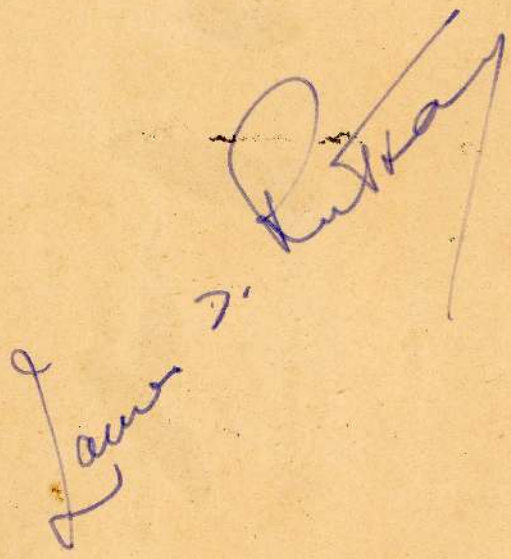
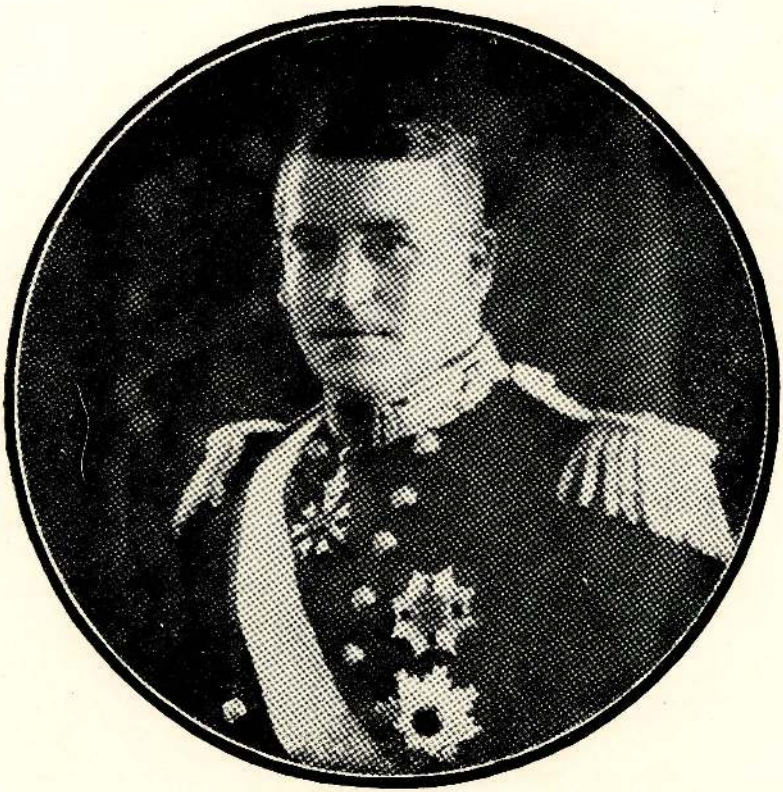
ANNALS OF THE CEYLON CIVIL SERVICE

J. R. TOUSSAINT





HIS EXCELLENCY SIR REGINALD EDWARD STUBBS, G.C.M.G.
Governor of Ceylon.

PREFACE

The favourable reception accorded to my little monograph entitled "Literature and the Ceylon Civil Service" has encouraged me to embark on a more ambitious undertaking and to give a short sketch of the Ceylon Civil Service, together with biographical notes regarding some of the Civil Servants whose names stand out prominently, either on account of meritorious services rendered by them, or by reason of the fact that they have come before the public eye owing to some peculiarity of temperament or conduct. As a result of this limitation, a number of names of persons who have rendered loyal service, but whose careers have been marked by no incidents of an unusual nature, have been omitted. To have given a bare recital of their official records would have made the narrative tedious, the main object of this book being to entertain rather than to inform. For obvious reasons the sketches have been confined to those who are not now living.

The facts contained in the opening chapter have been drawn largely from Professor Lennox A. Mills's invaluable treatise, "Ceylon under British Rule," Mr. L. J. B. Turner's "Collected Papers on the History of the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon, 1795–1805," and the late Mr. E. B. F. Sueter's unpublished papers on the Ceylon Civil Service, now lying in the Government Archives. The biographical sketches are based mainly on the late Mr. J. P. Lewis's "List of Inscriptions on Tombstones and Monuments in Ceylon," on other books on Ceylon by various writers, and on articles in newspapers and periodicals. I have also made use of the information contained in a list of Civil Servants appended to an article contributed by Mr. Edmund Reimers to Messrs Plâté's Handbook on Ceylon. Where so much is based on ·l testimony, the absolute accuracy of some of the stories ot be guaranteed, but there is no reason to doubt that

they are in the main correct. All the merit I claim is that I have diligently collected and brought into one book what is scattered in a multitude of newspapers, magazines, and books.

I owe a great deal to the inspiration of the late Messrs J. P. Lewis and E. B. F. Sueter, whose numerous contributions on Civil Servants and the Civil Service first suggested the idea of this work. Had they lived a little longer, there is no doubt that they would have produced books far worthier of the theme than this humble effort of mine. I am also deeply indebted to Messrs. L. E. Blazé and E. H. van der Wall for much help and advice in the compilation of this work. I may add that this is not an official publication and that the Government is in no way responsible for its contents.

J. R. T.

ANNALS OF THE CEYLON CIVIL SERVICE

By

J. R. TOUSSAINT

" The honour of His Majesty's Service, Sir."

Sir Thomas Maitland.

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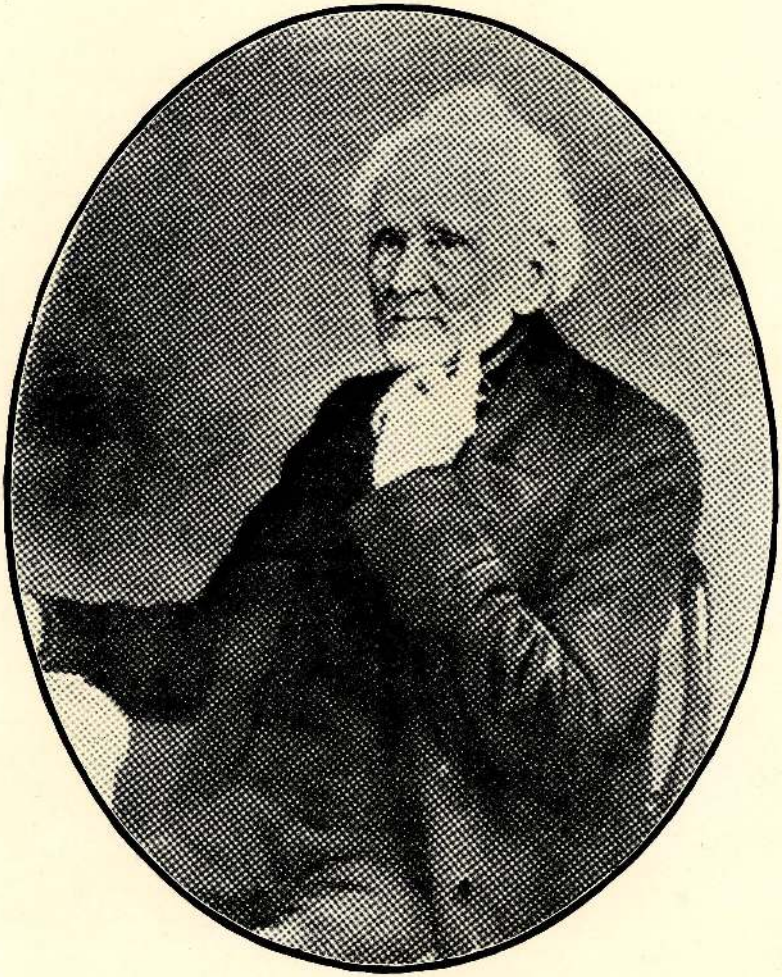

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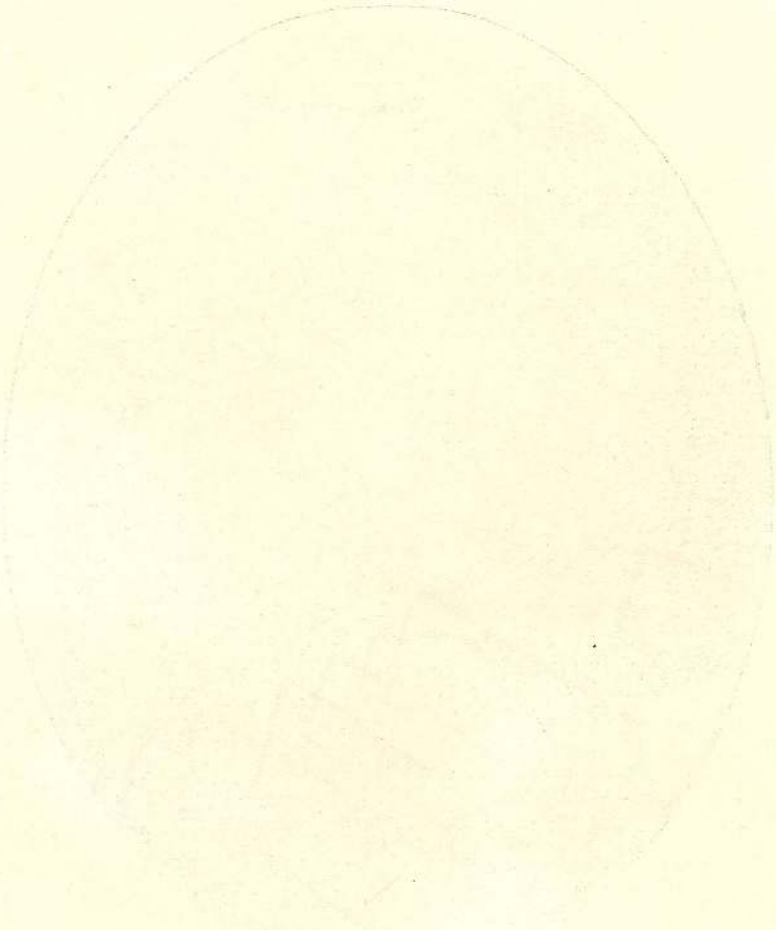


CHAPTER I.

THE SERVICE: ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

For all practical purposes the Ceylon Civil Service may be said to have been established on the 12th October, 1798, that being the date on which the Hon'ble Frederic North arrived in Ceylon to assume duties as Governor, accompanied by a Staff consisting of Hugh Cleghorn, William Boyd, Henry Marshall, Gavin Hamilton, Sylvester Gordon, Robert Barry, George Lusignan, Joseph Joinville and Anthony Bertolacci. The chief civil offices at this time were those of Principal Secretary, Accountant and Auditor-General, Commercial Resident, Deputy Secretary, Collector of Jaffna, Collector of Galle and Matara, Collector of Batticaloa and Mullaitivu, and Collector of Colombo. Hugh Cleghorn was appointed to fill the office of Principal Secretary, and William Boyd that of Deputy Secretary; while Henry Marshall was First Clerk, Civil Department; Sylvester Gordon, Second Clerk and Copyist; Gavin Hamilton, Principal Clerk, Military Department; Robert Barry, Second Clerk and Copyist; Joseph Joinville, First Clerk for Natural History and Agriculture; George Lusignan, Second Clerk and Copyist; and Anthony Bertolacci, Assistant Private Secretary for French Correspondence. Gordon, Barry and Lusignan were each of them only thirteen years of age, but the last named was an infant prodigy, having a knowledge of French, Italian, Greek, Latin and Turkish, and being intended, according to North, "to succeed his father, who is Interpreter to the King."

The post of Accountant and Auditor-General was held by Cecil Smith of the Madras Service, who was later succeeded by Thomas Fraser, with the designation of Civil Auditor and Accountant-General, while Joseph Greenhill had just

been appointed Commercial Resident in succession to Robert Andrews. On the departure of Greenhill in 1801, Joseph Joinville, according to North "a very learned naturalist," who had been Superintendent of Cinnamon Plantations under Greenhill, was retained in his post and relied upon for expert advice. The four Collectors were Lieut.-Colonel Barbut at Jaffna, Gregory in charge of Galle and Matara, Garrow in charge of Batticaloa and Mullaitivu, and McDouall in charge of Colombo, the three last named being members of the Madras Civil Service. Gregory resigned his appointment towards the end of 1801, McDouall was dismissed for systematic opposition to North, and the same fate befell Garrow, who was described by North as "a little pert, black monkey." He had been found guilty of making illegal arrests and committing other "acts of arbitrary injustice."

North now set about to reform the Service, and one of his first acts was to establish a Board of Revenue and Commerce for controlling the revenue departments, *viz.*, the Provincial Administration, the Cinnamon Department and the Pearl Fishery. Under the revenue system which had existed since 1798, the Island had been divided among three Collectors responsible to the Principal Secretary. Owing to the extent of their districts, North had apparently divided the island into thirteen Provinces, and had allowed each Collector to recommend Europeans for appointment as Agents in the Provinces which he was rarely able to visit. The system worked well on the whole, its only weakness being the inevitable changes which periodically occurred amongst the Collectors. North was of opinion that the collective and permanent wisdom of a Board would obviate "the extensive evils which . . . must follow the appointment of a new Collector, till he becomes thoroughly acquainted with the country he is to govern." He, therefore, abolished the Collectors, replacing them by Agents of Revenue, who were to administer the thirteen Provinces under the control of the newly-established Board of Revenue and Commerce. This Board was composed of the Secretary to Government as President, the Deputy Secretary, the Accountant-General, the Collector

of Galle and Matara, his Assistant, the Collector of Batticaloa and Mullaitivu, with Frederic Gahagan, who had been Barbut's Assistant at Jaffna, as Secretary, and H. A. Marshall as Deputy Secretary. By October, 1801, the following Agents of Revenue had been appointed :— Gavin Hamilton to Colombo, Joseph Smitz to Galle, Lewis Gibson to Matara, Peter Marshall to Trincomalee, Lieut. Arthur Johnston to Chilaw. In addition to these, two Land Regents or Residents were appointed, *viz.*, Lieut. Jewell to Batticaloa and William Orr to Hambantota. Consequent on these appointments the post of Commercial Resident was abolished, the Cinnamon Department being placed in charge of the Board of Revenue and Commerce.

An important change was introduced on 1st January, 1802, when the control exercised by the East India Company ceased, and Ceylon became a Crown Colony under the Colonial Office. The chief feature of the new system was the formation of a local Council consisting of the Chief Justice, the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, the Chief Secretary, and two others at the discretion of the Governor. North decided to restrict the Council to the three first-named officials, and the first meeting of the Council took place on 4th February, 1802. The Deputy Secretary was Secretary to the Council.

Two other principal features of the change were :— (1) the constitution of a new Supreme Court of Judicature, with the consequent appointment of a Chief Justice and a Puisne Justice, and (2) the establishment of a separate Civil Service, the Madras officials being encouraged to return to India. Robert Arbuthnot came out to join the new Civil Service, accompanied by the following :— James Scott Hay, Samuel Tolfrey, Alexander Wood, the Hon. George Melville Leslie, George Arbuthnot, David Erskine, Robert Boyd, Charles Manage, John William Carrington, Alexander Cadell, John D'Oyly, Alexander Johnstone, John McDowall, Richard Bourne, John Davidson, Joseph Wright, Edward Tolfrey, William Erskine Campbell, James Allardyce Barclay and William Richard Montgomery.

These officers formed the nucleus of a regular " covenanted " Civil Service, appointment to which was understood from the outset to vest exclusively in the Secretary of State. But there still remained in the Maritime Provinces several officers who had not been so appointed, but who had been nominated to their offices by the Madras Administration or by the Governor. North also appears to have been under the impression that he had the power to make local appointments to the Service, and in the exercise of that power he had made a number of appointments. The Secretary of State accused him of " improper inattention to the reserved right of His Majesty's Government in the appointment of Civil Servants." In explaining his action the Governor named the officers whose appointments had not been formally authorized, *viz.*, James Dunkin, Thomas Farrell, Lieut.-Colonel Barbut, Joseph Joinville, Johannes Tranchell, Frederick Baron Mylius, Lewis Gibson, Joseph Smitz, Peter Marshall, Lieut. Jewell, Lieut. Arthur Johnston, Beauvoir Dobree, John George Kerby and Peter Smellie.

The continuance in service of these officers was authorized, but the Secretary of State ruled that all appointments to Writerships were to be made by him in accordance with the Governor's annual statement of vacancies, and the appointment of Army Officers to fill vacancies in the Civil Service was strictly forbidden since it lessened the Civil Servants' chances of promotion. Following the rule in the Indian Civil Service, promotion was to be normally by seniority, unless the Governor considered that this claim was outweighed by superior merit.

North spent the last three years of his Governorship, from 1802 to 1805, in arranging the salaries and duties of the Civil Servants. The principal officials of the central administration were the Governor, who was also Treasurer ; the Chief Secretary ; the Deputy Secretary ; the Vice-Treasurer, who did most of the work of the Treasury ; the Accountant-General and Civil Auditor ; and the Civil and Military Paymaster-General. Under the control of the Board of Revenue and Commerce, composed of the Chief Secretary, the Vice-

Treasurer, the Accountant-General, and the Paymaster-General, were the Superintendent of Cinnamon Plantations and his Staff, and the Revenue Department consisting of the members of the Provincial Administration. The island was divided into eight districts, each under an Agent of Revenue and Commerce, with one or two Assistants. In all there were about forty-nine members of the Civil Service.

North completed the good work he had begun by establishing a Pension Fund. Both the Civil Servants and the Government made an annual payment to the Fund of ten per cent. of the salaries, the Trustees of the Fund being empowered to invest the proceeds. The senior Civil Servants were entitled to a pension after eight years' service in Ceylon, the pensions ranging from £400 for a salary of £1000 to £700 for the Chief Secretary who was on a salary of £3000. All other Civil Servants received a pension of £400 after twelve years' service in Ceylon, rising to £600 after eighteen years' service. Leave of absence extending to two years, during which the salary allowed was £300, could be taken at any time during the twelve years' service, but this period did not count for pension. These regulations were open to the serious defect that since the senior Civil Servants could not qualify for higher pensions by remaining for a longer period than eight years in Ceylon, they usually retired as soon as they became eligible for pension. The Government thus lost some of its most experienced members. Very reluctantly the Secretary of State gave the Governor discretion, in the case of senior Civil Servants only, to pay both pension and salary to those whose services it was desirable to retain for three years longer.

North was succeeded by Maitland, who was not satisfied with the existing organization of the Civil Service. Salaries were too low, there were a large number of minor posts with insufficient or nominal duties, expenditure was to a large extent uncontrolled, and Civil Servants were allowed to engage in private trade. Maitland began the work of reform by forbidding private trade, by increasing inadequate salaries, by abolishing unnecessary posts, and by a stricter control

over expenditure. The Governor himself was Treasurer, *ex officio*, and would not allow a shilling to be expended without his previous authority. The reorganization was completed in 1808, and until 1833 no substantial change was made in Maitland's classification and scale of salaries, or in the regulations which he drew up for the conduct of the administration. Two of the main features of the reorganization were the substitution of a Commissioner of Revenue for the Board of Revenue and Commerce, and the abolition of Agents of Revenue and Commerce and their replacement by Collectors under the control of the Commissioner of Revenue. An important step in advance was taken by encouraging Civil Servants to acquire a knowledge of the languages of the country by the payment of rewards. Sinhalese and Portuguese were the languages in which proficiency was required. Tamil was not considered necessary until 1813, and Portuguese was given up in 1824. In 1822 the regulation was made that in future no Civil Servant would be promoted to a higher rank than that of Assistant until he had attained a tolerable proficiency in Sinhalese or Tamil. Civil Servants were allowed to choose which language they wished to study, and were required to pass an examination in reading, writing and conversation. The choice of language which the regulation allowed to be taken led to a very curious result. Very few Civil Servants took up Tamil, as they feared that this would interfere with their chances of promotion, the great majority of the more lucrative posts being in the Sinhalese districts. The exigencies of the Service often made it necessary to appoint an official who knew only Sinhalese to a Tamil district. In 1832, proficiency in both Sinhalese and Tamil was made compulsory.

The establishment of British rule in the Kandyan Districts in 1815 necessitated the creation of new posts in the Civil Service. Chief among these was that of Resident of the Kandyan Provinces to which John D'Oyly was appointed with three Assistants, one at Kandy, another at Badulla, and the third at Ruanwella. In 1816 Sir Robert Brownrigg appointed a Board of three Commissioners to control the

Central Administration of Kandy and to relieve D'Oyly of part of his work. The second or Judicial Commissioner was the Deputy Resident, with special charge of judicial affairs, while the third or Revenue Commissioner was the Government Agent, whose especial duty it was to collect the revenue, manage Government lands, and exact the services owed to Government by the Kandyans in return for their lands. The other members of the new administration were the Magistrate at Kandy, who was also Secretary to the Board, and the four Agents at Badulla, Ruanwella, Kurunegala and Ratnapura.

These arrangements were not of long duration, for in consequence of the Kandyan revolt in 1818, further changes were found to be necessary. It was thought desirable that there should be closer contact between the Government and the people, and this was brought about by increasing the number of Agents of Revenue and giving them more extensive powers. Accordingly, while the Central Administration of Kandy was allowed to remain in the hands of the Board of Commissioners, which was strengthened by the appointment to it of the Officer-Commanding the Garrison at Kandy, the Kandyan Provinces were divided into eleven districts, each under an Agent of Government, who had powers similar to those of the Collector in the Maritime Provinces, and was subject to the control of the Board of Commissioners. These appointments were mostly filled by Military Officers, of whom Major Forbes, Lieut.-Colonel Campbell and Major Rogers might be mentioned as among the best known. They held both civil and judicial authority.

In 1829, owing to a deficit in the revenue for a series of years, a Commission from England consisting of Colonel Colebrooke and Mr. C. H. Cameron was appointed to conduct an investigation, the former into the administrative, and the latter into the judicial system. Colebrooke's report was received in 1832, and among his recommendations which affected the Civil Service were the following :—

(1) That pensions and a few of the existing appointments be abolished, and a sweeping reduction be made in salaries.

(2) That the exclusive Civil Service be abolished and that Ceylon officials should no longer have the sole right to all vacancies. "The Public Service should be freely open to all classes of persons according to their qualifications," while "the unrestricted admission of natives of all classes to the Judicial and Civil offices open to Europeans when they may possess or acquire the necessary qualifications" was most desirable.

In spite of strong protests from the Governor, Sir Robert Wilmot-Horton, the Secretary of State accepted most of Colebrooke's recommendations, and at the end of 1833 the reforms came into operation. One of the recommendations adopted was the abolition of the post of Commissioner of Revenue and the transfer of the duties of this office to the Chief Secretary. As a result of this step, Robert Boyd, the only survivor of the senior Civil Servants sent out in 1801, and who had an excellent record of thirty-four years' service in Ceylon with a salary of £3000, was compelled to accept £300 as an unemployed Civil Servant. As it was impossible to give him one of the higher appointments, he was retired in 1836 on a pension of £1000.

Among other changes introduced were the abolition of the separate administration of Kandy, and the division of the island into five Provinces, *viz.*, Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western and Central, each under a Government Agent with a varying number of Assistant Agents. The District Judges received the new title of Provincial Judges, and the Secretary of State decided that Barristers and not Civil Servants should be appointed to fill future vacancies, on the ground that District Judges appointed from the Service had no legal training, and that the system of promotion by seniority entailed frequent changes of office from the revenue to the judicial side. This regulation, however, was not enforced for a long time.

The reduction of salaries was most keenly felt by the Service, the average decrease being 33 per cent., though in some of the minor posts it amounted to 60 per cent. Those who suffered most were the members in the lower ranks of

the Service, whose salaries in some cases fell from £1000 to £400. The Governor protested strongly against the reductions, and warned the Colonial Office that insufficient pay would inevitably lead to inferior work, but the Secretary of State was not disposed to listen to him, and from this time began the decline of the Service, two other contributory causes being the abolition of pensions and the slowness of promotion. The old Civil Servants received the pensions due to them on retirement, but no pensions were granted to officers appointed after the date of the reforms. Promotion was by seniority and not by merit, and there was, consequently, no incentive to efficiency.

Another change brought about by the reforms was the discontinuance of the appointment of Writers or Cadets as they are known at the present day, with the result that newly-appointed Civil Servants entered upon their duties at once without any preliminary training. Vacancies in the Service were filled either by local candidates or by persons appointed from England, the object being to break through the principle of an exclusive Civil Service, and to throw open appointments to all competent English-speaking natives or British colonists in Ceylon. "Thus," observes Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, "began with W. C. Gibson the 'new Civil Service'; but Government offered to re-employ the old Civil Servants under new conditions, and as all accepted the terms, the continuity of the Service was preserved." As, however, it was not very clear what constituted competency, very few appointments were made as a result of this regulation.

Sir Robert Wilmot-Horton had been unceasing in his efforts to convince the Secretary of State that the reduction of salaries had been too drastic, and in 1837 his labours were crowned with partial success. Although no change was made in the salaries of senior officers in receipt of salaries of over £1000, substantial increases were given to the junior Civil Servants, *e.g.*, Assistant Government Agents and minor District Judges, whose salaries ranged from £300 to £850. A moderate increase of pension was given to the old Civil Servants, but the Secretary of State refused to provide pensions for officers appointed after 1833.

In 1839, Mr. Stewart Mackenzie, who had succeeded Sir Robert Wilmot-Horton, took up the question of the Civil Service with the Secretary of State. He deprecated the decision not to appoint Writers and to send out Civil Servants to fill actual vacancies. He pointed out that it was absurd to appoint as Assistant Agent or District Judge a young man who had just arrived from England, and who was as totally ignorant of law and methods of colonial administration as he was of native languages and customs. Acting on his own initiative, the Governor ordered that all newly-arrived officers should be attached for some months to the office of a Government Agent, their appointment to a vacancy being dependent on a favourable report as to their competency.

Laudable as were the steps taken by Governors Horton and Stewart Mackenzie to improve the Service, they were not far reaching enough to arrest its downward progress. Under the combined effect of low salaries, poor prospects of promotion, and the abolition of pensions, the Service continued to deteriorate rapidly. The event which finally brought about reform was a series of pessimistic despatches in 1841 from the new Governor, Sir Colin Campbell. He reported that the Civil Service was gradually going from bad to worse, and that it was not possible to make satisfactory arrangements to fill the places of the few able men, whose applications for leave of absence he could not very well refuse to grant. In the course of the correspondence which ensued, the Secretary of State was informed that "seven of the chief officers of Government are in a position for which they are unsuited." By way of giving point to this statement, the Governor mentioned that Turnour, a good Auditor, was a poor Treasurer; Wright, a good Treasurer, was an indifferent Auditor; Wodehouse, an excellent Government Agent, was not a success as District Judge of Kandy; while Buller, Government Agent of the Western Province, was unequal to the duties of this office. The reason assigned for these appointments was that promotion was governed by seniority and not by merit. The Secretary of State, therefore, ordered the re-arrangement of the higher appointments so as to place

the best men in the positions most suited to them, and asked the Governor to put a stop to the system of frequent transfers.

We have seen that in 1832, proficiency in both Sinhalese and Tamil had been made compulsory, but so lax was the system in those days that many Civil Servants were unaware that the passing of an examination in the vernaculars was a condition necessary for promotion. Of the twenty-three Civil Servants appointed since 1833, only two had passed the examination and two others had just sufficient knowledge to warrant their taking it up. The Governor reported that very few of the junior Civil Servants had a competent knowledge of the native languages, while many of the most valuable senior officers were in no better position. The Secretary of State thereupon ordered that the regulations on the subject should be strictly enforced, but as they could only be applied to junior officers, he directed that in the case of seniors, ignorance of the vernaculars should be regarded as disqualifying an officer for promotion. The adoption of these steps produced a gradual improvement, but matters were far from satisfactory, and it was alleged that the mishandling of the Kandyan rebellion of 1848 was to a considerable extent due to the Civil Servants' ignorance of the vernaculars.

Another matter which engaged the serious attention of the Secretary of State was the large number of Civil Servants who were engaged in Coffee-planting. It was a curious anomaly that while the rules of the Service forbade Civil Servants to engage in trade, there was nothing to prevent their owning Coffee estates. Coffee-planting became a very profitable occupation during the later thirties, and all classes of Europeans, from the highest in the island, joined in the scramble for land. Civil Servants were encouraged to take up Coffee-planting in the hope that the development of that industry would help to balance the budget. It was even argued that as salaries had been reduced to a minimum, a Coffee estate was a justifiable means of restoring the balance. The inevitable result was that Civil Servants paid more attention to their estates and that their legitimate work suffered.

The situation was one which called for drastic action, and the Secretary of State issued instructions that "no Civil Servant will hereafter be permitted to engage in any agricultural or commercial pursuit for the sake of profit, and that all who may have done so must within a reasonable time dispose of their property or retire from the Public Service." As the latter part of these instructions would, if enforced, have caused great hardship in the case of those who had purchased land with the tacit approval of Government, the Secretary of State, on representations from Ceylon, agreed to apply the prohibition to future cases only. It was, however, laid down that in all questions of promotion, other circumstances being equal, preference would be given to an officer not possessing land.

But there were other causes at work which contributed to the deterioration of the Service, the members of which were represented to be "listless in the discharge of their functions, contented with the bare performance of those duties which can be exacted from them, and wanting in the zeal without which their services cannot be advantageous." From a report furnished by Messrs P. Anstruther and P. A. Dyke, the two most prominent members of the Service at the time, it appeared that the principal cause of the decline in the Service was the practice of promotion by seniority, while small salaries, abolition of pensions, and the abandonment of the rule that all promotions should be made from within the ranks of the Service, were stated to be among the contributory causes.

The same view was expressed by Sir Emerson Tennent in more vigorous language. "Ceylon has trained but few Civil Servants of distinguished ability; and the failure has been aggravated by the pernicious system of promotion by mere seniority. Exertion was felt to be ineffectual when advancement was guaranteed to mediocrity, without an effort; and aspiring ability was chilled by the consciousness that no services, however zealous, were sufficient to achieve distinction when opposed to the claims of ante-dated incompetence. On more than one occasion, when offices had fallen vacant requiring talents of a higher order than those developed by

routine, the Governor was unable to recommend the advancement of any one of the individuals then serving in the island ; and the duty devolved on the Secretary of State of nominating persons duly qualified from home."

This unsatisfactory state of things called for another reform of the Service, and it was taken in hand in 1845. Pensions were restored, salaries were increased, the principle of an exclusive Civil Service was conceded, and merit instead of seniority was made the basis of promotion. At the same time the Service was enlarged by including in it the minor judicial and executive posts which had formerly been excluded, and also the two posts of Civil Engineer and Surveyor-General and Commissioner of Roads. Writerships were again revived, the conditions of appointment being that candidates should be between the ages of sixteen and twenty-two, and before appointment should pass an examination similar to that required for entrance into Haileybury, the Training College for Writers in the Indian Civil Service. Under the new classification the Service was divided into two branches, the Senior and the Junior. Among the posts in the latter class were those of Secretary to the Central School Commission (£200), Commissioner of the Loan Board (£200), and Assistants to the Engineer and Surveyor-General and to the Commissioner of Roads (£200 to £500). One of the chief features of the new arrangement was the provision of pensions for all Civil Servants appointed since 1832, the old Civil Servants receiving their pensions in accordance with the former regulations.

An important change was made in the system of appointing Writers. At the commencement of each year the Governor informed the Secretary of State of the number of Writers required to fill the vacancies that were expected to occur, at the same time sending a list of local candidates, Europeans and Ceylonese, whom he considered suitable for appointment. The Secretary of State made his selection from his own and the Governor's list. Before receiving an appointment the Secretary of State's nominees had to pass the examination prescribed for entrance into Haileybury College taken by

candidates for entrance into the Indian Civil Service. The Governor's nominees had to pass an examination in Ceylon similar to the Haileybury examination. The salary of a Writer was £200 a year. Among those appointed under this system were Messrs W. C. (afterwards Sir William) Twynam and J. L. Flanderka.

The improvement of the Civil Service in 1845 had been accomplished at an additional cost of £40,000 through the introduction of pensions and increased salaries. The next year, however, saw a deficit of £100,000 in the revenue, and the abolition in 1847 of most of the Customs duties, together with the temporary collapse of the Coffee industry, caused a further diminution of revenue. The Colonial Office having ordered drastic reductions in the cost of the Civil Service, Lord Torrington appointed a Committee of three of the senior Civil Servants to submit proposals for retrenchment, and in 1849 they presented their report. One of the principal criticisms of the Committee was that the Service suffered from over-centralization and unnecessary red tape. That the latter charge at least was justified is proved by the testimony of Sir Emerson Tennent. Writing in 1847, he said :—

"Taken as a whole, the machinery of the Executive Government is at once cumbrous and embarrassed, complicated in its processes, and slow and unsatisfactory in its performance. It is in reality a relic of the old Dutch system, patched and altered by successive Governments to meet emergencies, but requiring, at the present day, fundamental changes to adapt it to the transition through which the colony is passing."

He then proceeds to give specific instances of unnecessary labour and circumlocution. "Two defects in the present system are so palpable as to be sufficient in themselves to account in a great degree both for its imperfection and expense. In the first place, all the payments in the Colony, from the salary of the Governor to the wages of a pioneer, are issued *monthly* instead of quarterly, from the Treasury, on monthly applications for the same sums from the various heads of departments sustained by monthly vouchers and accounts, and authorized by monthly warrants elaborately

prepared and signed formally by the Governor. It is impossible to conceive the multiplication of forms, documents and securities, to which this monthly excitement gives rise ; and as every instrument has to be prepared in triplicate and sometimes in quadruplicate, as these monthly applications ascend in the same monotonous succession to the Audit Office and the Treasury through the local Department, the Government Agent, the Colonial Secretary and the Governor, it is easy to imagine the number of writers and clerks, who become indispensable in every department for the mere copying, comparing and recording these superfluous documents. On the occasion of a visit which I made to the Province of Ouvah, I found all the clerks in the Badulla Cutchery engaged, without pause, in making *eight thousand copies* of pay lists in quadruplicate, in order to close the road accounts of an officer who had just died.

" As to the contingent expense of the various departments, the system is even more cumbrous and annoying. For every one of these, even the most trivial in amount, the responsible officer must apply formally for the previous and special authority of the Governor, conveyed through the Colonial Secretary. The practice has now become so oppressive in the quantity of details which are brought under the Secretary's notice, that it is absurd to require that officer to devote time to such matters to the prejudice of grave and important business. Within the last twelve months I have had despatches from the remotest parts of the island, asking permission to expend 1*s.* for a gallon of oil, or 2*s.* 6*d.* for the repair of a table. I have had applications, requiring formal and recorded answers, for a flat ruler for the Assistant Agent at an outstation, and for two skeins of thread to sew the records of a District Court ; and within the last few months I had a correspondence, extending to 13 despatches, in regard to a pewter inkstand for a police office, which could not be got at the Commissariat Store, and had to be bought by private contract at the bazaar."

As a result of the recommendations of the Committee appointed by Lord Torrington, the offices of Surveyor-General

and Commissioner of Roads were combined, a few minor posts were suppressed, and a slight reduction was made in salaries. But this did not satisfy the unofficial members of the Legislative Council, who were of opinion that the circumstances called for more drastic action. The Government, however, was not prepared to go further. The unofficial members were determined not to allow the matter to drop, and for several years the high cost and inefficiency of the Civil Service were a fruitful source of discussion. At last in 1855 the Government took action. A moderate reduction was made in salaries and a few minor posts were abolished. The return of better times obviated the necessity for more sweeping economies—indeed, in 1858, owing to the improvement of the coffee industry, there was an increase of salaries.

Although from the earliest days a knowledge of the vernaculars was considered an essential part of the equipment of a Civil Servant, it does not appear that any fixed rules were laid down defining the nature and scope of the examination until 1852. In that year, Sir George Anderson issued a minute on the subject. The examinations were to be held half-yearly in the months of January and July, the Board of Examiners to consist of "two European Gentlemen, one an officer of Government, two Native Gentlemen, and a President to be named by the Governor." In the following year a minute was issued providing for two examinations :— "The first to qualify the successful candidates for holding a first appointment in the Public Service ; the second to qualify them for promotion." These regulations seem to have been honoured more in the breach than in the observance. The neglect to qualify in the vernaculars was attributed to "the smallness of salaries, . . . the slowness of promotion, the little care that has been taken to keep the number of Writers complete, or to make a strict examination in the native languages an absolute condition of promotion." It was pleaded on behalf of Writers that they found it difficult to pass the first examination within eighteen months of their appointment owing to their being employed in Government work the whole day. The rules were accord-

ingly revised in 1863, and Writers were allowed more time for study.

The Haileybury entrance examination continued until 1856, when the Colonial Office substituted a competitive examination held by the Civil Service Commissioners for candidates nominated by the Secretary of State. Candidates nominated by the Governor were not required to pass an examination, Sir Henry Ward being of opinion that personal selection ensured more suitable men. His successor, Sir Charles Mac Carthy, was not satisfied with this system, and in 1863 the local candidates were required to pass a non-competitive examination on their 'general attainments.' The standard of this examination was lower than that of the Civil Service Commissioners, and naturally candidates appointed from England were found to be superior to those appointed locally. In 1870 the examination was held simultaneously in England and Ceylon for nominated candidates, the same papers being set for all candidates. An attempt was made to copy India by requiring successful candidates to work for a certain period at the Colonial Office, and to study law and native languages before being sent out to Ceylon, but this was soon given up. Another change took place in 1880, when the examination for Writerships ceased to be held in Ceylon, all candidates being required to compete in England. Nomination by the Secretary of State was abolished and replaced by open competition.

It was not to be expected that this system, which practically closed the door on Ceylonese candidates, would be found satisfactory, but it was not until 1891, that the Secretary of State took steps to provide on a more extended scale for the employment of persons born and bred in Ceylon by the creation of a Lower (afterwards called Local) Division of the Civil Service. Entrance was by competitive examination, limited to candidates nominated by the Governor. At the same time the Governor had the power, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, of occasionally appointing to the Local Division, without examination, older men possessing aptitude for public business. In 1916 this latter

class was separately provided for by the creation of a Fifth Class of the Civil Service. In appointing persons to this Class, regard was to be given to their ability, social standing, high reputation and long experience. In 1920 the Local Division of the Civil Service was abolished, and all Civil Servants were graded in one general classification, the separate examination held in Ceylon being discontinued. The examination was held in London only, simultaneously with the examination for the Civil Service of India, but it was provided that if the full number of Ceylonese Cadets could not be recruited in England in any one year, an examination might be held in Ceylon as soon as it was found convenient after it had been ascertained that vacancies existed. From 1924 the examination was held simultaneously in England and Ceylon, and from 1932 nomination was limited to candidates who had passed the Honours or Pass Degree examination of the University of London, or any other public examination of an equally high standard.

While on the subject of examinations and native languages, it might not be out of place to mention some stories related by that Prince of Raconteurs, Mr. J. P. Lewis, in an article which he contributed to a local newspaper. Speaking of his own experiences he says :— "Those were the days when, with J. A. Swettenham, now Sir Alexander, of Jamaica fame, presiding in the hall of examination, we were put through our paces in the *Lakminipahana* which in this respect might be looked upon as a Government organ. But it was read I fear only for the purpose of the examination, and under the guidance of 'pundits' of sorts. Mr. Swettenham's functions on these occasions—he was Second Assistant Colonial Secretary—and his attitude to the examinees, were acutely hit off by the late James W. Gibson, most popular and irresponsible of civilians, and a constant sufferer either from a vernacular or from those other tormentors, 'Law and Accounts,' who, during an examination, put up his hand to attract Mr. Swettenham's attention, and said, 'Mr. Usher, may I leave the room ?' But it was not he, but another member of the Service, who in an examination in Law gave

that ever memorable and convincing answer to the question, 'When is the evidence of a wife admissible against her husband?' by replying, 'Only in cases of breach of promise.'"

Mr. Lewis was of opinion that the best speakers of Sinhalese in the Civil Service in his day were M. S. Crawford, R. W. Ievers, F. R. Ellis, H. C. P. Bell, E. M. Byrde and Herbert White. "To these may be added," he says, "Sir Alexander Ashmore, with whom I lived in 1878 at the 'Writers' Quarters' over one end of the old Post Office (now Police Headquarters) at Kandy." And referring apparently to B. Horsburgh, he asks, "What better speaker of 'Malabar,' as it used to be called, does the Civil Service possess than the present Government Agent of the Northern Province? At the other end of the scale—but here I will mention no names—I recollect a 'Gentleman of the Civil Service' whose knowledge of Sinhalese never seemed to get beyond a thorough knowledge of the word '*Mokada*' ('What') which he would ejaculate with the rapidity of fire of a French ·75, covering and supplying as it were the absence of reinforcements. But I was wrong—he had also more or less assimilated that convenient Sinhalese expression '*Ayu be'wan*' meaning literally 'Long life to you,' but used as an equivalent for 'How do you do?' 'I beg your pardon,' etc., and in order to ingratiate himself with that sinister personage and arbiter of fate, the Sinhalese examiner, he flung at him as he entered the room the mystic words 'I bun.'"

By way of shewing that familiarity with a vernacular sometimes leads one to commit indiscretions, Mr. Lewis relates the story of a Civil Servant—afterwards Governor of a Colony—who was so pleased with his knowledge of Sinhalese that he tried to master also some of its proverbial sayings. He was present with other European guests at a wedding in Sinhalese high life. The day was one of those peculiar ones with alternate sun and rain. The ceremony in the Church being over, the guests repaired to the house of the bride's mother for the usual cake and wine. The stranger guests were duly introduced to the lady of the house, when the Civilian, thinking it incumbent on him to say something to

the lady, expressive of the peculiarity of the weather, and with the consciousness of being about to say something strikingly original, blurted out, "*Awwai Wassai, Nariyage Magulai*" ("Sun and Rain, the Jackal's Wedding"). "The consternation and indignation of the lady" adds Mr. Lewis, "can better be imagined than described."

Mr. Lewis notes the difficulty experienced by some Europeans in pronouncing particular words. Sir John Dickson was noted as an Oriental scholar, and he had a good knowledge of Sinhalese, but Mr. Lewis says that his pronunciation of it was atrocious. He always used to address the Aratchchi of the Kandy Kachcheri as "Aratchy," slurring over the first syllable, and making the rest rhyme with "patchy." Of C. J. R. Le Mesurier, Mr. Lewis says that he could talk fluently in Sinhalese, but he could never pronounce the word "*tiyanawa*" where the *t* is sounded like the *th* in "thin" and not like the *t* in "tin."

The well-known reluctance of Civil Servants to serve in the judicial branch is not of recent growth. It dates from very early times, and was one of the problems with which North had to deal. "The dislike which all the junior servants have conceived to that line of business" he told the Secretary of State "is not easily to be overcome, and even if it were, I cannot help feeling some repugnance at the idea of vesting judicial powers in the hands of very young men, whatever may be their ability or steadiness. I hope, however, to engage one or two of the civilians to apply themselves to that service, and to be able in a short time to establish one of them in the vacant presidency of Putlam. Mr. Tolfrey, Mr. Dunkin, Mr. Marshall and Mr. D'Oyly occupy the other four. Till the removal of Mr. Wood, the judicial system went admirably, all arrears were cleared, few appeals lodged, and confidence in the protection of the law rapidly increased throughout the country."

There is reason to believe that North's fears in regard to the employment of youthful civilians to discharge judicial functions were well founded. In the course of his judgment in the case of J. G. Forbes, referred to elsewhere, the Chief

Justice, Sir Hardinge Giffard, made the following observations :— "Magistrates, under the disingenuous pretext of requiring security, exacted impossible bail and imprisoned people for years. On my arrival in this city, I found one poor wretch, who had been toiling in the salt lakes at Hambantotte for five years, under such a committal from a Magistrate, whose actual power of imprisonment was limited to two months."

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST BATCH OF CIVIL SERVANTS

An attempt will now be made in the following pages to present in a popular form a few incidents in the career of some of our Civil Servants, so far as it is possible to glean them from published works and newspaper paragraphs. In the cases of some, no particulars are available beyond the bare official record of service ; in others, a trivial incident may throw a lurid light on some particular phase of character, while it does not reflect the general value of services rendered. As a rule, the amount of information available regarding an officer is in inverse ratio to his character for steadiness. Eccentricity, rudeness, and want of tact often bring one man into prominence, while another who is content to do his work quietly and efficiently does not attract public attention. This explains the brevity or even the absence of reference to those who may be thought deserving of mention.

It has already been stated that HUGH CLEGHORN (1798-1800) arrived in the island with Governor North. He was born in 1751, and from 1773 to 1793 was Professor of Civil History in the University of St. Andrew's. He spent a good deal of his time on the Continent, and it was during one of these visits that he made the acquaintance of Count de Meuron, the proprietor and Colonel of a Swiss Regiment of Infantry in the pay of the Dutch East India Company. This Regiment formed the main part of the Dutch Garrison of Ceylon. It occurred to Cleghorn that if he could secure the transfer of the Regiment from the Dutch to the English service, the conquest of Ceylon could be effected easily. He communicated these views to the Home Government. His Diary, which was published under the name of the Cleghorn Papers in 1927, contains a record of his negotiations with

Count de Meuron, of his journey to Ceylon, and of the capitulation of Ceylon by the Dutch, a result largely due to the transfer of the de Meuron Regiment to the British. The Diary incidentally throws a flood of light on the events of this early period. Having successfully accomplished his work, Cleghorn returned to his home, and received as a reward for his services an honorarium of £5,000. On the breakdown of the Madras Administration, Cleghorn accompanied North to Ceylon and became our first Colonial Secretary. During the short time he filled this office, he did great service, and his minutes—notably the one known as the Cleghorn minute—are models of clearness. He had to organize the administration of the country from the very beginning, and he laid down the lines which each succeeding Government has followed to this day. His policy was to make as few changes as possible in the Dutch system of administration, to which the people had been accustomed for more than a hundred years, and to introduce gradually the necessary changes and improvements. He advocated, and so far as he could, secured, the reinstatement in their posts of as many of the old Dutch Civil Servants as were willing to take service under the British Government. This policy won their loyalty to the British Crown. But soon the relations between the Governor and the Colonial Secretary began to be strained. North suspected Cleghorn of conspiring with the Madras officials against him, and Cleghorn on his part did nothing to placate the Governor. "I am much *roiled* by that madman Cleghorn," exclaims North. When, at last, the Governor's patience had been tried beyond endurance, Cleghorn decided to resign his appointment, and he left the island in January, 1800. "Heaven be praised," writes the Governor, "the *Preston* with Cleghorn has weighed anchor from this place."

Cleghorn died in 1831 at the age of 83. The inscription on his tombstone in Dunino Churchyard states that he was "the agent by whose instrumentality the island of Ceylon was annexed to the British Empire."

William Boyd (1798-1805) accompanied North to Ceylon as his Private Secretary, and was later appointed First Assist-

ant to Cleghorn. He acted as Secretary to the Government from the date of Cleghorn's departure from the island, till he was relieved on 10th September, 1801, by Robert Arbuthnot. He then became Deputy Treasurer, and in 1802 he officiated as President of the Court of Justice for the town, fort and district of Colombo. He accompanied North on his first tour of Ceylon, as far as Moratuwa. He was in high favour with the Governor, who, on one occasion, in connection with certain negotiations with the chief Kandyan Adigar, addressed a letter to him in the following terms :—"My dear Boyd—Everything which you have done is perfect, . . . Adieu ! Come down as fast as you can. I will send palanquin boys to the place between Ambetelle and Hangwella for you and Joinville." On another occasion North wrote to the Secretary of State :—"You cannot conceive what a valuable person Secretary Boyd is, though you will, I am sure, see good principle and firmness in his character by his negotiations with the Adigar. What a comfort it is that Cleghorn is gone home. It would have been impossible to employ him in so delicate a business." Boyd left Ceylon in 1805, the year in which North ceased to be Governor.

There was another Boyd in the Service, ROBERT BOYD (1801-1836), who arrived by the *Henry Dundas*. He rose to be Commissioner of Revenue, which appointment he held until the reforms of 1833, when his post was abolished. He was then allowed £300 a year as an "unemployed Civil Servant," and in 1836 he retired on an annual pension of £1,000. He is referred to by Sir James Mackintosh, who visited Ceylon in 1810, as "Mr. Boyd, a cousin of the celebrated banker of that name."

From Clerk and Copyist to Auditor and Accountant-General was the achievement of HENRY AUGUSTUS MARSHALL (1798-1841), another of North's proteges. He was educated at Charterhouse and Christ Church, Oxford, and was admitted to be the best classical scholar in the island in his day. On his way out to Ceylon, he married at St. Helena the daughter of the Governor of that island, Colonel Robert Brooke. It is interesting to know the opinion entertained of him by

Governor North. Writing to the Hon. Henry Dundas on 3rd February, 1800, he says :—" I am much obliged to you for the notice you have been pleased to take of Marshall and his wife. He is a young fellow of good parts and considerable erudition, but a little of what we used to call at Eton ' a pretending fellow,' owing to his having lived too much with fine fellows in that noisy chaos, Devonshire House. I hope his marrying as comfortably as he has done will cure him of that defect."

Mr. and Mrs. Marshall seem to have been very popular socially. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell in his book " Excursions, Adventures and Field Sports in Ceylon " says :— " A gentleman and his lady, upon whose hospitality and friendship I had little or no claim, most kindly received me into their charming abode, situated on the sea-shore about three miles from Colombo, and it is to the care and attention of Mr. and Mrs. Marshall that I attribute my temporary recovery." Mr. J. P. Lewis seems to think that the guardian of the tree referred to in the following lines inscribed on a stone, which still stands near the Wellawatte Bridge, where at one time there was a banyan tree, may possibly have been Mrs. Marshall :—

To Him whose gracious aim in mercy bends,
And light and shade to all alike extends,
And guards the traveller on his weary way,
Shelters from storms and shades from solar ray,
Breathe one kind wish for her, one pious prayer,
Who made this sheltering tree her guardian care.
Fenced in from rude attacks the pendent roots,
Nourished and framed its tender infant shoots.
O traveller, if from milder climes you rove,
How dearly will you prize this Indian grove.
Pause then awhile, and ere you pass it by,
Give to Sophia's name one grateful sigh.
A.D. 1820.

But there is another claimant for this honour. Mr. Justice Walter Pereira once wrote as follows :—" My father knew all about this stone, and it is from him that I learnt that

Sophia referred to Lady Brownrigg, and that the lines were composed, and the memorial stone erected, by some officer of the Regiment stationed at Mount Lavinia. It seems that near the stone, by the wayside, there was at the time a magnificent Banyan tree, and Lady Brownrigg (or was it a sister of the Governor's—I forget) had the tree attended to, and the "pendent roots" so directed that the tree formed a beautiful bower or arch over the road."

In his latter days Marshall does not appear to have maintained the high character which he established during his early service in Ceylon. He lost his popularity, and it is said that he was kept out of the Executive Council for personal reasons. He is credited with having built Rock House, Modera House and Whist Bungalow, and this may well be, seeing that the Governor spoke of him as having "married comfortably." Another Civil Servant, Philip Anstruther, built Elie House about the same time, and Marshall, who was not kindly disposed towards him, secretly bought up the property on the opposite side of the road, and built a two-storeyed house on purpose to spoil the view of the Fort from Elie House.

On recovering from a serious illness, Marshall is reported to have exclaimed, "I have cheated the devil and Mr. Layard," his belief being that C. E. Layard, father of Sir C. P. Layard, had put off his departure for Europe in the hope of securing the reversion of the Auditor-Generalship in the event of his death. When Marshall was dying, an old friend of his, Mr. Bletterman, called to see him and advised him to think of his latter end. His reply is said to have been "in a strain of coarse levity unfit for printing, but quite characteristic of the man." When he eventually died, it was at his office where he had got himself removed.

The popular belief is that he was called "Iniquity" Marshall to distinguish him from a quondam contemporary, Sir Charles Marshall, but there may have been a deeper reason for the nickname. The story is told that he bought some land on the Colombo-Negombo road near the 7th mile-stone from Government, and in order to increase the extent he had

the mile-stone removed 100 yards further away during the night.

Sueter gives a slightly different explanation of the origin of the nickname. According to him, Marshall was suspended and remained unemployed from 1810 to 1816, owing to some irregularities in the Stamp Office. This seems to have so soured him that he got the name of "Iniquity," which says Mr. Sueter, "was not a mere antithesis to 'Equity Marshall,' . . . for did not he himself say in the thirties on recovering from an illness, that he had cheated the devil and Mr. Layard, the latter of whom was unemployed at the time, and coveted his post of Auditor-General ?"

Marshall died on 23rd January, 1841, in his 64th year without once having re-visited England, and was buried in the Galle Face Cemetery. A tablet was erected in St. Peter's Church, Fort, by his widow and two sons in memory of "an elegant classical scholar and a sincere Christian." "Marshall Street" in Mutwal was evidently named after him.

Gavin Hamilton (1798-1803), who came out with North and was appointed Principal Clerk of the Military Department, seems to have been an officer of more than ordinary experience. He acted as Private Secretary to Hugh Cleghorn and then to the Governor at the Pearl Fishery in 1799. He accompanied the latter in 1800 on his tour round the island, but only as far as Moratuwa. In January, 1803, while holding the office of Agent of Revenue and Commerce and Civil and Military Paymaster-General, he volunteered to accompany the troops in the field in the war against Kandy. His services were accepted by the Governor, and he was thanked for his zeal and activity. His death must have occurred about 11th February, 1803, on which day the Army reached Dambadeniya, where it had to halt four days "owing to the deficiency of supplies, chiefly attributed to the death of Mr. Hamilton, Collector of the Province of Colombo."

Hamilton put forward a scheme for bringing under cultivation the Mutturajawala swamp between Colombo and Negombo. The Governor highly approved of the plan, and

shortly afterwards, 2,000 labourers were employed on the work, which, however, was interrupted by the Kandyan War. When times were again normal, the matter was taken up for consideration, and it was decided not to proceed with the whole scheme, but only with the construction of a canal along the sea coast to Negombo. This canal was named after Hamilton.

It is a pity that a man with so fine a record should have done anything to cloud his reputation. North said of him that "he has my entire confidence," and yet it was found after his death that he had embezzled £19,675 for private trade. The amount was recovered from his estate.

A singularly unhappy fate overtook two of North's "boys of 13." SYLVESTER GORDON (1798-1803), who was an Assistant in the Chief Secretary's office, formed one of the party that accompanied Governor North on his tour round the island in 1800. He was promoted First Assistant to the Agent of Revenue and Commerce of Colombo, and met his death while on duty during the disastrous Kandyan Campaign of 1803.

ROBERT BARRY (1798-1803), preferred a Military to a Civil career and joined the Malay Regiment as an Ensign. He accompanied North during his tour round the island in charge of an escort of sixty Malays. He was appointed Fort Adjutant of Kandy on 31st March, 1803. The previous year he had figured in the proceedings of a Court Martial, and was reprimanded by General McDowall as "the leader of a faction among the officers of the Malay Corps" and as having "exhibited conduct extremely unbecoming his rank and years." The General further observed that "officers of more mature age and seniority had been incited to adopt his erroneous judgment." Barry was one of the officers who fell in the massacre at Watapuluwa on 26th June, 1803.

GEORGE LUSIGNAN (1798-1825), the last of North's "three boys of 13," was destined, after an early indiscretion, to rise to high office in the service. After holding various minor appointments, he was, on the death of Lieut-Colonel Barbut in 1803, appointed Agent of Revenue and Commerce

at Jaffna, being then only eighteen years of age. It was while holding this appointment that he fell into trouble. Civil Servants were not definitely prohibited at that time from engaging in private trade, and Lusignan began a large business on his own account with the help of one of his subordinates. According to Sueter, he "forced the Maniagars to take cloths and sheep, the property of himself and others, and obtained bonds from them for the price. He also had a weekly supply of eggs and fruits from the different bazaars, and a daily supply of fish gratis."

The natural result soon followed. Walter Frewen Lord in his biography of Sir Thomas Maitland says:—"The Collectorate of course was ruined, and the country-side was in dismay. Maitland felt that the case must be dealt with immediately. He sent for the Collector and remonstrated with him, but without effect. He sent for him a second time, and the Collector almost told him to mind his own business. The Governor was sorely tempted to make an example of him, for although he recognized that Lusignan had only acted foolishly, his proceedings had all the appearance, not only of incapacity, but of flagrant dishonesty. But nothing would induce the Governor to publicly reprimand a King's officer if he could by any possibility avoid doing so . . . the alternative course was that which the Governor adopted. He promoted the Collector from Jaffnapatam to Colombo. Here he had him under his own eye; and he persuaded the Collector of Colombo to exchange for Jaffnapatam . . . Thus appearances were saved." But there yet remained the question of the recovery of the arrears of revenue brought about by Lusignan's indiscretion. These balances the Governor was by no means disposed to forgo. He accordingly appointed a special officer to go into the matter. "Thus" says Mr. Lord, "everybody's susceptibilities were spared . . . But Maitland had not done with the peccant Collector yet. He summoned him before Council and gave him a last chance. By this time the Collector had begun to understand what crossing the Governor meant. He made his submission, promised to do better, and was dismissed

to his work with a reprimand, but not a public reprimand. Maitland immediately interceded for him with the Secretary of State. He was a very young man, he urged, and quite capable of doing good work in the future. He almost made it a personal matter that the young man should be forgiven, and forgiven he was."

Lusignan by his subsequent career justified the clemency shewn to him by the Governor. He rose steadily in the service, and in 1819 was appointed Deputy Secretary to Government and Secretary for the Kandyan Provinces. He held these appointments until his death. He did good work in connection with the Kandyan rebellion of 1818, and earned the Lieut-Governor's "never-ceasing obligations for the invaluable assistance he had afforded him by the unwearied exertions of those talents he so eminently possesses." Lusignan died in his 41st year and was buried in the Galle Face Cemetery.

The career of JOSEPH JOINVILLE in Ceylon (1798-1805), furnishes an instance of the diverse appointments which officers in the olden days were called upon to fill. Described as "a very learned naturalist" by North, he accompanied his patron to Ceylon to fill the post of "First Clerk for Natural History and Agriculture," North being of opinion that the cultivation of plants would be a source of revenue. But Joinville's energies were soon diverted into other channels. After superintending for a short time "the garden at Ortafula," he was appointed to look after the Cinnamon Plantations. "The permanent security of the Cinnamon Investment" wrote North, "and the resuscitation of the gardens from ruin and degradation to a state of the most vigorous and ample production are what we owe entirely to his exertions." In 1800 he accompanied the Embassy to Kandy as interpreter, and took the opportunity of making a collection of plants, which found a place in the British Museum. From 1800 to 1805 he was Surveyor-General. The experience he gained in the Kandyan country drew from him the observation that "with a better Government the country of Kandy itself would furnish such an abundance

of rice that, instead of the island requiring supplies, as at present, from the continent, considerable quantities of it might be exported." He served on a Committee appointed to prepare a Sinhalese-English Dictionary, and furnished reports on the Cinnamon industry and the natural history of the island. In 1803 he published a work entitled "On the Religions and Manners of the People of Ceylon" with an introductory letter from North. Some of the plates in Cordiner's "Description of Ceylon" were from drawings made by Joinville. He also made a translation of an interesting mythological poem written in Sinhalese in the 13th century, which North sent to the Secretary of State with the remark that it was "the first translation from that language into our own."

Anthony Bertolacci (1798-1814) came to Ceylon as North's Assistant Private Secretary for French correspondence, and retired as Controller-General of Customs and acting Civil Auditor-General. He was a Corsican by birth and had been an Assistant to North in Corsica. Being a man of some ability, he had come under the favourable notice of North, who invited him to accompany him to Ceylon. Bertolacci shewed such a remarkable aptitude for work that in six months' time he was appointed Postmaster-General. He discharged the duties of "Commissioner of Musters," presumably a sort of Military office, in addition to those of his substantive appointment, and also officiated for a short time as "Sitting Magistrate for the Pettah and suburbs of Colombo as far as Grandpass." He then successively held the appointments of Garrison Storekeeper, Deputy Paymaster-General, and Controller-General of Customs, finally acting as Civil Auditor-General in 1811. His retirement in 1814, on a pension of £500 a year, was said to be due to his having lost favour with Governor Maitland.

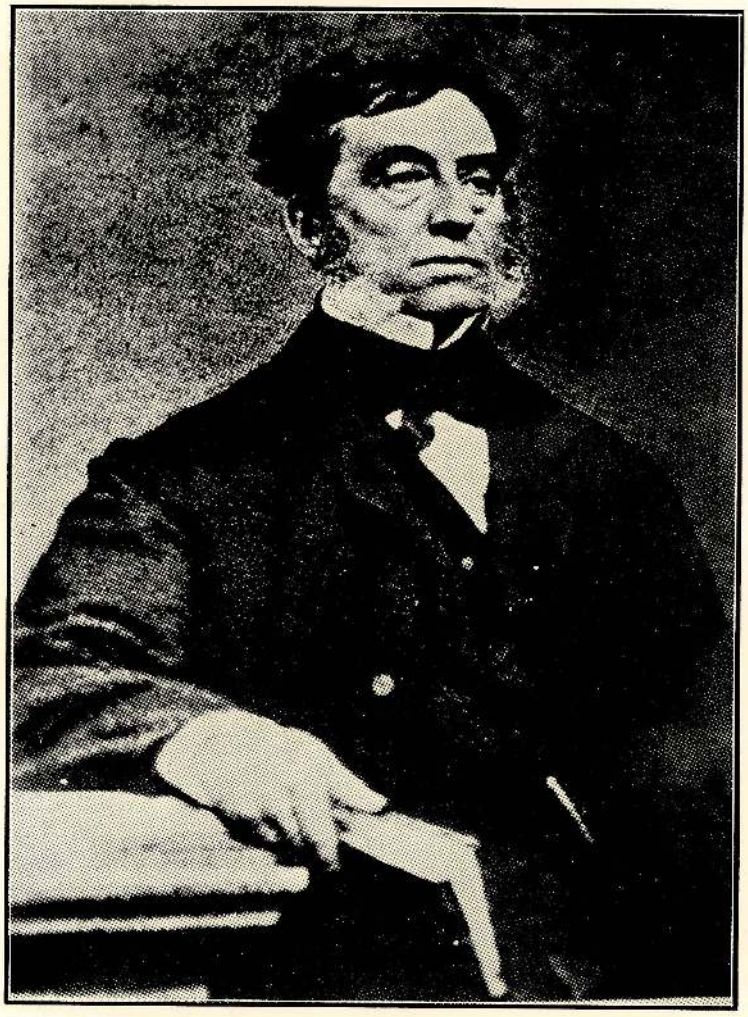
Bertolacci made a valuable contribution to the history of Ceylon. The book was published in 1817 under the title of "A view of the Agricultural, Commercial and Financial Interests of Ceylon," and has been described by a competent authority as "the only work ever written on the economics

or the economic history of Ceylon." Bertolacci also left behind a memorandum on the coinage of Ceylon in manuscript. Cordiner, who travelled in his company from Trincomalee to Colombo in 1799, testifies to his skill as an artist, which he had exercised in making some sketches of the Caves of Elephanta when he accompanied the Hon. Frederic North there the previous year. He lived for part of his time in Ceylon at Hulftsdorp in a house which was purchased for the Supreme Court in 1805.

JAMES SUTHERLAND (1799-1818) had two periods of service in Ceylon, one in a judicial and the other in a civil capacity. Described by North as "a regular Notary Public, long settled and much esteemed in that capacity at Madras," he was appointed in 1799 Registrar of the newly-formed Supreme Court. After a few years he resigned the appointment owing to a reduction of salary and returned to England. In 1808 he applied to the Secretary of State for re-employment in his former office. Lord Castlereagh, in recommending the application to the Governor, expressed the hope that "in addition to his former employment, you will give him such employment as you may have it in your power to put into his hands arising from the law business of the island; and in case you should not be able to employ him in that line, I hope you may be enabled to place him in a situation in which his professional knowledge and general talents may be applied with advantage to the service of the settlement."

In accordance with the Secretary of State's wishes, Sutherland was absorbed into the Civil Service, and from 1812 to 1815 he was Deputy Secretary to the Home and Judicial Department, and Private Secretary to the Governor. In the latter year he was appointed Secretary for the Kandyan Provinces. He went on leave to England in December, 1817, and died a year later of "typhus fever."

Like Henry Augustus Marshall, who had preceded him to Ceylon in 1798, James Sutherland was a great scholar. It is said that "he was familiarly acquainted with all the best Latin and English poets. The works of Burns he had nearly by heart, and he was alive with peculiar warmth to the



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beauties of that genius who sang with such exquisite simplicity and pathos in the dialect of his own country the feelings and affections of universal nature." As regards his general disposition, "it was affable and obliging, and throughout the whole intercourse of private society there was a natural suavity in his manner which could not fail to conciliate kindness and esteem."

Shortly before Sutherland's departure from Ceylon, his two children, who had been sent to Scotland for their education, returned to Ceylon. One of them, "an intelligent and amiable youth about sixteen years of age," was, at his father's request, taken charge of by the Wesleyan Missionaries, and in course of time was received on trial as a Missionary.

JAMES DUNKIN (1799-1808) was the first holder of judicial office under the British. Writing to the Court of Directors on the 16th July, 1799, North said:—"I have appointed to act as judge of appeal James Dunkin Esq., a barrister of great respectability and long standing at the Bar, both at Dublin and Calcutta, who is well versed in Civil Law as well as the Common Law of England. The salary I have fixed at 400 pagodas per mensem. In all Criminal cases, and in the appeal of the most important Civil ones, I shall preside in Court in person according to my proclamation. The great saving of time which I must otherwise have applied to my judicial duties, and the inestimable advantage of having those duties executed by a person intelligent in the theory, and accustomed to the practice of the Law, will, I am confident, fully compensate in your opinion the increase of expense which is, indeed, as inconsiderable as the necessary dignity and independence of the office will allow."

North could not speak too highly of Dunkin's capacity. In a later letter to the Court of Directors he says:—"I am also very pleased with my old judge, who is indefatigable and makes excellent decisions." Dunkin is referred to by Cordiner as being "one of the judges of the Supreme Court" in 1800, in which capacity he accompanied North on his tour round the island in that year. On 19th February, 1801, he was appointed Advocate Fiscal of Ceylon, and

submitted to Government a "Criminal Code for the Island of Ceylon." From 1802 to 1806 he was employed in various judicial capacities in Jaffna, where he wanted "to lease the ground in Wannarponna, formerly the dwelling place of the Dutch Company's slaves." In appointing him President of the Provincial Court of Jaffnapatam, North wrote as follows to the Secretary of State:—"The services of that very respectable Magistrate Mr. Dunkin have been acknowledged in so handsome a manner by Your Lordship, and are so strongly felt throughout these settlements, that I certainly do not conceive I have acted in any manner contrary to the intention of Government in investing him with an office which his intimate acquaintance with the country gives him every facility of executing with advantage, as well as the high personal respect he has acquired among the natives." Dunkin died on 16th October, 1808, aged 78.

The first mention of WILLIAM ORR (1800-1817) is in North's letter to the Court of Directors, dated 30th August, 1800, in which he is described as "a gentleman bred to the sea, who is just going to make the tour of the Mahagam Pattoo, the most uncultivated and least populous tract in the settlements, which produces a vast abundance of salt." Orr embodied his observations on this journey in a report which he presented to the Governor at Trincomalee on 25th September, 1800. This was published by Cordiner in Volume II. of his work on Ceylon. In consequence of this report, which met with the Governor's high approbation, Orr was appointed Resident of Mahagam Pattoo, with the powers of Fiscal and Civil Magistrate. In 1802 he was appointed "Superintendent of the Cotton Plantation at Carselle" (Karisal, in Mannar Island), and in the same year he was suspended and committed for trial before the Supreme Court for ill-treating two coolies by giving them "18 or 20 stripes with a rattan." The charge was enquired into at Mannar by George Lusignan, the Assistant Collector, who found Orr blameless. The cotton plantation was sold in 1804, and Orr became successively Customs Master at

Jaffna and Trincomalee, at which latter place it is believed "Orr's Hill" is named after him.

After serving successively as an Assistant in the Paymaster-General's office and as Sitting Magistrate of Negombo, Orr was appointed Collector of Matara, but his administration of the District does not appear to have been a conspicuous success. Writing to the Governor in 1813, the Secretary of State observed :—"The state of the whole Matara District as reported by the judges on their circuit and confirmed by yourself on inspection during your tour is of a much more serious nature as affecting Mr. Orr's fitness for a situation, the principal duty of which is to watch over the prosperity of the district committed to his charge." His next appointment was as Commissioner of Stamps, where, too, he got into trouble, and was sent as Collector of Mannar. Here he fell foul of Theile, the Sitting Magistrate of Vidataltivu. Boake in his "Manual of the Mannar District" refers to the incident as follows :—"The Governor rather snubs them both, telling Theile that he is 'an assuming young man' and advising Orr that he should have sent his instructions to the headmen through Theile ; so I suppose a Sitting Magistrate in those days was regarded somewhat in the light of a sitting hen. He might 'sit' but was not to be sat upon by a Collector." Orr died at Colombo on 9th February, 1817, at the house of Robert Boyd, Commissioner of Revenue.

CHAPTER III.

THE SECOND BATCH OF CIVIL SERVANTS

The resignation of Cleghorn and the return of the Madras Officials to India, coupled with the gradual extension of the field of administration, paved the way for the establishment of an exclusive Ceylon Civil Service. In 1801 the Secretary of State sent out a batch of new Civil Servants, who arrived in Ceylon by the East Indiaman, the *Henry Dundas*, on 10th September. They consisted of eight senior men, and thirteen junior men from sixteen to twenty years of age, who had been educated with a view to their appointment to India as Writers. The names of the twenty-one were Robert Arbuthnot, James Scott Hay, Samuel Tolfrey, Alexander Wood, George Melville Leslie, George Arbuthnot, David Erskine, Robert Boyd, Charles Manage, John William Carrington, Alexander Cadell, John D'Oyly, Alexander Johnston, John McDowall, Richard Bourne, John Davidson, Joseph Wright, Edward Tolfrey, William Erskine Campbell, James Allardyce Barclay and William Montgomery. These, together with the men who survived the North regime, constituted the new Ceylon Civil Service.

The addition of so many new men to the small English circle at Colombo must have been an event of considerable social importance. The English Society at this time, according to Cordiner, consisted of about one hundred gentlemen and twenty ladies. It does not appear that many of the new Civil Servants were married men, or, if they were, that they brought their wives with them. In one case—that of the Tolfreys—both father and son came out together. The landing of this large party was watched with much interest by those on shore, who were anxious to offera hearty welcome to the new arrivals.

North was well pleased with the general appearance of the new Civil Servants, and said so to the Secretary of State. From the very start he took a paternal interest in their welfare, and was determined that they should not fall victims to the many dangers surrounding them in their new and strange environment. "Being perfectly aware of the advantages which must result from their being kept under the eye of Government," he wrote to the Secretary of State, "I am preparing for their reception, and that of those who are to follow in the *Manship*, a range of buildings appertaining to my Government House, where I intend to establish them under somewhat of a Collegiate discipline, deducting stoppages for their common mess from their pay, and entrusting the immediate execution of the regulations which I shall make for their conduct to Mr. John Angus, a young gentleman of peculiar good sense and steadiness of character, who has served here for the last six months as an Assistant in the Secretary's office, in which situation I have ventured to continue him."

Robert Arbuthnot (1801–1806), the son of a banker of that name, was born about 1760 or 1761, and was for a short time in the Army, being present at the Siege of Gibraltar, 1779–1783. He was subsequently Private Secretary to Sir Robert Murray Keith, British Ambassador at Vienna. He was chosen to be the companion of Prince Augustus, Duke of Sussex, in some of his European travels—a post of great responsibility. In 1801 Robert Arbuthnot came out to Ceylon to take up the post of Chief Secretary. Being the senior member of the party, he was the bearer of a despatch from the Hon. Henry Dundas to Governor North regarding the qualifications of the new recruits for the Civil Service. He seems to have gone first to the Secretariat, but did not find the Governor there. His brother George, however, who called on the Governor at his private residence, had better luck, for the Governor was at home, and remained in close conversation with him for about four hours before his brother arrived. The Tolfreys followed soon after, but

we have no record of any of the other candidates having called on the Governor.

Robert Arbuthnot had a short career in Ceylon. He was made a Judge of the Lesser Court of Appeal, and on the formation on 8th March, 1803, of the "Colombo Militia," he was appointed Major Commandant. He accompanied the Governor to the Pearl Fishery of 1802, and also on his grand tour to Jaffna, Point Pedro, Trincomalee, Mullaitivu, through the Vanni to Chilaw, and thence back to Colombo. He was with him too on his tour through the Seven Korales at the end of April, 1803. Mrs. P. S. M. Arbuthnot in her book "Memories of the Arbuthnots" speaks very highly of his conduct during the troublous times of 1803. "All through the appalling days after news of the massacre of British troops at Kandy reached Colombo, Mr. North, whose coolness and presence of mind seem momentarily to have deserted him, is said to have found his chief support, and to have placed his utmost reliance, on the calm judgment and fearless confidence of his Secretary." A similar tribute was paid to him by his brother George. In a letter to his mother he says :— "When both Mr. North and General McDowall have been overpowered by mental affliction, my brother's energy and activity have increased. His sound, cool head and his strong nerves have never for a moment forsaken him. You and my father may be proud of having such a son."

Robert Arbuthnot was of much assistance to North in the difficult task which confronted him of laying the foundation of the new Civil Service, and the Governor was not slow to express his great indebtedness to his Chief Secretary. Writing to the Secretary of State he said :— "The indefatigable attention of Mr. Arbuthnot to all the duties of his office, his cordial co-operation with every branch of the service, his vigilance in redressing every grievance or preventing every abuse, and his clear and comprehensive views of the interests of these Settlements will, I trust, besides their immediate effect on the affairs of the Government, secure the permanent and zealous good behaviour of all the public servants, who are subject to his intuition or liable to be swayed by his example."

Arbuthnot retired in 1806 and returned to Europe. His promising career was cut short prematurely. He sailed from Cadiz in 1809, but the vessel was never heard of again, and was assumed to have foundered. By his will, which was proved on 27th March, 1810, by his brother William, he left, in addition to various bequests to near relations, an intaglio ring to Mr. North, together with £100 to buy a piece of plate "as a mark of my respectable regard and attachment." In a *Ceylon Government Gazette* of the year 1875, it is stated that "the Civil Servants of His Majesty's Government in this island, his contemporaries, voted for his acceptance a piece of plate, as a small memorial of their esteem, but had to deplore his loss by shipwreck before their intention could be carried out."

George Arbuthnot's career in Ceylon (1801–1803) was even shorter than that of his brother Robert, through whose influence he was appointed Deputy Secretary. "The younger brother" says Lewis, "had all the shrewdness with which the Scotch are usually credited, and also, as appears from his subsequent career, great business capacity." In a letter to a friend Arbuthnot says :— "The salary attached to my office is £1,000 a year, of which, I think I shall be able to save one-half, but I must endeavour to lay up something more, otherwise you will be fourscore before I can expect to see you again." He was not, however, satisfied with his prospects in Ceylon, and was looking about "to see if there be not any trade that might be carried on to advantage, and I have been attracted by one which I think might be managed without any impropriety in my official situation." Arbuthnot is here referring to a trade in gold with the Coast of Coromandel. If gold coins were obtained in Coromandel, they could be disposed of in Ceylon at a considerable premium, and this traffic appeared to him both simple and lucrative. But with his native caution he adds :— "But I must study it a great deal more before I begin to act." To embark on the scheme Arbuthnot wanted £2,000, whereas he had only saved £700 in twelve months out of his salary of £1,000, which was, however, more than he had hoped to be able to

do. He accepted an appointment in the firm of Lautour & Co., Bankers in Madras, and left for that place in October, 1802, presumably to make arrangements for taking up his post. He returned to Ceylon on 9th February, 1803, and resigned from the Service on 20th April.

The next twenty years of George Arbuthnot's life were spent in Madras, where he founded the firm of Arbuthnot & Co. He acted in Madras as Agent for the Government of Ceylon. He was so successful in business that in 1824 he was able to purchase valuable house property in England. He died on 3rd November, 1843, in his 71st year.

A very good idea of Colombo in 1801 may be obtained from the following extract from a letter written by George Arbuthnot to a friend :— "I shall only say that every day I pass here confirms me in the favourable opinion I formed on my arrival of the beauty of the country and the pleasantness of the climate. In the morning and evening there is a freshness in the air that is quite delightful, and although the heat during the day is greater than we generally have it in England, yet there are so many precautions taken against it, that upon the whole I do not think one ever feels so much oppressed as you do in a hot July day in our own country. The houses in Ceylon are the strangest-looking, unfinished, and unfurnished places that can be imagined, but they are excellently well contrived for coolness. In the whole city of Colombo there is but one house of two stories, which is inhabited by General McDowall, a bother of Garthlands. All the others have but one, and very few of them have any covering to the apartments except the tiles upon the roof."

The Tolfrey family is remarkable for the fact that no fewer than three members of it were in the Ceylon Civil Service at one and at the same time, and all rose to distinction. SAMUEL TOLFREY and his son Edward arrived together in Ceylon in the *Henry Dundas* in 1801. The former was reported by the Secretary of State as qualified for one of the higher appointments, and was appointed a member of the Board of Revenue on £1,500 a year. His next appointment was that

of Civil Auditor-General. He seems to have been a close student of the Sinhalese language, for we are told that he made a collection of Sinhalese words, which, on his departure to England, he presented to the Government and received in return a handsome remuneration. Sir John D'Oyly was requested to prepare the work for the Press, but this he declined to do, as it contained only a small number of Sinhalese words, and scarcely any of the "high" words, as it had been compiled for the purpose of assisting Government Servants to acquire a knowledge of Sinhalese for their daily routine, "without any reference to the literature of the country." The undertaking was also declined by William Tolfrey on the same ground. Finally, in 1820, the Revd. Benjamin Clough of the Wesleyan Mission was invited to complete the work, which he did in 1830. Samuel Tolfrey also translated the Sinhalese Grammar called *Sidathsangarawa* and wrote an account of the caste system among the Sinhalese.

Samuel Tolfrey retired in 1810, presumably returned to England, and died in 1827. His widow offered Government the manuscript of a Portuguese Dictionary, compiled by him, and she was given £500 for it.

Edward Tolfrey (1801–1821) came out to Ceylon at the age of 17. In January, 1820, he was appointed Judicial Commissioner of Kandy. In the following year he entered a Delft horse at the first race meeting held at Kandy, of which we have any record. The result is not specifically stated, but the honours were apparently with Tolfrey's horse, for the *Gazette*, which records the event, states that "The races established the superiority of the Delft stud over some private horses imported from the Gulph." Mr. J. P. Lewis remarks that this conclusion would have gladdened the heart of Mr. Ievers, had he known of it when he was engaged heart and soul in endeavouring to revive the traditional but irrecoverable glories of Delft as a horse-breeding centre.

Tolfrey died in Kandy on 9th August, 1821, and was buried in the Garrison Cemetery. The *Government Gazette* of the day, in recording his death, said :— "Mr. Tolfrey was one of those gentlemen sent out to Ceylon in the first establish-

ment of the Civil Service in 1801, and in the several situations which he held under Government performed his duties with credit to himself and utility to the public. In private life his amiable and friendly disposition secured to him general esteem, and his loss to those who were most intimately acquainted with him is proportionate to their means of appreciating the value of his friendship."

WILLIAM TOLFREY (1806–1817) achieved the highest possible distinction in the short space of eleven years. He had an eventful career before arriving in Ceylon. He went in 1794 to India where his father resided, and was nominated an Ensign in the 76th Regiment. He served through the Mysore War and the Mahratta Campaign of 1803. He was promoted to the 74th Regiment, and was Brigade-Major at the Battle of Assaye. He sold out in 1805, and the next year when the Regiment was called home, he came to Ceylon on a visit to his uncle, Samuel Tolfrey. After filling one or two minor appointments, he was in 1811 appointed Assistant to the Commissioner of Revenue. Five years later he succeeded D'Oyly as Chief Translator to the Government. He studied Sanscrit, Pali, Hindustani and Tamil, and also revised his knowledge of Greek. He translated the Pali Grammar called *Balavatara* which the Revd. Benjamin Clough carried through the press after his death. His other works include a "List of Medical Works in the hands of the native practitioners in Ceylon;" but his chief title to fame is a translation of part of the Bible, which has been described as one of the most scholarly translations in the Sinhalese language. At the time of his death he had completed a Pali translation of the New Testament as far as the Epistle to Philemon, and a Sinhalese translation to the end of the Second Chapter of the Second Epistle to Timothy.

Tolfrey died on 3rd January, 1817, at the age of 39, and was buried in St. Peter's, Fort. According to the *Government Gazette* of the day, "his death was attributed by the medical gentlemen in a great degree to the intense assiduity with which he had discharged the duties of his public office, and performed the pious task which he had voluntarily imposed

upon himself of translating the Scriptures into the Sinhalese and Pali languages." He left behind a valuable collection of Oriental books and olas, which was purchased by the Wesleyan Mission for 1,000 rix dollars.

J. W. Bennett in his book "Ceylon and its Capabilities" attributes Tolfrey's death to a different cause. According to him, it was indirectly due to the Uva rebellion. Tolfrey, as Chief Interpreter, was daily receiving anonymous but friendly *Olas* from loyal natives in the interior, regarding the projected rebellion and the Government's danger through the intended treachery of Eheylapola. But these warnings were disregarded, and "Tolfrey himself was thought scarcely less than a lunatic for viewing them in a more serious light. . . . He was constitutionally of a melancholy turn of mind, and the excitement which had at first driven him to madness ended in death."

Alexander Wood (1801–1811) was one of those described in the Hon. Henry Dundas' despatch to Governor North as "arrived at that period of life and possessing such knowledge of business as warrants his being recommended for a situation of about £1,000 per annum." In accordance with this recommendation he was appointed to Chilaw as "Fiscal President of the Land Raad and Registrar of Lands" on a salary of 750 rix dollars a month. He succeeded Gavin Hamilton as Commissioner of Revenue at Colombo. He held a Commission as Captain in the "Colombo Militia," and in the same month he led an expedition to Atigala, adjoining Hanwella, against Leuke Ralahami, the Dissawe of the Four Korales. He acted as Deputy Judge Advocate-General during the absence of T. W. Kerr of the 2nd Ceylon Regiment, and was appointed in 1805 Civil and Military Paymaster-General. Wood was one of Sir Thomas Maitland's favourites, and left with him on 14th March, 1811, retiring from the Ceylon Civil Service on 1st April of that year. It is believed that he held other appointments under Maitland in the Levant, and finally retired as Sir Alexander Wood. He died between 1847 and 1850.

John D'Oyly (1801–1824) was educated at Westminster

School, where he is said to have been a contemporary of Bishop Heber, and at Cambridge, where he was a Commoner and afterwards Fellow of Benet's (Corpus Christi) College. He took his degree as a Senior Optime in 1796, and was second for the Chancellor's medal, being beaten by Sir Samuel Butler, afterwards Headmaster of Shrewsbury and Bishop of Lichfield. He owed his appointment as Writer to the interest taken in him by the Earl of Liverpool, some time Secretary of State for the Colonies. On 6th July, 1803, he was appointed President of the Provincial Court of Matara, and on 22nd February, 1804, Agent of Revenue and Commerce for the same District. Two months later the District of Galle was united under his charge with that of Matara.

As a reward for his proficiency in Sinhalese, D'Oyly was in 1805 appointed Chief Translator to the Government, a post which he held until he resigned it in June, 1816. He was appointed in 1806 Agent for Revenue and Commerce for the District of Colombo, a title which in 1808 was changed to that of Collector. In his capacity as Chief Translator he was entrusted with all the negotiations with the Court of Kandy, and a record of his work is to be found in his Diary, which was discovered in the Kandy Kachcheri, and published in 1917 with an introduction and notes by Mr. H. W. Codrington.

In August, 1814, D'Oyly was appointed Civil Auditor-General and Chief Translator, and three months later Military Auditor-General. In the War of 1815 he was attached to the troops as Commissioner of His Excellency the Governor, and was entrusted with the negotiations with the Kandyan Chiefs. He was next appointed Resident of the newly acquired Kandyan Provinces and Member of His Majesty's Council in Ceylon, and in September of the following year he was gazetted Resident and First Commissioner of the Board formed to administer the affairs of the late Kandyan Kingdom. The services he had rendered fully deserved the Baronetcy conferred on him in 1821, but he did not live long to enjoy the dignity, as he died in Kandy on 25th May, 1824, in his fiftieth year, of fever contracted in the Seven

Korales. His remains were interred in the Garrison Cemetery, where a monument to his memory exists. A copy of the inscription appears also on a tablet in St. Peter's, Fort.

Another work of D'Oyly's is his "Sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom," which was communicated by Sir Alexander Johnston to the Royal Asiatic Society. It was read at a meeting held on 7th May, 1831, and printed in the transactions of that Society. It was later published by the Ceylon Government. It is said that D'Oyly sent home some translations of Sinhalese poems, but there is no trace of these now.

An amusing reference to D'Oyly appears in the "Life of the Right Hon'ble Sir James Mackintosh," who visited Ceylon in 1810. Writing about Colombo, Mackintosh says :— "Among the society are three old Westminsters—Twisleton, Coke and D'Oyly. D'Oyly, you recollect, was one of the party who rowed us in 1799 from Cambridge to Ely. He is the only Cingalese scholar in the Ceylon Civil Service, and like many Orientalists has almost become a native in his habits of life. He lives on a plantain, invites nobody to his house, and does not dine abroad, and seems an amiable though uncouth recluse. When I saw him come in to dinner at Mr. Wood's, I was struck with the change of a Cambridge boy into a Cingalese hermit, looking as old as I do."

It is interesting to know Mr. Sueter's estimate of D'Oyly. "If we were asked to name" he says, "the greatest of all the Ceylon Civil Servants, the reply would have to be John D'Oyly. He devoted his life to gaining a knowledge of the Sinhalese, to winning the adherence of the Chiefs, and to administering the new territory as Resident and First Commissioner of the Board of Kandyan Commissioners."

ALEXANDER CADELL (1801–1821) was, on his arrival in the island, appointed Assistant in the Chief Secretary's office, and rose in the brief space of two years to be Collector of Colombo. He was appointed Civil and Military Paymaster-General shortly after he had completed five years' service in Ceylon. He seems to have been a man who was fond of the good things of this world, for when Lady William

Bentinck, accompanied by the Governor and Staff, paid a visit to Negombo for a few days in 1805, embarking "on the new canal"—probably the one built by Hamilton, Cadell's predecessor—Cadell, as Collector of the District, entertained the party to "an elegant collation." On 25th October, 1820, he gave "a grand dinner" to Sir Edward Barnes, at which upwards of fifty guests were present. After this, it is not surprising to hear that he died "of liver complaint which began to assume an alarming appearance" on 3rd February, 1821.

The Colombo Kachcheri stands on land that belonged to Cadell and was known as Cadell's Garden or Cadell Dissawegewatte. About 3½ acres of it were purchased by Government from his executors shortly after his death for the sum of £600. He was the first Treasurer of the Colombo Auxiliary Bible Society, and subscribed 100 rix dollars towards the building of the Pettah Wesleyan Chapel. A granite obelisk marks the spot where he was buried in the Galle Face Cemetery.

THE HON. GEORGE MELVILLE LESLIE (1801–1803) was the fifth son of the sixth Earl of Leven. He succeeded Joinville as Superintendent of the Cinnamon Plantations, and was next appointed Paymaster-General of Ceylon. On 27th November, 1802, he married Miss Jacomina Gertruida van de Graaf, only daughter of the Dutch Governor of that name, and niece of Governor van Angelbeek. Mr. J. P. Lewis mentions that "Mrs. Leslie was only 15 when she undertook the duties of huysvrouw and 16 when she had to face those of motherhood." After the wedding ceremony "a most elegant and sumptuous entertainment" was given by the bride's uncle and aunt, Mr. and Mrs. Christiaan van Angelbeek, at their residence in Colpetty, at which Governor North and the leading residents of Colombo were present. This was followed a few days later by "an elegant ball and supper" given by the Governor in honour of the married couple. With such an auspicious start, one would have expected their married life to be a very happy one. But the following year a deficit of nearly £10,000 was found in Leslie's accounts. It is not very clear whether he misappropriated this money

himself, or was the victim of another's dishonesty. In any event he was reduced in office in April, 1803, and would probably have suffered further punishment had not Mr. Christiaan van Angelbeek come to his rescue. The late Governor van Angelbeek had owned the site on which Queen's House now stands, together with certain buildings. Mr. Christiaan van Angelbeek, as executor of the Estate, very generously offered to hand over these premises to Government at its own valuation of 35,000 rix dollars in part payment of the deficit, and this was accordingly done by deed dated 17th January, 1804. The balance was eventually made up by about the end of 1805 in cash and Dutch *Kredit brieven*.

The next we hear of Leslie is in connection with an application made by him in 1805 to the Consistory of the Wolvendaal Church through Government for permission to put up two painted and emblazoned tablets to the memory of Mrs. van de Graaf and Mrs. van Angelbeek. The necessary permission was granted and the memorial tablets erected in due course. Leslie seems to have left Ceylon after this, with his wife and daughter, and settled in England, where he died in 1812. His daughter lived until 1892, dying unmarried at the age of 89.

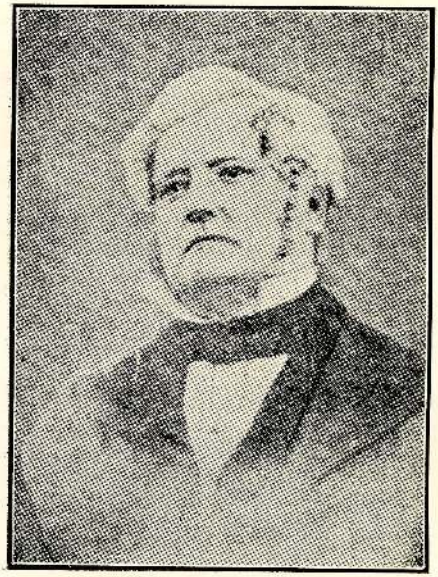
The career of WILLIAM ERSKINE CAMPBELL (1801–1806) partook more of a Military than a Civil character. On 17th August, 1803, while Assistant to the Agent of Revenue at Chilaw, he marched from that place in the morning "with twelve Malay invalids and eight old Dutch Seapoys to Palanne, one league within the Candian territories, where he arrived at 10 o'clock a.m., drove away the Candians collected there, burned their newly-erected barracks and five store rooms containing fifteen hundred parrahs of rice and paddee, and took the person next in rank to the Corle, prisoner." For this exploit he received the thanks of the Governor, who "highly appreciated the vigour, activity, and spirit shown by Campbell on this occasion." Ten days later, "the feeble and almost untenable fortress of Chilaw was completely beset by an immense multitude of Candians. They erected batteries in all directions round it, and many of their shot

fell amongst the garrison, which at this time consisted only of twenty-five seapoys" in charge of Campbell and John Deane. The ammunition of the garrison was soon exhausted, and for twenty-four hours they kept the enemy at bay by firing copper coins for lack of grape shot. For these services Campbell and Deane were given the rank of Ensign.

Campbell was next transferred to Trincomalee as Agent of Revenue, and a year later was appointed to Batticaloa in the same capacity. He died on 22nd July, 1806, presumably in Batticaloa.

WILLIAM RICHARD MONTGOMERY (1801–1814) had a varied service during his residence of thirteen years in the island. He held several revenue and judicial appointments, among them that of Collector of Jaffna and the Wanni. He also filled the office of Superintendent of Cinnamon Plantations and acted as Garrison Storekeeper. Towards the end of 1813 or early in 1814 his health failed him and he took a sea voyage to Calcutta. He died on board on the return journey at the age of 32. The *Government Gazette* of the day paid the following tribute to the departed officer :— "High-minded, liberal and sincere, he was an honour to the establishment of which he was a member, and the delight and love of the society he adorned. His memory will long survive in the regrets of his afflicted family, and in the fond affections of a numerous circle of friends, whom his many virtues and amiable qualities had bound to him by no common tie." Montgomery married the widow of Surgeon T. A. Reeder, whose Journal of a Tour round Ceylon forms Chapter XIX. of Cordiner's book, vol. II.

The period 1801–1804 seems to have been a very unfortunate one for the Service, judging from the number of deaths which took place. Like the last-named officer, JAMES ALLARDYCE BARCLAY (1801–1804) took a trip to the adjoining Continent for the benefit of his health, and died at Madras in April, 1804. He left an estate valued at 2,509 rix dollars. He served at Batticaloa, Colombo and Trincomalee, his last appointment being that of Agent of Revenue. JAMES SCOTT HAY (1801–1803) was one of those who were reported as



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"qualified for higher appointments." Accordingly, on 11th February, 1802, he was appointed Civil and Judicial Auditor in addition to his appointment as member of the Board of Revenue, to which, with Samuel Tolfrey, he had been gazetted on his arrival. He left for Europe by the *Bengal* on 27th November, 1802, for the benefit of his health, and died on the voyage home. According to Sueter, the death of Hay was due to a mental disorder, as was also that of JOHN DAVIDSON.

CHARLES MANAGE (1801–1803), one of the young men between the ages of 15 and 20 years, volunteered his services to conduct a number of coolies to the British Camp before Kandy, and caught "an intermittent epidemical disorder called the jungle fever." In order to shake off the effects of this attack, he obtained leave to proceed to sea for the benefit of his health, and left Trincomalee in the ship *Diana* with ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, who was Deputy Paymaster-General of the Eastern Division. Manage died at sea on 20th April, 1803, and Johnston was suspended in connection with some irregularities in Trincomalee, but was afterwards re-employed. He died on 13th January, 1813, while holding the appointment of Sitting Magistrate of Biagam (Weligama).

Very little information is available regarding some of the other early Civil Servants. RICHAD BOURNE (1801–1803) died on 15th May, 1803, while holding the appointment of First Assistant to the Agent of Revenue and Commerce at Colombo. JOHN MACDOWALL (1801–1806), who was a nephew of General Hay Macdowall, died at Calcutta, to which place he had evidently gone for the benefit of his health. JOSEPH WRIGHT (1801–1803) was, in the words of the Secretary of State, one of the "young men from 15 to 20 years, of competent talents, who in general have been educated with a view of going out as Writers to India." His first appointment was as Assistant in the Chief Secretary's office, and at the time of his death he was officiating as Second Assistant to the Agent of Revenue at Colombo. Lewis thinks he probably fell a victim to the "endemial fever," which was prevailing in the interior of the island.

DAVID ERSKINE'S career is of special interest in view of the fact that it gives us a glimpse of the office system in vogue in the early days of British rule. Then, as now, the necessity for condensation of correspondence was felt, and special measures were adopted to that end. We find North writing thus to the Secretary of State :— "The nomination of Mr. David Erskine to the office of Précis Writer would not have taken place, had I not before the arrival of that gentleman received the news of the death of his elder brother, Colonel Erskine, in Egypt; and as I expected (what came to pass) his early recall to Europe, I thought that a general occupation of that nature would make his talents of more utility to Government than the employment of them for three months in cleansing away the filth of a Landraad, or learning the intricate and confined business of a Cutchery."

North's anticipations regarding Erskine's early recall were realized. The latter shortly afterwards resigned from the Service, and with his departure the post of Précis Writer was suppressed.

JOHN WILLIAM CARRINGTON (1801–1829) had a long but uneventful career. As early as 1816 he had risen to be Vice-Treasurer, and retired in 1829 while still holding this appointment, on a pension of £600, which he was drawing as late as 1844. He was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Ceylon Literary Society established in 1820. He subscribed 100 rix dollars towards the erection of the Pettah Wesleyan Chapel. He married a daughter of Frederick Baron Mylius, Judge of the Provincial Court of Galle and Matara.

JOHN DEANE (1802–1825) arrived early in 1802, along with another small batch of Civil Servants, which included Robert Boyd, who has already been referred to. He was Provincial Judge of Puttalam in 1803, and, as already stated, helped W. E. Campbell in that year to repel the attack of the Kandyans on the fortress of Chilaw. In process of time he became Collector of Colombo, and gave his name to the mis-spelt Dean's Road, but it is curious that Cordiner himself spells the name without the final e. Deane did good work in connection with the Uva rebellion, and received the thanks

of the Lieutenant-Governor for his "exertions which have been unremitting and most essential." He seems to have been instrumental in raising a corps of native militia. He was the first Treasurer of the Ceylon Literary Society, which was established in 1820. He was Vice-Treasurer in 1822. He retired in 1825, and died in 1840.

NICHOLAS SAUMAREZ (1802–1804) was sent out by the Secretary of State to fill the office of President of the Board of Revenue and Commerce. North, however, was not advised of this intention, and as the new Secretary to Government, Robert Arbuthnot, arrived before Saumarez, the former was appointed President of the Board, an appointment which he relinquished on the arrival of Saumarez. We next find Saumarez officiating in 1804 as Vice-Treasurer a post which he resigned on 1st May of that year, being succeeded by the Hon. John Rodney. Saumarez was still in Ceylon in 1804, having been unable to secure a passage to England sooner.

THOMAS EDEN (1802–1830) was Provincial Judge of Colombo in 1816, and Vice-Treasurer the following year. He retired in 1830 as Deputy Secretary to the Government on a pension of £600 per annum, which he was drawing in 1844. He married on 4th June, 1810, the third daughter of the Hon. John Rodney.

RICHARD PLASKETT (1802–1814) seems to have been one of the ablest Civil Servants of this period. He was Civil Auditor-General from 1809 to 1814, and was in high favour with Governor Maitland. On his death in 1847, at the age of 65, the *Gentlemen's Magazine* referred to him as follows :— "Early in life he filled an appointment in the Colonial Department. He was, subsequently, employed as a private and public Secretary to the Governments of Ceylon, Malta, and the Cape of Good Hope. The important duties of these offices he discharged for a period of 26 years with so much satisfaction to the Home Administration, that in consideration of his eminent services he was nominated a Knight of the Order of St. Michael and St. George on its institution in 1818."

The first mention of JOHN GEORGE KERBY is in a despatch from North to the Secretary of State in which he explained that Kerby was sent out "at a very considerable expense to an office which nothing but the war could have made profitable, and which had during the six months preceding his arrival given seven rix dollars and a half, or sixteen shillings to the person whom I had provisionally named to act for him. Under these circumstances the poor man would have been inevitably ruined if I had not, with Mr. Leslie's consent, placed him in his pay office in an employment for which he is perfectly well fitted with a salary of 150 rix dollars per mensem." An order in the *Ceylon Governmen Gazette*, dated, 31st January, 1803, directed Kerby "to join the army to assist in the payment of the Troops." He performed these duties so well that he was soon given the appointment of Deputy Paymaster-General, Eastern Division, on a salary of £1,000 a year. On 28th December, 1803, he was absorbed into the Civil Service as "Collector of Sea Customs, Colombo," and on 23rd October, 1805, he became "Agent of Revenue and Customs Master, Trincomalee." The decision to give him civil employment was a disastrous one for the Ceylon Government. According to Walter Frewen Lord, Kerby "committed suicide rather than survive to see his accounts inspected. The loss to Government . . . was not much under £20,000, but with time the greater part of this sum was recovered."

HENRY PETER JOHN LAYARD (1803–1814) was the first to bear this well-known name in the service of the Ceylon Government. He was the second son of the Dean of Bristol, and held various appointments, such as Sitting Magistrate, Batticaloa, Collector of Matara, and Provincial Judge of the same place. In the words of Mr. J. P. Lewis, "his chief achievement was marrying a Miss Austen, and becoming the father of Sir Austen Henry Layard of Nineveh fame." He died in 1834, and the following is a copy of the inscription on a tablet in Bierton Church near Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire :— "In a vault beneath are deposited the mortal remains of Henry Peter John Layard, late of His Majesty's

Civil Service in the island of Ceylon, who departed this life near Aylesbury on the 6th of October, 1834, in the 52nd year of his age."

The following reference by Sir Austen Henry Layard to his father in his Autobiography may be of interest :— "In 1796 the island of Ceylon had been ceded to England by the Dutch. The Dean, probably through the influence of the Conyngham family, succeeded in obtaining appointments in the Civil Service of our new possessions for two of his sons, my father and his younger brother Charles. It was then believed that the island was an El-Dorado, in which those who were lucky enough to receive Government employment were sure to make a rapid fortune. My father, who was a mere lad when he was sent there, filled several official appointments, but after some years the state of his health compelled him to retire from the service with a small pension, but without the expected fortune. He returned to England and shortly afterwards married my mother. She was the daughter of Mr. Nathaniel Austen, a banker at Ramsgate."

Edgar L. Layard (1849–1853) was the sixth son of H. P. J. Layard and brother of "Nineveh" Layard. For some time during his short service in Ceylon he was stationed at Point Pedro as Police Magistrate and then acted as Deputy Fiscal of the Western Province. He was a great Zoologist, and both Dr. E. F. Kelaart and Sir Emerson Tennent have expressed their indebtedness to him for valuable assistance received by them in their researches. He discovered many species new to the Fauna of Ceylon, and had a squirrel, *Sciurus Layardi*, named after him. He was the author of two works published in 1853—"The Birds of South Africa," and "Notes on the Ornithology of Ceylon, collected during an eight years' residence in the island."

Layard after his retirement entered the Civil Service of Cape Colony at the instance of Sir George Grey, and was one of the founders of the South African Museum. He was, subsequently, in the Consular Service in Peru. He was the first Administrator of Fiji under the Colonial Office.

The Hon. John Rodney (1803–1832) was the third son

of Admiral Lord Rodney, and was appointed President of the Board of Revenue on 1st August, 1804. He succeeded Robert Arbuthnot in 1806 as Chief Secretary, and held this post until his retirement in 1832. Rodney was a Captain in the Royal Navy, and Mr. J. P. Lewis refers to him as "that undistinguished officer, the Hon. John Rodney, who by the interest and connivance of his father, Lord Rodney, not only became a Lieutenant at the immature age of 15 years and 4 months, but was a full-blown Post Captain five weeks later." Mr. Sueter thinks that Rodney must have been a Commissioner for victualling under the Admiralty before he came to Ceylon, and adds:— "He must have been disappointed in 1832 to find that the Admiralty disowned him. He was given a pension of £360 a year from Ceylon as a favour, because he had refused to subscribe to the Civil Fund."

Rodney was three times married: first to Lady Catherine Nugent, only daughter of the Earl of Westmeath, on 4th July, 1784. On her death he married Lady Louisa Stratford, daughter of John, Earl of Aldborough. She died on 2nd December, 1814, of "a visceral affection" leaving "eight infant children." The tablet to her memory in St. Peter's Church, Fort, is the largest stone in the Church, and looks as if it had been originally a Dutch tombstone. The *Government Gazette* of the day describes the funeral in very moving terms. "The funeral, which took place on Saturday, was attended by an immense concourse of persons of every description in the neighbourhood of Colombo. His Excellency the Governor, the Chief Justice, the Members of Council, all His Majesty's Civil Servants, and all the officers of the Garrison formed the procession; and as a solemn though unusual mark of respect for departed worth, Mrs. Brownrigg, Lady Johnston, and all the ladies of the Settlement were present on this melancholy occasion. Never was witnessed a scene of sincerer grief than the Church of Colombo exhibited while the funeral service proceeded; tears poured from every eye; frequent and audible were the expressions of that sorrow which could not be restrained, and when the mortal remains of this beloved woman were committed to the earth, it seemed

as if everyone felt that their dearest sister was deposited in the tomb."

Six months later, Rodney contracted a third marriage, the lady of his choice being Antoinette Elizabeth Reyne, who was barely sixteen years of age. By his three marriages he had eighteen children. His eldest son, JOHN STRATFORD RODNEY, born to him by Lady Louisa, was in the Civil Service from 1831 to 1838, and among the appointments held by him was that of Assistant Government Agent, Madawalatenna.

Rodney had a house at Kalutara, where he had the misfortune to lose a son, Edward Anthony, aged 17 months and 24 days. The house apparently stood on the site occupied at present by the quarters of the Assistant Government Agent, as there is a slab in the premises set in a pyramid of brick, with an inscription in the following terms :— "Respect and spare the remains of our lost child. And may mercy avert from you a like affliction and grief beyond words."

The Revd. R. Spence Hardy has an interesting reference to Rodney in his "Jubilee Memorials." Speaking of Kalutara he says :— "At a more recent period, the only Military men in the place were the Hon. John Rodney, son of the famous Lord Rodney, who was accustomed to fire salutes on great occasions from a bamboo battery, and his friend Dr. de Hoedt, of the Medical Staff, whose cheerful readiness to oblige travellers and strangers was greatly appreciated."

Rodney died at Boulogne on 8th May, 1847, at the age of 82. His name is perpetuated in Ceylon by Rodney Street.

In the year 1804 a Dutchman from the Cape of Good Hope entered the Civil Service. This was EGBERT BLETTERMAN, who was formerly Principal Clerk in the Secretary's office at the Cape. He came with a recommendation from the Secretary of State, who said that "the peculiar circumstances in which this gentleman is placed by his adherence to the House of Orange and by his attachment and services to the British Government entitle him to His Majesty's protection, and his talents and habits of business qualify him in a peculiar manner to be useful in the Colony." North appointed him First Assistant in the Chief Secretary's office,

but asked for instructions from the Secretary of State as to whether he is "one of the regular Civil Servants," adding that "his services are highly useful, and that their exercise cannot but be greatly stimulated by the hope of advancement and the certainty of future promotion." But Governor Maitland did not look with the same favour on Bletterman as North did. On his arrival Maitland found Bletterman officiating as Postmaster-General in addition to his duties as First Assistant in the Chief Secretary's office. Writing to the Secretary of State he expressed the view that "these two situations are exactly the two most exceptionable to be held by a foreigner, who must after all, with all his attachment, have a natural feeling with regard to his own countrymen." Maitland, therefore, quietly transferred him to the Customs, "with which he is perfectly satisfied."

Bletterman seems to have lived down the early suspicions entertained of his loyalty, for after the lapse of some years he was again appointed Postmaster-General, but he caused the Government a great deal of anxiety by engaging in private trade. This led to some correspondence with the Secretary of State, who saw "no objection to the indulgence granted to Bletterman of continuing to export his own produce, provided it be so guarded as to prevent a possibility of its being a cover for more extended commercial transactions."

According to a newspaper paragraph, Bletterman once performed what in those days was considered a smart piece of detective work. A daring theft of currency notes had taken place and two Treasury peons were suspected. "The Magistrate, Mr. E. Bletterman, adopted an ingenious plan for not only tracing the thieves, but also for recovering the stolen property. He ordered the suspected peons to be confined in two separate cells, with a vacant cell intervening between them. When it was getting dark, the Magistrate requested the Interpreter Mudaliyar to occupy the vacant cell and make a note of the conversation which passed between the two peons."

There is no record as to when Bletterman left the Service. It was probably after the year 1833.

CHAPTER IV.

A NEW REGIME

The arrival of Sir Thomas Maitland on 13th July, 1805, with another batch of Civil Servants, may be said to have marked the commencement of a new chapter in the history of the Ceylon Civil Service. North's administration had not been an unqualified success. The new Governor found the Treasury almost empty. In the words of Walter Frewen Lord, "Land had gone out of cultivation to a dangerous extent in consequence of the resumption of service lands. Trade was rapidly falling off, and there was a debt of £20,000 due to the East India Company under North's Cinnamon contract. The condition of the Civil Service . . . was highly unsatisfactory." Laxity of control combined with low salaries had brought the efficiency of the Service to a very low level. Maitland set about with vigour to introduce reforms. He increased inadequate salaries and at the same time effected economies by abolishing unnecessary posts. He was soon able to report that the Civil Servants were doing their work satisfactorily, "and were beginning to think that there was such a thing as the interests of the Crown to be considered."

One of the new batch of Civil Servants who came out with Sir Thomas Maitland was WILLIAM GRANVILLE (1805-1840). He was apparently a favourite of the Governor's, for he returned to England in the same ship as the Governor in 1811. He rose steadily in the Service, and by 1816 had become Deputy Secretary to the Government. He married the second daughter of the Hon. George Turnour, who died in 1813 while holding the appointment of Collector of the Wanni. Granville was the second Englishman to write verse about Ceylon, Captain T. A. Anderson being the first.

He published at Colombo in 1830 a small book of Poems on Ceylon, a work that is now so rare that there is no copy of it in the British Museum Library or in that of the Colombo Museum. All that is known of his poetry is to be found in Major Forbes' book "Eleven years in Ceylon," where extracts are quoted as preludes to three chapters. Granville was appointed by Governor Brownrigg to conduct the deposed King of Kandy from Colombo to Madras. He kept a Diary of the voyage, which was published in 1830 in book form, with his poems as an appendix. He retired in 1840 while holding the appointment of Treasurer of the Colony.

Granville died in 1864, and a marble tablet was erected in the church at Stoke Poges bearing the following inscription :— "In memory of William Granville, Esq., whose remains are deposited in a vault in this Church, died on the 16th of January, 1864, aged 76, having served honorably under H. M. Government in the Civil Service of the island of Ceylon for a period of 35 years. And in memory of Isabella Sophia his second daughter, died at Brighton on the 27th of March, 1843, aged 19 years. Also of Frances, widow of William Granville, Esq., who died at Brighton April 29th, 1873, aged 71 years. Also of Frances, youngest daughter of the above, who died at Brighton, June 8th, 1873, aged 16 years."

Charles Edward Layard (1804-1839) was the third son of the Dean of Bristol and a brother of H. J. P. Layard. During the period 1808-1814 he was Collector of Kalutara, where he had a house called "Mount Layard" on the banks of the Kalu Ganga. It probably occupied the site on which Teak Bungalow now stands. Layard held various appointments, including those of Provincial Judge at Trincomalee, Galle and Colombo, Collector at Kalutara and Colombo, Paymaster-General, and District Judge of Colombo North. He retired in 1839, and died in 1854. Layard married, at the age of 20, Barbara Bridgetina Mooyart, fourth child of Gualterus Mooyart, Administrateur of Jaffna under the Dutch. By this union there were no fewer than 26 children. The marriage was solemnized by the Revd. Christian David,

probably at Jaffna. In a letter written to him by Mr. Layard many years afterwards the following touching passage occurs :—"I regret you did not, my dear friend, come to Colombo to see me some time ago as you talked of doing. You might then in your old age have been gratified with the sight of a living couple that you married in 1804, forty-one years ago, and whose union had been blessed with much happiness and by the most unexampled success attending the purpose for which the rite was established—to increase and multiply."

While at Kalutara, Layard made an attempt to cultivate the sugar-cane, but the experiment did not prove a success. In the opinion of J. W. Bennett, the failure was due to the fact that the experiment was conducted on too extensive a scale, besides which there was too much iron in the soil.

Layard took an interest in antiquarian research. He sent to England the model of a Vihare, with a recumbent figure of Buddha, and this was exhibited at Exeter Hall in the years 1831-1832. He had a private Museum containing valuable specimens of Chinese, Japanese, Siamese and Pali books, maps and coins, images of Buddha and of Hindu deities. While Provincial Judge of Galle, he was instrumental in getting down a number of Chinese for Agricultural purposes, and "China Garden" in Galle indicates the scene of their operations.

No fewer than three of Layard's sons entered the Civil Service. One of his daughters, Barbara, settled in Nuwara Eliya, where she was greatly respected. She died at a very advanced age not many years ago.

Charles Peter Layard (1828-1879) was the eldest son of Charles Edward Layard, and was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. Entering the Civil Service as Fiscal and Sitting Magistrate of Jaffna, he rose in the course of twenty years to be Government Agent of the Western Province, which appointment he held for the long period of thirty years, acting on three occasions as Colonial Secretary in addition to his own duties. He was, without question, one of the greatest Government Agents the island has

ever produced. In his day the Western Province included the area now comprised in the Province of Sabaragamuwa, but as if such an extensive charge was not sufficient to engage all his energies, he accepted the Chairmanship of the Colombo Municipality when it was created in 1866, with Samuel Grenier (afterwards Sir Samuel) as its first Secretary. For his eminent services he received the honour of Knighthood in 1876.

The late Mr. Francis Beven, in a letter to the Press, has preserved for us a pleasing picture of Sir C. P. Layard as he appeared in his latter days. "The silver-haired official was a nervous speaker. He was a man more of action than of words, and got doubly flurried when his critic, David Wilson, assailed him . . . He was the doyen of the Civil Service . . . In those days, facilities of travel were few, and it was a sight to see the veteran drive his four-wheeled wagon to the Fort and the Kachcheri, and often back again, in addition to doing his rounds of provincial inspection."

Conscientious and hard-working as he was, he did not escape criticism. On one occasion he incurred the wrath of that doughty champion, James D' Alwis, who complained that "Mr. Layard has everything his own way. People have petitioned for roads, and outstation District Committees have often favourably entertained their applications . . . But except when Mr. Layard takes a fancy, the roads are not sanctioned . . . The fact is Mr. Layard is getting old, and he cannot do what he undertakes to do."

Sir C. P. Layard's administration of the Western Province is perpetuated by "Layard's Broadway" in Colombo North, and "Layard's Road" in Colombo South. "Layard's Folly," as the Wellawatte Canal was at one time called, far from being a piece of useless engineering work, is now regarded as one of the chief flood outlets of Colombo. Sir C. P. Layard's son was the Attorney-General of Ceylon bearing the same name. It is believed that this is the only instance in Ceylon of father and son receiving the honour of Knighthood successively. Two other sons of C. E. Layard, *viz.*, FREDERICK LAYARD (1846-1862) and JAMES GAY LAYARD (1839-1851) held appointments in the Civil Service.

WILLIAM HENRY HOOPER (1805-1826) arrived in the island with Governor Maitland. After only two years' experience he was sent to act for Major MacNab as Agent of Revenue and Provincial Judge of Batticaloa, notwithstanding the Governor's prejudice against appointing youthful Civilians to such posts. Hooper married, on 19th June, 1812, Margaret Cecilia, daughter of W. C. Gibson, Master Attendant of Galle. He retired in 1826 while holding the appointment of Provincial Judge of Colombo, and died on 5th September, 1858, at Clifton, Bristol. His wife survived him until 24th April, 1873.

The difficulties under which Civil Servants laboured in the olden days is well exemplified in the case of JOHN BADGER (1805-1818). He was Collector of Kalutara, and having taken ill at that station had to set out for Colombo to obtain medical advice. His condition appears to have been serious, for he was not able to proceed beyond Panadura, where he was forced to enter the Rest-house where he died on the 23rd April, 1818. His remains were conveyed to Colombo for burial, the funeral service being conducted by the Rev. George Bisset, Senior Colonial Chaplain. The *Government Gazette* of the day, in referring to the deceased, said:— "In him Society has lost a truly valuable and honest member, and those with whom he was on terms of intimacy a sincere and faithful friend."

CHARLES SCOTT (1808-1827) arrived in Ceylon by H.M.S. *Belliqueux* on 26th August, 1808, and was appointed Second Assistant in the office of Commissioner of Revenue. He served in various capacities in Matara, Galle, Trincomalee and Colombo, and was Collector of Jaffna in 1822. His last appointment was that of Provincial Judge of Galle and Matara. He is said to have been a very big man, and there was a chair in the Jaffna Kachcheri at the time of Mr. J. P. Lewis, of the circular Dutch office-chair pattern, which was said to be his.

Scott died at Galle on 23rd June, 1827, aged 36 years, and was buried in the Dutch Cemetery. The *Government Gazette* of the day contained the following obituary notice:— "The deceased was a Civil Servant of nineteen years'

standing, during which period he had filled the situation of Provincial Judge in most of the principal Districts in the Island, and administered his official duties with no less satisfaction to those over whom his jurisdiction extended, than with honour to the purity of his own heart and credit to the soundness and rectitude of his judgment. Generous, independent, hospitable and kind, his name is ever associated with the best feelings of human nature, and we are assured that society at large will join with us in sincerely deploring his untimely death. The deceased has left an amiable and disconsolate widow to mourn his loss, who in life was an affectionate son, a tender husband, and a warm friend."

The story is told that Scott and James Agnew Farrell, also of the Civil Service, being great friends and both of them sceptics in religion, made a compact that if there were really a Supreme Being, the one that died first should appear to the other after death. Mr. Lewis, who relates this story, adds :—" Presumably, though at this point the story stops short, Scott appeared to Farrell, who was at the time of Scott's death Provincial Judge of Colombo."

There were two Sneyds in the Civil Service, HENRY RALPH SNEYD (1808-1821) and RICHARD MALONE SNEYD (1814-1837). Of the former little is known beyond the fact that in 1816 he was Provincial Judge and Deputy Controller of Customs at Galle. He died in 1872. R. M. Sneyd was in 1833 District Judge of Galle, at which place he had the misfortune to lose his wife, who was the eldest daughter of Charles Edward Layard. Earlier in his career he was Collector at Kalutara, and the Rev. W. M. Harvard in his " Narrative of the Establishment and Progress of the Mission to Ceylon and India " gives us an instance of Mr. Sneyd's hospitality. " A short distance from Bentotte," he says, " we passed the noble river of that name, and arrived at Caltura late on Saturday night. R. Sneyd, Esq., the Collector of the District, had shewn Mr. Lynch much attention when passing through from Jaffna, and had engaged him to spend a Sabbath with him on his return.

Mr. Sneyd had retired to rest when we arrived: but his butler quickly prepared tea and coffee, which in our circumstances of fatigue were very refreshing . . . The following morning we paid our respects to Mr. Sneyd, whom we found to be a gentleman possessed of general information, united with great urbanity, and unremitting in his endeavour to promote the welfare of those under his care. We were invited to dine, and experienced the most hospitable and kind reception." Sneyd died at Leamington on 23rd October, 1861.

The career of MATTHEW JOHNSON SMYTH (1809-1824) was not a very distinguished one. He had been hardly two years in service when he had a violent quarrel with another Civil Servant, which resulted in his suspension. After a prolonged inquiry he was re-employed and appointed Deputy Collector of Negombo under D'Oyly, who was Collector of Colombo. In due course he was appointed Collector of Galle, where he again got into trouble. A deficit of 30,000 rix dollars was discovered in the Treasury, and legal proceedings were instituted against him and the cashier. Smyth died on 20th August, 1824, aged 34.

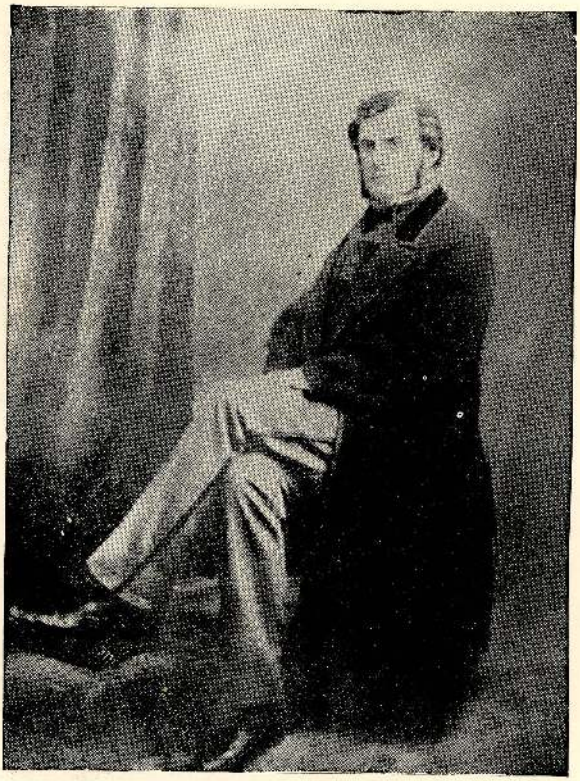
It is quite possible that J. W. Bennett refers to this incident in the following passage in his book :—" According to Dutch tradition, one of their Collectors of Revenue for this district, being unable to account for the disappearance of a few thousands of rix dollars, reported to the Government that " the white ants had eaten them;" and as these insects are believed to possess most extraordinary powers of digestion, from their forming their " covered ways " through walls and beams of wood, it was not altogether incredible ; but one of our own Head Civil Servants, similarly circumstanced, and for very little less than 100,000 rix dollars (when he had only the *small* salary of £2,000 a year and *pickings*), upon being ordered to make up his accounts, instead of endeavouring to impose a similar story upon the Government, (for the missing treasure included gold star pagodas as well as rupees, and it was the second time that he had been so *unfortunate*), merely accused the *white ants* of having eaten the " *vouchers* " for the expenditure of that sum ! ! This way of " *doing* "

the public was a very thriving trade in the Colony for a number of years, because it seldom failed to insure immunity, and was generally followed by promotion or a pension; but let us hope that these "sweating times are past . . ."

James Agnew Farrell (1809-1828) enjoyed the reputation of being a mighty hunter. He was stationed in 1819 at Galle, where he was introduced to Lieut.-Colonel James Campbell, who describes him as "without comparison the first sportsman in the island." Farrell was also stationed at Hambantota, where he carried on hunting operations on a large scale. His hunting establishment is said to have been princely, consisting as it did of several fine horses and upwards of eighty greyhounds, besides other dogs of various breeds.

Farrell, when Collector of Tangalle, was tried before the Supreme Court on 18th November, 1819, for murder. The charge was that he killed, by beating, one of the coolies who carried his chair. It was admitted that he gave the cooly two or three slight cuts with a switch, but the cooly died of cholera. Farrell was honourably acquitted, the judge remarking that "Mr. Farrell will resume his rank in the Colony, and he is in all respect restored to Society with unblemished reputation, to maintain, I trust, the same distinguished esteem and respect which his character for virtues and talents has hitherto so justly obtained for him."

The name of John Walbeoff (1809-1831) is closely associated with the Cinnamon industry. Entering the Civil Service as Second Assistant at the Secretariat, he rose in course of time to be Collector of Chilaw and Puttalam, and in 1822 he was appointed Superintendent of the Cinnamon Plantations. His headquarters were at Colombo, where there was a cinnamon depot, while he had also a bungalow at Kadirana, the centre of the industry, where there were a store and Court-house, the latter presided over by Walbeoff himself. He was of great assistance to the Wesleyan Missionaries in the early days in their efforts to build schools and churches, and the records of the Mission are full of expressions of gratitude for his services. He was very popular



E. R. POWER

among the villagers, by whom he was known as "the good gentleman."

Walbeoff was a great sportsman, and died from the effects of an accident while hunting deer at Kadirana, as a result of his horse carrying him with violence against a tree. He went out to the field at 3 p.m., and James Caulfield, his Assistant, saw him shortly afterwards supported by Waring, another of his Assistants, and being carried in a chair. Walbeoff informed him that whilst chasing some deer his horse ran against a tree and he fell off. Caulfield put him into a carriage, and was taking him to Colombo, when he died in Silversmith Street. The funeral was attended by the Governor and the Civil and Military officers.

Walbeoff was married to a daughter of Baron Van Lynden, Assistant Collector of Customs at Jaffna, and formerly of the Dutch Army, but the marriage was not a fortunate one. He sent his wife back to her parents in 1825, and to England a year later with her children, who were to be sent to school. She returned to Ceylon in 1829. The elder son, John, went to Cambridge, where he is said to have become a Wrangler as well as an athlete. He came back to Ceylon and was employed in the Customs, returning later to England. He married a daughter of R. C. Roosmalecocq.

To Simon Sawers (1811-1827) belongs the distinction of being the first member of the Ceylon Civil Service to contribute to the legal literature of the island. He held various revenue and judicial appointments, including that of Collector of Batticaloa, at which place he had the misfortune to lose his wife. The inscription on her tombstone records the fact that she died "in the prime of life on the 2nd October, 1814, leaving her husband and two infant children to lament their unspeakable loss."

The practice of presenting departing Government officials with valedictory addresses appears to have existed as early as 1815, for we learn that Simon Sawers, on leaving Batticaloa, was presented with an address by Captain T. A. Anderson, the soldier poet, Lieutenant O'Shea, of the 19th Foot, James Bagnett, who afterwards became Collector of

Batticaloa, and Assistant Surgeon J. Scott. From Batticaloa Sawers went as First Assistant to the Resident and Agent of Government at Badulla, becoming later Commissioner of Revenue at Kandy, and finally, Judicial Commissioner in 1821, which post he held until his retirement in 1827 on a pension of £600 a year. During his employment in the Kandyan country he made a careful study of the ancient laws and customs of the people, and embodied the results of his researches in his book, "A Digest of Kandyan Law." He also published a book entitled "A Journey from Kandy *via* Adam's Peak to Caltura in 1819."

JOHN GORDON FORBES (1811-1836), after whom Forbes Road in Colombo is named, enjoys the dubious honour of being the first Judicial Officer to be fined by the Supreme Court. In 1822, while Sitting Magistrate of Colombo, he wrote a letter to the Registrar of the Supreme Court in the following terms:—"It having been the pleasure of the Supreme Court to quash the proceedings in the case of the prisoners Babona and Pitche, I beg leave to submit for the consideration of the Supreme Court the case of the prisoner Baba, a greater vagabond if possible than Babona, but committed on slighter grounds than Pitche." The Chief Justice, Sir Hardinge Giffard, described this as "a most offensive paper, which was designedly offensive," and called upon the Magistrate to withdraw it. Forbes replied that he did not intend any insult and declined to accede to the Chief Justice's request. "We have the courage and the power to punish such an attempt to insult the Court" said the Chief Justice. "Had this been the act of a headstrong blockhead, whose dullness could devise no readier road to consequence than by offering an insult to get into a contest with the Supreme Court, we should perhaps have disappointed his stupid ambition by treating his effort with contempt; but when a deliberate insult is offered and persevered in by a gentleman well aware of what he is doing, and fully capable of appreciating the consequences, we must, as a Court, feel very differently, and treat such an attack with the more firmness, as the consequences might be more

mischievous were such an example to pass with impunity." Forbes was ordered to pay a fine of 300 rix dollars and to be imprisoned until the fine was paid. He retired in 1836 as District Judge of Colombo No. 1 North, and drew his pension for 36 years. His son, WILLIAM GORDON FORBES, was in the Civil Service from 1838 to 1869.

HENRY WRIGHT (1811-1846) was in 1816 Second Assistant to John D'Oyly, Resident of the Kandyan Provinces, Simon Sawers being First Assistant. In 1835 he was District Judge, Kandy, and by 1844 he had become Auditor and Accountant-General and Controller of Revenue. While stationed at Kurunegala in 1820, he shewed much kindness to the Wesleyan Missionaries in their attempts to establish a station at that place, and the Rev. R. Spence Hardy expresses the gratitude of the Mission in the following terms :— "Henry Wright Esq., who retired from the Civil Service in 1840 (should be 1846), as Auditor-General, having entered it in 1811, still lives (that is, in 1864), and we are certain that no cloud ever shades his brow, in his declining years, at the remembrance of what he did to promote instruction and religion in the Seven Korales." Wright served as one of the jurors in the famous Kandyan State Trial of Moligodda and five others in 1835. In 1844 he was joint proprietor with Major G. T. Parke, of Hantane Estate, Kandy. His son WILLIAM DUMARESQ WRIGHT (1853-1886) also entered the Civil Service and rose to be Treasurer. He died on 5th August, 1886, as the result of injuries received in a carriage accident ten days previously. He had but recently returned to the island from leave and had intended to complete a short period of service before retirement. A tablet to his memory was erected in St. Peter's Church, Fort, by his friends in Ceylon as a mark of their esteem.

CHAPTER V.

AN UNEVENTFUL PERIOD

On the departure of Sir Thomas Maitland and the assumption of the Government by Sir Robert Brownrigg, the Civil Service entered upon a new phase which lasted until 1832. The retiring Governor had worked wonders during his administration of nearly seven years. In the words of Walter Frewen Lord, "he found the Civil Service corrupt and inefficient; he left it purged from corruption and as efficient as a service can be expected to be that is recruited with boys of fifteen." The only change of any importance which took place in the Civil Service during this period was the increase of personnel necessitated by the annexation of the Kandyan Kingdom. Civil Servants continued to be recruited from England, but not in such large numbers as before.

One of the acts of the new Governor was to secure a place for his son, aged 14, in the Civil Service. If CHARLES BROWNRIGG (1811-1833) has no other claims to distinction, he deserves to be remembered as one who furnished in his own person the only instance of the son of a Governor of Ceylon holding an independent office in the Colony contemporaneously with his father. We find him serving as First Assistant in the Chief Secretary's office in the year 1816, and as Collector of Batticaloa when he was only 25 years of age. He retired while holding the office of Provincial Judge of Colombo, and died in 1854.

THE HON. GEORGE TURNOUR, father of the distinguished Civil Servant of the same name, had a chequered career. He was the fourth son of the Earl of Winterton, and joined the Bengal Native Infantry as an Ensign in 1783. He was transferred to the King's Service in 1789, and coming over to Ceylon with the 73rd Regiment, was appointed

Fort Adjutant at Jaffna on its capture in 1795. He married a French lady at Pondicherry. In 1802 he left the Army, and joined his father-in-law in trading in paddy and tobacco, but this business was a failure, and Turnour became insolvent. On 11th March, 1807, he was gazetted "Agent of Revenue of the Wanni," and was placed on the Civil Establishment from 1st January, 1811. Two years later he was appointed Assistant to the Collector at Jaffna and Sitting Magistrate and Fiscal. In addition to these offices he held the appointment of "Tobacco Agent." He died on 10th April, 1813, aged 45, and was buried in the Dutch Church at Jaffna. The inscription on a monument erected by his widow speaks of "the uniform tenor of his progress through life (which) proved him a truly virtuous man and a sincere Christian, by exemplary conduct under severe misfortunes, and perfect resignation to the Will of God."

The Hon. George Turnour the younger (1812-1843) was born in Ceylon in 1799, and was sent to England for his education. On his return to Ceylon in 1817, he was appointed to a post in the Civil Service. His rise was phenomenally rapid, for we find him officiating as Resident at Ratnapura at the age of 27, and as Government Agent of the Central Province before he was 35. It was at the former station that he made the acquaintance of the High Priest of Sabaragamuwa, through whose good offices he secured a transcript of the Tika, or commentary to the Mahawansa, from a copy which had been preserved in the Mulgirigala Vihare. Having studied the Pali language, Turnour set to work with the help of the Tika and the assistance of some priests, for there were no Pali dictionaries in those days, to translate the Mahawansa into English, and after many years of arduous labour he completed thirty-eight chapters of the book. Whilst this translation was going through the Press, he prepared an Epitome of the History of Ceylon compiled from the native annals, and published it in the Ceylon Almanac of 1833. This was read with wonder and delight by all who took an interest in Ceylon and its ancient history. In the midst of his literary activities Turnour's

health failed him and he was obliged to retire from the Service. He left Ceylon in 1842, and died at Naples the following year at the age of 44. A tablet to his memory at St. Paul's Church, Kandy, records the fact that "he served under Government with distinguished ability for a period of 24 years, and was enabled by his researches in Oriental Literature and his profound acquaintance with the ancient Pali language to throw important light upon the early history and chronology of the island, the scene of his literary and valuable public service." The Turnour Prize at the Royal College was founded in his memory.

HENRY PENNELL (1814-1829) held revenue appointments in Nuwara-Kalawiya, at Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Kurunegala, and Kandy, and was Provincial Judge of Matara and Tangalle, and, at the time of his retirement, of Colombo. Like many other Civil Servants of his day, he showed great kindness to the early Wesleyan Missionaries. While stationed at Batticaloa it is recorded that he was "exceedingly kind and attentive to the last missionary stationed there, and has assured us of his readiness to assist in every possible way his successor." A similar tribute was paid to him by the Wesleyan Missionary stationed at Kurunegala, Revd. R. Newstead :—"I am truly sorry to advert to the removal of Mr. Pennell from this place for Trincomalee, for he was in everything that he could be a real help to us. Scarcely could I feel Mr. Wright's loss, so kind was he as his successor in meeting my wishes in whatever could help forward our work. I owed to him besides many little comforts the absence of which I feel. He was a regular attendant at our public worship, and scarcely ever suffered me to ask his official assistance, so ready was he to proffer it."

Pennell's services as an administrator were no less meritorious than his services as a private citizen. On the testimony of J. W. Bennett, "Kurunegala owes much to the indefatigable zeal of one of the first Superintendents of the District as Agent of Government (Henry Pennell Esq.) and one of the most enlightened of its Civil Servants, whose retirement from the Service of the Colony may justly

be considered a public loss." Pennell, who, it is believed, was a brother-in-law of Sir Hardinge Giffard, retired on a pension of £500, which he drew for 56 years—a sum of £28,000 in all.

The year 1817 witnessed one of the saddest events in the history of the Ceylon Civil Service, when a young Civil Servant lost his life in the early stages of the Uva rebellion. SYLVESTER DOUGLAS WILSON (1814-1817) on his first arrival in Ceylon was appointed Extra Assistant in the Chief Secretary's Office, and in 1816 was promoted Third Assistant to the Resident at Kandy, later becoming Second Assistant. At the time of the incident in question he was First Assistant to the Resident at Badulla. On 10th September, 1817, Wilson, on hearing of the arrival in Welassa of a suspicious stranger, sent Hadji Mohandiram, the Chief of the Moors in Welassa, to apprehend him; but Hadji himself was seized and taken before the stranger, who, it was rumoured, had declared himself king. When intelligence of this reached Badulla, Wilson set out with a small detachment of troops to ascertain the real circumstances. On 16th September they observed a large body of Kandyans assembled on a plain armed with bows and arrows. Wilson succeeded in holding a conference with them, but it resulted in nothing, and Wilson decided to return with the troops to Badulla. At Etanawatte, a village on the Badulla-Batticaloa road, Wilson went to the river to wash himself, and while doing so an armed party appeared on the opposite bank and demanded a conference. Wilson boldly advanced to meet them, but when he was within a few yards of them a shower of arrows was treacherously discharged at him, and he fell mortally wounded. His body was never recovered. One account of the incident states that his head was subsequently exposed on a pole by the rebels.

Mrs. Wilson died just four months before her husband and was buried in the Badulla Cemetery. A curious fate has befallen the tombstone erected over her grave. The branching roots of a bo-tree, one with a striking resemblance to a human hand, have grasped it as if they appreciated

its sacredness. "The idea of the Buddhist-Kandians," said a correspondent to a newspaper, "is that she whom the tree of Buddha has thus honoured must have been possessed of a good deal of merit." There is no doubt that Mrs. Wilson was a very lovable person. A friend of hers in Colombo wrote as follows:—"Our little society here has been plunged into sorrow from the accounts which yesterday reached us of the death of one who, for a length of time, had formed one of our social circle, and whose amiable manners and kindly disposition had greatly endeared her to many here."

After serving for a short time in the Navy, JOHN WHITCHURCH BENNETT (1816-1827) arrived in Ceylon and was appointed to the Civil Service. He filled various junior posts in the Customs, the Audit Office, and the Chief Secretary's Office, and was then appointed Sitting Magistrate of Mahagampattoo. He did very useful work here and at other stations in the Southern Province, and just as he had begun to write a book on the fishes of Ceylon, to quote his own words, "my object was nipped in the bud by an order to return to England. At the time it was impossible for me to believe otherwise than that my absence would be but temporary, but I subsequently found that the most unparalleled stretch of official power and injustice that had ever till then been exercised in the public service of this or any other country boasting a free Government had been resorted to, and false and groundless pretexts employed as a reason for rejecting my appeal against the atrocious proceeding." One reason assigned for this sudden discontinuance of Bennett's services is that he had "lost his reputation in connection with the importation of some Madeira wine by the Ceylon Government for the use of the troops in Ceylon." The true reason is that he was always in debt and applying for loans from the Government.

Bennett did not fare very well on his return to England. His attempts to obtain redress failed, and in a letter to Sir Alexander Johnston, dated 5th August, 1837, he spoke of being in very great distress, having an execution upon

the residue of his little property, and being reduced to the necessity of selling the copyright of his work on the fishes of Ceylon. He asked Sir Alexander to use his influence to induce Lord Glenelg to grant him some temporary relief until his case should have been considered, but he received a curt reply from our former Chief Justice to the effect that it was not in his power to be of any use to him at the Colonial Office.

In 1843 Bennett published his book entitled "Ceylon and its Capabilities," a large quarto volume of 427 pages, replete with useful information. His work on the fishes of Ceylon appeared in 1851. He also brought out a brochure on "The Coconut Tree; its uses and cultivation," and another work entitled, "A Selection of rare and curious fruits indigenous to Ceylon."

Francis James Templer (1817-1847) came out with his wife and family by the ship *Alexander* which left England on 5th July and arrived at Colombo on 13th November, 1817. He was successively Provincial Judge, Calpentyn; Agent of Revenue, Ratnapura; Sitting Magistrate Colombo; Collector of Chilaw; Collector of Colombo; Fiscal, Jaffna; and in 1845 he was appointed Treasurer, Deputy Paymaster-General, and Commissioner of Stamps. His eldest daughter married Philip E. Wodehouse, C.C.S., and another daughter married Sir Arthur Buller, Queen's Advocate.

Bennett mentions the case of a Provincial Judge appointed to Calpentyn who "although he was eight years fagging at Latin and French, knew no more of either than when he left school." Lewis thinks that the Judge referred to may have been F. J. Templer, but he adds, "I may, however, be wronging him, and it may have been J. A. Farrell, E. W. Mead, T. R. Backhouse, J. G. Forbes, or R. M. Sneyd."

The original St. James' Church at Chilaw was so named as a compliment to F. J. Templer, who took a large share in its construction when he was stationed there. Mr Lewis describes this Church as "exactly like a bungalow in appearance, with verandahs on three, if not four sides, and possessed of a font, the bowl of which was constructed out of a 'globe'

which had probably served for the education of Mr. Templer's children, with the Continents still depicted on it, although truncated of a portion of their areas." The Church had a stone let into the wall with the following inscription :— "St. James' Church, built by public subscription under the auspices of F. J. Templer Esqr., of H.M. Civil Service in Ceylon, Collector and Provincial Judge, Chilaw, A.D. 1831."

FRANCIS BULLER TEMPLER (1845-1882) was the son of F. J. Templer, and was originally an officer in the 29th Regiment. He entered the Civil Service on 23rd May, 1845, and eventually rose to be Government Agent of the Central Province. He married on 20th October, 1843, at Calcutta, Emma, daughter of Sir. J. E. M. Turton, Bart, Barrister-at-law, Registrar of the Supreme Court, Calcutta.

PHILIP ARTHUR TEMPLER (1863-1895) was the son of F. B. Templer, and was destined, like his father, to administer the Central Province. It is said that he was the only Civil Servant of his day who was Agent of two Provinces at one and the same time, although it was for one day only. This was when Governor Gordon created the Province of Uva and delayed for one day the appointment of Aelian King as Government Agent. Templer was very popular in Kandy and was known as "King Philip." He left Ceylon in 1895 on his appointment as Administrator of Dominica.

Sir Hector van Cuylenberg gave some interesting reminiscences of P. A. Templer when his death in Switzerland was announced in 1899. "Good Old Philip Templer," he said. "He was just my age and we were boys together at Kalutara, where his father, the late F. B. Templer, was District Judge for many years. We each had a Barberyn pony, and we used to race round the esplanade in the evenings, much to the amusement of the good old Dutch folk who used to reside in those days in the Richmond of Ceylon. Shortly afterwards, Philip was sent to England for his education, and he came back a fine handsome young man, quite an athlete, and fond of all manly sports. He was quickly drafted into the Civil Service, in which he finished his career as Government Agent of the Central Province.

He was much attached to the people of the country, and entertained a high opinion of their character and capabilities. At Kurunegala and Kandy he was greatly respected, and the Kandyan Chiefs always looked up to him as a friend who took a keen interest in their welfare. It was Philip, who, if I may use the term, introduced round-arm bowling into Ceylon. This was about the middle of the sixties, and the only other round-arm bowler in the island then was Allanson Bailey, who had also arrived at the same time, having received his appointment to the Civil Service from the Secretary of State."

F. J. Templer had another son, Henry Dawson Skinner Templer, aged 5½ years, who died from the effects of an accident by fire after fifteen days of severe suffering. He was buried in St. Peter's Church, Calpentyn. The inscription on his tombstone records that "he was a child who during his short sojourn in this world had endeared himself by his affectionate and playful manners to all who knew him, and in the hearts of his fond parents had excited the brightest hopes of a most gratifying maturity had it pleased the Almighty to have spared him."

WILLIAM GISBORNE (1817-1839) was appointed Assistant Collector of Customs six months after his arrival in the island as a Writer. Lewis seems to think that this speedy promotion was due to family influence. Gisborne was a son of the Revd. Thomas Gisborne of Yoxhall Lodge, Staffordshire. His eldest brother became a prominent politician and member of Parliament. Gisborne's best work was done as Collector of Tangalle, where he left a permanent memorial of himself in the Kirama Canal, which was completed under his supervision. He was an intrepid hunter, and Bennett in his book describes the method adopted by him for shooting elephants. Having approached an elephant to leeward almost so close as to touch it, he would clap his hands, and shout, and upon the elephant looking round, he would plant a two-ounce bullet in the centre of the *os frontis*, where the bone plates are extremely thin, or behind the ear, when in the twinkling of an eye, to use Bennett's own words, the

stately animal would "lick the dust."

Gisborne was appointed Government Agent of Colombo in 1833. He married the eldest daughter of the Hon'ble and Venerable T. J. Twisleton, First Archdeacon of Colombo, by his second wife. It was while on a visit to Mrs. Gisborne at Tangalle that the Archdeacon contracted the illness which carried him off. Mrs. Gisborne established a school at Galle which Bishop Heber visited while in Ceylon. Gisborne died in 1859, and Mrs. Gisborne became the second wife of Captain T. H. Twynam, Master Attendant. F. W. GISBORNE, a son by the first marriage, went to Balliol College, Oxford, and returning to Ceylon joined the Civil Service in 1850. He died in 1864.

The career of HENRY JOHN ST. JOHN (1819-1821) was of short duration. He was the third son of Lieutenant-General the Honourable Frederick St. John, and nephew of Earl Craven and Lord Viscount Bolingbroke and St. John. He had been appointed to Hambantota on 1st February, 1821, as Assistant to the Collector, and was on a shooting excursion at Palutapana, when he died "of a bilious fever" on 7th August, 1821. His remains were brought to Hambantota and interred opposite the Assistant Government Agent's residence. A monument marks the spot. There is another grave without inscription close to this one, and the existence of these two graves has probably given rise to the saying that at Hambantota the only prospect the Assistant Government Agent has from his house is the graves of his predecessors.

The *Government Gazette* of the day contained a very eulogistic reference to the deceased. "The many amiable traits in his character and disposition had already acquired for him the goodwill and regard of all who knew him and the friendship and attachment of his more immediate intimates. He can be remembered by the former as the gentleman in every act of his short career among them, while his constant cheerfulness, great obligingness of disposition, and the liberal character of his sentiments and conduct will long preserve in the recollection of the latter the loss they have sustained in his death."

In the year 1819 there arrived in Ceylon a recruit to the Civil Service who was destined to leave an indelible mark on the administration of the island. This was PHILIP ANSTRUTHER (1819-1845), who, beginning his career as Extra Assistant in the Chief Secretary's Office, rose in the course of fifteen years to be Colonial Secretary, an office which he adorned until his retirement in 1845. Among other offices held by him at various times were those of Collector of Batticaloa (1822), Agent of Government in the Seven Korles (1823-24), and Collector of Colombo (1829). He married at Colombo on 27th July, 1833, Mary Frances, the eldest daughter of the Right Hon'ble J. A. Stewart Mackenzie, Governor of Ceylon, by whom he had seven sons and four daughters.

We are indebted to Dr. W. Hoffmeister, who accompanied Prince Waldemar of Prussia on his visit to Ceylon in 1844, for an excellent pen picture of Mr. Anstruther. "The Prince had been invited, and took me as his companion, to lunch, at twelve o'clock, with Mr. Anstruther, whose courteous attentions we had already enjoyed on our journey from Galle. I never met with a more amiable and pleasing man." Anstruther was living at the time in Elie House, which he had built, and Dr. Hoffmeister saw there the nutmeg tree loaded with fruit, the betel-pepper shrub, the jamboo tree, the Malay apple tree, the clove tree, and a host of other plants. At dinner "a profusion of fruits, not to be surpassed in excellence," was displayed on the table.

There is an interesting legend connected with Elie House during the time it was occupied by Lorenz. It is related that in the year 1863, on the very day on which Anstruther died in London, a mysterious figure appeared at the foot of the bed in one of the bedrooms in which a lady was sleeping. The figure was that of an elderly gentleman, who looked steadfastly at the lady for a few seconds and then disappeared. The lady mentioned the circumstance to Lorenz, who produced a photograph of Anstruther along with several others, and the lady pointed to the photograph of Anstruther as that of the person who had appeared to her.

It was only after the unfortunate occurrence of 1848, when there was an opportunity of comparing Anstruther's regime with that of his successor, that the full value of the former's services came to be known. We are indebted to Captain J. M. Henderson, the author of "The Rebellion in Ceylon," for a very fair estimate of Anstruther's character. "Sir J. E. Tennent" he says, "had replaced Mr. Anstruther, an able and energetic man, who resigned his office after filling it for fifteen years, to the complete satisfaction of the Home Government and the inhabitants of Ceylon. Had this gentleman but retained his appointment of Colonial Secretary, there is every reason to believe that the rebellion of 1848, with its long train of miseries and misfortunes, would never have occurred. When he left the island, the people were in a perfect state of content and peace, but so well acquainted was he with the native character and feelings, that in a letter of thanks to the Principal Secretary for the Colonies, for the very handsome manner in which his services had been acknowledged, he oracularly stated that there were sufficient elements within the island to cause the direst consequences in a twelvemonth, should any mismanagement occur in conducting the Government. Some idea may be formed of the estimation in which this gentleman was held by the inhabitants of the Kandyan country when it is known that the venerable Chief Justice, Sir Anthony Oliphant, stated to the House of Commons Committee that had the 'one-armed Rajah,' as the natives called him, stood on a hill during the late rebellion, and cried aloud, 'To your tents, Oh! Israel,' the people would have obeyed him and dispersed."

Mrs. Anstruther died on 31st December, 1913, at the age of 94. She had lived in the reigns of five Monarchs, and was one of the debutantes presented to Queen Victoria at her first Court. In 1873 she became a convert to the Roman Catholic faith and was received into the Church by Cardinal Newman. She is said to have been a charming personality. She was an intimate friend of Sir Walter Scott and remembered as a child often sitting on the novelist's knee.

Anstruther went in largely for land at a time when Government servants were encouraged to embark on agricultural pursuits. He purchased 1374 acres in Upper Bulatgama in 1841.

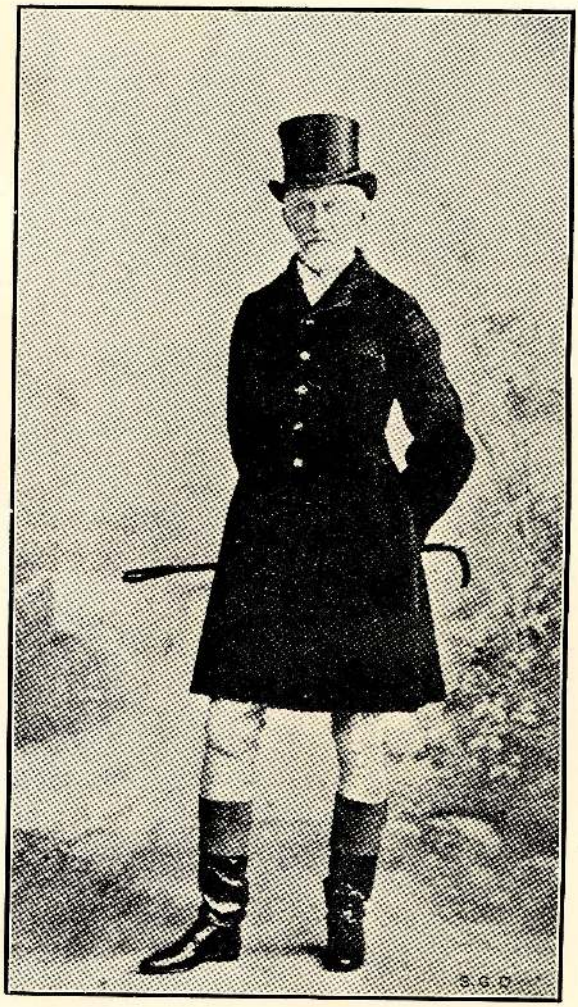
JAMES NICHOLAS MOOYAART (1822-1844) was the second son of Gualterus Mooyaart, Hoofd Administrateur of Jaffna under the Dutch. He served among other places at Jaffna, Tangalle, and Chilaw, and the early missionaries speak in terms of the highest praise of his Christian character, and of the great assistance he rendered them in their work. "His house is open to missionaries of all denominations, and those of the American, Presbyterian, of the Church of England, and of the Wesleyan body, have had the pleasure of meeting each other under his hospitable roof," says the Revd. W. M. Harvard in his "Narrative." Mooyaart married at Tranquebar in February, 1815, Johanna Catherine, daughter of the Revd. Dr. Christopher Jahn of the Danish Mission. Mrs. Jahn, presumably while on a visit to her daughter, died at Batticaloa on 30th December, 1821, aged 70. Her tombstone is at the junction of 3rd Cross Street with Hospital Street by the side of the main thoroughfare on land which at one time belonged to the Mooyaarts.

After acting as Auditor-General in 1844, Mooyaart retired on a pension of £800 per annum. Edmund Woodhouse in his "Notes by the Way" says that Mooyaart "held stoutly to the theory that dying was by no means inevitable to the man who had the opportunity of taking care of himself, and that it would be his own fault if he died . . . and when he turned 97 without any sign of an intention of shuffling off this mortal coil, people began to think that he was going to exemplify this theory in his own person. And when after all the end did eventually come, it was by no means a disproof of his theory. One cold morning, instead of waiting patiently for the housemaid to light the fire in his bedroom, he got up and did it himself, with the result that he caught a chill and died."

J. N. Mooyaart had two sons who served in Ceylon—HENRY MOOYAART, who was in the Civil Service (1848-1865),

and Archdeacon Mooyaart. Henry Mooyaart was for several years Assistant Government Agent at Kegalle, and was appointed to Badulla in the same capacity in 1862. While there he met with a serious riding accident and went on crutches for two years. He had consequently to proceed on leave to England in 1864, and retired in 1865 at the age of 38 on a pension of £300, which he drew for over 50 years. But he did not spend the years which succeeded his retirement in idleness. He matriculated in 1866 at Worcester College, and took his M.A., degree in 1874. He was ordained priest in 1875, his first curacy being at St. Ebbe, Oxford. From 1877 to 1884 he was Vicar of Benhall, Sussex. He held the living of Uplowman from 1885 to 1912. A daughter of his was married to the Hon'ble Mr. J. N. Campbell, Planter and one time Member of the Legislative Council.

Percival Acland Dyke (1822-1867) commenced life in the Navy, and was a Midshipman when he was appointed to the Ceylon Civil Service on 15th May, 1822, being then only about seventeen years of age. He came out with Sir Edward Barnes, and his first appointment was that of Extra Assistant in the Colonial Secretary's Office. On 1st March, 1824, he became Assistant to the Collector of Jaffna, and on 1st February, 1825, Fiscal and Sitting Magistrate. He left Jaffna in February, 1827, for Trincomalee, where he held the offices successively of Provincial Judge and Collector until October, 1829, when he returned to Jaffna as Collector, or Government Agent as the office was afterwards called, which appointment he held until January, 1843, when he was induced, chiefly by the strong persuasion of his friend Mr. Anstruther, who had the highest opinion of his merits, to accept the office of Auditor-General. Before the end of that year, however, at his own request, Mr. Dyke was permitted to return to his old appointment at Jaffna, which he held until his death. When Mr. Anstruther vacated the office of Colonial Secretary, the post was offered to Mr. Dyke, and it was only on his refusal to accept it that the Secretary of State was asked to make an appointment from England, and Sir J. Emerson Tennent was sent out.



R. W. T. MORRIS

Mr. Dyke went home only once for the benefit of his health, in January, 1861, but he remained in England for eight months only although he had obtained leave for a much longer period. He took an active part in the preparation of the Road Ordinance, and was for a considerable time Superintendent of the Pearl Fishery. In 1858 the Legislative Council reduced the salary of the Agency of the Northern Province from £1,500 to £1,200 per annum, Mr. Dyke being allowed to draw the former salary as a concession. This gave rise to a very able representation from Mr. Dyke, who refused to draw his salary at the higher rate so long as it was given to him as a favour. The matter went up to the Secretary of States, with the result that an Ordinance was passed for the purpose of providing for the higher salary. During Mr. Dyke's tenure of office as Auditor General a great improvement took place in the system of audit. A new code of instructions was introduced, and the Lords of the Treasury paid Mr. Dyke a high compliment for the sound judgment displayed by him.

A good picture of Mr. Dyke as he appeared to the people of Jaffna may be had from the following sketch of him which appeared in the *Colombo Observer* at the time of his death :—

"Mr. Dyke was in every sense a Rajah in Jaffna, and the people invariably treated him as such. They knew they were safe in his hands, and they liked him ; but his disciplinarian habits astounded them, and we doubt if there is or has ever been a Government Agent so thoroughly feared. At the appearance of Mr. Dyke the most forward Jaffna youth (and none of them are remarkable for their modesty) would subside into awe, and as 'the great man' always travelled in state, his visit to an outlying part of the province was an event to be dreaded, though appreciated, and above all to be long remembered. Notwithstanding his austerity, however, the natives always felt that Mr. Dyke was a friend, because he took such an absorbing interest in native affairs, and because he defended their claims against all other classes.

"The point of his character which assumed hauteur to

outsiders, we need hardly remind our readers, appeared as independence to even the highest Government Officials. The refusal to accept a higher salary than was appropriated by the Select Committee of 1858 to his office and successor; his appeal to public opinion through the columns of this Journal (which led to the promulgation of the 'Gagging Minute' by Sir Charles MacCarthy), when Red Tapeism assailed him where he could not defend himself; his recent refusal to receive the Governor as his guest—will all be fresh in the recollection of our readers, and will stir up in them that feeling which 'pluck' never fails to command. That he was unbending to a fault—even obstinate—we are constrained to confess; that he seldom or never deserted a hobby, and that he frequently missed golden opportunities, we admit; but the enterprise he exhibited himself and to which he stimulated others, the real interest in native welfare, the open-hearted charity he displayed, threw all these faults into the shade."

Sir William Gregory has an interesting reference to Mr. Dyke in his Autobiography, though he gives him a wrong initial. "This District (*i.e.*, Jaffna) had enjoyed the singular advantage of having had, as Mr. Twynam's predecessor, a Government Agent who had ruled it for, I believe, twenty years. Mr. H. Dyke was his name, a man of great ability, great force of character, and thoroughly understanding the people with whom he had to deal. He was incessant in stimulating them to improvement, and in encouraging their exertions, and had stamped as it were the industrial character on them, for which they are now distinguished. They seemed to regard him as a superior being, and 'H. Dyke Esqr.,' as they always called him, was in everyone's mouth."

Mr. Dyke died on 9th October, 1867. His last days were in keeping with his whole life. About three weeks before his death, feeling the end approaching, he summoned his Assistant, Mr. W. C. Twynam, from Mannar, in order that he might be ready to assist him in case he should get worse. At one time he rallied, but this only proved to be "the

flicker of the flame before it dies out." He expired at 5 o'clock in the morning "quite happy and easy in his mind and clear to the last." The tombstone over his grave in the Chundikuli Churchyard at Jaffna records the interesting fact that he "died in his tent at Koppay." His fellow-members in the Civil Service shewed their appreciation of a distinguished colleague by erecting a tablet to his memory in St. Peter's Church, Colombo.

Mention has been made of the fact that Sir Robert Brownrigg had a son in the Civil Service. Another Governor, Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, had a brother who was already in the service when the former arrived in Ceylon to assume duties. This was M. WILMOT (1823-1838) who, among other posts, held that of Government Agent of the Southern Province. Bennett praises Wilmot for the great improvements effected by him in the town of Galle. It is interesting to recall the fact that the Wilmots are connected by marriage with a well-known Dutch-Burgher family. E. P. Wilmot, a relation of Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, who at one time held the post of District Judge of Kalutara, married Miss Arnoldina Dulcima Kriekenbeek, daughter of William Abram Kriekenbeek. It is said that the Governor and Lady Horton regarded the union with much approval and stood sponsors to one of the children. Mrs. Wilmot died in 1905 at the age of 97.

The career of JOHN WILLIAM HUSKISSON (1824-1842) was not a very distinguished one. In 1831 he was Assistant Government Agent of Mannar and Resident Supervisor of the Pearl Fishery, in which dual capacity he ruled the people of the District with an iron hand. Boake in his Monograph of the Mannar District tells us that between 29th January and 7th May, 1831, Huskisson dismissed twenty-five peons, and adds that his diary was chiefly a record of the infliction of punishments, fines, and lashes on all kinds of people for neglect of duty. According to the same authority, "Huskisson was a mighty hunter, and is said to have bullied the people to find elephants for himself and his friends. His administration, as recorded by himself, may almost be said to be

written in blood : it is a savage record of indiscriminate lashes and fines upon all sorts and conditions of men."

Huskisson does not appear to have been a *persona grata* with Governor Stewart Mackenzie, who was accused in the columns of *The Herald* with endeavouring to procure evidence against Huskisson. An article published in that paper, which resulted in a libel action against the Editor, J. McKenzie Ross, stated that scarcely had the Governor " entered the Trincomalee District, accompanied by his confidential Interpreter, before under-hand directions were given that the people should be advised to bring forward any complaints against Mr. Huskisson, but to the great mortification and disappointment of the Governor, he was greeted, not with complaints, but with petitions in Mr. Huskisson's favour, which . . . produced such an effect upon the Governor's nervous system that he cut short his stay, and went off to Kandy without delay, as wise as he came." The trial, which came on before Sir Anthony Oliphant and an English Jury on 10th December, 1839, ended in an acquittal. Huskisson retired in 1842 while holding the post of Government Agent of the Eastern Province. Mr. J. P. Lewis says he was forced to retire because he refused to go to Galle as District Judge when ordered to do so.

It is quite a common practice in Ceylon for roads to be named after Government Agents and Assistant Government Agents during whose regime they were opened, but it is believed that there is only one case on record of a Government official giving his name to an island. There are in the Batticaloa lagoon several small islands, one of which, situated near the mouth of the lagoon, is called " Bone's Island " from the fact that J. BONE (1825-1837), who was Assistant Government Agent at Batticaloa, built a small bungalow upon it and made it a place for occasional resort.

CHARLES REGINALD BULLER (1825-1855) is said to have been one of Thomas Carlyle's favourite pupils. He was Government Agent of the Western Province in 1840, and gave his name to what is now one of the longest roads in Colombo. During the Kandyan rebellion of 1848 he was

Government Agent of the Central Province, and emerged from the ordeal with his reputation untarnished. It was while he was on a tour of inspection as Government Agent that the unfortunate death of Major Rogers took place. Mr. and Mrs. Buller had arrived in Haputale, and Major Rogers, who was in charge of Badulla, went up to meet his chief. They had probably been doing some outdoor inspection work, when a sudden thunder-storm compelled them to take shelter in the Haputale Rest-house. After a time Major Rogers, stepped on to the verandah to see if the storm had abated. He had hardly called out to Mrs. Buller, "It is all over now" (meaning the storm), when there was a blinding flash of lightning, and Major Rogers, who was struck, fell dead almost at Mrs. Buller's feet.

Buller was a keen naturalist, and made a large collection of snakes during his residence in Kandy, which he submitted to Dr. Gunther, who, however, found only one specimen which was previously unknown to belong to the island. He was also of much assistance to Sir J. Emerson Tennent in the preparation of his work on the Natural History of Ceylon. He retired in 1855 and in 1878 was still drawing his pension.

William Henry Whiting (1826-1856) entered the service as Extra Assistant in the Chief Secretary's Office, and after going through the various gradations of Sitting Magistrate, Fiscal, Assistant Government Agent, and District Judge, was appointed Government Agent of the Eastern Province in 1845, where he remained for a fairly long period. He married Elizabeth, fourth daughter of the Rev. Norman Garstin, Colonial Chaplain. He was one of the jurors at the Kandy State trial in 1835. He had a somewhat singular experience while holding the appointment of District Judge of Colombo North in 1842. He was charged by Robert William Langslow, an Advocate, in the District Court of Colombo South, of which his father was Judge, with having assumed the office of Judge without authority, and having tried him for an assault on Mr. F. J. Saunders, C.C.S., at the Queen's Birthday Ball of 1842. The case was transferred

to the Kalutara Court, but in the meanwhile Mr. Langslow, Senior, entered judgment by default against his brother Judge of the North Court. On application to the Supreme Court the case was dismissed.

The career of PHILIP EDMUND WODEHOUSE (1828-1851) threatened at one period to end ingloriously, but by sheer force of character he overcame all difficulties and retired as Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. In 1833 he was Assistant to Mr. Anstruther in the Colonial Secretary's Office, and by 1843 he had become Government Agent of the Western Province, and acted as Colonial Secretary. His rapid promotion is attributed not only to his own undoubted ability, but also to his relationship to the Kimberley family, and the opinion has been expressed that had the Whigs remained longer in office, he would have risen to be Colonial Secretary of Ceylon. But the Tories came into power, and the Earl of Derby sent out one of his own Parliamentary supporters in the person of Sir. J. Emerson Tennent to fill that office. It is possible that Wodehouse's supersession predisposed him against Tennent. In any case they became bitter enemies, and Lord Torrington's path was not smoothed by the quarrels of his two chief advisers. At last affairs in Ceylon reached a crisis, and Tennent was sent to England to lay before the Committee of the House of Commons the case of the Ceylon Government. He did so with great ability and force, but the effect of his testimony was discounted by Wodehouse, who was also present, and who produced a batch of private letters, among them one addressed to him by Lord Torrington, in which Tennent was accused of "lies, slander, and treachery." Tennent retaliated by producing private letters himself, and the case created quite a sensation in political circles in London. The matter was debated in Parliament, with the result that Torrington, Tennent, and Wodehouse were recalled from Ceylon. Far from suffering in reputation by these proceedings, Wodehouse emerged with his character unsullied, and was appointed Superintendent of Honduras. From here he was sent as Governor of British Guiana, and then served successively

as Governor of Bombay and of the Cape of Good Hope. For his eminent services he received the honour of Knighthood.

Wodehouse's career in Ceylon is full of interest. He was the first owner of Darley House. A staunch Churchman, he made, it is said, an unsuccessful attempt to give the first Bishop of Colombo rank above the Chief Justice. It is also stated that "his attempt to solve the Buddhist question"—whatever that may be—"was unsuccessful." His chief title to fame rests on the part he played in introducing the Road Ordinance. One of its chief features, *viz.*, the Poll-Tax, which in our day was condemned as an unjust impost and had to be withdrawn, was in Wodehouse's time regarded as a triumph of administrative wisdom. A local newspaper, in reviewing Wodehouse's career at the time of his death in 1887, spoke of his having "conferred a boon on this country in the shape of a law rendering it compulsory on adult males to contribute six days labour." Indeed, William Skeen, the Government Printer of the day, thought Wodehouse worthy of being immortalised in verse, together with Torrington, for the part they played in introducing the Road Ordinance. This is how he refers to them in his poem "The Knuckles":—

"Lord Torrington, whose vigorous hand
Rebellion rooted from the land;
Who oppositions fierce beset;
Round whom raged party warfare; yet
E'en now worst foes admit they feel
He govern'd for the country's weal.
That worth all praise was Ordinance wise
Provincial roads to realise,—
A legislative master-stroke
That well for framer, ruler spoke:
By Wodehouse plann'd, the Viscount saw
At once its wisdom, made it law:
Countless its benefits; each year
Its value greater doth appear."

Wodehouse married a daughter of F. J. Templer (known as one of "the blue-eyed Devonshire Templers,") who was

Treasurer of Ceylon. He died, as already stated, in 1887.

GRAEME REID MERCER (1830-1849) was Assistant Government Agent, Kandy, in 1835 and Assistant Government Agent of Mannar and Nuwara Kalawiya in 1843. He was stationed in Trincomalee in 1848, and we find the following reference to him by Captain J. M. Henderson :—Within a day or two of the abrogation of martial law, I started off on horseback for Trincomalee, for the purpose of prosecuting an old servant of mine, who had robbed my house, to a very large amount, while I was stationed there, and whom I had succeeded in capturing in Matale. This man was most improperly released by Mr. Mercer, (a very inefficient Civil Servant), the day before my arrival in Trincomalee. For this, and his very improper conduct on my applying to have the man recaptured, Mr. Mercer was much blamed by the Judges of the Supreme Court, and severely reprimanded by the Queen's Advocate. He was also ordered immediately to issue a warrant for the man's re-apprehension, who, however, was never seen again. Thus justice miscarried entirely through the pomposity, ignorance, and self-sufficiency of the Judge."

Mercer retired in 1849 while holding the appointment of Assistant Government Agent of Badulla, and died in 1887.

The fate which befell CHARLES WESTER (1830-1845) was as sudden as it was unexpected. He was acting Government Agent of the Eastern Province in 1845 and was stationed in Trincomalee. Being in perfectly sound health, he had gone out in the middle of the day in a palanquin on a visit of inspection. When about four miles from Trincomalee, he had a fit of apoplexy, and died before he could be carried home. He was only 34 years of age. In 1880 another Civil Servant died in somewhat similar circumstances. JAMES GREER EDGE (1878-1880) was Police Magistrate of Puttalam and Calpentyn, and was on his way to hold Court at the latter place when he died in the boat in which he was travelling.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REFORMS OF 1833

As has been shown already, the year 1833 marks the date of the introduction of the reforms recommended by Colebrooke and Cameron, the keynote of which was economy. It is generally agreed that the reduction of salaries and staff was a short-sighted policy, though one member of the Service, who was compelled to retire much against his will, has expressed a contrary view. Bennett, the officer in question, makes the following observations in his book "Ceylon and its Capabilities" :—

"A single instance may suffice to show the excessive amount that was expended for the support of one department only; and the manner in which the same duties have been since executed at the reduced rate, affords a clear proof that it has sustained no loss, in point of efficiency, by the alteration.

"In 1816, the Chief Secretary's office at Colombo was superintended by two Deputy Secretaries (the Chief Secretaryship being a mere sinecure of £3,000 a year), of whom, the senior held also the office of Secretary for the Kandyan Provinces, at salaries of £2,000 and £1,500; a First Assistant at £640, a Second Assistant at £512, and an indefinite number of extra assistants at £300 a year each; but allowing two extra assistants as an average, the seven salaries amounted to £8,252!—and in the year 1838, the same department was equally as efficient under the management of a Colonial Secretary at a salary of £2,000 a year, (which is more by £500 a year than the pay of Her Majesty's Under Secretaries of State for the still more laborious duties of the colonial department), and one assistant at £620 a year."

According to Sueter, who has already been quoted, the "new Civil Service" began with WILLIAM CHARLES GIBSON

(1832–1869), the son of Lewis Gibson, who was Agent of Revenue at Matara under George Gregory, of the East India Company's Service, and who was successively Collector of Revenue at Galle and Colombo in 1799–1801. He was later Deputy Paymaster and Garrison Storekeeper at Galle, and retired in 1814. He married at Galle on 20th November, 1806, Caroline Layard, sister of Charles Edward Layard. William Charles Gibson began his official career as Extra Assistant in the Chief Secretary's Office, acting as Government Agent of the Western Province nine years after entering the service. He acted as Auditor-General and Colonial Secretary on several occasions, and was confirmed in the latter post in August, 1860. He married a daughter of C. E. Layard. Gibson is described as a man of tireless devotion to duty, extraordinary industry, and undeviating rectitude. But he had his failings, one of them being that he kept too tight a hold on the Colony's purse. His character is well set off in an article which appeared in the *Observer* in 1855:— "Mr. Gibson's conservatism and red-tape did not fully appear in his position as Auditor-General, for which, indeed, he was admirably adapted. As Colonial Secretary his policy has cast a blight on the advancement of the Colony, and has brought its improvement and prosperity to a stand-still. Mr. Gibson is able, honest in one sense, and possessed of vast local knowledge. But he wants a statesman's prescience, large views, and a large heart; and is consequently the most unpopular man in Ceylon at the present moment."

We learn a good deal about Gibson from Digby's Life of Sir Richard Morgan. The former seems to have been a thorn in the side of the Queen's Advocate, who had to put up with much rudeness from the irascible Colonial Secretary. The following entry appears in Morgan's Diary:— "I was very much vexed with G's conduct towards me. I went to him. He turned away angrily. I went again to his room, when he was uncivil to a degree. I left him. With all my anxiety to pull well with him, and to put up with slights, which his insolence at times subjects me to, my sense of

self-respect recoils at his conduct which I can bear nolonger."

There are numerous similar references by Morgan to Gibson in Digby's book, all tending to show that he was a difficult man to work with, but one other quotation will suffice. "Mr. Gibson was a hard-working and conscientious public servant, but his long Colonial career impaired his usefulness and made him very narrow-minded in his views. There was hardly a public work undertaken after he became a member of the Executive Government which he did not oppose. His friends, who knew how strictly honest and conscientious he was, and how useful a drag he proved to so impetuous a ruler as Ward, and how many mistakes he saved the Colony from, appreciated him and regretted his leaving them, but the natives and the public in general did not share in this feeling, and made no adequate demonstration when the time of his leaving us drew near. Indeed, his exit reminds one of the way a negro once proposed the health of the Governor of his State :— 'He came in wid little obbosition, he went out wid none.' As one of the Committee to get up the public dinner to Mr. Gibson, when he was leaving us, I regretted that we could not get the native gentlemen to join in it. 'Yes, Sir,' said poor Cornelius Perera, late Mudaliyar of the Customs, who was one of the very few who did join, 'it is a great shame. There is no Mudaliyar in the country, who will not find Mr. Gibson's signature in his acts or grants.' Acts of office and grants of land bear the Colonial Secretary's signature, but this was a novel reason for remembering a man. Perera, however, did not see it."

Lorenz, in his "Christmas Debates," has given us in his inimitable style a pen-picture of Gibson.

"And on the left of the Chairman sat
Gibson, the 'honourable friend' of times gone by
Stout, hearty, with huge rolls of double chin ;
And next to him his Chief Crown-Law Adviser,
A shorter, but a more developed Corporation."

Two of Gibson's sons entered the Civil Service. James Whitaker Gibson (1868–1890), and Thomas Maitland

GIBSON (1871–1887). The former is said to have been a man of delicate health, but he did much good work as Magistrate and Judge. He retired at the age of 46, his brother retiring at an even earlier age.

It may not be generally known that Sir Edward Noel Walker, who was Lieutenant-Governor and Colonial Secretary from 1887–1901, had an uncle in the Ceylon Civil Service. This was ANDREW WALKER (1832–1848), who after a service of 16 years, retired as Commissioner of Requests and Police Magistrate, Kandy. He does not appear to have done anything of note.

The service of EDMUND SAMPSON WARING (1832–1848) was of the same duration as that of Andrew Walker, but unlike the latter, Waring came into much prominence. He was a son of Sampson Waring, Ordnance Storekeeper, Trincomalee, who arrived there in 1816 and died two years later. E. S. Waring was appointed Assistant in the Cinnamon Department in 1822 and Assistant Government Agent, Galle, in 1833. At the time of the rebellion of 1848 he was Police Magistrate of Matale, in addition to which he performed certain revenue duties. His conduct during this critical period was not what it should have been, according to Captain J. M. Henderson. "The Police Magistrate had been in the act of bottling off a cask of beer, when the advent of the rebels was announced, so that on their arrival they found it ready to their hand." Waring took refuge in Kandy. He was found fault with for not having had better information on the subject of the assembling of people in his district. His defence was that he was only Police Magistrate and not Assistant Government Agent; that his business was to sit in Court and hear those cases which were brought before him; and that he could not perambulate the district and make himself acquainted with the people and their doings, as an Agent ought, without neglecting his duty as Police Magistrate. This explanation was not considered satisfactory, and Waring was called upon to retire from the service. He died in Kandy in 1856, at the age of 60.

JOHN DENIS BROWNE (1832–1843) entered the Civil

Service as Assistant Government Agent, Trincomalee, and in 1837 he was transferred in the same capacity to Matara. "Browne's Hill," now a residential quarter, is called after him. He died suddenly at Galle.

"Few men have lived more loved and respected, few men have died more sincerely regretted" are the striking words on a tablet erected to the memory of JAMES CAULFIELD (1832–1861) in St. Peter's Church in the Fort. Caulfield began life as a midshipman in one of the old East India Company's ships, but did not like this calling. His career in Ceylon dates from 1st March, 1823, when he became an Assistant in the Cinnamon Department under John Walbeoff. His first Civil Service appointment was as Fiscal, Colombo. He rose steadily in the Service, and by 1854, had become Treasurer. He was one of those civilians who combined coffee-planting with their official duties—a practice which ultimately brought about Lord Derby's despatch of 1845, and laid the foundation of the present Civil Service. Caulfield went into partnership with Dr. Dodsworth, who had married a daughter of Walbeoff. They purchased Crown land and planted it with coffee. Caulfield supplied the capital, or part of it, from borrowed money, and the debt hung like a millstone round his neck. In pursuance of the Secretary of State's ruling, he was asked if he had given up his interest in land. His reply was that he had purchased the land from Government, almost on the recommendation of Government; that he had spent a large sum on the estate; that it was worth £5,000; and that he was quite ready to make it over to Government for that price. The subject then dropped and was not revived.

Caulfield died at Kandy on 4th May, 1861, of disease of the heart of long standing. He had a son, HANS CHARLES CAULFIELD (1859–1867), who was in the Civil Service, and who went on leave in 1867, and died two days after landing at Southampton.

The case of ROBERT ATHERTON (1832–1855) furnishes a striking instance of the ease with which entrance to the Civil Service was obtained in the early days. Atherton was

for some time a purser in the Navy, and served under Captain Marryat in the *Lorne* during the first Burmese war, being honourably mentioned in despatches for bravery. Coming to Ceylon, he succeeded Captain Edward Nolan as Superintendent, Sitting Magistrate, and Fiscal of Delft in 1825, and rose to be Government Agent of the Eastern Province. In a criticism of the administration of Mr. Stewart Mackenzie by a writer signing himself "Britannia," which was reproduced in the *Colombo Observer* in 1841, the following passage occurs :— "We are credibly informed that a gentleman was raised to a Judgeship of the District Court of Ceylon with a salary of £1,000 per annum, who was brought up to the profession of a seaman, and who was destitute of the commonest requisites for his legal office." It is believed that the reference is to Robert Atherton.

Robert Atherton had three sons. The eldest, John, died in infancy, and was buried in the compound of the Kayts Rest-house, where there is a monument to his memory. The second son, Robert, was at one time a Lieutenant in the Ceylon Rifles. The third son, EDWARD NEWNHAM ATHERTON, entered the Civil Service in 1852, and retired in 1883 after 32 years' residence without a break in the Island. Robert and Edward were so well-known to the people of Batticaloa that they were spoken of generally as "Bob Pillai" and "Ned Pillai." Edward Atherton was dubbed the "Infant Judge" by the *Observer*, probably owing to the early age (21) at which he was appointed to judicial office. It is said that, while Assistant Government Agent of Kegalle, he recommended Government to allow a planter to obtain some land at half the upset price on the ground that he had opened a coffee estate, and that it was doing "most splendaciously." The story is told that on one occasion, while Atherton was delivering his judgment in a case at Batticaloa in which that irrepressible Irish Barrister, Denis Purcell, was appearing for the losing side, Purcell was keeping up a running commentary in a series of inaudible asides on different points in the judgment, punctuated with forcible ejaculations, such as "D-d fool," etc. At last the Judge was compelled

to take notice of these interruptions, and said :— "Mr. Purcell, though apparently you do not approve of my judgment, I can assure you that I have devoted much care and consideration to it, and in fact last night I worked like a horse at it." "Like an ass, I should say" was Purcell's caustic comment, *sotto voce*.

It is a matter of common knowledge that Sir William Rough, Serjeant-at-law, was Chief Justice of Ceylon in the thirties, but few people are aware that he had a son in the Civil Service. W. H. ROUGH (1833–1841) was Private Secretary to the Chief Justice, Sir Charles Marshall, in 1832, acting Postmaster-General in 1835, and Assistant Government Agent, Trincomalee and Kandy, in 1837. He resigned from the Service in 1841.

The well-known family of Saunders had representatives of three generations serving in the Civil Service. The first to enter the Service was FREDERICK SAUNDERS (1836–1865), who had served his apprenticeship as a Customs officer in other parts of the world before coming to Ceylon. He began his career in 1823 in the Collector's Office at Liverpool. From there he was transferred to Halifax, Nova Scotia, as Warehouse-keeper. His next appointment was as Controller, St. Andrew's, New Brunswick, from which place he went as Collector to St. George's, Bermuda. On his arrival in Ceylon in 1836, he was appointed Controller of Customs, and seven years afterwards he become Principal Collector. In 1861 he was appointed Treasurer and Commissioner of Stamps—a post which his son was destined to fill with much acceptance in the years to come. He retired in 1865.

FREDERICK RICHARD SAUNDERS (1856–1899), son of Frederick Saunders, received his early education at St. Thomas' College, Colombo, and was then sent to England, where he entered Guernsey College and afterwards the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. On his return to Ceylon he was appointed to the Unfixed Establishment of the Survey Department on 1st January, 1856. He then went to Calcutta and passed an examination for entrance into the

Public Works Department, Bengal. He was in India during the Indian Mutiny and took part in suppressing it. Returning to Ceylon, he was appointed Assistant Surveyor and was drafted into the Civil Service on 1st July, 1860, being appointed to act as Assistant Government Agent, Trincomalee. He filled various revenue and judicial appointments and acted as Inspector-General of Police and Prisons in 1872, while in 1879 he was appointed Government Agent of the Western Province. He next acted successively as Treasurer and Auditor-General, and in 1890 he was permanently appointed to the former post, an office which he filled with credit until his retirement in 1899.

Mr. Saunders was selected in 1866 for duty in England in connection with the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, and as a reward for his service he was made a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. He again represented Ceylon at the Queen's Jubilee and received his Knighthood—an honour which was acknowledged on all hands to be well deserved.

Eminent as were his services in every sphere in which he served, the name of Frederick Saunders is generally associated in the popular mind with the capture of Sardiel, the Robin Hood of Ceylon. While serving as Assistant Government Agent of Kegalle in 1864, a series of bold raids committed by a small robber band led by Sardiel, who had selected the inaccessible heights of Utuwankanda as his retreat, made the young Civilian determine to bring the offenders to justice. One day, while Mr. Saunders was at dinner, a wounded man came to him and gave information regarding a fresh outrage committed by Sardiel. Mr. Saunders thereupon went to Utuwankanda and found two men dead, one severely wounded and two slightly. He caused the house in which Sardiel and another member of the band had taken refuge to be surrounded, and applied to Kandy for military assistance. Next morning a party of soldiers arrived from Kandy. Sardiel was called upon to surrender, but he said he would only do so if Mr. Saunders came personally and arrested him. Mr. Saunders agreed to do so if all arms were handed out. This

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being done, Mr. Saunders went into the house and arrested Sardiel.

Sir Frederick Saunders was present at the second annual dinner of Ceylonese students in London in 1901, at which Mr. Dornhorst presided, and in reply to the toast of his health he made the following touching remarks:— "We have lived many years in Ceylon and we love the country and its people. We hear with pride of the success of a Ceylon man. We regard it as something which touches us as well as you. I am proud to be a Ceylonese. My father served in Ceylon for many years, and I was born in Ceylon and served in Ceylon for 45 years. I have now left a son in Ceylon, and I hope that when you get back to the island, you will be as kind to him as your fathers and relations were to me."

The Colombo Garden Club owes its institution to Sir Frederick Saunders, who took the initiative by calling a meeting which was held at Charsley House on 12th May, 1879. He was also a warm supporter of the Colombo Turf Club, of which he was a Steward. He was twice married. His first wife was the daughter of W. C. Gibson, Colonial Secretary. She died in 1893. In 1900 he married the widow of Captain Clifford Borrer of the 60th Rifles. She was received into the Catholic Church about 15 years before her death, which occurred in 1909. Sir Frederick Saunders died on 30th March, 1910. His son, REGINALD GIBSON SAUNDERS, was in the Civil Service from 1899 to 1926. He worthily maintained the traditions of the family for kindliness, and was a popular officer.

To EDMUND RAWDON POWER (1837–1860) belongs the distinction of editing one of the earliest literary periodicals in Ceylon. He came out as Private Secretary to Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, and was the first to introduce Shorthand into Ceylon. He wrote Lewis's system and was an adept at the art. Being a literary man, he was instrumental in starting a quarterly magazine known as *The Ceylon Miscellany*, which had the honour of reproducing a series of "Letters on Colonial Policy" written by the Governor himself under the *nom de plume* of "Philalethes." Among other appointments

held by Power was that of Assistant Colonial Secretary. He succeeded Charles Reginald Buller as Government Agent of Kandy, where he proved to be very popular. He is described by the late Mr. J. B. Siebel, who served under him, as having "a very expressive face and a large head, with black curly hair." He married into a literary family, his wife being the daughter of William Jerdan, Editor of the London *Literary Gazette*. Mrs. Power herself took a great deal of interest in *The Ceylon Miscellany*.

Power was an athlete, if one may judge from a feat of pedestrianism performed by him. He took a wager that he would walk from Kandy to Nuwara Eliya, a distance of about 50 miles, in sixteen consecutive hours. The odds were against him, but he won his wager easily, with an hour and twenty minutes to spare.

William Morris (1837–1869) came out to Ceylon about the year 1826 as a Lieutenant in the 97th Regiment, and was absorbed into the Civil Service in 1837, his first appointment being that of Assistant Government Agent of Hambantota. In process of time he became Government Agent of the Eastern Province, and retired as Government Agent of the Southern Province. The following interesting reference to this Civilian appeared in an article contributed by Mr. J. P. Lewis to a local newspaper:— "Is it not of him, *fabula narratur*, that on his opening one day the Treasury at the Kurunegala Kachcheri, he found a transformation, to wit, the boxes that should have contained silver, filled instead with copper coins, and that he had henceforth to go through the slow and painful process of making good the deficiency by monthly instalments? So I have heard: the details may be wrong."

Robert William Trevor Morris (1853–1878) was the son of Robert Morris. He was born in Ceylon, and at the age of seven was sent to England for his education. A brilliant lad, he made rapid progress in his studies, and when seventeen years of age, he returned to Ceylon and entered the Civil Service. He took his first holiday to England when the war between the Prussians and the Danes was in

progress. Sympathizing with the latter, he actually set out to join the Danes as a volunteer. Providence, however, intervened, and *en route* he met the lady who shortly afterwards became his wife. He returned with her to Ceylon, and after serving at Kegalle and Trincomalee, he was appointed, while only 34, Government Agent of the Eastern Province.

Morris was a voluminous writer, and as a result of his early training under Mr. Dyke, he attached great importance to Diaries, in which he recorded at great length the daily happenings in the Kachcheri. A Diary entry was his recognized method of recording censure or praise. His administration of the Eastern Province was marked by zeal and vigour. Towards his headmen he assumed an austere demeanour, and it was commonly believed that it was a bad augury if the Agent smiled. He was of an irritable disposition and quarrelled with everybody. It is said that he even once took the Anglican clergyman of Batticaloa to task for officiating at the burial service of one who, though a professed Christian, had not attended Church for a number of years.

After serving as Government Agent of the North-Western Province, Morris retired at the age of 42 on the ground of ill-health, though it was generally believed that this step was taken owing to the appointment of Frederick Saunders, his junior, to the Agency of the Western Province. His pension was only Rs. 5,400 per annum, but his wife had ample means, and this enabled them to build a beautiful house at Ivybridge, Devonshire. Here Morris was a keen follower of the hounds and devoted much attention to horse-breeding. He also spent a good deal of his time in travel, and once re-visited Ceylon. As the years began to tell on him he gave up hunting and took to fishing. While indulging in this recreation he one day caught a chill, which resulted in his death at the age of 72.

It will have been noticed that members of distinguished families have from time to time joined the Civil Service. Mention has already been made of Leslie, Rodney, Turnour, and Henry St. John. To these must be added the name of the Hon. Gerald Chetwynd Talbot (1838–1855). He

was a son of Earl Talbot, and retired as Government Agent of the Southern Province. In 1839 he was stationed at Mannar as Assistant Government Agent, and E. L. Mitford, on the last stage of his land march from England to Ceylon, "met Mr. Talbot of the Civil Service, travelling in his District," with whom he dined in his tent.

Galle owes a good deal to Mr. Talbot. A newspaper of the day paid a tribute to him for his "enlarged views and energy of purpose" and referred to "the roads with which he has intersected the neighbourhood, the beautiful wells for supplying the town with fresh water, the long range of two-storied buildings—the two latter denominated after the name of the projector 'Talbot Wells' and 'Talbot Town' —and the fine foot-path leading to the entrance to the town."

It is believed that Talbot retired in order to become Private Secretary to Lord Canning. He did not obtain this appointment, but was given some other appointment under the India Office. He died in 1885.

Henry Edward O'Grady (1840–1867) was a grandson of Dr. Edward O'Grady, who was a physician at Paris, and is said to have been attached as such to the Court of King Louis Philippe. Henry O'Grady had been Private Secretary to Sir Edward Bulwer, and came out to Ceylon with General Sir Robert Arbuthnot in the same capacity. It was intended at first that he should join the Ceylon Bar, and Governor Stewart Mackenzie was in 1839 arranging for a course of study for him. It was important, in the Governor's opinion, that he should be conversant with Paley's "Moral Philosophy," and with Cicero's "De Oficiis," "as it is well said a man can never be a good lawyer who is not well grounded in his Ethics." But the prospect of Paley was perhaps not alluring, and O'Grady joined the Civil Service in 1840, having obtained a nomination from the Marquis of Normandy. He rose to be Government Agent of Kurunegala and died in 1867.

Robert Langslow (1840–1844) was in the Civil Service for four short years only, but this period was full of incident. He was married to an aunt of William Makepeace Thackeray. A Barrister of the Middle Temple, he was in 1832 appointed

Attorney-General of Malta. On the abolition of this post he received an appointment in Ceylon as District Judge of Colombo South, with a promise of promotion to the Supreme Court. This was the first appointment of a Barrister from the English Bar to the Colombo District Court Bench, such appointments having hitherto been held by members of the Civil Service, and it was made in consequence of a representation from the public of Ceylon to the Home Government. In 1842 friction arose between Langslow and the local Government, which culminated in his suspension by Sir Colin Campbell in December, 1843, and eventually in his dismissal in 1844 on charges of "dilatory justice, insubordination, and contempt towards the Governor." Langslow returned to England in May, 1845, and petitioned Parliament to reconsider his case. The matter came up before the House of Commons, but the result was unfavourable to Langslow, who was however given a promise of re-employment.

Langslow was an able but very eccentric man, with a tendency to oppose all constituted authority. The Chief Justices of Malta and Ceylon both bore the highest testimony to his character, and Sir Colin Campbell himself admitted that he was indefatigable in the discharge of his duty. The Governor of Malta, on the other hand, regarded him as "an enemy to all persons in authority," and charges had been made in Malta that he had supported his son—who afterwards became an Advocate in Ceylon—against the Magistrates, and that he had "led a factious and discontented party to embarrass the Government."

Of Langslow's eccentricity as District Judge there are numerous instances. In January, 1842, he inserted an advertisement in the *Colombo Journal*, intimating that his law books would be sold by auction, "solely because the owner has now ascertained that he cannot any longer afford, out of the small salary paid to him as a Judge, to keep up a law library for the service in effect of the Government and the public." He gave this sale as a reason for fearing that he might not be able to discharge his duties as efficiently as their importance demanded.

On one occasion a dispute arose between the Queen's Advocate and himself regarding the cases to be committed for trial before him. Having permitted 338 criminal cases to accumulate he locked up the whole of the records and sent them to the Queen's Advocate, suspending the administration of justice because he happened to be engaged in a mere technical dispute with him. On another occasion he commented on the conduct of the Judges of the Supreme Court in setting aside a conviction of his, in which he had sentenced Lieut. Pugh of the 95th Regiment to a fine and to imprisonment for lashing a native with his whip within the precincts of the Court. Langslow's son, who became Deputy Queen's Advocate of the Northern Circuit, married a daughter of John Gerard Kriekenbeek, Advocate, and Dutch Interpreter to the Supreme Court.

Richard H. Fitzroy Somerset (1841–1847) came out to Ceylon with Sir Colin Campbell as his Private Secretary. He was subsequently taken into the Civil Service, and was Assistant Government Agent of Colombo in 1844. On his retirement in 1847 he was offered the post of Private Secretary to the King of Hanover, but could not accept the appointment owing to his ignorance of foreign languages. He eventually became Lord Raglan.

If length of tenure of office is an indication of efficiency, Philip Watson Braybrooke (1842–1869) must have been a very able Government Agent. He administered the affairs of the Central Province for eleven years, retiring at the comparatively early age of 46. He was extremely popular with all classes, and much regret was felt at his departure. It is said that the only mistake he made in his administration was "in connection with the row at the Maligawa. He had all along countenanced the proceedings of the rivals of the Dewa Nilame, helping them with a guard of constables, etc., who had by brute force kept the only recognized Dewa Nilame out of office, and assisted those who had temporarily taken possession of the temple to act as they pleased." Legal proceedings were instituted, and the case created a great deal of interest at the time. Shortly before he gave up the

reins of office, Braybrooke was presented with a substantial testimonial, accompanied by a valedictory address. He died in 1906, having enjoyed his pension for 37 years.

While stationed at Hambantota as Assistant Government Agent, Braybrooke was the victim of the dishonesty of a subordinate. He had occasion to send a remittance to Galle, and when the cases arrived at their destination, they were found to contain copper instead of silver. Braybrooke was called upon to make good the deficiency, half his monthly salary being stopped for the purpose. He appealed to the Secretary of State, who eventually reversed the decision of the local Government, and the deductions made from his salary for two years were refunded. It is said that Braybrooke declared afterwards that he found he could manage to live just as well on his half pay as on his full pay.

Henry Templer (1842–1851), a brother of F. J. Templer, came out to Ceylon by the ship *Achilles*, arriving on 10th September, 1839. He acted as Sub-Collector of Customs, Kalutara, from 6th April, 1841, and for a short time in November of the same year he officiated as District Judge, Kalutara, during the absence of T. Lavalliere. This caused the *Ceylon Observer* to complain of " a lad of about nineteen acting as District Judge." Templer was appointed to the Civil Service on 5th July, 1842, and had held the appointment of Assistant Government Agent, Matale, for about three years when his death occurred. A tablet was erected in St. Paul's Church, Kandy, by the Ratemahatmayas, Korales, Arachchies, and other influential natives of the district " as a token of the high estimation in which they held his character and their sorrow for his loss. He was endeared to them by his amiable disposition; and by the conscientious discharge of his public duties he commanded their respect." He was only 28 years of age at the time of his death.

George William Templer (1865–1895), born at Jaffna, was the son of Henry Templer. He was a capable officer and had a bright future before him, but owing to pecuniary difficulties he had to retire at the age of 48. In *Truth* of 7th

May, 1903, an article appeared in which it was said that "Mr. Chamberlain sequestered first one-half and then the whole of his pension of £615 per annum for the benefit of his creditors, the result being that Mr. Templer, an invalid unable to follow any employment, together with his wife and children, was reduced to a state of destitution."

Templer married a sister of A. R. Dawson of the Civil Service. His son, G. D. Templer, was an Assistant Conservator of Forests, and married Miss Fisher, daughter of F. C. Fisher. One of his daughters married H. R. Spence of the Forest Department, and the other O. W. Henman of the Irrigation Department. Templer died in 1916 at the age of 70.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REFORMS OF 1845

As has already been shewn, the deterioration of the Civil Service was first noticed by Sir Colin Campbell on his assumption of duties as Governor in 1841, and a long correspondence with the Secretary of State ensued. The principal cause of the failure of the system introduced in 1833 was stated to be the paralysing effect of a constant attention to seniority in making promotions, and the consequent absence of any hope of advancement by reason of superior merit. The remedy was to revert in a considerable measure to the old system, and to effect various other improvements, such as increasing the number of appointments. It is important to note that although in 1833 the Civil Service had been thrown open to all competent English-speaking natives. including Burghers, and to British colonists in Ceylon, this provision was not acted upon as far as the former class was concerned. The principal feature of the 1845 reforms was the appointment of Ceylonese to posts in the Civil Service,

The enlargement of the Civil Service provided an opportunity for finding places for a number of officers in the Department of Roads and in judicial posts, who were not members of the regular Service. That this step was not altogether a wise one was shewn by the Governor's despatch to the Secretary of State, in which he expressed his serious doubts as to the competency of two of the latter class of officers to fill judicial posts. One of them, he said, "has been in service for 35 years, was at one time a useful officer, is now very weak in mind, inefficient, and not respected by the population. He ought to be pensioned." As regards the other, the Governor said he was formerly Secretary of a Minor Court, having been appointed in 1840 by Mr. Stewart

Mackenzie. "The appointment has proved a very unfortunate one. This officer is totally unfit for any judicial office. At the best he would make a very indifferent clerk. He is by no means respected or trusted by the inhabitants. He has been altogether 24 years in the public service, and it would be very desirable to get rid of him."

The distinction of being practically the first Ceylonese to be admitted into the Civil Service rests with FEDERICK DE LIVERA (1844–1854). He was educated at Calcutta, and on his return to Ceylon was appointed permanent Assessor of the District Court of Galle. He was holding the appointment of Mudaliyar of Hewagam Korale when he was appointed to act as Assistant Agent and District Judge of Hambantota. Writing to the Secretary of State in June, 1837, Sir Robert Wilmot Horton said :— "Mr. A. de Saram having died almost immediately after his appointment, this may be considered the first actual appointment of a Sinhalese to be an Assistant Agent and District Judge, and I trust that Mr. Livera's conduct will entitle him to look to a more permanent appointment." Livera next acted as District Judge of Tangalle, and was later transferred in the same capacity to Matara. He was recommended by Governor Stewart Mackenzie in 1839 for promotion to the Civil Service in the following terms :— "This gentleman's claims and qualifications are specified in my predecessor's despatches. I consider it to be due to him also that he should, besides being confirmed in the District Judgeship of Matara, be likewise placed in the new Civil Service." Livera was absorbed into the Civil Service in 1844, and held the appointment of District Judge of Matara until his death ten years later. Another member of the family, FREDERICK JOHN DE LIVERA (1868–1901), rose to be District Judge of Galle and died in 1901.

THEODORE LAVALLIERE (1844–1859) was the son of Jean Marie Lavalliere, who married a daughter of Pieter Sluysken of the Dutch Company's Service. J. M. Lavalliere held several appointments as Customs Master and Sitting Magistrate, and died in 1831. Evidently in consideration of his father's services, Theodore Lavalliere was appointed Sitting Magis-

trate of Galle, and specializing in law he rose to be acting District Judge of Colombo. While serving as District Judge of Kalutara, a duel was arranged between him and Lieutenant Remmet, C.R.R., to be fought on 30th July, 1842, but the Superintendent of Police arrived on the spot just as the principals were placed. Lavalliere's second was T. L. Gibson, who was then acting as District Judge of Colombo.

Sir Richard Morgan does not appear to have had a very high opinion of Lavalliere as a Judge. Writing in his diary under date 26th January, 1847, he says :— "Mr. Lavalliere gave judgment in the verandah case, of course for the Crown. I blame him not for the finding; he may conscientiously think it correct, but some remarks in the conclusion seem evidently put—if not at the suggestion of, certainly to pander to, the appetites of Government. Verily it is a melancholy thing for a country when the administration of justice is suspected and the poor look to the judges for protection in vain." In another place he says :— "Engaged in two cases this day, in both of which Philip Vanderstraaten thrashed me. One was a question purely of facts in which I do not complain, but the other was a very foolish objection of law, but which Lavalliere very stupidly upheld."

But Sir Richard Morgan more than compensated for these remarks in a speech which he made on the occasion of a dinner given in honour of his appointment as District Judge of Colombo in response to the agitation for a lawyer judge. He said :— "I cannot allow the company to separate without proposing another toast—the health of Mr. Lavalliere. Though the vindication of a most important principle has prevented his confirmation on the bench of the Colombo court, we must bear willing testimony to the anxiety which he always evinced to do what was right, and to the amiability of temper and kindliness of disposition which have won for him the esteem of those who practised before him. His resolve to go to England and fit himself for professional duties is a noble one, and a resolve which, considering his age and service, does him extreme credit. I am sure I but express the wish of every member of the Bar when I say

that—after having properly prepared himself for the profession, and having been duly admitted into it—none will rejoice more sincerely in his judicial advancement than the members of the Ceylon Bar."

Lavalliere left for England on 1st October, 1856, and returned on 1st June, 1858. From the circumstance of his having resumed duties as acting District Judge of Colombo we may infer that he duly qualified himself for this office. He died on 17th April, 1859, and was buried in the Pettah Burial Ground.

The name of GEORGE LEE (1844–1860) is associated with the translation of Abbe Le Grand's French edition of Ribeiro's History of Ceylon. Lee, who was the son of an Amsterdam merchant, and a highly accomplished literary man, came out in 1831 on the staff of Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, and was appointed Superintendent of the Printing Press and Editor of the Government newspaper known as *The Ceylon Chronicle*, which was started on 3rd May, 1837, in opposition to the *Observer*, and discontinued sixteen months later. He was Postmaster-General from 1833 to 1860, acting twice during this period as Auditor-General. It was while holding the appointment of Postmaster-General that he brought out his translation of Ribeiro. He delved among the old Dutch records, and was able to disprove the claims made by Hindu temples in South India to a share in the proceeds of the Ceylon Pearl Fishery. When Sir Henry Ward came to Ceylon as Governor, he paid Lee a high compliment on the excellence of some papers contributed by him on Eastern affairs which he, when High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, had found in the archives of Corfu.

Like a good many Civil Servants of the olden days, George Lee had a son in the Civil Service. LIONEL FREDERICK LEE (1864–1899) attained to even higher eminence than his father, having risen to be Treasurer of the Colony at the time of his untimely death at the age of 54. As Registrar-General he was in charge of the Census of 1881 and 1891, on the results of which he wrote two masterly reports. Mr. J. B. Siebel in his Reminiscences has left behind some interesting parti-

culars regarding this able civilian during the time he was stationed in Kandy as Magistrate and later as Fiscal :— "Mr. Lee came to us in Kandy in December 1864, and left us shortly afterwards to act as Police Magistrate of Dumbara. It was here that he was looked upon as a model Magistrate by the young Proctors who were practising before him, *viz.*, Messrs Edwin Beven and A. O. Joseph. After holding various judicial appointments, he was gazetted acting Registrar-General in 1879, and six months afterwards Superintendent of Census, and it was as such that he prepared those elaborate statistical returns by which he acquired much fame. As Fiscal of the Central Province, his duties brought him into contact with the members of the Kandy Bar, who were not slow to appreciate his excellent qualities of head and heart. He resided in Mango Lodge, nearly opposite the Military Hospital in Malabar Street, and was responsible for putting forward a scheme for promoting unity and fellowship in Kandy by means of gatherings in the Town Hall—concerts, theatricals, readings and entertainments of all kinds."

Lee died on 4th December, 1899, and was buried in the General Cemetery. A stone was erected over the grave by his brother Civil Servants and other friends "in token of the high regard in which they held him."

The Jumeaux family had three generations represented in the Civil Service. The first to enter the Service was JOHN PIERRE JUMEAUX (1844–1850) who was of French descent and was born at Delhi in India. The circumstances in which he came to Ceylon are set out in the following advertisement which appeared in the *Government Gazette* of 31st May, 1817 :— "Mr. J. Jumeaux begs to inform the public at large that by the advice of his friends at Bombay he is come here to establish himself as an Agent, and as such he has received for sale on commission, by the schooner *Wilhama* (*? Wilhelmina*), a few pipes of London Market Madeira Wine." Whether the wine business was a success or not we have no means of ascertaining, but there is no doubt that Jumeaux was a man of more than ordinary

ability, for we find him officiating as Fiscal of the Western Province in 1839. He was promoted to the regular Civil Service in 1844 and died in 1850. His son LOUIS JUMEAUX (1846–1862) entered the Civil Service as Police Magistrate of Chavagachcheri, and died in 1862 while holding the ap-appointment of District Judge of Negombo. ARTHUR JUMEAUX (1865–1876), a son of Louis Jumeaux, served like his father exclusively in the judicial branch. He was a very plucky man, as the following incident will show. While Police Magistrate of Avisawella, he was driving down to Colombo one day, when he was informed that a big fight was taking place at Urugodawatte. Armed only with his riding whip, he hastened to the spot and attempted to quell the disturbance, when a blow was aimed at him with a sword. In warding it off, his thumb was nearly severed from his right hand. Realizing that the odds were against him, he began retreating towards his carriage, and received a cut on the head with a sword, followed by another on his back. In spite of these wounds, he got into his trap and drove to Colombo, where he received medical attention. His constitution was so robust that he made a quick recovery. He retired in 1876 and died a year or two later.

The career of EDWARD LEDWICH OSBALDESTON MITFORD (1844–1866) is probably without a parallel. A member of an old English family possessed of much wealth, Mitford was able to indulge his passion for adventure, and spent five years travelling in Morocco. At the end of this period he found himself, at the age of 28, "in the unenviable position of being without occupation." His attention was then directed, he says, to the possibility of obtaining employment in Ceylon, either under Government or as a coffee planter, and he decided to visit this place. Moved by a love of travel, he resolved to undertake the journey entirely by land. He found that by taking a south-east line through Southern Europe, Central Asia and India, he could reach his destination without having to cross more water than was represented by the Straits of Dover, the ferry of the Bosporus, and Palk's Strait.

That Mitford actually accomplished this journey, which proved to be singularly free from adventure, is now a matter of history. He was accompanied part of the way, as far as Hamadan, in Persia, by the gentleman who afterwards became Sir Henry Layard of Nineveh fame, son of Henry Peter John Layard, who was in the Civil Service from 1803 to 1814. Layard himself intended coming to Ceylon to practise as a lawyer, but later changed his mind. The journey to Ceylon occupied two years and ten months, and Mitford traversed 10,000 miles by land, 7,000 of which were performed on horse-back. He completed the last stage of his journey, *i.e.*, from Negombo to Colombo, on 22nd May, 1842, and on reaching his destination he was welcomed by the Governor, Sir Colin Campbell, who informed him that he had received notification of his appointment to the Civil Service. But it was not until 1844 that Mitford received his first appointment, which was that of Extra Assistant in the Colonial Secretary's Office. He proceeded to England on his first holiday in 1854, having acted twice as Government Agent of the North-Western Province. On his return from leave he acted as Assistant Government Agent of Puttalam, and was later re-appointed to his old Province, finally retiring in 1866.

Mitford was a very eccentric man. Mr. Justice Thomson once arrived by steamer at Trincomalee, where Mitford was stationed as the Chief Revenue Officer, for the purpose of holding a sessions of the Supreme Court. Mitford did not meet the Judge on his arrival, as it was his duty to do, neither did he make suitable arrangements for the Judge's accommodation. The Judge could get no breakfast and Mitford knew this, but would not invite the Judge to his house. The Judge had therefore to return to the steamer hungry. He appointed 7 o'clock the next morning for Jail delivery, but Mitford did not appear. The Judge then appointed 4 o'clock and informed Mitford that if he did not attend he would be fined 50 guineas. This threat had the desired effect. A newspaper of the day, commenting on this incident, wrote as follows :— "We are not surprised at the recital, as it entirely agrees with the character of the man. If we remember

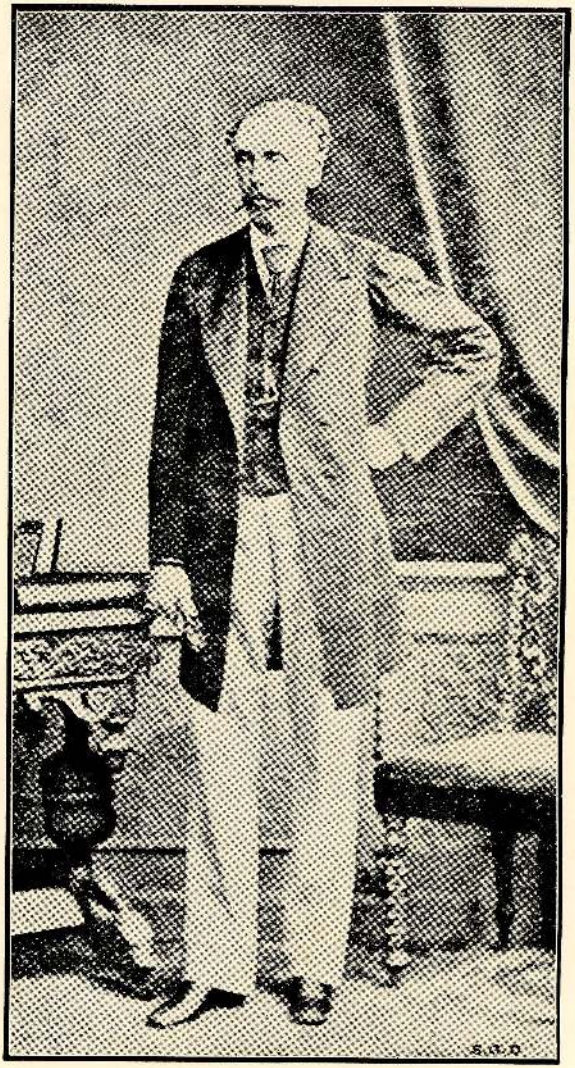
rightly, something very similar was perpetrated towards the Governor on the occasion of His Excellency's tour through the Puttalam District."

Up to very recent times there were to be seen in Kurunegala the ruins of a house on the road leading to the Kachcheri, which, together with the ground on which it stood, belonged to Mitford. The story goes that when stationed at Kurunegala as Assistant Government Agent, and not being provided with a house, he began to build one on his own responsibility expecting to recover the cost from Government. Before, however, the work was completed, Government condemned the building and refused to bear the cost. Mitford completed the building and continued to pay the assessment tax on the property for many years after his retirement. In course of time the building fell into disrepair and was finally razed to the ground. A cross-street in Kurunegala where Mitford stayed is called after him.

Mitford was one of the few persons who have read their own obituary notices. While at Kurunegala he wrote a letter to the *Ceylon Observer* contradicting the notice of his death in the overland edition of that paper, which had gone home and alarmed his wife. As if by way of protest, he lived to celebrate his hundredth birthday, drawing a sum of over £22,000 in the aggregate as pension. The King sent a special message of congratulation to him on the event, and also a message of condolence to his family on his death.

Mitford married in 1844, Janet, daughter of the Venerable Benjamin Bailey, Archdeacon of Colombo. She died in 1896, and in the same year he married Ella Elizabeth, daughter of Cloudesley Shovell Mason of the Ceylon Civil Service. By his first wife he had five sons and four daughters. In 1884 Mitford published an account of his travels in his book "A Land March from England to Ceylon Forty Years Ago." He also brought out a work entitled "Poems Dramatic and Satirical."

The long and patriarchal administration of the Northern Province by P. A. Dyke, which began on 1st October, 1829, came to a close with his death on 9th October, 1867. After



J. W. W. BIRCH

a brief interval of two years, during which H. S. O. Russell held the reins of office, there was inaugurated another notable administration of the Province, which, though it fell short of the previous record by 11 years, partook of most of its characteristics. WILLIAM CROFTON TWYNAM (1845–1896) belonged to a family which traced its descent from the first Saxon invaders of Britain, and who settled in Hampshire about the year 1560. W. C. Twynam was the son of Captain Thomas Holloway Twynam, Master Attendant of Trincomalee and afterwards of Galle. He made his first acquaintance with the Northern Province in 1848 when he was appointed Assistant Government Agent of Jaffna. He served at Matale, Hambantota, Mannar and Kurunegala, and returned to Jaffna in 1869 as Government Agent, a post which he held uninterruptedly until his retirement in 1896.

There can be no doubt that Sir William Twynam administered the Northern Province well, according to his lights. It is said that "to his ability as an administrator he joined rare sympathy with the needs and aspirations of the people. His sympathy was felt, not only by the educated classes, but by the poorest and most ignorant section of the people. He knew the whole of Jaffna in a way in which very few Jaffnese know it." Sir William strenuously opposed the extension of the railway to Jaffna and the establishment of a Local Board, and it was only after his retirement that the people were able to obtain these boons. He took an absorbing interest in the working of the Friend-in-Need Society, which was established by Mr. Dyke in 1841, and he handed over to it the sum of Rs. 10,000, which had been presented to him by his friends and admirers on the occasion of his attaining his official jubilee. He had a unique collection of curios and products of Jaffna, which he presented to St. John's College. His greatest achievement was the Karayoor reclamation scheme, which, according to a newspaper correspondent, was "once dubbed 'Twynam's Folly' by envious, unthinking, departmental jealousy that was incapable of Sir William's far-seeing statesmanship," but was subsequently re-named "Twynam's Wisdom."

Like some other great men, Sir William Twynam had an execrable hand-writing. Mr. J. P. Lewis says that this distinguished civilian wrote three different styles—one that could be read by himself and his office assistant only; another that could be ready by himself alone; and a third that neither himself nor his office assistant could read. "But," adds Mr. Lewis, "there are probably other officials of whom the same has been said, among them the late Messrs. Edward Elliott and C. E. D. Pennycuick."

Sir Willian Twynam's indefinite continuance as Government Agent of the Northern Province was a matter of frequent complaint both on the part of the people and of the senior members of the Civil Service, the latter of whom regarded the post as one of the prizes of the Service, and strong representations were made to the Governor as well as to the Secretary of State on the subject. At last, having been knighted, Sir William retired on 1st January, 1896, after a service of 50 years—a period which exceeded even that of his venerated predecessor, Mr. Dyke. His roots were so firmly fixed in Jaffna that he decided to make it his home, and continued to take the same interest in the people and their welfare as he had done before. He died in March, 1922, in his 95th year.

HENRY KEYT (1845–1852) was the first member of the Clerical Service to be promoted to the Civil Service. In 1844 he was Second Clerk in the Colonial Secretary's Office when Mr. Anstruther was Colonial Secretary, with Mr. W. C. Gibson as his Assistant. Keyt must have possessed ability of a high order to receive what was considered in those days a signal mark of favour. He retired as Third Assistant Colonial Secretary.

ANDREW HENRY ROOSMALECOCQ (1845–1883) entered the Civil Service through the Public Works Department. He was Assistant Commissioner of Roads in 1845, and the next year he received his appointment to the Civil Service as Assistant Government Agent at Galle. Five years later he went as District Judge to Tangalle, the rest of his service being exclusively in the judicial branch. He retired in 1883 while holding the appointment of District Judge of Galle.

His son, GERALD CHARLES ROOSEMALECOCQ (1872–1901) was appointed to the Civil Service on the same day as R. W. Ievers. As a Judge he was not very popular, especially at Kalutara, where his conduct on the Bench provoked the following communication to the Press :— "From all one hears and can well believe, the state of things existing in the Kalutara Courts is of such a nature as to bring the administration of justice there into contempt. The District Judge, Mr. Roosmalecocq, has a happy knack of quarrelling with most people he comes across. At Negombo and Kurunegala he stood up to the Government Agent and got badly beaten. He once boldly went for the late Sir Samuel Grenier, then Attorney-General. Sir Samuel quietly sent on the papers to Sir Arthur Gordon, who immediately ordered the fussy and quarrelsome official to come down to Colombo at his own expense and personally apologize to the Attorney-General. Crestfallen and dejected, he was seen for a couple of hours waiting outside Mr. Attorney's chambers till such time as he might be announced. Mr. Roosmalecocq's whole life was soured after that visit. Mr. Roosmalecocq is no fool. How comes it then that he is disliked wherever he is sent to ? In the first place Mr. Roosmalecocq is under the delusion that he is an Englishman. This is a harmless delusion, for the whole world knows that he is no more an Englishman than a Walbeoff or a Wambeek. He once told his interpreter :— 'Ask that fellow'— referring to a villager peering into the Court-house— 'whether he never saw an Englishman before.' The native of course was awed, but can anybody blame the Proctors for having smiled?"

From soldier to Civil Servant was the proud achievement of JOHN DALZIEL (1845-1864), the son of a farmer, who was born in Aberdeenshire in 1798. Joining the army, he fought as a lad of 17 at Waterloo with the 76th Highland Light Infantry, and came to Ceylon about the year 1826 with the 78th Regiment, in which he held the rank of Colour Sergeant. Being a staunch member of the Methodist Church, he was warmly welcomed by the missionaries here, to whom he brought letters of introduction. He rose to be Quarter-

Master in 1838, and according to the late Mr. A. M. Ferguson, he "gained the heart of Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie, whose father had raised the regiment, by welcoming her at Galle in full Highland dress, which well set off his eminently handsome person and good address." Having thus favourably attracted the attention of the Governor's wife, it is not surprising to find Dalziel appointed shortly afterwards Superintendent of Police. His next step was Police Magistrate, Colombo. He acted in a similar capacity at Gampola, where, Mr. J. B. Siebel tells us, he had occasion to appear before him once, and was accorded a seat on the Bench after he had finished his business.

Dalziel was present at a complimentary dinner to Mr. (afterwards Sir Richard) Morgan in 1856, and in reply to the toast of "The Magistracy of Ceylon" he made the following remarks:—"Some of us Magistrates are called unprofessional Judges. Be it so, we have received some education, although we may not have eaten dinners at Lincoln's Inn, and having been long in our present employment, we have read books, and after all, we know something." Dalziel retired in 1864 and died at Bayswater in 1873, aged 76.

The son of Quarter-Master John Staples of the 2nd Ceylon Regiment, JOHN JAMES STAPLES (1845-1852) was born on 8th November, 1798, and took to the study of the law in which he distinguished himself. In 1834 he appeared as Advocate for the defence at the trial of Mr. George Winter for libel. He was appointed District Judge of Kandy in 1842, and was absorbed into the Civil Service when it was re-organised in 1845. William Boyd in his "Autobiography of a Periya Durai" pays Staples a high compliment for his conduct during the Rebellion of 1848. "At this juncture Mr. Staples, the District Judge, and a gentleman of colour, marched fearlessly into the very midst of the infuriated multitude, and endeavoured by expostulation and entreaty to quell the tumult and prevail on the mob to disperse. It was a brave and judicious action on the part of the old man, but it failed in the desired effect. The natives, however,

did not attempt to molest him, but treated his expostulations with courtesy and respect. His high character for honour and integrity was too widely known not to receive its full meed of respect, even at a crisis like the present. The natives listened to what he recommended, but they told him frankly that if they dispersed now, it would only be to return with arms in their hands, and compel redress of their grievances of which they complained."

A daughter of Staples married Captain (afterwards Lieut.-Colonel) Albert Watson, who came into so much prominence during the rebellion, and whose conduct has been called in question by Captain J. M. Henderson. Another daughter married Lieut. A. R. Sewell of the 15th Regiment, while a third married George Howard. An elder brother, HENRY JOHN STAPLES (1845-1859), also an Advocate, was in the Civil Service as Commissioner of Requests, Colombo. He was of a musicial and theatrical turn, and wrote two ballads. His daughter married H. P. Lovering of the Survey Department.

Reference has already been made to the case of Sylvester Douglas Wilson, who met with a violent death at the hands of the Kandyans in the Badulla District. Another Civil Servant, FREDERICK LACY DICK (1845-1847) also came by his death under very painful circumstances. He seems to have been at one time a coffee planter, and was admitted into the Civil Service at the age of 30, being appointed Police Magistrate of Negombo. On 29th August, 1847, he received information that a suspected thief, who had escaped from custody, was at a place called Wellikana, where he had armed himself and had declared that he would not be taken alive. Dick immediately proceeded to the spot, accompanied by Mr. Northmore, also of the Civil Service, and other minor officials. Finding the door of the house in which the thief had concealed himself locked, Dick went to an adjoining window protected with wooden bars. While looking through this window, the thief fired at him from inside, and Dick fell back severely wounded in the neck. On hearing the report, Mr. Northmore rushed to the spot, and was just in time to see Dick close his eyes in death.

Dick was married to a daughter of Charles Edward Layard of the Civil Service. A tablet to his memory in Holy Trinity Church, Colombo, speaks of him as an upright and zealous Magistrate, who was greatly esteemed within his jurisdiction. His remains were buried in the Galle Face Cemetery. Mrs. Dick was granted a pension of £100 per annum by Government. She contracted a second marriage, her husband being Major Rolleston, of the 84th Regiment. They went through the Indian Mutiny.

Strictly speaking, Sir Emerson Tennent (1845-1850) was not a regular member of the Ceylon Civil Service, as he never served in the lower ranks ; but in view of the prominent part he played in public affairs during the five years he was in Ceylon, it may be convenient to treat him as if he was a member of it. His name was originally Emerson, but on his marriage with the only daughter of William Tennent, a wealthy merchant of Belfast, he adopted his wife's name in addition to his own. He took part in the Greek war of independence ; was afterwards called to the English bar ; and in 1832 entered Parliament as member for Belfast. He displayed much activity there and made many notable speeches. On one occasion, in recognition of his efforts on their behalf, his constituents presented him with a service of plate valued at £3,000. In 1845 he was knighted and nominated Colonial Secretary of Ceylon, the duties of which office he assumed in November of that year. He administered the Government for a short period between the departure of Sir Colin Campbell and the arrival of Lord Torrington. The Rebellion of 1848 put an abrupt end to Tennent's career in Ceylon as it did to that of Lord Torrington. The findings of the inquiry held by the Committee of the House of Commons in 1850 were unfavourable to the Government of Ceylon, and Tennent, who attended and gave evidence at the inquiry, did not return.

Tennent did not enjoy much popularity in Ceylon. His colleagues distrusted him, and it is said that Bishop Chapman compared him to a cobra "fairly speckled externally, but with abundant venom within." He is represented as having

shown a lack of personal courage in connection with the events which preceded the rebellion, but in view of his military record, this statement must be treated with caution. It may be true, however, that he was not a man of swift decision, and for this reason he was dubbed " Sir Timorsome Emmet." He is accused of having been in the habit of receiving presents from his inferiors. Captain J. M. Henderson relates a story of Tennent which, if true, does not show him in a very favourable light. Among other things he was fond of poultry, and a native merchant, hearing of this, promised him a large number of Bombay ducks. Tennent went to some expense in preparing suitable accommodation for these aquatic birds. " Judge of his surprise " says Captain Henderson, " when one day a native marched up to Elie House, with a huge bundle of dried salt fish on his head, these fish universally going by the name of Bombay ducks, and forming an admirable adjunct to the delicious curry of the island."

All four of Tennent's books were published after his departure from Ceylon. The first to appear was his " Christianity in Ceylon " in 1850. The chapters in it were originally written as portions of the one book Tennent intended to write, but the facts collected on this single topic were so abundant and of such importance that a separate volume was found necessary. In 1859 Tennent brought out his work on Ceylon in two volumes. The book went into five editions in eight months. It is still the standard work on Ceylon. Commenting on the suggestion to publish a revised edition of the book, Mr. L. E. Blazé said at a lecture delivered before the Ceylon Historical Association :— " No edition since published approaches it in fulness of information combined with attraction of style. It forbids rivalry . . . You can write another book on Ceylon, but you cannot rewrite Tennent's Ceylon. In your new book you will correct all Tennent's errors, you will add information that he does not give, and could not give, and your book will be in every business man's library, and be honoured as a text book in the University of Ceylon. But it will lack the old scholar-

ship and the charm which invests every page of Tennent's volumes." The correctness of this judgment will be endorsed by every person who has a copy of Tennent in his library. Tennent's "Sketches of the Natural History of Ceylon" was published in 1861, and "The Wild Elephant" in 1867. Both these are portions of his book on Ceylon, the "Natural History" being greatly enlarged and revised.

The name of SIMON CASIE CHITTY (1845-1849) is associated with the compilation of the first Gazetteer on Ceylon. While holding the appointment of Mudaliyar of Calpentyn, Casie Chitty conceived the idea of such a publication, and on informing Sir Robert Wilmot Horton of his intention, he received from His Excellency, to quote Casie Chitty's own words, "a most gracious communication, accompanied with an assurance 'to rely upon the utmost encouragement and assistance which it might be in his power to afford.'" The Ceylon Gazetteer duly made its appearance in 1834, and although a hundred years have gone by since it was first published, it still occupies a high place as a valuable work of reference. When the Legislative Council was established, no natives sufficiently educated could be found outside Government service for nomination as unofficial members. It was, therefore, the practice to select public servants for these appointments, to request them to retire, and to pay them pensions equal to their salaries. Casie Chitty had already attracted the Governor's notice by his Gazetteer, and he was in due course appointed a member of Council. But in 1845 the Secretary of State disapproved of the principle involved in these appointments, and Casie Chitty was provided with a post in the Civil Service as Police Magistrate of Calpentyn. He was subsequently appointed District Judge of Chilaw. Casie Chitty was a prolific writer, a full list of whose contributions appears in one of the Journals of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Civil Service had the honour of including in its ranks a second Waterloo veteran in the person of CAPTAIN WILLIAM BARTON of the Grenadier Guards (1845-1867), who was wounded at Quatre Bras. Like a good many other Civilians

of his time, Captain Barton was first employed in the Commissioner of Roads' Department, and was absorbed into the Civil Service on 1st October, 1845, his first appointment being that of Police Magistrate, Matara. After serving in Negombo, Kegalle, and Ratnapura, he went back to Matara as Assistant Government Agent, and four years later he was appointed Postmaster-General. He retired in 1867.

In the year 1846 there arrived in Ceylon, to join the Civil Service, a gentleman who challenged comparison with Henry Augustus Marshall as a classical scholar. JOHN NORTHMORE (1846-1854 and 1886-1896), who was descended from an old English family, was educated at Eton and Brasenose College, Oxford, and was publicly complimented by the Civil Service Examiners on his knowledge of the classics. In Ceylon he passed his examination in Sinhalese with distinction within nine months of his arrival. He was in due course appointed Assistant Government Agent and District Judge of Nuwara Kalawiya, as Anuradhapura was then known, but finding the complete isolation and loneliness of the District uncongenial, he decided to resign from the Service and embark on coffee-planting, the prospects of which were very favourable at the time. The Governor paid Northmore the compliment of declining to accept his resignation twice, and it was only at the third time of asking that his request was acceded to. Northmore received a letter stating that "the Governor has received your resignation with great regret as His Excellency placed a high value on your services which held out promise of great efficiency and zeal on your part, and therefore promise of much advantage to the Colony."

Northmore began his planting career by purchasing a coffee estate. He then went to England to settle his affairs there and returned in 1854. After a stay of three years in Ceylon, he once again returned to England, where he took a large part in public life. He married in 1863, and paid another visit to Ceylon the following year, returning to England in 1867. Two years later he lost his wife, and shortly afterwards his mother.

About this time Northmore's friend, Frank R. Sabonadiere, had decided to start business in Colombo as an estate and commission agent for coffee proprietors, and offered Northmore the post of assistant, with the prospect of being made a partner. Northmore accepted the offer, and coming once again to Ceylon, he started the new firm on Mr. Sabonadiere's behalf. The business prospered and in 1872 Northmore became a partner. The following year he went to England and contracted a second marriage, but this union was not destined to be of long duration, for his wife died in 1875. Leaf disease began at this time to make its appearance on coffee estates, and the firm of Sabonadiere & Co., suffered in the general crash which followed a few years later. Northmore had to begin life all over again. According to a writer in a local newspaper, " he looked his troubles full in the face, and continued manfully to fight the battle of life, never throughout its long length deviating a hair's breadth from the path of duty." His previous good record enabled him to re-enter the Civil Service as Police Magistrate of Hatton, a post which he held for 10½ years until his retirement in 1896 at the age of 70.

So well had Northmore served the Church and the State that on his retirement he received an address from the members of the congregation worshipping in the Hatton Church, thanking him for the services he had rendered in the pulpit and in the management of its temporal affairs. He also received a testimonial and handsome present from over 200 of his friends, who expressed their admiration of " the courage with which he had met misfortune, the kindliness which he had shown to all, and the uprightness with which he had administered justice."

Northmore returned to Devonshire, his home, but not to spend his time in ease, for he performed magisterial duties until his health failed. He contracted a third marriage in 1899, this time choosing a widow, who devotedly nursed him during his last illness. He died in his 89th year " leaving behind him an unblemished reputation for integrity amidst varying fortunes, and an example of courage, chivalry,

and nobility of character to future generations." His biographer adds :— "So long as we can produce men like the late John Northmore, we need have no fear of our great Empire sinking into decay."

GEORGE VANE (1846-1882) had seen service in England before coming to Ceylon. He began his official career in 1834 in the office of the Collector of Customs at Liverpool, and on his arrival in Ceylon in 1846 he was appointed Controller of Customs in Jaffna. He held various posts in the Customs until his appointment as Principal Collector in 1861. After acting as Treasurer on two occasions, he was confirmed in that appointment in 1865. He is described as having "white frizzled hair and a white moustache." His son was Frederick William Vane, who retired as Controller of Government Stores.

As early as 1846 the Civil Service had a Doctor of Laws in its ranks. W. H. CLARKE held the appointment of Classical Master in the Colombo Academy from March, 1844, to October, 1845. He then took to law and passed as an Advocate, dividing his time between the Courts and the Academy. He was drafted into the Civil Service on the 1st December, 1846, and filled various judicial posts, including that of District Judge of Badulla. While officiating as Police Magistrate of Bentota he was accused by the *Ceylon Observer* of "merciless and inhuman conduct" in connection with a Police Court case. He had arrested a man whom he found committing an assault, and had had his hands tied. The *Observer* charged him with lashing the man to his carriage. It was suggested at the time that this animosity towards Dr. Clarke may have been due to the fact that he had withdrawn his name as a subscriber to the *Observer*, as its "constant personalities" had disgusted him.

We have already seen that Henry Keyt was promoted in 1845 from the Clerical to the Civil Service. The second member of the Clerical Service to receive a similar promotion was P. L. GRATIAEN (1847-1851), Chief Clerk of the Audit Office. In 1847 he was appointed to the newly-created post

of Assistant Auditor-General, but he did not live long to enjoy the dignity of this office, as he died in 1851. He was succeeded by J. KRIEKENBEEK (1852-1868), was who Chief Clerk of the Stamp Department of the General Treasury. Kriekenbeek was more fortunate than his predecessor, and held this appointment until 1868. He died in 1884. C. DICKMAN (who will be referred to again), R. A. Brohier, and E. de KRETSER were three other members of the Clerical Service who filled with credit the post of Assistant Auditor-General.

The statement that MAJOR THOMAS SKINNER (1847-1867), the great Roadmaker of Ceylon, was a member of the Civil Service may cause some surprise. The explanation is that when the Service was re-organised and enlarged in 1845, the post of Commissioner of Roads held by Skinner was included in the new classification. The actual date of his admission into the Civil Service is 12th February, 1847, when he sold out of the Army. It is not proposed to say anything about Skinner's career, as the full story of his life is to be found in his Autobiography edited by his daughter Annie and published in 1891. His family consisted of five sons and two daughters. One daughter married M. H. Thomas, a well-known Ceylon planter in his day. Annie, who has already been referred to, became Mrs. Mac Donnell. Of the sons, the eldest, T. E. B. Skinner, rose to be Postmaster-General of Ceylon. Another, G. Skinner, became Captain in the 15th Regiment. M. Skinner was Commander in the Royal Navy. W. Skinner joined the Oriental Bank, and was killed in Bombay by a fall from his horse, while Monier Skinner became a Major in the Royal Engineers. Major Thomas Skinner died on 24th July, 1877.

JOHN FRASER (1848-1855) was a planter and a protege of Sir Emerson Tennent. In 1847 he was appointed " Keeper of the Government Records." This appointment does not appear to have been very popular, for a correspondent to the *Ceylon Times* wanted to know " what is the exact position of Mr. John Fraser of Godapolla in the Civil Service, and whether the office of Record-Keeper was created for him." He seems to have been a man of ability, for in 1855

he was acting as Principal Assistant Colonial Secretary and Clerk to the Councils. He died in October of that year, and was buried in the Galle Face Cemetery. The monument over his grave was erected by Dr. Andrew Ferguson, Inspector-General of Hospitals, as "a tribute of affectionate esteem to his valued friend."

JOHN BAILEY (1848-1865) was the son of the Archdeacon of that name, and was educated at Trinity College, Oxford. Entering the Civil Service as a Writer, he rose to be Principal Assistant Colonial Secretary and Clerk to the Councils. He married a daughter of Sir Henry Ward, Governor of Ceylon. The story is told that his appointment as Principal Assistant caused much dissatisfaction in the Service, and representations to the Secretary of State were talked of. The matter was taken up in the Press, Lorenz espoused the cause of the Service, and in vehement but dignified language condemned in the *Examiner* the action of the Governor. Sir Henry Ward sent for Lorenz to Queen's House and said to him :— "Lorenz, what's all this fuss about Bailey? What's the use of my being Governor if I cannot have my daughter to live with me in Colombo?" This appeal is said to have been convincing and ended all controversy. Lorenz influenced all the recalcitrant Civilians, to whom he related this interview with great gusto.

Bailey was the author of the great scheme for the restoration of the old native system of communal labour in the repair and upkeep of irrigation works. While Assistant Government Agent of Badulla, he pointed out in a masterly report how Government not only never devoted a fair proportion of the revenue towards the restoration of the old works, but by inattention to the details of the agricultural system of the people, it had tacitly permitted the national customs, which under the native Government were the means of helping all works of irrigation repair, to fall into disuse, so that all that remained were the ordinary legal obligations which could only be enforced by civil action in the law courts, and were of no practical use. He proposed legislation to reduce to writing the old customs touching irrigation and cultivation,

and to form rules based on these. Breaches of the rules could be dealt with summarily by a village council presided over by the Government Agent or Assistant Agent of the District, and small fines imposed. Sir Henry Ward's government readily accepted this view, and the result was the passing of the first Irrigation Ordinance, No. 9 of 1856

Bailey was one of the earliest officials to take an interest in the Veddahs. "Early in 1854" he says, "I was appointed to take charge of the extensive district of Badulla . . . where the most barbarous Veddah tribes are found. My tastes led me to take every opportunity of studying their habits and customs. My official position gave me the greatest possible facilities for prosecuting my inquiries." Bailey embodied the results of his investigations in an article which he contributed to the *Ethnological Journal* entitled "An Account of the Wild Tribes of Ceylon : their Habits, Customs, and Superstitions." The Revd. R. Spence Hardy says of this article :— "It is by far the best and most elaborate article I have read on this interesting subject, and is the more valuable as it is founded 'only on direct evidence.'" Bailey retired in 1865, and died in 1873.

Robert Temple (1850-1880) began his career in Ceylon as a planter on Galboda estate, where he remained for two or three years, and in 1847 became Private Secretary to his brother, Christopher Temple, who was acting as a Junior Puisne Justice of the Supreme Court. He acted in 1847-1850 as Police Magistrate at Avisawella, Colombo, and Madawalatenne, now known as Galagedera, with Kurunegala added to it. On 1st June, 1850, he was appointed to the Civil Service. He was subsequently Magistrate at Nuwara Eliya, Galle, Matale, and finally at Gampola, where he remained from 1875 until his retirement.

Temple came into prominence by refusing to go up for the second examination to qualify for promotion, on the ground that it was not part of the original contract when he joined. It is said that a number of civilians bound themselves to resist this order, but that they all, one by one, gave in and presented themselves for the examination, and that

Temple was the only one who held out. The result was that he was ineligible for promotion beyond the Fourth Class, and remained Magistrate for the rest of his official life.

After his retirement, Temple lived on Diyanilakelle Estate, Lindula, which belonged to his relations in England, and of which one of his sons was Superintendent. This estate was the scene of a tragedy on 27th February, 1875, when Robert Temple's youngest son, Henry, was accidentally shot dead by his brother. Robert Temple died in 1907 at the age of 94.

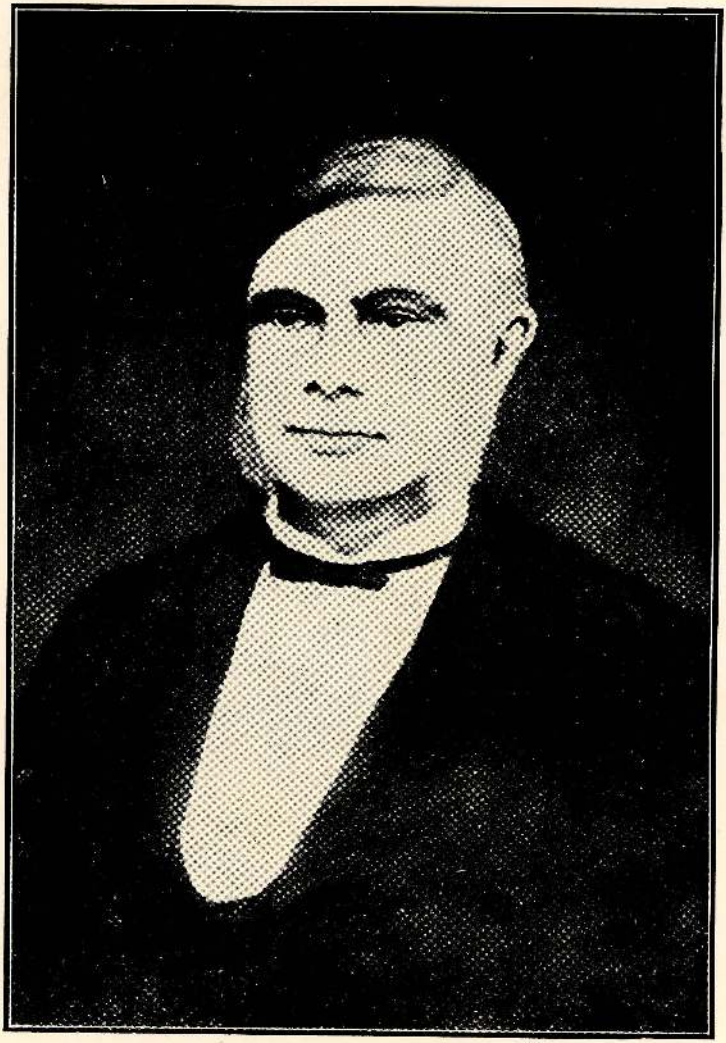
JOHN PARSONS (1851-1878) held the office of Deputy Fiscal of Kandy from June 1846, and was taken into the Civil Service on 1st March, 1851. During the Matale rebellion he rode from Kandy to Matale with a message from the Government Agent, Mr. C. R. Buller, to the Assistant Government Agent there. He committed a grave indiscretion by stating to Mr. John Selby that Buller had appropriated some drums and tusks belonging to the Kandy Maligawa, the former supposed to have been taken from the British during the massacre at Davie's ferry in 1803. Selby gave this information to the *Ceylon Observer*, authorizing them to give up his name when Buller asked for it. Selby, when threatened with law proceedings by Buller, gave Parsons as his authority. Parsons denied that he had given the information, upon which, we are told, Selby "posted" him. Sir George Anderson, the Governor at the time, who was a man of the old school, made no secret of his displeasure with Parsons for not challenging Selby. Parsons took the wiser course of an action against Selby, but Lavalliere, the District Judge, decided against him. The matter went up before the Supreme Court, which held that although Parsons had been imprudent and wanting in loyalty to his Chief, he had been the victim of the person who had gained his confidence and magnified what he had told him.

This incident does not appear to have adversely affected Parson's career, for he rose to be Government Agent of the Province in which he made such a bad start. He took a deep interest in Church matters, and used to conduct service in

places at which he was stationed where there was no regular minister. A tablet to his memory in St. Paul's Church, Kandy, bears the following simple inscription :— "In loving memory of John Parsons, Government Agent, C.P., who entered into his rest, January 4th, 1878. This brass is placed in the Church in which they worshipped together by his widow and children."

We now come to the interesting career of ALEXANDER OSWALD BRODIE (1851-1864), who was another of those who entered the Civil Service through the Public Works Department. Brodie was appointed Assistant Civil Engineer and Commissioner of Roads at Puttalam on 3rd May, 1845, and two years later he became acting Police Magistrate and Commissioner of Requests, Calpentyn. The next appointment he held was that of "Stipendiary Justice of the Peace for the suppression of cattle stealing in the Eastern, Northern, and North-Western Provinces." He apparently discharged the duties of this exacting office to the satisfaction of Government, for we next find him selected to act as Assistant Government Agent at Nuwara Kalawiya. He was admitted into the Civil Service in 1851, and went on leave in 1853.

Mr. Edward Elliott tells the following romantic story regarding Brodie. On the homeward voyage Brodie travelled with an old Colonel of the Bengal Army named Spottiswood, and visited him in England. He fell in love with the eldest daughter, Jessie, who was very young and had just left school, and married her. She had an uncle who had amassed a large fortune in New York and was naturalised there. At the time of which we write the uncle happened to be in England. He was a bachelor and he induced Brodie to resign from the Civil Service, promising to make him his heir. This Brodie did in 1855, the uncle having legally settled on him £10,000 as the equivalent of the salary he would get as Assistant Government Agent, Anuradhapura. Brodie and his wife went over to New York and lived with the uncle. It was, however, necessary for Brodie to be naturalised to succeed to the old man's property, but when he heard that this involved not only sworn allegiance to the



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United States, but also a declaration that he "abjured allegiance to the Queen of England whose subject I now am," he refused to take the oath, but continued to live with the uncle, who promised to make it all right, but who died without doing so or making a will. Consequently, the other heirs took his share, but consented to the £10,000 already settled on the Brodies being paid over to them.

Brodie returned to England and petitioned the Secretary of State for re-appointment to the Ceylon Civil Service. Sir Henry Ward, who was Governor at the time, was so struck by Brodie's noble conduct, that he strongly supported the request, and Brodie was restored to the Service with the rank he held before his resignation. On his arrival in Ceylon in 1857, he was appointed Additional District Judge of Matara, where, in the words of Mr. Elliott, "old Henry Pole had got the work in a mess." The Indian Mutiny was then in progress, and in a disturbance in Kadawidiya at Matara, some of the Moors raised a cry that the English Raj was ended. They were charged in the Police Court before Brodie as Magistrate, and he said that if the Raj was to end, they should do a month in jail before it did. Sir Henry Ward was much gratified at this show of firmness, and appointed Brodie to act as Assistant Agent at Matale.

Being a Scotsman, Brodie was very popular with the Matale planters, the majority of whom at the time were also Scots. A dance was given by him to his fellow countrymen on St. Andrew's Day, and he insisted on their walking to his house through the street in kilts. He was instrumental in getting a Presbyterian Minister for Matale, the first being the Rev. John Watt, afterwards Presbyterian Chaplain at Kandy for many years. Mrs. Brodie is said to have been a charming lady.

Colonel Spottiswood and his wife came to Ceylon about 1860 and lived for several years in Kandy. The Colonel was given to using strong language, and was a great drinker of beer, imbibing a dozen quart bottles a day. Though his relations with his wife's parents were not cordial, Brodie shared old Spottiswood's fondness for beer, and before he

left Ceylon had got to the length of seven bottles a day, but drank no other spirituous liquor. He was most punctilious in not beginning before 12 o'clock, and then only with a pint.

Brodie never went to bed till 2 a.m., and consequently, did not emerge from his bedroom till 10 a.m. He read far into the night, and the story is told that when he and Churchill of the Public Works Department were in the same Resthouse, the latter was aroused from sleep by Brodie asking for the loan of the last Government Almanac, as he had nothing else to read. Brodie preferred travelling in the middle of the day, trusting to a leather hat and coat, which he said fully protected him. His diary is very interesting reading. At the end of 1852 he writes that Mr. Northmore arrived at Nuwara Kalawiya to " supersede " him. Brodie was appointed District Judge of Kurunegala, and he writes of his new post as " an appointment for which I am quite as fit as for the Commander-in-Chiefship." Another entry shows the disadvantages under which Civil Servants worked in those early days :— " Most miserable day. Fever came on in the afternoon. I could not write, so I sat on the Bench burning with fever, while the Secretary wrote at my dictation."

Much useful work was done by Brodie at Anuradhapura. He induced the people to grow fruit trees, and with the assistance of Mr. Dyke and Mr. Twynam various timber trees were introduced. Brodie himself gave a money prize to the men in each division who made the best show of young jak trees. He pressed upon Government the necessity of tank restoration as the only means of improving the condition of the people.

Besides several contributions to the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Brodie left behind a large number of manuscripts dealing with his work as a Revenue Officer. One of these, profusely illustrated with pencil and ink sketches, is in the Colombo Museum Library. Brodie went on leave in 1863 and retired the following year. He died at Edinburgh in 1874 in the 58th year of his age.

He was a son of Brigadier-General Brodie, C.B., of the Madras Native Infantry.

The name of JAMES WHEELER WOODFORD BIRCH (1852-1870) is intimately associated with paddy cultivation in the Batticaloa District. Entering the service in 1852 through the Department of Commissioner of Roads, he spent the greater part of his career in Ceylon in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. He was a great admirer of the irrigation policy pursued by the Dutch in the Batticaloa District, and urged on Government the restoration of the tanks which had been allowed to fall into decay. He found a warm supporter in Sir Henry Ward, who sanctioned several large irrigation schemes. It is said that "Mr. Birch's name is now held in grateful remembrance as that of the man to whom the enormous extension of cultivation in the district, and the position it now holds of being the chief rice-exporting district in the island, is mainly due."

It was through Birch's representations that the capital of the Eastern Province was transferred from Trincomalee to Batticaloa in 1870, but he did not remain long enough in Batticaloa to assume duties as Government Agent. He was transferred in that year as Colonial Secretary of the Straits Settlements. Promoted later as Resident of Perak, he was assassinated by Malays on 2nd November, 1875, at Pasir Salak on the Perak River. He had a son, born at Trincomalee, who also joined the Straits Civil Service, and became Sir Ernest Charles Woodford Birch, K.C.M.G.

A correspondent to a local newspaper recently gave some reminiscences of the days when Birch was in Batticaloa. It seems when Crown lands were put up for sale, Birch used to do everything in his power to induce the people to buy. "When persuasion failed, he often seized their long ears and wrung them good-humouredly, or squeezed their necks, or playfully pulled their beards." It is doubtful whether the people of Batticaloa at the present day would allow themselves to be subjected to this sort of treatment, however playfully it may be done.

Tall and thin, Birch went under the nick-name of

" Varichi Dorai," *varichi* being a long stick used for a fence. He tried hard to reduce crime, and himself undertook detective work. It is said that on one occasion he set out during the night dressed like a Tamil, with cloth, shawl and turban, on a detective expedition to obtain a clue to a murder. He traced the murderer, who was brought to justice and sentenced to be hanged.

It may not be generally known that W. C. Macready, who served as Assistant Postmaster-General for many years, was the grandson of the celebrated actor, William Macready. His father was WILLIAM CHARLES MACREADY (1854-1873), who was appointed to the Civil Service in 1854, and was successively Assistant Government Agent at Kandy, Puttalam, Kurunegala, Colombo, and again at Puttalam, where he died on 26th November, 1871, at the age of 39. His administration reports are most able and interesting documents, and his literary and administrative abilities were of a very high order. He published in 1865 a translation of the Sinhalese poem by Sri Rahula of Totagamuwa entitled " Sela Lihini Sandese : the Sela's Message, with notes and glossary for the use of students." He also translated the *Kaviasekera* and the *Paravisandesa* by the same poet, and the *Subasita* by Alagiyawanna Mohattala.

The credit of publishing the first full report of the Legislative Council proceedings belongs to a gentleman who afterwards rose to the Civil Service. JAMES SWAN (1855-1876) was a clerk in the Colonial Secretary's Office, where he came under the notice of Mr. Edward Rawdon Power, who, as has been already stated, introduced Shorthand into Ceylon. Swan soon mastered the system, and was employed by Sir Henry Ward to take down his confidential despatches. He rose rapidly in the service, and put his knowledge of Shorthand to practical use by reporting and publishing the proceedings of the Legislative Council in 1842. A copy of these proceedings is unfortunately not available, but in the proceedings for 1843 the following statement appears in the Preface :— " The publisher having been assured that the report of the proceedings of the Legislative Council during

the sessions of 1842, which he was induced to publish in the shape of a pamphlet, in consequence of a suggestion made to him, has not proved unacceptable, he has been led to reprint the proceedings of the sessions of last year in a similar form, in the hope that, containing as they do discussions on most important Ordinances affecting the administration of justice in the island, the publication will be found equally acceptable." James Swan was promoted to the Civil Service in 1855, and was the first and only Ceylonese to fill the office of Principal Assistant Colonial Secretary.

The late Mr. Francis Beven, in an article to the newspapers, relates how James Swan came to get this appointment. Governor Gregory, coming as a stranger to the East on his first Colonial appointment, found in Swan a storehouse of official information and departmental precedents. He was much impressed with Swan's capacity for work, and when the post of Principal Assistant Colonial Secretary fell vacant, Sir William decided, to the amazement of the Civil Service, that "Old Swan" should have the appointment. And he did have it, in spite of protests. But no one really grudged the urbane and accommodating Ceylonese official his well-merited promotion. During a visit to London in 1880, Mr. Francis Beven was lunching with Sir William Gregory on the very day that he received intimation of James Swan's death. Sir William was greatly moved on hearing the sad news, and remarked :— "To think of dear old Swan, after all his hard work, living to enjoy his pension for so short a time."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ERA OF COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS

In the year 1856 a new policy was inaugurated in regard to the mode of admission to the Civil Service of candidates from England, the Haileybury test being dropped in favour of a competitive examination held by the Civil Service Commissioners. Professor L. A. Mills states that "neither examination was a test of specialized knowledge of Colonial administration; but while the Haileybury examination was based upon a public school training, its successor was designed to obtain as Writers University Graduates who had received a liberal education." Local candidates continued to be nominated by the Governor without examination.

One of the first to enter the Civil Service under the new procedure was THOMAS STEELE (1856-1877). He held various revenue and judicial offices, the most important being that of Assistant Government Agent, Hambantota, where he was instrumental in bringing under administrative control the yearly pilgrimage to Kataragama, which for a long period had been the means of spreading cholera and small-pox over the whole of Ceylon. He took an active part in connection with the building and restoration of irrigation works, especially those at Kirama and Tissamaharama. In 1871 he published a metrical version of the "Kusajatakaya, an Eastern Love Story," a poetical legend of one of the incarnations of Buddha, said to be one of the most attractive works in the whole range of Sinhalese literature. He also published in 1871 a volume of original poems entitled "Under the Palms." One of these poems, "Thoughts of Home" was set to music by his brother and published.

"One of the ablest and most judicial members of the Civil Service" were the terms in which Sir William Gregory

described HERBERT WEBB GILLMAN (1856-1875) when he recommended him to the Secretary of State for confirmation as District Judge of Kandy. But the Bar was up in arms, and led by Richard Morgan and Harry Dias (both of whom were afterwards Knighted), they sent in a strong protest claiming the District Judgeship of Kandy as a prize for the members of the Bar. The Secretary of State upheld the contention and Gillman's appointment was cancelled. Sir William Gregory accepted his defeat with characteristic good grace, and wrote a very cordial letter to Harry Dias offering him the appointment.

It was not only Sir William Gregory who was impressed by Gillman's capacity for work. His successor, Sir Hercules Robinson, entertained an equally high opinion of him. In June, 1871, writing to Richard Morgan regarding the Currency Ordinance, he says :— "I have read Mr. Lorenz's able and thoughtful remarks with much interest. I quite agree with him, and will adopt his view, which is unquestionably theoretically sound, if there should be no practical difficulty in carrying it out. The only possible difficulty which I can imagine may be in some of the Home or foreign postal rates. But on this point I will consult Mr. Gillman"—he was Postmaster-General at the time—"who is well up in Post Office matters and a warm advocate for decimals."

In 1875 Gillman was appointed to report on the Registrar-General's Department, and he made recommendations which served as the basis for Ordinance No. 5 of 1877. He was District Judge of Galle at the time of his retirement. He died on 21st April, 1926.

The first and only member of the Ceylon Civil Service to enter the House of Commons was WILLIAM EDWARD THOMPSON SHARPE (1857-1889), who spent the greater part of his service in Ceylon in the Kandyan Provinces. We have a slight glimpse of him in 1860 when he joined the young men of Kandy who had formed a Debating Society, and became its Patron. We are told that his style of oratory "was chaste and emphatic, and he rounded off his sentences with exquisite grace." A staunch member of the Anglican Church,

he did his best to convert to Christianity the educated class of Kandyans with whom he came in contact, and he met with a fair measure of success. Many were baptised, but as soon as Sharpe's influence was removed, they relapsed into Buddhism, and became known as "Sharpe's Christians."

Sharpe was Government Agent of Kandy at the time of his retirement in 1889. He returned to England, where he contested the seat for North Kensington, and was returned at the head of the poll. His maiden speech was thus described in the *Westminister Review*, in which also appeared a caricature of him as a waiter announcing that "Ome Rule is Hoff":— "For a maiden speech commend us to Mr. Sharpe of North Kensington, whose point was that 'Home Rule is Off' as the waiters say. But although, unlike the case of Lord Stanmore on Tuesday in the House of Lords, his was really a maiden effort, it lacked what Lord Rosebery calls 'the halo of political virginity.' It was a florid round little oration finished off with a long quotation believed to be Latin—a daring enterprise on the part of a new member. But there is nothing the new member will not dare." Sharpe was sometimes referred to as the "Member for Ceylon."

At a Ceylon dinner held in London in 1901, Mr. Dornhorst, who presided, made the following happy reference to Mr. Sharpe:— "Now I come to the patriarch of the Central Province. There he sits, buoyant and energetic, as if just about to be admitted a Cadet into the Civil Service. I am certain that if he went back to Ceylon, he would be found as vigorous as ever in his work. If any of you, gentlemen, return to the Colony, and go through the Central Province, you will not find a Ratamahatmaya or an Arachchi but who will say, "*Sharpe hamaduruwawage kenek ayeth enne ne.*" Replying to the toast Mr. Sharpe said:— "The leaving of Ceylon was a wrench in my life—a wrench unparalleled in my experience, and there will not be such another wrench till the last wrench of all. When I hear of Ceylon and its prosperity, I rejoice to think that that marvellous prosperity is going on with leaps and bounds."

Sharpe died in 1909 at the age of 75. On that occasion

a friend paid him the following tribute:— "I had known him for over 40 years. He was a man of high Christian principles, and a reliable if not a very energetic Provincial Officer. He was at Trinity College, Dublin, with the late Revd. J. Ireland Jones, and was always kind to the missionaries. He had something to do with the founding of Trinity College, Kandy."

GEORGE WATSON PATERSON (1859-1891) shares with John Gordon Forbes the dubious distinction of having been fined by the Supreme Court. Paterson was District Judge of Kalutara when the incident occurred. He wrote some offensive remarks on a Court record with reference to the procedure of the Supreme Court in sending a case back for re-trial. Sir Edward Creasy, before whom the matter came up, fined him £30. The occasion was too good to be missed by Lorenz, who probably had made the acquaintance of the erring Judge on one of his week-end visits to Kalutara. He composed the following lines commencing with the query, "But why thirty ?":—

"Iscariot received thirty pieces of silver
For sending our Lord into prison.
But Paterson pays thirty pieces of gold
For bringing My Lords unto reason."

Paterson received his appointment to the Civil Service as a gift from Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton when the latter was Secretary of State for the Colonies. Sir Edward was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University, and when he visited it to give his inaugural address he offered a Writership in the Civil Service of Ceylon to the senior student. Paterson occupied that enviable position and accepted the offer. After 30 years service he retired in 1891 while holding the appointment of District Judge of Galle. He was 77 years old at the time of his death in 1914. It is interesting to note that Mrs. Paterson laid the foundation of the present Wesleyan Chapel at Kalutara on 24th August, 1875.

The career of ALEXANDER YOUNG ADAMS (1858-1878) reads like a fairy tale. Beginning life as a coffee planter, he became Director of Public Instruction, acting once as Auditor-

General in addition to his own duties, and he also married the Governor's daughter. Adams came into prominence during the Matale rebellion when he rode from Kandy to Trincomalee to bring up troops. His services were much appreciated, and he is believed to have been offered a commission in the Army, which he refused, as he had an estate in Hewaheta. But in 1853 he accepted an appointment in the Roads Department. He next held several acting appointments in the Civil Service, and on 12th January, 1858, received his first fixed appointment as Temple Lands Commissioner. Whether it was due to his close relationship to Sir Henry Ward, or to his own merits, the fact remains that his promotion was very rapid. Within twenty years of his appointment he had filled some of the highest posts in the Service, and retired at the age of 55 on a pension which he drew for over twenty-three years.

Adams was a man of strong nerve and once performed an extraordinary feat which Sir William Gregory relates in his autobiography. In his tour through the North-Central Province Sir William visited the Aukana Vihare, and was shown a figure of Buddha, nearly fifty feet high, carved on the face of a rock, and so detached that only two slender ties had been left unhewn at the back to support the colossus by maintaining its attachment with the living stone. He was told that Adams once took it into his head to jump from the top of the rock to the head of the statue, on which there would have been only the smallest standing ground, even if the head had been of ordinary construction. But the legend of Buddha gives him a somewhat sloping head with a sharp top-knot. On this slope Adams alighted. He had then to turn round without any support, and to jump up two or three feet to reach the rock again. He found his nerve failing, but at last made a desperate effort and just reached the ledge from which he had sprung, when he was seized and pulled up by his attendant. Sir William Gregory adds :— "The very thought of such a desperate feat makes me giddy. There is not the least doubt of the truth of the story."

Robert William Durand Moir (1856-1892) was a son of William Moir who was in the Civil Service from 1825 to 1840. He served in various parts of the island, but his best work was performed as Government Agent of the Eastern Province. It is said that he was "one of the ablest men who presided over the destinies of Batticaloa." He once had an unfortunate experience during the holding of the Assizes. Mr. (afterwards Sir Samuel) Grenier had arrived in Batticaloa, with his brother Jim as his Private Secretary, for the purpose of presiding at the Assizes, and Moir was driving them in his carriage from the Church to the Courts, when the horse took fright and bolted. The carriage was upset and the occupants were thrown out, but fortunately they sustained only slight scratches on their hands. Moir took a great interest in Church affairs in Batticaloa and was instrumental in building the present St. Andrew's Church there. On his death in 1909 at the age of 72 the *Ceylon Observer* referred to him as "an excellent Civil Servant, a man of few words, but who earned the respect and esteem of all who served under him and had business dealings with him.".

One of the most distinguished members of the Civil Service was John Frederick Dickson (1859-1885), who began his career as a Writer and died as Sir John Dickson, K.C.M.G., Colonial Secretary of the Straits Settlements. He was educated at Westminister and Christ Church, Oxford where he obtained a studentship in 1885. He took a First Class in Classics at Moderations, and graduated in 1859. He rapidly came to the front in Ceylon as an officer of outstanding ability, and in 1870 he was selected by Sir Hercules Robinson to carry out the commutation of the feudal services. No work could have demanded greater tact or more thorough familiarity with native life and habits, but in less than three years Dickson had completed the work with scarcely a hitch. He was next selected by Sir William Gregory to organize the newly constituted North-Central Province, and to initiate the restoration of the tanks in that region. He applied himself to the work with such zeal and ability that in a short time the face of the Province was changed.

Tanks were repaired, rice was abundant, roads were opened up, and disease and misery ceased to be the hereditary lot of the people.

But it was not as an administrator alone that Dickson earned the gratitude of the people. As an antiquarian he stood in the first rank, and his eminent services in this field were recognized by his election as President of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. At the last meeting at which he presided in this capacity, the Bishop of Colombo paid an eloquent tribute to the high value of his services. "His intimate acquaintance with this country, its people, and the places in it, the conspicuous part he has had the opportunity of taking in developing its archaeology, and his close interest in everything that concerns works of utility, ancient or modern, as well as the special attention he has paid to Eastern languages, have fitted him in a peculiar degree to occupy the President's chair of a society which has so many objects within its scope as this one has. In that chair, he has contributed, by papers of his own, and by his able Presidential address, valuable additions to the proceedings of this Society."

The Bishop also referred to the original research work done by Dickson as a Pali scholar. "In the field of Pali literature, Mr. Dickson has made a name for himself as one of the first among European scholars to bring that study into popular interest. It was about the year 1875 I think that his '*Kammavaca*' was published, and it at once superseded the ancient and necessarily imperfect edition of Spiegel, which has been in use since 1841. About the same time, or shortly afterwards, was issued his '*Patimokkha*' which we fancy will supersede the Russian edition of Professor Mineyeff . . . The work which Mr. Dickson did is such as to entitle him to a prominent place, and his name will be remembered wherever Pali scholars exist."

It is said that Sir John Dickson, when Assistant Colonial Secretary, was once asked to set a paper in English at an examination. He selected a leading article from the *Examiner*, at that time edited by Lorenz, and asked the

candidates to correct the errors in it. Lorenz retaliated by hitting Dickson in the following verse in his poem "One Chance More," which was a parody on Edgar Allen Poe's "The Raven":—

"Lapsing into wrath and panic, with a prompting most Satanic,
I gravely called him a "Mechanic," thinking that would knock him o'er,
And I sent for little Dickson, with his well-known predilixion,
And I set that little vixen to correct his English lore;
But the Raven laughing loudly, rising higher still did soar,
Always croaking—"One chance more!"

Sir John Dickson died on 21st December, 1891. A tablet to his memory in St. Paul's Church, Kandy, erected by his friends, speaks of him as "a faithful servant of the Crown and a true friend of the Sinhalese." The account of Ceylon in an early issue of the Encyclopaedia Britannica was written by him.

Two members of the Liesching family were in the Civil Service—Louis Frederick Liesching (1855-1885) and Charles Frederick Hendrick Ludwig Liesching (1859-1891). They were the sons of a medical man at Cape Town. Sir Anthony Oliphant, the Chief Justice, and Lady Oliphant were great friends of the family, and it was through their influence that Louis Liesching came to Ceylon, and later Charles, who, then a youth of 18, received a free passage in a ship belonging to the Royal Navy. Louis Liesching wrote a good deal in religious publications of "The Christian" type, but at the same time was a friend of the celebrated Lawrence Oliphant, son of his patron, the Chief Justice. He also preached a good deal, "a practice to which" says Mr. J. P. Lewis "he owed a nickname by which he was generally known in the Civil Service as one connected with the tending of flocks." In 1861 he brought out a little publication entitled "A Brief Account of Ceylon." He retired in 1885 while holding the appointment of District Judge of Galle.

Charles Liesching married the eldest daughter of Sir C. P. Layard. He held several acting appointments from 1852, including that of Extra Assistant to the Govern-

ment Agent, Western Province, for the purpose of collecting arrears of assessment tax, until he was absorbed into the Service in 1859. He was informally engaged to Miss Layard before he became a regular member of the Civil Service, and as the engagement could not be sanctioned while the young man's tenure of office was so uncertain, it is said that Lady Ward, who was interested in the couple, used her influence to get him a fixed appointment, and that the Governor, "at the instance of his better half, speedily put the matter right, and the engagement and wedding soon followed."

Liesching retired in 1891 as District Judge of Kalutara and died on 18th May, 1900, at the age of 67. His name is associated with "Lovers' Walk" which he opened in the Nuwara Eliya Park.

Major Thomas Skinner, the great Roadmaker of Ceylon, had a son in the Civil Service. He was THOMAS EDWARD BARNES SKINNER (1860-1896), who was Postmaster-General for no fewer than 24 years. He was called Barnes after the Governor of that name, of whom Major Skinner was a great admirer. Among the earlier appointments held by him was that of Fiscal, Kandy. Sir Richard Morgan, in a letter to Sir Hercules Robinson, thus refers to Skinner's work in connection with the Fiscal's Ordinance when it was first introduced :— "I ought to mention that the belief is that great good has been done at Kandy, where Mr. Skinner is most energetic." Skinner retired in 1896 at the age of 55. He suffered a good deal from an internal ailment, and some time before his death, which occurred in 1902, he received an injury to his head from a plank which fell from a building believed to be his own, the construction or repair of which he was supervising.

Mention has already been made of George Turnour's translation of the first 38 chapters of the Mahawansa without the aid of a Pali Dictionary. That a Civil Servant would in course of time be found who would be capable of supplying this want, might have been thought to be too extravagant an expectation, but it was actually realized. The honour lies with ROBERT CAESAR CHILDERS (1860-1864),

whose first appointment was that of Private Secretary to the Governor, Sir Charles MacCarthy.

Childers passed his examination in Sinhalese in 1862 and was sent to Kandy as Assistant Government Agent, an appointment corresponding to that of office assistant at the present day. Oriental languages had a great attraction for him, and in order to prosecute his studies in Pali he spent six weeks at Bentota learning the language under a Buddhist priest named Yatramulla Unnanse, a man of great learning. He threw himself into his studies with such ardour that his health soon broke down, and he was compelled to retire from the Service in 1864. But this misfortune did not by any means weaken his interest in Pali. He continued his studies on his return to England, and published the Pali Text of the *Khuddaka Putha*, with translation and notes, in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1869-70, this being the first Pali work ever published in English. In 1872 he brought out the first volume of his Pali Dictionary, the second volume appearing three years later. He had in the meantime become Sub-Librarian at the India Office, and in 1873 he was appointed Professor of Pali and Buddhist literature at University College, London. He died in 1876 in his 38th year, shortly after the Institute of France had awarded him the Volney Prize for his Dictionary. It is sad to reflect that his son, Erskine Childers, was shot as a rebel by the Irish Free State Government in 1922.

Reginald Carolus Pole (1863-1883) was the nephew of "old Henry Pole" (1845-1871) who has already been referred to as having got the work of the District Court of Matara into a mess. He was employed in the Survey Department from 1859-1861, when his services were discontinued in consequence of a reduction of establishment. He was taken into the Civil Service two years later as Landing and Tide Surveyor at Galle. In 1881 he was Assistant Government Agent at Mullaitivu, and was transferred to Batticaloa as District Judge because he refused to vacate the Residency for the reception of the Governor, Sir James Longden.

EDWARD ELLIOTT (1863-1896), a son of Dr. Christopher Elliott, who was at one time Editor of the *Ceylon Observer*, and later became our first Principal Civil Medical Officer, began his official career in 1859 as Private Secretary to the Junior Puisne Justice. He next acted successively as Deputy Fiscal, Colombo, and Police Magistrate, Dambulla, and in November, 1863, was appointed a Writer in the Ceylon Civil Service. Shortly afterwards he was sent as Police Magistrate to Jaffna, where he fell foul of the autocratic Mr. Dyke. The incident is thus narrated in a newspaper of the day :— "The acting Police Magistrate has been again distinguishing himself by discourteous antagonism to the Government Agent of the Province. As a consequence he has been ordered back to his own proper pastures, whilst Mr. P. Selby, a much younger official, is placed before him at Jaffna. The present instance, as we understand it, consisted in ordering the re-committal of a person whom the Agent, in his capacity of Fiscal, had discharged on bail. It is said that Mr. Elliott resorted to these extreme proceedings with a view to getting removed from the Northern Province to some District where he might find more "Society." If this were the case, he has been cruelly disappointed, for "Society" at Point Pedro can hardly be considered an improvement upon the *beau monde* of Jaffna."

This incident happily did not effect Elliott's career adversely, for he rose steadily in the Service and gained a high reputation as a capable revenue officer. Paddy cultivation was his forte. He made a close study of the subject, and embodied his views in a pamphlet, which he described as "an effort to secure a truly liberal policy on the part of the present Government to foster and hasten the increased production of the staple food of the island." He was so fully convinced that paddy cultivation could be made to yield better results than many supposed, that after his retirement he embarked largely on this industry in the Tangalle District.

On his retirement in 1896 from the office of Government Agent of the Southern Province, he was entertained to dinner

SIR PONNAMBALAM ARUNACHALAM

by his friends, and in reply to the toast of his health, he gave expression to some very characteristic views. "I am not without the belief" he said, "that the prosperity of that important District" (referring to Matara, where he was Assistant Government Agent for eight years) "is in some degree due to the development of the irrigation and other works initiated during my stay there . . . I do not believe in your safe man, who hesitates and considers how it will all pan out, and in the end generally does nothing. Give me for preference the man of action and progress, who goes ahead and may and does occasionally make mistakes. I may have hatched several ugly ducklings, but I think I can claim that some of them have in course of time proved to be veritable swans."

"The Service has lost by his departure a hard-working and conscientious officer, his subordinates a kindly disposed and considerate master, and the general public an honest and well-meaning citizen" was the tribute paid to ALLANSON BAILEY (1863-1899) by the Press when he retired as Government Agent of the Central Province. The son of Revd. J. Brooke Bailey, Secretary of the School Commission and Chaplain of St. Peter's Church, Allanson Bailey received his early education at St. Thomas's College, and then went to England for a course at Durham University. Returning to Ceylon, he entered the Civil Service, which he adorned for a period of 36 years. Wherever he was stationed, he took a keen interest in cricket as well as in Church work, the foundation for which had been laid during his younger days at Mutwal. Bailey is credited with being one of the first two persons to introduce round-arm bowling into Ceylon.

There is said to have been a common bond between the Bucks and Baileys, who were related, the former being said to be "adepts at a peculiar whistle." The story goes that Warden Buck on his first visit to Kandy, "stood outside the Old Palace and indulged in one or two squeaks, which brought the burly Government Agent out at once, to see who it could be." On Bailey's retirement as Government Agent of Kandy, a striking feature of the farewell demon-

strations was a deputation of fifty Buddhist monks headed by the High Priests of the Malwatte and Asgiriya Temples, who chanted an address in Sanscrit.

The Massies also gave two members to the Civil Service. JAMES MASSIE (1862-1866) was a Cambridge man, and acted at Trincomalee and Kurunegala until he was appointed in 1865 Commissioner of Requests, Chavakachcheri. At the time of his death he was acting as District Judge, Ratnapura. He was buried in the Galle Face Burial Ground. His brother ROBERT MASSIE (1865-1888) received his appointment from the Secretary of State. Having been stationed at Trincomalee, he published in 1887 a list of "Inscriptions and Tombstones at Trincomalee" up to the year 1871. He retired as District Judge, Kurunegala, and died in 1904 aged 57.

One of the first Civil Servants to take an interest in Art in this country was AELIAN ARMSTRONG KING (1864-1899). He was very popular at Kurunegala, where he was Government Agent. He was one of the promoters of the Ceylon Society of Arts, which used to exhibit many charming specimens of his work. After his retirement he occupied himself a good deal with his hobby, taking a studio in Paris for the purpose. He died in Madeira on 27th May, 1923, at the age of 79.

The distinction of being the first and only Ceylonese member of the Civil Service to fill the post of Treasurer of the Colony belongs to JOHN HENRICUS DE SARAM (1865-1906). This gentleman, the eldest of six sons of Proctor F. J. de Saram, served with much credit as District Judge of Kandy for many years. It is said of him that "there was no more dignified figure on the Bench. His very presence inspired respect bordering on awe." In 1901 he was made a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. A further honour was paid to him when, after his retirement, he was called upon to act temporarily on the Supreme Court Bench. He was married to a daughter of Sir Richard Morgan. His son, RICHARD OWEN DE SARAM, was admitted into the Civil Service in 1913, and retired in 1930 while holding the appointment of Deputy Fiscal of Colombo.

A hitherto unexplored field of work was entered by THOMAS WILLIAM RHYS DAVIDS, who, in 1877, published his book on the ancient coins and measures of Ceylon. Entering the Civil Service in 1866, Rhys Davids was soon attraced like Childers by the charm of Buddhist Philosophy and of the ancient language in which it was enshrined. He, therefore, gave himself up to its study, achieving remarkable success. After a short time he resigned from the Civil Service and returned to England, where he founded the Pali Text Society, whose fortunes he promoted with unabated zeal for over a third of a century. Under his inspiration the Society issued in Roman characters the Pali Text of the Buddhist canon—a work ably edited by himself and his wife, an equally erudite scholar. His Hibbert Lecture on Buddhism was said to be one of the most illuminating contributions to the study of Buddhism.

Rhys Davids was called to the Bar in 1877, and became Professor of Pali and Buddhist Literature in University College, London, and of Comparative Religion in Manchester. His other publications include "Buddhist Birth Stories or Jataka Tales," "Lectures on the origin and growth of Religion as illustrated by some points in the History of Indian Buddhism" and "Buddhist India." At the time of his death in 1922 he was engaged, in collaboration with his wife, in the compilation of a New Pali Dictionary.

An officer who deserves to take rank with the greatest of our Government Agents was FRANCIS CONRAD FISHER (1866-1901). The second son of Captain William Fisher of the 78th Highlanders, who served as Aide-de-camp both to the Governor and the Officer Commanding the Troops, Frank Fisher was born at Dimbulla on 10th May, 1850. His mother was not a Sinhalese princess, a common supposition in England owing to the swarthy complexion of his brother, Lord Fisher. She was a Miss Lambe, the sister of a Colombo Merchant of that name, who was a partner in the firm of Lambe, Raynals & Co. She is said to have been an acknowledged belle of local society in her day. Entering the Civil Service at the early stage of sixteen, Fisher soon

exhibited those qualities which marked him out as an able administrator. Tall and of commanding presence, he won his way up in the Service, and came to be recognized as a capable all-round man. He was an acknowledged authority on forest matters, and to this he owed his appointment as Conservator of Forests for the purpose of re-organizing the Department.

As Government Agent of the Eastern Province, Fisher had full scope, not only for his administrative gifts, but also for his love of sport. It was here that he once nearly came by his death by drowning. He was inspecting a newly constructed bridge near Sengalady when he slipped and fell into the stream. At the time there was a strong current which soon carried him some distance away. The Kachcheri Mudaliyar and Mrs. Fisher, who were with him, went to his assistance, but could not rescue him. A police headman, whom Fisher had dismissed a few days before, then swam out and brought him safely to land.

Fisher was in 1899 appointed Government Agent of Kurunegala, where he continued to do good work, but his health had suffered. He fell a victim to insomnia, and one morning, having risen early, he walked into his office room, and put an end to his life with a rifle. His remains were conveyed to Nuwara Eliya and buried in Holy Trinity Churchyard.

Dr. Barcroft Boake, for many years Principal of the Royal College, had a son in the Civil Service. William John Slade Boake (1867-1889), who was a Licentiate of Medicine of Trinity College, Dublin, and held the double Diploma of Medicine and Surgery of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Glasgow, served in various parts of the island from 1867 as Police Magistrate and as Assistant Government Agent, his last appointment being at Mannar in the latter capacity. Being of an original turn of mind, he illustrated his monthly diaries of work which he submitted to Government with clever pen and ink sketches. He broke new ground by compiling a monograph on the Mannar District, and it is said that it was as a result of its publication that Sir Arthur Gordon directed that every Assistant Government

Agent should compile a manual of his District—an instruction unfortunately not regularly observed. During one of the numerous periods when Sir Noel Walker administered the Government, he issued instructions that revenue officers should be reminded that they had to compile Manuals. Sir Alexander Ashmore, who as plain Mr. Ashmore was at that time Second Assistant Colonial Secretary, is said to have written under his chief's minute:— "That dog is dead. File."

It is claimed for GEORGE THOMAS MICHAEL O'BRIEN (1867-1891) that he was one of the ablest Civil Servants of his day, and even superior to Sir John Dickson. The latter is said while in the Secretariat to have "proved at times to be parochial and prejudiced, whereas O'Brien was able to take a broad view of things, and did not believe in any special antagonism of interests between the races." Seven years after his arrival in Ceylon, he was appointed Second Assistant Colonial Secretary, James Swan being then Principal Assistant. According to Mr. Francis Beven, the young Irishman "sucked in all the traditions of the office from his venerable senior, while relieving him of much of the routine which used to devolve on the senior officer." On Swan's retirement in 1876, O'Brien succeeded him as Principal Assistant Colonial Secretary, J.A. Swettenham being appointed Second Assistant. To quote Mr. Beven once again:— "Never was work in the Secretariat better done, and done with more expedition, than with Messrs O'Brien and Swettenham as First and Second Assistants. They were known as the young lions, and perhaps the Service as well as the public heard more of their growls than they cared to. Differing in many respects, they were alike in passion for work, in strictness as disciplinarians, and absolute fairness in dealing with high and low alike."

So well did O'Brien acquit himself in the Secretariat that in 1884 he was appointed to act as Colonial Secretary. It was feared that in the Legislative Council he might prove a poor debater, but these apprehensions were found to be groundless. He crossed swords with Mr. (afterwards Sir

Ponnambalam) Ramanathan in some of the stormiest debates—notably that regarding the extension of the railway to Haputale—and showed that he was as resourceful in Council as he was in office. He was appointed Treasurer in 1886 and Auditor-General in 1890.

O'Brien took a notable part in connection with the guaranteeing of the O. B. C. notes. All the credit is usually given to Sir Arthur Gordon for his courage in pledging the credit of Government, but it appears that the initiative was actually taken by O'Brien. According to one account, the Governor was away from Colombo when the Bank suspended payment. Consternation reigned everywhere. The circumstances called for instant action, and O'Brien had no time to consult the Governor. He, therefore, acted on his own responsibility and "one stroke of his pen brought the proclamation guaranteeing the notes. . . . An hour later would have been too late. Governor Gordon himself was far from satisfied. Indeed he told Mr. O'Brien that he had put his foot into it that time." Having thus averted a crisis, O'Brien took steps for the issue of Government currency notes.

He was a *persōna grāta* with the Clerks, whose welfare he made his special care. It was he who introduced the examination for admission into the Clerical Service. His kindness of heart is well exemplified in the following story. When he was at the head of the Treasury, the time came for Mr. Ide, his Chief Clerk, to retire. His colleagues felt that the old gentleman deserved some recognition of his services, and one of them, more daring than the rest, took it upon himself to submit a note to Mr. O'Brien suggesting that Mr. Ide should be made a Justice of the Peace. The following day Mr. O'Brien himself brought the note to Mr. Ide with the Governor's approval of the honour endorsed on it.

Another story is to the effect that when O'Brien was Principal Assistant Colonial Secretary, a clerk misappropriated a large sum by drawing on the monthly pay abstracts more money than was actually required. These abstracts had been passed by O'Brien and Swettenham. At last the fraud

was discovered, and the clerk after trial was sent to jail. O'Brien insisted on paying the full amount misappropriated on the ground that as he was highly paid for responsible work, he should bear any loss due to his carelessness.

O'Brien left Ceylon in 1891, to assume duties as Colonial Secretary of Cyprus. The following year he was transferred to Hong Kong in the same capacity. He was knighted in 1894 and retired in 1895. Two years later he assumed office once again as Governor of Fiji. He finally retired in 1902, and died in 1906.

The career of ROBERT STOTT PARGITER (1867-1876) acquires some interest by reason of the fact that he was the son of the Revd. Robert Pargiter, a Wesleyan Missionary stationed at Jaffna, who afterwards became a clergyman of the Church of England, and was the Principal of the Chundikuli Seminary, now known as St. John's College, Jaffna. Before being taken into the Civil Service, R. S. Pargiter acted as Deputy Fiscal, Jaffna, in 1863, and Police Magistrate, Mullaitivu, in 1865, up to his appointment as a Writer on 1st September, 1867. He was a member of the Commission appointed to enquire into certain charges made against Luke Kelly, Police Magistrate of Point Pedro and Chavakachcheri. He married a daughter of A. H. Roosmalecocq of the Civil Service. His death occurred on 1st November, 1876, when he was Assistant Government Agent of Negombo. He was the first to be appointed to this newly created post.

The career of GEORGE HENRY WITHERS was unique. Entering the Civil Service in 1867 as a Cadet, he served for a few years in various capacities and then decided to throw up his appointment and take to law. Having been called to the Bar, he established himself in Colombo, but did not enjoy a very large practice. It is said that he was "somewhat too overloaded with learning and not quite suited to the rough and tumble work at the Bar." He decided to try his fortune in South Africa, but the fates were against him. On his way thither he was quarantined at Mauritius and shortly afterwards narrowly escaped drowning. Returning to Ceylon, he resumed his practice at the Bar, living with Messrs

O'Brien and Swettenhan at St. James's, Slave Island. He was more successful in his second attempt and soon commanded a fairly large practice. As shewing the high principles which guided him, it is said that on one occasion he was highly indignant when, on reading the papers handed to him for settlement, he discovered that the fee of Rs. 52·50 paid to him was from a retired Proctor, who was the defendant in the case. He returned the cheque and did the work without remuneration.

In due course Withers was offered a seat on the Bench. Before coming to a decision regarding this offer he consulted Mr. Dornhorst, who advised him to accept it. As a judge Withers did his full share of work in a manner which commended itself both to the profession and to the public. But his health was not very robust, and he was compelled to retire after a very short term of service. Mr. Dornhorst, who presided at a farewell dinner to him, said that the absence of any discordant note on his appointment to the Bench was a silent testimony to the esteem in which his high attainments and eminent character were held. Withers retired in 1899 and died in 1916.

It is well known that the judicial branch of the Ceylon Civil Service is not so attractive to its members as the revenue branch. But there was one notable exception to this rule. Walter T. Wragg (1868-1883) was educated at the Sheffield Grammar School and the Sheffield Collegiate School. He won an open Classical Exhibition at Lincoln College, Oxford, and afterwards an open Classical Scholarship at Worcester College, graduating with First Class honours in Law and Classics, and proceeding later to the degree of D. C. L. He was elected Librarian of Worcester College in 1865, and became a member of the Inner Temple in 1866. After a short term as Assistant Master in a school at Birkenhead, he took up the Civil Service Examination without any special preparation for it, and came out at the top of the list. Entering the Civil Service in 1868, he spent the greater part of his service in Ceylon in filling judicial appointments.

Wragg's ambition was to rise to a seat on the Supreme Court Bench, but finding that Lord Kimberley's refusal in 1872 to confirm H. W. Gillman as District Judge of Kandy effectually closed the avenue of promotion in the judicial line, he addressed a forcible letter to the Secretary of State pointing out how this decision operated to his prejudice. In the course of it he said :— "After two journeys to England for the purpose of completing the prescribed twelve terms, I was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in January 1879. Having made law my special study, and having incurred considerable expense in connection with such study at the University, at the Inner Temple, and elsewhere, I now find with regret, that a strict adherence by the Ceylon Government to the ruling of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1872, concerning Mr. Gillman's appointment to the Kandy District Court Bench, is the obstacle to my obtaining even the acting appointment of District Judge at Colombo and Kandy. As vacancies in the Senior and Junior Puisne Judgeships on the Supreme Court Bench are filled up from the Colombo and Kandy Bench, the denial of the latter appointments totally disables me from rising to the higher judicial appointments. In Ceylon, therefore, my qualifications confer no benefit upon me in the legal branch of the Service, while to a great extent they are prejudicial to advancement in the revenue branch of the Service. Feeling that there is no judicial career open to me in Ceylon, and that there is no hope for the attainment of positions to which an honourable ambition might lead me, as it does lead members of the Indian Civil Service, I beg that my case may be considered, and that, if I am still to be held ineligible for the Colombo and Kandy Benches, you will be pleased to give me promotion out of Ceylon as soon as a suitable judicial appointment may become vacant."

This letter had the desired effect, and in 1883 Wragg was appointed Junior Puisne Justice of Natal. He was afterwards promoted to be Senior Puisne Justice and acted for a time as Chief Justice. He was knighted in 1891 and retired in 1899. He died in 1913 at the age of 72.

Among the appointments held by Sir Walter Wragg in Ceylon was that of District Judge, Badulla. It is said that he always sat in his Barrister's robes, although the Court-house " was little better than a cow-shed." In order to stop long continued sacrilege in the Badulla Cemetery, he once sentenced to three months hard labour a man who was found grinding currystuffs on a stolen tombstone. He was something of an archaeologist, and used to spend his leisure hours in exploring remote caves. Some of his trophies he presented to the Crystal Palace. He also gifted to the Imperial Society of Knights, of which he was a member, a series of thirty-six valuable engravings of the Kings of England and their Consorts from William I. to George IV.

One of the most courtly and polished members of the Civil Service was HARDINGE HAY CAMERON (1868-1904), who retired as Treasurer of the Colony. The connection of the Cameron family with Ceylon dates from 1830 when his father, Charles H. Cameron, was a member of the Royal Commission appointed to report on the administrative and judicial systems in the island. C. H. Cameron succeeded Lord Macaulay as Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council in Calcutta, where his wife was known as "one of the beautiful Misses Pattle, who took the City of Palaces by storm 60 or 70 years ago." Mr. and Mrs. Cameron, on retiring from India, lived next door to Tennyson in the Isle of Wight, and it is said that the Poet Laureate "delighted in the veteran Anglo-Indian who had kept up his classics and was ever ready to quote or talk, while Mrs. Cameron smoothed down 'the bear Alfred' and got him to receive visitors, even Americans, and to sit for his photograph."

C. H. Cameron was so charmed with his first visit to Ceylon that he purchased land for his sons in Dimbulla, which was known for a long time as Cameron's Land, and in Hewaheta, where he planted up Rahatungoda Estate, on which his eldest son lived for many years and died. In their old age Mr. and Mrs. Cameron wished to re-visit Ceylon, where their sons were, and they formed such a strong attachment to the place that they decided to end their days here. Mrs.

Cameron died in 1879 in Glencairn and was buried in the Bogawantalawa churchyard. Mr. Cameron died in Nuwara Eliya two years later at the age of 85, and his remains were conveyed to Bogawantalawa and buried beside those of his wife.

Mr. H. H. Cameron has given us a very graphic description of his father's funeral, which is said to have been like that of an old Highland chieftan. "The march from Nuwara Eliya was a very striking one, starting as we did in a wild storm of thunder and lightning and drenching rain, Walter Campbell French, March-Philips, my brothers and I riding at a foot's pace after the coffin, which was carried by Rahatungoda coolies, who had been born on the estate, and who looked upon my father as a kind of demi-god. There must have been about forty of them in the gang, and they relieved each other from time to time without a word or fuss or chatter such as usually marks any attempt to divide the labour of carrying any ordinary burden. The first night we spent at St. Regulus, and then went on the next morning *via* Annfield Group, through Dikoya, and up the other valley to Bogawantalawa, where we buried him in the afternoon. It had always been his desire, long before he decided to return to Ceylon with me in 1875, aged 79, to lay his bones in the hills of Ceylon, and they could not rest in a more lovely spot than that which they have found."

The son inherited all the amiable qualities of his distinguished parents. Educated at Charterhouse and University College, H. H. Cameron was a scholar and cultured man, who took a deep interest in archaeology. He found full scope for this hobby when he was Government Agent of Anuradhapura, where he did a great deal for the preservation of the ancient monuments. He was aesthetic in his tastes, and the polished floors of the Customs and the Treasury, when he was the head of these departments, bore testimony to his love of neatness. It is said that he would occasionally pick up a pair of scissors from his table and trim the frayed collar or cuff of a clerk who came before him. One of the characteristics which impressed his subordinates most was

his old world courtesy. He was often known to stop his carriage to pick up a clerk who was going the same way as he, or to speak to him, and he was very particular about his salutations.

On Cameron's departure from Ceylon in 1904 preparatory to retirement, the following just tribute was paid to him by the Press :—"No one can deny that Mr. Cameron, wherever, he went, shed an aerial grace, a lightness, a Parisian *savoir faire*, which was just as much needed as the iron despotism of a Dyke, the practical sagacity of a Dickson, or the practical genius of a Fisher." His retirement enabled him to realize the dream of his life, that is, to resume his interrupted studies and obtain his degree. This rare achievement deserves to be told in his own words :—"After spending all the winter at Monaco and Monte Carlo, you will be surprised to hear I studied Aristotle and Tacitus more than the local amusements of Roulette and Trente et Quarante. I returned to Oxford in time for the "Schools," with the results shewn in my enclosure." The enclosure shews that the degrees of B. A. and M. A. were conferred on Cameron the same day, *viz.*, 11th July, 1908.

Cameron was twice married. His first wife was a daughter of Dr. Norman Macleod. She died in the early seventies. After a long interval he married Miss Pilkington Blake. He died in September 1911 at the age of 65.

Not the least among the distinguished Colonial Governors who rose from the lowest rung of the Civil Service ladder was Sir J. A. Swettenham (1868-1895). Educated at Clare College, Cambridge, of which he was a scholar, he entered the Civil Service in 1868. His great talents naturally marked him out for employment in the Secretariat, where, with G. T. M. O'Brien as Principal Assistant, he ran the office very ably. While holding the appointment of Second Assistant Colonial Secretary he was appointed Receiver-General of Cyprus in 1883, and came back to Ceylon in 1891 as Auditor-General. It is interesting to note that his immediate successor in the office of Auditor-General, Sir William Taylor, was also Receiver-General of Cyprus. Sir J. A. Swettenham next went

to the Straits Settlements as Colonial Secretary, and was appointed Governor of British Guiana in 1901. Three years later he became Governor of Jamaica, where he settled on his retirement in 1907. He died in 1933 at the age of 86.

The transition from Civil Servant to Roman Catholic priest is not an easy one ; yet, there is one instance on record of such a change of occupation. JOHN ACHESON ROWLEY SMYTH (1868-1877) was the son of an Anglican Minister of Ardmore in Ireland, and was appointed Assistant Government Agent of Mullaitivu in 1875. How he came to change his faith is not known. He was ordained a priest in 1881 by Bishop Bonjean.

The first Manual of the Ceylon Civil Service was that compiled by CORNELIUS DICKMAN (1868-1886), Assistant Auditor-General. Dickman began his official career as a Clerk, and was promoted to the Civil Service in 1868. He held the post of Assistant Auditor-General for 18 years. He was a staunch member of the Dutch Presbyterian Church, in which he held the office of Elder.

The year 1887 saw the appearance of a Journal devoted to studies in Oriental Natural History, Archaeology, Philology, History, etc. This was the *Taprobanian*, edited by HUGH NEVILL (1869-1897), whose qualifications as an Oriental Scholar fitted him for the task. As Editor, he contributed very largely to the Journal, which, however, did not enjoy a long lease of life. Nevill, whose service in Ceylon extended to 28 years, had the reputation of being a somewhat eccentric man, and this circumstance may have retarded his advancement in the Service, as the highest appointment he held was that of District Judge. He was a fellow of the Zoological Society, and is credited with having discovered and described several new species of animals. He was also the author of two volumes of Essays entitled "Oriental Studies."

"The best of snipe-shots but not the best of Magistrates" was the description applied to JOHN EDWARD SMART (1869-1888). It is related of him that while serving as Cadet at Trincomalee, he was out on horseback one day when he passed a policeman, who took no notice of him. " Eyes

right!" thundered Smart, but there was no response. Dismounting from his horse, the young civilian laid his whip with no light hand on the constable. The matter was reported to the Assistant Government Agent, Mr. G.M. Fowler, with the result that within twenty-four hours Smart was transferred to another station.

In addition to being a good shot, Smart contributed articles on the subject of Sport to various Magazines. It is said that "when he could not go out snipe-shooting during the south-west monsoon, he kept himself in form by bringing down 20 or 30 crows on the wing almost every week." He retired in 1888 owing to ill-health.

A good story is told in which Smart was one of the actors, and which incidentally illustrates the free and easy way in which acting judicial appointments were made in the early days. Sir John Budd Phear, the Chief Justice, happened to be on circuit in Galle, and he invited the leading officials to dinner. Among them were Daniel Blyth, Master Attendant and acting District Judge, J. E. Smart, Police Magistrate, and Louis Nell, Queen's Advocate. The Chief Justice's champagne circulated freely, and Smart, who was one of the Magistrates most frequently sat upon by the Supreme Court, made the remark that there was more law than justice in the country. The Chief Justice naturally could not subscribe to this opinion, and turning to Daniel Blyth he said :— "Of course, you do not agree with that opinion, District Judge ?" "Don't agree with that opinion ?" said Blyth, "why, I think there is a — sight more law in this — country than justice, and the sooner we do away with these — lawyers the better." The Chief Justice was surprised at these remarks and turning to Nell inquired, "Is not that the District Judge ? Nell, with a merry twinkle in his eye, replied, "He is the Master Attendant, but Roosmalecocq, the District Judge, is away on leave for a week, and he has been asked to act for him. He only signs papers passed by the Secretary". The Chief Justice's comments on hearing this reply are not recorded.

CHAPTER IX.

A NEW SYSTEM OF RECRUITMENT

The dual system under which recruits for the Civil Service were obtained, *viz.*, by competitive examination for candidates in England, and by non-competitive examination for candidates in Ceylon, could not be expected to last long. It was inevitable that comparisons unfavourable to the latter should be drawn. The Secretary of State decided therefore in 1870 that both classes of candidates should pass the same competitive examination. According to Professor Mills, "the virtual effect of the reform was to compel all candidates to obtain their education in England. The same examination qualified for the Civil Services of Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and Hongkong, collectively known as the Eastern Cadetships. Owing to the small number of the annual vacancies (two to eight on the average), it proved difficult to attract the best candidates to a competition which offered so few prizes." As has already been shewn, further changes in the method of recruitment took place in 1880, and at various other intervals.

The first to enter the Civil Service under the new system was HENRY WATKINS GREEN (1870-1894), who is best remembered as a Director of Public Instruction. He joined the Civil Service in 1870, and retired in 1894 while holding the appointment of Principal Assistant Colonial Secretary. He brought out a novel entitled "Walter Lee," which first appeared as a serial in St. Thomas's College Magazine, and also wrote verses which are described as "characterised by deep feeling and charming facility of expression." Another of his publications was a Primer of Agriculture, which was no doubt the result of his connection with the Education Department, and his special interest in the improvement of agricultural methods.

Probably very few persons are aware that SAMUEL HAUGHTON (1870-1904), who in his latter days successively filled the appointments of Registrar-General and Government Agent of the Eastern Province, has certain claims to authorship. This is due to the fact that his book "Sport and Travel" published in Dublin in 1916 after his retirement, was limited to private circulation only. The first part of the book deals with his experiences as a Revenue Officer in the Mannar and Mullaitivu Districts, in the days when cholera was introduced into Ceylon by immigrant coolies from India who travelled along the North Road. Haughton gives us a very vivid picture of the hardships endured by young civilians of that early period, when motor cars were unknown, and when, as once happened to Haughton, he could get no food or drink owing to the village which he reached at night having been abandoned on account of cholera. This necessitated his having to sleep on a stone bench in the salt store, "the smell of bats in the building," to quote his own words, "adding to the delights of the situation."

HENRY LUTTERELL MOYSEY (1870-1906) belonged to that small circle of Civil Servants, including J. B. Morphew, R. W. Ievers, Allanson Bailey, and H. W. Green, who were members of the Cathedral Choir, and took an interest in the activities of St. Thomas's College, Colombo. On his arrival in Ceylon in 1870 Moysey lived at the College with John Woodhouse, the Headmaster, and thus began an attachment for the College which lasted until his retirement. He married at Batticaloa, in a portion of the Customs Warehouse which was at that time used for the Anglican Church services, Dora Kathleen, daughter of W. H. O'Grady, by whom he had two sons and one daughter. He was known as one of the most courteous members of the Service, who never spoke a harsh word even to his peons, whom he always addressed in the vernacular. For his services in Ceylon he was made a Companion of the Imperial Service Order in 1903. He retired in 1906 while holding the appointment of Postmaster-General. Returning to England, he settled in Bexhill, where he took a prominent part in public life. He died in 1918 in his sixty-ninth year.

J. H. DE SARAM

The Police Magistracy of Colombo is a post in which an officer may make or mar his reputation. JOHN DAVENPORT MASON (1870-1903) very nearly came to grief during his tenure of this post. He began very well, his conduct during the Buddhist-Roman Catholic disturbances being highly commended. It is said that " he kept his head and was seen in all parts of the town, now by himself, now with the Police, quietly giving instructions, and though armed police were available, not a single shot was fired, and the excitement died out."

On one occasion during a trial, Mason lost his patience and told a leading lawyer that there was more sound than sense in his cross-examination. The latter, who had a sharp tongue, hit back so vigorously that Mason at once left the Bench, and going up to the Additional Police Magistrate, filed a complaint against the lawyer under the provisions of the Penal Code. An exciting time was expected, but the Chief Justice, Sir Bruce Burnside, intervened, and summoned both the contending parties to his Chambers. Later in the day Magistrate and lawyer were seen engaged in a friendly game of billiards.

Another case in which Mason was involved did not end so happily for him. A horse-trainer charged a horse-dealer with the theft of a pair of horses. The Magistrate ordered the accused to produce the horses the next morning, and this was done. The horses happened to be the very ones which had brought the Chief Justice to Court in his landau. Mason ordered the Court Inspector to bring round the horses, and within sight of the Supreme Court had them unharnessed and delivered over to the complainant. The Chief Justice was furious. He issued a rule on the Magistrate for contempt of Court, and Mason was fined Rs. 200. A subscription paper was immediately started by the Proctors, headed by H. J. C. Pereira, then a Proctor, and the amount was easily made up ; but when the Attorney-General, Sir C. P. Layard, came to hear of this, he advised the Proctors to drop the matter, as the Chief Justice might regard their action as a contempt of Court.

Mason retired as District Judge of Galle in 1903 at the age of 54, and died in 1925.

From time to time, men with a certain mental twist have entered the Civil Service, but the palm for eccentricity must be awarded to CHARLES EDMUND DUNLOP (1871-1898). He came of a wealthy family, his father being a big ship-owner. His pet aversion was the ringing of Church bells. While stationed at Batticaloa, he once prosecuted the sexton of the Wesleyan Chapel for ringing the bell after the Watch-night Service, but the case was dismissed. He followed this up by throwing stones at the sexton. On hearing of this outrage, the Wesleyan minister, the Rev. J. G. Pearson, armed himself with a riding whip, and taking the sexton along with him, got him to ring a hundred strokes on the bell. Dunlop seems to have retaliated very effectively, to judge from the following extract from a letter written by Mr. J. P. Lewis to a local newspaper :— "One of the first pieces of Court news that caught my eye soon after my arrival was an indignant paragraph from a resident, stating that Mr. Dunlop had removed the bell from the Wesleyan Chapel, apparently because its ringing annoyed him." A case was instituted against Dunlop, but the Chief Mudaliyar, who was a pillar of the Methodist Church, intervened, and Dunlop returned the bell and tendered an apology.

Dunlop's treatment of his subordinates was of a piece with his attitude towards the public. It is said that as Office Assistant of the Batticaloa Kachcheri "he made the clerks' lives a veritable hell. He was an awful martinet, and punctilious to a fault. He ruled the clerks with a rod of iron." But with all his faults, he made a good judicial officer. He was a severe critic of local legislation, and often pointed out flaws in our Ordinances. When he was District Judge of Badulla, a case came up before him in which the Crown sued a defaulting arrack renter. Dunlop gave judgment against the Crown, and his finding was affirmed in appeal, Sir John Budd Phear congratulating the young Civil Servant on his masterly grasp of the law. But Government took a different view, and Dunlop was transferred to another station as Office Assistant.

During a short period of service at the Colombo Customs, Dunlop pointed out that the Customs Ordinance was defective, and he refused to carry out certain orders issued by the Principal Collector, on the ground that they were *ultra vires*. He was reported for insubordination, and escaped punishment by going on leave.

While serving as District Judge of Tangalle, the Secretary of the Court brought to his notice that an insufficient supply of blotting paper had been received. A request for more was met by a refusal. Dunlop then threatened to use his lead pencil if a further supply was not received. The Secretariat proving adamant, Dunlop recorded non-summary proceedings in pencil. When the record reached the Attorney-General's Department, Sir Samuel Grenier was surprised, and reported the matter to Government. A lengthy correspondence ensued, and in the end Dunlop received a further supply of blotting paper.

In Dunlop's time it was the rule for Government servants to give separate receipts for fixed and provisional salaries. Dunlop objected to this, and solved the difficulty, as he thought, by cutting a 5-cent stamp in two and affixing a half to each of the receipts. Again there followed a lengthy correspondence, but Dunlop was not so fortunate this time and had to admit defeat.

In 1897 he was again sent to Batticaloa, this time as District Judge, but he was not destined to remain here long. His eccentricities increased with the passage of years, and served as a good excuse for sending him before a Medical Board. Even here he could not repress himself, for he greeted the members with the words, "I hope I appear before a Board of gentlemen." The result was a foregone conclusion.

As Commissioner of Requests, Colombo, Dunlop was liked by the members of the Bar, who admired his independence of character. Some time after his retirement, he sent an enlarged photograph of himself to be hung in the Law Chambers, and expressed the hope that it would be thought worthy of a place among the other photographs.

Dunlop was very fond of horses, and used to drive a pair

when in Colombo. He was very partial to cigarettes, which he smoked incessantly both on and off the Bench. Three years before his death his leg had to be amputated above the knee. He died at Edinburgh in 1915 at the age of 66.

There entered the Civil Service in the same year as Dunlop an officer who, while sharing with him his reputation for eccentricity, possessed other qualities which counter-balanced this failing and enabled him to rise high in the Service. This was FRANCIS ROBERT ELLIS (1871-1906), second son of Colonel F. Ellis, of County Tyrone, Ireland. He is admitted to have been one of the ablest members of the Civil Service of his day. Four years after entering the Service, his work came under the favourable notice of Sir Richard Morgan, who was presiding at the Criminal Sessions at Kurunegala. The following entry appears in Morgan's diary under date 13th March, 1875 :— "Closed Court today at Kurunegala, transferring six cases to Kandy. Addressed the Jury on the state of crime in the District. Heavy calendar, but owing not necessarily to increase in crime, but rather to the superior vigilance of the itinerant Magistrate, Mr. Ellis."

While still in Class III, the extraordinary ability displayed by Ellis in dealing with crime and criminals was recognized by his being appointed to act in the dual capacity of Inspector-General of Police and Inspector-General of Prisons. He effected many reforms in both Departments, and so versatile did he prove himself that he was next appointed to act as Principal Collector of Customs. His capacity for work may be gauged from the fact that in 1897 he administered two of the most important Provinces at one and the same time—the Western and the Southern. Sir West Ridgeway formed a high opinion of him and invariably selected him for work calling for special efficiency. In consequence of the disclosures made by Herbert White in connection with the inner working of the Colombo Municipality, Ellis was sent to enquire and make a report. According to a newspaper paragraph, "he called everybody a liar, including the Press and the Police, and swore there was no scandal anywhere. Even the late Mr. Charles Perera, the cause of all the trouble,

was satisfied with the result. The Government was presumably pleased, not so the Public and the Press, but their view of the matter never troubled Mr. Ellis, and the clamour continued unabated. He was a magnificent white-washer."

On the retirement of Mr. W. T. Taylor, Auditor-General, Ellis was appointed to succeed him, but he was not so happy here, as he missed the free and easy life he had been used to as Government Agent. He, however, threw himself into his new duties with his customary zeal, occasionally indulging in his favourite pastime of snipe-shooting when he could fit it in with his audit inspections. He acted in 1903 for a short period as Colonial Secretary in addition to his own duties, and retired in 1906. He was an acknowledged authority on matters relating to land, arrack rents—indeed every phase of Kachcheri work.

Numerous stories are current regarding Ellis and his peculiarities. Although he never professed to be a religious man, it is a remarkable fact that most of the anecdotes have a biblical flavour about them. A villager, who was suspected of sending a false petition, was summoned to appear before the Government Agent at the Hanwella Resthouse on a certain day, but he did not turn up till the following day. On seeing the man approaching, Ellis is said to have observed, "That is the man whose blood I should like to drink." On being asked why he did not appear on the date fixed, the villager said he was not aware that the Government Agent had arrived on that day. Upon this Ellis rose from his seat and looking upward said :— "O Lord, do not strike this man dead as Thou didst Ananias—Amen."

While Government Agent of the Western Province, Ellis caused to be prepared a comprehensive map on which the villages, taverns, schools, etc., were indicated by numbers, while another book, which served as a key to the map, gave the names of the villages, taverns, schools, etc., opposite the numbers. On the top of the map were printed the words, "Even the very hairs of your head are all numbered." One day Ellis called up a new clerk and said to him, "Get me my Bible." The clerk hunted all over the Kachcheri for a copy

of the Scriptures, and failing to get one, he sent over to the Book Depot opposite and procured a copy which he handed to the Government Agent. "This is not my Bible" thundered Ellis. "I want *my* Bible." The frightened clerk ran to the Kachcheri Mudaliyar and told him what had happened. "No wonder he is angry" said the Mudaliyar, "what he wants is *his* Bible—the book containing the names and numbers of the villages." This book was handed to Ellis and all was peace.

There is then the old thread-bare story of Ellis, the Bishop, and the bear. When Ellis was at an out-station, the Bishop of Colombo once happened to be his guest. "How is John the Baptist?" enquired Ellis of a servant who happened to come into the room. Seeing the expression of surprise on the Bishop's face, Ellis led him to the back garden and showed him a young bear tied to a post. "But why do you call him John the Baptist?" inquired the Bishop. "Because" replied Ellis, "his voice is like one crying in the wilderness. He has a leathern girdle about his loins, and his meat consists of locusts and wild honey."

No account of this distinguished Civilian would be complete without the story of his old white helmet. He was inordinately fond of this article of wear, although it was in a very battered condition, and his wife could not induce him to part with it. One day, during his temporary absence from the house, a poor "mechanic" went to "The Priory" where Ellis resided, and begged for some old clothes. Mrs. Ellis gave him a parcel, and included in it, either by accident or design, the old helmet. Returning home, Ellis spied the "mechanic" on whose head the white helmet was proudly reposing. Taking in the situation at a glance, he stopped the "mechanic," retrieved his old helmet, and compensated him for the loss.

Ellis prided himself upon being something of a detective, and on one occasion he was able to put these powers to practical use. He happened to be on circuit at a Resthouse with a Mudaliyar whose honesty he had reason to suspect. Just as the two were about to retire to their respective rooms

for the night, Ellis expressed a wish to exchange rooms with the Mudaliyar. This the unsuspecting official readily agreed to do. Ellis moved his bed close to the window, and at midnight a hand was thrust into the room containing a bundle of currency notes. History does not record what transpired the following morning between the Government Agent and the Mudaliyar.

A few years after his retirement, Ellis was appointed, through the good offices of Sir West Ridgeway, Governor of British North-Borneo. He held this office for only one year. He died in 1915 aged 66.

Albert Gray (1871–1875) entered the Civil Service along with G. A. Baumgartner and F. R. Ellis and resigned four years later. Returning to England he was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1879 ; took silk in 1905 ; became a Bencher in 1914; and was for 26 years Counsel to the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords. After his departture from Ceylon, he made, for the Hakluyt Society, in collaboration with H. C. P. Bell, a translation of Francois Pyrard's " Voyage to the Maldives and other parts of the East Indies." He also translated from the French of Defremery and Sanguinetti so much of the travels of Ibn Batuta as related to Ceylon and the Maldive Islands, and this was published in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1883.

Gray was for some years President of the Hakluyt Society. From 1894 to 1897 he was Chancellor of the Diocese of Ely, and in 1924 and 1925 he was Mayor of Chelsea. He was created a Knight Commander of the Bath in 1919. He died on 27th February, 1928, at the age of 78, leaving an estate valued at over £90,000.

Robert Wilson Ievers (1872–1905) will be remembered for the great interest he took, as Government Agent of the Northern Province, in improving the breed of horses in the island of Delft. On his appointment as Acting Colonial Secretary he brought down a pair of these diminutive animals, and was frequently seen driving them in the streets of Colombo. His favourite recreation was shooting, a pastime in which

his wife joined him, much to the horror of an older generation, whose ideas of propriety were much stricter than our own. Mrs. Ievers was, it is believed, the only lady in Ceylon to be mauled by a bear. This happened at Vavuniya. Ievers published a Manual of the North-Central Province, and contributed various articles to the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

HERBERT WACE (1873–1906) belonged to that type of Government official of whom Percival Acland Dyke was a good representative; he was more feared than loved. He was educated at Westminster, and was a brother of a one-time Dean of Canterbury. He was Government Agent successively of the Sabaragamuwa, North-Western, Southern, and Central Provinces, and took much interest in the education of the Sinhalese villager, in Gansabhawas, in irrigation, and in the efficiency of the headmen and police under his charge. He died at "Temple Trees" in 1906 when acting as Colonial Secretary. He is commemorated at Ratnapura by the "Wace Memorial Hall," and at Kandy by "Wace Park."

The first member of the Civil Service to meet his death by drowning was ROBERT HAMILTON SINCLAIR (1874–1886). Sinclair, who was Police Magistrate of Kandy, was walking round Kandy Lake one day in company with Captain Fraser of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, when a sudden shower of rain came down drenching them to the skin. Sinclair then suggested that, as they were already so wet, it would not make much difference if they jumped into the Lake and swam across to the opposite shore where their quarters were. His friend agreeing, they got into the water and started swimming. When nearing the shore Captain Fraser missed his companion, and on looking back found that he had disappeared. It was surmised that Sinclair had got a cramp and disappeared under the water. The body was afterwards recovered and buried in the Mahaiyawa Cemetery. Another fatality occurred during the search for Sinclair's body. A party of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders were out in a boat, when one of the men, Drummer Alfred Mathieson, fell into the water and was drowned.

It is stated that the previous year Sinclair himself had saved a man from drowning in Colombo. He was walking along Galle Face one evening when he saw a Sinhalese man some distance away in the sea in difficulties. He at once jumped into the sea, swam out to the man, and brought him safely to shore.

It may be convenient to mention here the other cases of Civil Servants who lost their lives by drowning. MARCUS SYNNOT CRAWFORD (1878–1893) was drowned while bathing off Mount Lavinia. He was educated at Sherborne School, and was a scholar of Exeter College, Oxford, where he took a First Class in Classical Moderations, and a Second Class in his Degree examination in 1878. He had returned from leave two days before the accident and was staying at the Mount Lavinia Hotel. He appeared to be quite well the previous night and said he expected to be sent to his old station, Kandy. He had but recently married and his wife was expected to come out shortly. Crawford was joint author with J. P. Lewis of a legal work entitled "Master and Servant Ordinance No. 11 of 1865. Notes of decided cases."

The next case of death by drowning was that of EDWARD BEAUMONT FRASER SUETER (1903–1916), the casualty occurring in the sea opposite the Bentota Resthouse, to which place Sueter and a party of friends had gone for the week-end. Sueter, who, arrived in the island in 1903, is well described as having belonged "to that small and brilliant group of men whom the central administration, as it were, sifted out of the General Civil Service and established at the Secretariat." Whether as Office Assistant, Police Magistrate, Commissioner of Request, or District Judge—in all of which capacities he served—Sueter's work was characterised by rare ability, but his eyes were ever directed towards the Promised Land, represented by the Secretariat. "If ever I do get there" he once told a friend, "they will find it very difficult to turn me out." And it was in the Secretariat that he did his best work. He devoted a large part of his time to the study of the early British period in Ceylon, and left behind, as the fruit of his labours, several volumes consisting chiefly of documents

bearing on the Civil Service, which later writers have found very useful. He was a careful student of the Dutch period in Ceylon, having taught himself the Dutch language in order to pursue his investigations among the original records. He edited the Ceylon Manual for some years, and published in 1914 a legal work entitled "Imperial Acts applicable to Ceylon." He also contributed an illustrated article on the Ceylon Civil Service to the Christmas Number of the "Times of Ceylon" for 1914.

Sueter, who was educated at Merton College, Oxford, was a brother of Rear-Admiral Murray F. Sueter, C.B., who was a Member of Parliament and a pioneer of British aviation.

The fourth case occurred at Negombo, where TATODUS GOONETILLEKE, the Police Magistrate, lost his life on 20th July, 1920, while bathing in the sea opposite the Negombo Resthouse. He had seven years' service at the time of his death. Yet another Police Magistrate of Negombo, DAVID GRENIER, came by his death in similar circumstances in August, 1918.

A period of thirty years elapsed between the appointment to the Civil Service of Simon Casie Chitty, and that of PONNAMBALAM ARUNACHALAM (1875–1913). After a brilliant school career, Arunachalam left for England and successfully competed in the Civil Service examination held there for appointment to Ceylon. He returned to the island in 1875, and filled various appointments, mostly judicial, with much credit to himself. As Registrar-General he raised the department to a high state of efficiency. His admirable report on the census of 1901 attracted much attention. As a reward for his services he was appointed a member of the Executive and Legislative Councils, and on his retirement from the Service in 1913 he received the honour of Knighthood. Relieved of the trammels of office, he worked hard for the amendment of the old Constitution, but he did not live to see the fruition of his labours. His other works include "Tamil Studies," "Sketches of Ceylon History," and "A Digest of Civil Law," only the first part of which was published.

The career of CECIL JOHN REGINALD LE MESURIER (1875–1896) was a somewhat chequered one. His father was a

Channel Islander, and his mother a Greek, while he himself was born in the Ionian Islands. Entering the Civil Service the same year as Arunachalam, he gave promise of becoming a very useful public servant, which his appointment as Assistant Government Agent of Nuwara Eliya served to confirm. In 1893 he brought out a Manual of that District, and was the joint author with Mr. T. B. Panabokke of a translation into English of the "Niti-Niganduwa, or the Vocabulary of Law as it existed in the last days of the Kandyan Kingdom." He also contributed articles on various subjects to the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. To him is due the credit, in co-operation with Mr. Hubbard, of introducing trout into Nuwara Eliya. He once sued a local newspaper for defamation, and was awarded Rs. 1,000 as damages. He was instrumental in establishing a peasant settlement in the Nuwara Eliya District, and the place was named Lamasuriyagama as a compliment to him.

When asked to explain why he had, without the sanction of Government, bestowed his name on a village, he repudiated the charge, and said that the derivation was "lama" from the same root as "lamia" (child), "suriya" (sun) and "gama" (village), meaning "the village of the young or rising sun." It is interesting to note that another village in the same district has been named Rogersongama after a later Assistant Government Agent.

Le Mesurier was married to a French lady, but the marriage did not turn out to be a happy one. In 1891 Mrs. Le Mesurier successfully sued her husband for a separation on the ground of alleged cruelty. While Assistant Government Agent of Matara, Le Mesurier took to land speculation, which brought him into bad odour with the Government. He embraced Mohammedanism, adopted the name of Abdul Hamid, and took as his second wife Miss Alice Rivett-Carnac, daughter of Lt.-Col. Rivett-Carnac, R.A., sometime Military Secretary to the Governor of Bombay. She went by the name of Kadija. The result is best told in Le Mesurier's own words in an interview given by him to a pressman :— "There is no reason why I should not give you a short account of how

and why I was dismissed. On the 19th December last, I got a letter from the Government Agent asking me to state distinctly whether I had embraced the Mohammedan faith, and whether I had married a lady according to Mohammedan rites. I wrote in reply to the inquiry what concern my religion was to the Ceylon Government, and how it affected my efficiency or character as a public servant, and what concern my domestic affairs were to the Ceylon Government. On the 8th of this month I got a letter to say that the Lieutenant-Governor, being satisfied that I had purported to marry a lady by Mohammedan rites while I had a legal wife alive and not divorced, he, in pursuance of instructions from the Secretary of State, dismissed me from the Ceylon Civil Service."

On severing his connection with Government, Le Mesurier settled in Batticaloa, where he had previously been District Judge, and established a mill for hulling paddy, which he afterwards sold to a Company. In order to support his newly assumed character, he wore a fez, and occasionally attended the mosque. He was a great patron of the Turf and kept a string of horses which he rode himself. While at Batticaloa as District Judge, he laid down a riding track on the esplanade for the purpose of training his horses. After disposing of his business in Batticaloa he returned to Matara where he was engaged in planting. Here he was involved in an assault case and was sentenced by Mr. W. H. Moor, who was specially gazetted to try it, to three months' imprisonment, but in appeal the sentence was reduced to a fine. He finally left Ceylon for Australia, where he practised as a Barrister.

Le Mesurier had at least one exciting encounter as a lawyer. While conducting a case in a West Australian Court, he called the lawyer on the other side a liar. Thereupon his opponent, Mr. Dwyer, leaned forward, and with a "straight right" struck Le Mesurier. The latter, we are told, "shaped up to Mr. Dwyer in the orthodox fighting style, and a free fight was apparently about to set in when Court Officer Chaffey interposed. The Magistrate, Mr. James Cowan, characterised the incident as one of the most disgraceful affairs he had ever had the pain of witnessing from the Bench. It amounted, he said,

to contempt of Court, and he forthwith fined Mr. Dwyer £5 or in default fourteen days' imprisonment, and Mr. Le Mesurier £2-10 or in default seven days' imprisonment, a period of three days being given in which to pay the fines. Both Counsel, in a most contrite spirit, then expressed their extreme regret at the incident having happened."

Like Sir J. A. Swettenham, SIR ALEXANDER ASHMORE (1876–1894) had two periods of service in Ceylon. Entering the Civil Service as a Cadet, he served in various stations as Police Magistrate and Office Assistant, rising to be Government Agent, Ratnapura, in 1892, and Principal Assistant Colonial Secretary the same year. While officiating as Police Magistrate of Kandy, an incident occurred in which he did not appear to advantage. Ahamado Bawa, father of the late Advocate B. W. Bawa, was a Proctor practising in Kandy. On one occasion he was very persistent in his cross-examination of a witness, and would not obey the ruling of the Magistrate. Ashmore thereupon ordered the Police Inspector to carry Ahamado Bawa out bodily and deposit him on the adjoining green. The outraged Proctor charged the Magistrate and Inspector before a Bench of Magistrates of the Municipal Council. They were convicted and fined, but the conviction was set aside in appeal. It is said that after this incident, Ashmore named a dog of his, which he exhibited at a show, "Bow Wow." This seems to have given offence, owing apparently to the close resemblance in sound between "Bow Wow" and "Bawa." Next morning the whole of Kandy was posted with placards bearing the legend "Lost, stolen, or strayed, a puppy called Ashmore."

In 1894 Ashmore went as Colonial Secretary of the Gold Coast, and after serving in Cyprus, the Transvaal, and British Guiana, he returned to Ceylon in 1904 as Lieutenant-Governor and Colonial Secretary. All went well until November, 1906, when he presided at a distribution of prizes at Trinity College, Kandy. In the course of his address to the boys he said that "the people of this country do not attain to that high sense of duty and honour which the British Government expected." The speech aroused considerable resentment among the

Ceylonese, but before taking any action, a Committee of leading lawyers wrote to Ashmore sending him a copy of his speech, and enquiring whether he had been correctly reported. He only interpolated the word " ordinarily," and in returning the report added fuel to the fire by saying, " I venture to express a good-natured hope that the trifling alteration I have found it necessary to make, may not rob a body of men, who probably do not find many occasions in their profession for public speaking, of a coveted opportunity of self-advertisement." The Committee retorted by saying that the suggestion made by Ashmore was " as false as it is flippant, and is unworthy of your position as Head of the Public Service in the Island."

A public meeting was convened, at which Dr. W. G. van Dort presided, and speeches were made by Messrs H. J. C. Pereira, B. W. Bawa, C. P. Dias and others. It was decided to send a memorial to the Secretary of State, but the unexpected death of Sir Alexander Ashmore after an operation for appendicitis put an end to further proceedings. The members of the Civil Service erected a tablet to his memory in St. Peter's Church, Fort.

One of the most striking literary figures of our own day was that of JOHN PENRY LEWIS (1877–1910). Very early in his career he began to take an interest in the antiquities of Ceylon, as is shewn by his contributions to the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Ceylon Literary Register. He did not, like the generality of writers, confine himself to any special branch of investigation or to any particular period in the island's history. Rather, he sought to rescue from oblivion every little fact that could throw light on the past history of the island, and the literary flavour with which he presented his facts added not a little to their interest. For a period of eight years he was Joint-Editor of *The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, every number of which he brightened with one or more articles based on information which he had carefully collected and stored during his service in different parts of the island. Fond as he was of antiquarian research, Lewis did not allow this to

interfere with the discharge of his legitimate duties. On the contrary, he gave a new character to antiquarian research, and showed how it could be made to form an integral part of a public officer's duties. As Government Agent of the Northern Province, Lewis had excellent opportunities for indulging this bent, of which he made full use, with the result that we owe a good deal of what we know of ancient Jaffna to his researches. On his appointment as Government Agent of Kandy, he threw himself with undiminished ardour into the work that lay ready to his hand. His labours did not cease even after his retirement and departure from Ceylon in 1910, for he was a frequent visitor at the British Museum, where he continued his historical researches until his death in 1923.

Apart from the numerous articles of historical and antiquarian interest which he contributed to various local newspapers and periodicals, Lewis compiled in 1895 a Manual of the Vanni Districts of the Northern Province. He also contributed several papers on "Folklore from North Ceylon" to "Folklore," and on "Dutch Architecture in Ceylon" to the "Architectural Review," besides many articles to the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, of which he was at one time Vice-President. His two most notable works are "Ceylon in Early British Times," and "A List of Inscriptions on Tombstones and Monuments in Ceylon." The latter is not, as its name might seem to imply, a bare recital of the inscriptions on the monuments and tombstones. It contains a biographical sketch of nearly every person whose death is commemorated by a tombstone, supplemented by interesting particulars concerning other members of the same family, while descriptive accounts of places of historical interest like St. Peter's, Fort, the Pettah Burial Ground, the Wolvendaal Church, and the old Dutch Forts, form a very attractive feature of the book. It is due to the memory of this distinguished man of letters to say that a good deal of the information contained in this book has been taken from his "Tombstones and Monuments."

Herbert White (1879–1909) served with distinction in various posts, including that of Principal Assistant Colonial

Secretary and Registrar-General. While holding the appointment of Government Agent of Badulla, he compiled a Manual of Uva, and was also responsible for the first edition of the Ceylon Manual, which was in its early days known as " White's Manual." His other contributions to Ceylon literature include articles to the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

It was while he officiated as Mayor of Colombo that Herbert White's name came prominently before the public. He found a great deal of laxity prevailing in the Municipality, particularly in one branch of it, and he set about with more vigour than discretion to reform it. Finding in the course of his investigations that one member in particular was unduly interesting himself in the work of a certain Department, White drew up a memorandum containing a large number of questions to which he himself supplied the answers, and had them published in the Press. The following is a specimen of the questions and answers :—

" Who looks after the . . . Department when the Manager is away ?—Mr. . . .

Are the same members always on the Standing Committee ? —One member is always on it.

Is it time he was off ?—High time."

The member concerned instituted an action against White for damages, alleging that the statements in the memorandum were false and malicious. White's action was not regarded with favour by Government, and he was granted leave of absence for twelve months on the ground that he required a rest and change. On his return to Ceylon he was appointed Commissioner of Requests, Colombo. The libel action never went to trial as the member concerned was not anxious to proceed with it.

This episode unfortunately had an adverse effect on the career of this able Civil Servant. It was said of him that " he had too much courage to be either tactful or cautious, and the absence of these attributes did not conduce to rapid advancement in the Civil Service." White retired in 1909 at the age of fifty-two, and died in 1921.

J. P. LEWIS

It is not given to every Civil Servant to be spoken of as "one of the ablest officials who ever made his mark in the Ceylon Civil Service, and at the same time one of the most lovable and attractive of men." This was the description applied to WILLIAM HENRY JACKSON (1879–1913) whose rise in the Service was phenomenal. While still in Class III he was appointed to act as Principal Collector of Customs, and three years later he was promoted to Class I, without having served in Class II, and he was then given the permanent appointment. How well he justified this unprecedented step taken by Sir West Ridgeway is now a matter of history. On his retirement in 1913, the Governor placed on record "his high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Mr. Jackson to the Colony in the course of his service of thirty-four years, including a period of over ten years during which he administered the Customs Department with conspicuous ability and success."

Like a good many Civil Servants of the olden days, Jackson was a keen cricketer. He was a good bat, but a better bowler, and took part in most of the big matches of his time. In his office "Jacky," as he was known to his intimate friends, was always approachable, and there was not the slightest trace of priggishness, snobbery, or condescension in his character. It is said of him that "he never felt himself contaminated by the touch of ordinary mortals." The story of the snubbing he administered to an objectionable young Cadet doing duty in the Police Department for venturing to address him familiarly as "Jacky" is well worth repeating. "Sir," thundered Jackson, screwing on his monocle, "I am Jacky to my friends, Jackson to my acquaintances, and Mr. Jackson to bounders like yourself."

The philosophic calm with which Jackson met adverse circumstance is well illustrated by the following story. He was once travelling by night mail from Colombo to Nuwara Eliya, and at Peradeniya Junction he got out from his berth clad in sleeping suit, over-coat, and slippers, and was making for the refreshment car unnoticed by anybody, when the train started, leaving Jackson behind. He sent for the Station

Master, who, recognizing him, offered him the hospitality of his bungalow. "No, thank you" said Jackson, "give me your office table," and placing two books under his head for a pillow he went to sleep.

Jackson died in 1920 in New Zealand. Mr. Frederick Lewis, writing at the time, mentioned the fact that he was related to the poet Shelley. One of his daughters was married to H. A. Burden of the Ceylon Civil Service.

William Henry Moor (1885–1902) was an uncommon type of Civil Servant. He was a good deal in the public eye when Police Magistrate of Colombo. He had an abrupt way of dealing with people, and although he got through his work quickly, he left behind a feeling with litigants that things might have been different if he had exercised a little more patience. He was inclined to be arrogant and to see offence where none was intended. The story is told that, going into a Resthouse one day, he found a man with his hat on his head. Regarding this as an offence against his dignity, he knocked off the man's hat with his cane, justifying his action by saying that in this country the rule of the rod must be applied. The man happened to be a catechist, and the incident was witnessed by two missionaries, who wrote an exaggerated account of it to the *Ceylon Observer*. Moor sued the Fergusons for damages for libel, and he was represented by Sir (then Mr.) C. P. Layard and G. H. Withers. When the trial came on they were unfortunately guilty of a technical blunder. They merely put in a copy of the *Ceylon Observer* and closed their case, saying they supposed the defendants would call witnesses and they would cross-examine them. Dornhorst appeared for the Fergusons and simply said :— "I am not going to call evidence for the defence as the plaintiff did not get into the box as it was his duty to do." This was about the time that the Dilke case was heard in England, and Dilke was blamed for not getting into the box and submitting himself to cross-examination. The consequence was that Moor got only nominal damages in Rs. 200.

This was not the only high-handed act perpetrated by Moor. In the days when motor cars were unknown and long-distance

travelling was done by coach, certain Missionaries of India, who were on a visit to Ceylon, booked the whole coach for a journey as it was permissible for them to do. Moor, who wanted to make the same journey, refused to recognize the prior claim of the Missionaries, and taking possession of the whole coach, left the poor Missionaries stranded. Their indignation can better be imagined than described.

Moor left Ceylon in 1902 on his appointment as Assistant Colonial Secretary, Pretoria.

CHAPTER X.

MILITARY OFFICERS AS AGENTS OF GOVERNMENT

We have seen that the annexation of the Kandyan Provinces in 1815 necessitated far-reaching changes in the Civil Service in order to provide the necessary personnel for the new territory, the administration of which, it was decided, should as far as possible be kept distinct from that of the Maritime Provinces. John D'Oyly was appointed Resident, with his headquarters at Kandy, and had two Assistants, Simon Sawers and Henry Wright, while James Sutherland was Secretary for the Kandyan Provinces, with his office in Colombo. In consequence of the gradual expansion of work, a Board of three Commissioners was appointed in 1816, with D'Oyly as President, the other two members being the Judicial Commissioner and the Revenue Commissioner, while the outlying districts were placed in charge of four officers called Agents of Government. The actual government of the provinces, however, remained in the hands of the Kandyan Chiefs.

This form of administration remained in force until 1817, when the Kandyan rebellion took place. After its suppression Sir Robert Brownrigg took the opportunity to make extensive alterations in the system of government. To quote from Professor Mills again :—" The Governor determined to destroy the authority of the Chiefs, and in so doing he was no longer hampered by the Agreement of 1815, since most of the signatories had joined the revolt. A radical departure from the existing system of ' leaving the general executive government, and a greater portion of the judicial, to the native chiefs, is absolutely necessary to ensure our maintaining authority in these provinces.' There must be ' a more intimate connection between the British Government and the people ' by increasing the number of Agents of Governments and giving them more extensive powers. The key-note of the new system was the transfer of authority from the native

chiefs to the Civil Servants, since otherwise the nobles would have used their power over the raiyats to stir up another revolt."

One of the principal changes introduced was a larger amount of military control. The Officer Commanding the Troops in the Kandyan territories was made a member of the Board of Commissioners. The Kandyan Provinces were divided into eleven districts, each in charge of an Agent of Government, who, in addition to his revenue duties, exercised judicial powers to a limited extent. These Agents of Government, some of whom were military officers who had taken part in the suppression of the rebellion, continued to serve as such until the reforms of 1833, when they received the designation of Assistant Government Agent. By virtue of the judicial functions discharged by them, they were given the added designation of District Judge. On their retirement or death, their places were taken by members of the regular Civil Service.

It is now proposed to trace the careers of three of the most distinguished military officers who held civil appointments in the Kandyan Districts. The first of these was THOMAS WILLIAM ROGERS, who was destined not only to rise to high distinction as a civil and military officer, but also to achieve fame in a new sphere of activity as the largest slayer of wild elephants in Ceylon. Rogers, who arrived in Ceylon in the year 1824, joined the Ceylon Rifle Regiment as Second Lieutenant, and in the course of time rose to be Major, which rank he held, in conjunction with his civil appointments, until his widely lamented death in 1845 in the most tragic circumstances.

Rogers came out in the same ship which brought Albert Watson, who afterwards rose to be Lieut.-Colonel, and who, as Capt. Watson, came into much prominence in connection with certain incidents which marked the suppression of the Kandyan rebellion of 1848. The following incident is related by the latter :—" At Trincomalee, where we landed, he (Rogers) was put up by Colonel, then Captain, Anderson, Staff Officer, who lent him his charger to ride. The horse

was very fresh, and ran away with him towards the burial ground, stopped short at the fence, and shot poor Tom over into the grave-yard, where he lay stunned and stupefied, and on coming to himself, read on a tombstone close to him, 'Here lies the body of Thomas Rogers,' his own name being Thomas William Rogers. I observed him thoughtful and absent-minded, so much so that I questioned him, when he told me in confidence what had happened."

Rogers was closely associated with Major Skinner, the great road-maker of Ceylon, who left behind a reputation for integrity and close application to duty which has never been equalled, before or since, by any officer in Ceylon. Coming, therefore as he did, into close contact with Skinner, it is not surprising that Rogers should have exhibited some of the great qualities which marked his distinguished friend. At the time of which we write, they both held the rank of Lieutenant, Skinner being the senior. Those were the days when commissions in the Army could be bought, and as Skinner had not the necessary wherewithal to purchase his commission as Captain, his friend Rogers was promoted over him. "I never regretted it or envied him his good fortune" says his large-hearted friend in his Autobiography. "We, *i.e.*, his brother officers and friends, were very fond and justly proud of him. A nobler fellow, a finer soldier, or a truer friend could hardly be imagined." This was high praise indeed, coming as it did from one who united in his own person all the qualities that go to the making of a great and good man.

This admiration for Rogers, which was so feelingly expressed by Skinner, was shared by other men in high places. Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, the Governor, was one day speculating on what would be the result of beginning life anew, with his matured knowledge of the world, and the privilege of personating any character he had met in his life. He was himself an able and accomplished man, and to the surprise of his hearers he declared that if it were possible to adopt another's identity, that of Captain Rogers was the one he would select of all the men he had ever known.

Major Skinner, who relates this incident, adds:—"This was a grand compliment, and as high a tribute to my friend as one man could pay another."

As regards Rogers's personal appearance, he is described by one who knew him intimately as being of very powerful build, about twelve stone in weight, and very active. He was quiet and unassuming in his demeanour, and there was a peculiar gentleness in him which one does not usually associate with a person bred to the profession of arms. This is borne out by Lieut. J. W. Grylls, the author of "The Outstation, or Jaunts in the Jungle," who served under Rogers. He describes him as being "one of the most excellent men that ever lived, whose exceedingly polished and unassuming manners would rather indicate him the destroyer of fourteen hundred hearts than the same number of elephants."

It is probable that the first two or three years of Rogers's service were spent in Colombo, for we find him officiating as Adjutant of his Regiment in 1825. He visited England two years later, for what purpose it is not known, and on his return was promoted to the rank of Captain. In 1828 he was appointed Commandant of Alupota, or "Alipoot" as the place was then known. This was one of the military posts which the British established at various strategic points in the hill country after the establishment of British rule in the Kandyan districts in 1815. Alupota, which is situated at a distance of eight miles from Passara, was the principal military station in Lower Uva.

Rogers was stationed at Alupota from 1828 to 1833. At that time the island was divided into five Provinces only, *viz.*, the Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western and Central. The Southern Province took in a part of the present Province of Uva, and the Central Province the other part. Alupota fell within the area comprising the Southern Province. It was the headquarters of an officer who discharged the threefold duties of Agent of Government, Commandant, and District Judge.

It was while serving in this distant outpost that Rogers

made his first acquaintance with the elephant. The Badulla District, as indeed the whole island, was over-run by herds of wild elephants, whose depredations caused considerable damage to the crops of the poor villagers, and often resulted in loss of life among them. Lieutenant De Butts in his "Rambles in Ceylon," writing on this subject, says :— "The District around has always been famed for the multitude of elephants that in numerous herds wander over it and the adjacent province of Bintenne. They chiefly abound in the neighbourhood of Alipoot, the most advanced post in this direction, where there is a small military detachment. It is not unusual to see ten or twenty elephants, followed by their young, in the same herd."

Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming, in her book "Two Happy Years in Ceylon" paints a similar picture of the conditions which prevailed in the jungle districts in those early days. Speaking of Batticaloa she says :—"In these days when sportsmen have to pay ten rupees for a special licence for each separate elephant they shoot, those who cannot realize the totally changed conditions of these forest districts in the last fifty years are apt to talk about 'wholesale massacre' and 'useless cruelty.' If those who blame the pioneers so readily could have spent a few years with my brother at Batticaloa, and seen something of the ever-recurring, heart-breaking devastation of his coconut plantations by the elephant legions, they might understand why it was that in those days Government offered a reward of 10 shillings for the destruction of each of the great hungry creatures, whose carcases helped to manure the crops they sought to devour."

It was owing to the prevalence of such conditions that Rogers began to wage an incessant warfare against the wild elephant. The duties of his combined offices did not impose a heavy strain on him, and he spent a good deal of his leisure in the forests surrounding his station, where he must have accounted for a fair proportion of the 1,400 or 1,600 elephants he is credited with having killed during the whole course of his service. It is said that he was a very indifferent shot at the commencement of his sporting career, having

failed to bring down the first five tuskers he fired at. This so disheartened him that he almost decided to give up the sport for good.

After serving six years at Alupota, Rogers was transferred to Badulla as Assistant Government Agent. Here he opened the first coffee estate in that district, two miles from the town on the road to Batticaloa, and named it Ridipane. It afterwards came to be known as "Major Totum." Rogers is also believed to have been the first to plant coffee in Haputale. He continued in his new district his campaign against the elephant, and soon established a reputation as an intrepid hunter whose aim was unerring.

Not content with performing the varied duties devolving on him, Major Rogers also took upon himself the task of opening up means of communication, and he either traced or constructed nearly all the roads in the District and took charge of them. He also framed the estimates for a large number of the public buildings erected during his term of office and supervised their construction. He built most of the rest-houses and kept in repair the civil and military buildings. In addition to all this, he carried out the difficult task of arranging the commutation of the grain tax. According to Major Skinner, the duties which Rogers performed single-handed were, after his death, entrusted to four men, with far less satisfactory results than before.

His Royal Highness Prince Waldemar of Prussia visited Ceylon in 1844, and being desirous of taking part in an elephant hunt, Major Rogers was instructed to make the necessary arrangements in his District. Dr. Hoffmeister, who accompanied the Prince in the capacity of physician, relates how at 5 o'clock in the morning of the day appointed for the start, Major Rogers and Layard of the Civil Service made their appearance in what seemed to the visitors a most extraordinary costume—large loose linen jackets, hats of basket-work plait, leech stockings reaching above the knee, and over these a sort of mountain shoes. Without delay the party mounted their horses, and were soon on their way to Taldena, where Major Rogers had caused to be prepared

in readiness for the visitors a capital breakfast of eggs, roast fowl, curry and rice. Having done full justice to this repast, the party entered the jungle, where they were soon blazing away at elephants to their hearts' content. They spent several days in the jungle moving from place to place, and on one occasion Major Rogers's well-known reputation for coolness in times of danger, and accuracy of aim, were put to the test. The Prince and his party were standing on a slight elevation in the jungle when suddenly a crash was heard, and there appeared the head of a huge elephant among the thick bushes. Major Rogers was fortunately close at hand. Without a moment's hesitation he sprang in among the elephants—there was a herd of them—and advancing towards the elephant nearest him on the right, to within the length of its trunk, he fired a shot into its ear ; then turning with lightning speed to the one on the left, he discharged the contents of his other barrel into its temple. Both fell with a hollow groan as if blown down by a sudden whirlwind. Before the other members of the party could recover from their surprise, the rest of the herd had put a safe distance between themselves and the sportsmen.

It was in the course of this hunt that Major Rogers performed the seemingly impossible feat of bringing down two elephants with one shot. He fired at a female elephant which had a young one by her side, and in her fall she crushed the little one to death. A somewhat different version of this incident is related by Lieut. Grylls in his book. According to this veracious historian, the Governor, Sir Robert Horton, was present at a dinner given by some sportmen at Wilson's Bungalow, and the conversation turned on elephant shooting, when, to the astonishment of the company, Rogers backed himself at odds to kill two elephants with one ball at one discharge. This feat being deemed impossible, the bet was taken up by all present, and Rogers accomplished the feat the next day in the manner already described.

Although Major Rogers spent so much of his time in the jungle, his sporting career was, with one single exception, astonishingly free from those thrilling adventures which

usually befall those who engage in the dangerous sport of elephant shooting. But as if to counter-balance this immunity, the horrors through which he went on the occasion of the exception referred to were such as to suffice for a life-time. He had got in an oblique shot at the right ear of an elephant, which staggered and turned to the left, and as he faced Major Rogers, the latter fired his remaining barrel, the elephant being then about four yards from him. Instead of knocking him down, the shot seemed to have the effect of steadying him, and he charged at Major Rogers, who had scarcely started to run when he found himself seized by the elephant's trunk and flourished almost as if he had been an infant. The elephant carried him for three or four paces towards a stream, and just as he came to where the bank sloped, dropped him on the ground and tried several times to crush him with his head. The sloping ground, however, favoured Major Rogers, who, without any effort on his own part, slipped each time from under the animal till they both reached the bed of the stream. Here the elephant changed his tactics and attempted more than once to lift up Major Rogers by his clothes, but fortunately these gave way, leaving the Major nearly stripped. The elephant then dealt him a few kicks, sending him from his fore to his hind legs and back again. He then suddenly gave up this pastime and began pulling down some jungle creepers in which he had got entangled, Major Rogers meanwhile lying on his back between the elephant's legs. He refrained from making the slightest movement, having frequently before contemplated the possibility of such an adventure, and decided on his course of action should he find himself, as he now did, at the mercy of an elephant. The ruse was successful. Having freed himself from the creepers, the elephant, believing Major Rogers to be dead, stepped over his body without hurting him, and entered the jungle, trumpeting loudly. His triumph was however short-lived. He had not proceeded more than thirty yards when a villager, who had been a witness of the whole scene, and had been hiding behind a tree, gave the elephant the contents of his single barrel, much to the alarm

of the Major, who feared that the elephant might return to complete his fell work. The result of this skirmish was that Major Rogers' left shoulder was dislocated, the left arm broken in two places, two serious injuries were inflicted on the right side, and there was a general soreness all over the body. Major Rogers was 50 miles from his residence when this encounter took place. His men, however, soon arrived on the scene, and carried him safely to Badulla, which place they reached the next evening. Here Rogers received all the medical attention necessary, and was soon none the worse for his adventure.

Several stories are current regarding the coolness displayed by Rogers in his encounters with elephants. Improbable as they appear, they are mentioned here only to show the lengths to which his admirers were prepared to go in order to support his character for intrepidity. An old Malay man, who claimed to have been a personal attendant on the great hunter, relates that on one occasion he saw his master on his little pony pursuing a frightened elephant through the town of Matale. The Major had seized the elephant by the tail and had kept up with him until his pony was exhausted, when he shot the elephant. According to the same Malay, Major Rogers was in the habit of going up to an elephant stealthily and tapping him on the back, and on the elephant turning round to discover who the disturber of his peace was, the Major would give him his quietus. On one occasion this man accompanied his master in search of a dangerous rogue elephant. On catching sight of the Major the elephant charged. Rogers, however, quite unconcernedly kept puffing away at a cigar, and when the animal was within a few paces from him, he quietly took the cigar out of his mouth, placed it on the ground, and shot the elephant dead. He then resumed his cigar as if nothing unusual had happened. These exploits caused such a deep impression in the minds of the villagers that they declared he bore a charmed life. "Nothing in the world can hurt that man" they said. "If he dies at all, it will be by lightning." And so it happened.

Another story of doubtful authenticity is told by

Lieut. Grylls. It is to the effect that Major Rogers, on being pursued by an elephant, tried to escape by springing up a tree. He had almost succeeded in raising himself beyond the elephant's reach when the animal seized him by the legs. A struggle for supremacy ensued between Rogers and the elephant, which ended in the latter wrenching off the Wellington boots worn by Rogers, thus giving him an opportunity of using his feet to reach safety. Finding himself baulked of his prey, the elephant vented his rage on the Wellington boots, and then took his stand underneath the tree, where he kept poor Rogers a prisoner for twenty-four hours, when a passing tappal cooly saw his plight, and with the assistance of villagers drove the elephant away.

A story with a more amusing ending is to the effect that Rogers accepted the invitation of a brother officer to try a few days' sport among the elephants. After a hard day's work Rogers set out to keep his appointment. He had almost reached the bungalow where his host and hostess were awaiting his arrival, when passing by a river, he thought a plunge would refresh him, so placing his clothes on the bank, he jumped into the water and swam some distance. On turning back he saw to his consternation a troop of monkeys carrying away his clothes. Poor Rogers had to remain in the river until his host, suspecting that some mishap had occurred, set out in search of him, and found him sitting up to his neck in the water.

As was only to be expected, Rogers's bungalow abounded in trophies of the numerous hunts in which he had been engaged. Dr. Hoffmeister, who saw this bungalow, describes it as "filled with ivory, for among the hosts of the slain, more than sixty were tusked elephants." At each door of his verandah there stood huge tusks, while in his dining-room, which was detached from the main building, every corner was adorned with similar trophies. The floor was covered with the skins of elk, deer, and bears, and the tails of elephants were scattered about in profusion.

Major Rogers spent more than ten years in Badulla, where he enjoyed the respect and esteem of all classes as a

sympathetic official who thoroughly understood the needs and aspirations of the people committed to his care. Under his wise administration the resources of the District were developed, and prosperity and contentment reigned everywhere. He travelled about freely in his District in order to acquaint himself personally with the wants of the inhabitants, and it was while he was on one of these tours that he was killed by lightning as narrated in an earlier chapter. The lightning had been attracted by his steel spurs, one of which was found twisted, with the foot discoloured. The body was removed to Nuwara Eliya and was interred in what is now known as the old Cemetery. The inscription on the tombstone reads as follows:— "In memory of Major Thomas William Rogers, of Her Majesty's Ceylon Rifle Regiment, many years Commandant at Badullla. Stricken to death by lightning at the Happootalle Pass on the 7th June, 1845, aged 41 years." A tablet to his memory was also erected in St. Paul's Church, Kandy, by his brother officers and friends " in testimony of their respect and regard for his integrity as a man, his ability as a public servant, his gallantry as a soldier, and his amiable social qualities as a friend."

A third, and perhaps the most expressive, memorial to Major Rogers is represented by St. Mark's Church, Badulla, which bears the following inscription :— " This Church was erected to the honour of God in memory of Thomas William Rogers, Major, Ceylon Rifle Regiment, Assistant Government Agent and District Judge of Badulla, by all classes of his people, friends and admirers. He was killed by lightning at Haputale, June 7, 1845, age 41. ' In the midst of life we are in death.' " A striking fact about this memorial is that people of all denominations joined in its erection. Writing on this subject, Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming says :— " So truly did they (the people of Badulla) appreciate his justice and ability, and so greatly was he personally loved, that at the suggestion of a Kandyan Buddhist Chief these very people (who had attributed his death to an act of retribution for his destruction of elephants) subscribed for, and erected to his memory, a pretty little Christian Church in the town of

Badulla." This circumstance, that the Church was raised by persons of all denominations, was in later years advanced as an argument against the use of the building exclusively by one denomination.

Reference has already been made to the tombstone erected to the memory of Major Rogers in Nuwara Eliya. Some time after its erection, it was said that a crack showed diagonally across the stone, leaving a gap which had to be filled in with cement. The existence of this crack gave rise to a legend, firmly believed in by some writers on Ceylon, that the tombstone, like the distinguished man whose remains it covered, had been struck by lightning. The story went that Major Rogers had incurred the abhorrence of the Sinhalese by his ruthless slaughter of elephants ; that while out on a hunting expedition he was met by a Buddhist priest, who denounced him and predicted his impending destruction by " the lightning from heaven ;" that Major Rogers was struck by lightning while shooting elephants a few months later ; and that after his death lightning struck his tombstone at least a hundred times.

It was pointed out by the *Ceylon Observer* at the time that the story was " a tissue of impudent lies woven round a microscopical tissue of fact." The only germ of truth was that Major Rogers was killed by lightning. As regards the tombstone, there was reliable evidence to show that it had got broken at the wharf in Colombo.

The belief that Major Rogers was killed by lightning as an act of retribution has persisted up to very recent times. Mr. Frederick Lewis in his " Sixty-four years in Ceylon " relates that in a remote hamlet in the Badulla District he met a very old man who had seen Major Rogers. " One other white man have I seen here besides you, " he told Mr. Lewis. " He came here when I was young to shoot elephants, and he would walk up behind the biggest elephant and pull its tail, or throw a stone at it, and when the elephant looked round, this gentleman would shoot it dead. He went after an elephant that belonged to the gods of Kataragama, and he killed that beast also, so the gods were angry, and

one day, when he was at Haputale, he went out to see if it was going to rain, and the gods sent a flash of lightning and killed him." Mr. Lewis asked the old man whether the gentleman's name was Rogers. "Yes, yes," said he, excitedly, "that was his name. He stayed one day here and killed two elephants. He lived at Alupota."

Another distinguished military officer who held a civil appointment in the Kandyan Districts was LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JAMES CAMPBELL, of the 45th Foot, who had seen active service before coming to Ceylon. In 1806 he served with his regiment in the expedition under Major-General R. Cranford to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence accompanied it to South America, where, in the attack upon Buenos Ayres, he was taken prisoner. On the evacuation of Buenos Ayres he returned to Ireland, and in 1808 he again saw foreign service in Portugal and Spain. On the cessation of hostilities in 1814 he re-embarked with the troops for North America, and was attached as Brigade-Major to Major-General Sir T. Brisbane's brigade, serving with it in the attack upon Plattsburg. He next did duty in France, and from there returned to Ireland. He came to Ceylon in 1819, and after some time was appointed Commandant of Galle. His next appointment was as Commandant of the Seven Korles, with headquarters at Kurunegala. Some time after this he became "Judicial Agent in the Seven Korles and in the parts of Neurecalava attached to it."

The nature of the duties which devolved on Campbell by virtue of his new appointment is described by him in his book "Excursions, Adventures, and Field Sports in Ceylon." It gives us a very clear insight into the way in which justice was administered in those early days. "This appointment" he says, "added considerably to my income, and conferred upon me, besides military authority, the same powers as are exercised by Civil Agents of Government in the Kandyan Provinces. It brought a host of natives about me, such as Interpreters, Headmen of various ranks and castes, Lascoreens, etc., and I very soon found that I was likely to have ample employment as a judge. In fact, it had been

ascertained that the Civil Agent of the Province was so overwhelmed with judicial business that he could not possibly attend to the collection of the revenue, which alone gave him quite enough to look after. I still, however, managed to have occasionally time for a little amusement and relaxation, and was even able to enjoy my fishing and shooting pastimes and excursions. But from holding my Courts regularly, I am also brought into daily intercourse with Kandyans of all castes, in whose eyes I am become a much greater personage than when I was a mere military commander. I have often to hear and decide cases of considerable importance, especially those connected with landed property, in which I am assisted by a certain number of the most respectable headmen, who act as assessors, and who inform me what is the Kandyan law in particular cases, but only when I require them to do so. In criminal cases I have also, assisted by them, to adjudge punishments, etc., according to the nature of the crimes or offences brought before me, when I trust I do my best to act, not only as a just, but also as a merciful judge."

It would appear that in Campbell's day it was not considered improper for a judge to receive presents from the parties to a case. Describing an actual case which came before him, Campbell says :— "According to the custom of the country, both litigants presented me with some of the finest fruits they could procure, which I received from them in proof of my intention to act fairly and impartially." In justice to Campbell it must be stated that he carried out this intention fully, for he sentenced the accused to three years' hard labour in chains, as advised by the assessors, although he was of opinion that the sentence was too severe, and recommended to the Judicial Commissioner at Kandy that it should be considerably mitigated.

A severe attack of malarial fever necessitated a visit to Colombo, where, as already stated, Campbell was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. H. A. Marshall. The fever had, however, taken too strong a hold on him to be easily eradicated, and he was medically advised to go on a long sea voyage. He

therefore tendered his resignation to the Governor, who accepted it with much regret. Campbell left Ceylon on 27th August, 1823.

The third military officer who deserves mention is MAJOR J. FORBES who arrived in Ceylon in the year 1826 with his regiment, the 78th Highlanders, and spent much time in exploring the ancient cities, in attending the Pearl Fishery, and in elephant shooting. About the year 1829 he was appointed Agent of Government at Matale, with modified jurisdiction. Under the reforms of 1833 he became Assistant Government Agent and District Judge of Matale, holding at the same time the office of Commandant of Fort Mc Dowall. Among his other duties he had to superintend the catching and training of elephants. He seems to have resigned his appointment in 1837.

Forbes took a great interest in the antiquities of the island, and is best remembered by his book "Eleven Years in Ceylon," published in 1840, which is regarded as a work of high historical value. Another later work of his is entitled "Recent Disturbances and Military Executions in Ceylon," which was written after the Matale Rebellion of 1848.

CHAPTER XI.

SITTING MAGISTRATES

It will have been gathered from the foregoing pages that some of the early Civil Servants filled the office of "Sitting Magistrate." After some years these posts were abolished, those holding them being designated District Judges. It may be of some interest to ascertain the origin of appointments bearing so peculiar a designation, and to do this it will be necessary to trace briefly the history of our judicial establishments.

One of the first proclamations issued by the British Government after the cession of the island by the Dutch was that the administration of justice should be exercised by all Courts of Judicature, Civil and Criminal, Magistrates and Ministerial Officers, according to the laws and institutions that subsisted under the ancient Government of the United Provinces, subject to such deviations and alterations as might from time to time be made. These Dutch judicial establishments consisted of three principal Criminal Courts held at Colombo, Jaffna, and Galle called Hof van Justitie, and many other inferior Courts of various jurisdiction. There were also Civil Courts of Matrimonial and Petty Causes held at Colombo, Jaffna, and Galle, whose jurisdiction was limited to the cognizance of Civil Causes of an amount not exceeding 120 rix dollars in value. The designation of these was altered to Civil Courts, and their jursidiction was extended to all Civil Causes whatsoever arising within the local limits of their former jurisdiction. In addition to these Courts, there had been country courts called Land Raads for the settlement of disputes among the native inhabitants, but these had ceased to exist. The British Government ordered that the functions of these Courts should be resumed, and that

justice should be administered in them as closely as circumstances would permit, according to the regulations of Governor Willem Jacob van der Graaf and such further regulations as might from time to time be introduced. It was further proclaimed that all inferior offences and disorders against the Police, the cognizance of which under the Dutch belonged to the Fiscal, should continue to be tried and punished by that official.

A short time afterwards—on 21st June, 1800—the Government declared in a proclamation that " Courts of Conscience for the summary decision of such lesser dealings and contracts as could not, owing to the smallness of their amount, bear the expense of more tedious and regular suits, had been found, wherever established, most highly beneficial to the lower orders of society," and it, therefore, decided to establish the same tribunals in Ceylon. It was accordingly proclaimed that in all places where a Fiscal was established, there should be a Court called the Fiscal's Court consisting of three members, of whom the Fiscal should be one and should act as President. These Courts had jurisdiction to try and determine summarily all claims and demands arising upon any dealings and contracts (pleas of land excepted) where the sum or matter in dispute did not exceed 25 rix dollars, while their criminal jurisdiction was limited to all cases of common assault and trespass, whether against individuals or the police, and to thefts not exceeding the limits of petty larceny. The sentences they were originally empowered to inflict were fines not exceeding 50 rix dollars, imprisonment not exceeding one month, or corporal punishment not exceeding forty strokes of the " Chambouck." These powers of punishment were from time to time enlarged.

One of the articles of the Royal Charter dated 1st April, 1801, establishing the Supreme Court of Judicature, provided for the appointment of an officer called the Fiscal, whose duty it was to execute the process of that Court, but as will have been seen, this designation had already been bestowed on persons exercising magisterial functions. It was, therefore, decided that all persons who had been appointed Magistrates under the designation of Fiscal should be styled Justices of

the Peace, and that the Courts called "Fiscal's Courts" should be known as the "Courts of the Justices of the Peace." At the same time it was felt that in towns, stations, and populous places, there should be some one Magistrate or Justice of the Peace, whose more peculiar charge and duty it should be to watch over the Police, and to sit at some convenient hours in some public place or office for the examination and commitment of offenders, the hearing, trying, and punishing of smaller offences, and in general for the more ready exercise of all the functions of magistracy. It was accordingly decided to appoint an official called the "Sitting Magistrate" to exercise these functions, and in the absence of the President of the Court of the Justices of the Peace, to act for him and summon the members of the Court to assemble and sit for business.

In the year 1805 the Courts of Justices of the Peace were abolished, and the Agents of Revenue and their Assistants were appointed Sitting Magistrates in addition to their own duties, the jurisdiction of Sitting Magistrates, except the one at Colombo, being as follows :—

(1) A criminal jursidiction over all inferior offences, breaches of the peace, and disorder against the Police, with power of inflicting punishment by fine not exceeding 50 rix dollars, by imprisonment at hard labour not exceeding two months, and by whipping not exceeding 50 lashes.

(2) A civil jurisdiction over all cases of whatever nature (except suits relative to the revenue) not exceeding 100 rix dollars.

The civil jurisdiction of the Sitting Magistrate of Colombo was the same, but the criminal jurisdiction was more extensive.

The Courts of Sitting Magistrates continued to function until 1833, when they were abolished along with several other Courts by the Charter dated 18th February of that year. The reasons for this step were stated in Clause 2 of the Charter to be as follows :—

"And whereas in the several Districts and Provinces of the Island there now are several Courts appointed to administer justice by the exercise of Original Jurisdiction to the inhabitants of the said Districts and Provinces known

respectively by the names and titles of the Provincial Courts, the Courts of the Sitting Magistrates, the Court of the Judicial Commissioner, the Court of the Judicial Agent, the Courts of the Agents of Government, the Revenue Courts, and the Court of the Sitting Magistrate of the Mahabadde; and whereas such Courts differ among themselves in respect of their constitution, of their rules of procedure, and of the kinds and degrees of the jurisdiction which they exercise within the limits of their respective Districts or Provinces. Now know Ye that We upon full consideration of the Premises have thought fit to direct, ordain and appoint that the said Provincial Courts, the said Courts of the Sitting Magistrates, the said Court of the Judicial Commissioner, the said Court of the Judicial Agent, the said Courts of the Agents of Government, the said Revenue Courts, and the said Court of the Sitting Magistrate of the Mahabadde, shall be and the same are hereby respectively abolished, such abolition to take effect at and from after the time when (as hereinafter mentioned) this our Charter will come into operation in our said Island." This Charter came into force on 1st October, 1833.

The office of Sitting Magistrate was one which apparently did not call for legal knowledge of a very high order, and was bestowed on those Europeans and Dutch descendants whose merit was recognized by Government. Dutch was the language in which the pleadings were originally written, but in 1801 inconvenience was felt owing to some of the Presiding Officers not being acquainted with that language, and English was, therefore, substituted for Dutch, except where the Presiding Officers were not acquainted with English, in which case the pleadings were written in both languages. The location of the Courts of Sitting Magistrates was determined by the special circumstances existing at the time, but generally speaking, the towns in which they were held were the same as those in which Police Courts are established at the present day.

One of the earliest and most prominent persons to be appointed Sitting Magistrate was the Hon'ble and Venerable THOMAS JAMES TWISLETON, D.D., First Archdeacon of Colombo. He arrived in Ceylon in February, 1804, as Chaplain

to Government or Colonial Chaplain. A year later he combined his clerical duties with those of First Member and President of the Court of Justices of the Peace and Sitting Magistrate for the Town, Fort, and District of Colombo. On 15th July, 1807, he was appointed Provincial Judge of Jaffna, but reverted to the Colombo Magistracy on 23rd March, 1808. He continued to discharge magisterial duties until his appointment as Archdeacon of Colombo in 1818.

His eldest daughter was married to William Gisborne of the Civil Service. While on a visit to her in Tangalle he fell ill, and died at Hambantota on 15th August, 1824. His remains were brought to Tangalle for interment. The *Government Gazette* of the day had the following eulogistic reference to him:— "His urbane and social manners, united and arising from a kindness of heart, have gained him the friendship and regard as well of those who have been coeval with himself in the society of Colombo as of more numerous members. Among the poorer classes his charity will be remembered with due regret for his loss, which will be equally felt by the middle class of inhabitants of the Settlement." He was instrumental in founding St. Paul's Church, Pettah, in 1816.

It has been seen that Governor North incurred the displeasure of the Secretary of State by making local appointments to the Civil Service. Among these appointments was that of THOMAS FARRELL, who was, according to Cordiner, "one of the Magistrates or Judges of the Fiscal's Court, Colombo." In 1800 he accompanied the Governor on his tour round the island. He was Sitting Magistrate and junior Judge of the Provincial Court at Jaffna and Mannar, as well as Registrar of Lands in 1803-1805, and was on 27th February of the latter year appointed Sitting Magistrate and President of the Court of Justices of the Peace at Colombo.

On 20th August, 1805, an outrage was committed which caused a great shock to the easy-going British community of those early days. The hour was 10 o'clock at night. Farrell was living in a house in the Pettah overlooking the burial ground, and had just said good-bye to a visitor,

Dr. Reynolds, a Surgeon in the 2nd Ceylon Rifles. He was in the act of entering his bed-room, when a gun was fired from the burial ground, and he fell mortally wounded. A Dutch gentleman, who was occupying a house near by, saw the flash and heard the report of the gun. He immediately ran to Farrell's house and found him stretched on the floor. Dr. Reynolds, who had not gone very far, was summoned, but on examination of the body found life extinct. The Governor and several Magistrates repaired to the house of the deceased and took all steps to trace the murderer, but although a reward of five thousand rix dollars was offered, the assassin was never brought to justice. According to C. A. Lorenz, "many were suspected of the murder, and amongst them some officers of a French vessel, the *Piedmontese*, who were living close by. Everyone was, it seems, agreed that the assassin was not a native, although he had taken particular care to soil the grave-stone with betel spit, and leave the impress of his naked feet on the soft earth about the spot where he stood. But up to the present time (1850) the murderer is unknown."

It is only within recent years that evidence has been forthcoming that the assassin may have been a Dutchman, though the motive for the deed is not apparent. D'Oyly in his diary under date 1st February, 1812, refers to "the Dutchman who shot the Fiscal at Colombo" as having been detected in an attempt to transmit a letter from Major Davie to Colombo, with the result that he was put to death by the Kandyans. Mr. Lewis, who records this circumstance, adds :— "So the death of Farrell did not go unavenged." The use of the word "Fiscal" and not "Magistrate" is explained by the fact that under the Dutch regime the Magistrate was called the Fiscal.

Farrell's remains were interred in the same burial ground from where the fatal shot was fired, but no grave-stone marks his resting-place. His estate, valued at 24,742 rix dollars, was being administered by the Colombo Courts from 1806 to 1826, when the balance left was paid to his representatives in England. It is not certain whether he was related to

James Agnew Farrell, who was in the Civil Service from 1809 to 1820.

Another Sitting Magistrate who deserves mention is JOHAN ERNEST THEILE, who had been a Lieutenant in the Land Service of the Dutch East India Company, a prisoner of war under the British, and had taken service under them at Mullaitivu. He is thus referred to in a letter written from the Jaffna Kachcheri by Mr. John Jervis, Assistant Resident, to Captain Strickland Kingston, Commissary of Provisions at Trincomalee :— "A Lieutenant Theile, formerly of the Dutch Service, a man who bears a good character and has a large family of children to support, is settled at Mulletivoe. Indeed, I understand he has long resided in that country, and has acquired a great art in shooting and taking the wild buffalo, and is also conversant with curing the flesh. In a conversation I had with that intelligent old officer the last time I visited Mulletivoe, he assured me, were he supported and employed by our Government, and furnished with a few rifle-barrelled muskets, powder and balls, and casks for containing flesh, he could engage to supply you with a very large quantity of this salted wild meat."

Shortly afterwards Mr. Theile received an advance of 250 rix dollars for this purpose. Apparently in recognition of his services, Theile was appointed Sitting Magistrate of Werteltivoe (Viddattaltivu) in the Mannar District.

The next we hear of Theile is his appointment in November, 1814, as Sitting Magistrate of Point Pedro. The following interesting story concerning him is related by Bennett :— "Formerly the Sitting Magistrate of Point Pedro was a Prussian gentleman of the name of Theile, who had served under Frederick the Great. He was a fine specimen of the Prussian Grenadier of the old school, being not less than six feet three inches in height. Mr. Theile entertained the late Sir William Coke (Puisne Justice of the Honorable the Supreme Court) and myself, upon our landing at Point Pedro from Trincomalee, with the greatest hospitality; and after dinner, a few extra glasses of Sir William's champagne took a pleasant effect upon the old gentleman,

who was eighty years of age ; for instead of shouldering a crutch 'to show how fields were won', he desired his daughter, a very pretty girl, to play a favourite Prussian march, and 'advancing arms' with my gun, marched about the room as erect as if he had been sixty years younger than he really was."

The meritorious services rendered by this respected officer led to the appointment of his son Thomas as Sea Customer and Sitting Magistrate of Werteltivoe (Viddattaltivu). He was later Secretary of the District Court of Jaffna.

Another member of a distinguished family to hold the office of Sitting Magistrate was FREDERICK BARON MYLIUS. He was a Lieutenant successively in the Artillery, Hussars, and in the Wurtemburg Regiment before he entered the Civil Service. He married on 11th May, 1788, Agnes Clara van der Graaf, daughter of Cornelis Jacob van der Graaf, Governor of the Cape (to whom he was A.D.C.) and Hester Cornelia Reynet. His wife was the niece of Willem Jacob van der Graaf, Dutch Governor of Ceylon.

Baron Mylius was Fiscal, Colombo, and President of the Fiscal's Court in 1799, and was appointed " Sitting Magistrate for the space between the Galle Gate and the Tamarind Tree," on 3rd November, 1802. In addition to these duties he was appointed Coroner of Colombo on 21st November, 1804, and succeeded Thomas Farrell as Sitting Magistrate of Colombo on 12th June, 1805. At the time of his death on 14th August, 1807, he was Provincial Judge of Galle and Matara. Walter Frewen Lord in his Biography of Sir Thomas Maitland speaks of " Mylius, a Dutchman, and Kirbey, an Englishman (having) committed suicide rather than survive to see their accounts inspected." According to the Government Gazette of the day, Baron Mylius died " after a short illness." In a Gazette Extraordinary of 21st August, 1807, a notice was published intimating that moneys levied in execution not having been paid in due time to the individuals entitled to the same, " all individuals having claims of this nature on the Provincial Court of Galle and Matara " were " to deliver the same to J. W. Carrington, Esq.,

or the acting Provincial Judge of Matara." As already stated, Carrington married a daughter of Baron Mylius.

No less distinguished than Baron Mylius were the de Lassosays, father and son. GUILLAUME JOACHIM, COMTE DU BOIS DE LASSOSAY, came out to Ceylon as a Lieutenant in the Luxembourg Regiment. On his arrival, like many Europeans who came out to Ceylon in his day, he lost no time in forming associations and family ties ; so that eventually, on the departure of the Dutch, instead of going back to the land of his birth, he elected to remain in Ceylon and serve the British. He married in 1785, at Wolvendaal Church, a Dutch lady of good family, Elizabeth Adriana Weller. Of several children of the marriage, the only survivors appear to have been a son and a daughter. The daughter, Maria Elizabeth Adelaide, married Caspar Henricus Leembruggen, and was thus an ancestress of the Leembruggens of Ceylon. The son married, on 24th November, 1811, Johanna Anna Susanna, daughter of Stephen Baron von Lynden. In 1788 the Comte de Lassosay retired from the Luxembourg Regiment, in which he then held the rank of Captain Commandant, and was appointed, by the British Government, Sitting Magistrate of Ambalangoda, where he died. He was buried in the long building, then a Church, now a garage, which runs at right angles to the Resthouse. His tombstone, which used to be seen many years ago, has since disappeared underground, in consequence of the floor of the building having been raised.

JEAN GUILLAUME, his son, who was born in 1791, was appointed Sitting Magistrate of Mullaitivu—the first Sitting Magistrate of that place—and after a few months there he was appointed in a similar capacity to Kayts. On 1st December, 1812, he was transferred to Puttalam, where he met with a sudden and untimely death from an accidental fall on 17th May, 1820. He left seven children, one of whom, Otho Peter Charles Du Bois de Lassosay, was Registrar of Lands, Tangalla. With his death in 1866 ended the male line of the de Lassosay family in Ceylon ; but he had married in 1859, at Hambantota, Georgiana Adelaide Booy, daughter

of Frederick William Booy, and had a daughter, Anna Maria Adelaide Du Bois de Lassosay, who married and had a family.

Writing about this family in the "Ceylon Literary Register" Mr. R. G. Anthonisz said :— "In a country like France, with its revolutions, its rival dynasties, and its old and its new *noblesse*, it seems to me that it would be a difficult matter to decide as to the actual rank and title which should be given to a remote representative of an old titled family ; but it would be interesting to know what status this young lady, the last of the de Lassosays, ought to occupy in the land of her forefathers. Her father's lineage, as the direct male heir of the Marquis Claude Du Bois de Lassosay, is one of the clearest records that could be produced ; and if we are to settle this question from analogy by the rule observed in other countries for the descent of titles, the late Registrar of Lands of Tangalla should have borne the dignity of Marquis Du Bois de Lassosay. Instead of doing so, however, he lived and died . . . in comparative obscurity."

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