

Mahaweli River from the air



**COVER STORY: BEND IN THE MAHAWELI
BY ERNEST MACINTYRE
(CHAPTERS 6 TO 9)**



Peradeniya Campus - aerial view



The
Ceylankam

The Journal of the Ceylon Society of Australia



The Ceylon Society of Australia

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The Ceylankam

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From the Editor

Dear Readers

With a heavy heart I welcome you to the August issue and announce the passing of our fellow CSA stalwart, former CSA Social Convenor and dear friend to all, Chandra Senaratne. Hugh Karunanayake has written a moving appreciation of Chandra and we at the CSA will sorely miss his humour and conviviality, especially during the end of year functions. On behalf of readers of this journal I would like to pass on our deepest condolences to Chandra's partner Kanthi, his daughter Sharmini and son-in-law Michael and his brothers Nihal and Lal. Rest in Peace dear Chandra.

I thought I would give another plug for our website as it is now up and running. We encourage subscribers to log in and enjoy perusing the old issues of *The Ceylankan* back to its inception and very first issue in 1998! On page 5 there is a user guide on how to navigate the site. It is very simple and straightforward.

For your reading pleasure we have a varied mix of material.

The cover story is a series of short chapters from Ernest Macintyre's fictionalised memoir, *A Bend in The Mahaweli*, of his university days at the Peradeniya campus of the University of Ceylon. It is a humorous and informative recollection of university life in the 1960s, which can be read and enjoyed by future generations of university students. It is written in Ernest's inimitable entertaining style of reciting humorous anecdotes with profound underlying messages. In the next issue of this journal (or the one after) the final three chapters will be included. Ernest's book is now currently published in Colombo by Vijitha Yapa and will be reviewed in *The Island* shortly.

Then we have fascinating tales of the Japanese bombing of Colombo in 1942 written by former CSA member Captain (rtd) Elmo Jayawardena and a rivetting account of an assassination attempt of a Sri Lankan President and Prime Minister recalled in detail by the former Secretary-General of the Sri Lankan Parliament and past CSA member Nihal Seneviratne. These accounts make fascinating reading!

The book review is of a collection of memories and recollections by Sanmugam Arumugam called *Times of Our Life*. The book is edited by Immediate Past President of the CSA and Mr Sanmugam Arumugam's son Thiru Arumugam, who needs no introduction! Mr Sanmugam Arumugam was the Deputy Director of The Irrigation Department of Ceylon until 1965. Then he was Chief Engineer in the Water Board of Sri Lanka until 1977. Dr Poornima Paidipaty's review paints a portrait of a skilled, dedicated and visionary engineer, scientist and public servant.

Hugh Karunanayake has penned two short articles on the administration of the tea plantation sector during the British colonial period and provides a glimpse of a bygone era of managing agents and proprietary planters.

Jayantha Somasundaram has written a moving appreciation of his uncle and former CSA member Brian Rutnam who died on 22 June. Brian was a close family friend of mine. Ernest Macintyre, too has written a beautiful tribute to Brian, who acted in his plays in Colombo in the 1960s. I shall miss Brian Rutnam's mischievous humour, eccentric erudition and wit.

I encourage readers to contribute material to this journal, whether they are short stories or anecdotes (fictional or otherwise), poems, jokes (providing they are not too offensive!), family stories or recipes.

Happy reading!

ADAM RAFFEL



Ceylon Society of Australia

The Ceylon Society of Australia (CSA) is a not-for-profit organisation, incorporated in Australia, with the objectives of studying, fostering and promoting interest in the historical and cultural heritage of Sri Lanka.

It is non-political and non-partisan, steering clear of controversial issues. It is a worldwide society of like-minded people, open to receiving and imparting new ideas. While Sydney is home to the parent body and Committee, looking after the overall affairs of the Society, the Melbourne Chapter looks after the meetings in Victoria, with the Colombo Chapter tending to the membership in Sri Lanka. Quarterly free meetings for Members are held in Sydney, Melbourne and Colombo, with guests welcome to attend. Meetings conclude with a Q&A session and a mini Social.

The annual calendar year subscription covers receipt of the Society's journal, "*The Ceylankan*", published quarterly and distributed to members worldwide. The articles published are authored by members. All opinions expressed are those of the individual writers and do not reflect those of the Editor or the CSA. Articles may be reproduced in other publications, but must be credited to this journal and carry suitable acknowledgment thereof.



The CSA, when meeting in Australia, acknowledges the Traditional Owners of the land in which meetings are held and pays respects to First Nations Elders, past and present, as custodians of a rich cultural heritage.

Our Readers write

Sri Lankan Malays

I read with great interest Lt Commander (rtd) Somasiri Devendra's review of the book written by M.D. (Tony) Saldin titled *Indonesian Roots, Sri Lankan soil: The journey of a Sri Lankan Malay from soldier to "Bhoomi Putra"* on his Malay origins (*The Ceylankan J* 106 Vol 27(2) May 2024 pp 24-25). Subsequently, I was speaking with Baba Sourjah who lives in the UK and he sent an account of the Malays in Sri Lanka. I am forwarding his email which I hope you find the additional information interesting.

----- Original message -----

From: Baba Sourjah <sourjah@hotmail.com>

Date: 23/5/24 2:35 pm (GMT+10:00)

To: gjayasinghe33@gmail.com

Subject: Sri Lanka Malays

Sri Lankan Malays originally came from modern day Indonesia. Indonesia is known as Java and consisted of over 600 islands, each island having their own culture and dialect,

The first Malays were brought by the Portuguese in the 15th century and then by the Dutch who had conquered Java.

The early Malays were thus known by the early Sri Lankans as

Ja minissu or people from Java. The Dutch exiled Javanese kings and royalty who were rebelling against Dutch rule to Sri Lanka and located them in Kirindi and Hambantota. The name Hambantota is derived from the Malay word *Sampan* (boat)

tota (anchorage). The Malays were fishermen and started the salt pans in the Hambantota area.

When the British conquered Sri Lanka from the Dutch they brought in a Malay regiment from Malaya to quell an uprising from the Kandyan Kingdom in 1803.

The British during their period called the Javanese and the Malays they had brought from Malaya as Malays.

Malay slaves brought to work by the Dutch and Portuguese to work in the spice plantations were enslaved in Slave Island and some of the streets still bear names such as Java Lane and Malay Street. The Malays were known for their fighting skills and therefore during the British colonial years were mainly in employment in the Army and Police forces. The Colombo Fire Brigade at one period comprised totally of Malays.

The Malays have contributed to the Sri Lankan food with dishes such as Satay, Chooka a beef dish made with vinegar. Chooka is the Malay word for vinegar, Nasi Goreng or fried rice and of course the famous Malay pickle.

Even the word

Sarong is a Malay word. They brought in fruits such as Durian and Rambutan to the island. In sports the Malays have made a great impact.

The Malay Cricket Club which was formed in 1872 is the oldest cricket club in the island.

The Malays have also contributed towards the legislature of the Sri Lanka Parliament through the contributions made by the likes of T.B. Jayah, Senator Zahiere Lye and Dr Drahman. In fact when Indonesia was demanding independence from the Dutch, Senator Drahman influenced the Govt to ban Dutch ships from entering the port of Colombo.

Dr Gamini Jayasinghe
Kenmore QLD

Felix Dias Abeysinghe

Dear Editor

In addition to the appreciation of my late father Felix Dias Abeysinghe that was published in *The Ceylankan J* 106 Vol 27(2) May 2024 p 4, I am enclosing an extract from a letter written by Emeritus Professor ANI Ekanayaka of the University of Peradeniya to the current Chairman of the Elections Commission of Sri Lanka dated 22 July 2024 urging the Elections Commission to announce the date of the Sri Lankan presidential elections. It mentions my father who was the first Commissioner of Elections of Sri Lanka from 1959 to 1977:

"Now in the 8th decade of life I have a conscious recollection of all elections since 1956, both fair and foul. I recall with admiration the first Commissioner of Elections the late Felix Dias Abeysinghe who as elections chief for 18 years never cast his vote and holds the record of conducting 5 general elections and 40 by-elections during his time as elections chief from 1959 – 1977. After the 1977 General election Prime Minister Mr. J.R. Jayawardena writing to the great man said:

'... I have never heard a word said against your own personal conduct, your sense of impartiality and your devotion to duty though Governments have changed five times... On the other hand, I have heard nothing but praise. This is a singular achievement for a public servant, and I am happy to say that you have throughout this period maintained the highest standard and traditions that the countrymen expect of a public servant'

Yours sincerely

Prof. ANI Ekanayaka, Ph.D (Lond.), DDPH.
RCS(Eng.), BDS Emeritus Professor (University of Peradeniya)"

Nihal Dias Abeysinghe
Sydney NSW

Procedure for current CSA members who are accessing the website for the first time

1. In the **The Ceylankan - Subscribers Only** drop down click on: **Not a member? Join Us**. The purpose of this is so that the computer understands that you have joined the group and are eligible for a Username and Password to access the journal.
2. It will take you to this page: Click on link to join: <https://ceylon-society.com/about-2/>
3. That will take you to the **Join us** page where you must fill in the CSA Membership Application Form. Please fill in the required fields - including the Membership Category drop down. If you are a Life Member, click on that button. Then fill in the **Member Since?** field – that is the date you **first joined** the CSA.
4. Once you press '**Submit**' you will receive an email confirming your membership of the CSA and your Username and a **temporary password**. Please note that **it is essential that you have a valid email address**. Usually, your Username is your email address.
5. Go back to the **The Ceylankan - Subscribers Only** access menu and click on **Please Log In**. **Change your temporary password immediately** by clicking on the **Forgot Password?** link. It will prompt you to **reset your password to one chosen by you** and known only to you. Then go back and login using your new password to access current and all the previous issues of *The Ceylankan* going back to the very first issue in 1998. If you have not renewed your annual membership, you may not be able to access the journal online until you have done so. After renewal, you can log in with your username and password. Life Members will have access to the journal in perpetuity.

PLEASE NOTE: You **cannot renew your membership online from this website at the moment**. That will be available in the near future. **Payment methods will remain as they are now**. The usual procedure for membership renewals will apply until further notice.

Procedure for New CSA members

The same as above. Except in step 3 in the **Join us page** you must fill in the CSA Membership Application Form. Please fill in the required fields - including the Membership Category drop down – and the other fields as well, including your research interests.

Members can be reassured that we will still be mailing out hard copies of the journal. Once the website is in full operation, there will be an option for Members to indicate if they wish to use the website only to read the journal and do not wish to receive hard copies any longer. Please be aware that this website is an ongoing process with new links to past issues of the journal being added steadily. There are bound to be 'teething problems' in getting this up and running smoothly. If you encounter any problems with accessing the website and the past issues of the journal please contact me (Web Administrator) and I shall try my best to help you resolve them. Alternately, if there are any technically minded readers who have knowledge and some expertise in web design, your input would be most welcome! Thank you in advance for your patience.

Web Administrator: Adam Raffel
email: adamraf2@tpg.com.au

A BEND IN THE MAHAWELI: A story of Ceylon's first university

by Ernest Macintyre

EDITOR'S NOTE: These short stories are Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 of a 12-chapter memoir *A Bend in the Mahaweli* about Ernest Macintyre's time at the University of Ceylon – Peradeniya. It is important to note that each chapter in Ernest's book can be read as an episode in itself. The Introduction appeared in *The Ceylankan* J 100 Vol 25(4) November 2022, Chapters 1 and 2 appeared in *The Ceylankan* J 101 Vol 26(1) February 2023, Chapter 3 appeared in *The Ceylankan* J 103 Vol 26(3) August 2023 and Chapters 4 and 5 appeared in *The Ceylankan* J 105 Vol 27(1) February 2024. There is no need to remember what happened in previous chapters as there is no plot in the conventional sense, just a collection of short stories. The characters are drawn from Ernest's play *Rasanayagam's Last Riot*, written and performed in 1996.

Ernest Macintyre, *Rasanayagam's Last Riot*, (Colombo: Vijitha Yapa, 1996)

Rasa, Philip and Sita, the fictional characters in this story, are the same as the 1996 play. The characters Philip and Sita are loosely based on Ernest and Nalini Macintyre, both CSA members.

CHAPTER 6 - ETHNIC CONFLICT BRUSHES PAST

Unlike the Kultur / O'Fac* public issue, there was no overt evidence of any similar attitudes between Sinhala and Tamil students in those mid nineteen fifties years. In the history of Peradeniya, it would seem that whenever the Tamil Sinhala issue appeared on campus it was preceded by a conflict in the country outside.

It was in a connection with the play *Maname* that Philip, Sita and Rasa first encountered the ethnic conflict in Lanka, because they had volunteered to be in the student committee helping to organize the event. It was also the first time that the conflict made a public appearance. Arthur Seneviratne had put the three of them in the committee section that would take charge of searching for performance halls and booking them. Sarachchandra had decided that *Maname* would open at the Lionel Wendt Theatre in November 1956. So, the committee that Philip, Rasa and Sita were in, had to go to Colombo in June to meet Mr. Harold Peiris, a good friend of the late Lionel Wendt, who now controlled the theatre. Sita stayed at her home in Guilford Crescent, Cinnamon Gardens, and Philip and Rasa stayed at Philip's home at Marys Road, Bambalapitiya. On the fifth of June the passing of a parliamentary act making Sinhala the official language resulted in some rioting in Colombo, when the Tamil Federal Party publicly protested. Tamil shops were burnt, including Saraswathi Lodge, Bambalapitiya, where Sita, Philip and Rasa enjoyed a Thosai feed the previous evening. Mysore Café, Wellawatte where the three of them had planned to enjoy later, was also destroyed. And many people were injured.

The eruption in Colombo next manifested on 11th of June in the Eastern Province, in Gal Oya valley

peasant settlements of Sinhalese, Tamils and Moors a hundred and fifty miles away from Colombo. Over a hundred people were killed. Rasa felt very safe in Philip's home in Bambalapitiya, and at that time did not know that "homing" with Philip and Sita would become a crucial part of his life in bad times.

All three looked forward to the return to Peradeniya. They were unaware that the riots had also been reflected in Peradeniya. Stanley Jeyaraj Thambiah, twenty-seven years of age, a Peradeniya lecturer in Sociology, took thirty-eight students, twenty-six Sinhalese and seven Tamils on a field study to the Gal Oya settlements. They got caught in the riots. They escaped injury and returned safely to Peradeniya. The Vice-Chancellor Sir Nicholas Attygalle wanted a report from Thambiah. Fortunately, that report is still available, through Thambiah's later writings and has been published by Michael Roberts in his current internet *Thuppahi's Blog*:

"..... and in Peradeniya it was taken not to be unusual for those times at the university, is that a lecturer of Tamil ethnic origins was able to lead a team of students, the vast majority of whom were of Sinhalese ethnic origin, to Gal Oya for sociological research. Moreover, it is a mark of the tolerance, friendship, and mutual trust of those times that when the riots broke out, the Sinhalese students took good care to protect me and the seven other Tamils in the team from any possible victimization. The university campuses are much different today."

*Kultur = English speakers O'Fac = Sinhala speakers (see *The Ceylankan* J 101 Vol 26(1) Feb 2023 pp 15-17).

A BEND IN THE MAHAWELI: CHAPTER 7 – “KONDU WAADA MASALA WADAI” BUCKETTING AND RAGGING



In Ceylon the tradition of ragging was imported along with university education. It became conspicuous only after independence. Ragging then meant seniors mocking and jesting at juniors. Till the 1960s ragging was not controversial. Gradually as higher education became more and more accessible to different classes of society and became harmful, it has attracted the attention of authorities and the public.

The evening of the *Maname* meeting Philip and Rasa had their first experience of ragging back at Jayatilleka Hall. Along the corridor, which they entered from the front of the hall, as they were passing the large recreational common room on the left, they saw a gang of seniors singing and dancing to Baila music. The music came from a stringed instrument looking like a small guitar, being played by a senior, who they came to know later, had the name of Derrick Perera. He was from Moratuwa, famous for the Portuguese derived *Bailar*. In Lanka it was called Baila. Derrick strummed away, singing and dancing with the rest – “*Onne ithing patangatha Baila Sellama, Elivenakang koramu ape tharange sellama*”. When they stopped to look down at the singing and dancing gang, Philip and Rasa attracted the attention of the Baila crowd. They stopped the music and one of them shouted, “Come down here, freshers!” The two of them walked down the few steps timidly. “What are your names” asked the guitar player, “I’m Fernando” began Philip and Rasa continued, “I am Rasanayagam”. There was a burst of laughter, and one senior, moved and stood in front of Rasa, raised his left hand stretching it out at waist level. He hooked his index finger to the shape and position when summoning someone rudely. And then he began singing, and dancing in front of Rasa, “*Rasanayagam! Rasanayagam! adai! Kondu waada, masala wadai Rasanayagam!*” Immediately the guitar player, Derrick Perera, began playing the tune and the whole gang surrounded Rasa, aggressively, dancing and singing, “*Rasanayagam! Rasanayagam, adai! Kondu waada masala wadai, Rasanayagam!*” Very soon Philip was also pushed into the centre of the encircling crowd of violently singing and dancing seniors, but Rasa

remained the focus of attention. This crowd in baila motion grew considerably as more and more seniors came that way, expecting the bell of the dining hall at the other end to be heard soon. It was a ferocious and voluminous baila aggression, as Rasa and Philip looked pathetically helpless in the centre.

Then as the sound of dancing and singing reached a crescendo, it happened. The bell of the dining hall rang, there was a sudden silence, an opening in the thick circle of dancers, a tall dark senior rushing through it with a bucket in his right hand, and then, stopping a distance away in front of Rasa and Philip, and woosh! A perfect ejection soaking Rasa and Philip, amply. The whole crowd clapped, thunderously and one clear voice shouted, “Well done Buckee!”. The appreciation was numerously repeated as “Bucket Dias”, a third year who always had his finest hours during the rag season, stood now, with empty bucket in hand nodding his head to acknowledge the congratulations for his skills with this receptacle first introduced by the Portuguese, as *balde* in the sixteenth century, now called *baldiya* in Sinhala. “Buckee” had mastered his art over two years at Jayatilleka. No slat in a fresher’s room window was too difficult in angle for “Buckee” to send a concentrated stream of ejected water, perfectly, onto a bed in the room. “Bucket Dias” had become a legend in the Peradeniya of the mid-fifties and there is a story that except for the women’s halls, seniors on the whole campus sought and obtained Buckee’s expertise for their ragging.

As the crowd moved towards the dining hall, Philip and Rasa, soaking wet, broken and dispirited, went quietly to their room. They changed clothes, but Rasa refused to go for dinner. Philip was unable to persuade him, with, “What to do, all freshers get ragged.”

When Philip returned after dinner, he found that Rasa was not so depressed as when Philip left. “I feel better now”, Rasa said, seated on his bed. Philip then said, “I met Arthur at dinner and told him what had happened. Arthur then went to the kitchen and came back with a small parcel of food” saying “Give this to Rasa”.

Rasa accepted the food, with, “Thanks. Arthur will lead the *Maname* team to success, as nobody else can. I will give him all I can, to help”. After he had his parcel dinner, Rasa had recovered enough to ask, “But Philip, what is this Rasanayagam and the Masala Wadai?” Philip explained. “It has nothing to do with you, per-

sonally. It is a very popular Baila type song in Colombo. In that song Rasanayagam is like a generic expression for Tamils. Sinhalese and Colombo Tamils get on very well, they are one cosmopolitan community. Of course, they have their separate clubs in Colombo, like the Tamil Union in Wanathamulla and the Sinhalese Sports Club in Colombo. The Burghers have the BRC, and the Moors have their own sports club. These are historical remnants, and the remnants have not gone out of the consciousness of each other.

So, Rasanayagam and Tamil Masala Wadais is explained, hopefully, by what I just said. Masala Wada is very Tamil, like *paang* (bread), is very Sinhala, as you revealed to me earlier. I mentioned earlier another popular Sinhala Colombo song, “*Sinhala Hotele paang kala bari-wela, thang thosai masala wadai!*”

Rasa thanked Philip for explaining, and then spoke in his newly learnt spoken colloquial Sinhala. He wanted to convey that he never saw Bucket Dias approaching. “*Mama dekka ne, Bucket Dias valiak arang enawa*”. Philip quickly corrected Rasa. “You have already forgotten, in Sinhala it is *Baldiya*, not *Valiya!*!” “Sorry” said Rasa. Rasa began memorising the Sinhala for bucket. “*Baldiya, Baldiya, Baldiya,*” he repeated many times. “Thanks Philip, it may come in useful because this may not be the last time we come across this *Baldiya* of Mister Bucket Dias.”

A BEND IN THE MAHAWELI: CHAPTER 8 - ARRACK AND IDEOLOGY



What is an example of an ideology?

An ideology is a belief system that underpins a political or economic theory. Ideologies form the operating principles for running a society. Examples of ideologies include liberalism, conservatism, socialism, communism, theocracy, agrarianism, totalitarianism, democracy.

In this story of Peradeniya, both Arrack and Ideology first came into the lives of these men and women. Arrack, as far as it's known, is only for men, after entering Peradeniya. The former seeped in progressively to become a lifetime's enhancer in relaxation. The latter a passing, stylised undergraduate excitement which got submerged, for most, in the comparative comforts of life coming to university graduates.

Though prohibited for students, within the campus, there was acknowledgement by the authorities that outside the physical bounds of their supervision, nothing could be done about Arrack.

It was not a widespread indulgence, yet needs treatment in this story of Peradeniya because it became a regular habit with Philip and Rasa and kept them animated when they met frequently later in life.

Those who studied Ceylon History at Peradeniya, would, if they ventured beyond what their lecture notes offered for passing exams, would have come across the subject of Arrack. Strabo, (64 or 63 BC – c. AD 24) a Greek geographer, and historian who lived in Asia Minor reports that Indians made a beverage from rice which is known as Arrack.

Whatever its origins, Sri Lanka is the largest producer of coconut arrack and up until 1992 the government played a significant role in its production.

Other than water, the entire manufacturing process revolves around the fermentation and distillation of a single ingredient, the sap of unopened flowers from a coconut palm. Each morning at dawn, men known as toddy tappers move among the tops of coconut trees using connecting ropes not unlike tightropes. A single tree may contribute up to two litres per day.

Though alcohol, was not allowed on the campus, the Faculty Club was excepted. Lecturers met, and with their claims of being intellectuals found that to think with a drink added imagination to the process, taking more than one of a jolly evening.

Quite a few young adults on the campus, with no interest in its history, got to know the beverage, as part of their personal development.

Those young male undergrads who took to arrack, a new liberty available to them, had to seek it outside the campus. That is how Kandy town became a frequent visiting place for these men. Islim Hotel, on Main Street became their club. A table in a small room, a waiter producing drinking glasses and a bottle of Arrack with some bites like murruku and vadais, and five or six young drinkers made the scene. Philip had some taste of Arrack and increased its frequency after Peradeniya. Rasa began enjoying it for the first time and took to it enthusiastically, telling Philip that he was Hindu and Arrack was a vegetable product.

Some of the meetings in the small room of the Islim Hotel in Kandy were not ostensibly for enjoying Arrack, but for meetings of the Central Committees of student political parties of the campus. Unlike arrack, campus political affiliation with the world's main intellectual developments of political ideals was to be overlooked, post graduation, when the material world took over. The Trotskyites, the Communists and the UNP secured privacy in their romantic conceptions of themselves in the closed room of Islim Hotel. Student political personalities like comrades Thiyagamuttu and Krishnaswamy (called Khrushchev by association) found Arrack an aide when thrashing out issues such as whether "Socialism In One Country" was viable, in a world of capitalism encircling their oasis.

Without the cover of political party meetings, Rasa and Philip were frequenters of the Islim Hotel, usually after seven in the evening, simply because they liked Arrack.

A BEND IN THE MAHAWELI: CHAPTER 9 - 1956



A scene from *Androcles and The Lion* (1956). From left: Shelagh Goonewardene, Francis Pietersz, John Gunaratne, Jeyaraj Thambiah, Challice Moldrich, Alastair Roosmale-Cocq, Lakshman Hewavasam, Karan Breckenridge, Valentine Perera, Frederick Ludowyk, Rex Jayasinghe, Adrian Attapattu (hidden).

1956 was the year of three connected events. The *Maname* project moved on. E.F.C. Ludowyk's own production, an act of farewell, of Bernard Shaw's *Androcles and The Lion* at the Lionel Wendt in Colombo. The *Sinhala Only Act* in July.

Androcles was a farewell performance. E.F.C. Ludowyk was leaving Ceylon for England. Ludowyk's direction of *Androcles and The Lion* and his departure is included with the major event of the *Sinhala Only Act* because the performance included some suggestion of the impending ethnic confrontations in Ceylon following this legislation. *Androcles*, a slave, hiding in the

forest, finds a lion in great pain because of a terrible thorn in its paw. Androcles removes it, and the lion hugs Androcles, in love and gratitude. Perhaps Ludowyk thought of the contribution to independence of Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam and his brother Ramanathan, and had the lion's head for the play designed in the likeness of the lion's visage on the national flag and emblems of Ceylon. It was worn by Professor Dissanayake of the Dental Science Department, who played the lion. In the performance Androcles is sentenced to death by the Roman Emperor played by senior lecturer in Classics, Roland Sri Pathmanathan. Then, as the beast is let loose for the killing, the lion (Dissanayake) recognizes Andocles (Francis Pietersz) and hugs him instead of killing him.

Philip had a small part in the play, as Retiarius, so Rasa also crept in as a static, non-speaking Roman guard. Rasa remarked to Philip that Ludowyk's use of the Lankan lion image, may have been a gesture made in sadness, about what was impending in the land he was leaving.

Maname in the same year has a bearing on the *Sinhala Only Act*, for this master play would not have been possible had it been culturally Sinhala only. As related earlier, the folk basis of the play was the *Nadagama*, evolved from *Natu Kuthu* of South Indian origin as found in the north-east of Sri Lanka and brought to the south by Roman Catholic users of folk performance for religious purposes. The initial song, setting the play in motion, "*Premayen Mana Ran-jithawe, Nandithawe....*" had music similar to a Christian song, composed by Fr. Jacome Goncalvez who wrote Tamil songs, used in Christian *Nadagama* a long time back. And the plot structure of the play, unforeseen circumstances bringing out unknown inner natures of characters is suggestively adapted from Aristotle on Tragedy. It is a great Sinhala play, a masterful fusion of wide human creation.

Soon, the term went into full swing. Sita entered for English, History and Economics, her objective being English Honours after the General Arts Qualifying exam. Philip took the identical route also hoping for English Honours. Rasa had a position in the business and commercial world in mind, and went for Economics, Geography and Tamil, hoping for Economics Honours.

November 1956 came and *Maname* was now ready to open at the Lionel Wendt on the 3rd of that month. Benedict Dias Sirimanne was Prince Maname. He was a mature student doing the teacher's diploma, and apart from his other stage abilities was chosen for his melodious voice. His antagonist, the Veddha King, was Edmund Wijesinghe, tall, well built body for showing and with a quality voice deep and powerful in ideal contrast to the voice of a cultivated prince. He demonstrated, with his imaginative theatre presence and unforgettable contribution to Peradeniya, what Sarachchandra had said at the first *Maname* meeting, "What is this residential university at Peradeniya? Immediately, I can tell you, it is not only for passing exams!" Edmund had not passed his first qualifying exam and consequently had to live outside and try again. Arthur discovered him by chance at a night carnival at Bogambara, his voice carrying powerfully across the grounds, singing popular songs. Sarachchandra found him a home within the campus, for he had overridden a chance lapse in exams into other meanings of 'university', an institution of the nation and being in Sinhala was naturally significant as a living part of society in the mainly Sinhala parts of the island nation. Trilicia Abeyakoon and Hemamali Gunasinghe alternated in the leading role of the Princess Maname. The complex role of the Pothe Gura, the Storyteller, was won by Charmon Saparamadu. Complex because a story cannot be told in a modern *Nadagama* without acting it. And acting a story without being a character in the plot, calls for imagination and dexterity, to be apparently detached from it, yet deeply in it.



CAST AND CREW OF *MANAME* 1956

From Left- First Row - Trilicia Abeykoon (The Princess), Benedict Sirimanne (Prince Maname), Dr Ananda Kulasuriya Salgado (Snr Treasurer), Professor Ediriweera Sarachchandra (Libretto and producer), Mrs Aileen Sarachchandra (Make-up), Dr Siri Gunasingha (Stage setting), Charmon Saparamadu (Narrator), W. Arthur Silva (Organiser and President of the Sinhalese Drama Circle), Hemamali Gunasekera (Maname Princess).

Middle Row - Ratnasuriya Hemapala (Stage Manager), Wimal Nawagamuwa (Junior Treasurer), Lionel Fernando (Chief of the Foresters), Nanda Abeywickrama (Chorus), Swarna Mahipala (Chorus), Trixie de Silva (Chorus), Sumana Gunaratne (Committee), Indrani Pieris (Chorus And Committee), Ramya Tumpela (Instrumentalist), Edmond Wijesinghe (Master of Taksala and King of Foresters), Pastor Pieris (Chorus), Somaratne Edirisinghe (Instrumentalist), Amaradasa Gunawardana (Committee).

Back Row - H. L. Seneviratne (Instrumentalist), Kitsiri Amaratunga (Instrumentalist), Wimaladharma Deeyasena (Make up Artist), H. Someratne (Stage Assistant), Daya Jayasundara (Chorus), D.B. Herath (Pupil Forester), M.B. Adikaram (Forester and pupil), Peter La Sha (Lighting), L. B. Dissanayake (Stage Assistant), Karunasena Gunaratne (Forester), R.W. Sathischandra (Chorus), M. Amarawardhana (Stage Decoration), K.A.D. Perera (Secretary).



The Rising Sun comes with bombs on Easter Sunday

by Capt (rtd) Elmo Jayawardena*

I am no aviation historian, just an aeroplane driver who spent a long time in the sky. The Japanese bombing of Sri Lanka in 1942 is mainly information that passed from people to people as the years rolled. Some subtracted the truth, and some others exaggerated the myths. I want to share with readers what little I found out and perhaps shed a little more light on events that took place a long time ago on an Easter Sunday morning.



Squadron Leader Leonard Birchall (pictured above) arrived in Ceylon on the 3rd of April 1942. The flight was from Karachi to Koggala where an RAF base was operational. Birchall was from the 413 Squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force. They, at that time, had a joint operation with RAF to conduct reconnaissance flights over the southern coast of Ceylon. The aeroplanes used were Catalina flying boats, cumbersome giants who had very long endurance that was needed for the extended range of surveillance over water. The next day, Saturday the 4th of April, Birchall and his crew of nine were on patrol. Prior to them, another Catalina had gone out on a similar mission and never returned. Reasons became a little clear later when the incident repeated.

Birchall crew spotted stick-like images on the calm sea below. It was at 1600 Saturday afternoon, and they flew lower and closer for better identification. The Catalina was 400 miles south of Koggala at that time, according to the calculations of the navigator. What Birchall spotted was the Japanese fleet of

Admiral Chuichi Nagumo. He was sailing on course to Ceylon with six aircraft carriers, four battle ships, three cruisers, three destroyers and a total of 300 carrier-based aeroplanes.



Catalinas

Birchall ordered alert messages to be sent to Colombo. The laid-out procedure was to repeat the Morse coded transmission three times. As the second message was completed, the aeroplane rocked with machine gun fire from six Zero fighters that had taken off from the carrier *Hiryu* after spotting Birchall's Catalina.

The radio officer was injured, the radio equipment shattered, and the bullets ripped the entire aircraft and damaged the fuel tanks.

With great difficulty Birchall managed to land his crippled aeroplane in the sea. The fighters continued to strafe and killed three of Birchall's crew members floating in the water. The remaining six were taken prisoner and interrogated as to whether any alert message was sent to Colombo, which they vehemently denied. For their luck, the Japanese intercepted a transmission from Colombo asking the Catalina to repeat the twice received message as it was not very clear.

The logical conclusion is that Colombo never read Birchall's warning correctly. It was all

in Morse code, and the possibility is always there for a misread. When the Japanese fighter bombers flew overhead Colombo the next day, people were in church; it was Easter Sunday. The RADAR station was closed for maintenance, as it was the normal practice on Sundays. The two fighter squadrons, one in Ratmalana, and one in the Colombo Race-course were on the ground and went into full alert only when they saw a sky-full of Japanese aeroplanes all over Colombo.

It certainly was a surprise attack, exactly like what happened at Pearl Harbor.

To accept logically that Birchall's message alerted Colombo is difficult. A lot had been written about how he saved Ceylon. Maybe true, maybe not, he certainly initiated the warning.



Commander Mitsuo Fuchida

Had Colombo been on high alert, I wonder how many would have left their homes and attended church to celebrate Easter? Or for that matter, the RADAR station most certainly would have been operational and not closed for routine maintenance.

Then the question is: Did Birchall really save Sri Lanka? I leave you to logically deduce. As in most matters of history, opinions could differ.

The Japanese aeroplanes led by Commander Mitsuo Fuchida flew into Colombo on the 5th of April 1942, at 7.30 am on Easter Sunday. There were 36 fighters, 54 dive bombers and 90 level bombers flying in formation. Com-

mander Fuchida was a very well-known name in the war annals, as it was, he who led the attack on Pearl Harbor and also an attack on the city of Darwin. (featured prominently in the movie *Tora Tora Tora*).



RAF Hurricane

The Japanese mission was to seek and destroy the British fleet in harbour. They came from the south west. Seeing the Japanese fighters all over the sky, the Hurricanes scrambled from Ratmalana. The squadron stationed at the Race Course grounds too started engines, threw chocks off and roared out to the sky to meet the enemy.



Japanese Zero

Dog fights took place in the Sri Lankan Sky. People on ground heard and saw the aerial battle and climbed on roofs to get a better view. The main attack was on Colombo Harbour. Whilst dive bombers screamed down to release bombs, the Zero fighter escort flew their aeroplanes to their fuel limits, battling against the RAF Hurricanes. Japanese aeroplanes were shot down, Hurricanes were shot down, parachutes drifted in the sky, pilots jumping out of burning wreckage. Ground

batteries too opened fire on the attacking planes.

A Japanese pilot by mistake bombed the Angoda Psychiatric Hospital and 20 patients died. Around 37 was the total count of the dead on the ground that fateful morning. The number of aeroplanes lost is very ambiguous, varying figures keep cropping up at each turn of a page. According to one source seven Japanese planes were shot down and the RAF lost 27; not possible, unless some of the Hurricanes were destroyed before they even got airborne.

It is believed that Japanese aeroplanes crashed in the following sites: near St. Thomas' College, Mount Lavinia, Bellanwila, Pita Kotte, Horana, Galle Face Green and on the Colombo Racecourse grounds.

A few days before the Japanese attack, most of the British fleet had been moved out to the Addu Atoll of the Maldives, Southwest of Colombo. This was in response to some intercepted messages received in the previous week about a possible invasion.

"People knew of a likelihood of a Japanese attack. As a precaution, my father took the family to Bandarawela by train on the 1st of April." So said the son of the then President of the Colombo Aero Club.



Admiral Chuichi Nagumo

The Japanese managed to sink the cruiser *Hector* and the destroyer *Tenedos* in the harbour itself. Then they located the *Cornwall* and the *Dorsetshire* 200 miles southwest of Colombo and sank them too. Some 424 sailors were killed and a 1,000 plus that survived were saved after hours in the water.

Four days later, the Japanese attacked China Bay. This time they sank *HMS Vampire* and *HMS Holyhock* killing approximately 700 people. They hunted down the *HMS Hermes* and sank her near Batticaloa. The death toll on the doomed aircraft carrier was around 307 sailors.

During the attack on China bay, pilot Shigenori Watanabe operating a Japanese fighter bomber circled around a huge oil tank near the harbour. He had two others in the crew with him, Tokya Goto and Sutumu Toshira. They then power-dived their plane aimed at the tank in Kamikaze fashion. The aeroplane exploded on impact, instantly killing the pilots and completely destroying the installation.

The Sri Lankan sky saw for the first time suicide bombers killing themselves for their country. Similar actions were repeated many times in another war, in another place. Friend or foe, the sadness is the same, they died for causes they believed in, and they were young.

Commander Fuchida's raid on Colombo was planned on the same strategy as what he did at Pearl Harbour. Had the British fleet been there on 5th April, they certainly would have all been sunk.

The Japanese were not interested in destroying Colombo or any other place in Ceylon. They could have easily done so, if that was the intent. They had so many aeroplanes and complete supremacy of the sky during that Easter morning.

Ceylon was saved, from whom and how? If the Japanese were planning on an invasion, it is logical to think they could have bombed Ceylon and devastated everything. The first wave of aeroplanes was a total of 180, and there would have been another 120 waiting in the carriers. The Japanese planes sank every ship that was visible in the water.

Perhaps that was their plan, perhaps not. I wonder whether the answers will ever be known. Why did Admiral Nagumo take his



winning fleet and move away without coming to Ceylon? He may have had his reasons or may have had his orders. The fact is Ceylon was saved, and that is what mattered.

Some stories came up of the people who played different roles when Japan invaded Ceylon on that Easter Sunday. Logically, they are all acceptable. Some have written evidence too. Each one merits mention.

‘*Rathu Palliya*’ is a little church somewhere in Kelaniya. There had been a small cemetery behind the church. People say they remember an unmarked grave there, swollen earth and a small white grave stone with no words to say who was buried. People also said that a Japanese pilot was buried there. He flew in on the Easter Sunday raid and was shot down and crashed and died.

Someone buried him, and marked his grave, no name.

The cemetery is no more. New constructions are in place. There is no trace of the unmarked grave and the place and the people of the area had obviously forgotten the unknown Japanese fighter pilot.

Squadron Leader Leonard Birchall spent the war years as a POW in Japan. After the war, he returned home to Canada and visited Ceylon on a later date. His aeroplane was the first known to be shot down in the Sri Lankan sky, and his three crew members, the first to die.

The Catalina that flew out before Birchall’s fateful patrol, there never was any trace of it. It is logical to think that they were spotted by the Japanese fleet and some fighters would have shot them down. There is no record except they were termed missing in action, the first to be recorded so in Sri Lanka.

In 1939 A young Japanese man came to learn to fly in Ratmalana. He became a member of the Aero Club. He was attached to some Japanese mission. Though he came to learn, he had known how to fly, and that too very well, though he pretended he was a student pilot. That was what the instructors whispered to each other in ‘hangar small talk.’

The Japanese trainee pilot (front centre of the above photo) did many solo flights over and around Colombo and Ratmalana.

Maybe he wasn’t learning to fly but gathering information on what he saw from the sky. It was also said he simply vanished after some time.

Star pilot Commander Mitsuo Fuchida became a defeated man after the war and started working as a farmer to feed his family. In 1950, he embraced Christianity and became an evangelist preaching salvation and converting people to the faith. His book “*From Pearl Harbour to Golgotha*” was widely accepted in America and he toured the USA as an ambassador of peace, preaching the gospel.

Like Birchall, Fuchida too came to Ceylon in later years. Not firing a machine gun from a fighter aeroplane but carrying a Bible.

Commander Mitsuo Fuchida led the attack on Pearl Harbour, the one on Darwin and on Colombo. He was also present at Midway when the famous air battle took place. Fuchida died in 1976 at the age of 73.

So ends the story most of my vintage heard from parents who lived during that time. I have tried vainly to find out why Admiral Nagumo turned back without invading Ceylon. Was it an order or precaution? Who knows?

** The author was a frequent contributor to this journal and a former CSA member.*

Book Review

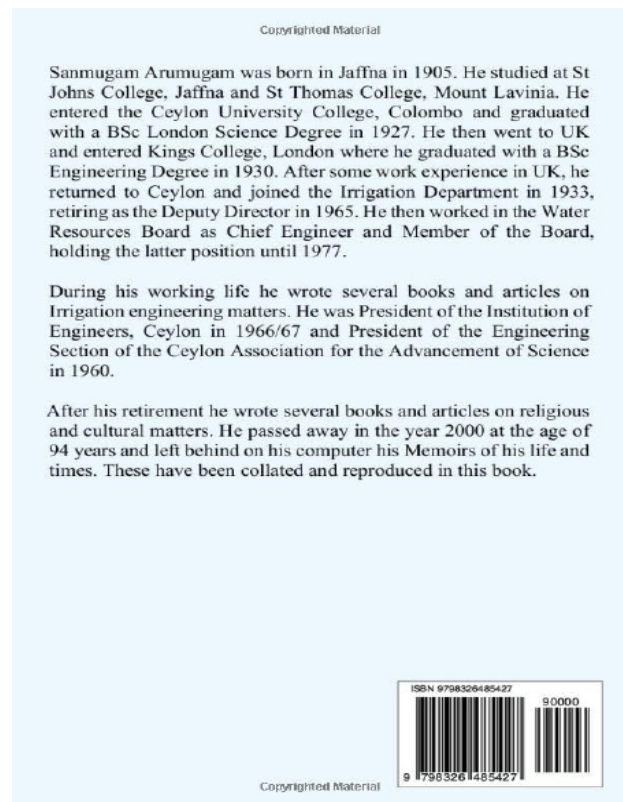
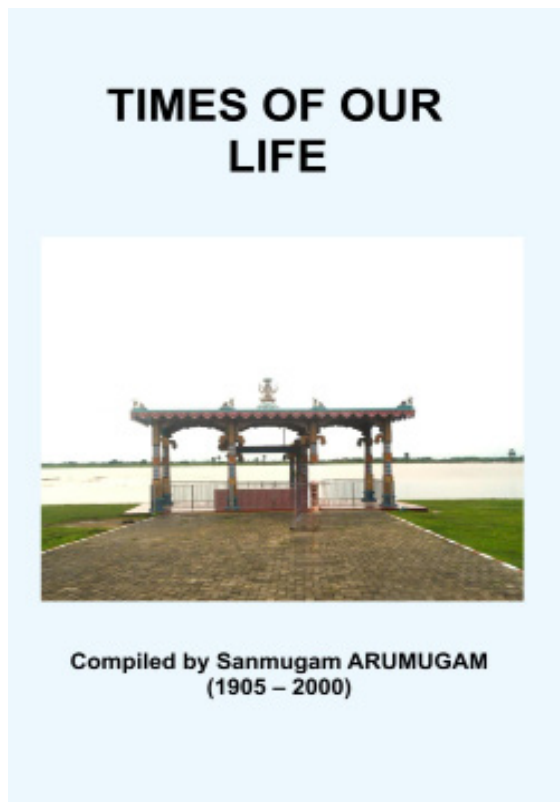
Title: *Times of Our Life*

Author / Compiler: **Sanmugam Arumugam**

Editor: **Thiru Arumugam**

Publication details: **250 pp; Paperback; \$19 (Aust); Ohm Books Publishing United Kingdom; 2024** (*available from Amazon.com*)

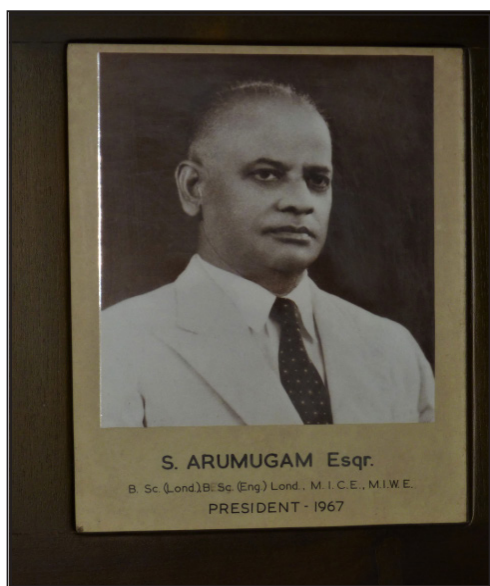
Reviewed by: **Dr. Poornima Paidipaty***



Commenting on the park near the family home in London, Mr. Sanmugam Arumugam, formerly Deputy Director of the Sri Lankan Department of Irrigation, writes eloquently about the luxurious oaks, horse chestnuts and cherry trees. Mr. Arumugam was a fine observer of detail, a trait that served him well throughout his many travels and professional experiences. The marvelous shapes and seasonal transformations of trees in a small neighborhood park bear witness to the depth and pleasure of daily experience, just as this book does, for a rich and fruitful life.

Times of Our Life (2024) is not an autobiography in the strict sense. Nor is it a diary in which the entries were written contemporaneously to the events they describe. Instead, the book is a compilation of short memories and retrospective observations, mostly written in the 1980s and 1990s, towards the end of Mr. Arumugam's life. It raises important questions about what we remember, highlight and even value, looking back on our lives with the benefit of hindsight and the accumulated wisdom of experience.

Mr. Arumugam was my husband's grandfather. Personal memoirs such as this one are certainly an immense family treasure. But they also serve as a valuable resource to the wider community and to professional historians like me. We historians are acutely aware that our narrations of the past, culled from official records and media reports, are often quite different from how people, swept up in these



occurrences, experience them at a personal level. As such, *Times of Our Life* gives us an intimate glimpse of one person's actual, lived journey through the tumultuous, world-transforming events of the 20th century.

Mr. Arumugam was born in Jaffna in 1905 and died in 2000 in London, England. His work as a young irrigation engineer and his personal travels allowed him to witness life across the length and breadth colonial and postcolonial Sri Lanka. These memoirs also describe numerous pilgrimages to India, the challenges of student life and early employment the UK in the 1920s and 1930s and an extensive trip to Indonesia in the 1980s. Through these accounts, we glimpse a world rapidly transformed by world wars, decolonisation, civil conflict and dislocation, as well as the personal changes wrought by family life and household obligations.

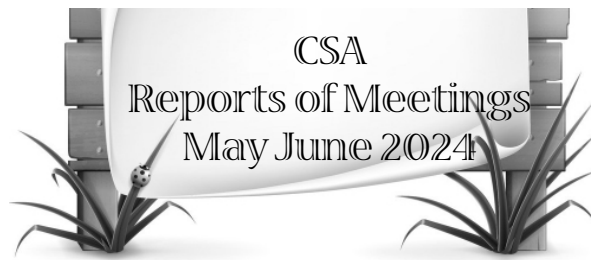
There are some areas of history and personal experience that readers might wish were more extensively covered. We hear little about Sri Lanka's formal independence from the British nor much about postcolonial politics. There are some elements of personal life that are also scantily covered. One longs to learn more about family relations and the experience of fatherhood, for instance. Yet, it is important to keep in mind that these reflections were not written as a complete autobiographical account. Piecing together the fragments is part of the experience of reading this book. Perhaps they fairly represent how we, with our demanding personal schedules, actually experience the chaotic fullness of history.

Despite the pithy coverage, the book is riddled with rich anecdotes. In one amusing episode, Mr. Arumugam narrates how the Government Agent's large motor vehicle, the first in the Jaffna peninsula, scared the horse he was riding so badly that it bolted all the way home, with him clinging on for dear life. He describes his first viewing of fireworks. We learn of the profound impact of Mahatma Gandhi's assassination in India in 1948. We witness the devastating loss of his family home in the 1983 anti-Tamil riots in Colombo.

We learn, sometimes at a distance, about the formation of nationalist and ethnic projects. We also hear about trajectories and travels that are more cosmopolitan and complicated than the nation-state. We read of repeated pilgrimages to India and of personal histories that connect and reconnect the family to Southeast Asia. We are introduced to later generations that resettle abroad, first in postcolonial Africa and subsequently in North America and the UK. These trajectories span the globe, but they repeat ancient patterns of pilgrimage and trade – even as these are broadened and accelerated by the Cold War, civil strife and globalisation in more recent decades.

Mr. Arumugam, in his capacity as an irrigation engineer, had the opportunity to carefully study ancient temples and water tanks. He, along with the wider community, oversaw the careful restoration of Thiruketheeswaram temple in the Northern Province. He is also the architect of the *River for Jaffna Project*, which if completed, would create a much-needed fresh-water lagoon for the north of the island. He spent a lifetime building and rebuilding vital infrastructure, as a way of preserving the past and envisioning a new future. Towards the end of the book, he describes a visit to Coventry cathedral, which was bombed by the Germans in WWII. The ruins were preserved, but a new, modern cathedral was built alongside the ancient building. Mr. Arumugam, reflecting on how to restore ancient temples in Sri Lanka, argues that Coventry offers a fine model for how to pay homage to painful histories while rebuilding for future generations. It is also, unsurprisingly, a powerful vision for reconstruction in post-war Sri Lanka.

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CSA General Meeting and Social
Sunday 2nd June 2024 at 6.30pm
at the Pennant Hills Community Centre
Ramsay Road, Pennant Hills NSW

SPEAKER: Distinguished Professor Buddhima Indraratna AM

TOPIC: Challenges and Advances for Transportation Infrastructure with special reference to Railways

Distinguished Professor Buddhima Indraratna, Director of Transport Research Centre at the University of Technology Sydney (UTS), delivered a presentation on “Challenges and Advances in Transport Infrastructure with Special Reference to Railways” at the CSA General Meeting on 2 June 2024. Prof Indraratna is a Member of the Order of Australia, and he was the first Sri Lankan engineer to be inducted as Fellow of the prestigious Australian Academy of Technological Sciences and Engineering (FTSE).

The following narrative has been written by Shashika Atapattu, a PhD student at UTS, based on Professor Indraratna’s presentation:

The development of transport infrastructure involves addressing five key challenges: (i) budget constraints, (ii) safety, comfort and reliability, (iii) circular economy, (iv) emerging technologies, and (v) environmental controls. As the world's economy continues to recover from the COVID-19 pandemic, budgets for high-quality design and construction of transport infrastructure have become tighter. However, the essential requirement for improved safety and comfort in public transportation systems has remained a priority, while encouraging more people to use public transport to ease urban congestion. Moreover, perspectives of circular economy are given greater priority, with an imperative global shift towards building sustainable infrastructure for future generations, including the use of recycled materials and industry byproducts as construction materials. Prof Indraratna explained that environmental controls are also crucial to achieving net-zero emission targets, hence the urgent need for making transport infrastructure more energy-efficient. For example, Australia is committed to

reducing its reliance on coal as a major energy source and proactively transitioning towards renewable energy, including solar, wind and tidal power systems. Similarly, Sri Lanka’s commitment to UNDP includes reducing greenhouse gas emissions by at least 14% and increasing forest cover by over 30%. In essence, the ultimate aim of transport infrastructure development is to build safe and reliable road and rail systems with low carbon emissions.

In Sri Lanka, as the population still cannot afford electric vehicles and the autonomous or driverless vehicles are currently not feasible, the population needs to prudently consider practical and affordable measures to reduce carbon emissions. Prof Indraratna stressed the need for practical solutions, including greater efficiency of public transport and the emerging bio-engineering solutions such as the growth of trees as green corridors along major roads and railways to stabilise the soil. These green corridors not only help to reduce the excess water in the soil (evaporation from the tree canopy, while the tree roots suck soil moisture), thus strengthening the soil (making it stiffer), but the tree lines also act as noise and wind barriers along the transport corridors, while reducing the carbon dioxide levels in the vicinity. Prof Indraratna vividly explained how the growth of vegetation on either side of railway tracks (green corridor concept) naturally reduces excessive moisture in the low-lying railway lines along the coastal areas, through the evaporation-transpiration cycle – where the moisture evaporates from the leaves, while the tree roots draw the water from the soil continually in the morning and afternoon (process of photosynthesis). A prominent example of the importance of vegeta-

tion near roads and railways can be seen in the picture taken by Professor Indraratna during the post-tsunami rail track rehabilitation work in the southern province of Sri Lanka (Photo 1). It is evident from the picture that coconut trees were rarely uprooted by the tsunami waves, while concrete foundations were destroyed. When tree roots intake the soil moisture, this process generates a very high suction pressure that maintains the soil around the roots to be very stiff and strong, and the roots themselves act as soil reinforcements, in the same way that steel reinforcements strengthen concrete slabs.



Photo 1: Challenges in Disaster areas: Post-Tsunami Rail Track Rehabilitation in Sri Lanka (Jan-March 2005).

Identifying common problems related to railway tracks is crucial for developing resilient public transport systems. Some of the common issues include ballast breakage (ballast is the bed of rock particle forming the track foundation), erosion of the foundation materials due to flooding, excessive and irregular settlement along the track, buckling of steel rails, and the soil beneath the track becoming a slurry and pumping upwards under accumulated water pressure in the ground (this phenomenon is called mud pumping). Unacceptable rate of ballast breakage (i.e. when the rock particles supporting the railway track get crushed due to repeated train loads), is a significant concern for railway engineers worldwide. This necessitates the replenishment of ballast regularly to maintain satisfactory strength and to provide minimum confinement to the concrete sleepers (parallel beams) which form the track skeleton. Additionally, flooding can erode the foundation materials including ballast and the soil underneath, compromising the load-bearing strength, stability and safety of the entire track. Differential settlements along the track leading to uneven track alignment also

pose further safety risks including derailment. Steel rails are also susceptible to buckling under extreme temperatures especially in the absence of sufficient ballast in the track, thus increasing the risk of potential derailment at increased train speeds. Another major issue of track instability is the softening of the soil below the track due to excessive water and the associated mud pumping when the soil becomes a slurry, and this is mostly caused by poor drainage in the ground, for instance inadequate drainage (blocked culverts and clogging of way-side drains) in low-lying terrains after heavy rainfall. Prof Indraratna explained that when the foundation soil (technical term is subgrade) becomes saturated after heavy rainfall, the strength of the soil rapidly decreases, causing clay and mud particles to fluidize and pump upwards into the ballast layer. If not promptly addressed, these issues can lead to major train derailments, as the clogging of ballast by the pumped soil means that the ballast bed also loses its free-draining capacity, and the load-bearing strength is compromised. Addressing these problems is vital to ensure the safety and reliability of railway transport systems.

In Sri Lanka unfortunately, train derailments are a persistent concern. A major reason for these derailments can be attributed to issues of maintenance of the track and attention to the factors contributing to these incidents (Photo 2). For example, the presence of weeds on the track indicates that the ballast depth (and volume) is insufficient, leading to the accumulation of soil and water in the ballast layer allowing weeds to grow. Moreover, broken concrete and timber sleepers are also indicative of the lack of ballast needed to support these sleepers subjected to impact loads from continual train passage.

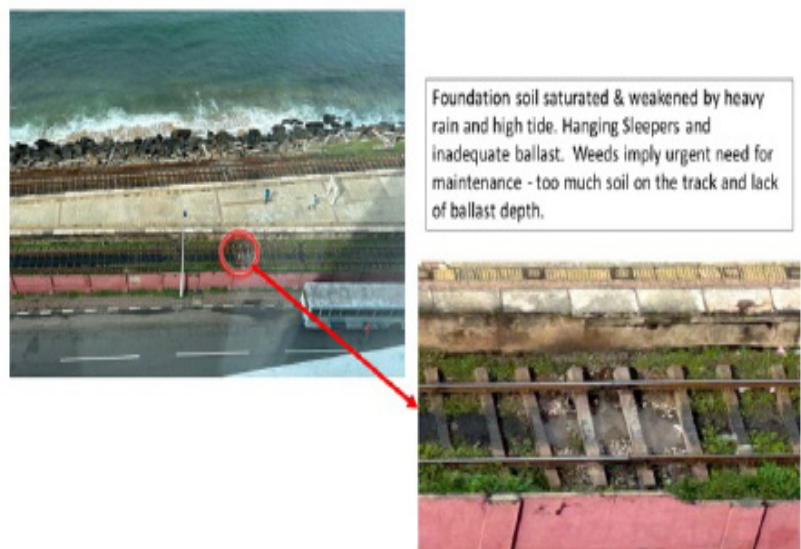


Photo 2: Problems of railway tracks in Sri Lanka

Regular maintenance and the use of good quality rock materials are essential to ensure that ballast depth is checked and replenished when required to provide adequate strength of the track while providing sufficient confinement to railway sleepers. Increasing the amount of ballast volume can provide greater strength and stability to the track. Solutions for problems related to railway foundations have been introduced through scientific research, with a focus on prioritising the perspectives of a circular economy. In Australia, over 45 million rubber tyres reach the end of their life each year, with only a small portion being recycled. Many rubber tyres around the world are illegally dumped, contributing to environmental issues including breeding grounds for mosquitoes in countries like Sri Lanka. For example, the world's largest tyre landfill site in Kuwait is so vast that it can be seen from space, and occasional spontaneous fires at the dump sites during very hot temperatures release significant carbon emissions (toxic gases too) causing extensive air pollution. This highlights the urgent need for effective research to reduce dumping of recycled tyres and promote more sustainable practices in construction. Sustainability in this context involves not only implementing circular economy principles in the construction industry, but also ensuring that novel engineering solutions perform as well as or better than the acceptable traditional designs approved in conventional technical standards. Rigorous studies involving experimental work, computer modelling, and field monitoring are necessary to validate these innovative solutions for real-world applications.

Prof Indraratna explained innovative railway designs using recycled rubber materials, which have been introduced in various forms. These include rubber crumbs, which are small particles of broken rubber particles (crumbs and shreds) mixed with traditional rock particles to form a blended ballast mixture, under-ballast mats made from waste rubber sheets (from discarded conveyor belts) that are placed beneath the ballast layer to provide additional support and cushioning for the track components, and under-sleeper pads (small pads made from waste rubber that are placed beneath the sleepers) to improve their stability and reduce vibration. Additionally, tyre cell track foundations, which involve assemblies of recycled rubber tyres (infilled with waste materials) to innovatively build an energy-absorbing track foundation, and rubber grids (recycled rubber sheets from factories using conveyor belts, on which holes can be made by water jet cutting), have been used to improve the performance of railway tracks.

The effectiveness of these innovative and pat-

ented designs had been tested using advanced testing equipment by Prof Indraratna's team at the UTS transport laboratories, and some of the testing rigs were designed and built in-house specifically for this purpose. Real-size (prototype) testing could also be conducted at the National Facility for Cyclic Testing of High-Speed Rail near Wollongong, a facility that was established by Prof Indraratna. A fully instrumented track was then constructed at Chullora in New South Wales, to investigate real-life performance of the laboratory-proven solutions with actual trains operating on these trial tracks. In Chullora, the world's first tyre cell track foundation was constructed in collaboration with Sydney Trains, c/o Transport for NSW and EcoFlex Australia (Photo 3). Field results of this track indicate that the use of recycled rubber tyre foundation helped to reduce the load transferred to the soft soil beneath the track compared to a standard track, so the track becomes more stable. Therefore, the performance of this innovative sustainable design (tyre cell foundation) is better than the standard track designs. This concept is now an approved Australian Patent by Prof Indraratna together with EcoFlex Australia Ltd.



Photo 3: World's First Rubber Tyre Cell Foundation for Railways at Chullora

In countries where the rainfall is very intense and drainage is poor, particularly in low-lying terrains, mud pumping occurs (photo 4). This is similar to pothole formation in motorways where foundation soil becomes a slurry, causing the asphalt layer to collapse. Prof Indraratna explained this using Crème Brûlée as an analogy. Following a mud pumping event, concrete sleepers become unsupported and hang without proper support beneath them. So when a train passes over these unsupported sleepers, there is sudden settlement, increasing the risk of derailment. In Australia alone, a significant portion of the investment is

spent on annual track maintenance due to mud pumping. Although this problem is long-standing, it has only gained attention in recent decades due to the rapid increase in heavy freight trains with high axle loads that had intensified mud pumping. Prof Indraratna's research addresses three primary aspects of mud pumping: (i) causes and geotechnical mechanisms, (ii) assessment of mud pumping using laboratory experiments, and (iii) cost-effective solutions to prevent mud pumping. Innovative solutions, such as (i) use of synthetic vertical drains (rolls of drains driven in to the ground like piles to reduce deep water pressures in the natural foundation soil), (ii) geo-textiles (synthetic materials that readily absorb moisture and dissipate excess water pressure) to enhance the drainage capacity of the foundation soil, and (iii) bio-engineering techniques (e.g. growing trees) have been introduced in recent times.



Photo 4: Ballast particles are clogged due to mud pumping

Moving on to port extensions through offshore reclamation, the booming population and associated development in coastal and metropolitan areas have necessitated offshore reclamations. Usually, these extensions are executed by dredging ocean sand with marine mud and pumping it to the development zone within the seawall or breakwater boundaries. The low bearing capacity and high compressibility of this dredged material must be stabilised before commencing construction. The port extension work at the Port of Brisbane in Queensland was achieved using vertical drains driven in to the soft soil foundation with vacuum pressure applied to these drains (i.e. vacuum pumps aiding the extraction of excess moisture) to accelerate the consolidation of the soft materials and strengthen them. Computer modelling techniques were also introduced to accurately predict the stabilisation work in conjunction with an array of field monitoring devices. In contrast, the reclamation work at Port Kembla Outer Harbour in New South Wales used an innovative blend of locally available granular waste by-products, including coal wash

(from coal mining) and steel furnace slag (from steel mills), in lieu of the dredged fills from the ocean. Prof Indraratna explained that dredging of ocean sand and marine muds can cause extensive environmental damage to aquatic habitats, while the use of waste materials where possible will significantly reduce environmental damage.

In conclusion, the advancements in transport infrastructure, particularly railway systems, emphasise the importance of innovation, sustainability, and rigorous research. Continued focus on these areas is crucial in meeting future demands and ensuring the development of transport infrastructure that is not only robust and reliable, but also environmentally advantageous.

Prof Indraratna concluded his presentation by acknowledging the efforts of his past and present PhD students and postdoctoral research staff (over 150 to date), whose contributions at various times have also contributed to this presentation.

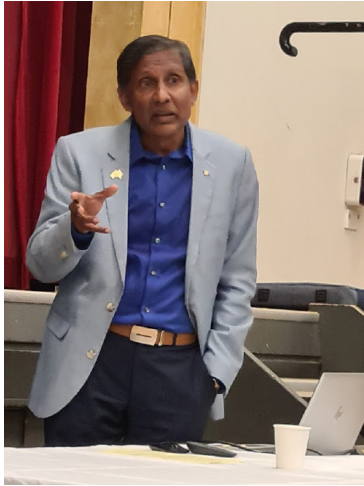
After Professor Indraratna's talk, attendees socialised with him and his PhD students over refreshments, discussing further the innovative work being done by the Professor and his team. A number of the Sri Lankan PhD students as well as young engineers attended the talk, in addition to members of academia. They enjoyed the event, and were interested in talking to President Pauline on the CSA's focus on the historical and cultural heritage of Sri Lanka, and picked up copies of the journal and Membership Application Forms.

Thanks go to Pauline Gunewardene and the CSA Committee for organising a very stimulating, fascinating and successful evening.

SOME PHOTOS FROM THE EVENING



Prof Buddhima Indraratna and his PhD students at the Talk



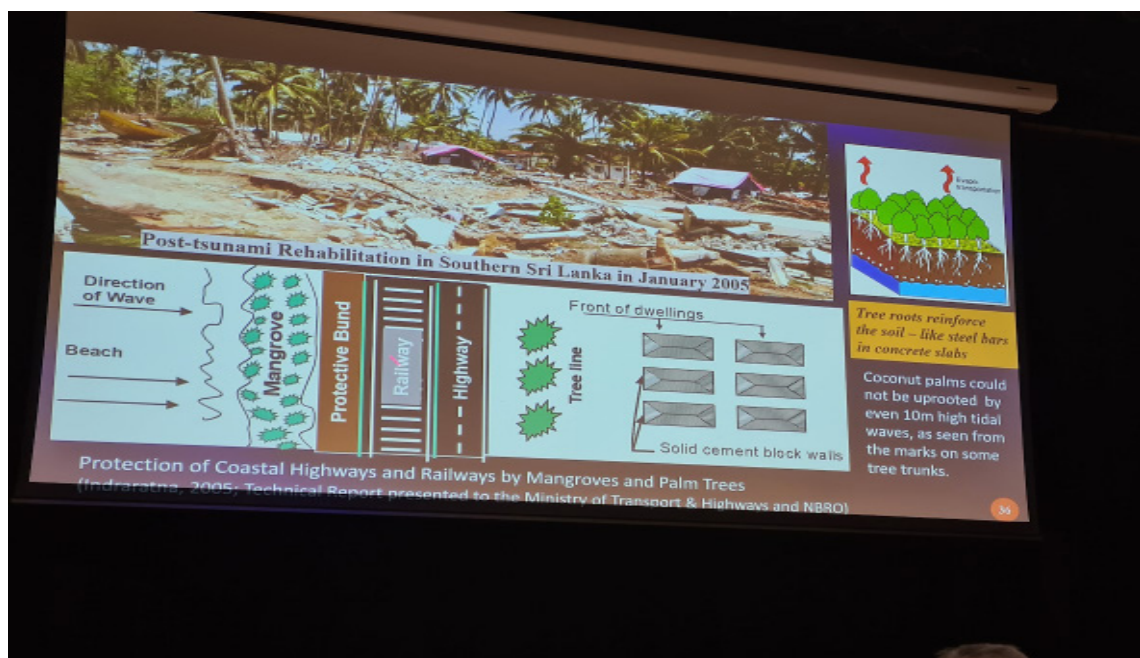
With CSA President Pauline Gunewardene



Receiving Jose Ibarra 2024 International Civil Engineer Award from Queen of Spain



Section of the audience



CSA MELBOURNE CHAPTER

General Meeting

Sunday 26th May 2024 5pm
at Ashwood Hall
21A Electra Avenue Ashwood VIC

**SPEAKER: Shereen Amendra, (M.Sc. (Architecture), M.Sc. (Landscape Design),
F.I.A., F.I.L.A. –**

Chartered Architect / Chartered Landscape Architect

TOPIC: Anuradhapura a Palimpsest of Landscape

The Ceylon Society of Australia (“CSA”), Melbourne Chapter's second event for 2024 was one of the best attended in recent past, with over 75 interested attendees gathering to listen to the talk. Shereen's talk was a fascinating insight into the landscape design and the historical relevance of many of the techniques adopted when constructing the City of Anuradhapura. Shereen delivered the oration in clear, and very accessible language and the audience was consumed in the interesting topic (inundating Shereen for opportunities to discuss the topic further, after she had concluded the presentation).

Thank you to all who attended and contributed to a successful event and in particular to Shereen Amendra and her family who not only were generous with their time, but also contributed food and refreshments. Additional thanks to those who attended and purchased raffle tickets and contributed food and assisted with the set up and pre-work, namely Logan, Hemal and Chandani.

SUMMARY OF TALK

SACRED CITY OF ANURADHAPURA

4th century BCE – 10th Century CE

Founded by King Pandukabhaya (377– 307 BCE)

Parks laid out by King Mutasiva (307 – 247 CE)

Mahathupa built by King Dhuttagamani (101 – 77)

DECLARED A UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE SITE IN 1982

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) World Heritage Sites (WHS) are sites designated to have significant cultural and natural heritage and are considered to be of outstanding value to humanity.

World Heritage Sites declared by UNESCO are sites with legal protection

ADMINISTRATION:

Urban Development Authority, Municipal Council
Anuradhapura, Central Cultural Fund, Anuradhapura
Preservation Board, Atamasthana Committee

Notable events: Abandonment around 993 CE

Colonial administration, discovery and planning
around 1870

Intervention by Brahmachari Walisinghe Harischandra
1949 – Anuradhapura Preservation Plan

Technological advances in Anuradhapura period

- Water management – Yoda ela supply from Kalawewa
- Monumental buildings - stupas
- Urban organization – streets and planning
- Guilds – experts and training, new projects
- Construction expertise – particular building technology
- Secular and monastic life
- Recreation – the ‘goldfish park’ Ranmasu Uyana
- The arts – sculpture, painting, architecture, landscape architecture

CONCLUSION

- Anuradhapura is as vibrant and sacred today as earlier
- The layers over time, the PALIMPSEST, is not wholly erased
- Reversion to early values is evident
- The Mahavamsa is a credible Chronicle
- That considerable knowledge of technology was known even in times BCE
- That Synergistic landscapes by design address many aspects
- All was done for the well-being of the people
- Great works are possible if individuals are pure and free from defilements.

To view the full detailed powerpoint presentation of the talk please go to the CSA website:

<https://ceylon-society.com/past-csa-meetings/>
**and click on CSA-Melbourne Chapter-General-Meeting-May 2024-SPEAKER Shereen Amendra-
TOPIC Anuradhapura a Palimpsest of Landscape**

How a President and Prime Minister of Sri Lanka escaped an assassination attempt by five seconds

by Nihal Seneviratne*

On 29 July 1987 President JR Jayawardene signed the highly controversial Indo-Sri Lanka Pact with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Most observers take the view that Jayawardene, fighting a JVP insurrection in the South and a LTTE insurgency in the North had little option but to sign this agreement railroaded on Indian terms. The LTTE were determined to win a separate state of Elam for the Tamil people even at the expense of a long ferocious war spurning all Government efforts at attempts to arrive at a peaceful solution offered to them. The JVP's second insurgency had created almost near anarchy in the South. There was no possibility of engaging in a war on two fronts and Jayawardene signed the agreement that brought the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) to Sri Lanka. In signing his agreement, Jayawardene, had neither consulted his Prime Minister nor his Cabinet colleagues. Possibly, only Minister Gamini Disanayake knew about it. After signing the Agreement at Republic Square that day Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was accorded a guard of honour. A naval rating, who was part of the guard honour assembled opposite President's House, struck a heavy blow on Gandhi's shoulder with the butt of his gun. Very fortunately the Indian PM was not seriously hurt, suffering only a few bruises. Immediately his own Indian security and Sri Lankan naval security pushed the Indian PM forward to escape the severity of the blow and took the naval rating to custody.

This single incident captured headlines all across the world. If the blow ended in the death of the Indian Prime Minister, the consequences would have been even too terrible to comprehend.

In just two days later President Jayawardene was due to attend a session of Parliament as he wished before to address his own United National Party (UNP) Parliamentary Group in Committee Room 1 to explain to the Members why he signed the Indo-Lanka Agreement. Parliament was scheduled to sit the same afternoon for its regular business – President Jayawardene had arrived at the Parliamentary premises that morning around 9 am and was due at Committee Room 1, the largest committee room in Parliament with a seating capacity of 150.

That morning around 9.45 am I received a message from the President that he wanted to see me. Initially I was reluctant to go the Com-

mittee Room because it was a meeting of only UNP Government MPs and I felt it was not prudent and correct for me in my position as Secretary General of Parliament to attend such a meeting. But since it was the Head of State and Government summoning me, I felt obliged to go. Both President Jayawardene and Prime Minister Premadasa were seated at the polished table with Premadasa on the President's right and the Chief Government Whip, Vincent Perera, on his left. In front over 100 Government Ministers and MPs were seated facing the President, PM and Chief Government Whip. When I went down, he inquired from me what business was due to be taken up that afternoon.

Very fortunately I had taken along the Order Paper for the day and together we went through the 25 items of Government business listed on it – once this was over, I went back to my office on the second floor.

Not even half an hour later, my peon rushed into my room saying excitedly, "Sir, the Prime Minister is calling for you." In blissful ignorance of what was in store I rushed to the ground floor. At the very entrance to the lift, I met Prime Minister Premadasa with his national dress partly raised, excitedly claiming to me, "Nihal a bomb has exploded in the Committee Room. Search the room and have the Police surround the building." As I rushed into the Committee Room, I saw President Jayawardene being hurriedly escorted out of the room and building to a vehicle parked outside the Members' entrance. When I went to the Committee Room, it was in complete shambles with the room full of smoke and splintered glass from the doors and shrapnel all over the place. Some members were lying prostrate on the floor trying to protect themselves. I then saw Minister Lalith Athulathmudali on a stretcher, bleeding very heavily and being rushed to an ambulance which I had arranged to be at the Members' entrance. He was rushed immediately to Sri Jayawardenapura Hospital through the back entrance of Parliament. For security reasons this gate was closed, but we kept it open on sitting days as it was only a mile away from the Sri Jayawardenapura Hospital.

Very sadly, the only casualty that was MP Keerthi Abeywickrama MP for Akmeemana as a result of being hit by shrapnel on his temple. Very sadly, his widow later told me that she had asked him to be careful, but he had replied that he was going only to Parliament, which was safe and for her not to be worried.

As at that time, I did not know how the explosion had occurred. I immediately rang my university colleague, Frank de Silva, who was the Inspector General of Police (IGP) and asked him to come immediately and to provide adequate security by surrounding the precincts of Parliament to prevent anyone from leaving. I then ordered the Sergeant-of-Arms and Police to ensure that no Member or staff or visitors be allowed to leave the building. At that time an MP told me that someone had thrown a bomb from a backdoor of the Committee Room and said all he saw was a had with long white sleeves throwing something at the head table.

Immediately, I ordered the 950 Parliament staff on duty on that day not to leave the building. Even after the police contingent arrived, no one was sure whether it was a bomb and how it exploded or whether it was some other missile. I, for one, then began speculating whether it could be one of my own 950 staff or whether it was even a member of the President's staff who had accompanied him and did not know whom to suspect.

The IGP, in his conversation with me, mentioned that it may have been a gunshot from a pistol and then asked me to everyone that day to have their hands checked for possible traces of gun powder. A search for a weapon was then undertaken by the Police. Everyone's hands were scanned for gunpowder traces, and no one was allowed to leave the building. It was past 9 pm when the meticulous checking was over. A few members then told me that all they saw was this hand clothed in a white sleeve throwing something onto the polished table at which the President and Prime Minister sat. It was almost midnight when I left the building.

The very next morning I asked the Sergeant-at-Arms to check whether all staff had returned to work. All were present except for 4. One was in hospital, two were on approved leave but one was missing and that was Ajith Kumara, a sweeper I had recruited. Police searched his house around Kadawatha and found it closed. Neighbours then had told the Police that the chief occupant had left the house at night taking his family with him. So, all suspicion then centred around him, and Police started a nationwide search for him.

After a few days we were able to put the pieces of the puzzle together. It transpired that Ajith Kumara had come that morning with a hand grenade hidden in his shoe. The police at the entrance had missed it. The President's Security had checked all the rooms and doors leading to the Committee Room and locked it. It then transpired that Ajith Kumara, using a false key he

had made, had opened the room and hid behind a big painting standing on the ground.

Then it transpired that he had opened the door leading to the Committee Room and aiming at the President flung the hand grenade. The grenade ricocheted off the polished table at which three VIPs sat and landed under the chair on which Lalith Athulathmudali was sitting in the front row. The grenade then exploded blasting a large hole on the ground and severely injuring Lalith's entire back.

When he was recovering at the Sri Jayawardenapura Hospital, I called Lalith and chatted for a while. He was full of praise for Dr K Yoheswaran, an eminent surgeon who operated on him, saving his life. He told me he had particularly wanted Dr Yoheswaran to undertake the complicated surgery, which was done successfully.

Later on, Lalith recovered, he walked into my room and discussed the incident with me. He told me that Ajith Kumara had made a fundamental mistake of hurling the grenade after the pin was released. With Lalith's deep knowledge of defence matters and arms, he said that after the pin is pulled out, one has to count, one thousand, two thousand, three thousand and then throw the grenade. If this had been done, the grenade would have exploded on the polished surface and none of the VIPs would have survived. So, the President, Prime Minister and the Chief Whip escaped instant death by just five seconds. Instead, the grenade ricocheted off the polished table and injured Lalith so badly.

Six months had passed by, and the Police were still looking for one of the most wanted men in Sri Lanka for nearly assassinating the President and Prime Minister. It so happened that the Police in the Kegalle district had come to a paddy field searching for those distilling kassipu, a local brew. Ajith Kumara had been in a village shed and on seeing a Police team, he had fled. The Police, seeing a person fleeing, gave chase and arrested him. All that time, they did not know at all that they had caught the most wanted fugitive from justice. When the Police contacted me, I was able to confirm that the person caught was none other than Ajith Kumara himself!

A week later, Ajith Kumara was brought under heavy security to Parliament. He then had confessed to his crime and explained in detail how he had brought the grenade in his shoe – and how he had hidden behind the painting, and after the Presidential Security had checked that very room, used a false key he had made surreptitiously to enter the room. He confessed to throwing the hand grenade.

Two days later, the Speaker EL Senanayake, and I were summoned to appear before the Cabinet. The Speaker very diplomatically refused to go saying that it was incorrect for him to appear before the Cabinet.

That left me with no option but to go before the Cabinet. I nervously walked in, as I was never before summoned like this – I felt like a Christian being thrown to the lions in Roman times! I knew they would cross-examine me as to how I recruited Ajith Kumara, so judiciously I went with a Police CID report which had cleared him and allowed him to be recruited. Armed with the file I sat before the entire Cabinet in the middle.

Minister Montague Jayawickrema pounced on me asking how I recruited him, and I politely showed the clearance file issued by the CID. Many other questions were fired at me, which I politely answered to the Cabinet. I was then allowed to leave.

It later transpired that after the clearance report had been issued by the Police, the JVP had secretly recruited Ajith Kumara as they found him the ideal person to carry out the mission of assassinating the President and Prime Minister since he was already working in Parliament and had access.

A few days later I had a request from Mrs Jayawardene herself, to see the room in which her husband escaped assassination by seconds. She was accompanied by two grandchildren, Ravi's two sons. They inspected the polished table from which the grenade had bounced off. I was very moved by her presence and the gracious lady moved on without making any comment.

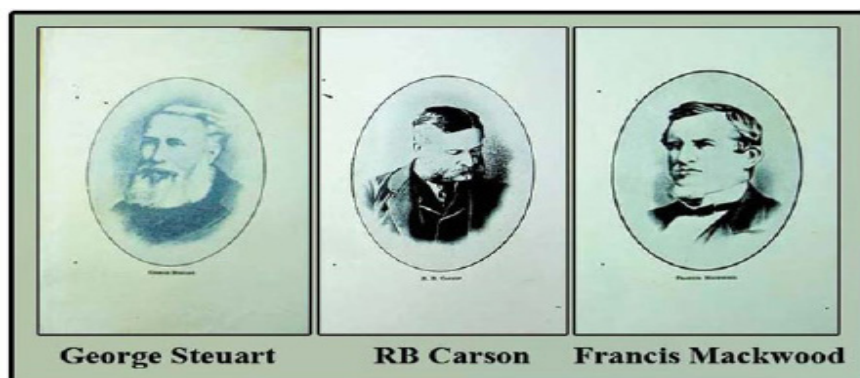
This saga had a strange ending. When Ajith Kumara was produced as an accused before the Court, his counsel took up the defence that the Police had relied only on his confession, and he was acquitted. Regrettably the Attorney-General's Department had mishandled the prosecution and the Judge acquitted Ajith Kumara, who left Court a free man.

Only history will record how a Sri Lankan President and Prime Minister escaped death by a few mere seconds.

**The writer is a retired Secretary-General of the Sri Lankan Parliament and former CSA member.*

THE DEMISE OF THE MANAGING AGENT - IS IT A PARADIGM SHIFT?

by HUGH KARUNANAYAKE



The commercial sector in Sri Lanka, long regarded as the engine that pushed economic growth in the island, was almost up to the end of the last century dominated by agency houses, a relic of colonial days.

When the country then known as Ceylon was flourishing within a global economy dominated by US and British interests up to the middle of the twentieth century, its plantation driven economy was managed largely by agency houses. Companies like George Steuarts, Carson Cumberbatch, Whittalls, Gordon Frazer, Bosanquet and Skrine (subsequently merged with Whittalls), Hayleys, Mackwoods, Leechmans, and others were managing agents acting on behalf of plantation companies or proprietary planters in managing and operating estates.

Income from the plantation sector dominated the national budget. With the granting of independence to the erstwhile colony, and the gradual withdrawal of British management, the role of the managing agent seemed to have gradually diminished, the coup de grace finally delivered by the imposition of Land Reform in the mid-1970s.

Meanwhile the relevance of the estate management model remained unquestioned and unaltered, and the centuries old estate management model continued merrily along. Class stratification within the estate itself which was seen as a sine qua non for effective human resource management within the estate, continued as before.

For instance the Superintendent and his assistants were forbidden to socialise with other significant personnel involved in the production process, such as the factory officer, the clerical staff et al. These social taboos were introduced and maintained despite the fact that most often the Superintendent and his family lived on estates in the “middle of nowhere” and like most humans would have loved the social contacts with people of a similar social background.

The colonialist however sought to mitigate the impact of social isolation by encouraging the formation and maintenance of planters’ clubs. Some of these clubs have virtually become extinct due to lack of patronage. However, the taboos on inter class social activity on the same estate continues to some degree at least. And this despite the fact that planters recruited locally would not feel the need for ‘after hours’ social opportunities to the same degree as an expat planter.

The role of the managing agent itself appeared to be less lucrative, and with the takeover of estates was rendered completely redundant. Companies whose main business was estate management, and around which other ancillary business activities were founded and carefully nurtured, seemed to struggle for existence, many having to shut down.

Some managing agents like Aitken Spence, Hayleys, and John Keells have done admirably well in meeting the new challenges. They have diversified into the expanding tourism sector, and in the production of goods and services for the household sector, an area which the original model seemed to treat with studied aloofness.

Most former managing agents owned real estate in desirable areas of the metropolis, and some did cash in on the real estate assets. A very old agency house Lee Hedges (later amalgamated to form Shaw Wallace and Hedges) which owned a large tract of land from Galle Road to Duplication Road in Kollupitiya, chose the easy way out in an environment not conducive to traditional business activity, by shutting down its trading activities and instead dabbling in the real estate market!

Some of these changes were also shadowed by another phenomenon the loss of relevance of British products in a global economy where countries of the East such as Japan, China, and Korea were playing an increasingly significant role. In India too, post-colonial trends saw the almost complete disappearance of the managing agent. Companies such as Shaw Wallace and Andrew Yule were gradually losing their dominance as did the East India Company long associated with the ascendancy of British commercial interests in the country.

In Sri Lanka, the slow disappearance of agency houses seems to have occurred without adequate scrutiny and analysis of the underlying causes. A new phenomenon which according to local lore is playing a dominant but corrosive impact on economic development is the gradual underlying emerging trend of a new aspect of business relations viz corruption. This has been observed in India and in Sri Lanka, as well as other post-colonial nations.

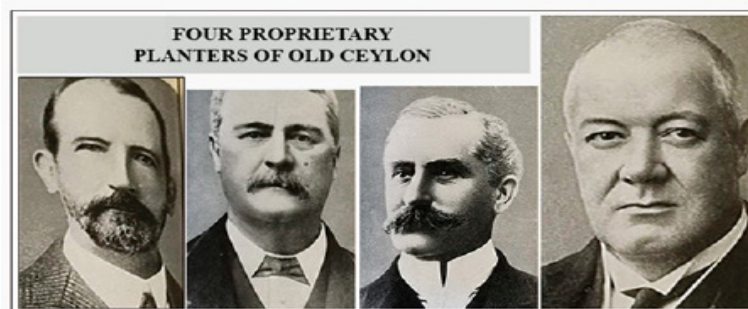
While the managing agent model, was largely fitted with checks and balances that prevented corruption, the business sector that has arisen in its place do not seem to have adequate safeguards in that regard. Whether the situation requires State intervention through legislative enactments, or whether the emergent structure needs study and analysis prior to effective action, seem to be a moot point requiring closer scrutiny.

Source: *The Island* 18 February 2024

The Editor gratefully acknowledges *The Island* newspaper in Sri Lanka as the source of this article.

THE PROPRIETARY PLANTER -AN EXTINCT SPECIES

by Hugh Karunanayake



The colonial history of Sri Lanka is characterised by the partial control of the country by the Portuguese and the Dutch, and complete control by the British. In the broader context of the colonisation of the South of the globe by the North, Sri Lanka together with British India were “transient” colonies as compared to the “settler” colonies of Africa, Australia, and the Americas.

While the Portuguese and the Dutch were interested in the cinnamon that grew naturally in the island, they did not have access or control of the mid or high country of the island which were controlled and came under the suzerainty of the Sinhalese kings. Furthermore, the vast expanse of the country’s hinterland excepting the ‘dry zone’ was under thick forest cover. No attempt was made by either the Portuguese or the Dutch to engage in systematic cultivation of cinnamon despite cinnamon from Sri Lanka being acclaimed as the best in the world.

Ownership of land for commercial cultivation was a concept largely introduced by the British. The opening up of the country through a network of roads and railways provided access to areas thickly forested which soon fell to the axe. Crown land offered at between one to 5 shillings per acre attracted many investors not unlike the Gold Rush in California. According to the Ceylon Plantation Association records, in 1890, the bulk of the country’s tea plantations were centred around Dimbula, Dickoya, Maskeliya, Kelani Valley, Dolosbage, Pussellelawa, and Matale districts. By 1892 there were 11 tea estates over 1,000 acres in extent each.

A good proportion of investors were retired military men who had served in the East and thus were familiar with the climate and its potential. In 1837, some 3,661 acres were sold, and within nine years a total of 294,526 acres of crown land were sold mainly to Europeans. These sales created a new class of estate owners.

By 1913 there were sufficient absentee proprietors who managed their estates through agents who in June 1913 formed the Estate Agents Association with Mr Gordon Bois as Chairman. By April 1921 estate proprietors banded themselves together, and together with Estate Agents formed the Ceylon Estates Proprietary Association. Meanwhile, the nascent Ceylon

Planters Association was gestating into a body representing the working planter, and by 1854 the Ceylon Planters Association was formed.

The concept of a person owning “broad acres” in Ceylon was a product of the first half of the 19th century. The photos above are of four proprietary planters. From left to right: JH Campbell, LH Kelly, FGA Lane, E Rosling.

While the vast majority of estate owners were Britishers, there were wealthy Sinhalese and Tamils who having accumulated capital in trading enterprises sought to establish themselves in the “country squire” mode by investing in already cleared and planted tea and rubber properties. Indigenous entrepreneurs had in the meanwhile consolidated their planting interests in coconut properties which soon came under management models created by the British.

Some notable areas of capital formation for indigenous entrepreneurs were the arrack renting enterprises and the monopolistic rights to passenger transport both of which were almost entirely the domain of local entrepreneurs. They too ploughed their accumulated reserves into plantation enterprises.

These capital formation trends were exacerbated by the post-independence departure of British proprietary interests which accelerated the growth of a local plantation owner class. In fact, the Ceylon Estates Proprietary Association was formally dissolved in May 1947, three months after the granting of independence to the country.

Investment in other real estate such as in house and property also accelerated during the first half of the 20th century. The resulting social inequities led to legislative enactments aimed at levelling social and economic disparities. The *Ceiling on Housing Act* and the *Land Reform Act* have effectively stymied the polarisation, but with some detriment to overall economic growth. Consequently, the proprietary planter from the plantation sector and the landed proprietor from the urban scene have both seemed to have not only lost significance but seem to have disappeared totally.

Source: *The Island* 14 January 2024

The Editor gratefully acknowledges *The Island* newspaper in Sri Lanka as the source of this article.

Appreciations

Chandra Senaratne (9 February 1933 – 3 June 2024)



The news of Chandra Senaratne's passing came as no surprise to me, as he was not in the best of health recently. Nevertheless, the sadness and the finality it brings to a life well lived remains so indelibly etched in my memory and will remain forever.

Chandra was a dear friend with whom I have been able to associate closely over the past 30 years.

He is only two years older than I, and it would have surprised him to know that I remember him as a student in Royal College in Colombo, where we both attended, he a couple of forms senior to me. As you all know, a two-year seniority in school brings with it a certain aura of respect, and adulation. In Chandra's case he was (if I remember right,) the Tennis captain of the school, and that brought another layer of adulation. His younger brother Nihal, better known by a nickname derived from a rather fancied plant from the vegetable kingdom, was closer to us in the sense that he was only a form senior to me, and it was a great privilege to have met him at the homes of mutual friends, over meals during my recent visit to the old country.

As most would be aware, the Senaratnes have descended from a prominent family in Sri Lanka. Chandra's father was Dr OLF Senaratne, a prominent eye surgeon in Colombo, famed for his medical as well as sporting skills. He represented the Sinhalese Sports Club in cricket and tennis, and also was a prominent member of the island's cricket team, then known as the Ceylon Cricket Association eleven. His mother Lorraine (later Loranee) was a distinguished social worker long associated with the Lanka Mahila Samithiya, a progressive institution that sought to provide women with a dignified position in Society through various social and economic programmes throughout the island. She acquired international fame by being Sri Lanka's first female Diplomat serving as the High Commissioner representing Sri Lanka in Italy. Chandra's late wife Marlene was the daughter of Charlie de Soysa, who was the only son of AJR de Soysa, the owner of the that imposing building in Thurstan Road Colombo, known as *Lakshmigiri*. Chandra and Marlene were both direct descendants from Charles Henry de Soysa, the famed 19th Century philanthropist of Ceylon.

Having dealt with some aspects of Chandra's genealogical make up, I would briefly avert to a certain

aspect of the wedding of Chandra and Marlene. The normal custom is for the groom to arrive at the bride's home in a limousine. In Chandra's case he did it one better, he arrived on an elephant!!

On leaving Royal College, the then somewhat portly Chandra, entered Cambridge University from where he obtained his Masters Degree in Arts. On returning to Colombo, he worked as a Senior Executive in two of the island's foremost commercial establishments, viz the Ceylon Tobacco Company, and Ceylon Cold Stores Ltd. He migrated to Australia almost 50 years ago and settled down to a busy social life. Always a community minded person, Chandra was a key organiser in the Probus Club of Baulkham Hills and the Cambridge Society of Australia. When the Ceylon Society of Australia was formed 25 years ago, Chandra was its first Social Convenor, organising the Annual Dinner of the Society in great style for many years. Chandra's skills brought in a sense of elegance and dignity to the proceedings. It has been my privilege as Founder President of the Society, to share the friendship of this sincere and most humble human being not only in the work of the Society, but as a sincere friend. Members of the Ceylon Society of Australia would recall the most enjoyable Christmas Dinners Chandra would organise replete with his unique "Santas on Parade" show. A person of endearing social skills he would step into fill the breach if required at any function. I recall how Chandra volunteered to conducting an auction of donations made at a Royal College old boys function, without any notice, thereby helping the organisation to add some funds to its coffers, and also prevented unforeseen waste.

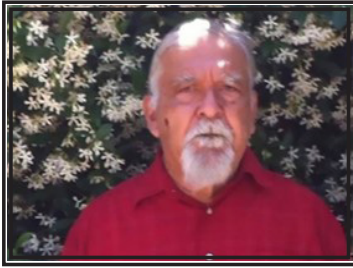
Chandra's personality was well displayed in his home at North Rocks, designed and built under his supervision. A collector of decorative objects, his array of Murano Glass Art was exceptional.

For many years (over twenty years at least) Chandra would organise a quarterly gathering of Old Royalists of his vintage to lunch at the Rosehill Bowling Club. My late wife Tulsi and I really enjoyed those occasions where a core group of about 20 met every three months for lunch, and when the occasion arose, to host visiting colleagues. Those indeed are wonderful memories! Chandra's departure has created a void in the lives of many who were touched by his gregarious personality.

His devoted wife of many years Marlene, and his only sister Onitha predeceased him a few years ago. He is survived by his partner Kanthi, daughter Sharmini and son in law Michael, brothers Nihal and Lal. May Chandra's soul find everlasting peace.

Hugh Karunanayake

Brian Rutnam (21 July 1940 – 22 June 2024)



Christopher Brian Rutnam died in Sydney, Australia, on 22 June. His birthday, which falls on 21st July provides us with another opportunity both to

remember him and to celebrate his life. Brian was blessed to have as his companions his wife Laleen and daughter Anusha. Laleen and Brian complemented each other; accomplished artists, they enriched each other's creative journey.

Brian was a complex personality, a kind of contemporary Lunacharsky. He was a thinker, connoisseur of the arts, thespian, critic and writer. He was also a rebel and visionary. Perhaps, the roots of this complexity can be traced back to his personal heritage.

A Radical Heritage

Brian's grandmother was a Canadian missionary, Dr Mary Irwin, who arrived in Ceylon in 1896 to serve at the McLeod Hospital for Women and Children in Inuvil, Jaffna.

His grandfather was Samuel Christmas Kanaga Rutnam, born in Jaffna in 1869, educated at Jaffna College, the University of Madras and Princeton University. S.C.K. Rutnam campaigned in India, the UK and the US against British India's export of opium to China. And he dearly wanted to open a school for the underprivileged in Anuradhapura, which in the late nineteenth century was a neglected backwater.

May, as she was known to friends and family, was a pioneer in the women's movement, founder of the Lanka Mahila Samiti and an elected member of the Colombo Municipality. While Rutnam founded Central College, Kotahena.

Their son Robin Rutnam, Brian's uncle, was a founder of the Suriya Mal Movement in 1933. When the Suriya Mal activists went into the malaria-ravaged Kelani Valley the following year, "The two things that were given to each patient was a bottle of quinine and Marmite ... the idea of the late Dr Mary Rutnam... such was the degree of starvation among the peasantry." (Lerski, *Origins of Trotskyism in Ceylon*; 1968)

Brian's heritage like his own life was replete with compassion, vision and activism that was instinctively radical.

Literary Achievement

Ernest Macintyre, doyen of the Sri Lankan stage, has already drawn our attention to Brian's Lionel Wendt days going back to the 1960s; especially his stellar performance in *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*.

Brian also left behind a wonderful novel which narrates a most intriguing story, *The Histories of Caroline: The unknown life of a star*, written under a pseudonym. It recounts in part the experiences of Caroline on a tropical island in the 1970s. Thinly disguised, the location is Sri Lanka. What gives it context however is Caroline's involvement in a youth uprising.

The Sri Lanka segment is fascinating for the breadth and depth of the novel's treatment of the Island's geography, history, politics and social relations. His encyclopaedic knowledge of the people, events and idiosyncrasies of over a century of Ceylonese life is brilliantly captured in the first two hundred pages.

In this part the lens of the meticulous social historian almost eclipses that of the artist. But the novelist comes through — painting a plethora of characters with a Jane Austen-attention to detail. The players are brought to life through meticulous pen sketches, and the drama is so credibly presented that it has a plausible ring to it.

If the first half of the book is rich in the sociology of a distant island, the second half is rich in the culture of a distant era — pre-Revolutionary Russia!

Caroline's grandmother Nina lived through a tumultuous age and catastrophic events. Born in 1889 in the dying years of Tsarist Russia, her early life was a Nineteenth Century saga in an emerging Twentieth Century World. She grew up in genteel poverty with an irrepressible determination to become a ballerina.

Once again the novel expertly and beautifully captures Russian and European life in the days before the Great War. The glamorous clothes, the stately receptions and the haunting classical orchestras. The Galleries, the Theatres and the Salons which breathed beauty and grandeur. It betrays the nostalgia of the artist for a world that history has swallowed up. As it was said of Anatolii Lunacharsky, in Brian too "an extraordinary love of art burned in him."

Jayantha Somasundaram

Remembering his subtle performances

Some days ago, Brian Rutnam left us. His period of illness was peaceful and short, ending with a gradual decline of the heart. To speculate whether a sudden exit is more blessed than to have time to think about it while ending, may not be necessary for thoughts about the end need not be depressive, if the mind encourages itself to be active alongside feelings of sadness about departing from family loves. Thoughts and composed arrangements in the mind about an afterlife as well as the concept of nothingness.

Brian had such an intellect, self-acquired or inherited from the family progression, or both. His family is too well-known in Lanka for me to occupy more than brief space. He was the son of Walter and Doreen (Ferdinands) Rutnam – Walter was the son of Christmas and Mary Rutnam, a Canadian. Mary has been much written of in Lankan journals and newspapers as a woman deeply and humbly patriotic in another country, a way of saying, dedicated to the country of humanity. Brian inherited this quality.

My wife Nalini and I met and became friends of Brian in the Colombo Lionel Wendt days of the 1960's. Those still around will remember his wonderfully elusive performances in many plays of that decade. Brian was a very subtle actor, an insightful interpreter of the playwright's suggestions of the human condition. I recall a line in his performance as a wayward priest in Brecht's *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, presiding over a woman being married to a man on his deathbed, for political reasons. "My dear wedding and funeral guests deeply touched we stand before this bed of death and marriage." This line the memory brought back, with another view, when a few days ago I visualised Brian's wife Laleen seated by his side at the hospital bed, holding his hand, both of them knowing that their marriage of love was slowly breaking up, but only temporally. It was a "bed of death and marriage", in that Sydney hospital.

Laleen Jayamanne, Brian's wife has recorded that for her creative work, her husband was always a complement, keeping her on track as sometimes she loosened into wild excursions in thought. This was interesting because Brian was not of the beaten track himself. He once told me he regretted missing out on Peradeniya University, his family having channelled him to Cambridge.

Some words Nalini wrote yesterday relate. "He was one of a kind and not quite like anyone else I know. Kind-hearted, even being silent when offended by another's behaviour. His privately slanted face though, gave expression, which occasionally I chanced to interpret."

He was due to be an earthly grandfather in the coming November, daughter Anusha's first baby, identified as a boy, in the extents of human knowing. In the great unknown, it can be imagined, in comfort, that as the grandson is on his way here Brian will greet him.

Ernest Macintyre



Brian Rutnam as the wayward priest in Ernest Macintyre's production of The Caucasian Chalk Circle in the 1960s.

Obituary notices published in *The Ceylankan*

All Obituary notices and Appreciations of Life recorded on these pages are restricted to deceased CSA members only. In keeping with that policy all notices are accompanied with a note indicating such membership status.



CSA Meetings (Sydney)

Venue: Pennant Hills Community Centre Main Hall, Level 1, Ramsay Road, Pennant Hills (cnr Yarrara Rd, enter via Ramsay Rd for parking).

Please note: Events that go ahead will be held strictly in compliance with safety regulations as required. The CSA Committee warmly welcomes Members and Guests to the General Meetings. A donation to defray catering expenses for the Social following on from the talk would be appreciated. Bringing a plate of food would also be welcomed!

CEYLON SOCIETY OF AUSTRALIA

**General Meeting & Social from 6.30 pm to 8.30 pm on Sunday 25 August 2024
at Pennant Hills Community Centre, Main Hall on Level 1**



The speaker for the meeting will be **Professor Emeritus Naren Chitty AM**, whose talk is titled *Life in British Ceylon - 1850 to 1950: Social History through Chitty Family Palimpsests*.

Bio Data

Professor Emeritus Chitty AM, now in his seventy-fifth year, has had two careers, the more recent one in university education and the first in the service of Sri Lanka at home and abroad. Embarking on a career in tertiary education at Macquarie University in 1989, he founded the Department of International Communication, *The Journal of International Communication*, and the Soft Power Analysis and Resource Centre (SPARC). He served in positions of Dean, Associate Dean and Head of Department. Today, he continues to direct SPARC as Professor Emeritus. He was recognised in 2009 by the Commonwealth of Australia “for services to education, particularly in the field of international communications as a researcher and academic and to a range of professional associations” through investiture as a Member of the Order of Australia (AM). He served as Secretary General of the International Association for Media and Communication Research in 1996-2000 - the first Sri Lankan Australian as well as first Australian of any origin to do so.

Prior to migrating to Australia, Professor Emeritus Chitty has served as Counsellor of the Embassy of Sri Lanka in Washington DC, Consultant to the Ministry of State, Deputy Director of the NGO

Community Development Services, and UNDP Young Professional in the Ministry of Planning & Economic Affairs. As Consultant to the Ministry of State, he had responsibility for the television planning portfolio under the Permanent Secretary; and was Co-Director of the National Television Planning Centre, and a Director of ITN. As Counsellor in Washington DC, he handled the public diplomacy portfolio covering a wide range of subjects. He was responsible for convening the first meetings at the Sri Lanka Chancery in Washington DC, circa 1983, of the group that set up the Arthur C. Clarke Foundation, a proposal of his. The Foundation’s annual Arthur C. Clarke Innovator awardees have included Elon Musk (2011), Jeffrey Bezos (2016), Stephen Hawking (2017), Lord Martin Rees (2019), and Dr Michio Kaku (2021) – a butterfly effect the extent of which continues to amaze him.

Professor Emeritus Chitty had his education at Bousfield School in London, Royal Primary School in Colombo, and Trinity College in Kandy. His undergraduate studies in communication were at the University of Westminster, London and his graduate training was at the School of International Studies of the American University in Washington DC, where he earned a PhD in International Relations. His published doctoral thesis was entitled *Framing South Asian Regional Transformation: An examination of regional views on South Asian cooperation*. He is the author/co-author/co-editor of numerous articles, chapters and books on intercultural relations, international communication, influence, media theory, propaganda, public diplomacy, and soft power. He was the lead editor of the first and second issues of the *Routledge Handbook of Soft*

Power and is Series Editor of *Anthem Studies in Soft Power and Public Diplomacy*. He has been principal supervisor of over thirty PhD projects. His visiting professorships have included University of Paris III – Sorbonne (Paris), Communication University of China (Beijing), Southwest University of Politics and Law (Chongqing), Jilin University (Changchun), South China Normal University (Guangzhou), and Universiti Kebangsaan (Bangi).

Following schooling, Professor Emeritus Chitty first freelanced as a journalist and then worked as a Design Assistant to architect Valentine Gunasekera. He held an exhibition of paintings with Sita Parakrama and Brigadier Mohan Madawela at the Lionel Wendt Gallery, and his interest in painting continues to this date. He also engages in writing poetry, and his play-in-verse about Prince Vijaya appears in *The Ceylankan* J 86 Vol 22 No 2, May 2019 pp 13-15.

Topic and Synopsis of Talk

Social histories bring history to life when they draw on voices from the past. Memoirs, letters, and photographs will enliven a historical narrative about a bygone Ceylon that evokes nostalgia. The period in question is the century between 1850 and 1950. The talk will be quartered into an introduction, a section on the period 1850-1900, another on the period 1900-1950, and a reflective conclusion. The introduction will provide a framework that tracks the speaker's perspective as it evolved from his schoolboy days in Kandy to his life as a university professor in Sydney. The talk will offer an account about ancestors who arrived on the island during the reign of Rajasinha II as King of Kandy. Commentary will be made in the talk about what constituted the Chetties who formed the Colombo Chetty community in Dutch times and how they differed from other Chetty groups. A section on the period 1850-1900 will throw light on the lives and times of Christian Chitty and his French Huguenot wife Matilda (Mitzi) Augusta Morel and their nine children. The section on the period 1900-1950 will address the lives and times of the children of Christian and Matilda who married Colombo Chetties, Dutch Burghers, Kandyan Sinhalese, and Tamils. Hitherto unpublished research on the family offers insights on how a land-owning family negotiated a changing colonial reality in the two periods. The closing section will reflect on changing lifestyles and attitudes to westernisation and politics. Broad themes addressed will include education, economic interests, political participation, and social life.

The speaker will discuss familial strategies of seeking betterment or preservation of lifestyles through different avenues, including land-owning, planting, education and the professions and the civil service. In the first period, the establishment of Law College in 1874 in Hulftsdorp led to a burgeoning of this profession. Several products of Law College decided to participate in the new elected legislatures of the 20th Century. Dutch Burghers who, Tennent noted in 1859, had "risen in eminence at the Bar and occupied the highest positions on the Bench", were followed by Sinhalese and Tamils. Early in the Twentieth Century, the Spanish Flu pandemic and two World Wars hurt landowners, and emphasised the value of the professions and civil service. Another experience discussed in the talk, is the abandonment of Kotahena in favour of Cinnamon Gardens by families of note.

Research that informs this talk draws on data collected in video interviews in the early 1980s, articles and books, *Ceylon Almanacs*, *Ceylon Law Reports*, *Ceylon Government Gazettes*, church records, *Ferguson's Directories*, the *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union*, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (the Ceylon Branch), *Kabristan Archives*, letters, maps, memoirs and recollections, obituaries, photographs, and video-recordings.

A Species Uncanny

a poem by Maithri Panagoda*

Let's call it NEM
they can just be a blur
when getting old
some lose their fur

A strange species
difficult to define
some are boorish
unlikely to refine

Toilet bowl too small
always miss the mark
putting the seat down
is a mighty task

Mental stability
difficult to gauge
started wars
in a fit of rage

Selfish, possessive
their idea of love
intolerant and polemical
ever ready for a row

At times charming
but cannot be trusted
some look tolerable
after done and dusted

Good ones are hard to find
like teeth of a hen
yours truly is one of them
they are called MEN

(with apologies to good men)

* **Maithri Panagoda AM**
Partner Carrol & O'Dea
Accredited Specialist, Personal Injury
Maithri is a CSA member.



MEALS AMMI MADE



A nice winter pudding to warm up your guests frequently made by my late mother Carmel Raffel when she entertained guests in our family home in Sydney during the winter months.

Bread and Butter Pudding

Slices of bread and butter (cut up)
Sugar to taste
2 oz sultanas
1 pint milk
2-3 eggs
Vanilla or almond flavouring
Variation: Spread bread with pineapple jam, add peel and sultanas

Butter a pie dish, put in a layer of thin bread and butter, sprinkle it with sugar and sultanas, then another layer of bread and butter, sugar and sultanas and so on until the dish is about ½ full.

Beat up the eggs, add the milk, a little sugar or flavouring, mix well together and pour over the bread in the pie dish. Allow the pudding to stand for about one hour or until the bread is thoroughly soaked. Make sure you press down the top slices so that they may get soaked too. Put into a moderate oven and bake for about 40 minutes or until nicely browned.

ENJOY!

Adam Raffel

WANTED...YOUR LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS

The Ceylankan is published quarterly and the Editor is on the look-out for your literary contributions. Be assured that your work will be given careful consideration with a view to publication at all times.

Original, previously unpublished, articles relating to the history, culture and heritage of Sri Lanka are sought, while any material of an anecdotal nature will also be considered provided they conform to the CSA's ideals of being non-racial, non-political, non-religious and non-controversial.

While every effort is made to print material that is relevant and correct, we do not take the responsibility for errors. The Editor would appreciate any inaccuracies being brought to his notice without delay.

To facilitate the design/layout of the publication, we request that your word processing / typing be unformatted. Where applicable, contributors are also requested to annotate bibliographical references for copyright reasons and to help further research and study by interested members.

MEMBERSHIP RATES

- **General Subscriptions for Australia:** \$35 per calendar year;
- **Pensioners' subscriptions:** \$25 per calendar year;
- **Sri Lanka:** Rs.3000 per calendar year;
- **Overseas members from USA/UK/Canada/Israel/ Thailand and other countries:** \$50 per calendar year. If payment is not possible in Aust Dollars, please pay by Bank Draft or Bank Transfer in US Dollars or Pounds Sterling and add Aust \$10 to the Aust \$50 for bank charges due here for converting a foreign currency payment to Aust Dollars.

Payment Methods

1. Pay by cheque in favour of the Ceylon Society of Australia and post to Deepak Pritamdas, Treasurer, PO Box 489, Blacktown, NSW 2148, Australia.

2. Pay by Bank Transfer to:

Account Name: Ceylon Society of Australia

Bank Name: Commonwealth Bank of Australia

Bank BSB: 062 308

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Reference: Payee Name

Note: Please email all payment details in confirmation to deepakpsl1@gmail.com

(Please Note: In Deepak's email address:- it is lower case L followed by the number 1)

Congratulations and a warm welcome to our New Members

- Mr Sivakumar ARUMUGAM UK - Gift: Malini Arumugam
- Ms Renuka DISSANAYAKE NSW
- Mr Don Chandra and Mrs Chandrani GUNASEKERA PYMBLE NSW
- Mr Dharma RAAKULAN ONTARIO CANADA - Gift: Malini Arumugam

Notice to Members - Contact Details

Could we please request all members to advise Treasurer Deepak Pritamdas - deepakpsl1@gmail.com - and Secretary Presenji Jayawickrema - presenji@tpg.com.au - of any changes to contact details for phone, email address and home address. We need to make certain our records are correct for mailing *The Ceylankan* as well as for getting in touch with members, and would appreciate your assistance. Thank you.

WE NEED SPEAKERS

The CSA welcomes professionals and others interested in speaking at our General Meetings. Meetings are held in Sydney, Melbourne and Colombo, quarterly in February, May and August.

If you know of anyone, please contact as relevant:

- CSA President Pauline Gunewardene

Mobile: +61 419 447 665

Email: paulineg@ozemail.com.au

- Melbourne Chapter Convenors Sumal and Naomi Karunanayake

Mobile: 0416 583 888 (Sumal); 0415 772 888 (Naomi)

email:

- Colombo Chapter Secretary Insiyah Davoodbhoy

mobile: +94 77 8705575

email: insiyah.davoodbhoy@gmail.com

ADVERTISING IN *The Ceylankan*

For some time, CSA members and others have indicated an interest in advertising to promote their goods and services in the Journal. However, we have been maintaining the ideal of the founders of the CSA, that the Journal must not be made a means for commercial profit, but only as a vehicle for research, study and promotion of the rich heritage and culture of Ceylon/Sri Lanka.

However, due to the rising costs of delivery of the Journal to members worldwide, there has been a need to look for additional sources of revenue. The decision was therefore taken by the Committee to accommodate advertising and promotional material in the form of separate loose-leaf flyers to be inserted in copies of the Journal being sent out.

Suitable material, in keeping with the non-political, non-partisan aims and ideals of the CSA, will be considered. All such copy is to be submitted to the Editor for consideration.

Once accepted, the advertiser will need to supply the printed flyers in sufficient numbers for inclusion in that particular issue of the Journal.

The cost of inserting such flyers is \$500 per issue of the Journal, paid in advance.

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Please see page 5 for more information



THE CEYLON SOCIETY OF AUSTRALIA

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Circa 1900