. Shanmugaratnam	1st Class Music Trained.
Mr. S. P. Amarasingam,	Senior Cert.
Mr. K. Rajaratnam,	Camb Senior
Mr. J. A. Selvadurai,	Bilingual Trained.
Mr. T. Ponnambalam,	Vern. Trained.
Mr. W. N. Thevakadadcham,	Vern. Trained.
Mr. S. Navaratnam,	„ „
Mr. A. N. Winslow,	„ „
Miss P. P. Chelliah,	Senior & Eng. Music.
Mrs. V. Ramanathan,	Senior Cert.
Miss V. P. Jeevaratnam,	Lond. Matric.
Miss K. Visvalingam,	Sen. School Cert.
Mrs. R. Ratnam,	(Uncertd.).
Mr. Paul Raj,	Tamil Teachers Cert.

Non-Teaching Staff

Mr. S. S. Sanders	—	<i>Bursar</i>
Mr. J. S. Sinnappah	—	<i>Asst. Bursar</i>
Mr. K. Sellaiah	—	<i>Librarian</i>

Out of the list given above, only 7 taught purely in the Undergraduate Department. But since that Department required specialists in various subjects over a wide range, it is obvious that the Secondary School was so rich in talents and qualifications, that it could keep the other Department also going, while not neglecting its own sphere of work.

This is the more to be wondered at, as the Secondary School itself was now big enough to demand all the attention that was possible. The number of students stood at 1,055. But we had better realise that both for the Secondary School and the Undergraduate Department, this was the beginning of the

decade; as the decade progressed, the number of students in both would grow, and the strength of the Staff also particularly in the Undergraduate Department, would have to grow correspondingly.

But behind all teaching in a large Educational establishment, as we have constantly stressed, is always its Library. The number of volumes in our Library had risen to 15,000; but we felt that to make a Library more consonant with the demands made on it, it was not merely the number of books that mattered but the Librarian himself. So during the year the librarian went as a delegate to the International Conference of Librarians in Europe and took the opportunity to do a tour of the Continent to study how libraries there contributed to the work of the higher institutions of learning.

We have given the Chapter the peculiar title of "Sunlight on the Uplands etc". The term "Uplands" refers to the College and the title implies that the College itself "never had it so good". Looking back, it may be said that at no other time were we fulfilling our purpose so well and over such a wide range and when our prestige ever stood higher than at this time.

The second part of the title reads, "and Clouds Beneath". This means that while all was well with the College, it was otherwise with the country. Every institution is situated in a country; and it is idle, therefore, to pretend that the things going on in the country do not affect an Institution at all. But on the whole, the College was doing well at this period; and it took some time for the clouds underneath to materialise.

An important event in the College during the year was the opening of the Degree Hostel on the 25th of January **1950** by Lord Soulbury, the Governor-General. As reported earlier, owing to the necessity of the students having to live somewhere, the Hostel had been occupied already. The Governor-General merely gave a formal and ceremonial sanction to that occupation. He was a dapper figure with an eye glass, looking every inch an English aristocrat, and his participation invested the proceedings with grace and dignity. In his speech he paid a glowing tribute to the work of the American Missionaries in the North.

We have never lacked visits from distinguished public figures. On 6th February, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, then Minister of Health, came and addressed a public meeting under the auspices of the Undergraduate Union; he was to become a much more important figure before long. He was followed later in the year by a figure already very important. But the tragic coincidence in the events was that these visits were the last that circumstances allowed either one to pay us.

The Annual Prize Giving took place on 18th March. The Chief Guest was Dr. H. W. Howes, the Director of Education, the last Britisher who was to occupy that position. A rubicund and pleasant figure, he performed valiantly the task imposed on him by the Government, by pleading that all Assisted Schools should join the Government Scheme of Free Education. Our Principal, Mr. K. A. Selliah, performed the customary function of every Principal of those days by lecturing the Government on his philosophy of Education. This practice, which of course, could have had little effect on Government itself, has now been discontinued, much to the relief of Prize Day audiences.

Early in May three new teachers joined us: Messrs. P. W. Muttiah, T. Vinayagamoorthy and T. Visvanathan. The first was for Latin, the second for Tamil and other miscellaneous subjects and the third to teach Physics and allied subjects.

As against these accessions, two teachers long familiar to us left. The first of these Mr. A. C. Sundrampillai, was identified with the College to a degree that may not be easily understood today. He had come to us in 1913 or earlier and except for his studies in India, had always been with us. He was a well-loved figure, kindly and generous to a fault; but it must be confessed that he felt more at home outside the classroom than inside it. In the classroom his ability belonged to the second of the two kinds of knowledge referred to by Dr. Johnson; for the great Doctor had said that knowledge might consist either of two things: of knowing a subject or of knowing where to find that knowledge. Mr. Sundrampillai could always quote chapter and verse in reference to the location

where a subject was properly expounded. His classes were chiefly interesting for his reminiscences of his experiences in Indian Universities. To the Administration he performed the invaluable service of drawing up the Time Table, year after year, and assigning work to teachers.

Mr. A. M. Brodie, the second of those who left us during the year was entirely different from Mr. Sundrampillai in almost all respects. He joined the Staff from St. Thomas in 1924. There is a legend that the certificate given him by Warden Stone, who was noted for his icy snubs to friend and foe alike, consisted simply of the words, "Mr. Brodie can teach English": And so he could. He was chiefly an expert on the 19th Century English literary figures. So fond was he of the subject that he seized every possible occasion to deliver lectures on them. He spoke impeccable English and it was always a pleasure to listen to him.

Mr. Sundrampillai retired because he had reached the age of 60, the prescribed limit for official service in those days; Mr. Brodie retired five years earlier than he need have; and it was suspected the reason was that he wanted to enter the political field by nomination to the Senate, a method which dispensed with wooing the voters and mounting the hustings. His expectations, however, were not fulfilled. The students gave a farewell to both teachers on 29th of June.

We made no pretensions to be a University; but apart from sending up students for their exams, we also followed the practice of the Universities of America, in sending our teachers abroad for higher qualifications. Usually we paid a whole year's salary and gave the balance required as a loan, to be repaid free of interest in easy instalments; sometimes we secured scholarships for them and relieved their burden. Some had been sent up earlier; this year we sent Mr. W. L. Jeyasingham to America to specialise in Geography and ultimately to get his Doctorate.

When referring to the visit of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike a rising political figure, we said that another person

who was already a great political figure in the Island was also to pay us a visit during the year. That figure was Mr. D. S. Senanayake, the Prime Minister. He came to us in October.

Mr. Senanayake had been the most prominent figure in politics in Ceylon for some years. While the War was drawing to a close he was the person primarily responsible for manoeuvring the Independence of Ceylon. His formal education was not high; but he was a person of sound common sense and profound shrewdness and had a great hold on the masses. When Independence came, his Prime Ministership came automatically.

Mr. Senanayake spoke to the students at 10 a. m. (October 18th) but the function of the day was the public dinner we gave him that night at the Degree Hostel, which was also attended by others of political rank from outside. His speech consisted of reminiscences of his school days at St. Thomas' where he had gained great prominence, without doing much study. Mr. Bunker in his reply said that the methods he had employed themselves showed a high degree of intellectual ability. And so pleased was Mr. Senanayake with his visit, that he dropped in on us again two days later, on his way to Kayts.

During the year two of our teachers attained to the rank of "Jubilarians": Messrs. K. A. Selliah, the Principal, and P. W. Ariaratnam, Supervisor of the Lower School. The significance of becoming a "Jubilarian" is that you have taught continuously in the same school for 25 years. We have from time to time recorded a number of our teachers attaining to this status. Behind this is the great strength of a Private School as against a Government School.

While most Jubilarians continue, some do leave. The first of these was Mr. C. R. Wadsworth, who had come to us in 1924. His chief duty had been to teach English; but he was also a poet in his own right. He was considered a very capable teacher; but he did much else. He was Patron of Brotherhood, House Master of Brown House, a promoter of dramatic performances and a co-editor of the Miscellany, to

which he often contributed articles of his own. He retired four years before reaching his age-limit to devote himself to religious work.

Another departure might have taken place but was almost forcibly prevented by the Board. Mr. S. S. Sanders had been in charge of the College Accounts from about 1910 and had reached his 60th year, but was not so much permitted or persuaded, as almost forced to oblige us with two more years of service.

In the field of sports, we swept the boards. We won the championship; the girls won all the Net Ball games. We won all matches in Basket Ball including one played in Colombo.

We Enter the Free Scheme

It may be remembered that most schools had joined in stampede in 1945 when the "Revised Grants Regulations" permitted schools to join the Scheme, where they would receive their expenses from Government but continue to manage themselves. The "Grants Regulations" were incorporated into a new law called, "Ordinance No. 26 of 1947" which put those "Regulations" on a legal basis and still left adherence to the scheme optional; and quite a few more schools had joined in.

We knew that, in the abstract, if Government paid all our expenses, it would have the right to exercise control over us; even if it was slight to start with, the control would keep increasing. But from 1945 when most schools had joined the Free Scheme (except for the provisions in the Ordinance), Government control had not increased very greatly. Our own Affiliated Schools which had been handed over to the Diocese were being treated well, and were permitted to be managed by the Diocese. So the public or the parents of our students were asking why we should hold out.

The Government on its part, was determined on roping in all schools. We may ask for the reason. When Government was spending a third of its income on Education, why

should it want to add to its burden? The answer is that the joining of 115 more schools would not materially increase its burden, but it would remove the stigma from the Scheme of not being fully National.

The representatives of Protestant Christian Denominations of Ceylon were meeting in Conference in Colombo very frequently during the latter part of 1950, under the auspices of the National Christian Council. On the whole, the tendency of the Colombo delegates was to keep out of the Scheme and that of the Jaffna delegates was to go in. The difference was that the Colombo parents could pay and the Jaffna parents would find it difficult to do so.

On one point, however, we still had doubts. Suppose having got in, we found that things were not what we had expected them to be, would not we have committed ourselves irrevocably and be unable to withdraw? "In that case, we shall let you get out", said the Government. "Will you put it into statutory form?" "We shall" said, Government.

So by the time the subject came before the Board for a final decision, we were, settled in our minds. At the Annual Meeting of the Board held on 16th February, **1951**, we decided to join in; and not merely we, but of the 115 schools which had stood out in 1947, all but 16 joined in; and even of these, two came in later into the Free Scheme and so finally only 14 stood out. But still having lingering suspicions, we appointed a Sub-Committee of four to watch the situation.

True to its word the Statute called, "Education Amendment Act No. 50 of 1951", which received royal assent on March 2nd of the year gave us the right to opt out of the Scheme if we wanted. The words of the Act are clear: "An Assisted school shall cease to be an Assisted school, if the proprietor thereof revokes such election (to join the Scheme)"; p. 9 of the Education (Amendment) Act No. 50 of 1951. The terms "Assisted School" in this context refers to any school in the National Scheme receiving Government aid; and the concession now granted meant that if we were dissatisfied with conditions

of the National Scheme, we could at any time opt out and become an "Unaided School" (without Government grant) but with the right to levy fees.

In the light of subsequent events our action in going into the National Scheme has been badly criticised; because subsequent events affected us badly, while the 14 schools which had stood out were left alone.

Our answer is that the subsequent events had not taken place in 1951; and we could only act on the data before us. We are told that we should have looked into the future. But in looking into the future, can we help being guided by the past?

We are told that we should have made provision for the unexpected. To base action on the unexpected is to foresee it. The unforeseen, however, is unforeseen because it is unforeseeable; the incalculable is incalculable because it cannot be calculated. To ask us to take action on the unforeseeable is to tell us to act arbitrarily. That would be to do anything or nothing.

In the rational course of events, when taking action about the future, we consult the past. It is not that we expect history to repeat itself in every detail, but making allowance for all possible divergences, we do not expect the world of today to turn topsyturvy tomorrow.

In 1951 there was a Party in power, which had held the largest place in public life since the "Thirties". We did not foresee, and no man foresaw, that a new Party of another sort would arise and capture power. But, of course, in politics it must be granted that new Parties do come into power; a new outlook may prevail and policies alter. But even a new Party, however, takes care to keep up certain continuities; and even if the continuities are sometimes badly shaken, it is in regard to big matters. How could anybody expect any new Party, which would have to be concerned with large questions of economics and international affairs, to devote its attention to a small matter concerned with 100 odd schools? And if it

was to be concerned with them, how could we expect it to wreak its vengeance on us simply for trusting the pledge given by the sovereign legislature of the country?

Why cannot the blame be shifted to where it really belongs? We were certainly not unwise in taking the action we did in 1951; it is the Party that was to come into power later that was treacherous and was unreasonable even in its treachery. If it were unwise not to have anticipated such treachery on the part of a Party, that would be called upon to carry out the administration of a country, it was honourable unwise, which nobody need feel ashamed to confess.

We have entitled this Chapter "Sunlight on the Uplands and Clouds Beneath". When we elected to join the Free Education Scheme, we certainly thought that it belonged to the Uplands; because it contributed to our prosperity.

The Annual Prize Giving of 1951 was held on March 2nd, which was the date on which the Act referred to received Royal assent. The Guest Speaker was Mr. H. A. J. Hulugalle, who had been Editor of the "Ceylon Daily News" through most of the Thirties and the greater part of the Forties and had latterly been the Ambassador for Ceylon in Rome. In his speech, instead of indulging in the usual platitudes, Mr. Hulugalle made a practical suggestion. He said that at present there were 600,000 children in our schools and Government was spending Rs. 200 million on them; but as time went on, the number of children was bound to keep increasing, but there was no likelihood of Government income keeping on increasing correspondingly. So he advocated the building up of a Reserve Fund to draw from, by setting apart a sum of 5%—10% from our income yearly.

The number on Roll stood as follows: 725 Boys, 317 girls making a total of 1042 of whom 125 were boarders. The Staff consisted of 51 members, of whom 21 were Graduates and 6 English Trained.

The Principal's Report, besides giving these figures, explained a point which has puzzled many of the older generation, namely. How did the old Cambridge Senior and Junior exams disappear

and how did something called "The G. C. E." come to supplant them? The explanation is that during the World War there was so much delay and irregularity in the transport and valuation of papers (which had to take place in England) that the authorities in Ceylon began to seek for a way out.

Oddly enough, they found the solution in shifting their allegiance from Cambridge to London. The London University was offering an exam called "The General Certificate Exam", to be held at two different levels (Higher and Lower, but at one and the same time). A pass in all papers at the Lower Level would be equivalent to the Cambridge Senior exam. A pass in two of them at the Higher Level, (though not necessarily at the same sitting) would get the student higher recognition.

In the passage of years the two Levels came to denote two separate and distinct exams—The Ordinary Level and the Advanced Level; and a time lapse of two years had to take place between sitting for the one and the other. For University Entrance it is the Advanced Level that counts; and it is based on the aggregate of the marks obtained on four subjects.

Soon after the Prize Giving, the Bunkers left on furlough and a farewell was given them on 14th March. Since according to rules laid down in the Handbook for Missionaries, those going on furlough could be invited back (except in special circumstances) only after they have left the Island, the Board passed its resolution to invite them back only at the Semi Annual Meeting held on 21st July; there is no doubt that Mr. Bunker had acquitted himself in his new role with great credit. It was not merely that we had found a person who could so easily and gracefully discharge his function as head of such an elaborate set-up as prevailed now, but that he himself had found that role far more congenial to his temperament. Freed from the drudgery of running a Secondary School in strict accordance with Government regulations, he was now able to move with ease and confidence in a purely academic sphere, so suitable to his tastes and experience.

The College gained great honour during the year in having two of its Old Boys in the Senate. It is curious that when

an Old Boy got into, the more important branch of the Legislature, namely, the House of Representatives (now called the Parliament) we never made a fuss; but when any of them got into the Senate (since abolished) we made much ado. The reason is that a person who got into the House of Representatives had won an election, had defeated one or two (or more candidates); to honour the winning candidate is to estrange the feelings of the defeated candidates. But a person who gets into the Senate does so by appointment; there would be no formal contest, therefore, we could pay honour without protest. This year Mr. S. R. Kanaganayagam (whom we had honoured last time) got reappointed; but Mr. P. Nagalingam, another Old Boy, got appointed for the first time. This, of course, was considered worthy of a celebration and accordingly a public dinner was given him in April 1951.

We had now been riding the crest for some time and felt ourselves capable of participating in big undertakings; and we decided now we could push ahead our scheme for nation-building. Sir Ivor Jennings had assumed that the two major communities in the island were one nation. This might be a mistake; but it was not a mistake to think that they should form a nation; and we decided that they should. And one of the best ways of bringing this about was to make them know each other's language. We had some years earlier introduced Sinhalese into the Lower classes; this year we introduced it into the Senior Class. Soon many other schools in Jaffna were following suit. As we remarked earlier, if the step was to have any meaning, a corresponding step should have been taken in the South; and schools there should have begun studying Tamil. This, however, was not done; but that does not detract from the merit of our action. We sincerely believed that what we did was a first and necessary step towards a consummation which we fondly hoped for and in which many believed. We were in for a rude awakening very soon.

On 12th July 1951, there took place an event to which not many people paid any serious attention. Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, the Minister of Health, walked out of the United National Party which had been in power before and after Independence. Mr. Bandaranaike had been named after a Colonial

Governor, who had held office at the turn of the century. He belonged to an influential Christian Low Country family that had served the British faithfully. His father was a Knight and so was his maternal grandfather. He had been educated at St. Thomas' College, a famous Anglican school in Ceylon, and at Oxford; and at Oxford he had revealed high oratorical gifts. Most people thought that his Party had given him sufficient recognition.

So anybody who paid attention to the matter would have been surprised at his act. What more did he want? And, on the otherhand, what harm could his defection do to a Party so well entrenched in power? He was simply going into the wilderness they thought. But going into the wilderness was the last thing he wanted to do. He wanted to be Prime Minister after Mr. Senanayake; but he found his way was being blocked by the fact that Mr. Senanayake had a son and a nephew in the Cabinet. In the circumstances, Mr. Bandaranaike realised that his chances were permanently barred.

But how could he proceed against such a strong Party? He had made a discovery; he had discovered the Achilles' heel of the whole system of government that prevailed, namely, the assumption that the two races in the Island constituted a nation. Sir Ivor Jennings had built up the whole machinery of government on it. Mr. Bandaranaike would now teach the majority race that it was the nation and that the power conferred by the Constitution on the majority was theirs. In our title we spoke of the "Clouds Beneath". These clouds were gathering now; at first, they were no bigger than a man's hand.

In the College we had an important accession to our teaching strength. Mr. R. Balasubramania Iyer, (to be distinguished from Mr. M. D. Balasubramania Iyer) an Hons. Graduate in Sanskrit of the Ceylon University and a Vidvan of Annamalai University of South India joined our Staff. Besides this, it is interesting to note that Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, that versatile genius and stormy petrel of Ceylon politics, delivered a lecture here during the year.

The other event of note during the year was the passing of Mr. C. H. Cooke on the 2nd of October. He was ninety years of age. He had started teaching at the College in 1879 and had taught not merely Mr. J. V. Chelliah but even Mr. T. Buell, who was 87 years of age now. His chief subjects had been Bible, Logic and History. He had virtually retired in 1915 but had retained for some years his connexion with the Staff, chiefly as Librarian. After that, he was Acting Pastor of the Vaddukoddai church for four years. He was for long on the Board of Directors of the College in Mr. Bicknell's time. His father J. P. Cooke had owned the High School which Mr. Brown had taken over. He had also been proprietor of the "Morning Star". When the father died in 1912, the proprietorship had devolved on Mr. C. H. Cooke. So long had the connexion of the Cooke family with the College and the Christian community lasted, that it was considered that a member of the family had a hereditary right to be on the Board; and two of his sons were, in fact, on the Board in subsequent times.

Mr. C. H. Cooke had always been a quiet man and through the years his presence had been a familiar sight in and around the College. He was looked upon as a historical relic; and people were glad to have him around. He was a man of blameless character; and the present writer paying a tribute at his funeral said he was an embodiment of the spirit of the 119th Psalm. His contribution to the College was of the same character.

In **1952** the College was doing quite well and continued to do so through the year. Now that Education was free, our numbers had risen to the record total 1,312. But it was also a year of partings; some were merely partings from our midst, some were partings from the world. The year was heavy with the atmosphere of these departures.

The first of these departures was that of Mr. S. A. Visvalingam on the 31st of January. He had chiefly taught Tamil in the Middle Forms. He had not merely taught the subject, but had lived in it; nobody could have complained

that his classes were dull. Being naturally possessed by the language, he had also been a great actor in Tamil plays and was devoted to Carnatic music. As may be expected, he was also well versed in all the customs and traditions of the country. He was only 55 years of age at the time of death.

Soon after, came the news of the death of King George VI of Britain. Ceylon was a Dominion in 1952; but till 1948 had been a Crown Colony; and even as a Dominion we had a connexion with the British Crown. So the link between us and Britain was still not broken. But apart from that, the King's conduct during World War II, his steadfastness, courage and unwavering confidence through its darkest days had made him an object of admiration throughout the world. The Principal spoke of his life at the Assembly the next day; and the College was closed as a mark of respect.

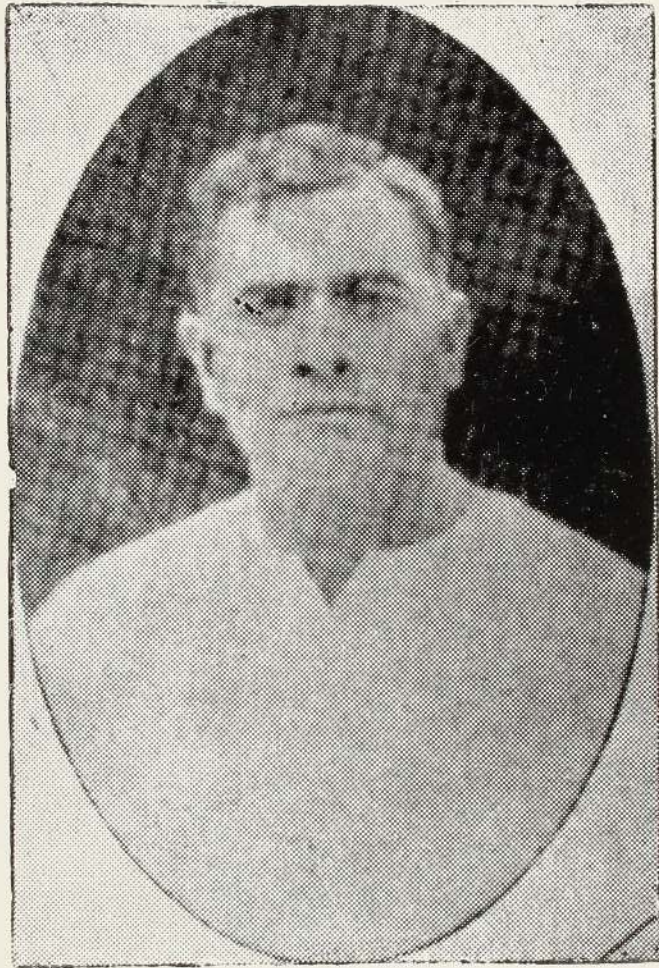
In the Board of Directors we had to bid farewell, in the first place, to Bishop Lakdasa de Mel, who had been our Chairman for 5 years. Whatever the subject under discussion, with Bishop Lakdasa in the chair, no meeting could be dull. His flashes of humour, in respect of which he scarcely had an equal in the country, could brighten every situation. He did not return to the Board later, but there was a greater career still awaiting him.

The Board had also to part with Miss L. G. Bookwalter, a long time member. She had come out as a Missionary to Jaffna in 1911 and had been Principal of Uduvil till she retired from that post in 1941. After that, she had taken charge of the Women's Centre and had been Manager of our Affiliated Schools for some years. She was now going home on retirement.

The affairs of an Institution, however, have to go on day by day, in spite of world events and the goings-out and comings-in of individuals. The Annual Prize Giving took place on 6th March, with Sir Cecil Syers, the British High Commissioner in Ceylon, as the Chief Guest. In the absence of the President, who was on furlough, Mr. Selliah the Principal read the Report. Sir Cecil made two points in his address:



S. S. Sanders



J. S. Sinnapah

the need to maintain the hold on the Humanities (Classics etc.) in spite of the rising tide of the demand for technical education and the need for loyalty to one's school, one's teachers and one's country.

We have already given the total number of students at the beginning of the year. Big figures have the danger of becoming bigger. The pressure for admission became tremendous. 600 students applied for admission; the authorities held an admission test and selected only 200 of them. So there were now 947 Boys and 365 Girls. Of these we are told 182 were boarders. If the total number (1,312) reached was unprecedented, anything beyond would have got beyond control.

The National Languages as media of instruction were creeping up. They had, of course, come up to the Fifth Standard; but Government had signified that from 1955, this would go up to the Seventh Standard. The situation was odd, because the G. C. E. exams were still in English. So there was some wonder as to how students educated for long in one medium would be able to sit for their concluding exam in another language and how the situation could persist very long. It was inevitable that the trend towards the national languages would reach its logical end.

On April 22nd occurred an event of national significance. Mr. D. S. Senanayake, the Prime Minister, who had dominated the political life of the country for nearly twenty years and had come to be called the "Father of the Country", fell down from his horse when riding and died soon after. He was succeeded by his son Mr. Dudley Senanayake who was far more educated than his father; but whether that made him a better or equally capable statesman remained to be seen.

Soon after, the Parliament which had sat from 1947, having completed its statutory term was dissolved and a General Election took place at the end of May. In this Parliament four of our Old Boys found places, a record of which we could be justly proud.

During these months there were, of course, events of local interest. Prof. C. E. Abraham, Principal of Serampore College, paid us a visit in June. The following month, Mr. W. L. Jeyasingham who had gone to the U. S. returned with an M. A. Degree in Geography. Early in August Mr. S. V. Balasingham left for higher studies in History in London.

Soon after the College reopened for its Third Term, we had to face an event right in our midst which caused us great distress. Mr. Jeevam Niles, a most well-beloved figure on the Campus, passed away on 9th September. His invariable smile and his rubicund figure had spread happiness wherever he went. He had been sent to Bangalore for a short theological course, in the hope that he would serve as Chaplain for long years; but it was not to be. In class he had taught Scripture, English and Mathematics. Outside the classroom also, he was active not merely in religious matters but as House Master and a coach in Dramatics. His passing caused much sorrow throughout the whole College.

The same month there passed away in Colombo a different kind of person with a different kind of connexion with the College, Mr. K. Balasingham. He had long been Chairman of the Board of Directors from 1920 and, as we saw, had retired from that body in 1942. He had once held a high place in politics but had always continued to hold a high place in the legal world, fighting forensic battles and writing authoritative law books. Altogether, he was a considerable figure in public life. After retiring from the Board, he had not given up his interest in the College, but had actively identified himself with the doings of the Colombo Branch of our O. B. A. In his death the country lost a great political prophet, the legal world an erudite forensic scholar and we a steadfast friend.

We have from time to time made references here to the development of our Library, which had come to have more importance now that we were a quasi-University. Dr. John Walter Bicknell in the U. S. wondering what was the best way of commemorating his father's memory decided that the Pavilion, which we were thinking of would take time to

materialise and that a section of the Library named after him would be a speedier way of accomplishing the end. And it was certainly appropriate; because surprising though it may be to most, the Rev. John Bicknell though he was devoted to all aspects of the College, paid special attention to the Library visiting it, we understand, eight times a day and even insisting on reading his daily newspaper there. Dr. Bicknell wanted a fund to be launched for the purpose, in 1951; but as the Librarian was away in England nothing could be done.

This year the Librarian was back and the fund was launched; and by September 1st, 1976, new and substantial volumes had been added to our stock; and by 31st October Rs. 3,478-92 was in hand by way of cash to make a further advance; Dr. Bicknell himself donated a large number of books; and those who remember our Library before it was misappropriated by the Jaffna University, will remember his own contribution to what constituted the Bicknell Memorial Section.

In regard to games, we set up a record in Basket Ball. We toured the Island and played seven games, We lost only one; but had the satisfaction of beating the Colombo champions.

The end of the year saw the departure of two historic figures from our midst, that of the two Sanders brothers. We have already referred to the youngest of the brothers, who had died early in life in the Twenties. And it has been said that if the years of service to the Mission were summed up to a total, no family had served us more.

Mr. S. S. Sanders, the elder of the three brothers had served in the office for 43 years. Mr. Bicknell, a most exacting task master, found his punctilious devotion to duty and his integrity so far above the possibility of reproach, that he had left all monetary matters in his hands. But Mr. Sanders himself accustomed to the finances of an earlier time found his abilities taxed beyond endurance by the growth in volume and complexity of work brought about by the vastly increased number of the students to be attended to, and now by the setting up of an Undergraduate Department; but he had striven manfully

to keep up with the demands made on him. He had, as we saw, become eligible for retirement two years earlier, but he had held on till now at the request of the authorities.

His younger brother, D. S. Sanders had joined our Staff in 1913 and except for the four years spent on his academic studies in India and one year spent in the Teachers' Training in Colombo, had served us continuously. From 1947 he had been Vice Principal. His chief subject was Mathematics; but he could turn his hand to anything and seems to have also taught English, Latin, Logic and Ethics. This does not mean that he taught all subjects equally well; what it does mean is that a Secondary School is not a University, where a person teaches only one subject. In a Secondary School "the exigencies of service" may require any teacher to teach any subject at any time for shorter or longer periods. Besides his teaching assignments, he had carried other responsibilities like being Warden of the Inter Hostel, Patron of the Brotherhood, Secretary of the Faculty and President of the Round Table.

To the students the names of Mr. Sanders and Mr. Sundrampillai (who had retired two years earlier) were inseparably associated, because they had studied together, were close friends and were often seen together. Both had one thing in common, their utter devotion to the College and its interests.

The simultaneous departure of the Sanders brothers created a gap which those who had known the College through the years considered too wide to be ever adequately filled. They had become so much part of the College, that without them its existence seemed difficult to conceive. We are glad, however, that both the Sanders brothers lived to a good old age: S. S. Sanders (d. 1974) and D. S. Sanders (d. 1980). Mr. D. S. Sanders soon after retirement was seized upon by the Diocese to be the General Manager of its schools, which position he held till their misappropriation by Government at the end of 1960.

In the College the important thing that happened as a result of these retirements was the appointment of their successors. In place of Mr. D. S. Sanders, two Vice-Principals

were appointed, one Senior and the other Junior. Mr. L. S. Kulathungam was made Senior Vice-Principal and Mr. K. C. Thuraiaratnam the Junior Vice-Principal. In the Office, Mr. S. S. Sanders was succeeded by his long-time Assistant, Mr. J. S. Sinnappah.

The Annual Prize Giving for **1953** took place on 24th March. Mr. E. R. de Silva, Principal of Richmond College, Galle, was the Chief Guest. The subject of the national media for Education was a topic for discussion between him and the Principal. The Chief Guest in his address said that the wisest thing to do was to do what the Government wanted. The Principal Mr. K. A. Selliah, in his Report made an effective reply. He said that at one time Latin was the chief medium of Education in the Universities of Europe and much advance in knowledge had taken place. Even now students from various countries go to Universities in the West and the fact that the medium of instruction is a foreign language does not make a difference to them in the acquisition of knowledge. In Ceylon, politics demanded a large place for the national language; why not adopt a policy of bilingualism?

To the relief of the authorities the number on roll had dropped somewhat. There were 915 boys and 339 girls, making a total of 1,254; last time the number had been 1,312. The number of boarders, on the other hand, had risen from 125 to 192. There was already sufficient room for undergraduate boys but not enough for undergraduate girls nor for Secondary School boys. So the Board voted Rs. 200,000/- for a Girls' Undergraduate Hostel and Rs. 150,000/- for a Secondary School Boys' Hostel.

These votes were made now 27 years ago; but while we certainly have a magnificent Undergraduate Girls' Hostel which was opened three years later, the Secondary School Boys' Hostel has not been built as yet. Why? Because the number of boarders has dropped since those days. Why? The reason is that now the Bus service throughout the Peninsula is so systematic, regular and covers every nook and corner, that it is hought easier to travel from home every day.

The year 1953 is noted in the history of the world for two events. The first was the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II of England on June 2nd. Though there are still Kings and Queens, the ceremony of Coronation is not always practised. In England it always has been. The second event, oddly enough, took place on the next day and that was the climbing of Mt. Everest, the highest Peak in the world, which had so far defied all human effort to reach it. But on this day Edmund Hillary and his Nepalese guide Norsay Tensing were able to accomplish this unprecedented feat (with modern apparatus, to help them, not available earlier.) Since then it has been done from various directions by various teams.

In the history of Ceylon the year was noted for the end of the short-lived premiership of Mr. Dudley Senanayake. He had succeeded his father in April of the previous year, but largely owing to internal intrigue and an unnecessarily declared "Emergency", was compelled to resign on October 13th. The Party, however, remained in power and his successor was Sir John Kotelawala (died 1980) a doughty figure capable of standing up to any intrigue.

In the College itself there were no noteworthy events of the sort that characterised the previous year; and this was just as well, because an educational institution could pursue its legitimate functions without undue interruption.

We had a number of distinguished visitors during the year, the following being the most important among them:

Mr. M. D. Banda, Minister of Education—17th January.

Mr. Paul Lambert, General Secretary of the World Y. M. C. A.—22 Jany.

President William Stephenson of Oberlin College, U. S. A.

Rev. Raymond Dudley, Secy. of the American Board.

Mr. David MacKeith, Exec. Vice President, American Board.

Mr. R. B. Manickam, Regional Secy. of the World Council of Churches—Nov. 20th

Mr. T. Kudra, Mayor of Colombo—27th Nov.

It had once been our boast that few of ~~our teachers left~~ of their own accord. It still held good about most of them; but the Staff had been getting more and more elongated; and the large number of Government posts available for teachers under the Free Education Scheme, had begun to restrict the applicability of our boast along the whole line of our Staff. During the previous year 8 of our teachers had left and by the equation demanded by the times we took 11 to fill their places. Among these were Mr. R. S. Thambiah (for Geography) Mr. A. Kadirgamar (for Biology) and Miss T. Illanganayagam (for Domestic Science).

The Collegiate Department was now enjoying a boom. One reason for it was the coming in of the G. C. E. A Level Exam. This was an examination of a lower standard than the old Intermediate Class but of a higher standard than that of the Matriculation. The gap between it and the degree was three years (whereas that between the Intermediate and the Degree had been 2 years); but a pass in it meant an assurance that you were on your way to a Degree.

The other reason was that we were showing that we could really do the job we had undertaken. We had presented 9 candidates for the B. A. exam. and 8 for the B. Sc. and 5 had passed in each. People wondered whether the percentage was higher in the University; and as compared with the University we were cheaper. It is not, therefore, surprising that we were becoming popular.

By **1954**, the members on the roll in the Secondary School had begun to rise again. There were 944 boys and 359 girls, making a total of 1,303. The confidence of the public was obviously on the ascendant, so much so that the Board of Directors at its Annual Meeting in February wondered whether it should not start a Branch School in Colombo, a project that seems breath-taking in its audacity to us now but which seemed to have been normal in the atmosphere of that time.

~~in February,~~ Mr. K. A. Selliah felt that now as Principal his horizons needed expansion by a first-hand experience of the educational institutions of other lands. The chief country he had in mind was the U. S. A. On his way, however, he was able to visit the institutions in England where he had studied in the 'Thirties. In the U. S. A. he put in a three-months stint of teaching at Mt. Hermon School, Mass., founded in the last century by D. L. Moody, the famous evangelist, which stands on about 450 acres of land; and with its many-sided activities is an entirely self-contained institution. On his way back by way of the Pacific, he spent some time in Malaya, where he saw many of our Old Boys. Altogether his tour lasted six months.

At the Annual Prize Giving for 1954 on 13th March the Chief Guest was Sir Frederick Rees, who had served on the Soulbury Commission ten years earlier and was at this time a Visiting Professor at the Ceylon University. Mr. Bunker presided. Sir Frederick stressed two points, both of which the country was going to discard in subsequent times. In the first place, he was against the multiplication of Universities on a communal basis, as it would militate against national unity. In the second place, he pleaded for the retention of a modern world-language which would enable students to keep abreast of the advancement of knowledge in the world; confinement to the languages of a small country like this would produce intellectual isolation and stagnation.

In the absence of Mr. Selliah on his world tour, the Acting Principal Mr. L. S. Kulathungam, read the Report of the Secondary School. Like Mr. Selliah he also protested against the growing policy of unilingualism and pleaded for bilingualism. He said that Indonesia, which had had nothing to do with Britain at any time, and had been under the Dutch before the War, had now introduced English into its schools. He also said that we wanted National Unity and that was why we were teaching Sinhalese in the higher classes.

During the year we had some important and interesting visitors. In March Sir Sydney Smith, Emeritus professor of Forensic Medicine at Edinburgh and the founder of the science

of Ballistics, who had given evidence in many sensational criminal cases (including one in Ceylon), paid us a visit. In his book "Mostly Murder", he reveals how in his work he simply carried into practice the methods used in fiction by Sherlock Holmes, the inventor of whom, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, and his own teacher had studied under the same Professor at Edinburgh. Among other visitors were Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, then Minister of Food and Agriculture and now President of the country, Sir Lakshmanasamy Mudlr., Vice Chancellor of the Madras University and Sir John Kotelawala, the Prime Minister. On this visit we shall comment later.

On 10th April there passed away from the world one of the most interesting personalities connected with us, Mr. T. Buell. Born in 1864, he had graduated from the College in 1886 and gone to Bombay and become a great figure among Indian Christians. He returned to us about 1932 and was drafted into our service in an honorary capacity and served both in the Board of Directors of Jaffna College and the American Ceylon Mission of which he was often the Chairman; we used to be amused by his constant references to Bombay. He was experienced, astute and courageous.

During the year we were also engaged in a building programme. Quarters were required for our Undergraduate Staff. So a structure of flats to accommodate four members was completed in May. It is of the same kind as that built for the students and looking very much like them and lies along the Karainagar Road, west of the students' Flats.

The Old Boys who had to depend on purely voluntary gifts, were determined that the Pavilion they had conceived of in memory of Mr. Bicknell, should somehow rise. They had Rs. 24,175/- in hand; and a sum of Rs. 20,000/- had also been voted by the Board; whether the sum they had in hand included this, one does not know. We had also Rs. 65,175/- in promises—but this species of money is usually illusory, but the Old Boys were willing to take the risk. So on July 10th Mr. K. Kanagaratnam, a former M. P. and one of our most devoted Old Boys, laid the foundation stone for the new building.

Among teachers, Mrs. A. P. T. Winslow retired after 27 years of service. A new accession was Mr. A. M. Brodie Jnr., whose father had left us four years earlier. Mr. S. V. Bala-singham, who had gone to the London University for his M. A. degree, returned to us in August having secured it. His thesis on Governor Ward was later published in book form in Ceylon.

We have a little earlier referred to Sir John Kotelawala as among our important visitors during the year. All over Jaffna, wherever he went, he was received with the most effusive demonstrations. He came to us on 18th October. His pleasant gifts of buoyant humour, generosity and defiant courage had always commended him to all who knew him. As Prime Minister, he embodied in himself the spirit which the Soulbury Commis-sioners had expected would always prevail and sincerely believed that all races in Ceylon could and should live together. On his visit to the Jaffna Schools he was highly gratified with the fluency with which our Students spoke Sinhalese. It was a long time before any other Prime Minister in Ceylon was to pay a visit to Jaffna. He was received with open acclaim but we shall soon see our reason for later disappointment.

In November yet another accession occurred to our Staff, in the person of Mr. C. B. Bavinck, a Dutchman and son of a famous Professor. He had been an active figure in the Dutch Resistance Movement during the Nazi occupation and had actually been sentenced to death by them. He came here as Chaplain and became almost indispensable to many depart-ments. He made himself a master of Tamil very soon and was at home in every branch of our activities. He was with us till 1972.

One of the last decisions made by the Executive Committee of the Board for the year 1954 was one of the happiest it ever made; and that was to take on Mr. A. M. K. Cumaraswamy. Mr. Cumaraswamy had had a distinguished academic career, having been the first student from Ceylon to pass the London B. Sc. and had obtained a first class; he had been a teacher at Trinity College, Kandy, Registrar of the Diocese of Colombo, Vice-Principal of St. John's College, Jaffna, and Registrar of

the Ceylon University. He was pure in heart, versatile in his gifts, could turn out an editorial for the "Morning Star" or write a poem in English or Tamil for the mere asking, and was one of most delightful of companions, full of anecdotes and witticisms. He was originally taken on for three years, but stayed with us for four. He did some teaching; but he functioned mainly as Registrar of the Undergraduate Department. His chief contribution to us, however, was to stay in our midst. That stay is one of the most pleasant recollections in our history.

Throughout the year **1955**, we find the sunlight still shining on the uplands, but that the cloud below, which had been no bigger than a man's hand, was growing bigger and bigger. This was due to the fact that Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike who had got out of the U. N. P. in 1951 was not idle. He was, in fact, anything but idle. He was carrying on a blazing campaign among the Sinhalese masses. He had, as we said earlier, discovered that the power that the Soulbury Commission had conferred by the Constitution need not be a mere parliamentary formula depending on the results of general elections but a permanent power of one race over another. He had also discovered the best *modus operandi* for putting across his message to the masses. He had found that it lay in enlisting the support of the village Notary, the native physician, the Vernacular Teacher and above all the Buddhist priests. The spear-head and war cry of the campaign was that the Sinhalese Language should be the one and only official language of the country. Of course, Mr. Bandaranaike wanted much more than this; but this slogan had the virtue of simplicity.

So effective was the campaign in the country, that the U. N. P., against which the whole movement had been directed, realized that its path of discretion lay in its adopting the same programme; and its leaders began to show signs of a sudden conversion. Politically, the situation was in a state of entire flux, both sides crying out the same programme but each side also professing deadly enmity to the other.

~~But~~ the atmosphere had become so heavy laden with the demand (which was common to both sides) that the U. N. P. Minister of Education thought himself justified in taking the national language media to the eighth grade from the beginning of 1955. Educationally, as we have noticed this would be increasing the existing confusion, because the G. C. E. still continued to be in English.

The Government had appointed a Commission to go into the subject; the Report came out on 5th January; but the members themselves were divided in their recommendations. On 13th January 1955 Mr. Bandaranaike said in Parliament that it was a heavy disadvantage to retain English at the higher level.

The Ministers were not for carrying the process of nationalising the media entirely, because they realized that one factor alone ought not to influence and totally change a long-standing tradition. But they were slowly, reluctantly and gradually giving-way, because the pressure was becoming irresistible. The repentance was to come later, but just now it was political convenience that mattered. But behind the language issue was the future of the Denominational Schools which were the homes of the English Language.

It is this atmosphere that will make us understand the speech of the Chief Guest at the Annual Prize Giving held on 12th March. The Chief Guest was Mr. Shelton Fernando, Commissioner of Co-operative Development. He was a Christian and thought it his duty to defend the position of the Christian Schools. He said that Christianity was as much a religion in the country as any other and that therefore its institutions had as much right to exist as those of any other religion.

Mr. Fernando's plea for the Denominational System was sustained and impassioned backed by quotations from Milton, Edmund Burke and John Stuart Mill, which eloquently advocated equality of treatment due to all citizens and their eligibility to equal rights. It was an attempt to stem the tide that at the moment seemed all-powerful.

The numbers in our ~~Secondary School~~ stood at ~~1189~~. The Principal said that out of 163 applications for admission he had selected only 54. The total number of boarders was 150.

The Undergraduate Department was flourishing: its total number of pupils stood at 150. The President however, was not happy about the heavy trend towards the Science Section. Despite his efforts however, it had not been possible to maintain the Semi-Science Faculty of Economics.

The Undergraduate students on their part, were no longer willing to consider themselves an appendix to the Secondary School and had started a terminal magazine of their own, called the "Northern Undergrad", to show that the Secondary School which produced "The Young Idea" was not the only Department on the Campus.

During the year the Rt. Rev. D. Chellapa, the new Bishop in Madras, seems to have been the only distinguished visitor we had. He was a staunch friend of Jaffna, because his ancestors had hailed from here, having gone with the Jaffna Missionaries, when they went across the Palk Straits to found Missions in India. He paid his visit on 17th March.

A figure very familiar to us, but not directly connected with the College, namely, Mr. V. C. Kathiravelu, passed away from our midst this year. He had long been book-seller to the college and so well conversant with the curriculum, that when a year opened he would have all the prescribed books ready. So closely had he been identified with us that he was practically looked upon as a member of the staff.

At its Semi-Annual Meeting, held on 15th October 1955, our Board made an important move. The University of Ceylon was situated at Peradeniya in the hill country. It had imparted education to the select number whom it had chosen to admit within its portals each year. The Board decided to press upon the Government the desirability of either Peradeniya granting external degrees or in the alternative establishing another University in Colombo with the right to grant degrees to External Students, and, if necessary, the right to recognise Affiliated Colleges.

~~We had~~ put forward not two alternatives but three, the granting of External Degrees, the founding of an additional University in Colombo and the recognition of Affiliated Colleges. Apart from our own request, the pressure for admission was making it necessary for Government itself to set up a branch of the University in Colombo. Affiliated Colleges were never recognised: but the response to the other two requests materialised, and the subsequent multiplication of Universities to a large extent reduced the crying need for External Examinations that had prevailed; though once introduced they still linger.

In the year **1956** the sunlight shone with its usual brightness on the uplands, that is the College: but the clouds were gathering in a dark shroud below.

During the latter part of January, we had some important American visitors. The Rev. R. A. Dudley, Secretary of the American Board and the Board of Trustees of the College, came to us accompanied by Mr. J. S. Allan, Treasurer of the Board of Trustees and Mrs. Allan. The importance of the visit centered chiefly in Mrs. Allan. She was the grand-daughter of Rev. Marshall Sanders who had to a large extent been responsible for the revival of the College after the closure of the Seminary and who was to have been its first Principal, but had died on the very day that the College was originally to be opened in 1871. It was that event which had postponed the opening of the College by one year. His son, was Dr. Frank Sanders, the father of Mrs. Allan. Dr. Frank Sanders had been a Professor here in the eighties of the last century and Mrs. Allan had been born here. He later went as Dean of the Faculty of Divinity at Yale. Mrs. Allan was glad to be in her birth place once again and we were glad to have such a historic link in our midst.

Early in February, Canon Charles Raven, a distinguished Scientist and Theologian and head of Christ College, Cambridge, visited us; and on the 8th of the month gave a lecture on "Science and Religion". On the 21st of the month Dr. A. H. Stiener, Professor of Political Science in the University of California, was the guest of the Round Table.

About this time Mr. ~~John Foster Dulles, then Secretary~~ of State of the U. S. A., was in Ceylon for twelve hours and was anxious to find out details about his ancestress, who he knew had been a Missionary here. She was Mrs. Miron Winslow, who had founded the Uduvil Girls' College. When the Embassy officials came here, Mr. Bunker presented them with a copy of her husband Miron Winslow's standard Tamil-English Dictionary (running into more than 900 pages). When the Embassy officials at their reception gave it to him, he was visibly moved and forthwith sent substantial cheques both to us and to Uduvil.

On 10th March two important events took place. The first was the opening of the new Undergraduate Girls' Hostel. As may be seen, it is an impressive building and built on somewhat modern lines; the upper storey having corridors and not verandhas. It had been dedicated by the Bishop earlier and was opened in the afternoon by Mrs. C. C. de Silva, wife of Prof. C. C. de Silva and the sister of Bishop Lakdasa de Mel.

The second event of the day was the Annual Prize Giving, the Chief Guest being Dr. J. H. Taylor, Principal of Scottish Churches' College, Calcutta. Our Principal in his Report revealed that the number of students on the roll stood at 1220, of whom 856 were boys and 364 girls. The Staff of the Secondary School consisted of 61, leaving out of account the Librarian and workers in the Office.

Bulging numbers may produce two opposite reactions: satisfaction or concern. Satisfaction may be caused, because it was an index of popularity and concern because large numbers created problems. The College authorities now took the second view. The first of these problems was that if the Undergraduate Department and the Secondary School existing on the same Campus were allowed to grow without any plan, apart from the question of space, there would be grave problems of discipline. In the second place, would such unrestricted growth subserve our fundamental aim of imparting Christian education? So the Board had appointed Dr. D. T. Niles to watch and report on the situation.

At the end of March, Rev. W. R. Sussbach, who had been with us for seven years left for his home in Germany. He had

been Chaplain to the Undergraduate Department and been Professor of Economics. He had closely identified himself with us in all activities and we appreciated his devotion to his duties and his thoroughness.

Out in the country, things were heading for a crisis of great magnitude. The Parliament which was sitting was only three years old and, therefore, had three more years to run; but the Government party felt that it was being set at naught in the country by the feelings that were being created and stirred up among the masses by Mr. Bandaranaike. To take the wind out of Mr. Bandaranaike's sails, the U. N. P. had been even willing to adopt the main demand he was putting forward. But as things were getting out of hand, Sir John Kotelawala, confident of his own popularity, challenged his antagonists to a trial of strength and dissolved Parliament.

The issue before the country was whether Sinhala should be made the sole official language of the country. Of course, every one knew that the cry stood for more than a mere change in the language used in official documents. It stood for a new approach in the political life in the country, based on the assumption that the country belonged to the Sinhalese race, and therefore not merely their language, but their Faith, their view point and their interests must always be considered paramount. Mr. Bandaranaike had simplified the issue further by condensing his manifesto into the formula "Sinhalese within 24 hours".

Mr. Bandaranaike had two advantages on his side: in the first place, he was appealing to the most elemental passions of the people: their race, their language and their Faith. The Soulbury Commission had based their Constitution, and the U. N. P. till now had worked, on the possibility of building a Ceylonese nation out of the different racial, linguistic and religious groups here. The building of a new nation out of such diversified material was a delicate task requiring great statesmanship and time. It had been achieved in India by Mahatma Gandhi over a period of 30 years with great labour

and finally at the cost of his life. The ~~task of telling the~~ majority that they were the majority, and that they could always rule the country was extremely simple and always likely to find an easy response.

Secondly, the U. N. P. had been in power virtually from 1931; that is, for 25 years. Every party in power when it has to confer favours also builds up grievances. So the U. N. P. had built up a heavy pile and there were many waiting for the end of its regime. Only nobody had so far raised the standard of revolt; but once it was raised, there would be many willing to join in the revolt, whatever their other differences might be.

The number of members in Parliament then stood at 101. At the General Elections that took place after the dissolution, Mr. Bandaranaike's party then called the M. E. P. (Mahajana Eksath Peramuna) got 51 seats; the L. S. S. P. (Lanka Sama Samaja Party) which stood for Trotskyite principles, got 14 seats and the Communist Party got 3 seats. These two parties last mentioned were willing to throw in their lot with the M. E. P. There were also 6 seats to be filled by members nominated by the Government. So Mr. Bandaranaike had 74 members behind him. The U. N. P. was all but wiped out, gaining only 8 seats.

Mr. Bandaranaike, who had been supposed to be walking into the wilderness, had triumphed, and triumphed not merely beyond the expectations of others but his own. But it was a strange triumph. He had cried out for the domination of the Sinhalese race; but his own family traced its descent from a Tamil chieftain, called Neela Perumal. He had cried out for the immediate introduction of the Sinhalese language; but he himself could hardly read or write it; he had cried for the predominance of the Buddhist religion; but Buddhism was a late arrival in his life and sat lightly on him. Politically, his recently adopted programme was a repudiation of his own past; because he had long been Secretary of the Ceylon National Congress, out of which the U. N. P. had risen.

~~We~~ have already said why he embarked on the present course; it is not that he wanted power. He merely wanted position; he wanted to be Prime Minister, a post to which he considered his talents entitled him. If he had lived longer than he did, it is very doubtful if he would have implemented the policies he advocated with the utter severity with which they were implemented in his name and memory after his death. He was fundamentally a good man, but a man consumed by a passion for recognition; and whatever cry or programme would bring it he was willing to put forward. He knew that a house divided against itself cannot stand; when it came to that, he probably expected to retrace his steps; but Prime Minister he would be.

Whether he took his own programme seriously or not, such fervour and energy had he displayed in its promotion that people took him seriously. Basically what was the consequence of Mr. Bandaranaike's campaign? It had taught the people of Ceylon to think in terms of race. The minorities had always feared racial domination; but it had been a mental concept of a likelihood; Mr. Bandaranaike had made it materialise into a hard fact. The Soulbury Constitution has been amended twice since 1956; but the possibility that was latent in it from the beginning, namely, a racial majority becoming a permanent Parliamentary majority had become a fact and has remained a fact in Ceylon. Ceylon has not been the same since 1956. And the idea that if the country belonged to the Sinhalese and that the others were interlopers would occasionally in subsequent times find expression in violent upheavals. Occasionally a minister might preach against it on platforms; but it still colours the thinking of the majority race. At the time of writing (1981) the Government is making a strong effort to go back to the days before 1956; but the knowledge that a racial interpretation can be put on a political formula once learnt is not easily unlearned.

On the 12th April 1956 Mr. Bandaranaike became Prime Minister and was not willing to let the grass grow under his feet. Certainly, after the fervour with which he had demanded the installation of Sinhalese as the official language,

it would have looked awkward if he had shown ~~undue delay~~ in the matter. So on 5th June he introduced his "Sinhala Only" Bill into Parliament (knowledgeable people say that in the first draft of the Bill, he had, however, permitted the use of other languages for domestic and religious purposes!). Even the eight U. N. P. members could hardly dare to vote against it. Many Tamils in Colombo staged a "Sit down strike on the Galle Face Green and protest meetings were held in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

Here at College neither the students nor the Staff could close their eyes to what was going on. On the day the Bill was introduced 64 students in the Boarding fasted through the day. In the afternoon, all students assembled under the Banyan tree to hold a protest meeting. Nor could the Board of Directors close its eyes to what was going on. The same month the Executive Committee recommended the discontinuance of the teaching of Sinhalese in the College; and the following month the Board at its Semi-Annual Meeting accepted the recommendation. We find that the Principals of all other schools were also in complete accord. Our whole conduct in the business is a telling commentary on the course of events in the country. We had taken up the study of Sinhalese, when nobody compelled us to do so; and when it seemed we would be compelled to study it by higher authorities, we dropped it. We took it up when the study of it could promote national unity and accord; we had to drop it when it became a symbol of racial servitude and of permanent inferiority.

About this time there passed away from our midst two familiar figures. The first of these was Mr. S. R. Beadle, who had in 1941 retired from the post of being our Secular Agent. After his retirement till his illness, he had been in charge of the College Co-operative Stores. His tall, spare figure had for years been a common sight on the Campus to generations of students. He died on 25th May.

The other was Mr. T. C. Rajaratnam who died on the 7th of the following month. As a student in the first decade in the Century he had passed his Senior Cambridge exam with distinction in Logic, a rare feat in those days. He had become

an outstanding lawyer at the Jaffna Bar but had given liberally of his time to many causes and had often been Chairman of our Board and the American Ceylon Mission. We held a Memorial Service for him in July.

Late in June there arrived from Amsterdam a leading Dutch scholar, Prof. J. H. Bavinck, the father of Mr. C. B. Bavinck of our staff. He spoke to the Union Society on 12th July. His presence in Jaffna was availed of in connexion with the commemoration of the 250th Anniversary of the landing of Ziegenbalg, the first Protestant Missionary to the East.

A unique occurrence during the year was the step taken by the Undergraduate Department. It marked a further stage in the growing self-consciousness of the Undergraduate Department. It had been founded nine years previously, but had felt itself overshadowed by its far bigger and older partner the Secondary Department. It was only now it was beginning to assert its own separate identity; during the previous year it had begun to put forward its own terminal magazine. This year it determined to stage a "College Day", similar to the College Annual Prize Giving.

The College Day celebrations took place on 15th July. At divine Service in the morning, Dr. J. H. Bavinck preached; at noon, there was lunch. In the evening, the function corresponding to the College Prize Giving took place; the Chief Guest was Dr. Buell Gallagher, President, City College, New York, who like many others coming here in those days from America, had been a classmate of Mr. Bunker.

We discovered that during the short time that the Undergraduate Department had been in existence, it had passed out 50 students. This, if not a very noteworthy achievement, was certainly a considerable contribution to the academic life of the Peninsula. The number does not take into account those who had in that period passed the Intermediate exams; these must have been a legion.

Dr. Gallagher revealed certain remarkable circumstances regarding his own background. The City College of which he was President was spread over all the City of New York and had a student enrolment of 100,000. The President not merely could not know the Staff members, he could not even know the Deans of the various units.

In his address Dr. Gallagher dwelt on the difference in ideals between those of Sparta and those of Athens. Sparta, aiming merely at military dominance perished and deserved to perish. Athens having different ideals was itself eclipsed only when it began to develop imperialistic ambitions.

During the year two veterans from our Staff, Messrs C. O. Elias and K. V. George reached the age limit imposed by Government and had to retire. Mr. Elias had taught numerous subjects in the Middle Forms; among others were History, Ethics, Civics, Physiology and Hygiene and Scripture; but it was not his teaching that was responsible for the impact he made on College life, but the force of his bubbling and ubiquitous personality; he was seldom silent and never absent. Mr. K. V. George was as unlike Mr. Elias as any two human beings could ever be, quiet, unobtrusive and always keeping to himself. He had joined us as an Art Teacher in the twenties and had in the forties successfully negotiated the B. Sc. examination of the Calcutta University. By this achievement he was able to be the first teacher of Botany here (and perhaps in Jaffna as a whole). But the distinction he had gained in the College was chiefly that of being the father of a batch of outstanding athletes who succeeded one another every three years or so and were champions in their different groups simultaneously.

It is one of the ironies of nature that while Institutions built by the hand of man go on, the men themselves pass away from the scene and one generation succeeds another. This year two well known figures had to retire from our Affiliated Schools. Mr. S. Saravanamuttu had been here at the College and left us in the 'Twenties to go and take charge of Driberg School at Chavakachcheri, then a small struggling

Elementary School, and had built it into a flourishing Secondary School by putting his whole personality into it, had to retire. The other was Mr. K. T. John from Travancore. He had come in 1920 and was first at Pandatheruppu, till he went to take charge of the Elementary School at Udupiddy. He was there for about twenty years and built it up into the high grade Secondary School that it is now, with the name of "Udupiddy American Ceylon Mission College". He died recently in Travancore in his eighties.

In September 1956 we had an interesting diversion. To help the Bicknell Pavilion Fund we had invited Vasantha Kumari, one of the best known singers in South India to give recitals here. She was accompanied by the usual troupe of instrumentalists attached to a singer. She gave two recitals, one in Jaffna and one in Colombo; both were well patronised. Though the expenses were heavy, we netted Rs. 8,000/- from the first recital and Rs. 6,825/- from the second.

On the 9th of December, the Vaddukkoddai church celebrated its 125th Anniversary. Most of our churches can in one sense celebrate anniversaries going back much further in time, since in many cases the Dutch founded churches on the same spots in the 17th Century; but there was a break in the continuity of the congregations. The Anniversaries now celebrated by our older churches, only go back to the time when the one Congregation set up by the American Missionaries in 1816, was split into five distinct congregations and each recognised as a church in its own right in 1831.

As the year **1957** opened, the uplands were still bright and sunny but there were signs that the clouds below would move up sooner or later. The Denominational System of Education still stood; but the Buddhist Commission, an unofficial but highly influential body, had advised that the dual system of Government controlled and Denominationally controlled Schools should come to an end. On which side would the Prime Minister throw his weight? Probably on neither. He himself was a product of the Denominations system; but so

were most of the Buddhist leaders, who were clamouring for its end. On his own, he probably would have taken no steps against it; but would he have resisted any strong movement to the contrary? Hardly, we think.

But the Denominational system, however, found a strong champion, and a champion in the right place. The Minister of Education, Mr. W. Dahanayake, set himself up to defend the Denominational schools. He contended that it would be suicidal to do away with a system which had, in fact, produced most of the leaders of the time. He advised those who wanted an end of the Denominational schools to devote their energies to two things, namely, to those students who could not find accommodation in any school and to improving the standards of the schools the Government already controlled.

The upward march of the national languages below the level of the G. C. E. had been continuing to the great confusion of both Staff and students. Mr. Lionel Jayatilake, the Minister for Educational Services in the present Government puts forward his own explanation of the situation. He says this was done "to hit the rural student". (The Ceylon Daily News—1st November 1980). Mr. Jayatilake as an official of the present Government and a sympathiser with its policies and naturally wants to dig his knife into Mr. Bandaranaike's Government; but that Government came into power only in 1956. Who had been doing it till then? The U. N. P. Government. Mr. Jayatilake would not want to accuse the U. N. P. Government of deliberately trying to hit the rural student. The action that had been pursued in the matter was simply an attempt of the Government of the day to keep pace with what it conceived to be the demand of national dignity without entirely ruining the educational structure.

The Annual Prize Giving for 1957 took place on February 27th, the Chief Guest being Mr. J. R. Hicks, Professor of Economics at the University of Oxford. The Principal complained not merely of the difficulties caused by the method adopted in introducing Swabasha into the curriculum, but of

another point as well. In spite of its assurance in 1951 that it would not interfere with the freedom of Privately managed schools in the Free Scheme, Government was taking advantage of the fact that it was paying all expenses and was increasingly tightening its control over these schools.

There were now 1,306 students on the roll (920 Boys and 386 Girls), of these 159 were boarders. The fall in the number of boarders was mainly due, as we said earlier, to the regularity of the Bus Services between every nook and corner of the Peninsula. That there would always be a certain number of Day Students, if not even a larger number than Boarders, was inevitable; but that out of 1,306 students only 159 should be boarders was going directly against the character of the institution whose aim was that the students would be brought up under the eyes of the teachers in the art of life.

In the new order of things that was expected to come into being, we found that the College had felt that it should play its part and how with a view to promoting national unity it had taken up the teaching of Sinhalese. Now it felt it should go beyond purely academic studies. It had taken on an Agricultural Instructor, who with a batch of students rented a neighbouring plot of paddy land, two acres in extent, and had gone into cultivating our staple crop; and surprisingly enough, it was proving to be a success. So encouraged were the authorities that they were seriously contemplating a joint venture in the matter on a larger scale in the Mankulam area with St. John's and Hartley.

The number of students in the Collegiate Department had become almost unmanageable owing to a reason that operates when students are admitted into Collegiate studies without an Entrance test. Many who had completed their Secondary School studies just got into the Collegiate Department to await developments; fortunately for the peace of mind of the President, the results of the G. C. E. arrived and the number dropped to the manageable level of 200, where he had always wanted it to stay. The President felt sorry that owing to the lack of financial resources he could not run an Economics Department.

The public also were realizing that we were worthy of its confidence. Mr. J. R. Thambapillai, formerly of the Customs, left us a house at Haputale, the rent from which was to be used for the studies, preferably of a student from Araly. Dr. A. E. Duraisamy of Malaya gave a scholarship for medical studies at Vellore for a student from the Islands. Mrs. P. Mortimer, wife of a former Assistant Government Agent, gave 200 books to the Library from that of her late husband.

These were all events on the uplands; what about the storm clouds below? Would they envelop the country, including the tiny uplands of our own College? It was now a year since the "Sinhala Only" Act had been passed. But there had been no other developments.

Then the leader of the Tamils, Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam, went for an interview with the Prime Minister to try and make him see reason; with characteristic readiness, Mr. Bandaranaike was only quite willing to do so. There was no need for any fears on the part of the Tamils, he said. Government was going to transfer large areas of administration into the hands of District Councils and the grievances of the Tamils would be entirely met. So an agreement on the subject was signed between Mr. Bandaranaike and Mr. Chelvanayagam on 27th of July 1957.

It was equally characteristic of Mr. Bandaranaike that when a deputation of Buddhist priests went to him a few days later to protest against it, he asked them what they wanted and found that they wanted the pact between him and Mr. Chelvanayagam scrapped; he readily complied. So things were as they were before 27th of July; but we shall see that we had not heard the last of the story.

Among those who visited the College during the year were Dr. Alford Carleton, Executive Vice-President of the American Board, who came in March. Dr. S. Burgridge, a Shakespearean scholar from Oxford, who came in May and Mr. P. J. Fiscu, General Manager of the Shell Company who came in June. Dr. Carleton had, of course, been a fellow student of

~~Mr. Dunbar at~~ Oberlin. As Executive Vice-President of the American Board, he was *de facto* head of the organisation, since the President himself merely presided at meetings.

At its Semi-Annual Meeting in August 1957, the Board was able to note with satisfaction that the College had been recognised by Government as a Charitable Institution. Many would look upon this as a meaningless formality; that is exactly what it was not; it was a most meaningful formality. It meant that donations and bequests to the College would be free of Income Tax. It was a welcome boon.

During the year, two of our Staff members left us: Messrs. S. O. Thuraisingham and S. T. Jeevaratnam. Mr. Thuraisingham had joined us only a few years previously and was leaving us to go into the legal profession. He was given a farewell on 27th July. Mr. S. T. Jeevaratnam, on the other hand, had been with us from 1917; except for the time taken for his higher studies and some years of teaching at Hartley, he had been on our Staff so continuously that forty of our teachers, including the Principal and the two Vice-Principals, had been his students. His subjects were Chemistry and Mathematics, which he taught with precision and clarity; and so great was his mastery of what he taught that he could afford to be always quiet and unassuming. He had earned the gratitude of generations of his students both by the content as well as the manner of his teaching. He and Mrs. Jeevaratnam were accorded a grand farewell on 29th November. The Editor of the "Miscellany" most aptly summed up the feelings of the College when he left us by using words applied to a much-loved Public School teacher in fiction, who had left service after forty years: "Good-bye, Mr. Chips".

During the year we also received news of the passing away in his own land of Mr. M. I. Thomas who had served us from 1923 to 1948. If his death was early, as the span of life is reckoned now, it was because he had given so much of himself to his teaching work.

Through the year **1958** while the sun continued to shine on the uplands, down below the storm clouds were gathering, and

the storm would burst and the beasts of prey be on the rampage seeking whom they might devour. But in the College things were going on smoothly and the events that took place were such as were normal in the life of any institution. So smooth was the working of the College that neither the President nor the Principal in their "Notes" in the Miscellany gives much attention either of the magnitude or the significance of the tragedy that would soon engulf the country.

The Annual Prize Giving took place on 8th March with Prof. C. J. Eliezer, a scholar of legendary ability in the mathematical field, as our Chief Guest. The number of students on the roll stood at 1259 (892 boys and 367 girls). Of these 150 were boarders.

The Collegiate Department was pretty well set. It now had seventeen full-time Instructors, though it still had to draw on the Secondary School to the tune of twenty two part-time teachers. Altogether, for a company of two hundred students we were making all the provision we could. The long-felt need for an Economics section was also now met and a course purely on that subject launched.

In the country, we have noted the programme of the new Party that came into power in the General Elections of 1956. We noted that its slogan had been "Sinhala Only" and drew attention to the fact that behind that linguistic slogan was a much wider programme of making the Sinhala race predominant and its culture and religion, the ruling principles of government.

We expressed doubts as to whether the Prime Minister was a believer in his own creed or not, but we said that he had converted others to it. So on the basis of that creed, the party or the Cabinet could take action. And since the appeal of the party had been made to the "masses", it was taken for granted that the "masses" would supplant the "classes", and the power and authority and influence which had been with the elite would pass out of its hands into the hands of the (Sinhalese) masses.

The Education Department holds a key position in a Government. It controls by far the largest number of employees and these have the opportunity of shaping the minds of hundreds of thousands of students. The first of these facts denotes a power and the second a responsibility. The first fact can be used to influence the second. The Education Department also has another advantage in its favour, in that most of its activities do not attract much Parliamentary attention.

Thinking it was but acting according to the spirit of the times, the Education Department made use of this advantage by issuing a circular, which ruled that hereafter no school should employ more than 50% of graduates on its staff. The purpose was to level down all education to the same plane and see that the superior kind of knowledge imparted by the older and well established schools should be so pruned down that all education should be of the same standard; education would be that of the common man and not of outstanding intellects.

The circular must be seen in its proper perspective. It was not an attempt to cater to the common man but an attempt (intellectually) to create the common man. However, to create a dead level of economic life is one thing, to produce a dead level of intelligence and learning is another thing altogether. To see that there are no persons with high level incomes is one thing, to see that there are no persons with a high level of knowledge is another. It is a calculated attempt to produce intellectual mediocrity. This is to invite national disaster and the prospect of becoming the laughing stock of the world.

From another angle, the circular may strike us as peculiar. Government had just established a University to turn out graduates; and very soon after, to say that only 50% of them could be employed by any school might almost be reminiscent of the Sergeant who asked a question and promptly bawled out, "Shut up". But the Government was not concerned with taking in or shutting out graduates, as such. It was concerned with reducing all schools to the same standard; and the best way to do it, it was thought was to prevent outstanding schools from taking in further graduates.

What then about the 50% of graduates who were shut out? They were to be evenly distributed among those schools without a sufficient number of graduates already. It is in this attempt that the scheme broke down; because graduates could not be treated like marbles which could fit into any hole. They are persons who have specialised in certain subjects. The attempt to dump a graduate in Oriental Languages on a school needing a Mathematics teacher or to dump a History graduate on a school needing a Chemistry teacher, just because he happened to be a graduate, created so much confusion in schools, that the circular became a dead-letter.

If the circular was encountering a rough time, could not something be done for the Sinhalese masses just now? So the Department thought up one more bright proposal. The Government had some time earlier set up a Commission under Professor Joseph Needham, to report on University education. But the Education Department did not know what the findings would be and it seemed risky to wait for the Commissioner's Report. So the Minister put forward the proposal that the University, to which the whole country had looked forward for many decades, should hereafter admit only 25% from the other communities and that 75% should be of the Sinhalese race.

The proposal need not be looked upon as a fantastic scheme, born in the brain of any one man; it was the logical conclusion of the philosophy adopted by the Party. It was to be later put forward or carried out at least in part with the full authority of Government. The only disadvantage it had now was that as an academic measure it was premature. So the proposal was still-born.

We gained much honour this year in Athletics. T. Vairavanathan gained the Silver Medal for the best performance in field events in the Junior A. A. Meet' of Jaffna. He repeated his feat in Colombo by clearing the bar at 5' 10½" and was awarded the Public School Colours.

Reaping the Whirlwind

When we began to record the events of 1958, it was evident that there was an indication that the clouds that were gathering below would soon burst. They burst at the end of May in a manner never before experienced in the Island, but in a manner experienced since then and holding the possibility of its recurrence at any time, as an ever likely event. In 1915 there had been some Riots in which some Sinhalese had risen against the Moors. But it was a minor incident that provoked undue panic in the minds of the British Colonial rulers of the day, because of the First World War going on then, and led to some foolish measures on their part. But because of the political capital that could be made of the conduct of foreign rulers, it has gained a disproportionate place in the history of the country.

What happened now was on a much larger scale and embodying a fury, displaying a savagery and resulting in such sanguinary consequences as could not have been dreamt of as possible in a country looked upon as so beautiful and peaceful by foreigners. But large as the scale was, ferocious as the savagery displayed and bloody as the consequences were, it was but the valid conclusion that the masses had absorbed from the creed that had been instilled into them in 1956. If the wind is sown the whirlwind is reaped.

If it was considered that the Island belonged to the Sinhalese, the Tamils were usurpers and the longer they had stayed here in the past, the greater their guilt. If they had no right to a place in the country, they should be driven out. And the only method of driving them out was the obvious method employed in such matters when one community rises against another.

Mr. Tarzie Vittachi in his book, "Emergency '58", says that everything started with an attack on the Batticaloa train on the 22nd of May at Polonnaruwa. Wherever it might have started, it was like applying a lighted match to a haystack; the country was well prepared for it. An outburst of communal fury, ungovernable in its intensity and unrestrained by even a minimal code of human behaviour, spread from one city to

another; bands of Sinhalese roamed through the ~~high ways~~ and bye-ways. Tamil shops and houses were looted and burnt. Tamil men and women were assaulted and killed, sometimes burnt with petrol poured over them, (petrol was cheap then) women raped and children dashed on the ground.

The Prime Minister was unwilling to declare a "State of Emergency", since that would have meant a confession of failure. It was rumoured that Government was compelled to take action, only when the Indian High Commissioner threatened to ask his Government to intervene. Anyway, a "State of Emergency" was declared on 28th May.

It may be asked, why though the Sinhalese and Tamils had lived in this country for many centuries, a thing like this had never happened before. There had been frequent wars in earlier times; but they had been waged by professional soldiers on either side, and among themselves, not against unarmed populations. Why then should this phenomenon happen now? There were two reasons.

In the first place, though the two races lived in the same country, they had once lived in different areas. Under the unified and benevolent administration of the British, the Tamils had later spread over the country; and as was natural, many of them had gravitated to the capital City and had become a concentrated target there. In the second place, nobody had formerly sown the poisonous propaganda in the minds of the Sinhalese with such intensity and force that the Tamils were usurpers and had no business to be here. In former times, in spite of the differences between the two races, the right of the Tamils to be in the country had been taken for granted.

In such a contingency as had now arisen the declaration of a "State of Emergency" was a prime requisite. It was done, but done rather grudgingly. But such a declaration does not stamp out a rising; it only acts where the Police can be present and take action. At this juncture the Prime Minister rose to weird heights of statesmanship. Since it was the rights of the Tamils that had been violated, he felt that the thing

to do was to proscribe their chief political Party, namely, the Federal Party; but this was not enough; since it was the Tamils who were being shot, he gave orders that all guns possessed by the Tamils should be confiscated. Many would come to the conclusion that the Prime Minister's contribution towards the solution of the problem was somewhat wide of the mark.

The Governor General, Sir Oliver Goonatilleke, however, took a pragmatic view of the matter. He made arrangements for the repatriation of the Tamils to their own areas. Many found their way back by foot and by such buses and trains as were still running. Many Indian Tamils found refuge in the new colonisation areas around Kilinochchi and Mankulam. But the Governor General gave orders for the trans-shipment of a considerable bulk. How many shipments there were one cannot say. The refugees were landed at Point Pedro. The Principal of Hartley College at the time says that the number of refugees was at least 10,000.

From Point Pedro the refugees were sent by buses to various "Camps" which had been set up in different parts of the Peninsula. At Jaffna College we received about 500 refugees; and our Camp was set up on the open space in front of the Administration Block. For ten days, from 6 in the morning till 9 at night, with the help of neighbours, we ministered to those in our charge. We supplied food, and in many cases clothing, and made arrangements for their sleeping. On the whole, we think we did our duty at the crisis more or less satisfactorily.

In course of time, many of these refugees would find their way back to the places where they had lived and worked before the riots. Some however would settle down permanently in Jaffna; but for the time being many made Jaffna their home. Naturally this would have its effects on our enrolment; so that at the end of 1958 we had 1,413 students on our roll, excluding the Collegiate Department.

In June this year we received news that the Rev. S. M. Thevathasan had passed away in Singapore on the 21st of the month. He belonged to the band of highly qualified teachers who had adorned the College during the first two decades of the Century. At the end of 1919 he had left for Malaya and had risen to a high position both in the Church and the Teaching profession there. This was the first of a number of deaths that were to occur among our friends in 1958.

An event that attracted attention locally at this time was the return of Dr. W. L. Jeyasingham from U. S. A., having obtained his Doctorate in Geography. He had put in his studies earlier and done his thesis; but had to go and defend it before his examiners. In this he had been successful.

In August, we witnessed the enactment of a solemn farce at which the Prime Minister was an adept. On the 21st of the month a Bill called "Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act No. 28 of 1958" was read in Parliament. What it did was to permit students, who had been educated in Tamil to take up their University exams in Tamil, in spite of the "Sinhala Only Act". Thus did the Prime Minister redeem his pledge to Mr. Chelvanayagam to "take effective steps to solve the Tamil problem". But to most it was reminiscent of the celebrated musical exploit which the Emperor Nero was credited by tradition to have performed while the City of Rome was burning; to the credit of Nero, however, that tradition is false.

In September of the year there passed away in U. S. A. a long time friend of ours, Miss L. G. Bookwalter, who had left us only some years earlier. She belonged to the old tradition, whereby Missionaries came to work and die in the countries where they had laboured. But she had lived long enough in the 20th Century and had been converted to the new practice of Missionaries returning home after a prescribed period. She was a dynamic personality whose whole life had been given to action; lack of it had made life void for her. Mrs. Miron Winslow had founded Uduvil; Miss Agnew had exercised a legendary Principalship over a period of 43 years in the last century. But Miss Bookwalter is the maker of modern Uduvil.

The Rev. R. A. Dudley, who is still fortunately alive at the time of writing, had been Secretary of the American Board from 1945 and Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the College, retired about this time and was succeeded by the Rev. Telfer Mook. Mr. Mook had been a lawyer to start with and had joined the Navy during the War and had become an Interpreter in Japanese when the War ended. He had then gone to Seminary and had become a Minister. To acclimatize himself to his new sphere of duties he spent two months among us. It is recorded that he spoke to the Round Table on 22nd September.

In the following month, we staged an event that had a three fold value; it was educational, it enhanced our contact with the public and also brought us an income. From 2nd to the 4th of October, we ran an Exhibition of school work. We charged a gate fee; nevertheless, 20,000 people are reckoned as having come to see our display. In the old days teachers would have had nothing to display except the students and their exercise books; but we live in different times now. The Physics Department, the Chemistry Department, the Biological Department, The Art Department, the Geography Department, the Agricultural Department, the Woodwork Department and the Primary School, all put in their handiwork for inspection. The 20,000 were filled with more than satisfaction, they were filled with admiration.

On October 13th, Mr. K. V. George who had been on our Staff for long years and had retired only two years previously passed away. As we said earlier, he will always be an example to future generations of how a man can raise himself by his own exertions from the circumstances in which he had been placed. Whilst deaths of others connected with the College which took place during the year happened outside our surroundings, that of Mr. K. V. George took place in our immediate neighbourhood and cast a gloom over the College.

On the 28th of the month there occurred in America a death that broke a strong link that had remained between us and the

Bicknell regime. Mrs. John Bicknell passed away in her 88th year. After her husband's death here 22 years previously she had gone back home and had lived in the Home for Retired Missionaries in Auberndale, a suburb of Boston, and like all retired Missionaries there was living once again the life that once had been hers in a distant land. The present writer saw much of her during his stay in U. S. 12 or 13 years earlier. To her, John Bicknell had never died.

We had some distinguished visitors late in the year; Rev. R. K. Orchard, Secretary of the International Missionary Society (November), Mr. Peter Thorneycroft, a former Chancellor of the Exchequer of England (December) and Mr. M. Natanel Lorch, the Israeli Charge d'Affairs, who had played an important part in the Israeli struggle for Independence (December). During the year we took in two new teachers: Mr. P. A. Amirthanathan for Art & Mr. A. I. Sinniah for Agriculture.

At the end of term Mr. A. M. K. Cumarasamy who had been with us for four years left us. He had had a distinguished career as a student and had had a varied professional career before he came to us; and we could now say that he had been with us also. It was good to have had him even for a short time. When he passed away, a year later, the present writer said in an obituary article that to those who had known him a light had gone out and a smile faded from the face of Jaffna.

By the beginning of **1959**, the Government elected to power in 1956 was showing obvious signs of being played out. The programme on which it had been elected had merely produced a civil commotion—a very costly price to pay. An appeal to elemental instincts and passions produces immediate results, and when they have occurred there is a need to look out for something else. Was there anything else which could be done to see that the party programme was not entirely bankrupt?

So the wise-heads in the party bethought themselves of the Educational aim which had inspired Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara, the abolition of the Dual System of Government and Denominational Schools. True it had not been the intention of the Prime Minister to abolish it. But in Educational matters the

Prime Minister could be instructed and he was known as not being inflexible in anything. So in 1959 the abolition of the Dual System began to be talked about.

As far as the College was concerned, the first item in its programme had to deal with the observances in connexion with the late Nellie Bicknell. Her ashes had been brought from America. A meeting was held at Ottley Hall on Saturday 24th January and was attended by a large gathering. The meeting was conducted by the Rev. S. K. Bunker. The following spoke; Mr. P. Sri Skanda Rajah, District Judge of Jaffna, Mr. L. S. Williams, Mr. S. H. Perinbanayagam and Rev. G. M. Kanagaratnam. Then the ashes were borne to the Mission Cemetery at Uduvil and interred in the grave of her husband. The Bishop of the Diocese, and the Rev. A. C. Thambirajah, Presbyter in Charge of the Uduvil Church, conducted the Service.

The second item on the agenda of the College was the celebration of the "College Day", a function staged by the Undergraduate Department. The only occasion on which it had previously taken place we may remember was in 1956. This time it took place on 7th February 1956. The Chief Guest was Dr. Paul Devanandan, Director of the Indian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society. We had a link with him, in that he had been a teacher here in 1920, when his surname was merely "Paul".

The President reported that there were now 309 students in the Department, a clear evidence of the recognition of confidence of the public in the ability of that Department to carry out its task. There was now a fairly substantial quota of full-time Instructors (17), though not entirely adequate for our needs; so 23 teachers from the Secondary School were being drawn in to help, but in respect of qualifications, these teachers were quite equal to their task.

That the Collegiate Department was making a real contribution to the educational needs of the community is shown by the fact that between 1956 and 1959 we had passed out 36 graduates; 10 on the Arts side and 26 on the Science side.

When it is remembered that it was the examinations of the London University to which we were presenting candidates, our performance must be considered highly creditable.

The Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors held on the 21st of February had two important questions before it. The first was to find enough accommodation for the two Departments, growing in numbers year by year and crowded into a Campus meant for about 100 students in the last century. There were now about 1,700 students for whom we had to provide space.

The President was bent on shifting the Secondary School to the eastern side of the Bicknell playing field and keeping the Old Campus for the Undergraduate Section. He had, in fact brought Architects from India to be present at the meeting. With a desire to solve an immediate need, the Board supported him. But neither the President nor the Board was taking into account a 150 years of sentiment that lay behind the old Campus. So nothing came of the proposal. In the light of subsequent events, it would look as if the sentiment was wiser than the argument.

The second main problem the Board had to deal with was the setting up of an Institute for the Study of Religion and Society ("Study Centre", for short). This had been recommended by the Executive Committee and was duly ratified, it being laid down that it was to be run under the auspices of the College, but in conjunction with and in close proximity to the Christa Seva Ashram. The administration of the Institute, however, was to be left to an Inter-Denominational Board, on which we were all represented.

We had also to find a suitable successor to Mr. A. M. K. Cumarasamy as Registrar of the Undergraduate Department, since he was shifting to the Institute for the Study of Religion and Society. This was done by appointing Mr. J. H. Ariyaratnam; and we could not have done better. For, culturally and from the point of view of efficiency and the ability to get on with people, he thoroughly fitted the role.

The College Day had by no means eliminated the Secondary School Prize Giving which took place on 14th March; Mr. Lampton Berry, the U. S. Ambassador, being the Chief Guest. The Principal reported the swelling of the ranks of the students owing to the previous year's riots. There were 1,413 students on the roll (995 boys and 418 girls). The number of Boarders was 180, of whom 20 were girls.

The Principal was also naturally concerned with a problem of space; but his problem chiefly bore on the Boarding. We have a habit of complaining both when the number of boarders falls and also when it rises. The Principal's problem was that while the Hostels could accommodate only a maximum of 160, he had 180 on his hands. He could, however, find a solution to it.

There was, however, another, the solution to which was definitely outside our range, namely, the problem that while the medium of instruction was a national language, the University exams were in English. This problem of course, only the Government could solve and would sooner or later solve in its own way, as we shall see. Soon after the School Prize Giving, the Bunkers left on furlough.

There were to be important events during the rest of the year both on the uplands and below. The first of the important events on the Uplands was the visit paid us by the President of India. In the Colonial days it was customary for the Governors of Ceylon to include Jaffna College in their itinerary of the Peninsula. But this was the first time the head of a State outside Ceylon was to pay us a visit; the Viceroys of India never visited Ceylon.

Mr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Republic of India, paid us the honour of a visit on the 22nd of June 1959. There must have been a lot of protocol, the parading of the armed services and the police and a good deal of activity on the part of the Security Services of both countries and the various other kinds of hustle and bustle which characterise similar functions. Owing to his own absence in India at this time, the writer cannot give a first-hand account of the visit. The Miscellany itself does not make much ado over the event but is content merely to record the fact of it.

Another important event in the life of the College during the rest of the year was the celebration of the 75th Anniversary of the College Y. M. C. A. Our readers will remember that the Golden Jubilee was celebrated in 1934. Since its foundation in 1884, the Y. M. C. A. has had an important place in the life of the College; its history alone will easily provide material for a separate volume. It has done unceasing work to promote personal religion among the students, arranged for lectures, Camps and Conferences; and though its work at Eluvaitivu had to be given up in 1944, it had never ceased its work in evangelism in our own neighbourhood. The College Chaplain has always worked in close conjunction with the Y. M. C. A.

The celebrations began on 5th June. Two important persons from outside had come down for the occasion: Senator E. W. Kannangara and the Rev. Robin Strong of the World Y. M. C. A. On the first day, Mr. Strong spoke on the Y. M. C. A. in Geneva. On the second day, there was a Garden party and a public meeting at which both the Chief Guests spoke. Mr. L. S. Kula-thungam presided. On Sunday the 7th there was a Thanksgiving Service at which Dr. D. T. Niles was the preacher.

On the 11th of July, a one time familiar figure on the Campus passed away. Mr. C. R. Wadsworth had served us for 25 years and had left in 1950, well before his normal retirement was due, to devote himself to religious work. At College his chief subject had been English Literature but he had lent a hand at Mathematics also. Outside the class room, he took part in the Y. M. C. A. and in training students for dramatic performances.

During the same month, Messrs J. A. Selvadurai and R. J. Thurairajah, having become Jubilarians, were feted by the Round Table. Mr. Selvadurai was a quite unassuming person who did his work in the class room faithfully. Mr. Thurairajah's activities lay chiefly outside the class room. He had been Sports Master ever since Mr. I. P. Thurairatnam had left us in the mid thirties. The term "Sports" has come to have a wider application than in earlier years. Besides

Cricket and Soccer, it now includes Athletics, Hockey, Net Ball and Basket Ball, Tennis and Badminton. Mr. Thurairajah had supervised all this.

But the event during the year, beside which everything else whether in the College or in the country outside, sinks into comparative insignificance was the assassination of the Prime Minister, Mr. Bandaranaike himself, on 26th of September. The irony of the situation was that it was plotted and carried out by members of a group which he himself had sedulously cultivated and brought into prominence. Though the assassination was not inspired by a political motive but a private grievance, it could have taken place only in the atmosphere created after Mr. Bandaranaike's accession took place.

This was to be the end of a meteoric career. The flash of it lasted only three years: and for those three years Mr. Bandaranaike had sacrificed everything. When he had obtained the one thing he had wanted, as against every other consideration, it had been snuffed out in a minute or two. One may well ask whether it had been worth it after all.

What had been the sum of Mr. Bandaranaike's achievement? It was said of Augustus Caesar that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble. Mr. Bandaranaike had found two races striving to build a nation, which they might have easily done. He had left behind two races which could not become a nation.

Mr. Bandaranaike's contribution to the history of Ceylon is reminiscent of the contribution of a fictitious Scotsman who was asked to contribute to an Orphanage and contributed two orphans. Mr. Bandaranaike had contributed a permanent problem to the politics of Ceylon, namely, the Tamil problem. It can be intensified, as it later was, it can be palliated, as has happened sometimes. But he had made it difficult for any administration thereafter to solve the Tamil problem in a manner that would satisfy the Tamils, without being accused of "selling the country" to the Tamils.

Through the year we had a number of distinguished visitors: Mr. C. Gundevia, Indian High Commissioner in Ceylon (May), Mr. Oliver Beguin of the United Bible Society and Canon Bryan Green, the famous evangelist (August) and Mr. E.W. Arianayagam, one of our Old Boys, then of the Gandhi Ashram at Sevagram (November).

With the death of Mr. Bandaranaike, his Party was in a state of disarray. Mr. W. Dahanayake, a Senior Member of the Cabinet was appointed Prime Minister. But the Government was tottering and the Governor-General was forced to dissolve Parliament.

When dealing with the Forties we said that the Bunker—Selliah period was the most brilliant period in our history. In a review of this decade we have had to record dark and unprecedented events in the country. But as far as the College was concerned, it must be affirmed that, in the light of subsequent history, this decade stands out as the best and the brightest part of our record. The fact that it was a dark period in the history of the country merely sets its brightness in relief. It is a period to which many would hark back as our own Augustan era, when our talent, aspiration, achievement and prestige were at their highest.

VI

CHANGES AND CONSEQUENCES

(THE SIXTIES)

We have characterised each decade by its leading traits. This does not in the least mean that no events other than those indicated by these traits were taking place in the College. All that is meant is, that in spite of all that was happening, there were certain striking features that attract immediate attention.

Within the College the decade was one of partings. Of course in a school, there would be teachers leaving, chiefly because they had reached the age of retirement imposed by Government. But the noteworthy thing about the partings of this decade was, in the first place, their heavy concentration into this period; and in the second place, the fact that most of those who left had loomed large in our life. What we see now would be the passing of a generation.

That generation consisted largely of those who had taken up work under Mr. Bicknell or in the early years of Mr. Bunker. That one generation should pass and another take its place is necessary; but it was sad that it should have included so many who had meant so much to us, and whose absence would evoke a note of acute nostalgia among us.

Some of these figures, however, passed not merely out of the life of the College, but of this world altogether. These had been of more than ordinary importance; and their passing was totally unexpected. It therefore cast a gloom over the history of the whole decade.

In the very first year of the decade, in the educational world of the whole Island there occurred an event of cataclysmic proportions, whose consequences will affect our future for all time. During the decade we shall see that in our own limited educational world there was a gradual erosion of the foundations of the Undergraduate Department, which had been set up a few

years earlier with so much fanfare and hope, because we had believed that we were fulfilling a need which would otherwise not have been met.

With all these events we shall deal in due course as we go along.

When the Decade opens Mr. A. M. K. Cumarasamy had just passed away. He had been with us as Registrar of the Undergraduate Department. Though he had been with us only for a comparatively short period, we were glad to have enjoyed the privilege of experiencing his presence. We have already referred earlier to what the present writer said in the "Morning Star" when he died. After leaving us he had become Secretary of the "Institute for the Study of Religion and Society". Dr. W. L. Jeyasingham left us to take his place in the Institute. About this time Mr. A. R. Subramaniam, Retired District Judge, who had once been a doughty figure in the Board of Directors of the College, also died.

When the College opened its sessions in **1960**, there was an Election campaign on in the country. The leadership of Mr. Bandaranaike's Party had passed into the hands of Mr. W. Dahanayake and had met with its fall at the end of 1959. Now Mrs. Bandaranaike had taken on the leadership and the party was running a neck-to-neck race with the U. N. P. led by Mr. Dudley Senanayake.

At the College the matter that was attracting most attention was the completion of the Bicknell pavilion. The programme for such a project, as we have seen, had started in 1938. Funds were being collected in various ways, but progress was slow; when the pace began to quicken, the foundation stone was laid in 1954 by Mr. K. Kanagaratnam. A deputation consisting of Messrs. L. S. Kulathungam and A. C. Sundrampillai had gone to Malaya and added to the fund; and the Directors had added Rs. 3,750/- to their original grant. Vasantha Kumari had come and sung. Still we were short of the mark by Rs. 15,000/-. On a brain-wave, a last minute appeal was made to Dr. S. Kanapathipillai of Ipoh, who had left us round 1920 and who, of course, had already contributed to the fund. It

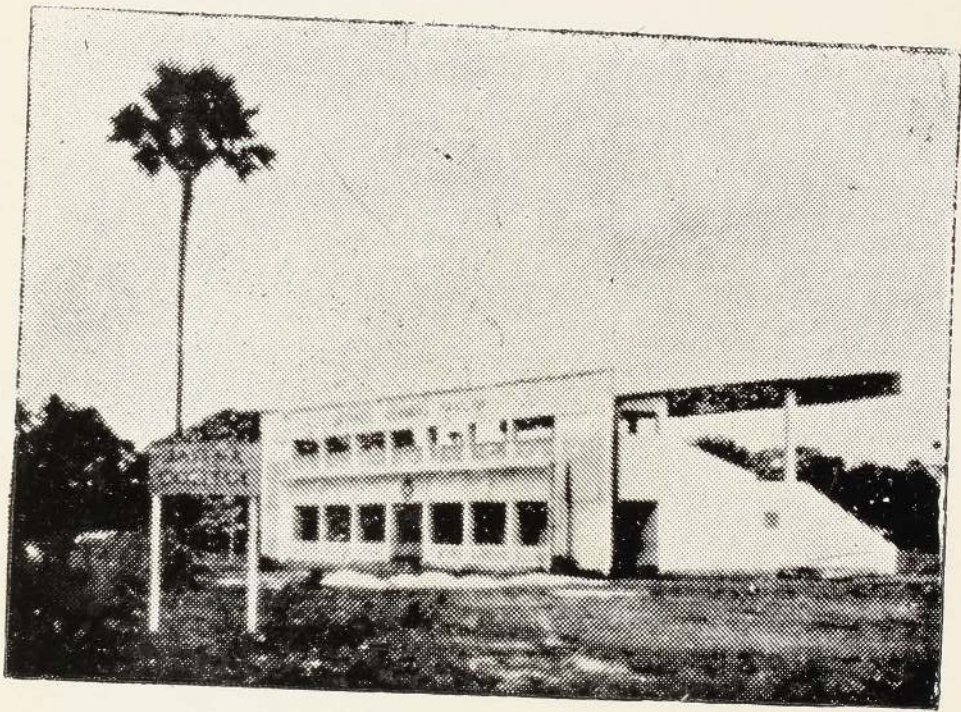
is not in his nature to refuse appeals, particularly desperate appeals. So the sum was made up. Altogether the project had cost Rs. 90,810/-.

Once a building has been completed, what is left is to open it; and, of course, the obvious person to do it was Dr. Kanapathipillai himself, who accordingly came down from Malaysia for the purpose. The ceremony was scheduled for February 13th (1960) and consisted of a whole day's programme. At noon there was a Fellowship Lunch and the opening itself took place at 3 p. m. This was followed by a Soccer match, a Garden Party and a Public Meeting, at which Mr. P. Sri Skanda Rajah presided. Messrs. L. S. Kulathungam, K. A. Selliah and Dr. Kanapathipillai were the speakers.

Perhaps, the high-light of the proceedings for the day was the complimentary dinner given to Dr. Kanapathipillai. At this function Dr. Kanapathipillai kept the company vastly entertained and proved that he could be as good an after-dinner speaker as he was a surgeon.

The Annual Prize Giving was held on 14th March, the Chief Guest being Dr. Telfer Mook, Secretary of the American Board and of the Trustees of Jaffna College. The Principal revealed that the number on Roll was 1392. This no doubt gave an opportunity to the College authorities to hold up their hands in horror and dwell on the virtues of keeping the numbers within manageable limits.

In the country outside, the General elections of March 1960 produced a peculiar situation and proved that those who could not predict the results had been perfectly right. In a Parliament of 157 (151 elected and 6 nominated) the U. N. P. obtained 50 seats and the S. L. F. P. 46. Mr. Dudley Senanayake, the leader of the U. N. P. had seen to it that he would not get more, by refusing to form an alliance with any likely group; and the uncommitted groups were unwilling to ally themselves with a party that had not obtained a clear majority. Nevertheless, Mr. Senanayake insisted on his technical right to form the government and for his pains got defeated on the Throne



Bicknell Memorial Pavilion



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speech, a rather ignominious fate for a party that had just emerged from an election.

So the country was once again plunged into the throes of a General election. This time Mrs. Bandaranaike, who was leading her husband's Party threw herself into the fray, not merely with resolution but with fury, because of the disparaging references made to the role she had taken on herself. And a hostile Press controlled by her adversaries played into her hands by constantly calling her "the Weeping Widow". These attacks evoked much sympathy for her.

The Elections took place in July (1960) and gave Mrs. Bandaranaike 75 seats in her own right (out of a Parliament of 157). Electorally, the situation was curious; for out of the total of 3,042,954 ballots cast, the U. N. P. polled 1,145,290 votes and the S. L. F. P. 1,022,154. But the U. N. P. got only 30 seats as against the 75 seats of Mrs. Bandaranaike. (Mr. Dudley Senanayake was left with a Constitutional grievance and Mrs. Bandaranaike was left with the great majority of Parliamentary seats). In addition, Mrs. Bandaranaike could nominate six members and her Leftist allies could give her 22 more seats, and most of the Independents would join her. So in a Parliament of 157 against the formidable array of Mrs. Bandaranaike's side, the opposition had the only 30 U. N. P. seats and 16 Tamil seats. We shall see how the situation held the potential for a far-reaching educational change.

So Mrs. Bandaranaike now firmly entrenched, had power but no programme. The S. L. F. P. was a group of personal adherents of Mrs. Bandaranaike and had no definite policy. In this predicament she wisely announced that her programme would be "to carry out the late Mr. Bandaranaike's policies". The late Mr. Bandaranaike had certain war cries, demanding the dominance of the Sinhalese language, the recognition of the rights of the Buddhist religion and the hegemony of the Sinhalese race. Everybody knew they had been campaign slogans and did not signify anything definite; because when in power he would not commit himself to any definite cause: would advance and retreat, assert and withdraw, would sign pacts and then



tear them up; would cry for Sinhalese hegemony and then promise decentralisation.

So when Mrs. Bandaranaike announced her intention to follow the policies of the late Mr. Bandaranaike, she was not burdened with a disadvantage, but enjoyed a great advantage. She had wide scope and could always insist that what she did was in accord with her husband's policies and no one could gainsay her. Tinged with the general purport of his war cries what she did would look natural.

This was just the kind of opportunity that suited certain master-minds who could come into the picture and would know exactly what they wanted. This was said to be the chief characteristic of the British statesman, Joseph Chamberlain. In the nineties of the last century when Lord Salisbury's Cabinet was wondering what exactly it could do next, Mr. Chamberlain would pull out a plan which he had worked to the last detail and would have no difficulty in getting it adopted.

We have seen in the last Chapter how Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara had tried to do away with the Denominational system and failed, and how Mr. D. S. Senanayake in his Scheme of 1947 had roped in all but 115 private Schools into the "National Scheme of Education" which allowed the two systems of Government control and Denominational control, to exist side by side. In the 1951 Act, he had however, induced 100 out of the 115 to join in, on the promise that they could opt out of the Scheme, if and when they wanted. So out of 3,079 now only 15 were standing out.

This was just the opportunity that a master-mind in the Education Secretariat, who had inherited Mr. Kannangara's antipathies, was waiting for. The mouse was in the trap and the trap could be sprung. To the Minister, the chief attraction about the scheme was its definiteness. Word of the impending Scheme began to leak out. The present writer, then being a Diocesan Bishop, had often to go to Colombo to see how things stood, and found that even among people who mattered most there was little knowledge about the Bill and definitely.

less enthusiasm. They themselves had heard about it and did not seem to care for it very much; but the people who cared for it knew their business and the matter was brought before the Cabinet. The Prime Minister said, "Why not?"; and when she had said it, it was not open to Ministers to contradict; because if Mrs. Bandaranaike's policy was to follow Mr. Bandaranaike's policy, their policy, and their claim to be in Parliament was to follow Mrs Bandaranaike's policy.

The Bill

Accordingly the Bill entitled, "Assisted Schools and Training Colleges (Special Provisions) Act No. 5 of 1960", was laid before Parliament in the latter months of 1960. It ran into 8 pages and dealt with many points with which neither we, nor probably anyone else, were seriously concerned.

But it made its chief purpose clear right from the outset; for Article (3) found on the first page runs as follows:

The Minister may, by Order in Council published in the Gazette declare that with effect from such date as shall be specified in the Order that the Director shall be the Manager of every Assisted School to which this Act applies.

A school may, however, levy fees if 75% of the parents of the students voted in favour of such a proposal. Everybody, of course, knew that this was an empty and meaningless concession. A school may stand out of the operation of the Act and face a blank prospect.

The only party that whole-heartedly opposed the Bill was the Federal Party (of the Tamils). The U. N. P. made a show of protesting, largely because the Bill came from the S. L. F. P. but the protest was entirely lacking in fervour and carried no conviction. The Denominational Schools found their strongest champion in Mr. W. Dahanayake, who had once led the S. L. F. P. No one could doubt his sincerity or depth of feeling on the subject, as he fulminated against the Scheme.

From Government benches, a member chose Mr. Bunker, of all persons, to be the target of his attack, an attack of a weird nature. He accused him of having instigated the Race Riots of 1958.

The Bill received Royal assent on 17th November, 1960.

The Great Denial

The cardinal principle of Mr. D. S. Senanayake's "National Scheme" of 1947 had been its recognition of the Dual System of Control. The Government would pay all expenses; but a school may be managed either by the State or by its Proprietor or a Denomination.

It was this principle which had drawn all but a hundred odd schools into the Scheme. This was what had made the National Scheme of Education. What we have called the "Great Denial" was the withdrawal of the very principle that had got the schools into the Scheme. It was an act of inexcusable political meanness.

The Great Betrayal

Most Assisted Schools had entered the National Scheme in 1947 because of its alluring feature of Dual Control. We, of course, knew the habits of Governments: how they can change, withdraw or modify clauses and that was why we had refused to enter the Scheme in 1947.

Why then had we entered into the Scheme in 1951? We had entered it because of a pledge, statutorily given. [page 9 of the "Education (Amendment) Act 5 of 1951"] that we could opt out of the National Scheme any time we wanted. That is, if we felt that there was a threat of total Government control or even increasing control, we would get out of the National Scheme and resume our Fee-levying status. Unlike those who had gone in earlier because of the general character of the Scheme, we had gone in on the basis of a definite pledge, statutorily given.

From ancient times a special sanctity has been attached to definite pledges. Parties rise and fall, Governments change, but pledges once given are not tampered with. Boundaries fixed between countries, no one knows when, are taken for granted. Treaties signed centuries ago continue to remain in operation. When the Allies during the World War II wanted a base of operations for their attack on North Africa and had none,

somebody in the British Foreign Office remembered that Portugal in the 16th Century or so had promised England the use of the Azores Islands, if it wanted them for waging a war; and Portugal felt itself bound by the Treaty made so long ago, inspite of the immediate consequence of provoking Hitler's wrath.

Here, however, was a pledge given scarcely 10 years earlier swept off the ground. There was not even a word that it was being withdrawn; it was just ignored.

What made the action of Government particularly galling was that we were getting penalised, not inspite of our having accepted the pledge given in 1951, but because of our having accepted it. Out of the 115 schools which had stood out in 1947, 100 had joined in 1951; 15 had simply stood out even then. It is the 100 which had accepted the pledge which were getting penalised now. In effect, Government was telling us, "As you trusted the Government, and put your faith in a Clause in its Act, take the consequences. The Schools which did not trust the Government are excused". If this was not Betrayal, what is?

What we Stood to Lose and How we Faced it

Before 1947 we were classed as an "Assisted" or a "Grant-in-Aid School". That is, we were allowed to levy fees from students and Government gave us a Grant to supplement our expenses. In 1947 Government withdrew the "Grant-in-Aid" system; it paid the total expenses of schools in the National Scheme, but allowed those which stood out to levy fees.

In 1951 we had joined the National Scheme, on condition that we could opt out any time we liked and resume our fee-levying status. It was of this option that the Act of 1960 was depriving us.

So the situation that faced us was that if we refused to bend the knee to Government now, we would not merely not receive Government aid (as we had done before 1947), but we would not be able to levy fees as we could before 1951. We had to be a non-"Grant-in-Aid" and non-fee-levying school. The prospect was staggering.

How did we react? In this matter we and the Diocese were working hand in hand. The Diocese had about 73 Vernacular Schools (Vernacular Schools had always been within its province), 7 English Day Schools (which it had inherited from us) and 3 Girls' Boarding Schools which it had inherited from the Mission. All these it was willing to let go, except Uduvil.

The Uduvil Girls' College and Jaffna College belonged to a category different from the other schools. These were interwoven into the very texture of our history. At no cost could we let them go. We might use the words of the Psalmist about either one of them: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning".

Our predecessors had founded these institutions as they said, "under sanctions higher than any man could impose". The "Batticotta Seminary" had been founded in 1823 and its successor Jaffna College in 1872. We had first applied for a Government Grant only in 1912. The Uduvil Girls' College had for long not merely taught its students free, but fed, clothed and even dowried them. Against such a background, what was poverty?

The Diocesan leaders and the authorities of Jaffna College had kept talking over the matter ever since they knew what was coming and had come to the same conclusion.

As far as the College was concerned, officially, the matter had come before the Executive Committee on 10th September, and we had begun to take steps to meet the crisis. On the 5th of November when the Bill was still on the anvil in Parliament, at a special Meeting of the Board we decided that we would "go private under Clauses 5 and 6 of the new Bill" and "that a letter informing the Director of this decision be sent to the Director of Education directly".

The Bill went into operation when it received Royal assent on 17th November 1960.

The Effects of the New Act Assessed

On the Teacher

Both in the East and the West the role of a Teacher has always been regarded with reverence; and in ancient times Education was usually in the hands of the Priests. The writer can well remember the time when Head Masters in Jaffna with high qualifications used to toil away on very low salaries usually in the same school right through their lives, because they loved the work.

There had been a sanctity about the calling of a Teacher. The New Act dispelled that sanctity and made teaching a state industry; it put the teacher on the same plane as a Postmaster or a Station Master, transferable at stated intervals from end to end of the country, with the additional disadvantage of his stationing having to depend on the wishes of the local M. P. He was prevented from coming to know his students, developing a devotion to the school or even to his task.

It is when a man looks upon his task as his own that he puts his heart into it. Michelangelo painted the Sistine Chapel: as he did, because he looked upon the task as his own. When a teacher gets transferred without being allowed to stay too long in any one place and may even get transferred any moment at the M. P.'s whim, he develops an indifference and cynicism towards his work.

On the Student

The attitude of a student to his studies largely depends on his attitude to the teacher; and his attitude to a teacher may range over a wide gamut: contempt, dislike, respect, reverence and love.

If he regards the teacher with contempt or dislike, he regards the subject he teaches with indifference; if he reveres the teacher he applies himself to his work that he may not disappoint the teacher; if he learns to love the teacher, he learns to love the subject also and develops a life-long passion for it.

The type of teacher who is sent to him under the new system will not be one to evoke awe or reverence. How could the student respect a teacher who is here for the time-being and may go elsewhere soon and who is dependent on the whims of the local M. P. So his attitude to the subject he teaches is usually bound to be one of indifference and sheer carelessness, particularly where he knows that the teacher could not care less about what attitude he takes up.

On the Aim of Education

What is the aim of Education? John Ruskin has said the chief aim of Education is not to tell a student what he does not know but to make him what he was not. This must be understood as its basic aim, though of course, the task of education involves the imparting of information also.

But information may be derived through many other sources books always, but now through such things as the Radio, Television, Newspapers and Magazines. But a moment's reflection will show that a student who knows more than others may, possibly become a greater villain than they.

A teacher no doubt imparts information, but he also teaches by precept and example the right use of knowledge. That is why a Tamil proverb says that knowledge not acquired under a teacher is disastrous knowledge. Things can be learnt, but it is best to learn them under a teacher. The ancient Brahmins, because they thought only Brahmins would use knowledge rightly, taught only Brahmin students. In this they were wrong; but their solicitude about the right use of knowledge is worthy of note.

In thinking that the aim of a teacher is to go from place to place as he is ordered and tell students that the earth is round or that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles and by disregarding the wisdom of the ages that the aim of education is to prepare men for life, the new Act nullified the basic aim of Education.

On Society

By appropriating to itself the monopoly of education the Government was taking into its hands a power that even the tyrants of old did not claim. They had power only over man's actions; they had no power over their minds. In fact, the cruelties of the old tyrants were due to the fact that men refused to think as they wanted them to do.

The monopoly of Education puts into the hands of Government the power and the ability to shape the minds of those who are to be citizens. It enables Government to produce the type that will obey orders, work on given projects and can be depended on to be its obedient servants always.

The country had boasted that it had gained its Independence and was now free. But with the new Act it had signed away its independence and bidden good-bye to "the eternal spirit of the chainless mind".

On this Country

We have said above that when a country hands over a monopoly of education to Government, it hands over to it the right and ability to shape the minds of its children. We see Communist countries exercise a monopoly of Education and they can continue to make use of it.

The difference here is that Ceylon is not a Communist country. When the Government was putting through a Communist principle it did so, without the guarantee of its continued operation. In a Communist country, even if there are periodical elections, there is a certainty that the same Party will continue in power. In a non-communist country, at the periodical elections often a party professing a policy contrary to that of its predecessor comes into power.

In this Island, since Independence at an Election one party often practically wipes out the party that had held power, and succeeds in capturing two-thirds of the seats in Parliament, either in its own right or by suitable alliances, thus gaining complete mastery of the organs of government.

Therefore, when one Party had given the command, "Forward the Light Brigade, charge for the guns", the other Party comes and gives the command, "Backward the Light Brigade, Let go the guns and make it snappy (be quick about it)". Therefore, those educated in one pattern will wonder how reliable any pattern is, since it may disappear, every time an Election takes place. So the resulting situation will be chaotic.

The Poisoned Arrows

There were two of these arrows. The first left the bow string but did not hit the target.

What was the first arrow? Government knew that though the plight that it was forcing on Denominational Schools was of the utmost severity, some (though not many) would still choose it. All right, it was said, let them exist if they want, we shall keep the control of admission into them in our hands.

Knowing that, after, all Christians as a religious group were an extremely small minority, Government felt that by a strict check on admission into their schools it would see that nobody else got into them. Therefore, it fashioned its first poisoned arrow.

So Sub-section (c) of main Section (6)—page 3—says—

(A School) shall not after the date of such election admit a pupil whose parent does not profess the religion of such proprietor, unless prior permission is obtained from the Director.

The arrow had been forged and the poison was ready to do its work. The instrument was handed over to a widely-spread array of officers who were considered ready to carry out Government orders.

But unfortunately for Government, the chief officers of this army were not enthusiastic about the task assigned to them, because they wanted that their own children should study in the schools in which they had confidence, that is, the non-fee levying Denominational Schools. So the permits for admission were signed readily; and since many Cabinet Ministers also had the same desire, the deadly arrow was discharged all right, but it never found its mark.

The second arrow was expected to be even more deadly. It was meant to shut up the Christians in their own schools. Let it be decreed that Principals and teachers of a school should be of the same religion as the majority of students. This would mean that no Christian, however well-qualified, could teach outside the small number of non-fee-levying schools (which of course were expected soon to wither and die). So not merely would the stubborn Christian schools not receive Government aid, but Christians themselves would be shut out of the teaching profession.

But when it came to forging the arrow, the courage of the anti-Christians failed them: even the Cabinet which had accepted the first proposal would refuse to accept this. So though the matter was talked about a good deal and the threat seemed imminent, it never came to anything. The arrow was never forged. It never came to the anvil.

So we pass into the year **1961**. Of course, a Government is concerned not merely with Education but with many other things. One of the main problems on its hands was the Tamil problem. Because the Tamils felt that their legitimate demands had not been met they had launched a massive Satyagraha campaign. This consisted of unending processions from different parts of the Peninsula converging at the Jaffna Kachcheri day after day, with a view to causing a break-down in the administration. The campaign was stamped out in April.

The Act of 1961

While the Satyagraha campaign was going on, Government ardour in the pursuit of its educational enterprise had by no means abated. It was taken up early in the year and must have been in Parliament when the Satyagraha campaign was on. It was entitled "Assisted Schools and Training Colleges (Supplementary Provisions) Act 8 of 1961". In print it runs into a little more than 17 pages.

Its purpose, as in the case of the previous Act, is stated right at the outset in Article 3 and says:

Where the Minister decides that any property liable to vesting is needed by the Crown for conducting and maintaining a School the Minister may publish a notice in the Gazette saying that such a property is so needed etc. etc.

This means that the Government had not merely taken over the management of most of the schools, but was taking over their property also; The Act received Royal Assent on 2nd March 1961.

It is ironical that the present writer seems to have borne an unwitting part in the introduction of this Bill into Parliament. Whether the Government had not thought of the idea earlier, I am not sure; but the Permanent Secretary for Education at the time told me that it was he who had persuaded the Government to do it; and he had done it because of something I had done.

Dr. D. T. Niles had told me that Government might take over school properties also and, therefore, I had better mark off school properties, so that Church properties might not be interfered with. I was, therefore, going about doing this with most schools; but an employee of the Education Department happened to be in the campus of one school and reported the matter to the local Education Officer; and he had gone and persuaded the Permanent Secretary to take it before the Cabinet.

The Act did not concern us directly but only those schools which Government had inveigled into its net and made them its own. It is being reported here because of the mischief it caused to the Jaffna Christians.

As everyone knows, and as we ourselves have said a little earlier, Parliamentary Acts must be implemented by local authorities. Therefore, much depends on their attitude to the Act in question. They can give a neutral interpretation, a benevolent interpretation or a malevolent interpretation. I have visited other places in Ceylon where the Act had been interpreted fairly and only such lands as were actually required by the schools concerned had been vested in Government.

But in Jaffna at that time we had an Education Officer, the driving ambition of whose life was to do the maximum possible damage to the Christian Missions. His relentless malevolence to them, we are told, was due to the fact that early in life, he had pretended to be a Christian to suit his purposes. He was now having his revenge.

This officer's policy when as usual a school was situated in a Mission Compound was generally to allow about four yards round the church for use of the congregation and vest the rest of the land in the Crown. In a place where the Mission had a large plot of land running into many acres and a scraggy one-teacher Vernacular School, he had vested the whole land in the Crown.

Fortunately, the Act allowed an appeal to higher authorities, who could appoint a Tribunal to go into the matter or decide it themselves. The Diocese, therefore, was able to get a modification of many acts of the Education Officer's vesting. Still it shows how wise we were, as far as the College was concerned, in not taking Government's assurances at their face value.

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In March we had to bid farewell to Mr. T. J. Koshy, who had been with us for 18 years. He had taught Botany and Zoology and had initiated the study of those subjects here when the knowledge of them was in its infancy in Jaffna.

We had our Prize Giving on 12th August and had the satisfaction of having an ever loyal Old Boy, Mr. K. Kanagaratnam, as the Chief Guest. The number on the roll had dropped from 1398 in 1960 to 1301; and new admissions which had been 177 the previous year was 58 in 1961.

On September 8th Minnie Harrison, the wife of Rev. Dr. M. H. Harrison died in America. As we saw early in this book, she had married Dr. Harrison in 1922, when she was a teacher at Uduvil and had come to live at Vaddukoddai and had been with him during the rest of his stay here. She was a very lively and engaging personality and a contrast to the solid

and imposing personality of her husband. As has been said earlier, she was the grand daughter of E. P. Hastings the first Principal of the College and the daughter of Richard Hastings, who was Principal here before Mr. Brown. The Harrisons had left us in 1930.

In the same month also Mr. A. Kadirgamar of our staff, left for the U. S. A. for a two year course of study under a scheme for Advanced religious studies, sponsored by Union Seminary, New York. This allowed him to follow courses in Columbia University which was across the street. While in America he was called upon to convey the greetings of the Mission field at the 150th Anniversary held to commemorate the dedication of the first American Missionaries to the East.

As the General Assembly of the World Council of Churches had taken place in New Delhi during the latter part of the year we had quite a number of distinguished visitors, before and after the meeting. Among them were Miss. Kathleen Bliss and Joseph Hromadka, the famous Czechoslovakian theologian.

At the end of the year we had to take leave of two familiar personalities. The first was Mr. J. S. Sinnapah, our Bursar. He should by rules of retirement have left the previous year. But had been persuaded to stay on a year longer. Altogether he had put in 41 years of service with us. He had for long worked under Mr. S. S. Sanders, who had left in 1952. Trained to deal with the meagre finances of an earlier era, as the school expanded and later when the Undergraduate Department was set up and complicated matters still further, they both had risen to meet the demands of the occasion, though we are afraid, under considerable strain.

The other person who left us at this time was Mr. A. T. Vethaparanam. After passing the Matriculation he had joined our staff in 1928. He had then gone to the Training College in Colombo and had come back with a passion for Geography. He had set up a Geography Laboratory and would take students out on geographical expeditions. Altogether, he had fascinated generations of students and instilled into them as great a passion for the subject as his own. In 1941 he had been elected

Chairman of the Vaddukudai Village Committee, and thereafter one was not sure whether he belonged more to the village or to the College. Nobody could say that he neglected his College work; but for years till shortly before his death, he was the general arbiter of all village matters. After his retirement he belonged solely to the village.

This year is noted in our history for a unique achievement in Sports. M. Thavayogarajah, after maintaining a uniformly high record for the season in cricket, scored 205 runs in the match against Union College. A century itself though occasionally scored is a high enough achievement in Jaffna; 205 was worthy of international cricket. Accordingly, International cricket commentators noted it.

The year **1962** began with a phenomenon, common enough in South America always and now fairly frequent in newly enfranchised countries, but quite new to Ceylon, of an attempted *coup*. Certain top Police and Army Officers, rather disquieted by the way that Government was trying to do things, wanted to wrest power from its hands and place it temporarily in the hands of the Governor General. Unfortunately for them, one of them, betrayed the plot to Government almost at the last moment.

In the College, Mr. Welch Balasingham took the place of Mr. Sinnapah. Unlike his predecessors, he came to his post with the highest professional qualifications for it, having been Chief Auditor in the Army Department. He also had a hereditary gift for precision and meticulousness that would never allow him deviate a hair's breath from rules and regulations already laid down.

Owing to the hardship that the status of a non-fee-levying School laid upon us, the authorities did not feel like holding the usual Annual Prize Giving this year; and nobody could feel aggrieved.

We were happy that Mr. P. Sri Skanda Rajah, one of our old Boys, who from 1960 had been Commissioner of Assizes was promoted to the Supreme Court Bench in June this year (1962). Though many of our Old Boys had held

high judicial positions, this was the first time any one of our men had risen as high as this. On 3rd August the College held a function to celebrate the honour.

We may hardly have noticed in the press of events that something else was going on—the Bunkers were about to complete their 25th year of service. There was not the same stir, preparation and fanfare about it as when Mr. Bicknell by a piece of arithmetical manipulation was considered to have attained to his Jubilee. The Bunkers had absolutely put in 25 years of continued service here by October 1962. The celebration of the occasion was marked by a Dinner given them by the Round Table on 14th November.

Just one year after he had been our Chief Guest at the Prize Giving, Mr. K. Kanagaratnam succumbed to an attack of coronary thrombosis. He had in his life brought great honour to the College. He had risen to the position next to the Auditor General and during the War had been Depy. Civil Defence Commissioner; after retirement he had contested a seat in Parliament and had become Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Education. During all this period he had remained greatly attached to this College. He was very popular among all, though his habit of trying to please both sides in an issue had somewhat impaired his ministerial efficiency.

Our readers will find the year **1963** quite crowded with events. Events are sometimes of our own making, being our achievements; but after all, in an educational Institution our chief achievement is that we carry on our duty from day to day and though constantly affected by outside events, our work is not brought to a standstill. However, an event is often something that happens to us. Our business here is to record what happened, whoever be the author of it.

For sometime, the authorities had felt that in view of the fact that we received no grant and were not allowed to levy fees, the duty of holding a Prize Giving was not an obligation. But by 1963 their attitude had softened and they felt that they owed it to the Public. Accordingly the Prize Giving was held this year on 23rd February.

The present writer was chosen to be the Chief Guest. Since he is not comparing his effort with anyone else's, he may be permitted to say that he considers his speech at the 1963 Prize Giving one of his own major utterances. The speech was a sustained "Apologia" for the policy followed by the American Missionaries from the outset.

The American Missionaries who arrived here in 1816 were, I said, children of the 18th Century "Enlightenment" which believed in the Greek principle that Education was the panacea for all ills in the world. No doubt, being missionaries, they wanted to spread Christianity and they thought that the best way of doing it was by spreading the light of knowledge; light would automatically dispel darkness. They considered knowledge to be the ally of Religion and not Ignorance as some did.

This was the reason why they had plastered the Peninsula with schools. Obviously their effort had received an enthusiastic response at that time. People who now traduce the missionaries for their educational efforts do not realise that, in most cases, it was their ancestors who had invited the missionaries to set up schools in their areas. The missionaries are now being accused of plunging the land into darkness, whereas earlier generations thought they were lighting it up with the lamps of knowledge.

The Principal, in his report, revealed that the number on Roll was 1156 (977 in the Upper School and 179 in the Lower School). This showed a shrinkage by 145—a fact about which the Administration need not have been sorry, as it brought the figures down to manageable proportions.

At the end of April 1963 Mr. L. S. Kulathungam, the Senior Vice-Principal, retired after 48 years of connexion with the College. On all accounts, he has a right to be looked upon as one of our greatest products. He was, as we noted at the beginning of this book, one of the two students who in 1922 had passed the London Intermediate examination—then an almost incredible achievement.

From then onwards he had been on our Staff, graduating later on his own. His chief subject was English; but he was also a competent teacher of Latin; he had occasionally taught Mathematics and was latterly teaching British Constitution to the London Intermediate Classes. In fact, so wide was the range of his teaching capacity, that the present writer said at his Farewell meeting later that if there was any subject he had not taught, it was the fault of the authorities.

Besides his full load of teaching, he had also been Editor of the Miscellany ever since Mr. J. V. Chelliah gave up the task. But more than all this, he was performing the thankless task of being Editor of the weekly Protestant paper called the "Morning Star". This he did almost single-handed for nearly 40 years, till well into the seventies. That such a person should be in constant demand on platforms goes without saying. In Christian circles it was almost an insult to the guest at a Reception or a Farewell if he was not one of the chief speakers.

There were a number of College Farewells to him, but the chief one organised on a grand scale by the Old Boys was to take place on June 24th the next year.

Into Mr. Kulathungam's place as Vice Principal stepped Mr. S. V. Balasingham. Nobody could complain that care had not been taken in choosing a successor to Mr. Kulathungam. Mr. Balasingham was the nephew of Mr. J. V. Chelliah and had been born and brought up in Malaysia and had come here for his higher studies. He passed in the Honours School of History in the Ceylon University and joined our staff in 1944. Later he had gone over to the London University and obtained his M. A. degree.

About the middle of 1963 news was received here of the passing of Miss Lucy Clarke in U. S. A. She had come out as a Missionary in 1915 and been teaching at Uduvil and was later Principal of the United Women's Christian Training School for Teachers. She had long represented the Mission on the Board of Directors. She had left Jaffna in the late fifties.

We have drawn attention more than once to the fact (and, of course, it will be patent to everyone, even otherwise), that the Library is as important to our Institution as the teaching in our class rooms. And the man who had been identified with the Library for 41 years was Mr. K. Sellaiah. He had inherited his work in 1920 from Mr. C. H. Cooke, in whose time the borrowing of books was a more common practice than their return. Mr. Sellaiah had begun to build it up from its meagre beginnings.

Mr. Sellaiah had undergone training in Library Science, gone to England to acquaint himself with the best Libraries there; and when the Undergraduate Department was set up he had had no difficulty in making his own department equal to any demand that might be made on it. In his time, it had become an imposing institution and one of the best in the Island. His retirement had been postponed by three years and now when he left, his place was taken by Mr. R. S. Thambiah, who not merely had high academic qualifications, but who had specially qualified himself in Library Science. So the Library, though deprived of its chief builder, continued to be in safe-hands.

In August 1963 the Executive Committee of the Board almost achieved a *coup*. It passed a series of resolutions which were as follows:

1. That we remove the archives of the sections on Philosophy and Religion in the Library to the Diocesan Office.
2. That we remove the Collegiate Section of the Library to a building outside the College.
3. That we sell the Cooke house to the owner.
4. That we sell all the houses occupied by the College teachers to the American Ceylon Mission (the Diocese) and the rents be hereafter paid to the latter.

In passing these resolutions the Executive Committee was not inspired by a spirit of divination but a justified suspicion of the intentions of Government. Government had allowed a

limited number of Private Schools, though under differing conditions. But what guarantee was there that its attitude to them would continue? If the Executive Committee had implemented these decisions it would have saved us infinite trouble later. But by December, when it found that Government was not contemplating a change, it decided to let the matter alone; and thus let a great opportunity slip through its hands.

In September 1963 we had to part with another veteran in the person of Mr. P.W. Ariaratnam. He must have joined the Staff round 1925; later he went to the Teachers' Training College Colombo and obtained a First Class. He rejoined the Staff and taught in the Lower School. In 1937 he was appointed Supervisor of the Lower School in succession to Mr. C. C. Kanapathipillai. To give any work to Mr. Ariaratnam was to be sure it would be done well. For 26 years he ran the Lower School as few others could have done. Everything was organised as well as it could be; the teaching was supervised with the utmost strictness, the discipline left nothing to be desired; a Kindergarten Class was set up; an Annual Sports Meet separate from that of the Upper School, became a feature, Carnatic Music began to be taught and the holding of a Primary School Concert also became an annual event. The Primary School does not usually attract as much attention as the Upper School; but as the child is father to the man, the Primary School makes the Upper School. Mr. Ariaratnam may, therefore be said to have contributed greatly to the well-being of the whole School.

Mr. Ariaratnam's place was taken by Mr. C. R. Ratnasingam. Mr. Ratnasingam was the son of Mr. J. V. Chellapa, once a most trusted head master of one of our Affiliated Schools. Mr. Ratnasingam had joined our Staff in 1944.

In October Mr. and Mrs. Bunker, who had taken a short furlough in U. S. A. after their Jubilee celebrations the previous year, returned. Mr. Bunker was now scholastically fairly well loaded, having received two Doctorates, one from Oberlin, his Alma Mater, and the other from Earlham. The Round Table celebrated his Doctorates by giving the Bunkers a Complimentary Dinner.

The Alumni who had not celebrated his Jubilee the previous year did so this year with a Garden Party at which Messrs. S. H. Perinbanayagam and A. Kadirgamar were the speakers.

These were not the only Doctorates to fall into our lap during the year. Mr. Balan Selliah, son of Mr. K. A. Selliah, the Principal, who had gone to Stanford University in 1960, after obtaining a First Class in Mathematics in Ceylon, returned in November with a Ph. D., having done his thesis in Statistics. The name of Stanford is not well known here, but in the U. S. A. it has a high reputation in all branches of Mathematics.

One may make a reference here to a common but not exactly annual event that used to take place at this season between our Staff and that of a Sister College. At first the contest seems to have been between our venerable players and those of St. Patrick's; and later to have been between ours and those of St. John's. But the match does not seem to have been regularly played and the results seem to have been immaterial; for even this year's results are not recorded.

There is, however, another and more important event that must be recorded before we have done with the year 1963; and that event was that the ground was now completely cut from under our Undergraduate Department. We shall see the reasons for it.

Those who have followed the course of events will know that the Undergraduate Department was set up in 1947, because Jaffna students could not afford an education at Peradeniya, and the more prestigious exams of the London University offered an outlet for them. And, for most of the time it was the London exams that our students were taking up.

But after a while, when Colombo was recognised as a separate Campus of the University of Ceylon and the taking up of local exams became a possibility, the ground under our feet was getting gradually cut. In 1963, the London University which was holding its External exams purely for the benefit of Colonial students, saw no reason to force them on a country

which had a University of its own, and ceased to hold its exams here. (It, however, allowed students who had sat for the Intermediate to complete the course within two years). The stoppage of London exams was the main factor in the new situation.

It must also be recognised that even if London had not taken the step it did, it would not have been possible for our students to cope with its demands; for our secondary education had progressively been conducted in the National medium, and the London Examinations were in English.

This does not mean that we made any attempt to close down our Department. What it means is that the original purpose for which the Department had been started was now lost. But, like Goldsmith's school master who "though vanquished could argue still", we could make the Department still do tertiary work of one sort and another.

One of the events in **1964** we are most happy to record was the visit of Dr. K. Kandiah, one of our Old Boys. Dr. Kandiah was even then working at Harwell, where Britain carries out her Atomic Research. The activities there are of the utmost importance and concerned with her very existence. They are, therefore, carried on with the utmost secrecy. That one of our men should have been entrusted with work involving such responsibility is an index both of his extreme brilliance and the sense entertained of his absolute trustworthiness. Today he heads one of the twelve Divisions of the Department (no one Division knowing what the others are doing). The Round Table feted him with a dinner on 1st February.

We have given this chapter the title, "Changes and Consequences". The term "changes" has a wide range of meaning. We shall see that during this decade there were far-reaching changes outside the College; but internally the word, as we have said at the outset of the chapter, refers to the partings of important people either from the College or from the world. The term "consequences" also may mean more than one thing; it may mean the results that automatically follow certain events or it may mean the adjustments one deliberately makes to meet the situations caused by the changes.

Mr. A. R. Abraham seems to have left at the end of 1963. He is the son-in-law of Mr. S. S. Sanders, our long-time bursar and had joined our staff in 1944. He had officially retired in February 1962, but according to a peculiar custom prevailing here had still continued to teach. He taught chiefly Mathematics in the middle Forms, but outside the classroom he had functioned as Cricket coach and House Master and had done work with the Scout Movement.

The next person to leave us was Mr. L. S. Williams, the son of the Rev. E.T. Williams. He had joined the Staff in 1930, after securing his B. Sc. degree from the Calcutta University and had taught Chemistry. When he joined, and for long after, Mr. S. T. Jeevaratnam was the chief Instructor in Chemistry. When Mr. Jeevaratnam left, he succeeded him in that capacity. Both were extremely good as teachers of that subject; and particularly because they were, a comparison between them seems almost inevitable. Jeevaratnam laid his stress on precision and exactness; when you studied the subject under him you knew thoroughly the content of what he had taught and the boundary lines of your knowledge. Williams was a Scientific philosopher, who had read widely round the subject, who lived and moved within that atmosphere and taught his students to marvel at the wonders of the Scientific World. As to which was the better teacher, it is not for me to say, having studied under neither. According to tradition, like all teachers whose retirement fell during the year, he was allowed to teach till the end of the calendar year.

Mr. V. Koshy, had come to us in 1949 and had taught in the Secondary School only for a short time and then had migrated to the Collegiate Department; he had taught Economics and History. Outside the classroom he seems to have been immersed in an amazing variety of activities, religious, intellectual, economic and athletic. He left in April 1964 and his leaving was greatly regretted, since his place was considered hard to fill.

Mr. V. Koshy is recorded as having left of his own accord; but Mr. P. T. John, who had taught Physics first in the Secondary School and then in the Collegiate section for a long period

had to leave in May. He is recorded as having left because of the T. R. P. (Temporary Residence Permit) regulations which seem to have come into effect rather suddenly at the time. That is, all Indian residents who were in employment in the Island were suddenly given 48 hours notice to quit. Mr. and Mrs. John had been very active in Church work and we were genuinely distressed at their departure.

It was about this time also that Mr. K. A. George, commonly called "Professor" seems to have left us. He had acquired that sobriquet because of his vast and intimate knowledge of the highways and by-ways of his subject (Mathematics). But he was far from being a pure academician. He was a friend of the high and the low alike and was consulted as an oracle. He was, above all, a man of great large-heartedness, who was quite free not merely with his advice but with his money,

Mr. B. K. Somasundaram's departure took place in October of the year 1964. He was of course an Old Student of ours, but had been teaching in a number of places before he joined our Staff in 1941. He taught Chemistry. He must have done his work efficiently in a Department of studies which for a long time contained such teachers as S. T. Jeevaratnam and L. S. Williams. But his chief passion was Carnatic Music, to promote which he considered was his chief mission. He was a very assertive personality and one could not have been on the campus very long without being aware of his personality.

According to rules operating in Government, the Principal, Mr. K. A. Selliah, was also due to have retired at the end of October. But we exercised our privilege of being outside the National Scheme by extending his services by another two years. Though we were outside the National Scheme yet there were certain rules we had to obey. How we kept that rule and still exercised our privilege we shall soon see.

We have seen with what a line of teachers we had to part this year; that they should have left in such a group might seem a disaster; but as we have noted before it was the passing of a generation; and the fact that we had to part with such veterans

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brings into focus the privilege of Private School, in that it can allow its teachers to grow grey in its service and become veterans.

Partings of Another Sort

At the outset we have said that not all partings during this period were merely from the College; there were partings of another sort also; and these they were quite a few.

The first to pass away this year was K. Sellaiah, our former Librarian, who died on 20th February. He had retired from the post of Librarianship only a few months earlier. A quiet, unassuming, unobtrusive man, he had lived for his work. He had no other interests in his life. For 43 years he made our Library his sole occupation. Deprived of it, life lost all meaning for him. He will remain one of the most poignant figures in our history.

In June Mr. J. A. Selvadurai, who had left us about five years earlier, died suddenly. He was an Old Boy and after leaving School had served in a number of Schools before joining us as a teacher. He served us for 27 years, teaching chiefly Tamil and Handicraft in the Lower School and is reported to have contributed greatly to the success of the Lower School concerts by his histrionic talents.

In the same month there passed away in America, a figure who had once held an important place in the College but who was practically unknown to subsequent generations, namely, Mr. Charles W. Miller. He had been here from 1914 to 1918 and had acted as interim-Principal between Mr. Brown and Mr. Bicknell. He had taught science and his chief interest (outside) was ornithology (study of birds). He was popular with the students because of his affability. On leaving the College he had gone into Mission work, in which he remained till his leaving Jaffna in the mid-twenties.

On July 25th there passed away after a protracted illness, a person, who in one capacity or another had been connected with the College for more than 40 years, namely, Mr. J. C. Amarasingham. Later generations knew of him as Principal of

the Christian Training College for Tamil Teachers and for many years as a member of the Board of Directors, of which he was often Secretary or Chairman. But he had been a teacher here from 1916 to 1927 and at that time had wielded an enormous influence on our students as the leader of the National Movement.

On the 27th of August his friend, S. T. Jeevaratnam, who had left us seven years earlier followed him to the grave. He was a paragon of teachers and his memory will be cherished by all who knew him for his amiability and succinct opinions on men and matters.

Now that the Undergraduate Department was not going "full steam-ahead", Dr. Bunker had begun to wonder to what extent he was needed here, and must have acquainted the authorities in U. S. with the situation. So at the Semi-Annual meeting of the Board a letter was received from the General Secretary of the East Asia Conference asking for Dr. Bunker's services for three months every year for work among the University Students of East Asia. The request was that the arrangement was to be in the first instance for two years. Because of the suspicion that this was only the beginning, our Board made the stipulation that this should not be considered by any means his severance from the College.

The Annual Prize Giving took place on 5th with the Ven. Harold de Soyza (soon to become Bishop of Colombo) as the Chief Guest. The Principal's Report showed that the number on the Roll was 1170 (957 boys and 213 girls). New admissions were 191.

We have said that at the end of October 1964 Mr. K.A. Selliah's retirement was also due according to Government regulations, and how we had exercised our right as a Private School by extending his services without breaking Government rules. The method we used was that of calling Mr. Selliah "Honorary Principal", while Mr. S. V. Balasingham was to be Principal. Later the designations were changed by calling both "Co-Principals". From the point of view of Government, however,



S. V. Balasingham

there could be no such arrangement as a Co-Principalship. What we meant was that Mr. Selliah was to be in charge of finances and policy, while Mr. Balasingham was to be Principal in the eyes of the Department. This lasted as long as Mr. Selliah's extension lasted.

At the beginning of this Chapter we spoke of various sorts of arrows, some of which took shape and others which did not. It looked as if Government had not discontinued its labours in that armoury; for it was rumoured to be preparing a White Paper, the purpose of which was to make the existence of Private Schools itself depend on the number of students in them who belonged to the faith of the Proprietor. The Board was taking a grave view of the situation; and so at a special meeting on 6th November, Dr. Niles proposed that we should put our minimum demands before Government, that we should ask that one Christian school for Boys and one for Girls should be allowed to remain, respectively in Colombo, Kandy and Jaffna. But the Board was up against the stark fact that even if a pledge was forthcoming to start with, it might not be honoured later.

In the meantime our supporting bodies, like the World Council of Churches, not knowing the problems of a multi-religious society, were getting rather tired of supporting an Institution with such a small proportion of Christian students. In fact, Dr. R. K. Orchard was coming from Headquarters to examine the position.

While we were feeling very shaky about our very existence, the Government was becoming more and more "cock-sure" about its own. It had been in power now for more than four years. It had an ample majority in Parliament and nobody had hitherto challenged its authority; but it was troubled that though it had power, it was not above criticism. So it came to the conclusion that, since it had the power, it should silence the Press by taking it over; but it found that some newspapers were in its favour. Therefore, it decided to take over the hostile Press, which meant the "Lake House" group of papers. This group had been merciless in its criticism of Government, but it was also possessed of vast financial resources

and considerable political backing, since it had the U. N. P. solidly behind it. So if Government was facing a foeman, it was a foeman who had to be reckoned with. On 3rd of November Government had introduced a Bill in Parliament for the Take-Over of "Lake House".

One of those days, I went to the Education Secretariat to interview the Permanent Secretary and said to him, "I hear you want to take-over non-fee-levying schools also". He replied, "Not merely non-fee-levying schools, but all Private Schools (i. e. Fee-levying schools also)". "What about the Press Bill now in Parliament; you must carry it through first", I said. "O that!" he said, "we will put it through next week", he replied. He was merely voicing the arrogant mood of the Government.

And, of course, the Government had plenty of reason for its arrogance. In a Parliament of 157 members, did not the Opposition consist of just 30 U. N. P. members and 16 Tamil members? What reason had it to fear? But if the U. N. P. had only 30 members in its ranks, there were among them long heads and cool brains, who could scheme, plot, plan, intrigue, manoeuvre and manipulate. Confident in its strength, the Government suspected nothing amiss till two or three days before the end.

On the 4th of December, 1964, occurred one of the most sensational events in our Parliamentary history. As the afternoon sun was going down on the city, Mr. C. P. de Silva, the second in command of the Government, rose in his seat and in a House, taut with breathless silence, delivered an emotional speech winding up with the words, "Mr. Speaker, I want to live a free man among a free people" and crossed over to the Opposite side with 13 members following him.

In a Parliament of 157 members, what did the addition of 14 members to 46 in Opposition and the lessening of Government ranks from 111 to 97 mean? It meant that when the process of unwinding begins, it can be rapid; the large numbers who had clung to the Government when it had power began

immediately to desert it, once it was seen to be losing that power. When the count was taken, 73 had voted for the Government and 74 against it; and incidentally we had been saved. Parliament was dissolved on 17th of December.

The year 1965 opened for us with a somewhat bizarre incident. Our rainy season is supposed to stop usually by the end of December; by grace we allow a few slight showers till the middle of January. We also know that occasionally we are subjected to cyclones. These arise in the Bay of Bengal, first hit the Eastern Province, make an inroad into the Northern Province, winding up by devastating the South Eastern coast of India. Dr. Bunker used to say that in his experience cyclones were a regular feature of our weather once in 3 to 4 years; but these cyclones usually occur during the height of the rainy season.

This time, on the night of January 14th, a cyclone of unusual ferocity hit us; and among other things, it crumpled up the vast aluminium roof of the Bicknell Memorial Pavilion and threw it far out into the fields across the road. It took many months for us to put things right.

We have noticed how one thing and another combined to undermine our Undergraduate Department; but we also stressed that this did not mean that we were preparing to close it down. Nevertheless, it was natural that the factors which had begun to operate in 1963 should affect our numbers in that Department. From 300 in 1963, the numbers in 1964 had fallen to 148; the President reported that there was no likelihood of continuing the B. Sc. class and that generally the future of the Undergraduate Department was bleak.

The President was therefore, very uncertain about the future of the Undergraduate Department; but there were others in the Department itself who had different views on the subject. If the Department could not be run as it had been run till now, why not run it in a different way? So a Scheme was thought up to cater to Trained Teachers to prepare them for the Degree exams of the Ceylon University, after school hours. The response was enthusiastic. There were 50 applicants for the Arts Classes and 10 for the Science Classes.

Early in 1965 in the country an Election Campaign was raging. After all, the S. L. F. P. had been defeated only by a majority of 1; and the U. N. P had been out of power for quite some time. The Election was held in March; the results showed that while neither party had secured an absolute majority, the U. N. P. had a 6 to 4 majority of seats, over its rival, literally getting 61 seats to the 41 of the S. L. F. P. But Mr. Dudley Senanayake having grown wiser in the interval between the previous election and this, made an alliance with the Federal Party, which gave him 77 seats. And many of the uncommitted members, finding that Mr. Senanayake was in a better position to form a government than his rival, joined him; so that he had more than 90 seats; and all that the other side could muster was about 59 seats. So he formed his Government in March 1965.

Politically, of course, it meant that the stringent racialistic course of actions followed by Mrs. Bandaranaike had come to an end. For the Private Schools it meant more than having been saved from the brink of a precipice; they were, instead, for the time being, they thought placed in an impregnable position; for Mr. Dahanayake the doughtiest champion of Private Schools, was in the Cabinet.

We were now able to breathe freely once again. Our Prize Giving was held on 26th June, Mr. Cecil Lyons, the American Ambassador, being the Chief Guest. We were happy to have him among us and he was equally happy. He owed his position to John Foster Dulles, one-time U. S. Secretary of State, whose ancestress was the founder of the Uduvil Girls' College. As a representative of his country. Mr. Lyons was happy to be in an environment where his countrymen had worked for 150 years and where their services were still gratefully appreciated. The number on Roll was 1014. (857 boys and 157 girls).

During the year the moratorium granted by the London University ran out and no further London exams were to be held in our Island. The University however continued to hold, them in other parts of the Commonwealth, which did not have the educational facilities we had; and discontinued that system only recently.

Now that the U. N. P. was back in power for 5 years it could have done much for the improvement of the country. But the only memorable action for which it is now remembered is the substitution of Poya and Pre Poya days as non-working days, instead of Saturdays and Sundays, by a law that got passed in January 1966 (Poya days = Full moon and New moon days and the seventh day following either). When the whole world was following one system, to follow another system is to lose four working days (counting Saturdays and Pre-Poya Days). Mr. Senanayake was not, however, concerned with such a trifling consideration; his only aim was to please the Buddhist Clergy (who had not, in fact, asked for it).

Every year has its own events and each may have its peculiar significance from some point of view; but it is also possible to find some general characteristics, which though they do not take into account every event may be considered indicative of certain general trends. In this decade of changes, by which was meant chiefly more than an ordinary number of departures from the college, this year is definitely outstanding. Two observations may be made on these departures; that some were far more noteworthy than others and secondly that though a number of departures were due to natural causes, for the first time the attraction of foreign countries, particularly African countries, was beginning to exercise an influence on our men.

This year the Undergraduate Department introduced something into the life of the College that partook more of the character of a social event than a Sport, namely, the Cross-Country Race. Runners were divided into Juniors (those who were 14 and under) and those above that age. What makes the race a social event is that members of the Staff also occasionally want to test their wind by joining the Seniors. The course for the Seniors was about six miles and that for the Juniors about three miles. Though the routes have occasionally been changed, they have been mostly across the fields and only the concluding part was along roads. Girls also take part, but on shorter routes. Usually about 50 take part in the whole event. The first three in each race are given

cups. Others who complete the race get certificates. Though owing to the unsettled state of the country, the race has some times been dropped, as an institution it has come to stay.

When we referred earlier to the request of the East Asia Christian Conference to release Dr. Bunker for work among the University students of East Asia for three months a year—the arrangement to hold for two years—we said we suspected that this was but the beginning.

The second step came with a request from Dr. Telfer Mook himself, when the Board met in **1966**. He asked that Dr. Bunker be released for one whole year for the same work. The Board had no option but to comply, but made the stipulation that he should nevertheless attend Board meetings.

The following arrangements were made for his work:

Dr. W. L. Jeyasingham to be in charge of Undergraduate work.

Mr. S. V. Balasingham to be in charge of the Secondary School.

Mr. K. A. Selliah to be in charge of general oversight and be Manager and correspondent with the Trustees.

Mr. E. C. Lockwood to be in charge of correspondence with the Inter Mission Office, Bombay.

On March 9th the Round Table was able to do something different from arranging dinners for those who were leaving. It was able to hold a dinner to congratulate three veterans for attaining their Silver Jubilee of service in the college. They were Mr. E. C. Lockwood, Dr. W. L. Jeyasingham and Mr. P. Navaratnam. This kind of a function was of course a common event in our life here.

In April of the year one of the most distinguished of our Old Boys, Sir Waitialingam Duraisamy passed away in his 92nd year. He was one year older than Mr. J. V. Chelliah (died 1947) and Mr. K. Balasingam (died 1952) and had been their contemporary in the College in the early Nineties of the last



Dr. W. L. Jeyasingham



Dr. W. L. ...

Century. He was the first Member elected for the Northern Province in the Legislature, when representation was changed from a racial to a geographical basis in 1921. He was elected Speaker in 1936 and was knighted when he went for the Coronation of King George VI. He remained Speaker till the end of World War II. Before his shift to Colombo he was a most regular attendant at all our important meetings; and in Colombo, he actively identified himself with our Colombo Branch of the Old Boys. He had retained all his faculties to the last and was treated as an elder statesman during the latter years.

On the 22nd September the Annual Prize Giving took place with the Rev. Celestine Fernando, Secretary of the Bible Society, as the Chief Guest. The number on the Roll had fallen to 966 (689 boys and 277 girls). Obviously the gradual dispersion of the Undergraduate Department, as it had been earlier, was having its effect on our prestige.

As has been said in the Preface to this book, and as would have been clear from reading the book itself, the present writer is dealing with the history of Jaffna College in certain respects in a manner different from the way that his predecessor dealt with the period from 1823 to 1922. Among other things his book aims at putting the history of the College in the context of the times and conditions that prevailed as the story has come marching on.

Mr. Chelliah has not devoted a single sentence in his book to the Centenary of the American Ceylon Mission that took place in 1916, though it was the American Ceylon Mission that founded the Batticotta Seminary in 1823. From 1872 the College and the Mission have been under separate governing Boards; nevertheless the administration is considerably interlocked, and both have much in common; and both cater practically to the same community. So the great occasions of that body necessarily come within our purview.

The place of the American Ceylon Mission had in 1947 been taken by the Jaffna Diocese: and the latter has inherited the traditions of the former and does the same work as it did and in the same places. In September 1966 the Jaffna Diocese

celebrated the 150th Anniversary of the founding of the American Ceylon Mission. The programme ran for three days and aroused great enthusiasm among our people.

On the afternoon of the 26th of September there was what was virtually a pilgrimage to Tellippallai, where the Missionaries had first landed. There was a service in the church there, followed by a visit to the adjoining Graveyard, where the early Missionaries lie buried. Wreaths were laid upon all the important graves.

The programme for the next two days was carried out here. The third day began with a choral-liturgical Service in the Cathedral and wound up with a Garden Party and Public meeting in the evening. There were visitors from various Churches from various parts of this Island, India and the U. S. A. The Chief Guest of the evening was the Hon. Mr. M. Tiruchelvam Q. C., Minister of Local Administration, who spoke on the essential element in the contribution of the American Missionaries to our culture. One of the interesting features of the meeting was the receipt of a telegram of greetings from Malaya, two of the signatories to which had signed a similar document 50 years earlier, when the Mission had celebrated its Centenary.

On the 7th of October the Board held a special meeting. I believe it had originally been convened for one particular purpose; but we shall see that before it was through it had to face more than one problem.

The chief purpose of the meeting had been to consider the future of Higher Education. No doubt, our own Undergraduate Department, as it had been, had largely disintegrated. Students, on their own, were seeking their higher education in one way and another. This was highly unsatisfactory. There was also talk of a Hindu University. The question was whether we should plan for a Christian University, along with "Aquinas", the Roman Catholic Institution in Colombo which was also doing Undergraduate work, or whether we should ask that Jaffna College itself be given University status. This was not an extravagant demand as Vidyodaya and Vidyalankara, the Buddhist

Pirivenas had been given that status. It was decided that a Committee should keep in touch with the situation.

Then a second problem descended on us which was of overwhelming importance to us. It was the third step in the progress that had started when the East Asia Christian Conference had asked for the loan of Dr. Bunker's services for periods of three months for two years. Now it was Dr. Bunker himself who asked to be relieved of his position as President at the end of the year. Some people were in the know of the secret before the matter came before the Board; but to all it had come as a stunning surprise. There is no doubt that he came to the decision that he did, because of his deep and underlying sincerity. There is also no doubt that he was wrong.

We have said earlier that in the new era that had come into being, he had fitted far better than his predecessors, Brown and Bicknell, would have done; that is, he could move with the times. This gave him an advantage and the administration could move without a hitch.

Why then did he want to leave now? It was because instruction had now come to be done in Tamil and he did not know that language. But was that the only point of view from which the matter should have been regarded?

But how much Tamil did the early Missionaries know when they came out? Within the walls of a school the medium of instruction might have been English; but outside it was then a sea of Tamil. And how much of the languages of the various countries into which missionaries have gone did they know? A Missionary, like everybody else, is subject to languages: but he is also above them. He is essentially a servant of God and the whole world is his, whatever its language.

He was wrong, secondly, because in the innocence of his heart, Bunker did not know the place he had made for himself in the hearts of people. The very reason for which he wanted to go was the reason why people did not want him to go.

He wanted to go because of the goodness of his heart; and that very goodness that had endeared him to everyone who knew him. I wonder if there was a single person on the campus or in anyway connected with the College who liked his decision to leave.

Because of the extreme importance of the new subject that had descended on us it was decided to convene another Special meeting to consider the matter. A Special meeting of the Board to consider Dr. Bunker's request was held on 1st December, 1966. Since we were operating under the Constitution drawn up when the Undergraduate Department was set up and since the hub round whom the Constitution was operating was about to leave, the first thing to be done was in regard to that central point. Accordingly, at this Special Meeting notice was given that at the next meeting of the Board it would be moved that the clause bearing on it should be suspended.

Till we came to an agreement on it, it was decided that the following interim arrangements would hold good:

1. Dr. W. L. Jeyasingham be designated "President" of the Collegiate Department and Mr. S.V. Balasingham, Principal of the School Department.
2. No one be designated President of the College as a whole.
3. Mr. K. A. Selliah be Manager of the School Department.
4. The over-all charge of the College be placed in the hands of a co-ordinating committee, consisting of the President and Deputy President of the Collegiate Department, the Principal of the Secondary School Department and the Vice-Principal (not yet appointed) and the Welfare Officer. The Committee was to choose its own Chairman and Secretary.
5. Correspondence within budgetary provisions be conducted by the President and the Principal; and what was outside budgetary provisions be conducted by a body appointed by the Board.
6. Bank Accounts be operated by the President, Principal and Bursar.

At a Special meeting it is not customary to consider any matter other than those for which they were convened. Yet it is always allowable to take up any matter of importance or urgency that may require attention. One such matter was the appointment of a Vice-Principal. Since Mr. Balasingham, who had been Co-Principal, would soon become Principal, the appointment of a Vice-Principal had become necessary. Therefore, a Sub-Committee had been appointed to bring up a recommendation on the point and according to it, Mr. A. Kadirgamar was appointed to the post.

When we began to record the events of the year we said they would consist of many departures. So far we have not mentioned a single one, except for referring to Dr. Bunker's impending retirement. The chief reason for it was that we did not want to interfere with the main story for the year by interjecting the departure of teachers now and then; the second reason is that most of them, though not all the departures, took place at the end of 1966.

The first departure was that of Mr. E. A. Champion, who had served us for eleven years. He had been sent to London in 1950 to study the Teaching of English as a Second Language. He had done useful work here in various fields and now left to take up an appointment in Sierra Leone.

Mr. Christie Richards, who had a good degree in Economics from the University and had been teaching that subject in the Undergraduate Department, also left us about this time to take up a high post in the Canadian Civil Service.

Mr. S. J. D. Isaac, who had practically started the teaching of Zoology here and had been teaching the subject for twenty years, left at the end of the year for Zambia, where he is still teaching it.

Mr. A. Gunanayagam who had taught chiefly History, Civics and Government (and English) had joined us in 1950. He had a good grasp of his subjects; he left us at the end of the year to take up an appointment in Labuan.

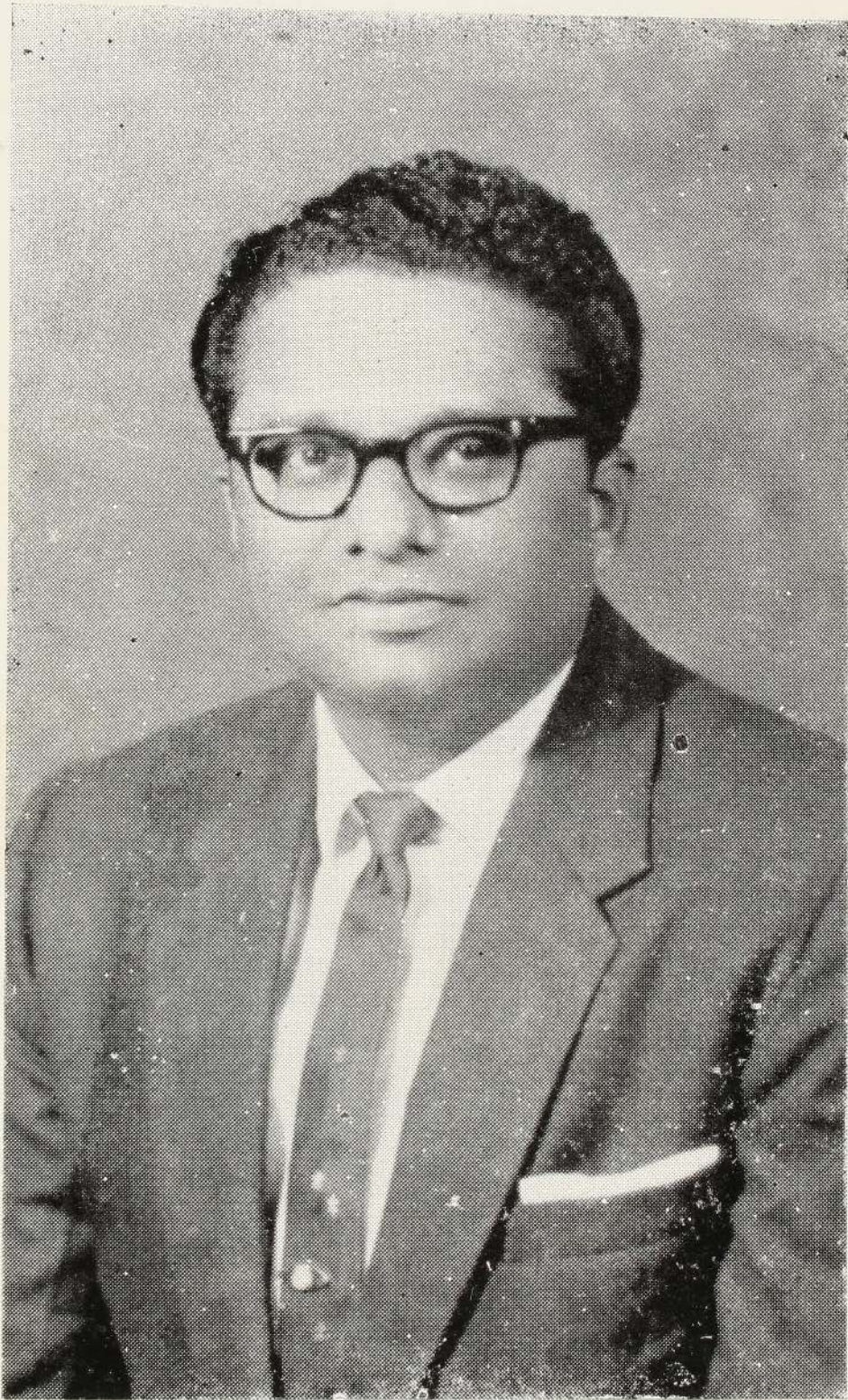
Another teacher with whom we were loth indeed to part was Mr. K. E. Mathiapparanam. He had joined the College as a student in 1917 and had become a teacher in 1927. With his B. A. degree he had gone to Annamalai University in South India for his M. A. degree, had come back and been head of our Tamil Studies. Of his devotion to Tamil there was no doubt. He had to leave, because he had reached the prescribed age of retirement and could not continue.

And the last to leave at the end of the year was Mr. K. A. Selliah. By rules prescribed by Government he should have retired in 1964; but as we saw, the Board had deliberately extended his services to the end of 1966. Mr. Selliah had entered the College as a student in 1917, had spent two years in Colombo for his graduation, had joined the Staff in 1925 and when a teacher had gone to London for further qualifications and spent two years there.

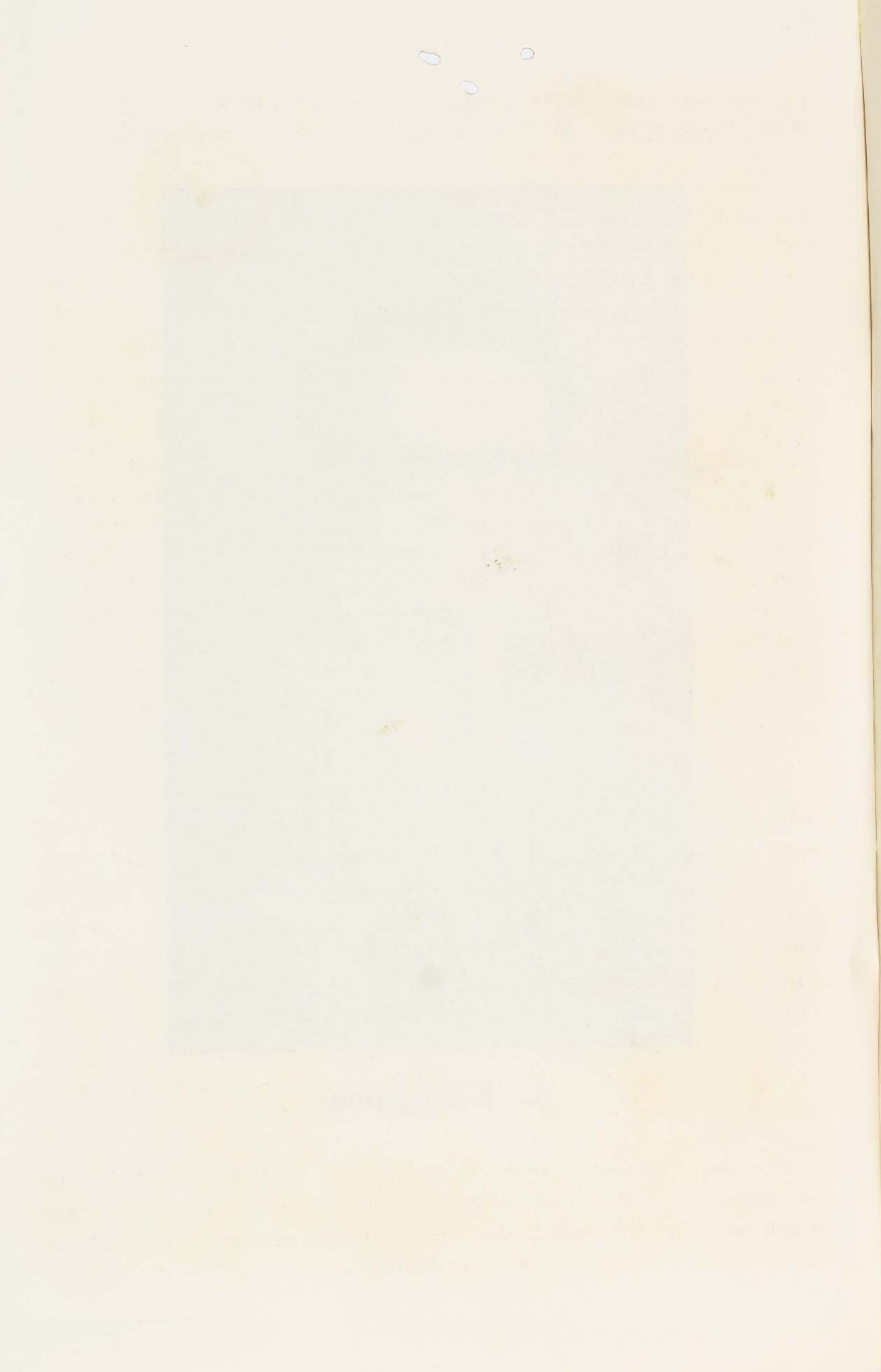
So that, except for these four years, nearly fifty years of his life had been spent at the College. During his career as a teacher he had for eight years been Vice-Principal and for nineteen years Principal. The College during its long history has had many devoted workers on its staff; but it is to be wondered if it had anyone who with such single-minded purpose had made the interests and affairs of the College virtually his sole pre-occupation. Life to him had meant living for the College. Even now (1982) he is working as Treasurer of the Board and Welfare Officer.

But his career as a teacher at the College had to come to an end; and it meant not merely the end of his own teaching career, but the dissolution of the partnership between him and Bunker which had lasted for twenty six years. This period, as we have said, is the brightest period in our whole history.

However, periods are but episodes in history; and persons, however large they may loom for the time being, give place to others, but the story whether of an Institution or a nation marches on. The Editors of the "Miscellany" brought out a special number of that magazine at the end of 1967 entitled "The Bunker—Selliah Number".



A. Kadirgamar



As the year **1967** opens, three names are writ large on it W. L. Jeyasingham, S. V. Balasingham and A. Kadirgamar.

Dr. W. L. Jeyasingham was not an old Boy of ours. He had joined us as a Graduate Teacher in 1941. Though he had a Science degree, his special interest was Geography; so he had been sent by the College to U. S. to qualify himself in it. He had studied at Clark University and obtained his Ph. D. in the subject. He had become Dean of the Undergraduate Department and, as we have seen, when Bunker was leaving was appointed Head of that Department.

Mr. S.V. Balasingham also was not an Old Boy either, and could not have been, as he had been born and brought up in Malaya. He had come to Ceylon before the War for his higher studies and, as we saw earlier, had joined our staff in 1944; to gain further knowledge in his subject (History) he had gone to the London University in 1952 and spent two years under Prof. Gerald Graham and secured his M. A. degree. In 1964, when Mr. Selliah had to retire, *de-jure* he had been made Co-Principal but was Principal in the eyes of the Department, though as far as we were concerned, he did his duties with Mr. Selliah.

Mr. A. Kadirgamar, who had become Vice-Principal now, was the son of the late Rev. J. W. A. Kadirgamar, who had been in our Ministry. He himself had spent his early life in Malaya, but had come here soon after the War for his Secondary education. His hereditary connection with us was derived from his great grandfather, R. O. D. Ashbury, who had been a distinguished member of our staff in the last century. He had got his basic degree in Bio-Science in the Madras University, but had as we have seen, spent two years (1961—1963) in the U. S. A. at Union Seminary and Columbia University and had obtained his M. A. Degree.

With so many teachers leaving us and so much change occurring at the top level of the administration, it was apparent that the old order was passing, giving place to the new. Thus does life ever renew itself.

At the Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors, which took place on the 7th of February (1967), the chief item that had to be considered was the Constitutional status of the President. Though members had had enough time to ponder over it, they did not feel they could come to conclusion on the subject at this meeting; and felt that it was enough to stress that the term "President" would denote that he was President only of the Undergraduate Department. However, he was given the right to summon meetings of the Executive Committee, as Dr. Bunker had done.

The other issue that was brought up at this meeting was one raised by the staff. Mr. Dudley Senanayake's masterpiece of statesmanship of making Poya-days and pre-Poya days non-working days may be remembered. Of these only one could be a statutory *non-dies*; and that was the Poya-day. But since both days went together they were generally treated on the same pattern as Sundays and Saturdays. We had, of course, to close on Poya-days; but instead of closing on pre-Poya days, we had closed on Sundays. The Staff felt that proper rest for Staff and students could be obtained only if the non-working days were consecutive. The Board, however, decided;

That it would not be in keeping with the traditions of the College, its Constitution and the purpose for which it was established for the Board voluntarily to agree to the holding of sessions on Sundays.

The Annual Prize Giving took place on 20th March (1967), the chief guest being Dr. G. P. Malalasekara. Mr. S.V. Balasingham presided for the first time and presented his report. Few people present on the occasion can forget the grace and easy finesse with which he carried off the whole thing. The number on the roll was 906 (633 boys and 273 girls).

Few students of this generation can understand the place that Dr. Malalasekara occupied in Ceylon in his time. He had been the head of the Faculty of Oriental Languages in the University of Ceylon, had been President of the World Federation of Buddhists, had been Ambassador to the Soviet Republic and was in charge of the unending task of editing the Buddhist Encyclopaedia. His words on the College may, therefore, be considered to carry weight.

He referred to the College as "a veritable queen among educational institutions in the country". He continued as follows:

Jaffna College has been referred to as the pioneer of modern education on the continent of India, having been founded nearly a 150 years ago by a noble band of men and women who came across the seas to set up in this part of the world the torch of learning and culture with deep reverence and dedication. The flame they kindled has been developed into a beacon light, whose beneficent rays have penetrated into practically every corner of this country, through the services of many thousands of men and women who have passed through these portals, as the proud alumni of this seat of learning.

It is customary for every chief guest to pay compliments to the institution that has invited him. We have quoted Dr. Malalasekera's words at length, because of his standing in the Buddhist world; and because he spoke these words not very long ago.

About the middle of this year there took place some deaths of persons not closely connected with us but which we must record. On May 29th there passed away one whom his biographer has called, "the greatest Protestant Christian of Jaffna in this century", namely, Canon S. Somasunderam. He was an Anglican clergyman, but was entirely a product of this College, except for the fact that when the College was passing through a crisis at the turn of the century, he had gone to Calcutta to get his B. A. degree. His outlook, temperament and mode of life had been moulded entirely by the New England Missionaries of the last century and his rigidity in maintaining them in all matters to the remotest degree had made him a legend in Jaffna for more than 50 years.

On the 20th of June there took place a death of a different kind of personality. E. W. Ariyanayagam (more familiarly known as Ariam Williams) was the son of Rev. E. T. Williams and must have left College round 1913. He joined the Serampore College and passed out in the first batch of students entitled to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. The World Y. M. C. A.

had just then started a Hostel in London for Indian students and found in him the very person they wanted as Warden. Having got this on its feet he transferred his activities to Edinburgh where he ran a similar newly founded Hostel on the same pattern.

Ariam returned to this hemisphere about 1926 and became Private Secretary to the poet Rabindranath Tagore. On Tagore's death he went in a similar capacity to serve under Mahatma Gandhi at Sevagram and in addition he was in charge of the Training Centre for teachers. He had come on a visit to Jaffna and died here on the very night of his return.

About the same time Mr. B. K. Somasunderam, who had left our staff only two years previously, passed away after a short illness. He had served us for 23 years and had made himself felt both inside and outside the classroom.

We have seen how at the end of 1966 Mr. K. A. Selliah had to terminate his long career on our staff. Evidently the College thought no *ad hoc* farewell would do and that sufficient preparation should be made for the purpose. That farewell came off on a grand scale on 28th of June (1967). Mr. and Mrs. Selliah were marched from Sangarathai to Vaddukodai, with garlands round their necks and a moving pandal of flowers over their heads and to the sound of music and the noise of crackers. It was a function in which the village of Vaddukodai also participated. A meeting was held in the Ottley Hall, speeches made and the rest of the day declared a holiday.

The Old Boys, however, thought that they themselves should show their own esteem for a career of such dedication and held a brilliant function in the College Quadrangle on the 5th of August. As to which of the two was a grander function, I cannot say, not having been at the earlier one; but the latter was grand enough.

At the end of the year Mr. P. W. Muttiah also left us. He was an Old Boy and had taught here from 1924 to 1929 and came back to us again in 1950. He had taught English and had done it conscientiously.



K. C. Thurairatnam



A. Rajasingham

As we go along we shall realise that the next year (1968) was one that was "heavy laden" for us. There were, of course, events of diverse kinds during the year; and the normal activities of the College were carried on, as they always are, despite all detrimental circumstances. But some events, because of their poignancy as well as their suddenness, make such an impact on everyone that they darken the year. We shall see what they were as we proceed.

Academically, it had been clear that from 1963 the Undergraduate Department had outlived the original purpose for, which it had been founded. But we had set up a Department collected a staff, established a system, and assembled various aids to teaching higher branches of knowledge; all these would have to be idle or be dispensed with, if we made no attempt to do anything above the Secondary school level.

Fortunately, we had a President who could think big, strike out into new fields, try experiments and take risks. He presented a memorandum to the Annual Meeting of the Board held on 12th of February 1968, stating a case for Technical Education, above the Secondary School level. He said that the training of mid-grade craftsmen and technicians would be a service to the country. The Board agreed with him and decided that it would be necessary to appoint a committee to go into the courses and content that such education involved, to examine the financial implications, and to survey the efforts of Government and other bodies in the matter. At the Continuation Meeting of the Board held on the 13th the committee was appointed, consisting of the Chairman (Mr. S. Rajanayagam), the President, the Principal and six others.

But neither did we close the doors on the future Higher Education of an academic kind. Important as Technical Education might be, the need for definite provision for Higher academic education was still pressing. No doubt those who wanted could go to Colombo or Peradeniya (if they gained admission) or sit for the external exams. But there was no sure arrangement whereby all those desiring Higher Education could get it locally. It may be remembered that as late as October 1966 Dr. Niles had asked that either we join Aquinas (the Roman Catholic

institution in Colombo doing higher education) and run a joint-University or ask the Government to raise Jaffna College itself to University status. The Continuation meeting of the Board therefore, also appointed a committee of sufficiently high calibre to examine what could be done in the matter.

The Annual Prize-giving took place on the 16th March, with Mr. Shirley S. C. Corea, Speaker of the House of Representatives, as the Chief Guest. The Principal, Mr. Balasingham, presided and carried out things, as he had done the previous year, with an air of perfect confidence and his usual flair. The number on Roll stood at 905 (622 boys and 283 girls). Of these 109 were boarders.

In his report the Principal referred to a curious situation. It must be remembered that it was the U. N. P. that was in power now; and the U. N. P. was noted for its sympathies towards Private schools. In keeping with its reputation, it had tabled a Bill empowering the Minister for Education to allow them to levy fees at his discretion. The Principal complained that the Bill had been shelved before it was taken up for discussion.

He was referring to an action that was perfect in its technique (of ignominy). The friends of Private Schools wanted them to have the right to levy fees. The tabling of the Bill satisfied them, making them feel that after all the Private Schools were going to receive justice. The opponents of Private Schools, however, would have an equal opportunity of satisfaction, if the subject was not brought up for a decision. The Principal did not realise that the Government had scored a triumph of diplomacy of the kind in which it excelled.

It was now the month of June and on the morning of the 21st, Mr. Balasingham, the Principal, felt a slight pain in the chest and was rushed to the nearest hospital by a friend. The Doctor did a cursory examination and went inside his room for a drug. Before he could come back Mr. Balasingham had passed away from his earthly life.

Hardly had a Principal been elevated to his position with higher hopes, so justly entertained, hardly had a Principal been accompanied in his elevation with the best wishes of all, so sincerely felt. And so well had he justified such hopes and wishes during his brief tenure of office. His administration had been above reproach and his teaching had been all that could have been asked of a teacher. And his way of doing things had always carried with it an air of culture and distinction.

When the students were informed of what had happened, his hand writing was still on the black boards. The poignancy of a career of such promise being cut short with such awesome suddenness could only be expressed in the words of Shakespeare, which almost seem meant for such occasions: "The pity of it, O the pity of it".

The funeral service was held at Ottley Hall on the following day; and the coffin was carried to its final resting place in the Vaddukoddai Church Burial Ground by representatives of various groups. A Memorial Service was held on the 23rd of October.

At a Special Meeting of the Board held on the 24th it was decided to appoint Mr. A. Kadirgamar, the Vice-Principal as Acting Principal.

In July of the year there occurred another death of one who in certain respects may be said to have had an intimate connexion with the College. Mr. W. P. A. Cooke was the second son of Mr. C. H. Cooke and belonged to a family that had had a hereditary connection with the College from the middle of the last century. It was Mr. J. P. Cooke's High School that Mr. Brown had incorporated into what was left of the old Institution, now disaffiliated from all University connection, to make up for the lack of students in the lower classes. Mr. W. P. A. Cooke, like his father and grandfather, had been on our Board and, in fact, the family considered it had to have a reserved place on the Board.

In the same month there occurred an event of an altogether different sort and in a context much larger than that of our College. Dr. D. T. Niles had been an active member of our

Board from the early forties; but he was also a figure in the World Church. After the establishment of the World Council of Churches in 1948 his place had risen higher and higher, till many regarded him as the greatest living Churchman of the world. At the General Assembly meeting of the World Council of Churches in Upsala in Sweden, he was elected to the presidium, that is, one of the six Presidents. The Colombo Municipal Council gave him a civic reception on his return to Ceylon. We basked in his reflected glory.

As far as our affairs were concerned, the Committee which had been appointed at the Annual Meeting to go into the question of Technical Education brought in its report to the Semi-Annual meeting of the Board. It said that:

1. The training of technicians in mechanical engineering would involve a recurrent expense which would be one lakh per year.
2. The capital expense required would be Rs. 1.65 million.
3. About 40 candidates could be trained annually.

In regard to Agriculture the recommendations were as follows:

1. The recurrent expenditure would be Rs. 75,000 per year.
2. The capital expense would be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 300,000.
3. About 25 candidates could be trained annually.

The Board, while it was in general sympathy with the principle of Technical Education, felt that it should not continue to be a perpetual drain on our resources and should become self-supporting within a short time and therefore desired that the Committee should go into that matter also. It was also suggested that the Government planning committee should be asked to advise us.

In regard to higher academic Education, the committee appointed to bring recommendations on the point brought up its proposal, which was to take effect, that while candidates may be allowed to register for external degrees, we should along with

Aquinas grant our own diplomas, which would have behind them the same academic training as that of the University and should command the same weight as its degrees.

The Semi-Annual Meeting also appointed a sub-committee of five to bring up recommendations for a person to fill the post of permanent Principal, who should fulfill the following qualifications:

He should be a Christian of good standing and be loyal to the Church; he should be an Old Boy; he should possess high academic qualifications and he should not be over fifty years of age.

A Special Meeting of the Board was held on 3rd of September 1968. It had to deal with two items of business; (1) the appointment of permanent officials to the top of the administration of the Secondary School; (2) The settlement of the Constitutional question which had been hanging fire for a long time, regarding the status and functions of the President's office vacated by Dr. Bunker.

In regard to the first item of business, it was unanimously resolved that Mr. Arasaratnam Kadirgamar, who had been acting as Principal since Mr. Balasingham's death, be made permanent Principal and that Mr. Alvapillai Rajasingam, a mathematics graduate of the Ceylon University (and a very wizard at figures) who had joined us in 1953, be appointed Vice-Principal. The making of appointments, however important they may be, for the Board that makes them is not a difficult task.

The definition of the constitutional status of the President was, however, a different matter. It involved the weighing of the pros and cons of various words and phrases, so that the final formulation reached would give its answer in definite and unambiguous terms.

In 1947 also the same question of this principle had arisen, but then the solution of it was simple. The College was a Missionary Institution and had always been under

missionaries. We were setting up a new Department which would absorb most of the attention of the person in charge of it. Were we, therefore going to set aside the tradition of a Missionary head, just because of the extra duties devolving on him?

There was hardly a choice involved. We decided that a Missionary should be head of the whole institution and that he be responsible to the Board for its proper administration; but that he might delegate his authority to run the Secondary School to the Principal, who *de-jure* would be under him.

The New Definition of the President's Status

That situation had now changed. The person in charge of the Undergraduate Department was no longer a Missionary. Should he, because he had charge of that Department, be the over-all head of the whole institution and occupy the same Status? The question was not one between persons but between principles; and it was not one that could be postponed any longer. Till the question was settled, the over-all administration had been under an *ad-hoc* Committee; but that situation could not continue indefinitely.

To help in its deliberations, the Board had appointed a sub-committee of which Mr. L. S. Kulathungam was Convenor to bring up its recommendation; and its recommendation was that since we no longer had a Missionary available for the post, the old system of a single over-all head need not continue. The Section in the Constitution affecting the issue was changed in accordance with this recommendation.

On this point the earlier Constitution drawn up when the Undergraduate Department was established had said:

The head of the College shall be the President who shall be responsible to the Board of Directors for all the work of the College. He shall be in direct charge of the Collegiate Department and shall have authority in all matters affecting the Department or affecting the College as a whole. He may also be the Manager of the College Secondary School.

There shall be a Principal under the general supervision of the President etc.

The new Constitution, on the other hand, now said :

The President shall be responsible for the academic and administration of the Undergraduate Department. He may also be Manager of the High School Department. But the Manager shall be appointed by the Board at each Annual Meeting.

The Principal shall be responsible for the academic, boarding and Financial administration of the High School Department.

In all matters affecting both Departments it was laid down that both should act jointly.

It may be noted that whereas the earlier Constitution defined the essential and primary function of the President as that of being Head of the whole College (Undergraduate and Secondary School Departments), the new Constitution defined it specifically as being Head of the Undergraduate Department; whereas in the earlier Constitution the authority of the Principal of the Secondary School was derived, in the new it was inherent. In effect, the new Constitution bifurcated the administration. Both heads would, of course, be responsible to the Board.

So important did the Board consider the change that it took the totally unprecedented step of declaring that the new Constitution would come into effect from midnight of 3rd September (1968), as if there was a possibility of the head of one department encroaching on the domain of the other between midnight and the morning of the next day.

We have said earlier that the year 1968 was "heavy laden" for us. We have seen how in June of the year, to the utter consternation of everyone, Mr. S. V. Bala-singham, who had been appointed Principal only two or three years previously had suddenly entered into eternity. That one event, sad as it was, would not have entitled us to say that the year was "heavy-laden" for us. Worse was to come.

On the 23rd of September, just two days before his 64th birthday, the Rev. Sydney Bunker, who had left us at the end of 1966, passed away in America. He had come to us in 1937 and had left us so recently, that we were still struggling with the task of adjusting ourselves to the situation created by his departure.

After leaving us he had joined the staff of the United Church Board for World Mission; that is, the old American Board. And because of his long experience in the Mission field he was expected to make a great contribution to the American Board. As in the case of Mr. Balasingham, when the Church bell tolled, people could hardly believe the news. He had been with us so long, had become such a familiar figure, and because of his kindly ways had endeared himself so much to all who knew him, that they almost refused to believe that he would pass away so soon and so suddenly.

To those who have some acquaintance with our history it was patent all along that Bunker lacked certain of the prominent qualities that distinguished the two titans who had preceded him. But those very qualities that had enabled his predecessors to make the impact that they did would have been disqualifications in the era in which Bunker spent most of his time. The absence of those qualities was in fact a qualification for the later era.

In the era in which Bunker lived the white man's domination, which had been the most prominent factor in the world in many countries, for the two previous centuries or so was passing. By the end of Bunker's regime, it had become a memory. Secondly, the age of the one-man type of administration, in which single individuals (however highly qualified they might be) could carry out their will without serious opposition, had been succeeded by the era of Committees, in which every proposal had to be thrashed out and carried through by a majority vote. Thirdly, in the Church, the old Congregational system of independent Ministers, in which the opinion of the Missionaries had been paramount factor had disappeared and Episcopacy "in a Constitutional manner" had come into

being under a national Bishop. This also involved administration by committees, under a national Bishop. All this meant Bunker had to be one among many, not merely on terms of equality but on terms of intimacy with them, and his opinions would not carry any more weight than anyone else's. For this era Bunker was eminently fitted; and in this era his predecessors would have felt themselves entirely out of place.

When Bicknell had died suddenly thirty two years previously, the event had evoked a feeling of awe. When Bunker died, the event evoked a sense of personal grief, as if one of us had passed away.

On the 27th of September, on the exact day that Bunker's funeral was taking place in America, a service was held in the Cathedral here; and the present writer preached to a hushed congregation from St. Matthew 26:7, about the woman with an alabaster cruise of ointment, anointing Christ, from head to foot in Simon's house and wiping those parts with her hair. Bunker had poured out his life in a foreign land in the service of the Lord.

The Editors of the "Miscellany" brought out a massive edition of their periodical two years later, entitled "The Bunker—Balasingham Memorial Number" containing articles on these two who had passed away during the year. Though belated it was payment of a just tribute.

In the history of the College there were of course, other events during 1968 but the totally unexpected and sudden deaths, within such a short time of each other, of Balasingham and Bunker, both so closely associated with the College, cast a pall over it that kept hanging for a long time.

There was another death before the end of the year which was also totally unexpected and deeply affected persons of the present writer's generation.

On the 24th of December P. Sri Skanda Rajah, over whose promotion to the Supreme Court Bench we had rejoiced a few years earlier, passed away in Colombo after an illness lasting

two days. He had played cricket here; but it was in football that he was in his element. He had played in one of the legendary Football teams of the early twenties; and, in fact, was probably the best Full-Back ever produced by Jaffna. He had joined the Judiciary in 1938 as a Magistrate and risen steadily. It is probably difficult to believe, but nevertheless true, that every one of his judgements reversed by Higher Courts here was restored by the Privy Council in England. On the Supreme Court Bench he had proved a unique personality, unmoved by praise and undeterred by blame, an austere figure of whom even the Government had stood in awe.

During 1968 we kept our flag flying on the playing fields. Not merely did we become champions in Hockey for the year, but S. Tharmarajah was selected to captain the Ceylon Hockey team and S. Jesuthasan was selected to be a member of the Ceylon Schools' Team.

At the end of the year, C. R. Ratnasingam retired from the post of Supervisor of the Lower School and was succeeded by Mr. K. C. Chelvarajan. Chelvarajan in addition to being entirely a product of Jaffna College had done a year's Post-Graduate study at Princeton, U. S. A. At the beginning of this chapter we have said that some changes occurred within and some "without" (that is outside), but that the latter also affected us. The difference between them, therefore, was that the former affected us only, whereas the other affected those outside and in addition affected us also. One of the greatest of them will be seen now.

Dismissal of English from the Curriculum

We have seen how the use of the national languages as the media of instruction had been creeping up from the lower to the higher classes and we have seen how during the latter years it was possible for a candidate to do all his study, and even obtain his degree, in one of the national languages. But English had still lingered in the curriculum. It was the medium at the "A. Level", in the Science classes, though not at the "O. Level". Therefore, the necessity of a knowledge of English had lurked in the background. With the end of 1968, the media

for all classes had to be in the national language. This, therefore, seems to be the proper place for commenting on the whole subject, though our remarks would have been appropriate enough at many of the earlier stages.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, Tamil had been the language of communication in the North and East, and Sinhalese in the rest of the Island. It was natural that when European domination disappeared, that there should be a desire to go back to the languages of our ancestors.

But the status of English when the Europeans left is different from what it had been when they came. When they came, we were self-contained communities. We had left the world alone and the world had left us alone. Now things are different. Owing to many events and developments during the last few centuries we cannot remain self-contained; the nations of the world have become increasingly inter-dependent. While World War II was in progress Wendell Wilkie, the American politician, had done a round the world trip and written a book called, "One World". Whatever the differences of nationalities, the world, he said, had become one.

The events in one part of the world affect the affairs of countries far across the oceans. Economically, one nation supplies the needs of another nation in certain respects and vice-versa. The value of currencies keeps going up and down, owing to events and measures in other countries. The inventions and discoveries in one country benefit the world. It is in this context of inter-dependence we live now.

The world civilization that has now come into being, therefore, makes it necessary for us to be well informed about what is going on in the world around us and be able to communicate with other nations. The fact of our independence instead of making isolation possible, makes inter-dependence indispensable. For such a situation the knowledge of a common language is essential.

By the accidents of history—first, the spread at one time, of the British Empire over a good part of the world, and

secondly, two mighty World Wars—have made English, to a large extent, the language of communication for the whole world. Nations which have nothing to do with Britain resort to the use of its language for purposes of communication. We have already referred to the German Foreign Minister, Ribbentrop, and Stalin, the Russian leader, signing their infamous treaty at the beginning of World War II in English. And when Stalin, met Mao, the Chinese leader, they talked in English. When Egypt and China had to sign a Treaty they had done it in English. When the nations of South East Asia met in 1955 at Bandung in Indonesia, their common language was English.

Whenever Continents or sub-continents want a common language they adopt English. India, which has sixteen main languages and hundreds of different dialects, is held together by English. Africa, which has numerous different languages, uses English as the common language; and hundreds of men from Ceylon who know English are recruited by Nigeria to be teachers; and quite a few go to the Maldives and Brunei.

Unlike many other countries, Ceylon did not have to learn its English from scratch. It had had it for 150 years and cultivated its knowledge to such a degree that H. G. Wells, the famous English writer, had said in 1938 that the best talk he had listened to East of the Suez was in Colombo. And in an inexcusable fit of frenzied short-sightedness Ceylon had kicked English away.

The Effects

(1) Loss of an International Medium

Therefore, in expelling English from the curriculum, the country had not merely lost its hold on an international medium of communication, but the easy superiority it could have had in its use in International gatherings. It has been saved from total helplessness only because most of its representatives at them now belong to the older generation which knew its English. This may continue for

a time, because of the habit of the higher grades of our society sending their sons for their education, to the British universities.

(2) Loss of a Store House of Knowledge

The country has thrown away its advantage of being very near the sources of knowledge in the world. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian leader, once declared that English was the main window to the outside world. It has been calculated that the proportion of books of modern knowledge in the world translated into English is 60%, as against 40% in all the other languages put together. The conclusion is irresistible that English acquired this status as the depository of knowledge because of the recognition that it was more of an international medium than any other language.

(3) Rejection of Scientific Thinking

Our people have lost the immense advantage that European culture conferred on the world by the introduction of the scientific and critical method of thinking. It had come into European thought itself through the persistence of Socrates in the 4th Century B. C. His method had consisted in asking the reason for everything, instead of depending on mere authority. After the eclipse of Greece, this contribution of Socrates was lost to Europe itself for some centuries. Hence the intellectual stagnation of Europe till the end of the Middle Ages. It is only with the Renaissance and the rediscovery of Greek culture that it came back into the culture of Europe. It is this rediscovery that has been responsible for the advance of European thought in Arts and Sciences during the last 400 years. The method of thought thus rediscovered permeates all European thought and comes naturally by a use of European languages. That we should have expelled this advantage which had been so easily available to us, is a profound loss—unspeakably profound.

(4) Loss of Bond of National Unity

Finally, it has lost for us the only method of holding together the two major races of this Island, each of which

speaks a different language. Before the Europeans came each race here was self-contained; now we are not. And the attempt by compulsion to introduce Sinhalese as a common language by law was the surest way of ensuring that would not be the common language. The disadvantage of not having a common language has been clearly seen in the recent disturbance in the North, where the Army and Police spoke one language and the people another.

We have said that the action of Ceylon in throwing away the advantage it had was due to short-sightedness. Dr. Stanley Kalpage, the present Permanent Secretary for Higher Education, explains the reason for this short-sightedness "In the 1950s and the Sixties", he says, "Nationalism was rampant and practically everything associated with Colonialism was disparaged and disregarded. It was a rebound from the colonial era etc." ("Ceylon Daily News", 19th April, 1980).

Now a clearer view has begun to prevail. Recently the Colombo Harbour Workers demanded that they should be taught English and the Government was trying to put through a "crash programme" for them. A few weeks before this was written there was an anguished demand from the Government for 18,000 English Teachers. A strange demand to make after seeing that for nearly twenty years the teaching of English was avoided.

The point is that it is only now that the need to retrace our steps has begun to be felt acutely. "Every child", says President J. R. Jayewardane, "will be taught English and will be taught compulsorily and well". ("Ceylon Daily News", 27th March 1981). There would have been no need for all these frantic efforts to retrace our steps, if those in power in those days had not deliberately chosen to take the path that would lead to this situation. And we are dealing now with those days.

The Government had embarked on its suicidal policy about forty years earlier and only completed its implementation in 1968. It was only during the later stages that the impact of the policy began to be really felt. Of course, from 1968 it has wrought its havoc in full. It is good to see the Govern-

ment now in a mood of violent repentance; it is better than its not repenting at all. In the meantime, to dwell on the plight of the generations that have suffered as a result of its policy is to engage in a sombre reflection indeed.

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In the administration of the College one important change came from the beginning of 1969. At the Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors, for **1969**, held on 24th February one of the resolutions passed may seem curious now. It was to the effect that thereafter the Chairman or Vice-Chairman shall preside at the meetings of the Executive Committee. What was the change introduced? Formerly, while the Secretary kept the Minutes, the President of the College had usually presided over these meetings; the reasons for it were two in number:

- (1) In the very old days the Chairman of the Board had been an exalted person from outside; and once or twice a year the Executive Committee would be called at any time to discuss matters that required immediate attention. The Chairman naturally could not be expected to find the time to attend such meetings.
- (2) Before 1966, the College was one unit; one person was in charge, who ran the place; and since the matters dealt with were those about which he knew most and which he himself had to implement, he could well be allowed to be in charge of the Executive Committee. Now that the College had been bifurcated and the Board was in over-all charge, it was felt that the Chairman of the Board should preside. The change now made was consequential to the amendment of the Constitution made in Sept. 1968.

The Annual Prize Giving for 1969 took place on March 8th. The Chief Guest was the one logical choice that could have been made; and it was fortunate that he was near us and, therefore, easily secured. Dr. D. T. Niles was then at the height of his fame. The Principal rightly declared that, as against St. Paul in his missionary journeys, Dr. Niles in his missionary journeys had encircled the globe many times. His

many books had been translated into several different languages and his voice had sounded in many lands. We could not but be proud that he had been on our Board through the years. But there was an acute poignancy lurking behind his appearance on the platform; what it is we shall see as we go on.

The number on the Roll was 864 (631 boys and 233 girls). Of these 107 were boarders. The number on the staff amounted to 55.

The Undergraduate Department was finding that if one door was closing, another could be opened. So while attention continued to be paid to Examinations, the President realised that there was good opportunity to cultivate the study of English and also to launch into vocational courses, like Drawing, Electronic Engineering and Statistics. He also found that he could hold Seminars in Psychology, Sociology and World Civilizations.

But the chief strength of the Undergraduate Department now came from the Advanced Level students, whose number had reached as many as 450. There was not sufficient room either for their tutorial or Boarding facilities. The latter were extended to take in 35 more students; and a new row of class rooms was erected south east of College Hall along the Karainagar road to provide the former.

The Staff was also strengthened by the arrival of Mr. Glen Yocum, who in addition to his studies in the U. S. A., had done Post-Graduate work at Mansfield College, Oxford, and in Germany. At the end of the first term in 1969 Mr. and Mrs. Lockwood left us. They had come to us in 1936, after a short term of service in Madura and except for a brief period during the War had been with us all along. During the interregnum between Mr. Bicknell and Mr. Bunker he had been Acting Principal.

Mr. Lockwood's subject was Mathematics, which he taught conscientiously both in the Undergraduate Department of which he was Deputy President and the Secondary School. He was a man of few words, but solid and reliable. Mrs. Lockwood, however, made up for her husband's taciturnity and had been the most vivacious person on the campus within living memory. The latter part of March 1969 saw a round of farewells accorded them.

The Lockwoods retired to their home in Milton, Mass. Mr. Lockwood was soon put on the Board of Trustees; Mrs. Lockwood continued to be a Jaffna Missionary located in the U. S. A. She not merely kept an open-house for all Jaffna people, but went out of her way to help all Old Jaffna College students, who went to the U. S. A. in search of higher learning.

At the College Mr. Lockwood's place was taken by Dr. J. B. Selliah, who had returned from U. S. A. in 1962, having obtained his Doctorate in Statistics from Stanford University.

It was felt by this time that there should be a memorial to Dr. Bunker who had served us so faithfully for nearly 30 years. The Pavilion would be a memorial to Mr. Bicknell; what was to be Dr. Bunker's memorial? At its meeting on May 24th the Executive Committee of the Board decided that it should be of an academic character and the best way to do it was by the institution of a course of learned lectures delivered biennially by distinguished scholars.

At the end of the second term Mr. K. C. Chelvarajan, who had been appointed Supervisor of the Lower School only at the beginning of the year, resigned to take up another appointment and Mr. C. B. Bavinck took his place. Mr. Bavinck belonged to a family in Holland noted for its scholarship and had been a Resistance fighter during the Nazi occupation of his country. He had been with us from 1954. During his stay with us he had been active in many fields of extra curricular work. He had also made himself (unlike his American colleagues) a complete master of the Tamil Language.

At the end of any year it would be normal for some teachers to leave the College. But it was not necessarily normal for any to leave the world. But such a leaving did take place about this time.

Mr. K. C. Thurairatnam who had left us in 1962, owing to failing health, passed away on 12th December. It was a pity that his health did not provide a sufficient basis for the continued use of his many qualities. Much had been expected of him and it is greatly to be regretted that his physique did not permit him to fulfil those expectations.

At the end of the year two long-standing members of our staff had to retire, because they had reached the age limit prescribed by the Government. They were Mr. R. J. Thurairajah and Mr. T. Vinayagamorthy.

Mr. R. J. Thurairajah had succeeded Mr. I. P. Thurairatnam as Director of Sports in 1935. Therefore, he had been in charge of this Department for 34 years. The range of Sports in our Schools had during this period extended itself to such an extent, that it seemed impossible for any single person to handle the job. But Mr. Thurairajah had proved himself more than equal to his task; and not one minute detail of any particular form of sport escaped his attention. And he brought to his work not mere efficiency but an unfailing enthusiasm.

The other member of the staff who left us was Mr. T. Vinayagamorthy. He had been connected with us as student and as a teacher, in all, for 45 years. His special sphere was Tamil and he lived and moved in it. A conversation with him was almost equivalent to attending a class. We are glad that he still enjoys perfect health and is able to quote Tamil poetry to all and sundry who meet him.

The Undergraduate Department was also deprived of the services of Glen Yocum. His place was taken by the Rev. Allen Gilberg, a gigantic figure (though he told the present writer that his younger brother was bigger). In addition to his other qualifications he was also well versed in sports. He became Chaplain.

As we have remarked from time to time, behind the work that in classes, the most important source of instruction in an educational institution is the Library. In spite of all the events and changes going on around it, the Library was building itself up and rendering an ever increasing service because of the dynamic personality of the Librarian R. S. Thambiah. It was now serving not merely the needs of the College but of many from outside engaged in research.

The Library was all the time adding to its stock, not merely through purchases but through gifts. Our chief bene-

factors in this respect being the U. N. E. S. C. O. and United States Information Service. In 1969 we received 773 volumes from such sources and our stock rose by 1657 during the year. We also subscribed to 111 periodicals and received as gifts 21 periodicals.

It may have to be realised that by the term "Library" we mean here the Undergraduate Library, then housed on the ground floor of the Ottley Hall. The Secondary School had its own library that served the needs of that Department within its own range. The Undergraduate Library was on the lines of a Public Library, its scope being wide, if not all-embracing.

In the meantime, the authorities who had decided earlier in the year to institute a course of lectures in memory of Dr. Bunker, were not sleeping over their task. They were able to persuade Mr. K. G. Saiyidain, the Educational Advisor to the Government of India, to deliver the first series. The lectures were accordingly held at the Veerasingham Hall in Jaffna on the 17th and 18th of December. The only thing that detracted from the lectures being called "learned" was the presence of a large audience; because by tradition the smaller the audience the more learned a lecture is supposed to be.

And so we close our record of the Sixties, a decade crowded with many retirements and deaths, most of them affecting us deeply. Such events are bound to occur in life. In a country or a nation such occurrences, even if they attract attention for the time-being, do not leave a permanent mark or cause a serious dent. In a small community, like a college, they do.

VII

THE FALL AND RISE (1970—1980)

It is common to speak about the rise and fall of individuals, institutions, kingdoms and empires. Here we are inverting the title, because the events of this decade demand it. As a title, "Disaster and Salvage" may sound better, but it would not correctly describe our situation. It would have meant that we were merely able to save the remnants of a wreckage and just managed to survive.

The correct account of this decade is that, severe as the crisis was that overtook us, we were able, phoenixwise, to rise out of it with renewed strength. But in our history this was not a unique experience. We had been closed once before (1855) and decisively; and it seemed permanently. But we had risen again with renewed strength and vigour under a new name; and it certainly cannot be said that the Batticotta Seminary would have been ashamed of its successor.

Often in history it has happened that people have seen beforehand the imminence of certain events and were not totally surprised when they took place. Equally often they have failed to do so. When in this decade we certainly did not foresee what was soon going to happen, we could well be excused for failing to do it, for the simple reason that those who caused it to happen to us did not themselves have the slightest idea that they were going to do it.

At the beginning of this decade, in the country outside. Mr. Dudley Senanayake's Government having come to an inglorious end at the close of the previous year (1969), there was a General election campaign on; and the people generally were in the grip of the usual election fever. But within the College everything was calm and quiet. When the Board of Directors met in February, 1970 they passed a vote of condolence regarding Dr. Jeevarajah Jeevaratnam who had been on

the Board and passed away recently; and votes of appreciation of the services of Messrs. R. J. Thurairajah and T. Vinayagamorthy, who had retired at the end of the previous year after long and faithful service were also passed.

The chief question that was considered at the Board was the necessity and feasibility of opening a Technical Institute. There had been general agreement on the first point. The discussion was in regard to the second. Dr. Telfer Mook, Secretary of the Board of Trustees, who was present, reported his discussions with leading Industrialists in Colombo and expressed confidence that it could be undertaken as a co-operative venture and promised 75% of the expenses, if 25% could be raised locally. We, of course, did not realise at the time that this generous offer was at the expense of the College. We were under the impression that the Trustees were going to pick up the money from the wide expanse of the American financial world.

A Sub-Committee consisting of Professor J. C. V. Chinnapah, Messrs J. M. Sabaratnam, G. D. Somasunderam, and K. C. Thangarajah was appointed to meet industrialists and draw up a "market survey" and answer the questions raised by the Trustees.

On 10th March 1970, Mr. A. M. Brodie, who had left us in 1950, passed away. He had joined our staff in 1924 and had been an extremely good and inspiring teacher of English. He was a lively, active and energetic personality, and had been behind most of the literary movements on the campus in his time.

Nearly a month later (April 19th) Dr. William J. Jameson passed away in his home in Schenectady, New York, U. S. A. He had taken charge of Green Hospital, Manipay, at the end of 1923 and worked there till the beginning of 1938. In the medical world here his name was one to conjure with in those days. He was, of course, on our Board of Directors and was a tower of strength during the period that followed Mr. Bicknell's death.

In May of the year (1970) the S. L. F. P. (Mrs. Bandaranaike's Party) came into Parliament with tremendous force. It had won 90 seats in its own right; but since it had formed an alliance with the Leftists, it had 19 seats more belonging to the L. S. S. P. (the Trotskyite party) and also 6 full-blooded Communists. Besides this, any Party that formed a Government could nominate 6 more members. Altogether, therefore, the alliance would have 121 seats out of a total of 157. As against this, the U. N. P. had 17 seats, and the Tamils 16. It was obvious therefore that Mrs. Bandaranaike had Parliament in the hollow of her hands.

To outsiders an alliance between a Party of the extreme Right, committed to a thorough-going racist policy, with parties of the extreme Left, associated with an international outlook may look strange. But it will be found that Leftists, when they are in a minority often try, if possible, to ally themselves with the Party in power to use it for their own purposes. When this happens, the majority also dictates terms and requires whole-hearted support for its own Policies. So the resulting measures will sometimes be Rightist and sometimes Leftist.

In carrying out its purposes this alliance had to overcome a serious stumbling block: the conformity of the Constitution to that of a normal British Dominion, with a Governor-General under the British Sovereign, a bicameral Legislature (i. e. one that has two Chambers) and the right of appeal to the British Sovereign in Privy Council, against decisions of the local courts.

To get rid of that stumbling block, therefore, it was necessary that there should be a new Constitution. But a Constitution drawn up by a country itself should be drawn up by a Constituent Assembly and not by a mere legislative Act. The problem was solved in a peculiar way by the Parliament of 1970. In July of the year it declared itself a Constituent Assembly. Thereafter everything went smoothly.

On the 17th July there occurred one event that not merely stunned us but the whole Christian world and shook it to the depths. On that day Dr. D. T. Niles passed away at the Vellore

Hospital in India. He was at that time one of the Presidents of the World Council of Churches. He was well-known on most Christian platforms throughout the world; and his several books had been translated into more than half a dozen languages. "The Christian World", an influential paper in England had said, "When Dr. D. T. Niles speaks the world listens".

But though he was a world figure, he was essentially ours. Here was his house; and when he was not in Geneva or Tokyo, he was here. For twenty years he was piloting the "Ceylon Church Union Scheme". At the time of his death he was Chairman of the Ceylon Methodist Church. From 1942 he had been a member of the Jaffna College Board of Directors; and in 1969 he had been the Guest speaker at our Prize Giving.

The World is large and the World Church might find other leaders. But we shall have to wait a very long time before we get another person with the same intellectual calibre, the same force of Christian conviction, and the same irresistible appeal.

In the country, the Government having the Parliamentary majority it did, began to embark on carrying out its programme with inexorable thoroughness. It found itself free to make its programme cover every area of life.

Government discovered that not everything it wanted to do needed to wait upon a revision of the Constitution. Any action in the Educational field was one of these. It also discovered that some of the things it did in the matter did not have to go through any legislative process. So it introduced the principle of "Standardisation", in regard to University admissions. "Standardisation" may mean anything; but in this context, it meant giving weightage to non-Tamils. The form it took was to require that Tamil students had to score 25% more marks in the aggregate than Sinhalese or Muslim students. The Education Dept. could not be accused of having let down the Government.

In September (1970) there was an event which more properly belongs to the history of the Church than to us, yet because of the close connexion that has existed between the Church

and ourselves and the fact that the Diocesan Bishop was an ex-officio member of our Board, it may also be considered to come within our orbit. On the 23rd of the month the present writer, who had been Bishop of the Jaffna Diocese since the Church of South India had been inaugurated in 1947, retired on reaching his age-limit. It was the end of a chapter in the history of the Diocese.

Another retirement also took place about this time with which we were concerned. The Uduvil Girls' College has always been reckoned our sister Institution. At one time Miss Book-walter, its Principal, had been an important member of our Board. Her successor Miss A. H. Paramasamy, had not merely been on our Board but been closely associated with us personally. She also retired at this time; but the relieving feature about both these retirements was that both persons could (if elected) serve on our Board.

Before the year was out, a familiar figure passed from our midst. On 14th December, Mr. A. T. Vethaparanam, who had been a pioneer in teaching Geography here, died. But teaching as we have noted earlier, was only one of his pursuits; for 30 years he had been a central figure at Vaddukoddai, settling disputes, promoting various good causes and being a counsellor at large.

In February **1971** the Gilburgs left us. Mr. Gilburg had acted as Chaplain to the Undergraduate Department. In the field of sports, his good record when he had been younger, and his gigantic figure were a source of encouragement to all.

In March Dr. M. H. Harrison paid us a visit. He had come to us first more than 50 years earlier. Though he had left us after 10 years or so, he had left behind him an example of solid scholarship and conscientious teaching. Many memories must have flitted through his mind as he saw the sights familiar to him in the Twenties.

The Prize Giving took place on 26th March with the Rev. Denzil de Silva, Chairman of the Methodist Conference, as the Chief Guest. The number on roll was 842. The Principal had a large number of complaints to make. They bore on:—

1. The unrest on the University Campuses.
2. The recent leakage of examination papers at the G. C. E. O. Level and A. Level.
3. The "Standardisation" of marks on a peculiar basis, in regard to University admissions.
4. The stringency of regulations against students going abroad for higher studies.
5. The lack of a University in the North.

Life in the country was taking its normal course when suddenly, to everybody's surprise, at the beginning of April (1971) an Insurrection broke out. Future historians may dig deep to discover the causes of its outbreak: but most people simply witnessed the fact. Obviously the purpose of those engaged in it was to overthrow the Government and capture power; but events like this usually have a long trail of causes behind them. What they were in this case nobody knew. The steps the Government took to stamp it out were ruthless, but effective.

About this time, the Government was ready with the Constitution it had been drawing up and felt it could make it public. Its architect was Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, a Trotskyite, who had joined the Government with his party. He was a product of the London School of Economics and was entirely dedicated to the views propounded by Dr. Harold Laski at that Institution.

The basic principles of this Constitution were challenged on the following grounds:—

1. That the Constitution had not been drawn up by a Constituent Assembly and, therefore, did not represent popular opinion.
2. That even the Parliament which drew it up had no mandate for doing it; nor had there been a request for a new Constitution.
3. That power in the new Constitution was being concentrated in a unicameral legislature.
4. That the status of the Judiciary was being interfered with, by the right of the Minister to remove Judges.

5. That the rights and safeguards granted to all and sundry in theory were (as in Communist countries) not enforceable by law.

The publication of the Constitution did not mean its immediate adoption. It was merely a warning that this was the Constitution that Government intended to impose on the country. It was improbable that comments and criticisms, though they were nominally invited, were going to receive any serious attention.

In April of the year Mr. A. C. Sundrampillai who had been on the staff from 1914 or 1916, and had retired in 1950, passed away. Though he had retired nearly more than twenty years earlier, he had been a constant visitor to the College and had lived in the atmosphere of College life; he had lived for nothing else.

In the meantime, the College was suffering from what might have seemed a minor perplexity to others, but what for us affected a major principle. Since the introduction of Poya as a non-working day, the College, as we have seen, had observed Poya and Sunday as non-working days, whereas the rest of the country was observing Poya and pre-Poya days as such. The Staff now insisted on our falling into line with the rest of the country. The Executive Committee of the Board considered the request and turned it down on 7th June.

The matter was referred to the local educational authority, who, of course, could have no sympathy for our religious scruples. So he propounded his interpretation to the effect that since the Poya was *non-dies*, a six day week was obligatory; and that, therefore, we had to work on Sundays. The interpretation is a thorough *non-sequitur*. We were observing Poya; and therefore, observed the six day obligation all right. For what reason should the Pre-Poya be a non-working day and not Sunday? But it was a ruling which had to be obeyed.

The Board met at an Emergency meeting on 28th, June and decided that since we were under a state of "Emergency",

declared because of the Insurgency, they would obey the ruling till "Emergency" was lifted. The School authorities, however, ignored the decision of the Board and never worked on Sundays. We would nevertheless ask our readers to note the date of the decision.

On 30th June the Rev. D. J. Ambalavanar, an Old Boy of our Institution and a member of our Board of Directors, was consecrated the new Bishop of the Jaffna Diocese. He had received his Theological education in Serampore College, Bengal, and later at King's College, London, where he had received his Master's degree in Theology. We were happy to have as Bishop one with such deep learning and acknowledged piety and who had also been closely associated with us and was known to have an unreserved faith in our ideals. He would, of course, become an ex-officio member of our Board.

The Semi Annual meeting of the Board for the year took place on 30th July. It was largely concerned with the affairs of the Technical Institute. It appointed an interim governing Board of 9 members to be in charge of its affairs, till that Board could appoint its substantive members. Mr. George Somasunderam, who had both high professional qualifications and Professorial experience and had served both in Ceylon and Malaya, was appointed Director.

Dr. W. L. Jeyasingham reported that he had received an invitation from the Trustees to visit the U. S. A. It is undoubted that such a visit would serve a useful purpose in enhancing a first-hand knowledge of our affairs on the part of the Trustees in these times of change. His visit took place during the latter months of the year.

About the middle of August, there passed away one who among us had become a memory, if not a myth, Mr. W. H. T. Bartlett. He had been born in 1871, had qualified in the early nineties, and taught here in the latter nineties. After leaving us, he had joined the Survey Department, became a Superintendent, and even acted as Head of the Department. He had for many years been a member of our Board. His junior contemporaries, who had all predeceased him, had been able to feel younger, because he still lived. He was past his 100th year when he died.

It may be remembered that we asked our readers to take note of the date of the Board's decision to bow to the order of Government to work on Sundays. It was the 28th of June; the question had become a pressing issue with us only during the proceeding weeks. On 24th August of the same year (that is, barely two months later) without any warning or any fanfare, the Government went back to the normal system which considered Sunday as a statutory *non-dies* and therefore, Saturdays and Sundays became once again non-working days. Mr. Dudley Senanayake's chief political achievement thus lapsed into oblivion, unhonoured and unsung. Once a month, however, the full-moon day as a Poya still provides an additional holiday to students; but no one takes note of new-moons and the 7th days (except astrologers).

This was by the way and was a minor matter for Government; what it was concerned with was establishing a new Constitutional set-up. To do that there were as we said earlier, some obstacles in the way; the first was one which would have given Britain a say in our matters, namely, the right of appeal to the British Privy Council. This, therefore, was done away with and was to take effect from 9th January, 1972. From then onwards the verdict of the local Supreme Court would become final.

The Second was the Senate; It had formed part of the old Constitutional set-up. In itself it may not be regarded as an obstacle of the same kind as the first; but an obstacle it nevertheless was and had to be removed. This, however, was more difficult to effect than the first, because while the Senate existed, it was part of the Legislature and its own consent was necessary for its abolition. But a Government in power has ways of doing things, not available to others, and therefore the matter seems to have been handled with dexterity. The Bill for abolition of the Senate was passed on May 21st 1971 and became law on 2nd October of the year.

Why is it that most Democratic countries have two Legislative Chambers? The reason is that the Lower Chamber, being dependent on the popular vote, may often reflect a passing mood, a mood, that prevailed at election time; and, therefore,

may not represent the fundamental instincts of the people nor their permanent interests. A second Chamber will act as a restraining influence on the hasty actions of the other. All Communist countries, therefore, think it wise to do with one Chamber, because it can prove an obedient instrument in the hands of the real rulers and ratify their wishes.

On November 2nd our last remaining link with the Cooke family was severed when Mr. R. C. S. Cooke, the last son of Mr. C. H. Cooke, passed away. He had been an important official in the Co-operative Department, had always taken an active interest in the College, and served on our Board.

About this time, the College performed a veritable *coup d'état*. Kalai Pulavar N. Navaratnam had been recognised in his time as a great Indologist, and it was known that out of his meagre savings he had built up a very substantial library on Indian Religion, Philosophy, Art and Culture. He had died in 1961. It came to be known now that his Library was on the market, and while others were haggling over the terms, we bought it outright for a sum of Rs. 15,000 and gave it to the Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, where it will continue to serve as a valuable source of reference to those engaged in research in these matters.

On the 27th, 28th and 29th of January **1972**, the second series of Bunker Memorial Lectures was delivered by Rev. Fr. X. S. Thaninayagam. The subject was "Tamil Humanism in the Classical Period". Fr. Thaninayagam came to his task not merely with more than adequate scholarship for the purpose but with a background of public recognition of his immense achievement in putting Tamil on the International map.

The Annual Meeting of the Board (19th of February) in 1972 took very seriously Fr. Thaninayagam's request that we should set up a Post Graduate Institute for research in the Humanities and Social Sciences. A Committee was appointed to go into the implications of the proposal.

It may be remembered that earlier we had decided to set up a Technical Institute, appointed a governing council

and a Director; but the Institute, itself had not come into existence as yet. It took its first step towards it, when Dr. Telfer Mook laid the foundation stone for it on 3rd March 1972. The site chosen was in the Village of Kanawake, a quarter of a mile from the College. Most of the land had been obtained on a 99 year lease; but some had been purchased outright.

Soon after, it became certain that a Technical Institute was taking shape, it was decided to start a Farm School also in connexion with it. In spite of administrative desirability it could not be sited in geographical proximity to the Technical Institute. It was to be situated at Maruthanamadam, a far more suitable place for agricultural and horticultural purposes. The site was close to the Ashram and about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Jaffna Town.

We became aware at this time that Mr. J. M. Momie from the U. S. would become available to serve in the Farm School. He would be accompanied by his wife, the daughter of the famous Toyachiko Kagawa, the Christian Evangelist and Labour leader of Japan. She would teach at the College; and both, we felt, would be assets.

The Prize Giving took place on 18th March. Mr. B. E. Fernando of the Income Tax Department was the Chief Guest. The Principal reported that the number of students on roll was 809 of whom 91 were boarders; the number of teachers was 47; Mr. Fernando spoke on the three pitfalls lying in wait for a Christian School under modern conditions: Dilution, Deviation and Deterioration.

In May the Bavincks left us after 18 years of devoted service. Mr. Bavinck had been busy in many fields. When he was here, he had been Scout Master, Chaplain and had been engaged in evangelistic and social activities in Koddai kadu and had been our stand-by in many matters.

On 22nd May Government took the final Constitutional plunge for which it had been preparing ever since it took office.

It brought before Parliament the Constitution which it had published the previous year and for which it had well prepared the ground. In the Parliament, as it was then composed, for Government to bring up any Bill was to get it passed; but to bring up such a Bill was to get a bigger vote than it could get for any other kind of Bill, since every member on the Government side knew that his loyalty was being put to its supreme test.

When the count was taken it was found that the Bill had received 119 votes as against 16. This would mean that only the Tamil members had voted against it; and the U. N. P. had not. "The Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka" had come into being on the 22nd of May (1972); and at 12-56 p. m. that day William Gopallawa, who had been Governor-General under the Crown, took his oath as the first President.

The change that was brought about is elusive to grasp, but real. Formerly, the country was a Dominion under the Crown; but a Dominion under the Crown though not nominally was yet virtually independent. Now it was both nominally and really independent. It need not hereafter look around to see what the other Dominions were doing.

Formerly, though the Governor-General was nominated by the Prime Minister, the Crown made the appointment. Now the Prime Minister both nominated and appointed the President; and, formerly while the Prime Minister had been under a Governor-General appointed by the Crown, now she was under her own appointee. Though in either case the Prime Minister was the chief person concerned, formerly she had been at least nominally dependent on others now she was totally independent.

It will be observed that the name of the country also had been changed. It had always been "Lanka" in the national languages. In European languages, however, since the Portuguese, it had been "Ceylon"; now the name in the local languages was restored for general use with the honorific prefix of "Sri"; but the present writer, used to the old name for decades, has preferred to retain the term Ceylon throughout this book, as it is the term which had been used from the beginning.

A Declaration of Purpose and Policy:

The College, on its part, was now engaged in various activities and committed to various projects: the Undergraduate Department: the Secondary School, the Technical Institute, the Farm School and the Institute for the Study of Religion and Society. It had, therefore, become necessary to settle our priorities. So at the Semi-Annual Meeting of the Board on 15th of July (1972) after naming the various branches of work in which the College was engaged, the following consensus is recorded:

Of these the Secondary School occupies a unique position and its interests should not suffer in any way.

The decision was not a difficult one to arrive at. Though in the last century we were for long doing post Secondary work, either virtually or really and wholly, times had now changed. Government was establishing University Campuses rather freely; and though none had been established in the North, one was sure to come soon; and already our boys could take up the exams of the Ceylon University as external students. The extra mural projects in which we were engaged, were under their own governing Councils. The Secondary School has, however, remained the heart of our whole enterprise and embodied the original purpose of the founders. It was, in fact, the true successor of what had been established in 1823 and revived in 1872. and constituted the direct concern of the Board of Directors.

Also, the Secondary School was the only form of the College that was remembered by generations of students who had known it since 1910 and, therefore, could be the focus of their loyalty. In giving this status to the Secondary School, we were not indicating a cessation of interest in the other projects with which we were associated but were attempting to decide in what order our interest should be devoted.

The meeting had also to come to a decision about the Library. Since the establishment of the Undergraduate Department, and our effort to keep pace with its needs, the Library had grown to such proportions that the ground floor of Ottley

Hall, where it was housed, had grown totally inadequate for the purpose. It also now had a highly qualified and technically trained Librarian, who was capable of making it meet the needs of a society that was becoming academically more self-conscious.

So a sub-committee had been appointed to report on the ways and means by which the new demands made on it might be met. At the Semi-Annual meeting of the Board its report was accepted. We decided to erect a two-storied building with a floor space of 13,000—14,000 sq. feet on the south-eastern corner of our main campus, to be the new home of the Library and formulated various aims for the Library to be a research centre etc.

During these years, we seem to have been doing very well in Hockey. The reason may not be very flattering; because it is not all schools that go in for Hockey. R. Selvakumar was selected to be a member of the All Ceylon Hockey Team. This year our stadium was selected to be the venue of the tournaments of the All Ceylon Hockey and Basket Ball games. They were well attended from all parts of the Island.

Before the year was out, another of our veterans passed away. On the 18th December (1972) Mr. C. O. Elias, who had joined us in 1922 and taught many subjects and filled various roles with insatiable enthusiasm, passed away. He had always moved about among us in a perpetual state of euphoria and displayed an irrepressible enthusiasm about all things.

And so we come to the year **1973**. It may be remembered that we had celebrated our Centenary in 1922—1923 with great eclat; and in 1947 our One hundred and Twenty-Fifth, with even greater. It had been decided that 1973 should be the year of our One hundred-and Fiftieth Anniversary. We shall proceed to see how this anniversary was celebrated.

On the 10th of February a Jubilee Service was held in the Cathedral, at which the present writer was the preacher. He preached on two texts, one from Habakkuk: "O Lord, revive Thy work in the midst of the years" and the other from the

book of Psalms: "We have heard, with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us what work Thou didst do in their years of old". Besides this service, a four-paged card, with four pictures, giving a list of the various events that had taken place during the previous 150 years, was also issued along with a much smaller card listing the normal events of the current year, such as cricket and football matches, athletic meets, the "socials" and dinners of the various College Societies—all on one side—and the College Song on the other.

The building of the Technical Institute, the foundation stone for which had been laid the previous year had in the meantime been proceeding apace and enough had been completed, for Mr. Carl Holdridge, the Treasurer of the Board of Trustees, to declare it open on the 10th of February. This may also be considered a part of the Jubilee celebrations. The students of the Institute were to be enrolled only in May, 1974.

Besides these, there was not a single other function during the year of the kind which is usually associated with the celebration of Jubilees and had characterised our previous celebrations. We wonder whether the principle followed was that embodied in the sonnet of John Keats:

Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard
Are sweeter.

It may have been felt that the total absence of any outward expression was the best way to drive home the importance of any occasion inwardly.

The Prize Giving for the year took place on the 17th March. There had been a long-standing tradition, hard to account for, that an Old Boy was seldom, if ever, invited to be the Chief Guest at such a function. It was 14 years after the present writer had become Bishop that he was invited to fill the role; but owing to the crisis created by the Take-Over of 1960, it was two years more before he actually did; and he remembered well how he flattered himself that, though an Old Boy, he had still been chosen for the task.

Evidently this attitude had changed; and the Chief Guest on this occasion was the Rt. Rev. D. J. Ambalavanar, who was an Old Boy and had been consecrated Bishop only two years previously. It was not merely an indication of a changed tradition, but a singular tribute to one who within such a short time had carved for himself such an important place in the community.

The Principal reported that the number on roll was 826 of whom 86 were boarders and that there were 47 teachers on the Staff.

At the Sports Meet on 23rd June, 1973 we were able unexpectedly to have a unique guest in our midst, Mr. Carl Phelps, who had been our Science Master from 1921 to 1932, but had been more famous not merely as our own Sports Master, but Sports Master for practically all Jaffna, was paying us his second visit since 1932 and was prevailed upon to lend his patronage to our Meet. Owing to the longer span of life that prevails now than in the old days, though it was 40 years since he had left us, there were many to whom he was a familiar figure.

The Semi-Annual Meeting of the Board in 1973 was held on the 27th of August. Its chief item of business was to approve of the Constitution of the Technical Institute. This meant the definition of its aims, laying down the composition of its governing council and drawing up various other detailed regulations. The composition of the governing Council was laid down as follows:—

Ex-Officio: The President and Principal of Jaffna College;
Elected: four members of the Board of Jaffna College (elected by the Board); one member from each of the three Protestant denominations and one from the Roman Catholic Church respectively, and four more (irrespective of religion) to represent Industry, Business and Agriculture.

The representation of Jaffna College on the governing Council may look heavy; but this is as it should be. The

Institute is the "Jaffna College Technical Institute"; and except for the nominal fees paid by the students, the finances of the Institute are borne totally by the Trustees of Jaffna College. Though the Secretary of the Board of Trustees had expected that at least one fourth of the expenses would be borne by the Jaffna public, this expectation had not been fulfilled. So the representation we had will be seen to be quite justified.

The third of the series of Bunker Memorial Lectures was delivered on "Education and National Development" by Dr. Malcolm Adisheshaiah, formerly of the U.N.E.S.C.O. and at the time of the delivery of the lectures the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University. They were delivered about the middle of December.

At the end of the year, Professor George Somasunderam, so well qualified for his task, resigned his position as Director of the Technical Institute to take to sheep-farming at Pallai; but his severance from the Institute did not, as we shall see, last very long.

Thus ends the Jubilee year. Though there had been no celebrations, still everybody remembered at least that the College had lasted for 150 years.

We had now a number of Institutions associated with us; and by the beginning of **1974** we saw nothing but a career of uninterrupted progress before us. So on the 25th of January we laid the foundation stone for the building of the new Library, for which we envisaged a great future.

Outside the College, on 3rd February, our former Bursar, Mr. S. S. Sanders, passed away. He had retired in 1952 after more than 40 years of service. During his service he had been the source of support to three Principals. From inside the College, Mr. A. M. Brodie, Jr. left for Australia on March 18th to study the art of teaching English as a Second Language.

The Annual Prize Giving took place on 24th May. The Chief Guest was none other than Mr. K. A. Selliah former Principal of the College; who had retired after 41 years

of service on the staff. As he stood at the lectern many memories of the years in which he had stood there in a different capacity must have flitted through his mind. The prizes on the occasion were distributed by Miss A. H. Paramasamy, former Principal of Uduvil Girls' School. We shall learn later of the poignancy that lurked behind the event.

The number of students on the roll was 841, of whom 65 were boarders. The Principal paid a tribute to two friends of the College, who had passed away between the last Prize Giving and this: Pastor W. R. Sussbaach and Rev. C. B. Paul. Pastor Sussbaach, was a German, had been a refugee during the Hitler regime and after the War had come here and was chiefly teaching Economics in the Undergraduate Department. The Rev. C. B. Paul had always been the unofficial representative of Jaffna Christians in Malaya. During the War years he had managed to escape the Japanese and had come here. He was Scout Master.

The Principal devoted the major part of his Report to a discussion of various current theories on Education; Pope Paul's, Ivan Illich's and Paulo Freire's; Pope Paul's view was that the school was the natural complement to the family, Illich's view was that the whole system was wrong and should be suppressed, and Freire's view was that Education liberated personality. We are not called upon here to comment on these views; but we cannot help observing that Mr. Illich's view seems to be that the training (or lack of training) received by wild beasts or tribal bushmen is better than that received by civilised human beings. We definitely prefer the latter.

It Happens

We have entitled this Chapter "The Fall and Rise". The Fall, such as it was, happened this year; the rest of the decade after that was spent in our rising from it. The fall came suddenly and unexpectedly; it was not that we stumbled and fell; we were pushed down. And before it came upon us, we did not have the slightest inkling about it and for good reason, because as we have said earlier, those who brought it about on us did not themselves have the slightest idea that they were going to do it.

The whole thing arose because of the realisation that had come to Government that a University Campus in the North could no longer be delayed. Government had already established four Campuses in the South: Peradeniya, Colombo, Vidyodaya and Vidyalandara.

The Tamils had grown more and more bitter on the point; and had, in fact, established an Institution on their own in Colombo, called "Navalar Hall", to cater to the needs of Tamil students. Feeling that such a small unit would not do, they had bought land in the Eastern Province for establishing a distinct University Campus. How far they would have gone we cannot know; anyway they would have tried; but it would have been difficult for a voluntary body to have carried through such an enterprise very long.

By 1974 it is possible that Government had begun to be stricken in its conscience about the matter; but it is more probable that it wanted to forestall the Tamils as a matter of ordinary political strategy. Whatever might have been the reason that prompted Government, on one thing it was decided on; and that was that the enterprise should be done cheaply.

To carry out such a decision, it had one ace in its hands; Parameshwara College in Tirunelveli, then just outside the Municipal limits of Jaffna, was almost waiting to be taken over. It had been established by the famous statesman, Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, in 1920, and was now in the hands of the Ramanathan Trust, consisting of that statesman's relatives, who were perhaps more anxious to be relieved of their responsibility than was Government to ask that it would carry it out for them.

However, it was seen that for the scheme Government had, one Institution was not enough. Though Government wanted to do things cheap, it also did not want to invite the criticism that, after all, the Campus set up in Jaffna was but a third-rate one. There were two other reasons also; Government wanted it to be bilingual and teach in both languages; Government also did not want the Campus to confine itself merely to the Arts side but do Science as well. These reasons compelled Government to look beyond Parameshwara.

Jaffna College was the only Institution in Jaffna that was doing Undergraduate work: it was doing work both on the Arts side and the Science side. Would it be possible for the Science students of the University Campus to make use of the Science facilities available at Jaffna College? So, Government made inquiries from the President of Jaffna College about the possibility of such an arrangement. The President was naturally reluctant, as it would have created many problems

In the meantime, in April, Mr. A. Thiagarajah, M. P. for Vaddukoddai (an Independent member) sent a letter to Government calling for the Take-Over of Jaffna College as a "Socialist measure". In the first place, the word "Socialist" in Ceylon has an illimitable coverage and may refer to anything one wants to do. In the second place, Mr. Thiagarajah, who belonged to no party, was known to have had differing views on the same subjects from time to time. So when he wanted the Take-Over of Jaffna College to be undertaken as a "Socialist measure", all that could be inferred was that Mr. Thiagarajah had at the time conceived the idea that the Take-Over of Jaffna College would suit his purpose.

Government could not have been unaware of our standing both in the educational sphere and the history of our country, and for that reason an Institution with which one should not rashly take liberties. If such a liberty was taken what would people say? Would they not consider it a sacrilege? Such a consideration would have made the Government pause. Mr. Thiagarajah's letter, therefore, was a distinct event in the trail of events that led to the final *denouement*; for it made the Government realise that even in Jaffna there were people who would support a Take-Over.

So in spite of its hesitations, Government no longer shied away from the idea; and rumours that a Take-Over was a possibility began to leak out. Therefore, during the second week of May the President, Principal and the Registrar went to Colombo to interview Government.

The Board of Directors met at an Emergency session on 4th. June to hear the report of the deputation. The President

informed us that the Cabinet had already accepted the report of a Sub-Committee headed by Mr. Pieter Keuneman, the Communist leader, who was Minister for Housing and Lands at the time, to the effect that a Campus in Jaffna was impossible unless Jaffna College was taken over. The Committee however, had recommended that for the present the Secondary School could be left alone.

Even at this stage one is led to conclude that the Cabinet had not finally made up its mind. The acceptance of the Sub-Committee's recommendation, one believes, was on a tentative basis. So, we sent a deputation on 16th July to meet Government; and the Government decided to send Mr. Keuneman to Jaffna to study the situation first hand. Mr. Keuneman duly paid his visit on 26th July and held a conference at the President's Bungalow.

On what basis the invitations to the conference was issued one does not know. There must have been some Government officials present, some Directors of the College and some members of the public (probably consisting largely of those of Mr. Keuneman's political persuasion). The one person who certainly was not invited was the Chairman of the Board of Directors. The probability is that the Minister had already made up his mind on the subject before coming over; and he must have been greatly heartened that his inner convictions were being echoed by those who held his political views. But he was too much of a politician to make a public declaration of his intention and, therefore, went away, saying that Government was keeping an open mind on the subject and would like to meet a delegation from Jaffna College in Colombo.

The delegation was to interview Government on the 4th August (which was, I think, a Tuesday). On the Saturday preceding the interview, I had a meeting with the delegates and asked them what the issues would be that would be raised and how they proposed to meet them. Seeing the mood of the delegates, I said, "So you do not take the interview seriously?" "No, we do not", was the reply. So I felt that the danger was far from pressing.

When the delegation went to meet the Government officials, Mr. Keuneman blandly announced that, after a full and frank discussion between both sides, Government had decided to take over the College.

Why did the Government decide to take over the College? Of course, it can be said that Government wanted to do things on a cheap scale. But it is recognised in all civilised countries (outside the Communist sphere) that if somebody else's land and buildings are taken over, they must be paid for; and there were schools enough in Jaffna Town much nearer to the University Campus, which were understood to have been ready to offer themselves for the purpose and with the compensation received, ready to erect a "new plant". If it be said that Jaffna College had Science facilities, it must be realised that most sciences are notoriously modern and the equipment they used could have been easily obtained on the market.

The fact that Government had great hesitations about laying hands on Jaffna College is itself very significant. Government was aware that we were exceptional. We had existed long and had sent out of our portals some of the most outstanding men of the country. Successive Colonial Governors had insisted on including a visit to us in their itinerary. Great Sinhalese leaders had themselves paid us tributes of unqualified praise. It is rumoured that till almost the end, the Cabinet itself was divided on the issue. But the fact remains that the Cabinet did finally decide to take us over. What tilted the seals against us?

There are various theories on the subject:

- (1) That the scheme was cooked up by the Permanent Secretary, and Parliamentary Secretary and rammed down the throats of the Cabinet. It is possible that these two might have drawn up the Scheme—if there was a Scheme to draw up; because, after all, it was a straight issue. Besides, whatever their machinations, they were not of Cabinet-standing.
- (2) That Government was displeased with the political alignment of those associated with Jaffna College. But this is an argument that might have been brought up against any school in Jaffna.

- (3) That we were considered a source of American Capitalist influence and therefore our elimination was desirable. This would mean that there was no objection to American capital, but objection to American Capitalism. This would have been to ignore the fact that it is Capitalism that produces the capital. And if all institutions in the world founded by Capitalists are wiped out, the loss (outside the Communist sphere) would be great indeed. In Communist countries, because the State is the sole Capitalist, Capitalism is not regarded as Capitalism.
- (4) That the Leftists in the Cabinet felt they would please their followers in Jaffna by wiping us out, as we were understood to stand for everything they were against. This would mean that there was objection to any long standing institution, committed to ideals and principles to which a large proportion of mankind is committed. To wipe out all such institutions is a large-scale project; it would, in fact, mean a world revolution. But how can a world revolution be brought about by taking over a single Institution?

At the next year's Prize Giving, an Old Boy quoted the famous words of George Morris, as containing a sentiment that might have restrained Government action:

That old familiar tree,
 Whose glory and renown,
 Are spread over land and sea,
 And wouldst thou hew it down?
 Woodman forbear thy stroke;
 And cut not its earth bound ties
 O spare that aged oak
 Now towering to the skies.

Such words might have appealed to a woodman who knew the place well and the tradition behind the tree. They would not have appealed to a timber merchant coming from the city to buy up all available wood.

Here was a Cabinet all of whom (except one) were from afar, to whom all Schools in Jaffna were, more or less, alike. They had heard that Jaffna College was something special: but fundamentally they had no interest in it. If it was necessary that it should go, go it would. But who was it that finally made it look necessary. We can only make guesses about what happened in a secret meeting eight years ago; but guesses are not reliable historical data.

The Take-Over was gazetted on 8th August 1974. The Permanent Secretary conveyed it to us in a blood-curdling document dated 9th of August, which reached us about the 10th or so, and asked for a speedy reply (after the thing had already been gazetted).

The Take-Over was to include everything we had; but not to hurt our religious susceptibilities, the Secondary School was to be allowed to exist under its own name and identity in some other place. However, it had soon to find another location.

The Take-Over of the Undergraduate Department was to be complete and immediate and applied to all aspects of its life and work. Such members of the Staff as were eligible to be on the University cadre would be taken into the University; and others would be provided for in other ways.

In this blood-curdling document there is one thing which is highly amusing in its brazen-faced effrontery: the clause that as a concession to our religious susceptibilities our Secondary School was allowed to exist. We were existing, like certain other schools, on the miserable basis allowed to us as a Private non-fee-levying School by the Parliamentary Act of 1960. Why did the Permanent Secretary think he was giving us a concession in allowing us to exist? If he could knock out our existence by a gazette notification, he could have knocked out the existence of other non-fee-levying Schools also; and if it suited him, he might, perhaps, have knocked out other types of schools as well. So there would have been no need for a Government or Parliament to do these things. From his letter it seemed, that he could do all things by himself. If he had that power, it was somewhat unwise to let out the secret.

The Board of Directors met at an Emergency meeting on 17th August to consider the issues raised by the Permanent Secretary's letter. Twenty one resolutions were passed. The following are some of the important ones:

- (1) That when the time came for moving the Secondary School from its present site, it should still be to some site in Vaddukodai.
- (2) That steps be taken to emphasise the character of the School.
- (3) (Since the Permanent Secretary had coolly included the subject), that in view of the fact our Library included gifts, Loans and Reference material for the Diocese, there were sections of the Library which were unsurrenderable.
- (4) That in view of Government's action in acquiring our Undergraduate Department and its premises and absorbing the eligible staff and students, that our Undergraduate Department be closed.
- (5) That employees of the Undergraduate Department be informed that their services would no longer be required.
- (6) In view of the present situation, the Chairman ruled that the clauses in the Constitution on which Government action impinged be suspended till suitably amended.
- (7) That since the President who had been the Treasurer had been absorbed by the University, Mr. K. A. Selliah be appointed Treasurer in his place.
- (8) That a Sub-Committee be appointed to bring in the necessary constitutional amendments.
- (9) That Mr. S. Rajanayagam be appointed our Authorised Representative in dealing with Government.
- (10) That the properties adjacent to the Cathedral and the Lower School revert to the Diocese.

Some important constitutional points were raised about our actions at the meeting. The first was by a member who was an eminent legal authority; and that was that outside events could not affect internal Constitutions and, therefore,

the President of the College could not be legitimately expected to vacate his post. The second was that because the Government took over our Undergraduate Department, we need not ourselves have closed it, and the third was that we had no power to suspend any part of the Constitution (though of course, we had power to change it by due process).

In regard to the first point, all students of history know that one of the obvious things done by Wars and Revolutions (which are external events) is to upset Constitutions (which are internal). The American War of Independence changed the Constitutional status of the American colonies. The French Revolution abolished the French Monarchy and the Allied invasion of Germany put an end to Hitler's Constitution. Constitutions can of course be changed internally and voluntarily (by amendments); they can also be changed by external and involuntary causes. Secondly, to ask us to continue the Undergraduate Department *de jure*, though the government had taken it away *de facto*, was like asking us to proceed with our dinner *de jure* when our plates were empty *de facto*. As regards suspending any part of the Constitution, we had done this in 1966, when Bunker left and the Diocese had done it after the Take-Over of 1960. Such suspensions are unavoidable when external events unexpectedly impinge on certain aspects of the Constitution and them only. To try to work the old Constitution in full when some parts have become out-of-date is to invite very anomalous situations. But like all suspensions, however, they are meant to be temporary, till the section concerned is duly amended to suit changed circumstances.

Very often much time lapses between a decision at Cabinet level and its implementation at a local level. In this case, none was allowed by Government to lapse; and the implementation was not merely immediate, but ostentatious and offensive. A sentry-box was planted at the main entrance; everybody going in had to produce an identity card. I have with me the identity card which the Principal of Jaffna College had to produce to enter the premises. Armed guards were very much in evidence.

The six houses which had belonged to the College were visited twice a day by armed patrols; they included the writer's own residence, (to the intense delight of his little grand children). The patrols even wanted to take an inventory of all the things in the various houses, under the impression that they had also become Government property. They gave up their intention only when faced with the difficulty of making an inventory of the titles of books.

Though Government had legally taken over the whole campus, what the University was actually using were the Administration Block, Ottley Hall, the row of classrooms along the southern boundary line, the Brown Field and the two blocks of Flats formerly used by teachers and students of the Undergraduate Department. What was allowed to be used by the Secondary School were the two Quadrangles and the classrooms round them. The entrance to the Secondary School was a small nook at the north-western corner of the Brown Field. Through this nook the students used to steal in by a narrow corridor into their classrooms to pick up the crumbs of knowledge that Government in its charity had allowed them to do, till we bundled ourselves off to some other place.

No land or building east of the Vaddukoddai—Sithankerni Road, adjoining the Cathedral was touched, as that might have produced ecclesiastical and religious complications, which Government was certainly anxious to avoid.

The present writer had been filled by such revulsion not merely by the substance of what had been done, but by the sheer trickery that had characterised the final steps of the whole proceedings, that for fully three months he never stepped into the premises of the College, even into the sections allowed to be occupied by the Secondary School. He was, therefore, totally unaware of a major act of iniquity which had, in the meantime, been perpetrated on us. The whole of our Library, for housing which we had started a new building costing us one million rupees, had been carted off to the University Campus. The Gazette notification of August 8th had taken us over on the authority of the Land Acquisition Act (No. 28 of 1964);

and the Act applied only to immovables. Yet the University authorities had lent themselves to this open defiance of law.

Ourselves

As far as Government was concerned, the act was over and done with. The booted heel was over us, and the armed forces assigned to guard the personnel of the Jaffna campus, tramped over our grounds with the easy arrogance of a victorious army walking over a conquered territory secure in the knowledge of the impossibility of any resistance. Our reaction to Government action expressed itself through various meetings of the Executive Committee, and Special Meetings of the Board. For holding our meetings we had no place on the Campus and had to hold them in the Parish Hall of the Cathedral Church.

We had two duties. One was to devise immediate methods of facing the new situation; and the other was to eliminate that situation altogether if possible.

At the Special meeting of the Board held on 17th October the power of Attorney, formerly in the hands of the President, was transferred to the Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer of the Board. Secondly, we decided to inform the Government of the illegitimacy of their transferring our Library to the University Campus at Tinnevely. We decided to tell Government that the Library had been with us long and that the Undergraduate Department was founded only in 1947. Our records will show that a good deal of our activities for the rest of the decade consisted in our negotiating with Government for the return of the Library; for we felt that if once we got that back, much of our old status would be restored. At this meeting we also issued an invitation to the Representatives of the Trustees to pay us an early visit.

The Trustees hastened to accede to our request and sent us their Chairman (E. C. Lockwood), Secretary (Dr. Telfer Mook) and Treasurer (Carl Holdrige). Mr. Eric Gass their representative in Bombay was also present. They were here on the 7th December and were led through the whole story of

how we had been trapped unawares. Dr. Mook suggested that we form a small Committee (which we decided to call the "Emergency Committee") to give its undivided attention to the issues arising from the Take-Over. The Committee was duly formed and started functioning by the 16th of December.

The meeting of the Board on the 7th of December served another valuable purpose. For some time we had been puzzled as to how Jaffna College funds, which had been guarded with almost ostentatious severity and care through the years, had begun to be lavishly spent on projects which had nothing to do with us. At the time of the Take-Over in 1960 we had pleaded for some help to Uduvil and it had been refused; now our funds were going far out for purposes with which we had no connexion whatever. We learnt at this meeting with utter surprise that in 1964 the terms of the original charter granted by the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1877 had in 1964 been changed without our knowledge to make the money available for any Christian educational purpose in S. E. Asia.

Trustees by definition are in charge of a Trust, and a change in the terms of the original Trust cannot be done unilaterally; it required the consent of beneficiaries also. This point would continue to be a bone of contention between us and the Trustees for some time to come; but it must be clearly understood that this was an internal matter and, of course, had nothing to do with the main business with which we were concerned.

In spite of the crisis, in which we were involved with Government and which naturally engaged most of our attention, the Secondary School was carrying on its activities as if nothing was the matter. R. Balasubramaniam, one of our students, was elected Captain of the All-Ceylon Hockey Team; it was the first time an honour like this had fallen to the lot of any Jaffna boy. R. Selvakumar, one of our Old Boys, was also elected to the Team.

During the year, Messrs R. Kanagaratnam, G. Jeyasingham and W. N. Thevakadadcham became Jubilarians.

In regard to changing our general situation, we achieved little. At the end of the year 1974, a large billboard in three languages inside the campus, near the main Vaddukoddai junction, proclaimed that the Campus belonged to the University. Armed guards paced up and down the grounds. The shops at the junction were under the unceasing patronage of the University students. The public knew that the Secondary School was being allowed to continue on its old site only by sufferance. Doom seemed writ large over all our future. All our sacrifice, our labour and achievements of the past 150 years seemed on the point of being wiped out and relegated to the limbo of oblivion.

In fairness to Government, it must be said that the Government, as a whole, had no malicious or destructive purpose towards us. If the Permanent Secretary and Parliamentary Secretary for Education or even a particular member of the Cabinet had such a purpose, they did not represent the Government as a whole.

Leigh Hunt, the early 19th Century poet, describing the office room of the Prince Regent, refers to:

Tables strewn with tea and toast,
Death warrants and the "Morning Post".

To the Prince Regent there was no difference between reading the "Morning Post" and signing a death warrant. They were just two items in his programme; but to the condemned man there was much difference between the one and the other. To the Government we were just an item in the agenda; it wanted additional space, and our Take-Over served the purpose. We were not worth another minute's thought. Naturally that is not how we would view the matter.

By all known rules it was all over with us. The fight seemed to have been over and we had lost. We should have written ourselves out. But we had a history. In 1855 our Mission Board had said, "You shall no longer exist"; but we had swept back into existence on the tide of an irrepressible popular enthusiasm. So whatever might have been the public attitude, we faced the future with resolute steadfastness.

At the Annual Meeting of the Board held on 1st March 1975, we revised the Constitution to bring it into line with the changes that had taken place. Besides this, we decided:

- (1) That Government be informed that unless the compensation promised by it was forthcoming, we would be unable to shift from our present premises.
- (2) That Bishop Ambalavanar and Mr. S. Rajanayagam (the Authorised Representative) be deputed to see the Minister of Education and explain our position regarding our Library.
- (3) That we ask the Board of Trustees (in view of what had happened to our original Charter) that we should have a permanent representative in its membership.
- (4) That Bishop Ambalavanar should go to U. S. A. and explain how things stood here.

The Board, however, found that it had so much unfinished business on its hands and that Dr. Telfer Mook himself was coming here soon and, therefore, decided to have a Special Meeting on the 18th of the month.

But between the Annual Meeting and the Special Meeting there occurred an event that left a void in the Christian community hard to fill. On the 16th of March, Miss Ariam Paramasamy, former Principal of Uduvil Girls' College passed away, after a short illness. It may be remembered that less than a year earlier she had given away the Prizes at our Prize Giving. Her father had been 34 years on our staff; and she had been Principal of Uduvil for 29 years and had been on our Board for 22 years.

The present writer has, after all, moved in a comparatively small world; and his knowledge and experience, therefore, may not be considered to have a very wide range. But it may be borne in mind that the knowledge of all of us is limited in varying degrees; and that it is on the knowledge we have that all testimonies are given. Limited as that knowledge and experience may be, the testimony must be given. And my opinion is that I have never come across a lady of

such charm and graciousness, such cultural refinement and large-heartedness and such an ability to adjust herself to differing persons and varying situations as she had. Even an elderly cleric like Bishop (then Canon) Sinker on a visit to Uduvil many years previously had been completely captivated by her charm. She was certainly the greatest woman I had ever met with—but of course, I have not met with all the women in the world (nor has anyone else).

At her funeral service one tribute referred to the event as “an offering to the Lord of a lighted censor with the memory of a dedicated life”. The words could not have been more appropriate, for her dedication to the Christian cause was complete.

Our Authorised Representative, armed with the mandate of the Board, was now in a position to negotiate with Government on the subject of compensation due to us (as guaranteed by the Land Acquisition Ordinance in case of any Take Over). He, therefore, got surveys done and estimates drawn up by competent people and in April of the year went to the Assistant Government Agent of Chankanai, who was in charge of the matter, to begin discussions. And they soon ran up against the question of the Library (which of course consisted of movables). It is probable that it was our Authorised Representative who first raised the question of the legality of this Take Over.

The Assistant Government Agent did not want to take on himself the responsibility of deciding on this problematic issue and referred it to the Attorney General. Since the Take Over had taken place under the Land Acquisition Act (which covered only immovables), as any conscientious legal adviser would have done, he ruled that the transfer of the Library had been illegal. It was a great solace to us to have the ruling of the Attorney General; but the books were with the University.

Though much had happened to us since the last Prize Giving, we were determined not to drop this year's function. It took place on 20th May; with singular judiciousness we had chosen as our Chief Guest a Supreme Court Judge, who was

also an Old Boy, namely, Justice Pathirana. Equally singular was the taste and judiciousness which led to the choice of Mrs. S. V. Balasingham, wife of the former Principal, to distribute the prizes. It was on this occasion that the guest speaker quoted the famous appeal:

Woodman, spare that tree.

The appeal was, of course, a year too late; nor would it have made the slightest difference if it had been made earlier. But more to the point and carrying far greater hope and encouragement was a quotation from the Bible:

For there is hope for a tree that if it is cut down, it will sprout again, and that its shoots will not cease. Though it grow old and its stump die in the ground yet at the scent of water, it will put forth branches again, like a young plant.

(Job-14)

It was refreshing to hear a well known Buddhist quoting from the Bible. The point of the quotation is that it is the inner vitality that counts and not the damage caused from outside or the seeming ruin that appears to the eye.

Because the Undergraduate Department had been taken away, some believed that any time we would also fold up. But our normal activities were going on as usual. At the Technical Institute, the return of Prof. George Somasunderam, who had left us a little earlier, was found essential and he was induced to end his self-imposed exile at Pallai and come back to us as Dean of Studies under Mr Rajanayagam the Director. Mr. and Mrs. Momi, who had finished their contract, returned to the States.

During 1975, the Emergency Committee was quite busy trying to interview Ministers about compensation and attempting to get back the Library. In its Minutes for April 1975 there is a record of a peculiar act of generosity on the part of the President of the Jaffna Campus. While disavowing our claim to anything in the Library (that had been taken from us), he

offered to give us such books as were not wanted by the University. Few institutions or even individuals appreciate such blatantly inexpensive generosity.

Bishop D. J. Ambalavanar, however, interviewed the Minister of Education in May and brought back the proposal that we sell the University some of the books and make a list of the books, which we desired to retain at all costs. In July, the Emergency Committee was ready with its list which consisted of about one fifth of the total number taken away. The Committee was fully conscious of the Attorney General's ruling, but seeing that possession was with the University, we wanted to salvage what was practically possible, insisting of course, on compensation for what did not come into our hands.

On November 29th (1975) Mr. L. S. Williams who had joined our staff in 1930 and had retired in 1964 passed away. He was the son of the Rev. E. T. Williams and the brother of the famous E. W. Arianayagam of Mahatma Gandhi's Ashram. We do not know whether Chemistry is a lovable subject, but he loved it and lived for it; he was also widely read outside his own subject.

The Annual Meeting of the Board took place in February **1976**, Looking back now, the chief item of interest seems to have been a vote of Rs. 500/- towards the "Morning Star". This paper, originally founded in 1841 by the American Ceylon Mission, but had gone into the hands of the Cooke family after the Anderson Deputation of 1855, but had come back again in the Forties of this century to the ownership of the Mission, and of course had descended to the Diocese.

It may be asked what the College had to do with the "Morning Star". The readiest answer would be that it has been one of the chief sources of reference in writing this book; and in regard to the last twenty years practically the one reliable source of reference. From week to week the "Morning Star" through the years has been recording the events in the Jaffna Christian community (and to some extent the events in the world). Though the College and the "Morning

Star'' have been performing different functions, each in its own way, yet the fundamental purpose behind them has been the same.

In March 1976 E. C. Lockwood passed away in America. He had joined our Staff in 1936, and on a risky visit home in 1942 was detained there during the rest of the War. During that period he was teaching at Mt. Hermon, Mass, the famous school, founded by D. L. Moody. When the War was over he came back to us and stayed with us till 1969. On his return to the U. S., he became Chairman of the Board of Trustees and in that capacity visited us in December 1974. He had given practically his whole life to the College.

On 6th June, Mr. P.W. Ariaratnam, for long the Supervisor of our Lower School died. He had been a dynamic administrator and done much in his sphere of activities. He retired in 1963 and was a familiar figure at Vaddukoddai.

The personnel of the Emergency Committee in the meanwhile was appointed annually and by an odd coincidence, the members always happened to be the same. At its meeting in March it decided to separate the question of the Library from that of the general compensation, as the former had tended to recede into the background.

And on the question of the Library, we wanted a joint Conference of our representatives and representatives of the University; and we made representations to Government. To this request the Government acceded and on the 9th of July 1976 the first conference met at the Jaffna Kachcheri under the Chairmanship of Mr. Lal Wijayapala, the Government Agent.

We asked for 5,617 English books and 4,538 Tamil books. The books we were most bent on holding to were what was called the "Rare and Archival Section" and of course, the gifted collections, like the Bicknell collection etc. And the very books on which the University itself also had its eyes were the "Rare and Archival Collection".

At this meeting the Government Agent made it clear that the law was on the side of the College, but pleaded for a

peaceful settlement. To us the Library represented our life-blood. The University felt that since possession lay with them it could lay down the law. It was as if somebody had accidentally come into possession of the Gutenberg Bible or Mona Lisa and had no intention of parting with it. Thus from month to month the negotiations dragged till October.

In October the University representatives simply withdrew from all negotiations. So both the Government Agent and I rushed to Colombo, he to consult his higher authorities, and I to consult Lawyers and to some extent Government authorities also. Probably it was about the end of the year that the University representatives came back to the conference table.

Those who are interested in knowing how this "History of Jaffna College from 1923 to 1980" came to be written may learn that it was at the Semi-Annual Meeting of the Board in 1976 that the Directors decided that such a history should be written and that the present writer was the most suitable victim on whom the task could be dumped. But since he was then engaged in the laborious task of composing a book of his own, it took some time for him to start on this book. But the fact that the Board could make such a decision at such a time showed that it felt this crisis was just an incident in our history.

The Prize Giving for the year (1976) took place on October 6th, Mr. P. P. G. L. Sriwardene, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sri Lanka (for there was only one University for the whole Island then, with Campuses scattered all over) and the Chairman of the local Commission for atomic energy, was the Chief speaker. The number on roll was 703, which reflected the shaken faith of the public in us. There were 50 boarders; the staff consisted of 44 teachers.

On the 21st of October (1976) a pall was cast over the whole Island by the death of Bishop Lakdasa de Mel once Bishop of Kurunegalla, and later Metropolitan of the whole Anglican Province of India, Burma, and Ceylon. It may be remembered that he was at one time Chairman of our Board of Directors.

He had embodied in himself the joy of the earth. Gloom or depression could not exist in his presence. No meeting of which he was Chairman was ever a strain and no tension could ever come to a head. To be present at a meeting at which he presided was always an enjoyable (if not hilarious) experience. This obvious side of him often obscured the fundamental devoutness of his inner religious life. In his death the country lost one of its most illustrious sons.

Mr. M. Ramalingam, one of our most loyal Old Boys, also died about this time. He was one of those who never allowed his official career to interfere with his scholastic pursuits. His chief field of research was Antiquarianism; with unwearied patience and effort he travelled the by-ways of history and hunted up the most obscure facts, events, and folk lore of the past. Fortunately, he published much both in the Tamil Newspapers and pamphlets, most of which are in our possession now.

Sometime during the year there passed away in Kerala, South India, Mr. Thomas John who had been with us for 18 years. He had been with us and had chiefly taught Physics, but had also been active in many other fields.

So here we were in 1975 and 1976, stranded and alone. Our Undergraduate Department had become integrated with the Jaffna Campus of the University; and the Campus also sat tight on our Library. The public probably felt that we had no future; we could not approach politicians, who were common to both sides. No distinguished figure in public life took up our cause.

Bishop Ambalavanar's repeated efforts to see the Prime Minister on the Library were repelled by the invariable answer, that she was too busy. The present writer's efforts to intercede with the Minister of Education were severely discouraged. Yet perhaps in the words of Winston Churchill (which a speaker at a future Prize Giving was to paraphrase) spoken during the darkest days of the War, when Britain stood alone, future generations may well say of us in this period:

“ This was their finest hour ”

We did not lose our nerve.

During the latter part of the year, Bishop D. J. Ambalavanar left for the U. S. A. to meet the Trustees. As our readers will remember, three of their representatives had come here in December 1974, and Dr. Mook had after that paid us frequent visits. Now the Bishop was himself going to see the whole Board. He could discuss and come to an agreement on a number of points about the future. The upshot was:

- (1) They came to an agreement in regard to the disbursement of our Funds under the amended Charter.
- (2) The Bishop proposed a plan for sending promising students for higher studies abroad from here and Uduvil (regardless of religion) and it was accepted.
- (3) The Bishop was able to persuade the Trustees to extend the range of its grants to Uduvil also.

In January **1977** an old friend of ours, Dr. Theodore Oppenheim (Ted for short), who had been with us from 1934 to 1939 paid us a visit with his wife. Though it was 38 years since he had left us, he was agreeably surprised that quite a few people remembered him quite well. In fact, one of his old students, Principal of a leading Secondary School, brought him a card which he had signed about 1937.

In the meantime, we spared no efforts to come to an agreement on our Library. At the Conference Table at the Kachcheri, the Government Agent, in a desperate effort to reach a solution, asked each side to submit a list of its irreducible demand. We cut down radically on our original demand but added a supplementary list, as we found the Inventory with which we had been supplied was alarmingly defective. The University Campus presented a list of about 2000 odd books; but between the two lists there were scarcely 200 items in common.

After a little more badgering, we decided that nothing further could be gained by negotiation and started consulting our lawyers. The University did not have to be troubled by any sort of action; it suited it quite well to let things be as they were.

Early in 1977 Dr. Telfer Mook, who had functioned as India Secretary of the U. C. B. W. M. for 25 years was promoted to the General Secretaryship of the Board. It gave us great satisfaction.

On 21st of April, Mr. V. Nalliah, a devoted Old Boy, who had been active in the Colombo Branch of the O. B. A. and had served on our Board and been Secretary for sometime, passed away. He had always been a great believer in scrupulous accuracy.

On the 26th of April 1977 there occurred the passing of one of the great figures of this Island in recent history. Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam, Q. C., who died at the age of 79, had built himself a unique place in the hearts of the Tamil people in this country. To them he had ceased to be a politician and become an oracle, a nod or shake of whose head settled every question. The other races in the Island also, whether they agreed or disagreed with him, regarded him as a person of unquestionable integrity always worthy of the highest respect. His death plunged the Tamil world into the deepest gloom and was regarded with sincere regret by other people as well. His funeral in Jaffna Town presented a spectacle, the like of which has never been witnessed in this Peninsula and probably will not be for a long time.

Though Mr. Chelvanayagam had not studied here, he had taught here for two years and had been on our Board for some years; and the Board had considered itself highly honoured in having him in its ranks.

A quiet and somewhat less picturesque figure also passed away soon after. Mr. W. T. I. Alagaratnam, who also like Mr. Chelvanayagam had not been a student here, but a teacher and a member of the Board, passed away on 25th July. In his professional life he had risen to the top and been Director of the Irrigation Department.

In the meantime, in the world of politics, the Parliament which had been elected in 1970 and had prolonged its life by

two years by changing the Constitution was finally dissolved on June 6th, thus dispelling the suspicion that it wanted to stay in power for ever.

The General Election which took place on 21st July witnessed the characteristic phenomenon of most General Elections in the country since Independence, i. e., inversion of the results of the previous Election. The S. L. F. P., which in 1970 had swept into power with 90 seats of its own and 25 seats for its allies, was all but wiped out, scoring only 8 seats of its own, and its Leftist allies scoring none. The U. N. P. which had only 17 seats in the previous Parliament swept into power with 136 seats. The Tamil United Front scored 17 seats and became the Chief Opposition Party.

With this Election our fortunes may be said to have definitely turned. During the previous regime, the Prime Minister's invariable reply to our Bishop, when he sought an interview with her, was that she had no time. Within a week of the new election, the Bishop was able to get an interview with the new Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene. He listened to the Bishop's tale with growing concern and when the Bishop came to the subject of the Library, he exclaimed, "What! They have taken away your Library also!", and said, "I shall give orders tomorrow to the Minister of Education to have the whole thing returned to you".

In regard to the bilocation of the campus which had prevailed, the University Authorities themselves must have felt a load taken off their shoulders when they were asked to vacate Vaddukoddi, because they were finding it difficult to maintain a bifurcated system of instruction, administration and residence. And the Sinhalese students at Vaddukoddi had been finding it difficult to live and move in the surroundings in which nobody understood their language.

In fact, the rumour was that the S. L. F. P. Government itself had begun to feel that it had perpetrated a senseless "bally hoo" when it took us over, but was slow to move in the matter as it would have amounted to a rather open confession

of failure. But Mr. Pieter Keuneman, who had left the Cabinet, during the latter years of the S. L. F. P. regime, would occasionally inquire from Bishop Ambalavanar whether the Government had not handed back our lands and buildings. It was to him a trifling inquiry. But what at the level he had occupied had meant a boring discussion, a scrawled minute and a shuffling of papers had meant something very different to us.

It is, however, needless to say that while the Jaffna Campus of the University felt it a great relief to be rid of the Vaddukoddai precincts, its feelings in regard to the Library were different.

With the order to vacate our Campus the sentry post at our main entrance disappeared; and our own hole and corner entrance at the edge of the Brown Field also disappeared and we could come into the College by the main entrance. However, a total withdrawal of the remnants of the University required time. But the main hurdle had been crossed (except in regard to the Library). A deputation of our Colombo Old Boys and our Principal waited on Mr. Jayawardene to thank him for his act of statesmanship.

With a sigh of relief we were able to turn our hands to our normal duties. The Annual Prize Giving was on the 4th of August; the Chief Guest was the Rt. Rev. Cyril Abeyanaïke, Bishop of Colombo, who was one of the most finished products that the old Royal College, Colombo had turned out in its time. His speech, as may be expected, was a masterly literary exploit.

What the impact of our Take-Over had been on the public may be gauged from the fact the number on roll had sunk to 673. But that we had not been overthrown or even wavered may be shown by the fact that out of the 85 who sat for the National Certificate of General Education, 57 had qualified for admission into the Higher National Certificate Class.

In August this year (1977) there was an outbreak of racial violence. Racial animosities planted once do not die out easily; some say that this outbreak was more serious than that of 1958;

but that is not the opinion of the writer. This and the attendant causes led to the rise of the "Terrorist" movement which at the time of writing has not entirely passed away.

On October 4th (1977) one of the neatest strokes of constitutional strategy was performed by the new Government, before anyone was aware of what was coming on. The whole centre of administration was shifted from one official to another with hardly any effort. The British Constitution, on which the Soulbury Constitution was based puts the real authority of Government in the hands of the Prime Minister, while the King remains the nominal head. The Dominions put the Governor General in place of the King. What Dr. Colvin R. de Silva did in 1972 was merely to change names; the Governor General was called "President", but his powers had remained the same.

In the American and French Constitutions it is different: the President is not merely the head of the State, it is he who wields the real power. What was done by a Bill in our Parliament on October 4th (1977) had the purpose of bringing this very situation about. The President was to be the Chief Executive, with the Prime Minister under him.

The chronicler says the amendment was passed unanimously and adds rather fatuously, "with the requisite two thirds majority", not realising that the whole includes the part. The fact that the amendment was passed unanimously shows that everybody felt that the change was for the better. Prime Ministers are by nature of their position subject to the pull and pressure of party interests and the whims of influential followers, using their power to please their supporters. It was good to have one raised above these pressures and influences, to whom everyone could always appeal.

During the year, Mr. V. Koshy, who had been with us for 18 years as a teacher of Economics died in his home in Kerala. While here, he had not merely discharged his official duties conscientiously but had helped us with the Hostels and had been active with the Tennis Club.

During the year there were only two Jubilarians, namely. R. Balasubramaniam Iyer, our expert in Sanskrit and Tamil and Mr. T. Viswanathan, our teacher of Physics.

The first event of importance for the year **1978** was the delivery of the Bunker Memorial Lectures from 4th to 7th January by Dr. Sinnappah Arasaratnam, son of our former Bursar. He had once been a lecturer at the University of Ceylon, then became a Professor in the University of Malaya, and is now Professor at the New England University, Armidale, Australia. This was the fourth in the series of the Bunker Memorial Lectures. The subject was "Christianity and Traditional Cultures". Dr. Arasaratnam was master of the subject and the lectures were a brilliant performance.

About this time there was a peaceful invasion of the Island by a party of American visitors. To emphasize their pacific intentions they were accompanied by Dr. Telfer Mook himself. They saw President Jayawardene in Colombo and he repeated to them his proposal to return our belongings to us. We refreshed them with a dinner.

A change that was introduced into the principle of "Standardisation" in respect of University admissions about this time is noteworthy. The practice of "Standardisation" that is, taking into account other considerations, besides merit, had been introduced eight years earlier. These practices as pointed out earlier, are not passed by legislation, nor even by Gazette notification. They are simply adopted by the authorities. The change made this time was to shift the main weightage of admission to the University from a Racial to a "District Basis". According to this changed system, admissions would be 30% on merit; 55% on the areas from which the students came; and 15% to be accorded to backward areas.

Is the change major? Since the majority of Districts are Sinhalese, the change was not expected to be major. However, since the majority of Districts were backward, for the first time, weightage was given to backward areas. While this may seem a great leap forward in democracy, it led to two serious consequences. It either dealt a serious blow to education or

led to sheer dishonesty, or both. From an educational point of view, it imposed a heavy handicap on boys coming from good schools (which are usually situated in well-developed areas), thus defeating the efforts of both educational authorities and those of Government to improve standards of education, and letting into Universities boys who are poorly equipped for higher education. In the alternative, it made students register for their education in good schools, and for their examinations in schools in backward areas. In practice both these things are happening.

In April 1978, the *de facto* handing back of the campus had begun. The Principal's Bungalow and 6 class rooms adjoining the Sithankerny Road were handed back. Ottley Hall, up-stairs and down stairs, and the Flats were to be handed to us in August.

At the Semi-Annual Meeting of the Board on 22nd July (1978) a decision of considerable interest was taken; it was to start a new class. For some years the examinations of the London University, which during earlier years had been our only source of higher education, had been banned. The new Government had lifted the ban. Of course, Undergraduate work was impossible as we had lost our Undergraduate Staff; but the London Advanced Level and O. L. classes could be set up. And this we decided to do.

To start with, the response we met with was overwhelming. Applications started pouring in from all parts of the Southern hemisphere; but soon they levelled out, as it was realised that there were examinations waiting at the end of these courses; and that the classes themselves required hard study. However, this falling off was counter-balanced by a number of local students educated in the Tamil medium coming in, to acquire sufficient English to fit themselves for the higher professions, which seemed to require a knowledge of English, in spite of all Government regulations.

We also learnt at this meeting that Dr. and Mrs. Robert Holmes who had been here from 1947 to 1960 were coming back for a short period.

The Prize Giving for the year was held on 27th of September. Dr. Victor Benjamin, the eminent Surgeon, was the Chief Guest. The Principal had commented on the fact that though the dark and difficult years we had passed through were fast getting behind us, yet the damage and loss of morale and prestige we had suffered might be difficult to get over. But Dr. Benjamin said in his address :

I am inclined to disagree with you, Mr. Principal when you say it will be difficult to compensate in a tangible way for the losses incurred to the prestige of a great school... when you refer to the critical period you have passed through. You lost neither your prestige nor your morale. I will prefer to look upon the last four years as the most glorious period in your history. Your morale was at its highest as you travelled those difficult years with confidence that no force can conscript, constrict, or constrain, and you have come out without blemish, stain or flaw.

It was good to hear such words about the years when we had to creep into our College through a hole in the corner. And Dr. Benjamin even paid us a compliment for our having been selected as the victim for Government's action. He said :

Government had got dazzled with your excellence or envious of your expertise or perhaps both and recognised in you everything they needed for an instant University.

It was good to hear that we had borne our adversity with unshaken courage; but it was cold comfort to be told that we had been selected to be the victim of that adversity with the highest motives. To the victim of an act it is not the motive behind it, but the effect of it that matters.

Great events and little events may take place in the College and outside; but teachers continue to teach from year to year and some cross the boarderline to be Jubilarians. In 1978 the Jubilarians were Messrs A. Kadirgamar, the Principal, A. Rajasingham, the Vice-Principal, Miss Mary Elias, the Supervisor of the Junior School and Mrs. R. S. Thambiah, the Home Science Teacher.

The negotiations for the entry of the Holmes Family seem to have been quite smooth; for we find the Round Table giving them a Tea Party on 5th October; and Dr. Holmes soon settled down to gathering material for his book on Jaffna.

Before the end of the year an important transformation came into the sphere of higher learning in the Island. Till now, there had been *de jure* only one University for the Island with a number of Campuses. By the University Act 16 of 1978, the various Campuses became each a University in its own right, with its own Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor.

We said that by April 1978 the process of handing back our Campus had begun. By January **1979** the process was complete and we were given total possession. Fittingly enough, we began the act of taking possession by a service in the Cathedral on January 9th. The Bishop preached on a text from the Psalms;

Praise the Lord. O give Thanks to the Lord, for
His steadfast love endures for ever.

From the Cathedral the procession of those who attended wended its way to the Administration Block; and Mr. J. M. Sabaratnam, Chairman of the Board of Directors, duly took formal possession of the property that had been returned. After this, the crowd adjourned for tea to the unfinished building which was to be our Library.

The moment was one for which many had longed for and waited and prayed. Now we could say as the Psalmist did, when the Hebrews came back from Babylon:

“When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like unto them that dream. Then was our mouth filled with Thanksgiving and our tongue with singing”.

And one of our own songsters was also moved to burst into verse:

“Rejoice, rejoice, rejoice
With heart and soul and voice
Glorify the Lord.
Let Him be adored,
For justice and truth have won
The thoughtless wrong undone.

Much, however, still remained to be done. The Library books which had been the centre of our intellectual life had not been restored. And the land and buildings, though restored to us *de-facto*, still legally remained the property of Government. (The land and buildings of the College taken away in 1974 were finally divested and the act notified in an Extraordinary issue of the Government Gazette on 30th December 1981). More than all this, the loss of prestige we had suffered by the Take-Over yet remained to be recaptured. But the significance of the event of 9th January cannot be exaggerated.

We termed this Chapter "The Fall and Rise". As we have said earlier, we had not stumbled into a morass, we had been pushed into it, and for no fault of ours. In fact, if the words of the Prize Day Speaker which we quoted a little earlier are true, our misfortune was due to the opposite reason. From 1974 for some years we were dealing with our fall; from 1977 we can deal with our rise. From 1979, not merely were our feet planted solidly on the ground, we were marching steadily forward.

The Annual Meeting of the Board which took place on 17th February, 1979 felt that since a new start was being made, it had better do it with some christening. The Men's Hostel, which had been opened by Lord Soulbury and had been occupied by the male section of Undergraduates, was appropriately called "The Bunker Hall", after the person most responsible for it. The Women's Undergraduate Hostel, which had been opened four years later, was called "The Howland Hall" after Dr. Samuel Howland, who had been Principal here in the Nineties of the last century.

There remained the new Library, (not yet opened), the building of which had been started in 1974 with great ambitions. We had expected it to be a great cultural centre and had spent half a million rupees on it by the time Government took it over some months later. Government had to complete the plan already laid down and had to spend another half a million on it. We did not want it to be a mere annexe to the School section. So, we named it the "Daniel Poor Library". This gave us sufficient lee-way for such development, as may

become necessary in the future. The name we had chosen was the most honoured among the names connected with the College and was that of the first Principal of the Batticotta Seminary.

In May we had to part with two of our key men. The first was Mr. Welch Balasingam who had been our Bursar for 18 years. He had come to us from Government; and his perfect mastery of his subject, his unquestionable integrity, and his clock-like promptitude and efficiency in the despatch of business had made him invaluable through the years of our prosperity and adversity.

The second was Mr. R. Balasubramaniya Iyer, an Honours graduate in Sanskrit of Ceylon University and Vidwan in Tamil of the Annamalai University. He was one of the few who has carried into the modern world the old time dedication to scholarship as such. This can be appreciated more in a Private School like ours than in a Government School, where it has a tendency to be looked upon as an anachronism.

At the Semi-Annual Meeting held on 4th August two votes of condolence on the death of two persons connected with the College, each in a different capacity, were passed. The first was on Mr. W. J. F. La Broy, long time lecturer in History in the University of Ceylon and for some time a member and Chairman of our Board. The second was on Mrs. Hellen Allen, who had borne a peculiar relationship to our history. She was the grand daughter of Marshall Sanders, who had laboured so much for reviving this Institution after the closure of 1855 and had died on the very day that the College was to be opened in 1871 and thus incidentally postponed the opening by one year. She was the daughter of Dr. Frank Sanders, who had been on our Faculty here in the eighties of the last century, and she was the wife of "Judge" Allen who was for long years the Treasurer of our Board of Trustees. We have already recorded a visit she paid us some years earlier.

We also learnt at this meeting that Government had officially ordered the entire stock of our Library books to be handed back to us. But there was considerable difference between

handing back the lands and buildings on the one hand and handing back the books. The lands and buildings were here and had partly been in our possession all the time, whereas the books had been removed to the University at Tinneveli and been integrated into its Library. The delay between the order and its implementation would, therefore, naturally take time; and there could be many a slip between the cup and the lip.

The Annual Prize Giving took place on 19th September; Professor K. D. Arulpiragasam of the Zoology Department, Colombo University was the Chief Guest. The number on roll was an index of the restored public confidence in us. It was 958 as against 782 in 1978 and 673 in 1977. The number of new Admissions, in fact, is a more sensitive standard of measurement in the matter. In 1979 it was 204, as against 155 in 1978 and 50 in 1976. Verily, the days we had spent in the morass were over.

It was now becoming obvious that the Government that had come into power in 1977 was bent on reversing the high-handed educational policy of the previous Government which by a stroke of the pen had wiped out the principle and pledge given by a great U. N. P. Prime Minister earlier. On November 15th the Principal reported to the Executive Committee that the teachers had received Forms to be filled up on the basis that Government was thinking of paying grants to non-fee-levying schools. But having learnt our lesson once, we were rather cautious and decided to inquire into the terms that may be attached to the offer.

We have already referred to the natural delay that may occur, or be made to occur, between the order to return our Library books and the implementation of that order. At long last, the Chairman of our Board was able to have an interview with the Vice-Chancellor of the Jaffna University on 12th December (1979) in which the Vice-Chancellor wanted time for adjustment, i. e., to keep his Library going without our books; the Chairman gave him two years. This undertaking

was confirmed in his letter of the 26th of December, in which the Vice-Chancellor, referring to the meeting on 12th Dec. says,

“I reiterate the assurance given by me at this meeting that the remaining books (i. e. those besides the portion already returned) will be returned in stages..... that the return of the books will be completed in two years”.

This meant, that in regard to the Library, by the 26th of December 1981, the complete return of the books would be effected.

In regard to Grant to non-fee-levying schools, evidently there had been discussions in high Government circles. There seem to have been articulated suggestions about laying down conditions and there was a rumour that such non-fee-levying schools which had begun to receive grants would be expected to process their new admissions through Government. Though this particular suggestion has not taken effect, we felt confirmed in the wisdom of our caution.

So when the Board met at its Annual meeting on 23rd February (1980), it had made up its mind about its course of action and that was to abstain from any action that was irretrievable and yet not make that abstinence itself irretrievable. That is, the Board decided not to accept the offer for the present; but nothing need prevent us from accepting the offer in the future. How long would “the present” last? That is the advantage of “the present”; it can end any time or continue to last for ever. But having seen a later Government pitilessly tearing up a pledge made by an earlier Government, we were definitely in no hurry to rush into the tentacles of Government.

However, of one point in the scheme we decided to take advantage; that was in regard to the eligibility for pension of teachers who joined the staff after 1960. In regard to this matter, Bishop Ambalavanar interviewed the Minister of Education in Colombo and was given the assurance that they could certainly apply for it. But the writer understands that at the time of writing (July 1982) that the matter is still in the stage of applications.

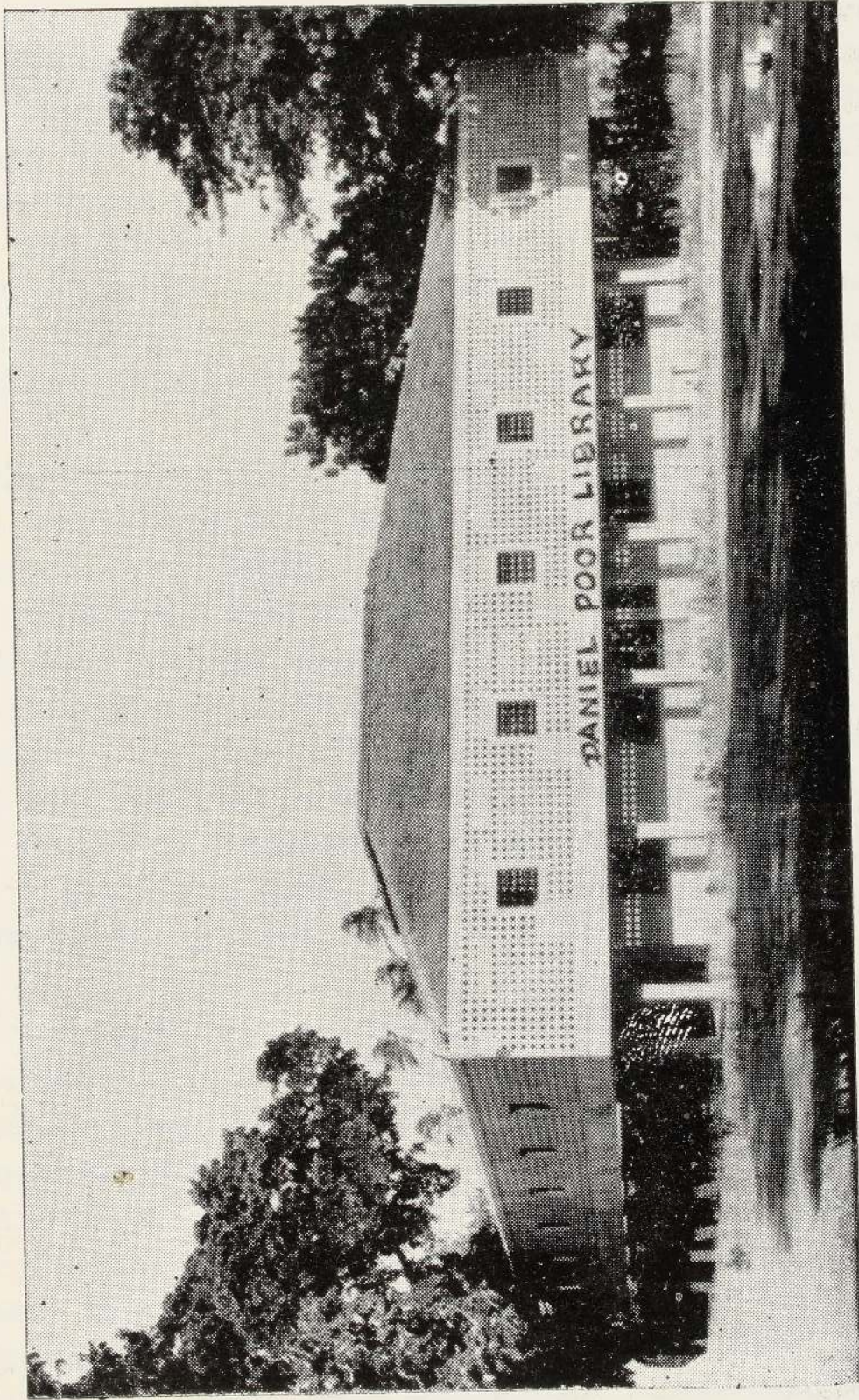
On February 27th 1980 Mr. D. S. Sanders, who had once been our Vice-Principal, passed away at the age of 87. He had retired from our service in 1952 and had been General Manager of the Diocesan Schools till the Take Over of 1960. As has been said earlier, the Sanders family had been a great asset to the College for many years. During his connection with us, Mr. Sanders had been very popular both among students and colleagues, because of his sociability, freedom of movement among one and all and his inexhaustible reminiscences of early eras.

At the beginning of April we bade farewell to the Holmeses. During his brief sojourn this time, Dr. Holmes had not taken a deep interest in the College affairs, having been chiefly occupied in gathering statistics and composing a book itself entitled, "Jaffna 1980", which was able to come out as he was leaving. It will continue to be an invaluable source of reference in regard to this period for many years to come. Though Dr. Holmes did not get too involved in the College this time, it had been an enjoyable experience to see his pleasant countenance on the campus.

On 25th May, K. E. Mathiapparanam, who had once been Head of our Department of Tamil, passed away. He was a dedicated scholar and those who studied under him were sure to be thorough in their subject. He had a number of able assistants whom he superintended with assiduity.

The Annual Prize Giving took place on 28th May, with Mr. K. Indrapala, Professor of History in the Jaffna University, as our Chief Guest. The number on roll had risen to 1064; the number of teachers was 50, 20 of whom were graduates and 17 of whom were trained. We were marching steadily forward.

The next few days were seized by the Alumni Association for its Centenary celebrations. An interesting fact of the centenary is that 100 years previously when the Alumni Association was started, Mr. R. O. D. Asbury, a great grandfather of the Principal, was one of the prime movers in the effort. On the 29th there were cross country races for boys and girls of the different age groups. On the 30th there was a celebration



Daniel Poor Library



of Dr. W. L. Jeyasingham's Jubilarianship. He had become a Jubilarian in 1966 and that had been taken note of by the College; but it was a tradition that the Alumni also take note of it when a Jubilarian leaves us.

The climax of the celebrations was to be on the 31st. The alumni wisely decided to make it synchronise with the opening of the new Library named after Daniel Poor, which was not strictly an Alumni function. The dedication of the Library was done by the Rt. Rev. D. J. Ambalavanar and the opening by the famous Dr. Chandran Devanesan, retired Vice-Chancellor of the North Eastern Hill University of India. The purely Alumni functions of the day were a public meeting and a dinner.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board on 13th of July (1980) a decision was made, which should have been made much earlier; and that was to reprint Mr. J. V. Chelliah's history of Jaffna College published in 1923. This had been out of print for many years and people anxious to find out something of our past had to go in search of rare copies of it in the possession of individuals; and while we were at it, it was thought we might just as well republish its sister volume, Rev. C. D. Velupillai's "History of the American Ceylon Mission", which had been published a year earlier. We were to print 500 copies of each.

At the Semi-Annual meeting of the Board held on 26th July two important decisions on Constitutional issues were made. The first one was (to re-iterate our request) for a permanent representative on the Board of Trustees in the U. S. A. The Trustees have a representative on the Board of Directors here; and we thought that such representation should be mutual and reciprocal. And since the Trustees do not have a wide range of responsibilities but deal only with our affairs, we thought the request was more than reasonable. This request had been made as a suggestion earlier; now it was a formal request.

The other was to draw attention to the change made in 1964 to the original Charter of 1877 of the State of Massachusetts. The original Charter confined the disbursement of its funds

to this College alone. But in 1964, as we noted earlier, owing to the scare created by the Take Over of 1960, the disbursement was extended to cover any Christian educational enterprise in India or Ceylon. We asked that any disbursement to anything outside the College should be made with our advice and consent. We also asked for a photostat of the original Charter; and this copy now hangs in our Board room. It is a faded document containing the names of those who have long since faded into the past.

On September 6th. a good friend of the College, the Rev. K. S. Jeyasingham, passed away rather unexpectedly. He had been a far greater figure in the Church than in College affairs; but his connexion with the College both by heredity and personally had been considerable. His grandfather had been a Professor of Mathematics here for 25 years and retired about the turn of the century; his father had been a teacher here and had been Secretary of the Board of Directors from 1913 till his death in 1931. He himself was Secretary of the Board during the critical days of the Take Over of 1974.

During this year the practice of sending students for Undergraduate studies abroad was well established and was in full operation.

On October 31st of this year there passed away in the U. S. A. one with a more intimate connexion with the College. Pat Dorothy, wife of E. C. Lockwood, who had been with us for long years and retired in 1969. As we have said earlier, her buoyancy and vivacity had more than made up for the reserve and taciturnity of her husband. During their retirement her husband had predeceased her by a few years. But she continued her life as if she was still a Missionary here, by befriending every student from Ceylon, who came within her reach.

On one point in our work we realised the fact that there was need for extra effort. Though (like the Government, but with greater resolution) we were making a strong effort to restore our lost standard of English, we felt more should be

done in the matter; and in November sent an S. O. S. to the Trustees for a good teacher in English, either from the U. K. or the U. S. A.

There was only one Jubilarian for 1980. Mr. T. Arumainayagam of the College Office. He had been Accounts Clerk. Though always occupied, he had not attracted much attention. He had been taken for granted; but "they also serve who only stand and wait".

So we have come to the end of the decade of the Seventies and crossed into the eighties, as we were expected to do. The history of no Institution is one of unrelieved success or failure. There are always ups and downs, periods of brightness and periods of gloom, of prosperity and adversity. We hope we were seldom swollen by success (though we might have had a shrewd suspicion that things were not going too badly). And we were never paralysed by disaster. We hope we kept our balance all the time. Success has sometimes dissolved before our eyes and disaster has borne itself on us with unexpected suddenness. But the College still stands.

We may be permitted to recall one of the stories of Rudyard Kipling, in which an English Engineer in India had built a bridge over the Ganges and was expecting the Viceroy to come and open it, when a terrific flood descended on the region and the river rose to unprecedented heights. Through the night the engineer was revolving in his mind all the mathematical formulae he had used, estimating the strength of every plate and bolt and screw he had put in and wondering whether there might be something amiss. In the morning, when the sky had cleared, the bridge was still standing utterly unscathed.

Likewise, we survey all that the College has gone through but it still stands: the old buildings and the new, those put up in the last century, those put up in this century by Brown, Bicknell and Bunker, and those put up still more recently. And the Institution still keeps functioning. This is a matter for deep thankfulness to God.

During the period we have covered, the College has gone through the regimes of five Principals. Practically the whole of the period is within the memory of many still living.

And when all is said and done, to those who have known him it is still Bicknell's School. So much had he stamped himself on the administration, the life and the outlook of the staff and students, that those who came after him were to a large extent living on the heritage he had left; and those who go out of here, though they know it or not, carry with them the vestiges of the ideals that had inspired him. So had he loved the school, as no man before or since has done, that the impress he left on it is still the deepest factor in its life. Therefore, though it is many years since he died, it may be said that the Bicknell era has not passed away. The spell he had cast on the College still lingers.

CONCLUSION

We celebrated our centenary with great enthusiasm in 1922—1923 and our 125th anniversary with greater enthusiasm in 1947. We celebrated (or should have celebrated) our 150th anniversary in 1973. The anniversary of an institution is the anniversary of its foundation. In these anniversaries what were we celebrating? Jaffna College under its present name was founded only in 1872. What we were celebrating was the foundation of the “Batticotta Seminary” in 1823. That is, we were assuming that what was founded in 1872 was the same as what was founded in 1823, in spite of the difference in names. We assumed that Jaffna College was the Seminary revived.

Though Jaffna College under its present name was started in 1872 at the request of the people of this country, it was Marshall Sanders, who went to America and enabled the College to be set up; and the first Principal of the College was the last Principal of the Seminary. Even now most of the money back of the College is money collected in America. All the Heads of the College, till Dr. Bunker left in 1966, were American Missionaries. As long as we retained our Collegiate status through the latter part of the last century, there was usually a heavy brigade of American Professors on the Staff; and as long as they were available, we have always had a member of the Americans teaching here in this century. So the assumption that Jaffna College is the Seminary revived is hard to refute.

If it is the same Institution, the question that stares us in the face is, how far we have been true to the ideals of the founders.

And our answer is that we have not done what they had done, nor in the form in which they had done it. And the reason for it is that times have changed, circumstances have changed, laws have changed, public attitude has changed and Government attitude has changed. We have not had the same liberty that our founders had. We are cramped, cabined

and confined; and therefore the question is not whether we have done what they did in the circumstances in which they were placed, but whether we have done what they would have done, if they had been placed in our times and circumstances.

“Doth God exact day labour, light denied?”, asked Milton. It may be that we have not done as much as should have been done, or could have been done. We may not have had the foresight to anticipate what was going to happen; (and possibly those who brought about such conditions did not themselves know what they were going to do). It may also be said that we did not employ all the means that we may have used to meet the new situations. But these are criticisms that could be brought up any time against anyone who had to meet ever-changing situations in ever-changing times.

All that we can say is we have tried, tried in spite of increasing and almost overwhelming difficulties, resisting all temptations to follow the path of least resistance, tried to be true and faithful to the implications and responsibilities enshrined in the College motto:

Jesus Christ the Light of Life.

So with a perfect awareness of all our shortcomings, with a sense of utter humility and with the utmost reverence we offer up our work to the Almighty, saying in the words of Robert Browning's famous poem (changing a singular into a plural):

So take and use Thy work
Amend what flaws may lurk
What strain, what warpings past the aim!
Our times are in Thy hand!
Perfect the cup as planned.

We offer it in a spirit of thankfulness that He should have thought it fit to call upon us to do His bidding, in spite of our unworthiness.

POST—SCRIPT

- 30 December, 1981 — College lands and buildings vested by Government (under the Land Acquisition Ordinance) in August, 1974 divested by Extra-ordinary Gazette notification.
- 12 January—end of March, 1983 John Walter and Evangeline Bicknell, son and daughter-in-law of the Rev. John Bicknell, stayed with us.
- 5th May, 1983 — Mr. L. S. Kulathungam passes away.
- 5th October, 1983 — Mr. K. A. Selliah passes away.

POST-SCRIPT

30 December 1931 — College lands and buildings vested by Government under the Land Acquisition Ordinance) in August, 1931 diverted by Government to the Government of Madras.

15 January — end of John Wilson and Evangelists Bishop, and and nephew-in-law of the Rev. John Wilson, stayed with us.

20 May 1933 — Mr. J. S. Kalarangan passed away.

26 October 1931 — Mr. K. A. S. S. passed away.

