IN THEIR OWN IMAGE:
NUWARA ELIYA, A BRITISH TOWN IN THE HEART OF CEYLON

By

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ABSTRACT

The thesis is a study of Ceylon's only hill-station, Nuwara Eliya. Nuwara Eliya was established in 1829 as a military sanitarium and gradually assumed the role of a seasonal resort in the second half of the century. Located at 6,280 feet elevation in the temperate hill region, Nuwara Eliya came to have an important role in the social and recreational life of the British in Ceylon. The landscape resembled that of the English countryside, which inspired the British to shape the landscape in the image of their homeland.

This thesis explores the sentimental attachment that British expatriates formed for Nuwara Eliya. Based on evidence from the nineteenth century writings of expatriates and travellers who visited the hill-station, it suggests that the Romanticism prevalent during the period had a significant influence on the manner in which expatriates perceived and interpreted the landscape of Nuwara Eliya.

Romanticism alone did not account for the emergence of Nuwara Eliya as an English village. It argues that romanticism, in conjunction with the following factors, contributed to the development of the English landscape of the Nuwara Eliya. The hill-station provided an accessible locale with a temperate climate and vegetation that offered an alternative to the heat of the lowlands. The British possessed a set of ethno-medical beliefs which held that such
an environment was the one to which Europeans were best suited. In addition, the recreational preferences of the British and the specific recreational and social needs of the expatriate community contributed to the development of the recreational infrastructure of Nuwara Eliya. The development of the plantation economy was a further prerequisite for the growth of the hill-station. Perhaps the most important consideration, though, was the longing British expatriates experienced for their homeland which made them desire a viable substitute for England.

The study was conducted through a survey of nineteenth century travel writings of individuals who visited or resided at Nuwara Eliya. A content analysis was performed on the travel literature to determine the attributes of Nuwara Eliya that were noted in the writings and which indicated the expatriate's and traveller's perceptions of the hill-station. Subsequent to the literature analysis, fieldwork was undertaken in Sri Lanka for a three month period in 1987. Archival research, conducted at the National Archives, Colombo, involved an examination of the diaries of the Assistant Government Agent of the Nuwara Eliya District, as well as nineteenth century English-language newspapers to assess the role of the hill-station in the social life of colonial Ceylon. Fieldwork also entailed a period of time at Nuwara Eliya to compile photographic evidence and to permit observation of the landscape and the built environment.
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CHAPTER 1: IN THEIR OWN IMAGE: NUWARA ELIYA, AN INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a study of Ceylon's only hill-station, Nuwara Eliya. In South Asia, the British established numerous hill-stations in their colonies, most notably India, during the nineteenth century, with the principle stations being established between 1815 and 1870. As towns built in the temperate hill regions, hill-stations were intended primarily as "health sanitoria" and later evolved into seasonal resorts. They were developed by the British "colonial masters in order to make sojourns in a foreign land less uncomfortable" (Spencer and Thomas, 1948:642). Hill-stations were characterized by the "temporary patronage" of their occupants, who resided at a station for a period of weeks or months each year, during what was commonly referred to as "the Season" (King, 1976a:157). They were places of refuge from the heat of lowland areas. In addition, Kipling recorded that women and children were often sent "upcountry" to a hill-station to escape periodic outbreaks of disease that occurred in the densely populated lowlands of India, known as the "Plains" (Kipling, 1889, 1987).

Nuwara Eliya was established in 1829 as a military sanitarium and gradually assumed the role of a seasonal resort in the second half of the century. Located at 6,280 feet elevation in the island's temperate hill region, Nuwara Eliya came to have an important role in the social and
recreational life of the British in Ceylon (see figure 1.1). The hill-station was unlike any other town on the island because of its strong resemblance to an English village, and most important, because of the emotional response it evoked among British expatriates. It possessed a verdant landscape that resembled the English countryside, which inspired the British to shape the landscape in the image of their homeland.

This thesis explores the sentimental attachment that British expatriates formed for Nuwara Eliya. It is evident from the nineteenth century writings of expatriates and travellers who visited or resided at Nuwara Eliya, that they viewed the hill-station in highly romanticized terms. The intensity of emotion exhibited towards Nuwara Eliya in the travel writings can only be accounted for if Nuwara Eliya represented something much greater than a pleasant place to visit. Indeed, this is the case. Nuwara Eliya, as an English village, symbolized Britain, a land and way of life from which expatriates were often unwillingly separated.

The results of a content analysis of the nineteenth century travel literature suggest that the Romanticism prevalent during that period had a significant influence on the manner in which expatriates perceived and interpreted the landscape of Nuwara Eliya. This was not hypothesized at the outset of research on the hill-station but became
Figure 1.1: Map of Ceylon.
Chapter 1

apparent when it was necessary to explain the consistency and intensity of expatriates' reactions to the town. Influenced by romantic ideals which held that the beauty of nature was to be found in its "glorious diversity of detail and especially its moral or emotional relation to mankind", expatriates savored their emotional response to the landscape (Halsted, 1969:13). Under the influence of romanticism, they were highly sensitized to their surroundings. The imagination, feelings of the heart and a "love for the...melancholy aspects of nature" were held in high esteem (Praz, 1970:88). For expatriates viewing the landscape of Nuwara Eliya, this sentimental attitude towards nature and the landscape was rendered even more intense by their longing for Britain. Britain, too, became a romantic image — glorified, idealized, eulogized and celebrated in the landscape of Nuwara Eliya.

Romanticism alone did not account for the emergence of Nuwara Eliya as an English landscape. However, romanticism was the spirit behind the desire to create an English village and had much to do with the popularity of the hill-station. It provided the context which, in conjunction with the factors outlined below, contributed to the emergence of Nuwara Eliya as an English landscape.

This thesis examines the development of the English landscape of Nuwara Eliya. While recognizing the influence
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that romanticism had on expatriates' perceptions of the hill-station, it argues that the development of Nuwara Eliya as an English village can be explained by the following factors. Nuwara Eliya provided an accessible locale that resembled the English countryside, a prerequisite for the subsequent establishment of an English village. In addition, the temperate climate and vegetation of Nuwara Eliya offered an attractive alternative to the heat and humidity of the tropical lowlands of Ceylon which placed constraints on the movements and activities of expatriates, altering their lifestyles. The temperate climate was also appealing because the British possessed a set of ethno-medical beliefs in the nineteenth century which held that a temperate environment was beneficial to health and was the one to which Europeans were best suited.

The nineteenth century recreational and leisure preferences of the British as well as the specific recreational and social needs of the expatriate community in Ceylon contributed to the development of the recreational infrastructure of the hill-station and, hence, bolstered its popularity. The development of the plantation economy was a further prerequisite for the growth of Nuwara Eliya for the surplus generated from coffee and, later, tea estates enabled expatriates to invest in the hill-station.

The landscape of Nuwara Eliya was the result of the
hegemony of British culture and institutions for the hill-station was a symbol of British power in Ceylon and was a visible expression of their domination of the landscape. Perhaps the most important consideration, though, was the longing British expatriates experienced for their homeland which made them desire a viable substitute for England.

For the purposes of this thesis the following definitions of terms have been adopted. Colonialism refers to the "establishment and maintenance, for an extended time, of rule over an alien people that is separate and subordinate to the ruling power" (Emerson in King, 1976a:17). The term "metropolitan society" refers to Britain. An expatriate is an individual who lives abroad, away from the metropolitan society. The term "expatriate" may also be applied to Europeans living abroad, though for the sake of clarity I specify British expatriates when the distinction is applicable.

The term "Home" warrants a more detailed explanation, for it is critical to understanding British expatriates' perceptions of Nuwara Eliya. The term "Home" is emotion-laden. As King states, "Home" "like God...[is] always written with a capital letter" (King, 1976a:74). In Anglo-Indian and colonial parlance, it was a reference to the metropolitan country (ibid.). Yet it was imbued with additional levels of meaning for it was used by expatriates in a wistful sense.
As a proper noun, it referred to a place. However, the term also incorporated the image associated with that place and the image of England in the minds of expatriates was often a sentimental and romanticized one.

This is the first academic study of Ceylon's only hill-station. As such it is the first effort to document nineteenth century perceptions of Nuwara Eliya and to discuss the factors that shaped the landscape and facilitated the development of the town. This study indicates that Nuwara Eliya can be placed within the broader context of hill-stations in colonial South Asia, especially those created by the British in India. Similar variables account for the existence of both Indian hill-stations and Nuwara Eliya for they emerged from similar situations and performed comparable roles within the colonial society.

The study of nineteenth century perception's of Nuwara Eliya is based upon a content analysis of a selection of the travel writings of individuals who visited or resided at Nuwara Eliya. Travel writing or travel literature is distinct from travel guides for the latter is intended for "those who plan to follow the traveler, doing what he has done, but more selectively" (Fussell, 1980:203). As Fussell notes, however:

A travel book, at its purest, is addressed to those who do not plan to follow the traveler at all, but who require the exotic or comic anomalies, wonders, and scandals of the literary form romance which their own place or time cannot entirely supply. Travel books are a sub-
Chapter 1

In this species of memoir in which autobiographical narrative arises from the speaker’s encounter with distant or unfamiliar data, and in which the narrative -- unlike the novel or a romance -- claims literal validity by constant reference to actuality (ibid).

As a genre, travel literature does not flourish today. The nineteenth century and the period between the First and Second World Wars marked the heyday of travel writing for it offered readers the opportunity to vicariously share in an adventure as no other medium could. The popularity of travel literature declined as film and television provided new forms of entertainment and improvements in transportation and living standards led to the advent of mass tourism.

Travel writings are the records of a journey, not unlike, Fussell tells us, a romance "in the old sense, with the difference that the adventures are located within an actual, often famous, topography" (Fussell, 1980:207). The traveller-writer and hero/heroine of the tale leaves the world of the familiar and embarks into the little known or unknown. He/she encounters interesting events and persons, "and finally, after travail and ordeals, returns safely" (ibid.:208). The traveller's account documents not only the events of the journey but, in accord with romantic preferences, explores the writer's feelings during that time (Clark, 1965: 90; Hugo, 1965:31). The "romantic tourist", Clark states, frequented places "where habits [were]...likely to be strange, motives passionate and unusual or the scenery
suitable, places such as...Switzerland or the Middle East" (Clark, 1965:90), locales that provoked strong emotion and intrigued the imagination of the writer.

A bibliography of Ceylon, compiled by H.A.I. Goonetileke (1970), provided the departure point in the search for the travel writings of individuals who had either visited or resided at Nuwara Eliya. Additional material was found through the references cited in Nuwara Eliya: the beginnings and its growth, by G.P.S.H. de Silva (1978), as well as through library research. To be included in the content analysis of the travel literature, the writings had to be non-fictional accounts of expatriates or travellers who had firsthand experience of Nuwara Eliya. Not all sources consulted were included in the content analysis. The material was selected primarily for information on the landscape, social life and other attributes of the hill-station.

The literature search was extensive, although some sources could not be located or were in such a poor state of preservation that borrowing through inter-library loan or photocopying was prohibited. I reviewed a wide selection of travel writings dealing with Nuwara Eliya and consider the material contained in the thesis to be representative of the major sources of information available. A content analysis of the sources was performed to determine the attributes of Nuwara Eliya that were noted in the literature, thus
indicating the expatriate's and traveller's perceptions of the hill-station.

Subsequent to the literature analysis, fieldwork was conducted in Sri Lanka for a three month period from May to August, 1987. Research at the Department of National Archives, Colombo, was undertaken with the intent of reviewing the diaries of the Assistant Government Agent (A.G.A.) of the Nuwara Eliya District as well as sources such as local newspapers dating from the nineteenth century and other documents that came to my attention. I had intended to examine diaries dating from the inception of the Nuwara Eliya District in 1845 in five year intervals but found that the diaries for the years 1845 to 1883 had been lost. I altered my strategy to sample at random as many of the writings of the Assistant Government Agents from the years 1884 to 1899 as time permitted. Greatest attention was given to the writings of individuals who provided accounts of life at Nuwara Eliya, as opposed to those who only documented their daily duties. The examination of local English-language newspapers was a slow, though ultimately worthwhile, procedure because of the lack of an index for nineteenth century material. The search of the newspapers was undertaken to examine the role of the hill-station in the social life of the colony. Fieldwork also entailed a period spent at the hill-station to compile photographic evidence and to permit
my own observations of the landscape and the built environment.

The thesis has seven chapters. The second chapter provides an introduction to the landscape of Nuwara Eliya and features nineteenth and early twentieth century photographs of the hill-station as well as photographs of recent vintage. The photographs will familiarize the reader with the landscape and built environment of Nuwara Eliya and assist the reader to imagine Nuwara Eliya through the eyes of an expatriate during the nineteenth century.

Chapter three is a review of hill-stations established by the British in colonial South Asia. Nora Mitchell's (1972) typology of Indian hill-stations and the factors that influenced the spatial distribution of hill-stations in South Asia are examined, as are the nineteenth century ethno-medical beliefs of the British that contributed to their preference for temperate hill locales as sanatariums. A survey of the major Indian hill-stations of Simla, Darjeeling, Ootacamund and Kodaikanal, as well as some non-Indian hill-stations, offers a basis of comparison with Nuwara Eliya and suggests that Nuwara Eliya lacked many of the features of resort stations in its early years.

Chapter four traces the fluctuating fortunes of the plantation economy and its influence on the development of the recreational and social infrastructure of the hill-
station. The slow development of the hill-station can be attributed in part to the lack of surplus capital to invest in the town. With the growth in the economy resulting from coffee and, later, tea and the opening of plantations in Nuwara Eliya District, the hill-station gained the impetus needed for development.

Chapter five examines the recreational and leisure preferences of the British in colonial Ceylon. While economic conditions influenced the evolution of Nuwara Eliya, the hill-station thrived because of the recreational preferences and the unique needs of the colonial population.

Chapter six is a survey and content analysis of the literature produced by expatriates and travellers to Nuwara Eliya during the nineteenth century. They described Nuwara Eliya in a romanticized manner, focusing upon the picturesque attributes of the hill-station that reminded them of England. Indeed, for many expatriates, Nuwara Eliya was a surrogate Britain, a substitute for Home.

Chapter seven concludes the thesis with a summary of the main argument and conclusions.
CHAPTER 2: THROUGH EYES AND LENS:

a photographic introduction to the landscape of Nuwara Eliya

This chapter is an attempt to transcend the barriers of time and distance through the use of photographic material, to enable the reader to gain a glimpse of Nuwara Eliya as an expatriate or visitor might have viewed the landscape during the last decade of the nineteenth century. The examination of photographs is intended to assist the reader who lacks a familiarity with Nuwara Eliya in gaining an understanding of the landscape and attributes of the hill-station. The rationale for the inclusion of these photographs is the fact that much of the appeal of Nuwara Eliya was its visual and aesthetic impact which left few expatriates unaffected.

The photographs are more than illustrations. They are the visual documentation of a landscape. Photographs offer the viewer the opportunity to assess the hill-station much as expatriates would have done for the initial reaction of expatriates was to the visual stimuli of the landscape. Indeed, "photographic data are the closest approximation to the primary experience that we can gather" (Collier and Collier, 1986:171). The photographs are, in essence, visual quotations, capturing on film the texture and nuances of the Nuwara Eliya landscape.

The chapter utilizes the nineteenth and early twentieth century photographs of Henry Cave as well as recent
Chapter 2

photographs of Nuwara Eliya. The two sets of photographs contrast in their style, content and perspective. Cave, a British expatriate who wrote several books on Ceylon, intended his photographs to be viewed by other expatriates in Ceylon and by the readers of his books in England. As a member of the colonial elite and as an individual who participated in the social and recreational life of the hill-station, Cave's perspective was that of an insider. He was fond of Nuwara Eliya and sought to present an appealing portrait of the hill-station. Much of his work focused upon recreational events, especially his favorite sport, golf. He also recorded the landscape with which he was so impressed. His photographs give the impression of Nuwara Eliya as idyllic, peaceful and pastoral. To enhance this effect, his photographs were carefully posed and framed.

In contrast to Cave's photographs are the photographs of Nuwara Eliya taken by myself during fieldwork at the hill-station from June to August, 1987. The photographs are intended as research data. Like Cave, I aspired to capture the aura of romance of the hill-station in an effort to record on film what had so attracted expatriates during the nineteenth century. Unlike Cave, however, I adopted a spontaneous approach to photography, seeking to record as much of the town as possible without contriving to create the most favorable impression of the hill-station. In addition, I
was interested in the built environment of the hill-station as well as the landscape. It must be recognized that the recent photographs offer only a glimpse of Nuwara Eliya as it was in the nineteenth century for it has evolved into an Asian town with British roots. Because of this, only remnants remain of the recreational and social facilities constructed by the British during that period.

The perspective and style of the recent photographs differ from those of Cave. Although I have immersed myself in the nineteenth century travel literature, my perspective is that of an outsider attempting to understand a culture and way of life other than my own. Given the alterations to Nuwara Eliya that have occurred in the post-Independence era, I chose to photograph artifacts and landscape that I thought to be least modified and to be representative of what the British built or shaped during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I also attempted to convey something of the romance and the mood-evoking nature of the landscape by recording the mists and clouds that often shrouded the hills and houses.

It is suggested to the reader that prior to reading the remainder of this chapter that he/she view the photographs as a group, separate from the text. This approach, referred to as "open viewing", is "an unstructured immersion in the visual record, a repeated viewing of all the material that
allows you to respond to images as they are and not simply as you expect them to be" (Collier and Collier, 1986:181). This approach will enable the reader to make a spontaneous visual assessment of the landscape; an assessment similar to that which expatriates would have made upon viewing Nuwara Eliya for the first time.

THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF HENRY CAVE

Henry Cave was a publisher, importer and resident of Colombo. His first visit to Nuwara Eliya occurred in 1877 and the hill-station quickly became his favorite locale in Ceylon. Cave's numerous publications such as Nuwara Eliya and Adam's Peak (1895), Golden tips (1905), The Ceylon Government Railway (1910) and The book of Ceylon (1912), furnish important photographic material as well as providing some of the most informative comments on hill-station life. He does not apologise for his uncritical and sympathetic portrayal of the hill-station for he was captivated by the landscape. He used his camera as he did his pen, to offer an impressionistic interpretation of his surroundings.

Cave was most impressed by the aspects of the Nuwara Eliya landscape that resembled Britain. His photograph, entitled "The calm waters of the lake reflecting the wooded hills", shows his concern with the pastoral, tranquil nature of the landscape (see figure 2.1). The gentle hills form a backdrop to a scene that could be English in origin, but for
Figure 2.1: "The calm waters of the lake reflecting the wooded hills", Lake Gregory, Nuwara Eliya.

(from Cave, 1905:231; used with permission)
the presence of native workers in the foreground. Cave's inclusion of the natives suggests that he sought to give the photograph geographic context, to highlight the uniqueness of finding such an English setting in Ceylon. The trees are unlike those found in the tropical portions of the island. The boat-sheds indicate that Lake Gregory was used for recreational boating and fishing.

The appeal of the natural surroundings of Nuwara Eliya and the desire of expatriates to enjoy the views is suggested by Cave's photograph entitled "The lake of Nuwara Eliya is surrounded by a carriage drive six miles in length" (see figure 2.2). Visitors and residents were able to travel the circumference of Lake Gregory. The photograph depicts natives walking the route, some with parasols protecting them from the sun.

Cave was very fond of golf and provides an exhaustive description of the Nuwara Eliya Golf Club links (see Cave, 1905). In his photograph, "A purling stream babbles through the valley", Cave combines his interest in landscape and sport (see figure 2.3). The photograph depicts an expatriate, about to strike his ball, accompanied by his native golf caddie -- the only indication that this is not an English scene. The stream and the goat feeding on the grass give a pastoral dimension to the photograph and the caption suggests Cave was aware of this.
Figure 2.2: "The lake of Nuwara Eliya is surrounded by a carriage drive six miles in length", Lake Gregory, Nuwara Eliya.

(from Cave, 1905:223; used with permission)
Figure 2.3: "A purling stream babbles through the valley", the golf links at Nuwara Eliya.

(from Cave, 1905:211; used with permission)
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The photograph entitled "The links from White's field" is similar to the previous photograph in its pastoral quality (see figure 2.4). The landscape is very gentle and lacks sharp contrasts. The house in the right foreground suggests the British lived in comfort for it has a solid and well-maintained appearance. The landscape is open and spacious in contrast with the more densely populated lowlands. White's field may have been used to graze cattle for there is no indication of crop growth.

In his photograph, "The New Keena Hotel", once again Cave provides an element of contrast -- the presence of the natives reminding one that this is Ceylon (see figure 2.5). The landscape appears lush with foliage and the hotel is surrounded by trees and bushes, as well as a flower garden. Trees obscure the view of the two-storied home in the background, perched at the base of the hills. The architecture of the hotel is typical of the single storied bungalows of the hill-station, and suggests that it may have been a single family dwelling originally. It has a corrugated iron roof and the centre portion of the building is symmetrical in its proportions, indicating that the non-symmetrical wings may have been an addition. The house in the background of the photograph is also symmetrical. The use of symmetry in domestic architecture was popular in Britain in the nineteenth century with the resurgence of classical
Figure 2.4: "The links from White's field", Nuwara Eliya.
(from Cave, 1905:262; used with permission)
Figure 2.5: "The New Keena Hotel", Nuwara Eliya.
(from Cave, 1912:497; used with permission)
In the foreground of the photograph are a horse-drawn carriage and a human-powered rickshaw, introduced from Japan in the late nineteenth century (see figure 2.5). The terrain of the hill-station is relatively flat, being a valley surrounded by hills. Unlike the hill-stations of Simla and Darjeeling in northern India, with their narrow and steep roads, there was no difficulty in using carriages at Nuwara Eliya.

The final selection from Cave's photographs is "The eastern exit from Nuwara Eliya", the road to Badulla (see figure 2.6). Again, Cave depicts a slow-moving stream and a country road with gentle hills as a backdrop. The two vehicles on the road are examples of both a native bullock cart, in the rear, and a British carriage with a native groom who always accompanied the horse in his charge (Gordon-Cumming, 1893). The groom is in uniform indicating he is a member of a household staff.

Cave's photographs have an element in common: their pastoral nature. He sought to capture the most picturesque aspects of Nuwara Eliya and to convey through the camera his impression of the hill-station. Each of his photographs is carefully composed, perhaps in part because of the nature of the equipment he was using. There is little doubt, however, that Cave would have adopted such an approach whatever his
Figure 2.6: "The eastern exit from Nuwara Eliya".
(from Cave, 1905:286; used with permission)
equipment. His work is of value both because of its historical content and because he enables us to view the landscape as it was seen through British eyes and lens.

**RECENT PHOTOGRAPHS OF NUWARA ELIYA**

Although the British have departed from Nuwara Eliya and from Ceylon, they left the legacy of their architecture and landscape. The landscape of the hill-station has not remained unchanged in the post-Independence years, yet it is sufficiently intact to enable us to assess how it must have appeared to expatriates in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. If there is one characteristic that is notable about the built environment, it is that it retains much of its Englishness. As the recent photographs suggest, changes to Nuwara Eliya since Independence have not erased the evidence of its historical roots nor diminished the contrast it offers to the remainder of the island.

Nuwara Eliya is surrounded by tea estates. The hill-sides are dotted with the low tea bushes, spaced in such a manner as to give the landscape a mottled appearance (see figures 2.7 and 2.8). Fields of vegetables interrupt the expanses of tea on the less steep terrain, but tea remains the dominant crop. Figures 2.7 and 2.8 depict tea plantations on the outskirts of Nuwara Eliya. The estates are easily recognized both by appearance of the bushes and by the presence of the long rows of dwellings, "lines", for the
Figure 2.7: The landscape in the vicinity of Nuwara Eliya.

Figure 2.8: The tea plantations surrounding Nuwara Eliya
plantation workers, as shown in figure 2.8. Clouds and mist often obscure the distant hills, creating a play of light and shadow that caused expatriates to remark upon the spectacular views (see figure 2.7).

In terms of English architecture, the nineteenth century was a "battle of styles" (Gotch, 1909:301). No single style dominated the period and this is clearly evident in the built environment of Nuwara Eliya. Gothic revival, Palladianism, neo-classicism and vernacular styles were just some of the styles that the architect or individual could select. The choice depended, in part, upon the mood and impression the individual wished to create. As Osborne states:

The Victorian age was essentially romantic, and its architecture (with few exceptions) was therefore thoroughly evocative. Past styles and their embellishments were selected for the feelings they aroused: e.g. ...the popularity of Gothic was due to a literary and muddled sentimentalism, for it breathed an air of peace, chivalry, crusading zeal, strength of mind or humble retirement according to the emotional needs of the owner and the predilections of his architect. Hence there is no Victorian style, but numerous personal garments, the creation of ingenious tailors all clearly assured of their own competence in the craft (Osborne, 1954:104).

The nineteenth century was a time of revivals with no original designs, although some intriguing hybrids emerged (Yarwood, 1966:26). In no other period, with the exception of
the present century, has there been such a variety of styles
and such a diversity of results.

The homes of expatriates in Nuwara Eliya ranged from
simple to grand. Figures 2.9 and 2.10 represent the simpler
dwellings. The photographs depict the single storey bungalows
that were the most common type of housing in the mid to late
nineteenth century, before the widespread introduction of
two-storey dwellings at the hill-station. The bungalows in
figures 2.9 and 2.10 are typical in that they display the
characteristic use of symmetrical architectural elements. The
bungalow in figure 2.9 is balanced by dual chimneys as well
as other attributes of the façade. The bungalow in figure
2.10 has a single chimney in the centre of the roof and
symmetrical bay windows which are, according to Braun, the
"most beloved of all English features" (Braun, 1940:92). As
mentioned above, symmetry was common in British houses during
the nineteenth century. Builder's copybooks, which were
readily available, frequently showed houses with the
"stylistic features of order and symmetry of classical
architecture" (Parker, 1970:5). Such features were common
among farmhouses of the period. Parker notes:

it was quite usual to find the double-
fronted small classical house used both
as a single unit in the fields and as
part of a terrace in a nearby town
(ibid.).

In Nuwara Eliya, the bungalow was detached and located in a
yard with a carefully tended garden.

The bungalows possessed classical elements yet were not strictly classical in design as is evident from the use of pierced barge board seen in figure 2.10. They were reminiscent of the **cottage ornée**, a villa or "rustic building of romantic design, the Regency equivalent of the modern week-end cottage" that was located in the English countryside and was popular amongst the upper and middle classes during the early and mid nineteenth century (Osborne, 1954:28). Like the **cottage ornée**, the bungalows featured picturesque bay windows and ornamented gables. In Nuwara Eliya, however, the thatched roof of the **cottage ornée** was replaced by the less picturesque, but more practical, corrugated iron sheets (see figure 2.9 and 2.10).

Figure 2.11 depicts a view of the entrance gate and garden of a bungalow with the dwelling to the rear of the camera. A profusion of flowers flank the walkway and the impression is picturesque (see Chapter 6). Gardens were prominent features of the homes in Nuwara Eliya and reflected British gardening trends. Some gardens, such as those of the Hill Club, were of a formal layout. Others tended towards the informal "where the natural conditions of growth are everywhere improved upon and so nature is assisted, though in such a way as to avoid falsifying it by artificial scenery or settings" (Muthesius, 1979:113) (see figure 2.11 and 2.12).
Figure 2.9: A bungalow in Nuwara Eliya.
Figure 2.10: A bungalow with bay windows, Nuwara Eliya.
Figure 2.11: The gate and garden of a bungalow, Nuwara Eliya.
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The flowers and bushes were temperate varieties, such as roses and geraniums, and expatriates could create gardens comparable to those found in the metropolitan country. The gate displayed in figure 2.11 is one that might have graced a garden in England. It is made of cast and wrought iron. The spearheads are of cast iron and the remainder is wrought iron (Osborne, 1954:42).

Towards the close of the nineteenth century, two-storey homes became popular in Nuwara Eliya. At the same time, there emerged a preference for vernacular architecture, such as Tudor. Expatriates were following the trends that were occurring in Britain; "by the end of the nineteenth century the classical house with its symmetrical plan and elevation,...reproduced in sizes to fit every pocket, had given way to the irregularities of the picturesque" as expressed in vernacular architecture (Parker, 1970:45; Muthesius, 1979:15). The house in figure 2.12 shows this influence for it has an asymmetric plan with only the faintest representation of the classic seen in the columns in the left of the photograph. Like the bungalows discussed above, it has a bay window. The arbor and the garden frame the house and create an inviting appearance.

Figure 2.13 shows a two-storey house of classical design indicating that the classical had not been completely rejected at the end of the nineteenth century. The house has
Figure 2.12: A two-storey bungalow, Nuwara Eliya.
Figure 2.13: A two-storey bungalow on a hill-side, Nuwara Eliya.

(photograph by James S. Duncan, used with permission)
a symmetrical façade, bay windows and a pediment above the door. The house occupies an elevated position where the landscape can be easily surveyed. Clouds and mist surround it, adding a romantic touch.

In contrast to the classical proportions of the house in figure 2.13, the dwelling in figure 2.14 is an example of vernacular Tudor architecture. It has a tile hip roof, half-timber facade and bay window. The chimney treatment is noteworthy. Like the house in figure 2.13, it represents the larger-scale homes present at the hill-station.

The house in figure 2.15 exhibits an Italianate influence. The English interpretation of Italian Renaissance architecture, known as Palladianism, was based on the works of Italian architect Andrea Palladio (1518-1580) and introduced to Britain in the seventeenth century by Inigo Jones (Osborne, 1954:69). It was one of the many styles that experienced renewed popularity during the revivalism of the nineteenth century. The dwelling in figure 2.15 is a loose interpretation of Palladian architecture (see Osborne, 1954:69). It possesses Palladian windows on the upper floor (Harris, 1977:563) and the remnants of a formal garden may be seen.

The house shown in figures 2.16 and 2.17 was built by the National Bank of India, circa 1892, for the use of its bank manager in Nuwara Eliya. The house is reminiscent of an
Figure 2.14: A faux-Tudor bungalow, Nuwara Eliya.
Figure 2.15: An elaborate bungalow, now used as an inn, Nuwara Eliya.
Figure 2.16: The bungalow of the National Bank of India, Nuwara Eliya.
Figure 2.17: Detail of the National Bank of India bungalow, Nuwara Eliya.
English country home for its garden is one of its most prominent attributes. It has an enclosed verandah with semi-elliptical arches. The verandah was a feature found in the bungalows constructed by the British in India (Osborne, 1954:9). The front of the house has a carved railing.

In Ceylon, British expatriates continued the English tradition of naming their houses, which Muthesius interprets as evidence of "the Englishman's love of his house" for the "name springs from special affection" (Muthesius, 1979:7). The houses bore names such as Ayrshire Lodge, Cambridge Villa, Ivy Cottage, Daisy Bank, Devon Cottage, Rosewood, Bishop's Cottage, Peach Cottage and Shamrock Cottage (Burrows, 1899:xiv-xvi). The names of English towns, as well as flowers or trees were the favored choices for house names suggesting that the names served as sentimental reminders of the expatriate's homeland.

The architectural styles of the public buildings of Nuwara Eliya are as varied as those of the domestic buildings. Figure 2.18 and 2.19 depict the National Bank of India building, constructed in 1892 and now occupied by the Hatton National Bank. The building is an impressive example of the formality of the Palladian style. Figure 2.18 shows the front entrance to the bank. The façade is ashlar masonry, the use of which Osborne notes, is "restricted to the facing of buildings of importance" because of its cost (Osborne,
The entrance to the building features a portico with truscan columns and finials as well as a key pattern string course (ibid.:82, 94).

Figure 2.19 is a detail of the window treatment. A stained glass window is framed by an arch with keystone. Above it is a triangular broken pediment in which is placed a cartouche, an ornamented panel, bearing the intertwined initials "NBI" for National Bank of India (Curl, 1986:19, 127). The carved wooden barge board offers a quaint contrast to the formality of the facade.

Figure 2.20 is a photograph of the Post and Telegraph Office. It is built in a vernacular style and is a pastiche of Swiss and Tudor motifs. The brick facade is painted pinkish-red which gives it a storybook quality. The pyramid roofed clock tower is suggestive of a European influence and the timber on the brick of the upper storey is reminiscent of Tudor half-timber facades. The upper floor has a dormer with diamond pane windows and ornate barge board. The entrance is covered by a portico with finials. The presence of the clock tower indicates that this is a public building of importance to the hill-station.

Figure 2.21 is the Cargills building, described by Burrows as a "general store and medical hall" (Burrows, 1899:xvi). It is functional in design and the facade is quite plain. The building has a corrugated iron hip roof with a
Figure 2.18: National Bank of India building, Nuwara Eliya.
Figure 2.19: Detail of National Bank of India building, Nuwara Eliya.
Figure 2.20: Post and Telegraph Office building, Nuwara Eliya.
Figure 2.21: Cargills store building, Nuwara Eliya.
raised section to illuminate the interior. The focus of the building's decoration is the entrance which is flanked by columns with ornate capitals. The entrance is recessed and covered by a glass awning with wrought iron decoration. The plan of the building is symmetrical and glass cases, listing the store's wares, are affixed to the exterior. Cargills sold a range of goods imported from England.

Figure 2.22 displays the approach to the Hill Club. A sign bearing the symbol of the Hill Club, the leopard, greets the visitor. The Hill Club can be seen in the background of the photograph. In the foreground is a wide expanse of lawn, which Muthesius states is the "most indispensable part of an English garden" (Muthesius, 1979:115). In the centre of the lawn is a grouping of rose bushes.

The Hill Club is shown in closer detail in figure 2.23. Built in 1872, it is Tudor baronial style. It is a massive building with a roughly hewn stone and half-timber façade. The Hill Club has mullioned windows with leaded panes and, on the right of the photograph, a dormer gable with finials can be seen. The club is recreational in nature with tennis courts, a billiard room, card room and polo grounds (see chapter 5). The photograph also depicts some of the flowers that surround the building. In the immediate vicinity of the building there are rose bushes. Snapdragons can be seen in the foreground of the photograph.
Adjacent to the Hill Club is the Hill Club Bungalow (see figure 2.24). It, too, displays a Tudor influenced style with half-timber used on the gables. The façade of the building is brick overlaid with ivy. It is a single storey bungalow with bay windows.

The Grand Hotel, shown in figure 2.25, is the former Barnes Hall, built by Governor Barnes (1823-1831) who established Nuwara Eliya as a military sanatarium in 1829. It was expanded and converted to hotel use in the early 1890s. Like the Hill Club, the Grand Hotel has a half-timber facade but is much lighter in appearance than the former. The covered entrance is of a height intended for carriages. Beds of roses surround the building.

The Nuwara Eliya Race Course is featured in figures 2.26 and 2.27. The race course can be seen in the foreground of figure 2.26. The grandstand, built in the late 1890s, can be viewed in the background of the photograph as can the riding stables. Figure 2.27 shows the details of the grandstand which is two-tier and has a clock on the upper level. Seating capacity for the grandstand is approximately two hundred persons.

The final photographs are of Holy Trinity Church, an important institution and locale for social interaction at the hill-station (see figure 2.28 and 2.29). Holy Trinity Church, built in 1854, represents the Church of England. The
Figure 2.22: The approach to the Hill Club, Nuwara Eliya.
(photograph by James S. Duncan, used with permission)
Figure 2.23: The Hill Club, Nuwara Eliya.
Figure 2.24: The Hill Club bungalow, Nuwara Eliya.
Figure 2.25: The Grand Hotel, formerly Barnes' Hall, Nuwara Eliya.

(photograph by S.H. Hasbullah, used with permission)
Figure 2.26: The Nuwara Eliya Race Course.

Figure 2.27: The grandstand of the Nuwara Eliya Race Course.
The exterior of the building is quite plain, giving no hint of the richly carved woodwork of the interior. The building is typical of church architecture of the period, the buttresses giving it a gothic appearance. Within the church grounds is a cemetery, a reminder that there was a darker side to Nuwara Eliya's role as a sanatarium. A stone angel, kneeling in prayer with eyes directed toward Heaven, guards the grave of a child in figure 2.29.

At the outset of this examination of recent photographs of Nuwara Eliya, it was suggested that there remained sufficient evidence in the built environment and the landscape to enable us to assess how the hill-station appeared to expatriates in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The visual record indicates the effort expatriates expended on creating a hill-station in the tradition of an English village. It is not difficult to appreciate why expatriates saw Nuwara Eliya as an English environment nor why they endeavored to reinforce that resemblance through their architecture. By such means, they were able to express and reaffirm their cultural identity, and to overcome the sense of separation from their mother country.

These are powerful motives behind the Englishness of Nuwara Eliya. The accuracy of this assessment is confirmed by the sentimental and picturesque treatment of the landscape.
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and the built environment. England -- Home -- became a romanticized image. The Romantic movement gave substance to that idea for it legitimized its expression. Romanticism condoned -- indeed, encouraged -- the expression of sentiment in both the landscape and the built environment of the hill-station.

SUMMARY

Through the use of visual evidence, this chapter has introduced the reader to the landscape of Nuwara Eliya. The nineteenth century photographs of Henry Cave enable us to view the landscape as it was seen by an expatriate who had a strong emotional tie to the hill-station. In his written work, Cave described Nuwara Eliya in effusive terms. He managed to express that enthusiasm through the medium of film. His photographs emphasize the picturesque and pastoral nature of Nuwara Eliya. To Cave, Nuwara Eliya was much more than a place to escape the heat and humidity of the lowlands. A visit to the hill-station was a foray into the realm of the sentimental and the romantic.

The recent photographs of Nuwara Eliya depict the landscape and built environment. Despite the years that have intervened since the British departed from the hill-station, Nuwara Eliya retains much of character that it must have possessed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The photographs indicate the diverse architectural styles
Figure 2.28: Holy Trinity Church, Nuwara Eliya.
Figure 2.29: A stone angel headstone on a child's grave, Holy Trinity Church, Nuwara Eliya.
present; the origins of each may be traced to Britain. The gardens, too, are English in style. Nuwara Eliya was an intensely English environment, made more so by each generation of expatriates who, inspired by the examples of their predecessors, continued to shape the landscape of Nuwara Eliya in the image of Home.
CHAPTER 3: HILL-STATIONS IN COLONIAL SOUTH ASIA

This chapter provides a context for understanding the emergence of hill-stations within colonial South Asia. The functional, socio-economic and political factors that contributed to the preference for hill-stations held by European expatriates are examined. In addition, several of the major Indian hill-stations are described in order to provide a basis of comparison to Nuwara Eliya. This includes a look at the variation in the cultural landscape between the major Indian hill-stations to establish the range of options chosen by the individuals and various government agents involved in the planning and construction of the stations. The ultimate aim is to place Nuwara Eliya within this framework. The final aspect of this chapter is a survey of some non-Indian hill-stations in comparison to their Indian counterparts.

As noted above, few geographers have written on the subject of hill-stations although such stations form a vital part of the colonial network in South Asia. One study is Nora Mitchell's work on Kodaikanal (1972) which includes a typology of hill-stations encompassing three periods; the 1820s to 1900, the early 1900s to 1947, and the post-independence period from 1947 until 1970 (Mitchell, 1972:10). The first period of her typology is most relevant for the purposes of this paper.

Mitchell describes three types of hill-stations that
came into being in what might be termed the formative years of the evolution of hill-stations. The "official multi-functional hill-stations" contained the greatest number of functions of the early hill-stations (Mitchell, 1972). Such settlements included permanent military barracks, agricultural estates which were notably but not exclusively tea estates, hospitals and, most important, combined the dual functions of a seasonal resort and official government headquarters during the summer period (Mitchell, 1972:59). Some stations were also the summer headquarters for the military (ibid.). Examples of Indian hill-stations in this category include Darjeeling in the Himalayas, Simla, Mussouri and Naini Tal in the northwestern region, Ranchi in northeast Deccan, Pachmarhi in Central Deccan, Poona in the Bombay region and Ootacamund in southern India (see figure 3.1). The official multi-functional hill-stations did not manifest all of their various functions at the outset but developed a complex of activities over time. Frequently, as in the case of Simla, Darjeeling and Nuwara Eliya, although it was not the official summer capital of the Government of Ceylon, the hill-stations had their genesis as military sanatariums for the recovery of health and later gained popularity among non-military expatriates as locales for the prevention of illness associated with tropical climates. The popularity of hill-stations as resorts gained momentum with visits from high-
Figure 3.1: Hill-stations in colonial South Asia.
ranking government officials which lent an air of acceptability and prestige to hill-stations as resorts (Kanwar, 1984:217). Other British expatriates followed suit and within a short period, hill-stations were a firmly established fixture of colonial life. It became de rigueur for individuals of means to remove their households from the heat and dust of the plains and retreat to the hills during "the Season".

Some hill-stations became the summer headquarters for colonial governments. The Imperial Government in Calcutta, for example, chose Simla as its summer capital in 1864 and thereafter moved government administrators and clerks from several departments, their families and servants each year for a period of seven months and sometimes longer. Some government departments, as well as the offices of the Army headquarters and the Indian Medical Service, set up permanent offices in Simla (Kanwar, 1984:217-8). The Punjab Government in Lahore followed the example of the Central Government and beginning in 1871 spent five months out of every twelve at Simla. The motivation to move the seats of government must have been strong, for the task and expense of moving several hundred persons, baggage, supplies and furnishings annually was quite daunting. The establishment of hill-stations as summer capitals attracted merchants and services which further enhanced the popularity of the
stations. The official multi-functional hill-station emerged as a nexus of some importance in colonial life.

Another type of hill-station, which Mitchell refers to as the "private multi-functional hill-station", contained some or many of the attributes of the official multi-functional hill-station (Mitchell, 1972:59). The range of activities varied from place to place. Examples of Indian hill-stations in this category include Kodaikanal, Dharmasala and Yercaud (ibid.:87). Nuwara Eliya is an example of this type. These stations acted as seasonal resorts and offered such services as may have been required by a seasonal population. Social activities, such as hunting, fishing, tennis and functions such as teas, picnics, dances and concerts often focused upon clubs. Clubs, like the Kodaikanal Club formed in 1887 (ibid.:125), brought individuals of similar social standing together which enhanced their group solidarity as Europeans and, further, the Clubs assured an array of social activities which contributed to the "recuperative" or rejuvenating aspects of the hill-stations as resorts. Hill-stations in this category were even more dependent upon seasonal patrons than were the official multi-functional hill-stations. The presence of government offices in the latter as well as the long duration of European residence at the stations, lent an air of permanency to them. When the season came to a close, private
multi-functional hill-stations faced a mass exodus. Life bore little resemblance to the height of the season as the European population went from several hundred to a few dozen individuals. The situation changed over time as these stations attracted permanent settlers and facilities, such as schools, enabling year-round occupancy. This was especially the case for Nuwara Eliya where individuals, such as Samuel Baker and Henry Sirr, promoted the development of the hill-station as an English village.

The third type of hill-station that developed in the nineteenth century was the "single-purpose hill-station" (Mitchell, 1972:59). These were frequently military cantonments of strategic importance such as Chakrata, which was located on a mountain road between Mussourie and Simla (ibid.:58).

In addition to these types of stations, there developed during a later period a cluster of hill-stations around the multi-functional hill-stations. These stations were of minor importance, frequently of inferior altitude and were the result of crowding and lack of room for expansion in the primary stations (Mitchell, 1972:59). Darjeeling and Simla spawned a number of such settlements which were seldom considered as desirable or socially prestigious as an estate in a major station but did gain some popularity among individuals who had tired of the crowds and the noise of the
larger stations. Needless to say, the facilities available at these stations varied, ranging from rudimentary to fair, but as a rule fewer goods and services were available at these locales than at their more urbane sister-stations.

Mitchell (1972) has isolated a number of factors that played a role in the location and distribution of hill-stations. Altitude was one of the chief considerations in the location of hill-stations. A higher altitude hill-station was considered more appealing than one at a lower altitude because of the preference of expatriates for temperate locales, largely due to nineteenth century ethno-medical beliefs about the benefits of such environments. Given that many hill-stations were established as sanatoriums, their origin owes much to the belief held by the British that a temperate environment was best suited to the health requirements of Europeans. Joseph Fayrer argued in his discussion of Indian hill-stations as health resorts that hill-stations could not obviate the need for expatriates to return to Britain for the complete recovery from disease "or for the re-establishment of perfect health" as well as "for moral and social reasons" (Fayrer, 1900:1394). He observed, however, that hill-stations were crucial for the well-being of Europeans when there was no option of returning to England. George Giles was wary of the "raw, clammy chills of a sodden atmosphere" and other ailments such as diarrhea and
typhoid which occasionally beset visitors to hill-stations (Giles, 1904:80). Yet he conceded that the environment of the hill-station was responsible for an increase of appetite and a restful night's sleep, the want of which caused hardship to those residing in hot climates (ibid.:66,79).

Therefore, ideally, the altitude of a hill-station should be such that the climate is temperate rather than tropical. Altitude and a temperate climate were no guarantee, however, that a hill-station would have a lower incidence of disease than lowland cities. Tilt stated:

A locality that promises to make a healthy hill station may have maladies, fevers, and other diseases fatal to unacclimatized natives, and doubly so to Europeans;...many a promising station has been given up, on finding that it told too severely on the health of the exploring party of soldiers, sent to reside there for a year (Tilt, 1875:17).

Even established hill-stations were not free from disease. Outbreaks of cholera, for example, were known at Simla (ibid.:124). Emily Eden reported the death of a British woman, who was pregnant, from cholera contracted at the hill-station (Eden, 1866:242). Although clean water was available at most hill-stations, the practice of distributing drinking water in goats'-skins and the pollution of the water supply by bathing or washing clothing in the water tanks, as well as poor sanitation contributed to the transmission of the diseases such as cholera, dysentery and typhoid (Tilt,
The Nuwara Eliya District, too, suffered incidents of cholera, one of which resulted in the quarantine of a group of native workers (Corner, 1908:282).

The opinions of physicians during the nineteenth century varied as to the benefits of hill-stations as sanatariums. Dr. Beatson, the medical officer at Nuwara Eliya for three years during the 1840s, thought the ailments that would most benefit from the environment of the hill-station to be:

- functional derangements of the gastric, hepatic, enteritic and nervous systems, unaccompanied by organic lesions; fevers uncomplicated with local affections; debility arising from tedious convalescence or long residence within the tropics; and almost all the diseases of children (Mouat, 1852:127).

Tilt, however, was more cautious in his assessment of the benefits of hill-stations as health resorts (Tilt, 1875). He stated:

All medical authorities agree that hill stations in India only serve the purpose of Brighton or Scarborough in England; that during the hot season they are admirably calculated to improve the health of those who are only debilitated by the heat; but that they are of no use to those who have structural diseases of any internal organ -- diseases which are greatly aggravated by remaining in the hills during the rainy season, when haze or mist, clouds or rain, are frequent (Tilt, 1875:17).

Despite their differing opinions, Beatson and Tilt were in
agreement about the ameliorative effect of hill-stations on debility resulting from "long residence within the tropics". This provided a very broad and flexible category of ailments and appears to have been a widely used excuse by individuals who wanted to escape the oppressive heat of the lowlands and spend some time in the pleasant, temperate surroundings of a hill-station.

One of the health benefits of hill-stations which was noted in the nineteenth century, and can be substantiated by current medical science, is the reduced incidence of malaria. Tilt observed that hill-stations conferred a "comparative immunity from...malaria" (Tilt, 1875:17). Malaria is transmitted by various species of mosquitoes of the Anopheles genus (Spielman and Rossignol, 1984:167). The effectiveness of species as vectors of malaria is influenced by the presence of a reservoir of infection, namely human gametocyte carriers upon which previously uninfected mosquitoes may feed and acquire the plasmodium, the parasitic protozoan which causes malaria, to transmit to uninfected humans (McGregor, 1985:416). Assuming the existence of a reservoir of infection, transmission of malaria is influenced by the "interaction of atmospheric temperature, rainfall and humidity" (ibid.) which has an impact upon both the growth and longevity of the insect vector and the development of the plasmodium within it (Russell, 1952:101).
The temperate environment of a hill-station reduces or eliminates the presence of malaria because the plasmodium cannot survive the consistently cool temperatures present at higher elevations. McGregor states:

Since the mosquito is poikilothermic [cold-blooded], none of the four plasmodial species that infect man can develop in it successfully when the constant air temperature falls below 15 degrees C.[59 degrees F.]. Thus, the limits of the distribution of \( P.\) [plasmodium] vivax, probably the hardest of the human parasites, lie within the 15 degree C. summer isotherms, while those for the \( P.\) falciparum, which has more exacting requirements, lie within the 20 degree C. [68 degree F.] isotherms. Temperature also influences the rate of development of the parasite's extrinsic cycle. At 16 degrees C. [60.8 degrees F.], \( P.\) vivax requires 55 days for full development but at 28 degrees C. (82 degrees F.) the cycle is reduced to seven days (McGregor, 1985:416).

The mean annual temperature of higher elevation hill-stations, those above 6000 feet, falls below the temperature necessary for the successful propagation of plasmodium and transmission of malaria. The mean annual temperature at Nuwara Eliya is 15 degrees C. or 59 degrees F.. Simla and Ootacamund average 13 degrees C. or 55 degrees F.. Darjeeling's mean annual temperature is 12 degrees C. or 54 degrees F. (Blanford, 1889).

In addition to altitude, the site for a hill-station should have a climate that differs significantly from lowland cities (Tilt, 1875:16; Mitchell, 1972:57). Mitchell terms
such localised climatic variations "micro-climates" (Mitchell, 1972:57). Much of the appeal of hill-stations was the contrast between the heat of low-lying areas and the temperate environment of the hill stations. In addition, the specific attributes of an individual site will make it more or less appealing. "Factors of exposure to, or shelter from, prolonged sunshine, rain or prevalent winds, often determined the actual hill-station site within a range of possible locations" (ibid.). For lower altitude stations, wind and even rain were positive attributes because they provided a cooling influence and compensated for the lack of altitude (ibid.).

In the case of Nuwara Eliya, rain and mist, that evoked images of the Scottish highlands, were considered desirable attributes. As some writers have noted, however, individuals could easily escape such weather, when it proved oppressive, by heading over a ridge to Uva (Gordon Cumming, 1893:143; Blanford, 1889:124). Sullivan wrote that despite heavy rain at Nuwara Eliya which had "perfectly saturated" the ground and foliage, three miles east of the hill-station the rain ceased (Sullivan, 1854:140).

The road we were following down towards Badula [sic] [and Uva] was for the first three miles almost impassable from mud, when suddenly we came to a line, as distinctly drawn across the road as if the water-carts had ceased their labours at that particular spot. All before us was
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parched and dried up with an unbroken drought of several months; all behind us saturated and steaming with continued wet of a like duration. You could distinctly see the line kept by the rain-clouds in their rapid course to the north-east, beyond which the sky was blue and unclouded, and held not a single drop of moisture in suspension (ibid.).

The explanation for this phenomenon lies in the monsoon pattern and topography of the area. Ceylon is subject to the south-west monsoon from May to November and the north-east monsoon from November to May, each affecting a portion of the island (Blanford, 1889:186). Nuwara Eliya receives precipitation from the south-west monsoon and it is during this period that Uva remains dry, awaiting the rainfall of the north-east monsoon (Le Mesurier, 1893:12). Likewise, when Uva is wet, Nuwara Eliya remains dry. The mountain ridge in which Nuwara Eliya is located "acts as a barrier to the rainfall of the summer monsoon...producing a very striking contrast of weather on its eastern and western slopes" (Blanford, 1889:123).

Another major consideration in the location of hill-stations is accessibility (Mitchell, 1972:57), which played a significant role especially in the early to mid-nineteenth century when the stations came to prominence as sanatariums. Accessibility is a function of several factors; distance from the lowland cities to the hill-stations, the condition of the roads, and the presence of the railway. The latter factor is
important towards the close of the nineteenth century and the
beginning of the twentieth century. In terms of distance,
Mitchell (1972:57) suggests that a less attractive station
close at hand might be considered preferable to a more
attractive station farther away. Nevertheless, certain
stations had an appeal that transcended distance. Simla was
one such station. In March of each year, beginning in 1865,
the Viceroy, civil servants and their households braved a
trip of 1,170 miles from Calcutta to Simla (Morris and
Winchester, 1983:200; Barr and Desmond, 1978:24) and repeated
the journey in October when they returned to Calcutta.
Fortunately, the distance between other hill-stations and
their companion cities in lowland areas was not so great.
Ootacamund, for example, is 250 miles from Madras. A journey
from Calcutta to Darjeeling required at least 26 hours
(Duncan, 1893: 40). Nuwara Eliya is 115 miles from Colombo
(Baker, 1883:22), which entailed a twenty hour trip by horse
(H.S., 1876:101). The travel time and effort required to go
to a hill-station contributed to extended stays at the
station. Prior to the arrival of the railway, short
"vacations" were not feasible.

Accessibility was also dependent upon the condition of
the roads which could make the difference between a tolerable
trip and one which left nerves frayed. Although the British
had competent engineers, road construction was frequently a

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challenging task. In the Himalayas, for example, road beds were subject to erosion, earthquakes and landslides (Mitchell, 1972: 61). The situation was further exacerbated by human intervention through the removal of vegetation and the process of deforestation as the vegetation and forest cover had helped to keep the soil stable. As a result, road upkeep was expensive. The road to Mussourie (elevation 6,500 feet) gives some idea of the role of roads in making hill-stations accessible. In 1828, an official noted that the road was "difficult and perilous in the extreme. It sometimes winds down the edge of rocks, sometimes zigzags up the face of the hill; plunges into dark depths of a ravine, or creeps over the summit of a native crag" (ibid.:63). For the initial section of the journey to Mussourie, individuals could travel by cart but the road deteriorated and the upper-levels entailed travel upon a pony's back. In addition, women, children and invalids were often carried on palanquins by conscripted native labour.

The need to have accessible hill-stations was especially strong when the primary purpose of many stations was as sanatoriums. A journey as described above could be gruelling for individuals in good health and, not surprisingly, was potentially life-threatening for invalids. In terms of roads, Nuwara Eliya scored favorably. A road suitable for horses was undertaken in 1827-28 and by 1836,
the road had been expanded to accommodate carts (Forbes, 1840:136,141; Skinner, 1891:89). In 1833, one could travel from the hill capital of Kandy to Nuwara Eliya, a distance of some fifty miles, in six hours (Biden, 1833:221). By 1893, with access by road and rail, Nuwara Eliya was considered more accessible than many Indian hill-stations (Ferguson, 1893:122). Transportation to Nuwara Eliya was not free from risks, however, and slight carelessness or inattentiveness could have serious consequences. Samuel Baker, who was instrumental in developing Nuwara Eliya, lost a carriage and horses over a precipice, and very nearly lost his drunken coachman as well (Murray and White, 1895:28).

Access to hill-stations improved as their increasing popularity as seasonal resorts encouraged the government to maintain and upgrade the roads. The construction of the railway made hill-stations accessible to more individuals for shorter periods of time. Weekend outings to a hill-station became feasible. The construction of the railway was at least as challenging as the building of roads. Steep terrain and mountains posed some difficulties. The railway from Kalka to Simla, for example, is sixty miles in length with a gradient of 1 in 33 and has 103 tunnels (ibid.:61). As a result of the railway, opened in 1903, Simla became "even more open, more public, [and] more casual" (Barr and Desmond, 1978:41). Perhaps what is most significant is that despite
the difficulties of access to many hill-stations in the
nineteenth century, the stations grew in popularity and came
to have an important role for the British in colonial South
Asia.

Political constraints limited the area to which the
British had access for the establishment of hill-stations
(Mitchell, 1972:58). The ownership of a good portion of the
Indian sub-continent was retained by native princes,
especially during the early years of the British occupation
(ibid.). Thus, land often had to be acquired for hill-
estation sites which the British did in a number of ways. In
1845, for example, the British leased the Northwest Deccan
hill, on which the Mount Abu station is situated, from its
Rajput owner so that a hill-station could be built for the
benefit of the British Resident of Rajputana (ibid.:81).
Other sites for hill-stations, such as Simla, were acquired
through treaties, gifts from native rulers and purchase. In
the case of Nuwara Eliya, the British occupied the entire
island of Ceylon and so were fortunate to have the choice of
the best possible sites for a hill-station. Less than two
decades before the initial development of Nuwara Eliya, the
British, like their Dutch and Portuguese predecessors,
controlled only the coastal regions and did not acquire the
mountainous, central area of Ceylon until 1815. Nuwara Eliya
was "discovered" in 1819 by English officers hunting for

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elephants (Cook, 1951:341). Because of political constraints, the British often had to negotiate and acquire land suitable for hill-stations.

The strategic implications of a hill-station were taken into account with regard to military cantonments which were occasionally established in close proximity to hostile hill tribes over whom the British wanted to exercise control (ibid.:58). Chakrata, located between Simla and Mussourie, was such a station (Blanford, 1889:106). In addition, military training stations were often located at a considerable distance from "distracting recreational centers", which resulted in a number of single-purpose stations, such as Wellington in southern India and Bakloh, Landour and Ranikhet in the Himalayan region (Mitchell, 1972:58).

Terrain was a further consideration in the choice of sites. Soil, slopes, slope stability, land formations, and type of bedrock had some influence in the selection of a station site. As Mitchell notes, the more obvious aspects of terrain, such as the steepness or levelness of a site, played a greater role in the distribution of hill-stations than the less obvious factors such as slope stability or type of bedrock. Samuel Baker, for example, chose the site for the development of his settlement at Nuwara Eliya because the "gentle undulations of the country would allow the use of the
plough" for agriculture (Murray and White, 1985:27), and the land, a plain, was level and not too shut-in by mountains (ibid.). Soil and slope stability were less obvious factors and, as a result, often did not enter into the minds of British colonialists until problems emerged that warranted consideration of such factors. Darjeeling and Simla were both subject to landslides which could be triggered, as in Darjeeling, by natural events such as an earthquake or a cyclone and, as mentioned above, the stripping of the trees and vegetation that had maintained slope stability made many stations prone to problems of this nature.

Scenic beauty was not only a factor in the initial appeal of a site but an important aspect of a site's continued popularity. As Mitchell (1972:57) notes, "the presence of green grass and woodlands" which reminded the British of their homeland was a strong attraction. Hill-stations became a focal point in British colonial life not only because of their redeeming health aspects. Much of their appeal was due to the effect hill-stations had on the psychology of the British in South Asia. Far from home, perhaps for years at a time, many expatriates longed for Britain. The burden of Empire, life in lands as foreign to them as those of South Asia, weighed heavily upon the British, especially because they could not readily return to England. Hill-stations were embraced with such alacrity by
both governments and individuals as the stations enabled the British to recreate, or closely approximate, both the physical and social environments of a land from which they were separated by continents and cultures.

The element of chance was not absent in the choice of locations for hill-stations. "The personal interests of the founders was often the decisive element in hill-station location, as a hunter chose a different site for his camp than a fisherman attracted to a lake, or a mountaineer desiring a glacier within easy reach" (Mitchell, 1972:57). The element of chance was often present in the "discovery" of the site. This was the case for Nuwara Eliya, which was accidentally happened upon in 1819 by Dr. John Davy with his guides on a hunting expedition (de Silva, 1978:6). The subsequent site of the settlement, however, was decided by Governor Barnes based upon Nuwara Eliya's suitability as a convalescent post, and the appropriateness of the soil and climate for agriculture, necessitated by the logistics of obtaining a food supply for the sanatorium's patrons (ibid.).

Additional factors including the presence of plural societies and the reputation of a given site were also cited by Mitchell in her discussions of the factors and principles governing hill-station distribution (Mitchell, 1972:57-58). The presence of ethnically plural societies had limited influence on the location and distribution of hill-stations
in India, according to Mitchell (1972:58). There is no doubt, however, that the absence of an indigenous settlement at Nuwara Eliya enhanced its appeal to Europeans for two reasons. The first reason is that the British did not have to contend with the problem of natives occupying a chosen site (King, 1976b); native Ceylonese often found the site too cold and rainy to be pleasant. The second reason is an extension of the first. The lack of a contemporary native settlement meant that the landscape could be shaped in accordance with British preferences, like a blank canvas. The latter reason was a significant consideration because the British wanted to create a physical and social environment that closely resembled that of their homeland. In instances when plural societies were present, Mitchell states (1972:58), "One would hardly expect the British governor and army commanders to spend their vacation at an inferior site while the Eurasian students at a mission school occupied an ideal one nearby". Thus, within a hill-station, the best sites were often occupied by the British, and the British also chose the most favorable locales for their hill-stations. As a result of the competition for space, neighbouring hill-stations or satellite stations, such as Dharmasala, were established, often at lower altitudes than the major stations. Individuals or groups who could not afford the land or the cost of living at the primary stations
had little choice but to take up occupancy at a station less in demand.

The reputation of a site had a relatively minor influence on the location and distribution of hill-stations. As Mitchell (1972:58) notes, "Previous occupancy of the district, disease, and other factors which may have created a reputation for a certain locality might have been extremely important factors in the ultimate acceptance or rejection of a particular site as a hill-station location had Indians been responsible for their distribution". The British, however, paid little attention to Indian prejudices, ethno-medical beliefs or knowledge of local history. The factors outlined above weighed much more heavily in their decision concerning the location of stations.

A SURVEY OF HILL-STATIONS

The following is an examination of some of the major Indian multifunctional hill-stations to establish a basis for comparison with Nuwara Eliya. Included in this discussion are the Himalayan stations of Simla and Darjeeling and the southern stations of Kodaikanal and Ootacamund. These stations were selected because, like Nuwara Eliya, they served as both sanatoriums and resorts.

SIMLA

Simla was the first hill-station established by the British. From the first humble thatched cottage that was
constructed in 1819, Simla emerged as "one of the great capitals of the world" (Morris and Winchester, 1983:200). Located at an elevation of 7,200 feet on hills above the Punjab, the land on which Simla is constructed was obtained by the British in 1816 under the terms of the Nepalese Peace Treaty "as compensation for the cost of restoring law and order to the mountain frontiers" (Mitchell, 1972:60). During the two years the Gurkha wars lasted, the British witnessed the recuperative effects of life in the hills upon members of the military expeditions (ibid.). At the close of the war, the districts of Garhival and Kumoan were ceded to the British by the Nepalese. It is in this region that three of the largest and most well-known hill-stations were established: Simla, Mussourie and Naini Tal, in addition to several lesser known stations (ibid.).

The development of Simla was rapid. The first European style house was built in 1822 by Captain Charles Pratt Kennedy, the first Political Agent of the hill states (Buck, 1925:6), who set a much emulated example of refined and lavish living (Buck, 1925:5; Barr and Desmond, 1978:7). The major impetus to the development of Simla came by way of a visit from Lord Amherst, Governor-General of the East India Company, who spent the summer of 1827 at the station (Buck, 1925:6; Mitchell, 1972:60; Barr and Desmond, 1978:8; Kanwar, 1984:217). The fact that the Governor-General was of sound
health, helped to encourage the role of Simla as a recreational resort in addition to being a centre for the prevention of ill-health (ibid.).

By 1838, Simla had become a full-fledged multi-functional hill-station and the unofficial summer seat of government (Mitchell, 1972:60). In 1864, Simla was promoted to the rank of official summer capital (Kanwar, 1984:217). The station came to possess clubs, hotels, villas and a recreational park, Annandale, which included a race-course, a cricket pitch, gardens, lawn tennis courts and polo fields (Morris and Winchester, 1983:200). The "season", lasting from March to October, was the period in which Simla experienced an influx of Europeans. Emily Eden, writing in 1839 after the Queen's Ball in Simla, offers this cameo of life at the time:

Twenty years ago no European had ever been here, and there we were, with the band playing the "Puritani" and "Masaniello", and eating salmon from Scotland, and sardines from the Mediterranean, and observing that St. Cloup's potage à la julienne was perhaps better than his other soups... and all this in the face of those high hills, some of which have remained untrodden since the Creation, and we 105 Europeans being surrounded by at least 3,000 mountaineers who, wrapped up in their hill-blankets looked on at what we call our polite amusements, and bowed to the ground if a European came near them. I sometimes wonder they do not cut all our heads off and say nothing more about it (Eden, 1866 [v.2]:116).

By 1838, Simla had two bazaars, European shops and a
central thoroughfare known as "the Mall". Over one hundred European residences had been constructed by both private citizens and officers. British in character, the houses bore such names as Roseville, Rosewood, Stirling Castle, Auckland House, Barnes Court, Elysium House, Chadwick and Primrose Hill (Buck, 1925; Barr and Desmond, 1978:8). Simla had been transformed from an Indian wilderness into a British cultural landscape.

Even in the first decades of its existence, prior to its selection as the Central Government's summer capital, Simla was renowned for the variety and intensity of its social activities. Ostensibly, Simla was a sanatarium; in the language of the time it was "good for the liver" and "good for the soul", "it shook the dreadful plains' dust out of a fellow's brain" and "helped to preserve the constitution of those suffering from 'too much East'" (Barr and Desmond, 1978:11). It is arguable that Simla's tonic effect could have been attributed as much to the social and psychological aspects of the town as to its natural environment. Although the healthful aspects of Simla are duly recorded in the journals and diaries of the day, the social activities and the cultural setting in which such activities took place were accorded the greatest prominence by many authors (Eden, 1866 & 1872; Kipling, 1889; Kanwar, 1984:215). If the healthfulness of Simla's temperate climate was the impetus
for an initial visit upcountry, the busy social calendar and a setting that bore a comfortable resemblance to England, ensured the continued popularity of the station.

It would not be too great a generalization to state that, for many, life at Simla during the Season was a whirlwind of social activities. Dinner parties, luncheons, garden parties, tennis parties and fancy balls were very popular. It was not uncommon for an individual to attend three to four luncheons and the same number of dinner parties per week (Allen, 1976:131). Professional entertainment was rare, which encouraged the residents of Simla to make their own amusement. Emily Eden, whose brother, Lord Auckland, was Governor-General from 1836 to 1842, organized a musical dinner with a borrowed pianoforte, and a couple who played their flutes. Other guests sang along (Eden, 1866:214).

Simla, like other hill-stations, had several balls each Season, the highlight of the year being the annual Queen's Ball in May.

Another popular event was the "fancy fair" held at Annandale to raise support for Simla's charities (Eden, 1866:124)(1). On these occasions individuals donated their handicrafts for sale or auction. After a successful fancy fair in 1838, Emily Eden wrote that the event was "more English than anything I have seen in this country" (ibid.:239). The atmosphere of the fancy fair must have had
an added dose of English flavouring, for she might equally have written that all the social activities of Simla were English in nature. A band concert in a garden, a picnic at Annandale with archery and a swing set up, amateur theatrics, riding ponies, sketching scenes of the mountains, reading pirated editions of British novels (2) or writing in one's dairy that was mailed in installments to family at Home, are a selection of the activities that occupied the time of British expatriates in Simla (Eden, 1866).

Like other hill-stations, Simla possessed certain locales which facilitated and encouraged British social interaction. The ubiquitous Club, common to British stations throughout India, was the focal point of many social activities. The Simla Club and the United Service Club from which natives were excluded (3), were the locations of dances, banquets and other fêtes. They were central gathering places of the town where couples and individuals would go in the evenings to play a game of tennis or a rubber of whist (4). The Club was of equal importance for both males and females, although women were not members and had no official standing (see Allen, 1976:99). The Club, with its British-style decor, provided a relaxing ambience and was the place to see and be seen. Because membership was drawn exclusively from the European community, the Club encouraged a sense of social unity and reaffirmed the cultural identity
of the British in India.

The Simla Mall, like Malls in other hill-stations, was the central thoroughfare of the town. Its significance was greater than its function suggests for it, too, served as a meeting place for residents of Simla. Because of the narrowness of the thoroughfares, only the Governor-General, Governor of the Punjab and the Commander-in-Chief were permitted to use a wheeled carriages on the paths and the Mall of Simla (Kincaid, 1973:253). All others were limited to walking, horses, jampan (an armchair on two sticks carried by coolies) or, later in the nineteenth century, rickshaws imported from Japan (Edwardes, 1969:91). These means of transportation left the individual open to scrutiny from other passersby and promoted conversation as individuals encountered one another on the Mall. King suggests (1976b:211) that it was almost impossible to avoid social interaction in a hill-station, short of staying indoors, because the Mall was the access route to shops, the Club, the Church, the library and to most other places where the individual might want to venture. The Mall, like other social settings, strongly discouraged privatized behaviour (ibid.). In addition to its function as a transportation thoroughfare, the Simla Mall was a recreational facility. In the early evening, individuals went for a walk or a ride along the Mall to "admire the view" or "to take the air"
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(ibid.:210). Barr and Desmond note that there was much interest in appearances and pretenses for the Mall was a "centre of fashion, gossip and intrigue" (Barr and Desmond, 1978:12, 61).

Annandale was a feature that was unique to Simla, although other hill-stations had their versions of the park. Annandale was a valley, a short distance from Simla, that was surrounded by pines, firs and deodars, a type of cedar native to the western Himalayas, of up to 150 feet in height (Barr and Desmond, 1978:11). Morris and Winchester refer to Annandale as a "pleasure ground" (1983:200), with a race-course, polo-fields and a formal garden. The site was well-loved by the residents of Simla. "It was popular because it ideally suited the Victorian taste for romantic pastoral, the perfect backdrop for picnic luncheons, lover's rendezvous, and fête champêtres where ladies and gentlemen held archery competitions, played battledore and shuttlecock and danced in the cool evenings to the strain of a fiddle" (Barr and Desmond, 1978:11).

The homes of individuals and families were also important locales for the Simla social scene. Dinners, luncheons, teas, garden parties, amateur theatrics and concerts were often held in private homes. Most of the homes were designed and constructed by amateurs who relied upon handbooks of British architecture that were popular in the
eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Morris and Winchester, 1983:20). The interiors of the homes were equally British in appearance. "Once you stepped inside the home you were back in Cheltenham or Bath. We brought with us in our home lives almost exact replicas of the sort of life that upper middle class people lived in England at the time" (Allen, 1976:72).

Architecture, the natural environment and the social activities of British expatriates combined to create the illusion that Simla was a little piece of Britain. Another factor that inspired this impression was the social and spatial segregation of the native population from the British. To be sure, in India, the presence of natives and the dependence on natives was an inescapable fact of life. In Simla, however, considerable effort was made to minimize the overt presence of the native population in a manner that was not possible, perhaps, on the Plains. In Simla's relatively inaccessible locale, the native population was less dense than in lowlying areas. Furthermore, permission of the Commander-in-Chief was necessary before regiments could take their leave at Simla (Buck, 1925). Thus, native and Anglo-Indian (5) regiments were easily excluded from the Simla social scene. The government also sought to restrict the influx of "unemployed and unwanted Indians" (ibid.:225). Residency and business ownership in Simla were viewed as a privilege, not a universal right, by the British who
endeavored to increase the exclusiveness of the town by restricting access. "Sentimental reasons of freedom of movement and politico-economic reasons of liberty of trade do not apply to such a case" (ibid.:225).

Not surprisingly, Simla was divided into European and Indian districts. The European area, called "Station Ward", had a "distinctive English character" (Kanwar, 1984:220). The landscape of Station Ward was dotted with approximately four hundred privately-owned English style cottages, villas and "castles" built on an acre or more of land (ibid.). In the 1880s, it became socially permissible for wealthy native rulers or "Princes" to purchase houses in the British section of Simla. Many Princes from the northern regions of India availed themselves of this opportunity. Concurrent with this was the development of the British attitude that the Indian rulers should gradually "assume the position of noblemen" (ibid.). "It was believed that they ought to be brought more and more into social intercourse with the 'higher' European community" (ibid.). This was an effort on the part of the British to legitimize their rule and to co-opt the native ruling class by allowing them a legitimate and high status position within the British social hierarchy. As of 1886, the native elite owned one-seventh of the first-quality European houses (ibid.:221). The fear on the part of the British of being overrun by the natives prompted a backlash. Although
there was no formal order forbidding the purchase of houses by the Princes, administrative permission required to make such a purchase was denied. In addition, the Princes were encouraged to sell their lands (6).

The Indian part of Simla was named the Bazar Ward and was found in the heart of the town. Efforts, on the part of the British, to move the bazaar started early in Simla's history. In 1861, a Deputy Commissioner wrote, "My idea is to give Simla as much an European tone as possible....I look forward to the gradual removal of the Bazar at Simla which is at present occupied by natives and to substitute European traders in their stead, in improved buildings" (Kanwar, 1984:221). Kanwar suggests that the bazaar was tolerated solely because it provided for the Indian population (ibid.:222). The government sought to control the spatial expansion of the bazaar. Thus, it grew vertically rather than horizontally (ibid.:225.). Despite attempts to remove it, the bazaar remained, however, until 1875 when it was moved because of a fire and a cholera outbreak.

Social segregation of the native and Anglo-Indian population went hand-in-hand with spatial segregation. Of all the rationalizations for segregation, perhaps the one that struck the deepest chord within the British community was the desire to feel at ease and less self-conscious about their behaviour. One man stated, on the subject of
segregation, "We spent our time watching our step and watching what we said -- and there was a certain relief to go amongst people of our own race and let our hair down" (Allen, 1976:101). Simla, like other hill-stations, provided a less constrained environment than existed in the settlements on the Plains. Although segregation also occurred in stations on the Plains, it was perhaps more jealously guarded in the context of hill-stations because the minimal native presence was part of the appeal of hill-station life.

The categorization of individuals as "uncovenanted service" was another method used by the British to maintain social and spatial distance. The "uncovenanted service", persons of mixed British and Indian heritage, were the subject of considerable abuse on the part of the British. Emily Eden wrote in 1834:

The 'uncovenanted service' is just one of our choicest Indianisms, accompanied with our very worst Indian feelings. We say the words just as you talk of the 'poor chimney-sweepers', or 'those wretched scavengers' - the uncovenanted being, in fact, clerks in the public offices. Very well-educated, quiet men, and many of them very highly paid; but as many of them are half-castes; we, with our pure Norman, or Saxon blood, cannot really think contemptuously enough of them (Eden, 1866 [v.1]:200).

The disparaging comments made about the "uncovenanted service" may have been prompted partially out of fear that the Anglo-Indians, with their education and well-paid
positions within the colonial administration, might have aspired to join the ranks of the British community, or even perhaps displace it. The social hierarchy of the British in India was rigidly enforced, often most strongly by the memsahibs (7) whose social status was almost entirely dependent on that of their husbands; the husband's position being dependent upon his rank in the civil service or his type of employment (Allen, 1976:89; Barr and Desmond, 1978:22). Indeed, the social distinctions were more rigid than in England; "the smaller the society, the broader are the lines of demarcation" (Barr and Desmond, 1978:22). Thus, the women sought to protect their position from potential usurpers. In addition, the activities of memsahibs were socially oriented. They did not have the military or commercial outlets that were available to men. Therefore, status boundaries as part of the social realm of the British tended to be of considerable concern to the memsahibs (ibid.).

In practical terms, these attitudes towards the "uncovenanted service" manifested themselves in the attempt to exclude Anglo-Indians from British social functions. Separate seating sections were available for Anglo-Indians in theatres and the uncovenanted service were not permitted to enter Government House, the official residence of the Governor-General (Eden, 1866 [v.1]:200). When Emily Eden
asked the wives of the uncovenanted service to send contributions of handicrafts to sell at the fancy fair at Annandale in 1838, she met resistance from female expatriates; "This was rather a shock to the aristocracy of Simla, and they did suggest that some of the wives were very black. That I met with the argument that the black would not come off on their works..." (ibid.:228). The appearance of natives at Simla social events met with a similar response. Sikh envoys were invited to attend a ball and the ladies at Simla were outraged as "they had no idea of dancing before the natives" (or with the natives)(ibid.:187). On that occasion, most women relented eventually, but not without protest.

Simla was a town characterized by a "pleasure-seeking" atmosphere (Barr and Desmond, 1978:35). Allen (1976:129) suggests that Simla was the "most glamorous" of the hill-stations with a reputation for frivolity and festivities. Part of Simla's glamour was due, no doubt, to the presence of the Governor-General, around whom Simla's social life revolved (Edwardes, 1969:91). But even the Governor-General tired of the ceaseless round of balls, concerts, theatrics and other festivities. Lord Dalhousie wrote in 1849 that he welcomed his return to the relative quiet and uneventfulness of life on the Plains (ibid.). The presence of the Imperial Government gave Simla an air of pomp and circumstance that
differed from other hill-stations, including Nuwara Eliya. King notes (1976b:207) that hill-stations were places in which British expatriates could relax, without the pressures of government and the need to keep up appearances in front of the natives. Simla, however, was the exception. Social gaiety was accompanied by a strong consciousness of social status and rank, well documented in Kipling's Plain tales from the hills (1889), a series of short-stories on hill-station life. Simla was the epitome of a sophisticated hill-station. Hence, Simla was "avoided by those wishing to be free of constraints imposed by their social position" (King, 1976b:207)(8).

To note only Simla's social pretensions and constraints would not be an accurate portrayal of the town's character nor an accurate representation of Simla's appeal. Simla was a curious contrast of "earthy surroundings and Paris gowns and perfume" (Barr and Desmond, 1978:32). It was this mixture of British values, beliefs and practices and a landscape that called to mind memories of Home that accounted for Simla's enduring popularity. Emily Eden, captivated by Simla's charm, wrote thus to her sister, "Such nice clear air; and altogether it feels English and exhilarating; and I think of you, and Eden Farm, and Temple Walk, and Crouch Oak Lane, and the blue butterflies...; and all this because the air is English....if the Himalayas were only a continuation of Primrose Hill or Penge Common, I should have no objection
to pass the rest of my life on them" (Eden, 1866 [v.1]:230 & 257). Simla was a hill-station where most of the conveniences of life on the Plains, such as European goods and even ice for drinks, were available, albeit for a price. It was a town where individuals could savour the beauty of nature and, yet, on most occasions could do so in relative comfort; the awareness of being in a foreign land could recede to the back of their consciousness.

**DARJEELING**

Like Simla, Darjeeling was a pleasure town (Morris and Winchester, 1983:199). The town was established as a sanatarium in 1836, during Lord Bentinck's term as Governor-General. Bentinck was successful in obtaining land from the Raja of Sikkim as the British had assisted the raja in regaining his throne after he was deposed (Mitchell, 1972:66). In 1857, Darjeeling, located four hundred miles from Calcutta, became the official summer seat of the Bengali government (Fayrer, 1900:1396). The town is constructed on slopes so steep that houses almost appear to be stacked one on top of the other (Allen, 1885:93). Not surprisingly, Darjeeling is subject to earthquakes and landslides that have, in the past, caused considerable damage. Despite such risks, Dajeeling became a very popular hill-station, so popular that by the close of the nineteenth century all available building sites had been utilized (Mitchell,
1972:68). The town's overcrowdedness was one of the main criticisms of Darjeeling's detractors.

Darjeeling retained its reputation as a sanatorium affording, as Giles stated, "an excellent refuge from the extreme heat of the plains" (Giles, 1904:61). Life on the plains often resulted in the deterioration of the health of the British from a combination of hard work and exhaustion (Fayrer, 1900:1396). Darjeeling was a suitable option for individuals with "no definite organic disease, and no complications, such as asthma, cardiac or cerebral disease, thought not to do well here" (ibid.). Children and persons with a delicate constitution were believed to flourish at Darjeeling (ibid.). In short, Darjeeling offered a pleasant environment where the British could rest and recuperate from the trials of life in other parts of India.

Darjeeling is located at 7,150 feet elevation in the midst of the Himalayas and has, what Mitchell describes as "an extremely beautiful location" (1972:68). Surrounded by magnolia, oak, chestnut and conifer trees, it is not difficult to understand why British expatriates flocked to the hill-station (Fayrer, 1900:1396). During his stay in Darjeeling in 1848, Dr. Joseph Hooker wrote:

Early next morning I caught my first view, and I literally held my breath in awe and admiration. Six or seven successive ranges of forest-clad mountains as high as that whereon I stood (8,000 feet) intervened between
me and the dazzling white pile of snow-clad mountains, among which the giant peak of Kanchenjunga rose 20,000 feet above the lofty point from which I gazed. Owing to the clearness of the atmosphere the snow appeared to my fancy but a few miles off (Mitchell, 1972:68).

The town's layout was also attractive for although the station was small, it was well-kept, functional and well-organized (Morris and Winchester, 1983:200). According to Morris and Winchester, Darjeeling made the most of its smallness (ibid.). It even possessed a racecourse that "was claimed to be the smallest in the world, space was so limited that the racing ponies, when they had completed the circuit, were obliged to dash headlong off the course altogether, and down a neighbouring lane" (Morris, 1982:203).

The tiny racecourse captured the spirit of the station; Darjeeling lacked the aura of self-importance that Simla possessed. Nor did it convey the impression of being either a political or a commercial town (Morris and Winchester, 1983:200), though it had claims to both because it was the summer seat of the Bengali government and was also a commercial centre for the region's tea plantations. Like Simla, Darjeeling was a town centred around social activities, gatherings and occasions but its residents were not preoccupied with rank or status in the manner of the inhabitants of its sister-station, Simla. By comparison with Simla, Darjeeling's atmosphere was relaxed and congenial. To
many of its sojourners, Darjeeling was special; "you were always conscious of the extraordinary nature of the place, so isolated, so far away" (ibid.). It was this reputation that caused Darjeeling to be considered one of the foremost hill-stations.

OOTACAMUND

Ootacamund, or "Ooty" (elevation 7,400 feet), was the chief south-Indian hill-station. Located in the Nilgiri hills, eleven degrees north of the equator, Ootacamund was an "English town transported to the tip of India" (Panter-Downes, 1967:8). The town was founded in 1821 as a sanatarium of the Madras Presidency and was "hailed with rapture as a miraculous giver of health, even of life itself" (ibid.:6). Fayrer noted that Ooty possessed a climate:

well suited to the European constitution, in which our race can maintain its healthful vigour, and where there is good reason to believe that...a permanent home for European race might be, and indeed is, established (Fayrer, 1900:1395).

Fayrer concluded that the hill-station was suitable for "all conditions of depressed health, or after disease contracted in the plains, except, as in most other hill climates, those of hepatitic or dysenteric nature" (ibid.:1396). Blanford concurs, stating "it would certainly be hard to find within the limits of the Indian empire, or perhaps elsewhere" a climate more favorable to Europeans (Blanford, 1889:120).
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The relative uniformity of temperature during the year and a climate that resembled that of England in the spring and summer accounted for its popularity among expatriates (ibid.:120-1).

The morphology of Ooty differs from that of either Simla or Darjeeling. The Nilgiris are gentler hills than the towering peaks of the Himalayas; level land upon which to build was not at such a premium. Therefore, the spatial concentration of the station was not imperative and the result is that Ootacamund is spread out over a series of small hills (ibid.:14). Indeed, Arnold, on a tour of south India, wrote that Ooty was not like a town for its villas and bungalows were scattered, with neighbours widely dispersed (Arnold, 1881:382).

The architectural style most prevalent in Ooty is an ornamental pseudo-Swiss chalet style (9), which dates from 1860 when the station experienced its strongest period of expansion (Panter-Downes, 1967:14; Darley, 1978:940). Though Swiss in style, the names of the residences -- Apple Cottage, Cheerful Cottage, Squire's Hall, Harrow-on-the-Hill and Grasmere Lodge -- evoke images of the English countryside (Panter-Downes, 1967:11; Darley, 1978:940).

If the architecture of Ootacamund was Swiss in nature, other aspects of the town were demonstrably British. Like its more northerly counterparts, Ooty possessed a Club, an
English church, assembly rooms and a library and because the terrain is not as steep as that of the Himalayan stations, a greater range of outdoor activities was possible (Mitchell, 1972:75). These activities or features included golf links, a circular carriage road -- arguably "the most attractive drive in any hill station in India" (Shaw, 1944:85), a race-course and an annual hunt, the Ootacamund Hunt, using hill-jackals and foxhounds imported from Britain (Shaw, 1944:86; Mitchell, 1972:75). Although perhaps less sophisticated than the northern hill-stations (Shaw, 1944:81), Ootacamund had a lively social life during the Season; balls, concerts, a flower show, a dog show, auctions of guns and property of gentlemen "going-home", tennis, shooting, polo, fishing and long walks were some of the activities with which individuals occupied their time (Arnold, 1881:389; Panter-Downes, 1967:10).

The landscape resembled that of Britain and was much admired and remarked upon by the numerous visitors to the area. For Lord Lytton, Viceroy of India from 1876 to 1880, Ootacamund reminded him of "Hertfordshire lanes, Devonshire downs, Westmoreland lakes, [and] Scotch trout streams" (Brown, 1948:27). The "English rain" was "beautiful" and the "English mud" was "delicious" (ibid.). The British appeal of the station had been cultivated since its inception for as early as 1821, Johnson, a British gardener employed by John
Sullivan, the first European settler in Ooty, brought apples and peach trees, strawberries, flower seeds including hollyhocks, roses and geraniums, and vegetable seeds and shoots including cabbage, sweet peas, radishes and potatoes from Home. He also transported English firs and oaks (Panter-Downes, 1967:30). Other trees, including willows, eucalyptus and orange and lime trees were imported from Australia (Arnold, 1881:387). In 1858, government plantations of Australian blue gums, wattles, conifer pines and cypresses were established to augment the dwindling supply of firewood (Shaw, 1944:83). The effect upon the traveller of seeing such a profusion of English vegetation in a setting that bore a strong resemblance to Home made it "difficult to think it was India, and not England in May" (ibid.:379). Such favorable impressions as the following were common among visitors and residents of the area:

Even the flowers were English, and as I drank in their sweet scent the picture was made complete by a bright little English girl coming down the road with her father, her arms full of flowers and convolvaui, the spoils of an early morning walk, and her yellow hair floating on the wind, while she laughed and talked and looked so beautiful I felt proud to be her countryman (Arnold, 1881:380).

**KODAIKANAL**

Kodaikanal (elevation 7,300 feet), located in the Palni Hills in southern India, differs from Simla, Darjeeling or
Ootacamund in that it was established by both American and British interests. The land on which it is situated was first surveyed by the British in 1821 but the surveyor's report was not published until 1837 (Mitchell, 1972:93). After attempts to establish sanatoriums in neighbouring locations met with little success because the elevation was insufficient to prevent fever, Kodaikanal was selected as an alternate site. A few European settlers had previously built homes in the vicinity but there was no townsite when American missionaries arrived in 1845. The following year, some British civil servants constructed houses and the hill-station had begun in earnest (ibid.:104). Difficult access, due to steep slopes of granite, inhibited the rapid expansion of the settlement (ibid.:93). Aside from its slow start, Kodaikanal developed into a "typical foreign enclave of the colonial era" (ibid.:107); a recreational and health centre for Europeans, patronized predominantly by British civil servants and American missionaries.

Like many other hill-station, Kodaikanal had its scenic advantages. "The houses of European residents are picturesquely grouped about a natural theatre of hills surrounding an artificial lake which has been constructed at the bottom of a beautiful little valley" (Mitchell, 1972:107). The town was organized so that the native section with its bazaar was out of sight of European residences and
did not impede their view of the plains below (ibid.:106).
Unlike Simla where the movement of Indians who were not
attached to Europeans was discouraged, many Indians arrived
in Kodaikanal by themselves. Once there, they set-up shops
or cultivated fields of European vegetables to sell to the
expatriate population (ibid.:120). In addition to being
spatially separate, the native and European sections of the
station had different morphologies. The European sector was
dispersed along the eastern and southern shores of the man-
made lake. The compounds for individual bungalows were large
and spacious (ibid.:119). The native section, however, was
very densely populated.

The combination of British and American residents and
visitors gave the hill-station a character that differed
significantly from Simla, Darjeeling or Ootacamund. In the
early years of the station, prior to the 1880s, Kodaikanal
had a very close-knit and fraternal atmosphere. The scale of
settlement was small. For example, only seventy-five
Europeans came to town in 1875 (Mitchell, 1972:118) and were
a mixture of British civil servants, American missionaries,
wives whose husbands were in the army, mothers with children
and individuals who were in poor health. Because access to
Kodaikanal was difficult, growth of the station was slow and
many of its seasonal visitors returned year after year. The
social activities, which included hunting, fishing, fern and
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butterfly collecting, boating, picnics, riding, hiking, dances, tennis, badminton, theatrics and teas (ibid.:124) were jointly engaged in by British and American residents. Thus, there was a sense of community among the Europeans without strong distinctions on the basis of country of origin (ibid.).

The air of informality and the ease of social relations diminished with the increased access and popularity of the station during the 1880s (Mitchell, 1972:124). As a result, there was a shift away from informally organized activities to club-centred activities. "Efforts were purposefully made to keep up friendly contacts at least with others of similar interests, and thus various clubs sprang into existence" (ibid.). The sense of community was undermined with the influx of new patrons and rivalries developed between the British and the Americans, missionaries and non-missionaries, where none had existed before. Attempts were made to "regain lost unity" (ibid.:125) through institutions such as the Club, with the result that the formerly relaxed social atmosphere of Kodaikanal came to resemble the more structured and hierarchical social worlds of Simla, Darjeeling or Ootacamund.

NON-INDIAN HILL-STATIONS

Like the British, the Dutch colonialists developed hill-stations in the Dutch Indies "in order to make sojourns
in a foreign land less uncomfortable" (Spencer and Thomas, 1948:637). The Dutch excursions into the hills of Java predated British forays into the mountains but both the Dutch and the British reached similar conclusions about the recuperative effects of hill life. Hill-stations for the Dutch were less seasonal in nature than were British hill-stations (ibid.:640). The stations tended to be sites of permanent residence for government groups, wealthy Dutch trading families as well as military garrisons (ibid.). The Dutch constructed twenty-three hill-stations, most of which were located on Java. The result was that in Java there was a hill-station available to every town of any importance within a few hours journey (ibid.:645). The stations were typically of lower elevation than those found in India, most being located between 1600 feet and 4000 feet elevation (ibid.). Two of the most prominent Dutch hill-stations were Buitenzorg (elevation 865 feet) and Bandoeng (elevation 2324 feet). The former, located forty miles from Batavia, was the permanent residence of the Governor-General, and was a favorite spot of weekend commuters (ibid.:641; Withington, 1961:418). The latter station, located in West Java, was the permanent home of the army and other government institutions (ibid.).

China was also the locale of hill-stations but there was resistance from the Chinese government and the local
inhabitants to the development of hill-stations. Thus, there were fewer stations in China than the European population would appear to warrant (Spencer and Thomas, 1948:645). The first Chinese hill-station, Kuling, was established as a sanatarium by missionaries and was typical of the Chinese variety of hill-station in that it had few public facilities and the architectural style was Chinese rather than European. The first bungalows were destroyed by natives; European control of the area was not strong (ibid.:648).

The differences between hill-stations in China and those in India were due to several factors. First, the Chinese government never completely lost control of property rights. Second, the Chinese people believed that the intrusion of foreigners into the mountainous regions would disturb the harmony of nature and the landscape. Third, most Europeans resided along the seacoast and found it easier to travel to Japan or the Philippines for recreation than to fight Chinese resistance to hill-stations (Spencer and Thomas, 1948:645).

The Japanese were less resistant to the establishment of mountain stations or resorts and willingly popularized historic hot springs as tourist sites. The first resorts were established by western missionaries to escape the heat of lowlying areas (Spencer and Thomas, 1948:644). Japan did not develop these resorts until the latter part of the
nineteenth century with the emergence of the Meiji restoration. Unlike India, Japan was never colonized by European powers and thus the European presence in the country was not as prevalent nor as visible as in India.

Hill-stations were also present in British Malaya and Burma. These stations, of which there were four in British Malaya and four in Burma, were neither as large nor as well-developed as Indian hill-stations (Spencer and Thomas, 1948:642; Aiken, 1987). Established in the early 1820s, Penang Hill (elevation 2503 feet), for example, was the oldest of the hill-stations in colonial Peninsular Malaysia (Aiken, 1987:422). The station was utilized initially for the recovery of health. Penang Hill lacked the recreational amenities that the smallest Indian hill-station possessed for there was no Club, race course or cricket ground (Aiken, 1987:433). The scenic surroundings, paths for walking and riding and the opportunity to "escape from the...socially restricting presence of non-Europeans" were the station's greatest attractions (ibid.). The paucity of Penang Hill's recreational infrastructure was typical of hill-stations in Malaya and Burma. With improvements in transportation, travel to alternative sites outside the region became popular, resulting in the stagnated growth of local hill-stations (Spencer and Thomas, 1948; Aiken, 1987:422).

The factors influencing the spatial distribution of non-
Indian hill-stations are similar to those which account for the distribution of Indian hill-stations. According to Spencer and Thomas (1948:644), these include the length of time Europeans have resided in the area and the total number of European residents. The relative harshness of the tropical climate is another factor of importance. Also of significance is the political relationship between the colonialists and the native population and the degree of European control of the area. Finally, the nearness and accessibility of the highlands influences the likelihood of potentially suitable locales being utilized (ibid.:644).

It does not appear that non-Indian hill-stations held the degree of symbolic significance or social importance as the hill-stations of the British in India. The hill-stations of the British were a symbol of their power to dominate a country, seldom by force as there were merely a handful of British relative to the size of the native population. The British hill-stations symbolized the British belief that they could govern by example and by the sheer strength of their culture. Hill-stations gained a niche in the colonial consciousness, for the British molded and formed the Indian landscape to create a symbolic sanctuary in the image of the metropolitan country.
SUMMARY

Nora Mitchell's typology of hill-stations provides a useful departure point for understanding the differences in function, character and morphology that emerged among the various stations. Of greatest relevance to this study, because they offer a context to compare Nuwara Eliya, are the "official multi-functional hill-stations", such as Simla, Darjeeling and Ootacamund, and the "private multi-functional hill-stations", such as Kodaikanal (Mitchell, 1972). These stations, like Nuwara Eliya, incorporated an array of functions that included governmental in the case of the latter, military, commercial, social, recreational and health-related activities.

There were considerable differences between the hill-stations of India and Ceylon and those in the remainder of South Asia. In all instances, hill-stations offered an escape from and a contrast with the conditions of lower altitude areas. In the Indian and Ceylonese context, however, hill-stations, such as Nuwara Eliya, played a vital role within the colonial setting for they enabled expatriates to recreate, or closely approximate, the landscape and social world of the metropolitan society. Several parallels emerge between Indian multi-functional hill-stations and Nuwara Eliya, especially as the latter developed into a seasonal resort in the last quarter of nineteenth century. Both
Indian and Ceylonese hill-stations provided a locale in which the presence of natives was minimized, a landscape which could be altered with varying degrees of success to resemble an English setting and a social environment in which expatriates could find some measure of relief from the burdens of Empire.
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ENDNOTES

(1) For example, Eden (1866:124) notes that the proceeds of the 1838 fancy fair, an event in which homemade articles were sold, went towards the construction of a Dispensary. Other charities included the Asylum and a caravanserai, a rest station for travellers (ibid.).

(2) Inexpensive, pirated editions of British novels produced in India were readily available. These editions were often preferred to the more costly British editions which took several months to arrive from England (Eden, 1866:224).

(3) The exception to this rule was the invitations to dances extended to the officers of native regiments from time to time. These occasions prompted much consternation from British women who did not wish to dance with natives (Eden, 1866).

(4) a card game.

(5) Also referred to as half-castes, the term "Anglo-Indian" denotes individuals of mixed British and Indian descent. Formerly the term referred to all British in India. As of 1900, however, the term was used officially to indicate mixed descent (Allen, 1975:21).

(6) The concept of Native Princes being viewed "as noblemen coming up to town also receded" (Kanwar, 1984:221). In 1890, formal rules were established concerning the visits of the native rulers to Simla. Such visits were to be accompanied by gun salutes and official receptions, in contrast to the relative informality of previous visits. The intention of such pomp and circumstance was, according to Kanwar, to inspire "deference to Imperial authority" (ibid.).

(7) Memsahib comes from Madame sahib. Sahib is the term of respect formerly used by Indians when addressing Europeans. Memsahib is the female form of respectful address. As a noun in ordinary use, sahib means Englishman (Kipling, 1987:298).

(8) Mussourie was a hill-station favored by persons who wanted to avoid Simla's social trappings. According to King (1976b:207), Mussourie provided an alternative setting where individuals were more tolerant of deviant behaviour.

(9) The British elite had developed a preference for mountains, both for their health value and their scenic beauty, and thus were familiar with the architectural styles of places such as Switzerland.
To understand the development of Nuwara Eliya as a sanatorium and later as a seasonal resort, one must have an understanding of the socio-economic milieu from which it emerged. That Nuwara Eliya came to prominence when it did is significant. Nuwara Eliya truly came into its own in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Why did Nuwara Eliya not become a seasonal resort immediately upon its formation in 1829? Even in the 1830s, there existed hill-stations as seasonal resorts: Simla is a notable example. Yet during its nascent years, Nuwara Eliya did not resemble Simla. Nuwara Eliya, like Simla, possessed scenic views, a picturesque landscape, a temperate climate and a relatively accessible locale. However, Nuwara Eliya's infrastructure was slow in evolving and when it did develop, it did so sporadically. Nuwara Eliya in the first three decades of its existence was largely pastoral; a sleepy English hamlet nestled in the Ceylonese countryside.

To a large extent, the evolution of Nuwara Eliya paralleled the changes within the plantation economy. The period of greatest expansion within the hill-station coincided with a period of sustained growth and increasing stability of the economy. This occurred in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, following the decline of coffee production due to the coffee blight and the introduction of
alternate crops such as tea, rubber and cinchona. Hand in hand with this went a sense of permanency about the British presence in Ceylon; a sense that emerged following the successful, if somewhat brutal, quelling of the Rebellion of 1848 (Perera, 1958:43).

The chapter traces the development and fluctuations within the plantation economy in Ceylon in the nineteenth century and some of the accompanying political and social changes during that period. The development of the plantation economy is considered vis-a-vis the emergence and evolution of Nuwara Eliya, first as a sanatarium and later as a sanatarium and seasonal resort. The chapter adopts a decade-by-decade approach, beginning with the establishment of the hill-station in 1829. The somewhat arbitrary division of history into ten-year periods provides discrete, comprehendible units for analysis.

As a colony, Ceylon came to depend on the plantation economy for its prosperity and for the development of the island's facilities and infrastructure (1). Because it was export-based, the island's economy was vulnerable to variations in world market prices and to changes in tariffs or duties. Thus, the colony's income would vary over time and there was concern on part of the Colonial Office that the expenditures of the colony be met by the colony's revenues (Pakeman, 1964:66). Therefore, at the discretion of the
Colonial Office and the Governor, there would be periods of economic restraint in Ceylon. At those times, the maintenance and expansion of the infrastructure, for example, road-building and upkeep, would suffer. The development of Nuwara Eliya reflected the fluctuations in the economy.

Ceylon became a Crown Colony in 1802 when the authority of the East India Company was abolished (Mills, 1933:99). The plantation economy did not emerge until two decades later. Several reasons account for the delay in plantation sector development. First, the British were reluctant to disturb the social order of Ceylon and unauthorized Europeans were forbidden from settling on the island. In addition, under Dundas's Regulation of 1801, Europeans were not permitted to purchase land except within the district of Colombo (Hulugalle, 1963:41). Arasaratnam states, "Ceylon was not to be a colony in the normally accepted sense, where migrant population from the mother country is encouraged and given every facility" (1964:152). In the end, however, the benefits of agriculture were considered too advantageous to ignore. The restrictions imposed on the acquisition of land by Europeans were removed by Governor Maitland (1805-1811) (Perera, 1955:146). Second, the British did not control the interior, hill region of the island until the 1815 when the Kandyan Kingdom was dissolved. Third, the British spent much of the following decade, the 1820s, consolidating their hold
on the hill region which Governor Barnes accomplished with the construction of roads (ibid.:159). The earliest plantations date from this period as Barnes attempted to encourage the cultivation of coffee. Although the construction of roads aided the development of the plantation sector by facilitating the transport of produce, the plantation economy did not become firmly established until the mid 1830s.

Sir Edward Barnes created Nuwara Eliya in 1829 as a military sanatarium. At this time, cinnamon was the chief export of the colony (Perera, 1955:146). The cultivation of coffee began in 1824 (Zeylanicus, 1970:129). Governor Barnes was among the first individuals to open a coffee plantation, the Gannoruwa estate, located at Peradeniya (Pakeman, 1964:71; Hulugalle, 1963:42). Civil servants, though forbidden to engage in trade (Bailey, 1964:71), were permitted to own and manage agricultural land (Pakeman, 1964:71), a factor which played a role in both the deterioration of the civil service and the shaping of the economy during the 1830s.

One of the most significant events in the history of Ceylon as a British colony was the release of the Colebrooke-Cameron Reports in 1832. Lieutenant-Colonel William Colebrooke was appointed to review the administration of government, the revenue of the colony, compulsory service,
and the civil establishments (2)(3). His associate, Charles Cameron, undertook an investigation of the Judicial Establishments. Colebrooke's reports, in particular, had long-term consequences for the development of the plantation economy and for the general well-being of the colony. The recommendations, many of which were subsequently accepted, were "a dividing line in Ceylon history" and marked a "transition in Ceylon from the medieval to the modern" (Mendis in Pakeman, 1964:67). Indeed, one writer claims the reforms were the "most definite turning point in the whole course of Ceylon history" (ibid.).

Some of the Colebrooke recommendations that were adopted included the following. First, the Kandyan territories which had been administered as a separate state were incorporated with the remainder of the island. Thus Ceylon was unified under a single administration and divided into five provinces (Pakeman, 1964:64). Each province was administered by a Government Agent responsible to the Governor and was divided further into districts which were overseen by an Assistant Government Agent (A.G.A.). Nuwara Eliya, for example, was in Nuwara Eliya District in the Central Province. This alteration of administrative boundaries was important because it provided the central government with greater control of the hill region and incorporated portions of the former Kandyan Kingdom into various provinces. In
addition, an A.G.A. was posted at Nuwara Eliya. One of his principal duties was to "foster the prosperity" of his district and, hence, he was able to exercise some control over the development of the hill-station (Mills, 1933:96).

Second, the system of compulsory labour, "rajakariya" or "duty to the king", was abolished. "Rajakariya" was a feudal concept of labour in return for the right to hold land (Pakeman, 1964:64). With its abolition, villagers were no longer tied to the land and thus, in theory, labour became mobile. Although the "fetters of the caste system and social conservatism" inhibited the formation of a mobile labour force, peasants could be induced to sell their labour when it was to their benefit (Arasaratnam, 1964:159). This was important for the development of the hill-station because it meant a supply, albeit a costly one, of native labour to draw upon. Labour was also available for the plantation sector, although plantation work was not adopted by many Sinhalese (Perera, 1955:200). The British found it necessary to import Tamil labourers from the south of India as seasonal workers for the coffee plantations and later as permanent workers for the tea plantations.

The third Colebrooke reform of significance was the abolition of government monopolies. Colebrooke, an adherent of Adam Smith's ideas, wanted an end to the East India
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Company's monopoly of the cinnamon trade, the company's last link with Ceylon (Pakeman, 1964:64). The abolition of government monopolies paved the way for the expansion of the plantation sector by encouraging private investment (Perera, 1955:146).

The final Colebrooke reform was imposed upon the civil service and was perhaps of greatest consequence in the emergence of the plantation economy. Prior to the Colebrooke recommendations, the expenses of the colony had exceeded revenues (Perera, 1955:201). In an effort to reduce expenditures, Colebrooke recommended that the salaries of civil servants be reduced and that pensions be abolished (ibid.:129). This marked the onset of the gradual deterioration of the civil service that continued until ameliorative action was taken in 1844 (Bailey, 1952:101). First, morale declined; there was little incentive for efficiency and salaries did not provide an adequate standard of living. Further aggravating the situation was the system of promotion by seniority rather than ability (ibid.). The results were disruptive. Each time a vacancy opened, as many as fifteen individuals would be shifted from their current task, no matter what its status, and moved to a new position in the hierarchy to undertake a task for which they may have been unqualified (ibid.; Perera, 1955:130).

The cumulative result of low morale, inadequate
renumeration and unsatisfactory work conditions was that as a group, civil servants felt little loyalty to the civil service. They were under considerable pressure to supplement their incomes and the plantation sector offered them the opportunity to do so. Indeed, the colonial government encouraged civil servants to open coffee estates, "with a view to fostering the industry until banks were open" Hulugalle, 1963:69), as they were "almost the only Europeans in Ceylon who had capital to invest" (Mills, 1933:77). Their involvement with coffee plantations did much to aid the expansion of that sector but was detrimental to the civil service. Official duties were neglected which resulted in a decline in standards and a further drop in morale (de Silva, 1981:272). The Colebrooke recommendations weakened the civil service, and inadvertently assisted the coffee industry. It was not until 1844 that the Secretary of State, Lord Stanley, raised the salaries and restored the pensions of civil servants, thereby curtailing the damage to the civil service (Bailey, 1952:102).

The 1830s witnessed the rapid expansion of the coffee industry. Coffee exports received a boost when the British government equalized the differential duty on coffee in 1835 (Bailey, 1952:102). Ceylon could now compete with West Indian coffee imports to Britain. Planters were quick to take advantage of this break in the market. Concurrent with this
was the dwindling of the cinnamon market; coffee exports filled the gap (Perera, 1955:146). In the Central Province alone, between 1838 and 1843 no fewer than 130 plantations were opened, almost all within thirty miles of Kandy (de Silva, 1981:269). The sale of Crown lands in the Kandyan provinces, "a reliable index of the growing interest in coffee" (Hulugalle, 1963:59), increased dramatically between 1834 and 1845. Between 1835 and 1838 an annual average of 6,412 acres were sold, in contrast to the 49 acres that were sold in 1834 (ibid.). From 1840 to 1845, the annual average leapt to 42,880 acres (ibid.). Nuwara Eliya, too, became a coffee planting district (Ferguson and Ferguson, 1877).

Coffee planting had become something of a "mania". The Governor, judges, members of the military, the English clergy and over half of the civil servants, "in fact every official who could obtain the capital, became the owner of a plantation, convinced that in a few years he would make his fortune" (Mills, 1933:77; Perera, 1955:148).

Yet despite this growth in the plantation sector and Nuwara Eliya's emergence as a coffee planting district, the hill-station itself did not experience significant growth. In the 1830s, Nuwara Eliya, as a military sanatorium, suffered from a paucity of amenities and the infrastructure was little improved. An explanation for this can be found in the economic conditions in Ceylon. Although the plantation sector
grew quickly, coffee did not become firmly established as an export until the British government moved to equalize duties on coffee imports. In addition, the formerly profitable pearl fisheries had become barren in the last half of the decade, the revenue form the cinnamon monopoly had been lost and the tax on fish had been repealed, all of which took a toll on Ceylon's finances (Hulugalle, 1963:59). There was little revenue to invest in the development of Nuwara Eliya. Governor J.A. Stewart Mackenzie (1837-1841) was forced to limit road construction and other public works, "thus incurring the enmity of planters and merchants who were clamouring for means of communication to the coffee estates" (ibid.). Furthermore, many planters were civil servants who had been drawn to planting as a means of supplementing their meager salaries, and hence were not in a financial position to invest in Nuwara Eliya. In addition, because a large proportion of the planters held full time positions within the colonial administration or elsewhere, they had little time to spend on health or recreational pursuits at the hill-station.

The 1840s were bittersweet years for many planters, for many had had their first taste of prosperity only to face financial ruin by the end of the decade. The economy experienced steady growth during the first half of the decade. Plantations continued to open and increase in acreage.
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despite a government increase in the price of land by over 400 percent (Ludowyck, 1966:76; Capper, 1871:39); planters were optimistic about future prospects. The Bank of Ceylon was established in 1840. Founded by "London interests", the purpose of the bank was to provide capital for commercial agricultural ventures in Ceylon (Hulugalle, 1963:69). It appeared to have a positive effect for in 1841, 78,685 acres of land, a record number, were sold for coffee estates (ibid.).

In 1844, the Secretary of State, Lord Stanley caused some consternation among civil servants involved in agricultural pursuits. Aware that many civil servants were more concerned about their plantations than their government jobs, he forbade civil servants from owning land (Bailey, 1952:102-3; Balasingham, 1968:7). This provoked an outcry from those affected and from Governor Colin Campbell. With some misgiving, Stanley compromised. Civil servants owning land prior to Lord Stanley's announcement were permitted to retain their land, but not to supervise it, as long as it did not interfere with their duties. In future, however, no civil servant could purchase land for agricultural use (Bailey, 1952:102-3). The blow of Stanley's announcement was softened somewhat by his reintroduction of pensions for civil servants who served until age fifty-five. He also increased their salaries and introduced a system of promotion by
ability rather than seniority (ibid.).

Lord Stanley's restrictions on land ownership did not have an immediate impact on the plantation economy. The plantation sector continued to expand and attract foreign investment, and several British-owned agency houses, servicing the coffee estates, had been started in Colombo (Hulugalle, 1963:70). According to Ferguson and Ferguson (1877), however, with hindsight it is apparent that 1845 marked the height of the "coffee mania". Under Governor Campbell's administration the economy was buoyant, which made the financial crisis of 1845-1846 all the more devastating. The financial crisis originated in Britain and spread quickly to Ceylon (Bailey, 1952:114). Sir Emerson Tennent wrote:

> In the midst of visions of riches, a crash suddenly came which awoke victims to the reality of ruin. The financial explosion of 1845 in Great Britain speedily extended its destructive influence to Ceylon, remittances ceased, prices fell, credit failed, and the first announcement on the subsidence turmoil was the doom of protection, and the withdrawal of the distinctive duty which had so long screened British plantations from competition with the coffee of Java and Brazil (in Ferguson and Ferguson, 1877).

The effects of the crisis continued for three years though its impact on government coffers was felt until the end of Governor Anderson's administration (1850-1855) (ibid.).

Merchants and planters were hard hit by the lowering of
differential duties on coffee by the British government which had favored Ceylonese coffee over Brazilian imports (Ludowyck, 1966:76). The difference in duties was lowered from 150 percent to 50 percent, which meant that Brazilian imports could undersell those from Ceylon (ibid.; Balasingham, 1968:9). Many estates were forced to close when prices plummeted. The crisis was compounded by poor planting practices; many plantations were neglected and unproductive. The commercial crisis forced many civil servants out of the plantation sector. Merchants and those planters who were not civil servants were not sympathetic, however. They lobbied the government for a reduction of civil servant's salaries, with the savings from the salaries to be used for the maintenance of roads (Balasingham, 1968:98).

The country's difficulties were not over. 1848 was the year of the Kandyan "Rebellion". A series of new taxes and fees, ordered by Lord Grey to make up for the 1846 budget deficit, as well as an edict ordering each inhabitant to work six days per year on the construction or maintenance of roads or pay a commutation tax, angered the native populace and prompted a protest (Hulugalle, 1963:77-8; Ludowyck, 1963:208). A disturbance occurred on a small scale in Colombo and a slightly larger scale at Matale and Kurunegala, in the heart of the plantation region (Hulugalle, 1963:78). The leaders of the rebellion were peasants who wanted a return to
the traditional Kandyan lifestyle (Ludowyck, 1963:279). The Governor, Lord Torrington, believed the protesters represented a serious threat and imposed martial law. Although the rebellion ended within four days, Torrington requested troops from India. For a period of two months, the troops and volunteers marched throughout the countryside "teaching the rebels a lesson" (de Silva, 1981:210). Torrington was censured for his overreaction and unnecessary use of force and a committee was formed to investigate the Ceylon government's response to the uprising, which included members such as Disraeli, Gladstone and Peel (Zeylanicus, 1970:108). Governor Torrington was recalled in 1850. The rebellion did not pose a serious threat to the well-being of the colonial government, but the after-effects were disruptive. The rebellion created a sense of political uncertainty and combined with the lingering effects of the financial crisis, cast a pall on the closing years of the decade.

Although the Ceylonese economy experienced a coffee "boom" during the early 1840s, Nuwara Eliya derived little benefit from this prosperity. The hill-station was in "a state of utter neglect" according to Sir Samuel Baker, when he first visited it in 1845 (Murray and White, 1895:23). Nuwara Eliya's reputation as a seasonal retreat had grown, however. Despite neglect by the government, the station
blossomed with visitors during the season. The ability of expatriates to sojourn at Nuwara Eliya indicates an increasing level of prosperity within that community. The finances of the colony had improved considerably from 1835 to 1845, yet there remained numerous demands on the colony's treasury. Given these demands, the government did not consider the development of Nuwara Eliya a priority. The infrastructure of the hill-station, therefore, did not progress beyond the rudimentary level of a military sanatorium.

The history of Nuwara Eliya might have differed significantly if the financial crisis of 1846-1847 had not occurred. The commercial crisis destroyed any chance that Nuwara Eliya may have had to benefit from the government purse. The economic setbacks followed by the Kandyan Rebellion of 1848 took their toll upon the colony; planters struggled to keep their estates and the government had no option but fiscal restraint. The political uncertainty resulting from the rebellion and debacle of Governor Torrington's response made the colonial government all the more cautious in its spending habits.

Despite the financial and political difficulties in Ceylon during the late 1840s, the period was significant in Nuwara Eliya's development. The assistance that the hill-station received at this time came from the private sector.
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Samuel Baker, the British adventurer who had visited the sanatarium in 1845 to recuperate from jungle fever, decided to settle at Nuwara Eliya. He returned to Britain to equip himself with all that he would require to create an English village in Ceylon (see Chapter 6). In 1846, he and his family and a dozen emigrants proceeded to build their homes and begin to farm. The fluctuations in the economy did not prevent Baker from carrying out his plan. Baker had a private income, and was neither a merchant nor a planter and thus suffered minimally from the commercial crisis. Baker's initiative marked a turning point for Nuwara Eliya for he set the tone for its future development as an English hamlet, rescued it from the neglect which it had suffered, and injected the capital necessary to attract further investment.

The period from 1850 to 1855 was one of austerity under Governor George Anderson (1850-1855). As Ferguson and Ferguson (1877) note, "The political disturbances of the [previous decade]...and the impoverished state of the revenue prevented due encouragement being given to the extension of planters". Anderson was under orders from the Colonial Office to "save and hoard" (ibid.). Roads were neglected, bridges went unrepaired. It is not surprising that Anderson incurred the wrath of planters. In 1854, the Planter's Association was formed as a means of lobbying the government for assistance for the plantation sector (ibid.). Despite the lack of
government help for planters, the plantation sector began to make a healthy recovery from the financial setbacks of the previous years. This was due partially to improved planting techniques that resulted in higher yields and more efficient estates (Balasingham, 1968:1).

The period from 1855 to 1860 was one of renewed prosperity for Ceylon. The fiscal restraint under Governor Anderson created a surplus that permitted Governor Henry Ward (1855-1860) to engage in a program of public works and the upgrading of the island's infrastructure. As coffee plantations flourished, Ward proceeded to repair and extend roads, build bridges and open land for sale (Ferguson and Ferguson, 1877). From 1855 to 1860, over one million pounds sterling were spent on new roads and bridges (de Silva, 1981:283-4). Ward initiated the construction of a continuous road, 796 miles in length, which encircled the island, and brought to 3000 the total miles of roads (Hulugalle, 1963:92; de Silva, 1981:283-4). By the time Ward departed in 1860, every town of importance in Ceylon was connected with either Colombo or Kandy (Hulugalle, 1963:92).

Governor Ward also began the construction a railway from Colombo to Kandy which he considered to be essential to planting interests (Hulugalle, 1963:92). Export duties were reimposed to finance the railway. In 1858, the original estimated cost of 856,557 pounds sterling proved to be far
short of a subsequent estimate of 2,214,000 pounds. As a result, despite a sod turning ceremony with much fanfare, the plans for the railway were discontinued. The Ceylon Government assumed control of the Ceylon Railway Company and incurred a loss of 386,275 pounds (ibid.). The colonial government recognized the importance of a railway to the economy and it was only a matter of time until a more satisfactory arrangement for its construction could be achieved.

Nuwara Eliya was neglected under Governor Anderson's administration. Baker states that Governor Anderson did not even visit Nuwara Eliya (Baker, 1890:8). Although the hill-station did not win the favour of Governor Anderson or receive funding to expand or upgrade under his administration, Nuwara Eliya continued to have the patronage of Sir Samuel Baker. As prosperity began to return to Ceylon, Nuwara Eliya began to be viewed as a long-term asset to the colony. Baker had established a thriving farming community and a brewery (Sullivan, 1854:137). Henry Sirr had proposed a scheme to produce cured meats and cheeses at Nuwara Eliya for sale in Ceylon and abroad (Sirr, 1850). There also emerged at this time the first suggestion that Nuwara Eliya was evolving into a seasonal resort as well as a sanatarium (see Chapter 6). Nuwara Eliya had begun to attract individuals who were more interested in the social
aspects of hill-station life than in the tranquility of a mountain sanatarium. Thus, although Nuwara Eliya lacked official support during the early 1850s, it continued to thrive as an English village.

In 1855, Samuel Baker, suffering from jungle fever, left Nuwara Eliya and returned to England to live (Van Thal, 1951:13). In the same year, Sir Henry Ward became Governor of Ceylon. Although the economy of the colony was prospering, Nuwara Eliya's recreational infrastructure remained embryonic. The hill-station continued to expand but Baker's influence had done much to keep the station pastoral and quiet. This was a time of transition for Nuwara Eliya, however. With the opening of new land to planters, the increased accessibility of the hill-region due to an improved network of roads and continued growth of the economy, the seeds were sown for the gradual transformation of Nuwara Eliya into a seasonal resort.

During the 1860s coffee was both the strength and the weakness of the Ceylonese economy. As the mainstay of the economy, coffee was a lucrative commodity; continued prosperity seemed certain. Yet it is precisely because coffee played such a preeminent role in the affluence of Ceylon that the colony was vulnerable. Monocropping presented unforeseen dangers and prosperity was anything but assured. During most of the 1860s, however, the government and planters were
blissfully unaware of the impending demise of coffee crops. A lone voice, Dr. Thwaites of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Peradeniya, warned of the potential weaknesses that monocropping presented, but he was largely ignored (Bastiampillai, 1968:43).

Although the economy was thriving under the administration of Governor Sir Charles MacCarthy (1860-1863), there was little public money expended on roads. Planters complained of failure to maintain or build roads and MacCarthy was accused of having a "cheeseparing" approach to the colony's finances (Bailey, 1952:121). The Governor was under orders, however, from the Secretary of State to practice rigid economy (Hulugalle, 1963:96). Sufficient surplus had to be accumulated to meet a significant portion of the cost of the construction of a railway line from Colombo to Kandy. MacCarthy met the Home Government's objectives. He accumulated a surplus of 525,505 pounds sterling, of which 106,198 pounds came from funds voted for public works but not used (ibid.:99).

Work began on the railway from Colombo to Kandy in 1863, with the contract awarded to a London firm (Hulugalle, 1963:93). The line was opened in 1867 at a cost of 1,738,483 pounds sterling, including the loss from the earlier attempt to start the railway (ibid.). From the beginning, the new railway was profitable. This is not surprising considering
that the only means of transporting goods from Kandy to Colombo had been by bullock cart; a tedious, unreliable and expensive method (Perera, 1955:163). The railway represented a major breakthrough in the transportation methods of colony. Formerly, the cost of transporting coffee from Kandy to Colombo exceeded the cost of shipping coffee from Colombo to London (Capper, 1871:44). Planters were not the only beneficiaries. Prior to the railway, the cost of rice was sixty percent higher in Kandy than in Colombo and natives, too, benefitted from decreased transport costs (ibid.). There is little doubt, however, that the railway was of greatest assistance to the plantation sector. No sooner was the line completed when planters began to lobby for an extension of the line to the south of Kandy, further into the plantation district.

The period from 1865 to 1870 was characterized by the continued expansion and prosperity of the economy. During the administration of Governor Hercules Robinson (1865-1872), an average of 32,432 acres of land were sold per annum (Ferguson and Ferguson, 1877). Coffee was thriving, yet by 1869 there were signs that all was not well within the plantation sector. In May, 1869, at Madulsima, a red fungus first appeared on the leaves of the coffee plants (ibid.). As the coffee disease spread, its orange-red splotches "gave the hillsides an autumnal splendour" (Ludowyk, 1966:89). The
devastation that the fungus eventually wrought was slow in emerging. The coffee disease, hemileia vastatrix, was cyclical and its "initial action appeared benign" (Bastiampillai, 1968:7). In May, red spots would appear on the coffee leaves and increase in size until July or August (Ferguson and Ferguson, 1877). Plants "recovered temporarily, but only later were to manifest fatal effects", as the bushes were denuded of leaves (Bastiampillai, 1968:7). Few planters were deeply concerned about the fungus, however, considering it to be one of those troublesome but essentially harmless infestations that periodically beset coffee estates. Their reaction was a testimony to their faith in their ability to cure the disease and to the belief that their hard-won affluence would endure.

The growth of Nuwara Eliya continued slowly during the 1860s. The opening of the Colombo-Kandy railway in 1867 increased the accessibility of the hill-station. Nuwara Eliya's reputation as a seasonal retreat and sanatarium was firmly established, and there was a small settlement of permanent residents. The stage was set for the expansion of the hill-station; European planters and merchants were prospering and the salaries of civil servants had increased sufficiently to permit them to enjoy a visit to Nuwara Eliya during the Season. Although there was no dramatic development of the hill-station in the 1860s, there was the type of
steady growth that suggested that Nuwara Eliya was a fixture of life in colonial Ceylon.

The period from 1872 to 1877, under the administration of Governor Sir William Gregory, was the "golden age of the coffee planter" (Bastiampillai, 1968:3). Ironically, the 1870s also marked the twilight of the era of coffee production. Before the end, however, came a period of unprecedented prosperity; a prosperity so impressive that few could foresee the consequences that would result from a red fungus.

As late as 1877, planters, merchants and others in positions of authority believed that the coffee disease, hemileia vastatrix, did not pose a permanent threat to coffee cultivation. The journalists, Ferguson and Ferguson, wrote:

During the past few years...the general opinion seems to be that it [the coffee disease] has been growing less severe, and many still hope it may disappear as completely as has black bug, which is now very rarely heard of in the country (Ferguson and Ferguson, 1877).

Dr. Thwaites, Superintendent of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Peradeniya, suggested that the disease was chronic and that new crops must be substituted as quickly as possible (Bastiampillai, 1968:9). Many dismissed his warnings as pessimistic and those who did heed him did so grudgingly, planting new crops, such as tea or cinchona, between their coffee bushes (ibid:13). The solution to the disease, it was
believed, lay in improved planting practices. Cultivation at higher altitudes such as those of the Nuwara Eliya District, the liberal use of manure, improved pruning and the use of chemical sprays were thought to ameliorate the situation (ibid.; see Laird, 1875:95). Planters lobbied the government to extend the railway to Nanu Oya so that manure could be transported more readily from the lowlands (ibid.:43).

Experiments were conducted with Liberian coffee, a hardy variety grown at lower altitudes, yet to no avail (Ferguson and Ferguson, 1877). Like the Ceylonese variety of coffee, it too succumbed to the fungus.

How is it that planters remained optimistic despite the ongoing damage to their crops? Their optimism may be attributed, in part, to their desire to believe that the prosperity they had experienced would continue indefinitely. They argued that earlier infestations had been defeated (Ferguson and Ferguson, 1877), and it was only a matter of time until scientific knowledge provided the answer to their woes. In addition, the market for coffee in the 1870s was strong and as Bastiampillai suggests, "lucrative markets tended to veil the true situation and sustained planter optimism" (1968:7). During the 1870s there had been a sudden rise in coffee prices in Europe and the United States. Although there had been some uneasiness about the coffee disease, by 1874:
the alarm of the Governor and the planters passed away....Coffee fetched higher prices and huge profits and a few crops were good. Cultivation of, or hope in the permanency of, the staple product suffered little (ibid.:8).

To compensate for the decline in productivity of the existing crops, planters continued to plant more acres of coffee; still, productivity declined (Laird, 1875:95). In 1877-78, the total amount of coffee exported was forty percent less than the amount exported in 1869, although the number of acres under cultivation had increased by 100,000 (Ferguson and Ferguson, 1877). The scarcity of the crop had done much to contribute to the rise in coffee prices.

Governor William Gregory was not unaware of the implications of the coffee disease, though he too believed it was only temporary. He wrote that he wished he had listened to the "wise admonitions" of Dr. Thwaites "as to the instability of coffee. Year after year he foretold its downfall, and was subjected to obloquy and ridicule for his disloyalty to the great King Coffee" (quoted in Hulugalle, 1963:122). Yet Gregory was a prudent administrator. He encouraged the introduction and cultivation of new products that could prove of benefit to the colony (Ferguson and Ferguson, 1877). Gregory recognized that diversification of the economy would enable it to endure such setbacks as disease or fluctuations in commodity prices.

Tea, cinchona and, later, rubber were the crops that
supplanted coffee. Each could be grown in conjunction with coffee or on abandoned coffee estates (Perera, 1955:149-50). Of primary importance was tea. Tea held several advantages over coffee. It could be grown at elevations above and below those tolerated by coffee and in a wider range of soil types, was hardier than coffee and did well under conditions of high precipitation that would have ruined a coffee crop and, unlike coffee, could be harvested year-round (Bastiampillai, 1968:15).

Tea was not new to the colony. It had been introduced in 1839 and cultivated at the Rothschild Estate at Pussellava and the Condegalle Estate at Ramboda (Perera, 1955:150), and later at the Loolecondera Estate, southwest of Kandy (Zeylanicus, 1970:131). In the early years of cultivation, the technology of tea manufacturing was poorly developed and the costs made large-scale production prohibitive. By the late 1860s, production techniques had improved, yet in 1867 there were no exports of tea from Ceylon (Ludowyck, 1966:92). With the encouragement of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Peradeniya, under the guidance of Dr. Thwaites, planters were given seeds from Assam tea plants and advised on their use. In 1872, 270 acres of tea were cultivated. The first exports, twenty-three pounds in total, occurred the following year (Bastiampillai, 1968:15). By 1877, 2,720 acres had been planted and exports that year totalled 2,105 pounds (ibid.).
The outlook for tea cultivation was promising, but the major growth of the industry did not occur until the 1880s when planters could no longer deny that coffee was in its death throes.

Cinchona, the bark of which was used to produce quinine, was introduced to Ceylon in 1868 from Peru and Ecuador (Perera, 1955:149; Bastiampillai, 1968:13). It was first cultivated at the Hakgala Gardens near Nuwara Eliya. Cinchona gained popularity rapidly because it could be planted between coffee bushes and market demand was strong (ibid.). Its popularity proved to be its downfall, however. In less than ten years 60,000 acres were cultivated, resulting in overproduction and lowered prices (ibid.). By 1884, cinchona was no longer a significant export for the colony (Bastiampillai, 1968:14). Nevertheless, its contribution to the economy of Ceylon should not be discounted. The cultivation of cinchona assisted many planters through the lean years of the late 1870s.

A latecomer, rubber was introduced to Ceylon from Kew Gardens in 1876 and planted commercially in the Kalutara district in 1883. Initially, rubber was the least successful of the three crops. Rubber plants were slow to mature and there was little demand for the product until the turn of the century (Hulugalle, 1963:146). Rubber was a long-term investment, however, and proved to be of considerable benefit.
to the colony in later years.

The administration of Sir William Gregory had been a time of prosperity for Ceylon, but by the time Governor James Longden (1877-1883) assumed the reins of government in 1877 the era of affluence had passed. The area under coffee cultivation had been reduced to 100,000 acres by 1878 (Hulugalle, 1963:121). By 1883 coffee exports were at their lowest level in thirty-five years (ibid.). Of the 1700 European planters that had lived in Ceylon during the peak years of coffee, 400 had returned to Britain by the early 1880s (ibid.). Hence, the recovery of the plantation sector was a crucial objective of Longden's administration. Despite the retrenchment of the colony's finances, Governor Longden assisted planters by undertaking the extension of the railway from Nawalapitiya to Nanu Oya, within easy access of Nuwara Eliya (ibid.). Tea was judged the greatest hope for economic recovery, but the lapse between the fall of coffee and the emergence of tea proved a trying time for the colony.

At the beginning of the 1870s, the area surrounding Nuwara Eliya was "an almost empty extent of country composed of uninhabited jungle tracts and a few villages" (Ferguson in Bastiampillai, 1968:3). The early 1870s was a time of growth for the hill-station as coffee plantations expanded into higher elevations. By 1874, there were 84,000 acres of coffee under cultivation in the vicinity of Nuwara Eliya
Despite the decline of coffee, Nuwara Eliya's development did not falter. The region was ideally suited to the cultivation of tea, and the government, certain that it could promote the new crop, surveyed land for sale to planters in the Nuwara Eliya District (ibid.:15) (5).

The first half of the 1870s were a time of economic optimism in Ceylon and the development of the hill-station reflected this attitude. Several events of significance occurred during this period. The recreational infrastructure of Nuwara Eliya underwent a rapid and unprecedented expansion. With the surplus generated from a prosperous economy, expatriates were able to invest in the hill-station, to build bungalows and to enjoy sojourns during the season. The opening of the district to plantation agriculture promoted the expansion of Nuwara Eliya as the station assumed the role of a service centre, offering goods and services to the inhabitants of the neighbouring estates. In addition, Nuwara Eliya was also a recreational locale for planters. In 1872, the Hill Club was constructed. With a membership composed largely of planters, the club provided members with a tennis court, billiard room and facilities for socializing.

In 1872, Sir William Gregory became Governor of Ceylon. Fortunately for Nuwara Eliya, he became fond of the hill-station. He built Queen's Cottage, for 1500 pounds sterling, as the official residence of the Governor during the season.
He was also instrumental in the construction of Lake Gregory, which did much to improve the recreational facilities of the station. Boating became possible and fishing increased in popularity. The Governor, in keeping with the buoyant spirit of the times, was intent upon upgrading the appearance of the hill-station and allocated funds for ornamental plants and shrubs, new roads and drives and the draining of portions of the town (Bastiampillai, 1968:119). The presence of the Governor during the season gave Nuwara Eliya an added boost, for it enhanced the reputation of the station and attracted individuals who sought status validation.

In 1873, Nuwara Eliya ceased to be a military sanatarium. Despite the objections of the military establishment in Ceylon, the military force at the station was withdrawn by order of the Governor (Le Mesurier, 1893:64). Bastiampillai notes, "Although Nuwara Eliya hitherto had been reserved for the military, expensive army quarters remained untenanted. The army could spare no doctor for running it as a health resort" (1968:119). The role of the military in Ceylon had become inconsequential following the uprising in 1848, for there had been peace in the colony. Nuwara Eliya continued to be the "principle station and headquarters of the revenue and judicial administration of the District" (Le Mesurier, 1893:64), yet it was also assuming the role of a seasonal resort. The departure of the
military marked the transition the hill-station was undergoing. In the same year, the Nuwara Eliya Jymkhana Club was established and, two years later, the racecourse was built.

In the second half of the 1870s, Nuwara Eliya's pace of expansion slowed, but did not cease. With the setbacks the colony faced due to the coffee disease, there was less money to invest in the hill-station. In 1877, the Assistant Government Agent, A.C. Murray, wrote in an administrative report that he wished to undertake improvements to the station but funds were not available (de Silva, 1978:61). This did not diminish the popularity of Nuwara Eliya, however. The hill-station had come into its own, and began to play an important role in the recreational infrastructure of the island. Nuwara Eliya's reputation as a sanatarium endured but it had evolved a greater diversity of functions.

When Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon (1883-1890) became Governor in 1883, Ceylon was still experiencing the effects of the coffee crisis. A new setback occurred in 1884 with the failure of the Oriental Banking Corporation in Ceylon, which had been established in 1845 (Hulugalle, 1963:126). Owned by Scottish interests, the corporation was adversely affected by the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank (Bastiampillai, 1968:10). The corporation owned numerous coffee estates and held mortgages on many others. It had
played a critical role in the promotion of agriculture in the colony with a network of branch offices in principle towns and planting centres (Hulugalle, 1963:126). When the Oriental Banking Corporation's "dramatic suspension occurred, the greatest distress and commercial upheaval ever known in the island was occasioned" (ibid.). Concurrent with this was a decline in the price of coffee. Britain experienced a depression from 1879 until 1885, during which time English consumers favored the less expensive Brazilian coffee over the Ceylonese product. The cost of producing coffee in Ceylon was too high to compete with its longtime rival (Bastiampillai, 1968:10). This, in conjunction with the failure of the Oriental Banking Corporation, dealt the final blow to Ceylon's coffee industry.

By the time Governor Gordon left the colony in 1890, Ceylon had recovered from the coffee crisis. Once again there was surplus revenue in the treasury (Hulugalle, 1963:125). Gordon had been able to undertake a limited number of public works, including the completion of the railway from Kandy to Nanu Oya, which began operating in 1885 and brought the railway to within five miles of Nuwara Eliya. He was also responsible for the construction of 261 miles of new roads (ibid.:132), and the introduction of the telegraph to Ceylon. This did much to contribute to the recovery of the plantation sector. The tea industry was beginning to experience the
success that coffee had enjoyed. In 1889, 10,525,381 pounds of tea were exported (ibid.:134). As the end of the century drew nearer, Ceylon faced a promising future.

With the opening of the railway from Kandy to Nanu Oya in 1885, Nuwara Eliya became much more accessible. It was possible to travel to the hill-station for shorter periods of time than was feasible previously. Gradually weekend trips to the hill-station gained in popularity. The railway link served to enhance Nuwara Eliya's attractiveness as a resort and visitors were no longer obliged to stay for an extended period to make their journey worthwhile. The hill-station also benefitted from the expansion of the tea industry. Nuwara Eliya became less and less remote in the perception of the expatriate community, as tea estates made incursions into the region. Nuwara Eliya, though still experiencing seasonal fluctuations in popularity, flourished as the economy regained the ground it had lost with the end of the coffee era.

The period from 1880 to 1910 was one of increasing stability and sustained growth of the economy (de Silva, 1981:286). By 1894, over 330,000 acres of tea had been planted (Ludowyck, 1966:92). Thus, within eighteen years of the failure of coffee, tea had emerged as the mainstay of the economy. Like the coffee industry, tea was not invulnerable as demonstrated by the slump that occurred in the industry in
the 1890s. Production methods for drying tea had become outmoded and new efforts were necessary to keep the industry efficient. During the early stages of tea planting, tea estates had been run mainly by individual European entrepreneurs (Zeylanicus, 1970:133). Yet by the 1890s it was evident a change of strategy was required. Few individual private investors possessed the capital to upgrade their equipment for processing tea. As a result, the tea industry underwent a reorganization during the 1890s. This entailed better methods of cultivation, increased mechanization in the tea factories, and the shift from individual entrepreneurs to corporate investors (Pakeman, 1964:75). In some instances, several estate owners formed a corporation and amalgamated their plantations.

The re-organization of the tea industry helped to maintain the health of the plantation sector. Tea had become big business in Ceylon. Investors such as Thomas Lipton, with his trademark slogan "straight from the tea gardens to the teapot", often preferred to run their investments from afar and hired managers to oversee their estates (Ludowyck, 1966:91; Pakeman, 1964:75). Tea was thriving but the days of monocropping were gone. The rubber industry made headway during the slump in tea to become the second most important export crop in the colony (Pakeman, 1964:75). It continued to prove lucrative and by 1908, 150,000 acres were under
cultivation (Hulugalle, 1963:146). The market for plumbago, or graphite, was also strong (ibid.:134).

The administrations of Sir Arthur Havelock (1890-1895) and Sir Joseph West Ridgeway (1895-1903) both proved to be financially beneficial for Ceylon. With the surplus generated from the tea industry, each Governor continued a policy of railway expansion and road building. West Ridgeway extended the railway from Kurunegala to Anuradhapura, thus making the plantation district even more accessible (Hulugalle, 1963:140). He also oversaw the expansion of the Colombo docks which improved the efficiency of the shipping industry (ibid.). As the century came to a close, Ceylon possessed a stable and lucrative export economy. These were good years for expatriates in Ceylon. There was a sense of permanence about the British presence on the island, fostered in part by the enduring reign of Victoria, an almost goddess-like figure who it seemed would survive forever.

The 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century proved to be good years for Nuwara Eliya, as well, for the prosperity of the colony was reflected in the development of the hill-station. The recreational infrastructure continued to expand with the opening of the Nuwara Eliya golf course in 1890, the construction of the golf pavilion in 1892 and the extension of the links in 1893 (de Silva, 1978:91). The race course was also improved and a new pavilion and a rifle
range, with targets imported from Britain, were built in 1898 (Government of Ceylon, Jan. 19, Mar. 12, 15, Apr. 13, 1898). Facilities for visitors had been ameliorated, too, as Barnes Hall, the home that Governor Barnes constructed for himself in 1829, became the Grand Hotel in the late 1890s. The recreation facilities of Nuwara Eliya had improved dramatically since the 1870s and given the resources of the expatriate community, the continued expansion of the hill-station was not in doubt. Indeed, the hill-station had become sufficiently popular by 1904 to warrant the construction of a narrow gauge railway linking Nuwara Eliya to Nanu Oya.

The development of Nuwara Eliya reflected the sense of confidence that characterized the British presence in Ceylon. The British had overcome the economic hurdles that had beset the colony and, as the century ended, they were savoring their affluence. They could afford to indulge themselves in the luxuries associated with power, and were willing to expend the surplus generated from their commercial ventures in creating a substitute for Home. Thus, the development of Nuwara Eliya was an expression of both their satisfaction and dissatisfaction with colonial life. Nuwara Eliya, an English village superimposed on the Ceylonese landscape, represented the power the British had amassed and the price they had paid -- the separation from a land and way of life they now sought to replicate.
The development of Nuwara Eliya paralleled the evolution and fluctuations of the plantation sector, the part of the economy with which the British were most closely linked. The greatest expansion of the hill-station occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century following the uprising of 1848, which marked the beginning of the Pax Britannica, a period of political calm in Ceylon lasting until 1918. This period witnessed the rise and fall of the coffee industry, and the emergence of tea as the new staple crop. It was during this time that Nuwara Eliya achieved a position of prominence within the colonial framework and as the finances of Ceylon improved so, too, did the recreational infrastructure of the hill-station.

SUMMARY

This chapter has examined the development and fluctuations of the plantation economy in Ceylon during the nineteenth century. It has been argued that period of the greatest growth of Nuwara Eliya coincides with the development of a stable, prosperous export economy in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Prior to this period, the growth of the hill-station was sporadic and reflected the instability and crises within the plantation sector. In addition, the expansion of the plantation sector from 1830 to 1860 required large inputs of capital, which left little surplus to invest in the development of Nuwara
Eliya. The stability of coffee plantations increased with improved planting and processing techniques and coffee became the lucrative mainstay of the economy. With the surplus generated from coffee exports, expatriates had the capital to invest in Nuwara Eliya and could expend greater sums on leisure activities.

The coffee crisis, resulting from the coffee disease hemiliea vastatrix, ended coffee's reign as the colony's major export crop. The crisis, though causing financial hardship to expatriates, did not have the dire consequences that it might have; tea provided an alternative export crop. Nuwara Eliya continued to expand despite the coffee crisis as both the government and planters were optimistic that coffee would recover. The increasing price of coffee provided a financial buffer for planters, despite declining productivity. Later, when the failure of coffee could no longer be denied, other crops, such as cinchona and tea, were available to replace coffee. During the lapse between the decline of coffee and the emergence of tea as the primary export, the development of Nuwara Eliya slowed. The expansion of the hill-station resumed with vigour when tea exports began to match the lucrative levels that once characterized coffee exports.
ENDNOTES

(1) Co-existing with the plantation economy was the peasant economy which had few economic benefits for the British and to which the British had few ties until later in the century as capitalist penetration occurred in the peasant sector.

(2) A Royal Commission was established on January 18, 1823 with Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke and two others appointed as commissioners. Also referred to as the Commissioners of the Eastern Inquiry, they were to "enquire into the state of the colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius and Ceylon" (Mills, 1933:65; Hulugalle, 1963:46). Colebrooke arrived in Ceylon in April, 1829 and departed for England in February 1831 (Mills, 1933:65). He was familiar with the colony, having served with the military in Ceylon.

(3) The civil establishments included all offices in the civil, judicial, medical, ecclesiastical, educational, police and fiscal departments of the Government of Ceylon (Balasingham, 1968:97). The civil service was the oldest of these establishments, having been founded in 1802 (Woolf, 1962:ix).

(4) Nuwara Eliya District was created in 1833 and headed by an Assistant Government Agent located at Nuwara Eliya (Le Mesurier, 1893:64). It was one of the responsibilities of the A.G.A. to account for his activities and significant events in the district in a daily diary (Woolf, 1962:xxxii). As one may imagine, these diaries offer considerable historical insight. Diaries were kept for the Nuwara Eliya District for the years 1845 to 1945 (ibid.). Unfortunately, the diaries for the years 1845 to 1883 are missing, which leaves a gap in our knowledge of Nuwara Eliya's early years. The remainder of the diaries are located at the Department of National Archives, Colombo.

(5) The government was not unfounded in its optimism. By 1883 there were fifty-one estates in the Nuwara Eliya District (Weekly Ceylon Observer, Jan. 4, 1883).
CHAPTER 5: RECREATION IN COLONIAL CEYLON

In addition to the economic factors, the recreational and leisure preferences of the British in Ceylon contributed to the emergence of Nuwara Eliya. The recreational pastimes of the British in Ceylon reflected the preferences of the English in the metropolitan society. Yet the recreational activities of the expatriate community were also an adaptation to the conditions of colonial life. As expatriates and agents of Empire, the British had needs that were not present among their countrypeople at home. There was a need to reinforce their cultural identity to maintain a sense of group cohesiveness and enable them to withstand the pressures of immersion in an alien culture. There was also the burden of Empire; from this they sought distraction in the company of fellow expatriates. They sought relief, too, from the environment in which they worked and lived. From the heat of the lowlands, they headed towards the temperate hill country. Finally, the British in Ceylon suffered from a longing to go Home. To appease their sense of homesickness, they shaped their hill-station in the image of their homeland. It was here that they engaged in the sports and social pastimes that were their heritage.

The following is a consideration of recreational and leisure preferences of the British in the nineteenth century, especially within the colonial context of Ceylon.
Particular attention is given to the development of the recreational infrastructure of Nuwara Eliya and the manner in which it both reflected and met the needs of the expatriate community.

The emergence of Nuwara Eliya as a popular seasonal and recreational resort amongst British expatriates in the nineteenth century can be attributed in no small measure to the recreational and leisure preferences prevalent during the period. Nuwara Eliya provided an optimum locale for British social and recreational pursuits for it offered a relatively accessible and highly convincing substitute for the English countryside. In addition, the landscape bore little imprint of its earlier uses. Thus, it was malleable under the creative vision of the British, who succeeded in establishing a village that closely approximated a rural hamlet in the metropolitan society.

Formed initially as a health sanatarium in 1829, Nuwara Eliya reached its apex much later in the nineteenth century; its evolution paralleling the changing British attitudes towards recreation and, as discussed above, the fluctuating fortunes of the plantation economy. Although the annual sojourn at Nuwara Eliya was an adaptation to the socio-economic conditions of Ceylon during the nineteenth century, it was not without its British antecedents. The concept of a "resort" was a familiar one to British upper-middle and
Chapter 5

upper-class families. Spas, such as Bath, that utilized the mineral waters of particular sites for their supposed health-giving benefits, were the forerunners of the mature concept of the resort as it developed in the mid to late eighteenth century (King, 1976a:160). The spa and, later, the resort served as a nexus "where an elite and others aspiring to enter it could meet and participate in established social rituals" (ibid.). The development of coastal resorts offered opportunities for an expanded clientele that were not possible at the inland sites of the spas.

Ethno-medical beliefs of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries held that "the air", "the waters" and exercise available at seaside resorts were beneficial for visitors. These ethno-medical beliefs provided an explicit reason for the choice of coastal resorts as recreational locales. Though perhaps not explicitly stated, social interaction was also a significant attraction of these resorts. The coastal resorts of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries:

offered social returns in the access they gave to elite circles and the opportunities afforded for furthering personal relationships. Here opportunities were sought for extending economic and social influence, exchanging information, or promoting social mobility, through acquaintance, friendship or marriage (King, 1976a:161).

The recreational facilities such as the "Parade", a centrally

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located avenue, and the "Promenade", a walkway along the sea coast, enhanced social interaction and enabled personal display within a recreational framework (ibid.).

By far the most important locale at the spa and, later, the resort, were the "Assembly Rooms". This area of the spa or resort was a central meeting place where one would be assured of both seeing and being seen. Given that the individuals were temporary visitors to the resort, the Assembly Rooms offered immediate and socially acceptable access to fellow visitors through such recreational pursuits as dancing and dinner gatherings (see King, 1976a:161). There were other locales that performed a similar function. These included the library, theatre and race course which were "patronised by a section of the urban population sufficiently leisured, literate and affluent to use them" (ibid.).

A further factor contributing to recreational preferences in Britain from the mid-nineteenth century onwards were the values that were fostered by the "public schools" of the metropolitan society. Recreation was perceived as an extroverted activity that should involve physical exertion preferably in the form of "organized sport" (King, 1976a:157). Team games were thought to encourage laudable moral traits that included the development of "character" and "team spirit" (ibid.:157). Games of choice
such as cricket, polo, tennis, badminton, golf and lawn bowling required specialized locales and equipment. Because of these specialized requirements, recreation evolved into an "away from home" activity often associated with holidays (ibid.).

Yet another influence that "affected recreational pursuits and resulted in modification to the physical-spatial environment" (King, 1976a:157) was an admiration, or what King terms "veneration", of flowers, birds and insects which attracted individuals interested in reading, discussing, writing about and pursuing these phenomena. "This shared sense of values helped to bond social relationships and led to the formation of organisations such as the 'Natural History Society' to pursue such interests at a group level" (ibid.). As a result of these interests, activities such as "gardening", "sketching", "walking", "riding", "admiring the views" became favored pastimes. The locales for these pursuits included private gardens attached to dwellings, public parks and botanical gardens, and forested areas with suitable views and paths.

A look at the recreational preferences and patterns of the European community in Ceylon in the nineteenth century should be considered in view of the preferences of the British in the metropolitan society. Yet the conditions within the colonial context of Ceylon exercised a significant
influence upon recreational pastimes. Parallels emerge between recreational pursuits in Britain and those in Ceylon. In both cases, recreation was an "away from home" activity, most commonly involving a specialized setting intended for the pursuit of such activities. "Holidays" that involved journeys from one's residence for varying lengths of time were common to both contexts. In Ceylon, however, an escape from the heat and humidity of the coastal regions was the desired goal and thus seaside resorts did not flourish. The hill country, especially Nuwara Eliya, offered a desirable alternative, having satisfactory locales for the pursuit of team sports, the study of "natural history" and a strong resemblance to the landscape of Britain. The Club was also an adaptation to a colonial context though it too had its British antecedents.

The recreational and social life in Colombo was more urbane than the social life of the outstations but it was a far cry from the social life of London or other urban metropolitan centres. Whatever one's position in the social hierarchy, there were limited recreational options. As Zeylanicus states:

Unfortunately, because they [the British] did not make their homes in Ceylon they did not bring their culture to the island. There was no theatre, orchestra, opera, ballet or even a library of note in Colombo (Zeylanicus, 1970:144-5).
Social activities revolved around the Clubs which, in turn, focused upon sports. Affiliation with a particular club was based on one's occupation and social class.

Broadly, the social hierarchy was demarcated into Europeans and non-Europeans, civil servants and non-civil servants and within these categories there were finer social distinctions that influenced one's reference group. Social class, occupation and educational background resulted in fine distinctions within the European colonial community (Ludowyk, 1966:102). As a general rule, there was little social interaction between the Ceylonese and the British, although this was more true in urban areas than in outstations where the number of Europeans was limited. Civil servants were at the top of the colonial hierarchy. Individuals involved in commercial ventures ranked below the civil servants. Within this category were the management executives and the clerks and other employees. The planters, too, formed a distinct group as did the missionaries who tended to have the most contact with the native population (Pakeman, 1964:106-108). The civil servants, the upper and lower echelons of business people and the planters tended to have their own clubs for sporting and social activities. As Ludowyk notes:

The social life of the Britisher in the East revolved around clubs restricted to Europeans, each gradation of the white community having its own club within its own circle. Life in the East reproduced, as carefully and
deliberately as was possible in a
tropical setting, upper-class life in
the home country (Ludowyk, 1966:108).

The Club, whatever the composition of its membership,
offered a very British environment to which its members would
retreat either on a daily or weekly basis. Within its
compound and the confines of its buildings, members would
socialize with one another while participating in sports such
as cricket, polo, badminton, tennis or enjoying billiards or
a game of bridge (Ricketts, 1912:683). At the Club, "there
were green lawns, cooling drinks, a multitude of English
papers, a library, tennis, racquet and badminton courts"
(ibid.). To this locale "at the end of a busy day, those who
are socially inclined, or who want games or books, forgather
till dinner time" (ibid.). The occasional dance, private
theatrical, "or the much rarer lecture" (ibid.) supplemented
the social fare. In Colombo, the leading European club for
men was the Colombo Club, founded in 1871, which in Pakeman's
opinion, occupied the finest site in the city, close to the
sea (Pakeman, 1964:108; Ferguson, 1962). Outstations had
their somewhat less grand variations thereof.

In the colonial context, the club played a critical
role. Ostensibly, it was a recreational retreat. In reality,
its purpose was far more encompassing. The club was an
integral component of the colonial context. As an
institution, the club retained all of the functions it
possessed in the metropolitan society, yet when transferred to a colonial setting its importance increased manifold. Through the experience of colonialism, individuals as agents of Empire were exposed to alternate cultural beliefs and vastly varied lands and people. If the Empire was to survive and indeed expand, the integrity of metropolitan norms, beliefs and values had to remain largely intact. Yet extreme rigidity of belief was undesirable. Individuals had to be sufficiently flexible to adapt to life in the colonies. The crucial aspect is that the process of adaptation had to occur in a prescribed manner -- one that did not threaten the accomplishments or aspirations of Empire. In this regard, the club served to reinforce cultural identity. As King explains:

The club, with its familiar surroundings and established rituals, provided the setting for the exchange of...social knowledge, the place where community beliefs and sentiments were continuously reinforced and modified, the context in which newcomers were socialised into the folkways of the colonial culture (King, 1976b:210).

Thus the club in the colonies was a recreational centre, a means of dulling homesickness and a source of companionship and solace. At a more subtle level, the club was a locale for the socialization of new recruits. The club facilitated the process of discussing, sorting, classifying and responding to the experiences of life as an expatriate member
of a ruling elite. As an institution, the club served to remind expatriates of their home, their duty and their culture.

Before travel to and from England became easier with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 (1), there were few European women in Ceylon (Ludowyk, 1966:110). Thus, it was not uncommon to encounter bachelors. Zeylanicus indicates that amongst Europeans in Ceylon, the "social system evolved on a curious pattern. Broadly there were two groups, the married and the unmarried" (1970:144). Wealthy bachelors, whether in mercantile pursuits or the upper levels of the civil service frequently lived alone in large bungalows (ibid.). In Colombo, their less prosperous countrymen including "junior rankers in offices and banks, heads of small departments in stores, engineers and port officials" (ibid.) resided outside the city centre in less expensive hotels, boarding houses and houses shared by unmarried males, known as chummeries (ibid.). Because the social worlds of the married and unmarried tended to be distinct, the Club was an important point of social interaction for bachelors for it provided social companionship, distraction, entertainment and, perhaps, an invitation to dinner at a married friend's home.

Sports and other group activities also offered social interaction for European women in what was, in essence, a
constrained existence. Adaptation to life in colonial Ceylon was a challenge for expatriate females, despite the presence of servants and the amount of leisure time available. Indeed, it was perhaps because of these factors that women found their traditional roles were undermined and that a sense of discomposure pervaded.

The European women found it difficult to adjust themselves to a society in which domestic work as a housewife was regarded as a stigma by the Sinhalese and Tamils and active participation in the commercial life of the town was not permitted (Zeylanicus, 1970:144).

Expatriate females found an outlet for their energies in activities such as tennis, golf, riding, dancing, bridge, social visits and charitable work (ibid.). Although women were not permitted to be members of many clubs, they were permitted to use the facilities. Thus, the club and activities beyond the home were part of the social reality of European women in nineteenth century Ceylon.

Planters were another group that formed an important part of the expatriate community in Ceylon. They had an increasingly pivotal role in the economy as the welfare of the colony came to depend on plantation crops. In spite of their characterization as "individualistic" and shunning the social companionship of their fellows (Zeylanicus, 1970:143), planters also congregated at clubs. They did not frequent their clubs as often as their urban counterparts but they did
not lack either amenities or activities (2). Their lives involved both hard work and hard play. It was not uncommon to find cricket pitches, tennis courts and even swimming pools on estates. "An estate was a show piece which attracted visitors and its social life was characterized by a variety unknown elsewhere in Ceylon" (Zeylanicus, 1970:144). Like their countrymen in other parts of the island, planters tended to favour team sports, both on their estates and at their clubs.

Pakeman notes that the planter's social life entailed "dropping in on each other — their neighbours were usually a few miles away — and a great feature of planter's leisure [were] visits to their clubs " (Pakeman, 1964:109). Weekly visits to the club were the norm and in the hill country there were at least half a dozen large district clubs and a number of smaller ones (ibid.). Like their urban counterparts, the clubs were social and sporting in nature and excluded native Ceylonese (ibid.). Most had one special evening a week that involved dancing and entertainment (ibid.). The planters were a distinct social group in nineteenth century Ceylon and faced problems and challenges that were unique to their occupation. Social gatherings and team sports, in addition to being relaxing, were an important means of exchanging information and enhancing their corporate identity.
In view of the preference of expatriates in Ceylon for recreational activities away from home and their appreciation of nature and scenic views, it is not surprising that Nuwara Eliya came to prominence in the nineteenth century. Nuwara Eliya was well suited to the needs of the European community in Ceylon. Before the 1870s, there were few facilities at the hill-station. The Hill Club had yet to be built. There was no golf course and Lake Gregory was not completed until 1873. Despite the lack of recreational infrastructure, Nuwara Eliya was a popular site among expatriates. The hill-station offered a profusion of lovely views with "picturesque waterfalls of great beauty" (Cave, 1895:31). Prior to the development of recreational facilities at Nuwara Eliya, the hill-station's greatest attraction was its natural environment. This was both because of its resemblance to Britain and because expatriates were able to indulge in favorite pastimes such as riding, walking, sketching, picnic outings and, for the sportsman, hunting.

The physical landscape of Nuwara Eliya was conducive to the study of "natural history", taking in the views and breathing the air that "is as pure as at St. Moritz" (Scott in Cave, 1895:27). All of these activities took place in a setting that had an added fascination for many expatriates, oddly enough, because it was familiar to them. Yet it was
also "exotic" because of its location in Ceylon, seven degrees north of the equator (see Gordon-Cumming, 1893). The nineteenth century British penchant for savoring the views, enjoying walks and picnics, observing the flora and fauna found many outlets for expression at Nuwara Eliya. Nearby are the Hakgala Gardens, the government botanic gardens that were established in 1861. Located at 5400 feet elevation, a pleasant six mile ride from the hill-station, the gardens were the "seat of experiments in the acclimatisation of plants from temperate lands outside the tropics and from the tropical heights of other countries" (Cave, 1895:36).

Expatriates could purchase many of these plants at the Hakgala Garden nurseries for use in their gardens at Nuwara Eliya (Le Mesurier, 1893:51). A carriage drive surrounded an ornamental garden and there were numerous paths with scenery suitable for sketching. One site was especially favored for picnic breakfasts because from it could be seen a "mighty crag" towering 1600 feet above the gardens and beneath it lay an "unbroken view of the undulating plains of Ouva [Uva] stretching far below" (Cave, 1895:36).

Another popular walk or ride was to the summit of Mount Pidurutallagalla, or Mount Pedro as it was affectionately known by the expatriate community. Mt. Pedro is the tallest peak on the island at 8,300 feet elevation, yet its summit is only 2000 feet above the hill-station (Cave, 1910:160-1). The
journey to the summit was four miles which took about two and a half hours. Ladies often preferred to be carried in bamboo chairs by coolies to the top (Cave, 1905:225). The walk to and from the peak would entail frequent stops to collect wildflowers. The views that awaited the climber are the subject of much discourse in the travel writings of the period (see, for example, Cave, 1895, 1912). Other sites with picturesque views of waterfalls and other landscape features were plentiful and were described for the newcomer to Nuwara Eliya in many of the contemporary travel writings and guide books (see Burrows, 1899).

The British in Ceylon sought to make the recreational life of Nuwara Eliya resemble as closely as possible the recreational facilities of a resort in the metropolitan country. Their efforts included the importation of the equipment and other goods required to duplicate the recreational infrastructure of their homeland. The physical-spatial environment was also modified to make it more suitable for British leisure activities. Fox hunting with the use of hounds and horses imported from England was a popular sport (see Baker, 1883, 1884). One of the major alterations of the landscape was the construction of Lake Gregory in 1873 (Cave, 1895:50; H.de Silva, 1978:87). Achieved by converting a swamp (3), the lake occupies a site close to the town centre. Lake Gregory facilitated boating
and encouraged the establishment of the Nuwara Eliya Boat Club with its frequent regattas. In addition, fishing became one of the chief attractions of the station (Government of Ceylon, April 15, 1898). The local streams and the lake were stocked with carp and trout developed from ova imported yearly from England (Burrows, 1899:50; Cave, 1905; Ferguson and Ferguson, 1877:55). A carriage drive six miles in length embraced Lake Gregory and added to the long list of paths for walking and riding.

A later modification to the physical environment of Nuwara Eliya was the addition of the golf course. Opened in 1890 with nine holes, the course was upgraded and expanded by another nine holes in 1893. A Golf Pavilion, belonging to the Nuwara Eliya Golf Club, and consisting of five rooms overlooking the links, was built in 1892 (H. de Silva, 1978:89; Burrows, 1899:50) (see figure 5.1). Golf was a year-round activity and the course was widely regarded by enthusiasts as "the best to be found in the East" (Burrows, 1899:50) (see figure 5.2). Indeed, some believed the course to be "the best golf link out of Scotland" (Cave, 1895:50).

The Nuwara Eliya Golf Club welcomed the temporary membership of male and female visitors, provided they were recommended by two permanent members and paid the fee of two rupees per week (ibid.). The stipulation that temporary members be recommended by two permanent members indicates
Figure 5.1: The Nuwara Eliya Golf Club.
(from Cave, 1912:497; used with permission)

The photograph of the Nuwara Eliya Golf Club shows native children, who acted as golf caddies, in the foreground.
Figure 5.2: A view of the golf links, Nuwara Eliya.
that the social network of the hill-station was exclusive. The membership requirement also suggests that the barriers between the social classes were both defined and defended. Yet it is likely that given the restricted size of the European community in Ceylon, an individual of the appropriate social class seeking temporary membership would know at least two individuals who belonged to the Golf Club. If he or she did not, such a proviso encouraged him or her to become acquainted with permanent club members and thus, indirectly, it served to promote social interaction.

The Hill Club was another members only facility in Nuwara Eliya (4). Built in 1872 as a club composed mainly of planters, it became a bulwark of British culture and remains so even today. Morris describes it as "a low, baronial sort of building with gardens all around it" (1979:292). From the half-timber facade and mullioned windows to the mammoth fireplace of the library, the Hill Club offered an ambience that compared favorably with any Club in the metropolitan country. Facilities included tennis courts, a polo field, a billiard room with hunting prints and boar's heads upon the walls, a dining room with linen tablecloths, and sitting rooms for retreating to smoke a pipe, sip a cup of tea and converse with other members. Described as a "charming residential club in the best site in Nuwara Eliya" (Elliott, 1937:71), the Hill Club had bedrooms available for members.
from out of town. That the club was popular with hunters is attested to by the numerous sets of antlers and stuffed heads of deer, leopard and other animals upon the walls, and the hollowed leg of an elephant that served as an umbrella stand at the entrance to the Club.

The Hill Club was the preeminent club in the hill region outside of Kandy. As such, it was an important nexus of social interaction. The Hill Club provided an inviting setting for planters to gather to socialize and conduct business. Yet the membership was not exclusively planters but included civil servants, persons engaged in commerce and others. Thus the Hill Club was a place where planters could interact with non-planters and civil servants could meet individuals in the private sector, as well as missionaries, clergy and members of the military. Although in Colombo and at other stations there might be a tendency to limit one's social interaction to members of one's own occupation, the Hill Club encouraged broader fraternizing. It was here that the British gathered to enjoy the activities of the metropolitan country, ensconced in a setting that was gratifyingly English. As an institution, the Hill Club fostered a sense of cultural solidarity amongst the British. Within its walls, a member was not merely a planter or a civil servant but an Englishman.

The Hill Club was not the only recreational and sporting
club at the hill-station. There was also the United Club which admitted both male and female members. The club was neither as large nor as imposing as the Hill Club (see figure 5.3) but could boast of a library and reading room, golf links, croquet, lawn tennis courts, a cricket pitch in front of the clubhouse and, by the early twentieth century, it possessed a ballroom and a concert hall (Burrows, 1899: errata; Cave, 1912: 507). Like the Hill Club, the United Club was a locale for social interaction. The United Club, however, offered a feature that the Hill Club did not: the opportunity for unmarried male and female expatriates to interact on a regular basis. This was especially significant in the Ceylonese context where the British were often isolated from one another in remote areas, and unmarried English women were less than plentiful.

The decade between 1870 and 1880 marked a transition in the social life of Nuwara Eliya. In addition to the increasing popularity of the hill-station and perhaps because of it, there was a shift towards more formalized social activities. Prior to this period, the recreational pastimes available at the hill-station were largely unstructured, requiring only a loose consensus among individuals to participate. For example, picnics, nature walks or sketching could be undertaken in small groups with a minimum of equipment and without specialized facilities. As Nuwara Eliya
Figure 5.3: A cricket match at the United Club, Nuwara Eliya.

(from Cave, 1905:277; used with permission)
became more popular and accessible, there emerged a concomitant trend towards the formation of social clubs with specialized functions. These included, as noted above, the Hill Club, the Nuwara Eliya Golf Club, and the United Club as well as the Nuwara Eliya Cricket Club, Ceylon Fishing Club, Nuwara Eliya Boat Club, Nuwara Eliya Ladies' Club, and the Nuwara Eliya Jymkhana Club (Burrows, 1899: xiii, errata; Cave, 1912:507).

The emergence and development of clubs is significant for four reasons. First, the formation of clubs indicates that Nuwara Eliya was evolving into a seasonal resort and away from its earlier role as a health sanatorium. The landscape of the hill-station continued to be the major attraction, however, it was utilized in a different, less passive, way. Second, the development of clubs is evidence that the hill-station attracted a return crowd. Permanent membership in a Nuwara Eliya club was a commitment to the hill-station. Third, the formation of clubs suggests that Nuwara Eliya's importance or socio-cultural significance to the British in Ceylon had increased sufficiently by the 1870s to warrant the energy expended in creating and maintaining clubs. Fourth, the Nuwara Eliya social clubs reinforced the bonds between members because of shared interests and the reciprocal obligations that club membership entailed. Ultimately, social clubs at the hill-station encouraged the
cultural cohesion of the British in the colonial context of Ceylon.

The Nuwara Eliya Jymkhana Club was one of the clubs that emerged in the post-1870 period. Inaugurated in April, 1873 (Ferguson and Ferguson, 1877:48), the Nuwara Eliya Jymkhana Club organized the annual jymkhana, a week long event that included horse races and other equestrian events, lawn tennis matches, pigeon shooting and several balls (Cave, 1912:507; Weekly Ceylon Observer, March 6, 1883) (see figures 5.4 and 5.5). The jymkhana quickly became one of the most popular events of the season and one of the most popular jymkhanas on the island. The jymkhana, according to Cave, was "quite the event of the year" (Cave, 1895:58). Burrow termed it a week of "high living" (Government of Ceylon, March 2, 1898).

All Colombo flocks to Nuwara Eliya for the races, and the sporting fever extends even to the ladies, who vie with one another in the latest Parisian confections....nowhere is there more fun crammed into a single week than amongst the genial society and vivacious spirits to be found in Nuwara Eliya during the Jymkhana (Cave, 1895:58).

During the jymkhana, the hill-station was overflowing with Europeans from all over the island (5). The hotels, clubs and bungalows were full and many persons were forced to take accommodation outside the station; "distances of twenty and thirty miles not being considered too great [to travel to Nuwara Eliya] even when followed by a dance at the end of the
Figure 5.4: "The Water Jump" at the Nuwara Eliya Jymkhana.  
(from Cave, 1905:259; used with permission)
Figure 5.5: "Natives at the Jymkhana", Nuwara Eliya.

(from Cave, 1905:258; used with permission)

The grandstand for the racetrack can be seen in the background.
One of the major events of the jymkhana was the horse races on the "well laid out race course" (Cave, 1895:58) (see figure 5.5). The races were, however, rather "poor sport" according to the Weekly Ceylon Observer correspondent who wrote, "Animals the Nuwara Eliya Jymkhana has seen year after year make their appearance before the Grand Stand and when they were trying to get over the ground, people looked away and talked of other matters" (Weekly Ceylon Observer, April 9, 1883: 295). These deficiencies did not deter individuals from attending the jymkhana, for the socializing and carefree atmosphere of the event more than compensated for the inadequacies of the animals.

The jymkhana was recognized as having a therapeutic effect, to which Hamilton and Fasson (1881) alluded in their poem "The Jymkhana" (see appendix I).

Ye sallow merchants of the Fort (6)
Come, patronise the noble sport (7)
A fortnight to New'raliya's hills
Is worth a ton of drugs and pills - Jymkhana oh!

If there is any validity to the assertion that the jymkhana was of therapeutic value it can be attributed to the contrast that the events and atmosphere of the jymkhana provided compared with the workaday attitude in Colombo and other stations. The British were in Ceylon for a purpose, whether it was for commerce or government. Overall, they
were conscious of a sense of duty and of their role in setting an example of civilized conduct for the natives of the island (Gooneratne, 1968). As a result, the behaviour of the British was often constrained for it was as if they were always on stage and must be ever ready to play their role (Woolf, 1975:24). A visit to Nuwara Eliya and the jymkhana was a welcome relief, for there was less of a need to maintain their personae before the natives.

If there is any doubt that the overwhelming success of the Nuwara Eliya Jymkhana may be attributed to the opportunity for socializing and interacting with other expatriates, one need only look at the activities that occurred. To be sure, there were serious sports events, such as the tennis matches, that attracted enthusiasts (Government of Ceylon, Feb. 16 to 23, 1898). There were, however, other events of a less serious nature. The "bumblepuppy jymkhana" involved a "driving race of geckoes (8), porcupines and all manner of quaint animals" (Cave, 1905:276). The event was very popular among female expatriates. The diversity of activities during the jymkhana ensured that the event would appeal to a wide range of individual preferences within the expatriate community.

A further example of popular social pastimes at the jymkhana were the numerous balls. During the jymkhana of 1883, there were three dances including an "impromptu dance",

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a "Fancy-dress" ball and the "Race ball" (Weekly Ceylon Observer, April 9, 1883:295). The Fancy Dress Assembly was the "merriest" with 120 persons attending (ibid.:290). The Weekly Ceylon Observer correspondent wrote effusively, "The dresses were without doubt not only very characteristic and tasteful, but splendid and bewildering in appearance" (ibid.). "Floating...to the strains of the most delightful music" were women dressed as Peacock, Carmen, Queen Elizabeth, Hypatia, a Wimbledon costume and Black and White (ibid.). The men could be seen in costumes representing an Afghan, Napoleon, a Beefeater, a chef, William Tell and Consul dress (ibid.). Nuwara Eliya provided a milieu where social pastimes popular in the metropolitan society could be successfully transferred to the colonial environment.

The social events at Nuwara Eliya during the season, including the Jymkhana, were significant for two reasons. First, for the duration of their stay in Nuwara Eliya, individuals could behave as if they had returned to Britain. This served to reinforce their cultural identity and to act as a balm to soothe the pains of homesickness. Second, the social events at Nuwara Eliya bolstered the morale of expatriates and also fostered social ties between individuals. The combination of reinforced cultural identity, temporary alleviation of homesickness, heightened morale and improved interpersonal relations enhanced the
ability of the British to perform their roles within the colonial context. One of the most significant results of a sojourn at Nuwara Eliya was that the individual could emerge with a greater sense of being a part of the whole — of being a participant in the process of Empire.

Part of the appeal to expatriates of the jymkhana and other events during the season was the social interaction, especially the interaction among unmarried males and females. As noted above, in Ceylon the number of unmarried British males exceeded the number of unmarried English women, which was the reverse of the situation in the metropolitan country. Thus, unmarried English males seeking a bride would often have to return to Britain. Lack of female companionship, the remote location of many outstations which made meeting potential mates difficult and the inconvenience and expense of returning home to marry, made Nuwara Eliya ideally suited to assume the role of a meeting place for potential spouses. Nuwara Eliya also appealed to females desiring a husband.

Hamilton and Fasson offered their observation of social interaction at a Nuwara Eliya dance. Unlike life in Britain:

Here the natural order of things is reversed — Ten "Beaux" simultaneously rush at a "Belle" — Entreating, beseeching, where none but the first Can escape a refusal and snubbing as well (Hamilton and Fasson, 1881).

Hamilton and Fasson's humorous description satirizes the dilemma of unmarried European males in Ceylon. Gordon-
Cumming's writings convey a somewhat different impression of social interaction at the hill-station. In *Two Happy Years in Ceylon*, she described the social life of Nuwara Eliya during the jymkhana:

Nowhere have I ever met a whole community so thoroughly genial and hearty, or in which the affection of blase-ness is so totally unknown. As for any womenfolk attempting to play the dowagers, the thing was impossible; for so many of these ex-Britons had ridden thirty or forty miles on purpose for a dance, that they would dance with one another rather than sit out, so, under such circumstances, feminine indolence would have been downright selfishness (Gordon-Cumming, 1893:143).

As a resort and locale for social interaction, Nuwara Eliya performed an important role. With the possible exception of Colombo, during the season from December to May, Nuwara Eliya attracted a greater concentration of European females than any other station in Ceylon. Furthermore, expatriates of both sexes came from all parts of Ceylon to congregate at the hill-station. Like Colombo and Kandy, Nuwara Eliya was one of the central gathering places for the British in Ceylon (see Wright, 1951; Bremer, 1930)(9). Pickens indicates that Nuwara Eliya was second only to Colombo as meeting place for planters (1964:141). In contrast to Colombo and Kandy, Nuwara Eliya offered a venue in which expatriates could meet one another in a social and physical environment that approximated that of the metropolitan country. Thus, for the
British in Ceylon, Nuwara Eliya had a preponderance of the characteristics that were most conducive to relaxed social interaction.

Although the social atmosphere of Nuwara Eliya was relaxed in comparison with Colombo or the major Indian hill-stations such as Simla or Darjeeling, social pretensions were not absent. Like its British antecedents, the spa and later the seaside resort, Nuwara Eliya met the needs of its visitors for status validation and social display. The writings of Constance Gordon-Cumming suggest that individuals reinforced their social status through consumer goods that symbolized tasteful consumption. She wrote, "It really is extraordinary to see what trouble people do give themselves, even in Paradise, to keep up with the changes of the very latest fashions -- all the newest Parisian millinery, dresses from Worth, and kid gloves fresh by every mail!" (Gordon-Cumming, 1893:146). Nuwara Eliya offered myriad opportunities for social display and interaction for those who wished both to see and be seen. Despite the lack of assembly rooms (10), the race course, the clubs, the balls, and parties, the theatrics, sporting events and even attendance at church were but a small selection of the potential occasions for social interaction (Government of Ceylon, May 21, 1898). Nuwara Eliya possessed a distinct advantage over Colombo for such purposes. As in Colombo, one
could interact with a diverse group of individuals in a variety of circumstances but the conditions in Nuwara Eliya most closely resembled those prevalent in the metropolitan country.

Nuwara Eliya was also well suited to the recreational and social needs of female expatriates in Ceylon. At the hill-station, less inhibited by the presence of natives and surrounded by a landscape that resembled England, British women could partake in the activities that were popular in the metropolitan country in the late-Victorian period. These activities included tennis, croquet, archery and golf, as well as nature walks and sketching (Government of Ceylon, Jan. 2, 1896; Dutton, 1954, 169). Charity related events were also a popular pastime (11). The writings of Constance Gordon-Cumming reveal the activities of an upper-class female during her stay at the hill-station. During the Season, she notes, "a most cheery social life is kept up, picnics and races, games, balls, and dinner parties enlivening both day and night" (Gordon-Cumming, 1893:143). A typical day for Gordon-Cumming often began before dawn when she went out sketching. She would return home for luncheon, depart afterwards to watch some games, attend a dinner and dance until two o'clock the following morning and be out sketching again by six a.m.. Another day included a walk to Mount Pedro to pick flowers and a walk across a moonlit plain at
four a.m. following a dinner party (ibid.:144).

Nuwara Eliya met the social and recreational needs of European women in Ceylon because the temperate environment of the hill-station enabled the women to participate in a range of activities that were prohibited by the heat of the low-lying areas. Further, Nuwara Eliya offered the promise of the social companionship of other expatriate females in a congenial and often festive atmosphere. Nuwara Eliya was enticing because it provided an outlet for the energies of European women in the colony, while at the same time providing a viable substitute for England.

The emergence of Nuwara Eliya as a health sanatorium-cum-seasonal resort reflected the recreational preferences prevalent in Britain during the nineteenth century. Like the English spas and later the coastal resorts, Nuwara Eliya offered clean air and pure water that were considered to be beneficial. The hill-station also possessed the central meeting places and locales that were roughly equivalent to the "Parade" and the "Promenade" and certainly provided ample opportunities for personal display and social interaction.

Although the roots of the hill-station can be traced to the metropolitan country, Nuwara Eliya was an adaptation to the colonial circumstances of Ceylon. Nuwara Eliya's enduring success and its widespread popularity are evidence that the hill-station met the recreational needs of the
expatriate community. In the colonial setting there was a pronounced need to reinforce cultural identity, to be distracted from the burdens of Empire and to alleviate the sense of homesickness. A temperate climate, an accessible location and an environment that called to mind the loveliest landscapes of Britain, contributed to the success of Nuwara Eliya. However, much of Nuwara Eliya's success as a hill-station must be attributed to British efforts to alter that landscape. Not satisfied with pretty views and temperate flora, the British imposed the recreational infrastructure of their homeland upon a small plain in the uplands of Ceylon. The clubs, the race course, the golf course, Lake Gregory, the tennis courts, the English hunting hounds and the imported trout in the streams testify to the determination of the British in Ceylon to mold an alien environment in the image of a faraway land.

SUMMARY

The chapter discussed the recreational and leisure preferences of the British in Ceylon. The leisure preferences of the British in Ceylon reflect their English heritage, yet are not identical to those of their compatriots at Home. This chapter has argued that Nuwara Eliya was well suited to the recreational needs of expatriates in the colonial context of Ceylon. As in the metropolitan society, expatriates enjoyed team sports, "holidays" involving travel away from home --
often to sites with scenic views and clean air, as well as balls and fetes that provided opportunities for personal display and status validation. In the colonial context, however, there were also additional needs. These included the need to escape the heat and humidity of the lowlands, a need to reinforce cultural identity and to distract expatriates from the pressures of life that resulted from living in and ruling over a foreign culture, and, perhaps most important, the need to find an adequate substitute for Britain. Nuwara Eliya, with its temperate environment and accessible locale, offered expatriates a suitable setting for their leisure pastimes, and a landscape which could be transformed into an English village.
ENDNOTES

(1) Prior to the use of steamships, the journey to Ceylon from Britain by ship in the 1830s took three to four months. With the introduction of steamships on that route in 1841, the length of the journey was reduced to four to five weeks. With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, a trip by steamship from Britain to Ceylon took only three weeks (Zeylanicus, 1970:115).

(2) At least one observer would disagree with this assessment. Matheson (1870:176) described the planter's life as being hard and comfortless. He cited the planter's bungalow as evidence of this. Externally, the dwelling was attractive but the interior was most often bare and plain. Also, planters had to contend with hardships on a daily basis, such as the difficulties encountered in transporting goods.

(3) The construction of Lake Gregory was, according to Governor Sir William Gregory, one of his earliest undertakings as governor. Upon witnessing the swamp-like conditions of the plain, he recommended that a lake be created by an embankment. The lake is approximately a mile in length and half a mile in width (Cave, 1895:50). Evidence suggests that Gregory was not the first person to conceive of the idea for a lake at Nuwara Eliya. During his first visit to the hill-station in April, 1872, Gregory encountered a surveyor conducting a survey for a lake (Ceylon Overland Observer, May 6, 1872).

(4) The Hill Clubs' membership was restricted to the "sterner sex" as Henry Cave termed it (Cave, 1910:165). Women were able to attend club functions but were not granted membership. Native Ceylonese were excluded and as of 1965, "the Hill Club still had not admitted a single Ceylonese to membership" (Morris, 1979:293).

(5) The variety of individuals who attended the jymkhana is alluded to by A.G.A. Burrows. He wrote in his diary that only one extra constable was necessary during the jymkhana of 1898. Despite the "mass of strangers, temporary servants, and doubtful characters that collect here during the season, the crime record of the town is remarkably satisfactory" (Government of Ceylon, May 19, 1898).

(6) "Fort" is a reference to the commercial district of Colombo which was formerly a fort. The walls were demolished in 1869 and the moat was filled with earth in 1871 (Ferguson and Ferguson, 1877:42).
(7) horse racing

(8) Harmless native lizards of three to five inches in length.

(9) See T.Y. Wright's (1951) *Ceylon in my time. 1889-1949*. His book, a stream of consciousness autobiography, was intended to be read by expatriates who had resided in Ceylon. It offers, however, an interesting glimpse of Ceylon in the late nineteenth century. He does not discuss Nuwara Eliya directly but makes several references to events at the hill-station in passing. His writing is significant because it documents the importance of Nuwara Eliya vis-a-vis social interaction in the colony. Wright refers to weddings, parties that took place there and a planter who retired to the hill-station.

Mounsteven Bremer's *Memoirs of a Ceylon planter's travels 1851 to 1921* (1930) is similar to Wright's account of life in Ceylon. Bremer was a member of the Hill Club and later its secretary (Bremer, 1930:84). His writing suggests the importance of Nuwara Eliya to the planting community and the integration of the hill-station into the social network of colonial Ceylon.

(10) On March 11, 1895, Assistant Government Agent H. White noted in his diary entry, entitled "Want of Assembly Rooms in Nuwara Eliya": "I ventilated the subject of converting the Local Board room into the semblance of Assembly Rooms by adding a wing for a Supper room etc. in case of a dance. All the members approved and without taking any formal resolutions we decided to get a plan and estimate so that the work might be taken in hand early in 1896" (Government of Ceylon, March 11, 1895).

(11) Participation in charity activities was not limited to females. A.G.A. Lushington noted in his diary entry for December 21, 1895 that "In the afternoon [I] attended a Fancy Bazaar in the Local Board Room 'for a charitable object' and aided in fleecing others and getting fleeced myself! All the beautiful 'fashion' of Nuwara Eliya was there, but unfortunately it was a very wet afternoon" (Government of Ceylon, Dec. 21, 1895).
CHAPTER 6: NUWARA ELIYA AS A SURROGATE BRITAIN:

An analysis of nineteenth century travel writings

In attempting to understand why the English landscape was recreated at Nuwara Eliya, it is essential to examine the factors that motivated British expatriates to create "a home away from home". Diaries and accounts of British travellers and residents in Ceylon during the nineteenth century offer some insight into this question. The writings of individuals who recorded their impressions of Nuwara Eliya are significant for two reasons. First, such writings provide a useful historical record of events of the day. Second, travel writings, diaries and letters reveal an individual's perceptions and attitudes. In the case of Nuwara Eliya, historical writings indicate attitudes towards the landscape. By conducting a content analysis of nineteenth century writings on Nuwara Eliya, it is possible to assess the features or attributes of the town that appealed to British expatriates and travellers. The result of such an analysis indicates that Nuwara Eliya served an important function as a "surrogate Britain". Climate, landscape, architecture and social activities that resembled aspects of their homeland contributed to the psychological and social appeal of the hill-station. Visits to Nuwara Eliya by British expatriates were a means of alleviating homesickness and overcoming a profound sense of isolation from their
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mother country.

The chapter examines Nuwara Eliya as an expression of romanticism which was manifest through picturesque landscape ideals that were popular amongst the British upper and middle classes during the nineteenth century. The picturesque environment was one in which Nature was revered but it was a Nature subdued by humans, producing a "tamed and inhabited, warm, comfortable, humanized" countryside (Lowenthal and Prince, 1965:190). This is followed by an examination of nineteenth century writings of British travellers and expatriates who visited or resided at Nuwara Eliya. The content analysis of this literature determines the aspects of Nuwara Eliya that were emphasized by individual writers, in an effort to establish the degree to which attitudes towards Nuwara Eliya were held in common. The chapter also assesses changes in the travel writings on Nuwara Eliya over time as a reflection of the evolution of the settlement and attitudes towards it.

NUWARA ELIYA AS A PICTURESQUE LANDSCAPE

The Romantic movement, from which picturesque landscape ideals emerged, had its origins in the eighteenth century, though its most fluent expression was in the nineteenth century. Romanticism was a reaction against the rationalism of the eighteenth century, a "critique of the inadequacy of what it held to be Enlightenment abstractions and tendencies"
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(Halsted, 1969:11). The Romantic movement was:

the rebellion of feeling against intellect, of subjectivism and religiosity against objectivism and science, of the individual against society, of imagination and poetry against reality and prose, of nature against civilization, of myth against history, and finally of democracy against the aristocracy and the elite. The romantic movement was finally, the revolt of the nineteenth century, the age of poets, against the eighteenth century, the age of philosophers (Lesnikowski, 1982:148).

Romanticism rejected the sterility of rationalist perceptions and affirmed the importance of "emotion and imagination" (Clark, 1965:89). The external world was important only insofar as it provided a mirror in which to examine the internal world of the heart. The "motions of the heart" were apt to be "considered to be of greater validity and interest than what may be called the motions of the head...reason" (ibid.).

The role of the individual was elevated and out of this regard for the individual, came a respect for the individual's perceptions, intuition, feelings and emotions. There developed a "cult of the heart" for the heart was "held to be a source of knowledge, the location of innate ideas" (Halsted, 1969:13). By means of intuition and the imagination, the individual "might apprehend the essential reality" (ibid.). Furthermore, actions caused by "pure emotions came to be glorified irrespective of the
consequences" (ibid.:14). As a result of the emphasis on emotions, there emerged a preference for landscapes and environments which encouraged "private reverie, melancholy introspection, and the contemplation of the overflowing heart" (Hugo, 1965:34).

Nature was venerated by the romantics, who considered it "primarily in relationship to man, and more specifically to themselves" (Furst, 1979:88). By admiring or reflecting upon "the world apart from man's achievements, the landscape and the countryside, the sea and the mountains", the individual was able to achieve "unity with, and submergence in, nature" (Hugo, 1965:34; Jones, 1961:134). By permitting their imaginations to contemplate the beauty and intricacy of the natural environment, a person entered the domain of the senses. Through experiencing and interpreting nature, an individual could better understand his/her own true nature.

In the same manner that Nature became idealized, so too did the past. The history of a place, such as Britain, was glorified, "the past was revisited with a new zeal and necessity" (Hugo, 1965:33). A new vision of nationalism emerged, the "deepened imaginative conception of the significant past and peculiar identity of a particular nation" (Clark, 1965:90). For expatriates residing in Ceylon, this sense of cultural identity assumed an additional intensity. The idea of Britain, past and present, was
glorified for it became a means of retaining personal identity in an alien setting. The landscape of Nuwara Eliya was a link with that idealized image of Britain.

Lowenthal and Prince have stated that "landscapes are formed by landscape tastes" (1965:186). In the case of Nuwara Eliya, landscape preferences clearly favored the picturesque and the pastoral; a landscape that was contrived to evoke images of Home and to play upon the emotions of the spectator. Indeed, expatriates' perceptions of the landscape of Nuwara Eliya were unabashedly sentimental. It was this aspect of Nuwara Eliya that appealed so strongly and so consistently over time to expatriates in Ceylon. Other locales in Ceylon might have resembled a lush paradise, but none could match the lure of Nuwara Eliya. As noted below, and documented by the Assistant Government Agents, Nuwara Eliya was not without its faults. However, nineteenth century writers did not seek to catalogue the deficiencies of the hill-station. The short-comings were overshadowed by their elation upon encountering England in Ceylon.

Picturesque landscape ideals are an expression of romanticism for they exert an influence on the viewers' imagination and emotion (Praz, 1970:88). Preferences for the picturesque are:

derived essentially from the English fondness for natural scenery, and, by extension, from their fondness for paintings of natural scenery as
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exemplified in the highly prized
Elysian or Vergilian landscapes by
Nicholas Poussin and Claude Lorrain --
hence the term 'picturesque' (Collins,
1978:49).

A picturesque landscape is one which resembles a landscape
painting, for according to Joseph Addison, "the works of
nature appear still more pleasing the more they resemble
those of art" (ibid.:50). Such landscapes should intrigue
both the eyes and the imagination, delighting the viewer with
unique or surprising attributes and evoking "a train of
associations...additional to those which the scene itself is
calculated to excite" (ibid.:49-50).

A picturesque landscape is one which takes the natural
environment and improves upon it. It involves the gentle
remodelling of the natural surroundings in a manner which
idealizes Nature and reflects the world not as it is, "but
the world as it might have been had the Creator been an
Italian artist of the seventeenth century" (Lowenthal and
Prince, 1965:195). The picturesque is a preference for the
"irregular, the complex, the intricate, [and] the ornate",
yet the landscape must not appear self-conscious or
artificial (ibid.:192).

From the condemnation of planning and
regimentation, one might well suppose
the picturesque to be a series of
happy accidents, and conclude that the
desired impression of roughness and
irregularity was entirely fortuitous.
Nothing is further from the truth; the
picturesque is contrived and composed
The picturesque landscape is a romanticized one which seeks to expose the essence of the countryside, uninhibited by the constraints of realism. The picturesque is a sentimental veneration of nature, albeit nature as interpreted by the British upper and middle classes during the nineteenth century (Cosgrove, 1984:235).

A rural landscape is not necessarily a picturesque landscape. A pastoral setting is an integral aspect of picturesque landscape preferences, however, the "favored landscape is what Turner denoted 'elegant pastoral' as distinct from merely 'pastoral'; it calls to mind traditional upper-class tastes and pursuits" (Lowenthal and Prince, 1965:192). It is a landscape which plays upon "feeling, intuition, and other more immediate forms of cognition" (Jones, 1961:129). It must be appealing to the eye and soothing to the mind (Collins, 1978:50). A landscape may induce the viewer to reflect upon the blissful domesticity of a farmer's cottage or the wistful melancholy of a mist-covered pond (Praz, 1970:90). Lowenthal and Prince describe picturesque landscape preferences as follows:

What is considered 'essentially English' is a calm and peaceful deer park, with slow-moving streams and wide expanses of meadowland studded with fine trees. The scene should include free-ranging animals, since 'the sight of grazing cattle...[is] one of the
traditional delights....When it is arable land, hedgerows and small fields are usually obligatory (Lowenthal and Prince, 1965:192).

The picturesque is calculated to "stimulate moral reflection, [and] to appeal to emotion" (ibid.:196; Lesnikowski, 1982:148).

The picturesque landscape is human-scale, approachable and inviting. Indeed, the picturesque is the antithesis of the monumental; the intimate and the informal are valued highly.

The English like landscapes compartmented into small scenes furnished with belfried church towers, half-timbered thatched cottages, rutted lanes, rookeried elms, lich gates, and stiles -- in short, 'the intimate and appealing beauty which our forbears impressed upon it'. The devotee of the picturesque dislikes what is formal, geometrical, anticipated, too evidently planned or dictated (Lowenthal and Prince, 1965:192).

The picturesque landscape is richly textured. The small-scale permits the viewer to become engrossed in the intricate detail. There is a sense of historical continuity to the picturesque for it is possible to view the landscape and to imagine that it has always appeared so and will continue to exist unmarred by the hand of progress (Cosgrove, 1984:204).

The picturesque landscape is essentially peaceful, inspiring introspection. It conveys the impression that humans are at one with the environment. Although the
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landscape is varied, there are no harsh juxtapositions. Above all, the picturesque countryside is comforting. It represents traditional English values; it is quiet, enduring, understated. The picturesque landscape symbolizes the heritage of the British. It reflects their agrarian roots. For the viewer, it evokes a sense of pride in being English as only a romanticized vision can do.

The natural landscape of Nuwara Eliya possessed a scenic beauty that was grand and evocative, yet by itself it was not picturesque for it lacked "those qualities which make landscapes picturesque: an intimate, lived-in appearance, or a desuetude inspiring romantic melancholy" (Lowenthal and Prince, 1965:190-2). These the hill-station could acquire only with the intervention and efforts of expatriates. Yet this locale in the uplands of Ceylon clearly possessed the potential to become a picturesque landscape. Even in its earliest years as a sanatarium, Nuwara Eliya won favour with expatriates for its English atmosphere and the refreshing contrast it offered to the lowlands of Ceylon. It was Samuel Baker, however, who made the greatest contribution to Nuwara Eliya as a picturesque village.

Prior to Samuel Baker's decision to settle at Nuwara Eliya, the hill-station had picturesque attributes. Baker's vision of Nuwara Eliya as a tranquil, prosperous English village and his decision to commit his resources to the
development of the hill-station made a significant impact on the landscape. This was especially the case because he intervened when Nuwara Eliya was evolving into a sanatarium-cum-seasonal resort and gently guided the development of the hill-station in a manner that highlighted its picturesque aspects (see below). Baker did not recognize his plan for Nuwara Eliya as a conscious attempt to shape a picturesque landscape, but it is apparent from his writings that he favoured picturesque landscape ideals. He wrote of the hill-station:

The sky is spotless and the air calm. The fragrance of mignonettes, and a hundred flowers that recall England, fills the air. Green fields of grass and clover, neatly fenced, surround a comfortable house and grounds. Well-fed cattle of the choicest breeds, and English sheep, are grazing in the paddocks....But a few years past, and all this was wilderness (Baker, 1884:25-6).

The flowers, fenced fields and the domestic animals are typical attributes of a picturesque scene. It is evident that Baker considered his pastoral village a vast improvement over the previous wilderness. Yet it was the natural beauty of the area that had attracted his original interest in Nuwara Eliya. In keeping with picturesque landscape ideals, Baker revered Nature while at the same time endeavoring to enhance Nature.

Like Baker, other British expatriates and travellers had
a sentimental attachment to Nuwara Eliya. They, too, recalled England when they saw the picturesque landscape of the hill-station. The writings of nineteenth century visitors consistently dwell on the attributes of Nuwara Eliya that called to mind scenes of Home. They described the hill-station in glowing terms; Nuwara Eliya symbolized the best of their heritage and eased their sense of isolation from Britain. The writings of Constance Gordon-Cumming are typical of the picturesque descriptions written by visitors.

Mornings, evenings, and moonlight are each more enchanting than words can tell, and all alike perfumed with the breath of English clover from cultivated fields, mingling with that of mignonettes, musk stocks, pansies, violets, lilies, carnations, phloxes, sweetpeas, honeysuckles, azaleas and all manner of fragrant garden flowers (Gordon-Cumming, 1893:141).

The travel accounts of expatriates are often impressionistic; they strove to capture the aura of romance and the sentimental appeal of Nuwara Eliya.

Much of the attraction of Nuwara Eliya for expatriates was its resemblance to England and the contrast it provided with the lowlands of Ceylon. The similarities of landscape between Britain and the hill-station were no mere coincidence. There was a conscious effort to enhance the Englishness of Nuwara Eliya, prompted by the desire and need of expatriates for a surrogate Home. In many respects a picturesque landscape was ideally suited to the needs of the
expatriate community in Ceylon. The picturesque landscape was inviting, comforting, informal and suited to the recreational and social pastimes of the British. Henry Cave's depiction of Nuwara Eliya offers some insight into the appeal of the hill-station.

The bungalows of the residents are mostly built upon grassy knolls at the foot of the mountains, and are surrounded by choice gardens, not infrequently bordered by geraniums. Water of unimpeachable quality flows from the heights over picturesque waterfalls of great beauty. A purling stream babbles through the middle of the valley, finally losing itself in a lake which is surrounded by a carriage drive... (Cave, 1895:31).

The picturesque landscape of Nuwara Eliya was unequivocally English and remarkably un-Ceylonese. A sojourn at Nuwara Eliya was an emotional release for expatriates. They could return from the hill-station renewed and refreshed; their yearning for England temporarily assuaged.

As Lowenthal and Prince note, "landscapes and building facades are like costumes or vestments, stressing the respectability, propriety, and aspirations of the wearers.... To induce the proper frame of mind in the spectator, a place should be properly attired" (Lowenthal and Prince, 1965:200-1). In the case of Nuwara Eliya, picturesque landscape ideals conveyed the desire of the expatriate elite to shed the personae they assumed in their roles as colonialists. They acquired, instead, an air of relaxed
informality as they sought to recreate the physical, social
and recreational environment of their homeland. The frequency
with which the picturesque landscape of Nuwara Eliya was
mentioned in the travel literature, and the emotional
intensity that was associated with such references, suggests
that much of the appeal of Nuwara Eliya was due to its
picturesque attributes. Through the picturesque, expatriates
could express their sentimental attachment to Britain while
at the same time creating a substitute for Home.

NINETEENTH CENTURY PERCEPTIONS OF NUWARA ELIYA

The nineteenth century was a prolific period for British
chroniclers of foreign lands. During this century the
British Empire expanded to an unprecedented extent and both
the British public and the agents of Empire -- civil
servants, members of the military, missionaries, individuals
involved in trade and commerce, as well as travellers and
adventurers -- felt a mixture of pride and awe at their
country's involvement in exotic and little-known lands.
Concomitant with British expansionism, and fueled by it, was
a growing intellectual curiosity about places and people on
the far-flung corners of the earth. The writings of persons
who had gone abroad to work or tour wet the appetite of
readers at Home, who relished descriptions and narratives of
locales and events that were very un-British. Such writings
were also reassuring, for although expatriates were
confronted with foreign beliefs, values and practices, there is an underlying sense which pervades much of the literature that British culture and code of conduct was intrinsically superior to that with which the British came in contact. The writings of British expatriates in the colonies frequently regale the reader with myriad details, for they saw through eyes that had not yet been jaded by the mundane and the commonplace. The travel literature reflects the novelty of life in the colonies for expatriates that made each new experience and encounter assume a heightened importance. Writers faithfully recorded their impressions for an audience at Home who had no other source of knowledge of events abroad and who were eager to share in the experience of Empire.

The following is a content analysis of some of the writings of travellers, civil servants, missionaries and others who visited or resided at Nuwara Eliya. The travel literature is examined utilizing both thematic and chronological approaches for the reasons outlined below. The discussion of the themes that characterize expatriates' portrayals of Nuwara Eliya is followed by an examination of the travel literature in chronological sequence by date of publication.

A review of the themes that emerge, the attributes of Nuwara Eliya that are noted with consistency in the writings of visitors to the hill-station, underscores the extent to
which such perceptions were shared by expatriates. It highlights the importance of the landscape of Nuwara Eliya as a means of expressing cultural identity and the manner in which the landscape was imbued with meaning.

The chronological approach to the literature has been adopted to show the historical development of the hill-station as it evolved from a sanatarium to sanatarium-cum-resort. The examination of the travel writings in chronological sequence also reveals change or consistency in expatriate's attitudes and perceptions of Nuwara Eliya. Furthermore, it enables each author's contribution to be discussed as a coherent unit for the writers frequently discuss several attributes of Nuwara Eliya that capture their attention.

Themes in the travel literature

If there is one feature of the nineteenth century writings of expatriates on Nuwara Eliya that impresses the reader, it is the consistent themes that emerge. M.D.'s contribution to the Colombo Journal in February, 1832, made note of attributes of the hill-station that were to become recurrent subjects in the literature on Nuwara Eliya over the next several decades (M.D., 1832:59). The healthy appearance of adults and children, the climate, air, vegetation including flowers and vegetables, and the homey dwellings with their white-washed walls and chimneys were remarked upon
by M.D., despite the fact that Nuwara Eliya was relatively undeveloped. At this time, the hill-station had only a few private residences, and lacked a hotel, church, club house and a number of other amenities that it would come to possess in later years (1). Although Nuwara Eliya was somewhat primitive by the standards of the day, the aspects of the town that appealed to M.D. in 1832 were those that struck a chord in the hearts of many English expatriates throughout the history of the town. He wrote:

Nuwera Ellia [sic], where wild shrubs and flowers natives of temperate climates are immediately recognized, the air feels cool, everything oriental and tropical disappears, and the glazed windows, smoking chimneys, and white-washed walls of the houses remind one of an English hamlet (M.D., 1832:59; my emphasis).

It is evident that even at this early date, Nuwara Eliya represented a departure from life as it was known in coastal Ceylon. The disappearance of all that is "oriental and tropical" (ibid.) is accompanied by a sense of relief with the welcome sight of surroundings that reminded British expatriates of Home. Just four years after its establishment as a sanatarium for invalids, Nuwara Eliya had already gained a reputation as an English village in Ceylon.

In his article, M.D. noted several attributes of the hill-station that emerged as themes within the travel literature of the nineteenth century. A content analysis of
the travel writings reveals that expatriates and travellers focused upon seven main themes when discussing the attributes of Nuwara Eliya that appealed to them. They remarked upon the climate, the health benefits of the hill-station, the temperate vegetation including the flowers and gardens, the dwellings, the recreational activities and facilities, the scenic beauty of the landscape and the English appearance of Nuwara Eliya.

The contrast in climate between the hot, humid lowland areas and Nuwara Eliya is pronounced and thus it is not surprising that climate was a major factor in the appeal of Nuwara Eliya. Forbes wrote that the climate of Nuwara Eliya was "congenial to the natives of Great Britain" (Forbes, 1840). Because temperatures were mild, "never approaching...tropical heat", expatriates could live in "salubrity and comfort" at the hill-station (ibid.). For Binning, Nuwara Eliya was the only town in Ceylon were one could experience anything that resembled a winter night in the metropolitan country. He found the cold to be "invigorating" and enjoyed the hoar frost that would appear on the ground after a chilly night (Binning, 1857:73,76). H.S. preferred Nuwara Eliya to Colombo for he considered the latter to have a "trying climate" with a "hot and close atmosphere" (H.S., 1876:104). In contrast, he felt the relative coolness of the hill-station to be "bracing"
These references to the climate of Nuwara Eliya are typical for the majority of individuals who commented on the subject liked the cool temperatures, the contrast with the tropical parts of Ceylon and the similarity of climate to that of Britain.

The health benefits of Nuwara Eliya were lauded throughout the nineteenth century. Some of the contributors to the travel literature had recovered at the hill-station from illness or debility resulting from an extended stay in the tropics. Samuel Baker, for example, recovered from fever (Murray and White, 1895:30). Leitch found that she could "eat and sleep well" at Nuwara Eliya (Leitch and Leitch, 1890:77). Mouat, too, noted an improvement in appetite and desire for exercise (Mouat, 1852:127). Nuwara Eliya was considered by most observers to be "a valuable sanatarium" (H.S., 1876:101). The "crisp, clean air" and pure water were part of the hill-station's healthful appeal as was the temperate climate (Gordon-Cumming, 1893:141; Cave, 1910:156). The result of these favorable conditions was seen in the appearance of the adults and children who visited or resided there. Gordon-Cumming was one of several persons who remarked on this. She wrote, the "pale children who have lost all their roses in the heat of the low country, quickly regain them and look the very picture of health" (Gordon-Cumming, 1893:135; see also M.D., 1832; Selkirk, 1844:18;
Mouat, 1852:127; Baker, 1883:42). As a sanatorium, Nuwara Eliya was perceived to be of benefit both for the maintenance of health and the recovery from illness.

The temperate vegetation of Nuwara Eliya was mentioned frequently in the travel literature for it was a potent reminder of Home. The soil of Nuwara Eliya is fertile and its climate makes it well-suited to the growth of English vegetables and flowers. Numerous authors remarked with delight on the variety of vegetation to be found at the hill-station. Mouat noted that in the "gardens of the station may be seen every variety of rose, dahlia, mignonette, heart's ease and excellent strawberries" (Mouat, 1852:126). Haeckel commented that the European flowers were "blossoming in perfection" (Haeckel, 1883:298). "Splendid crops of English vegetables" as well as other fruits and "luxuriant fields of sweet white clover" attracted Gordon-Cumming's attention (Gordon-Cumming, 1893:137). Clearly, the presence of temperate vegetation, some of it imported from Britain and Europe, did much to create the impression that one had been transported to the English countryside.

Another factor that influenced the expatriates' perception of Nuwara Eliya as an English village was the built environment, especially the homes. The "stone-built houses with chimneys" were a marked contrast with the houses of the lowlands where there was never a need for fireplaces.
(Gordon-Cumming, 1893:138-9). The sight of the homes with chimneys gave Sirr a pleasant sensation of familiarity (Sirr, 1850:120). Laird found a fire to be "very acceptable" (Laird, 1875:94). Others shared his assessment; Cave enjoyed the ritual of after-dinner "cigars and toddy" by the fireplace (Cave, 1895:13; see Mouat, 1852:127). The homes, some of which were traditional English farmhouses, enhanced the ability of expatriates to recreate the social environment of the metropolitan country.

In addition to Nuwara Eliya's appeal as a sanatorium, it also earned favorable regard for its recreational pursuits. Mouat suggested that "those who have recovered health" would enjoy the field sports or other activities in the open air such as elk or elephant hunting (Mouat, 1852:127). Gordon-Cumming preferred social activities such as the parties, picnics and dances during the jymkhana (Gordon-Cumming, 1893:143, 147). Sitting with friends around a piano and playing tunes was another pastime (Carpenter, 1892:38). Cave termed the hill-station the "playground of Ceylon", citing the availability of golf, cricket, lawn-tennis, fishing and the jymkhana to support his assertion (Cave, 1905:202). Mention of the recreational aspects of the hill-station in the travel literature increased as the recreational infrastructure expanded in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.
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The scenic beauty of the landscape and the English appearance of Nuwara Eliya are two related themes that are present in the travel literature. To expatriates, the beauty of Nuwara Eliya's landscape and scenery seemed all the more intense because of its resemblance to their homeland. There were numerous attributes that appealed to expatriates, from the waterfalls of "great beauty" to the "gorgeous tints" cast by the rising sun upon the landscape (Cave, 1895:31; Mouat, 1852:122). Whether one considered Nuwara Eliya to resemble the highlands of Scotland or the countryside of England, most expatriates would agree that the hill-station possessed a "special charm" (Cave, 1905:206; Binning, 1857:71; Haeckel, 1883:290). The beauty of the landscape and its English appearance were intertwined in the minds of expatriates and contributed to the enduring appeal of the hill-station.

The themes that emerge in the travel literature indicate that there are many factors that contributed to Nuwara Eliya's popularity. Yet there is a common element that links the themes. The climate, vegetation, dwellings, recreational activities and the beauty of the landscape each were acclaimed in the literature because they approximated or replicated that which would be found in the metropolitan country. Furthermore, Nuwara Eliya's strength as a sanatarium was its temperate environment that "best suited" the health requirements of Europeans (Cave, 1912:495).
A survey of the travel literature

The following is a content analysis of the nineteenth century travel literature on Nuwara Eliya in chronological sequence.

M.D. found that the plants and flowers of Nuwara Eliya -- barberry, briar, southerlote, dandelions, daisies, buttercups, roses, mignonettes and carnations "as fragrant as in England" (M.D., 1832:59) -- were a pleasant contrast to the tropical vegetation of lowland areas. Vegetation and artifacts that would have warranted little attention in England were the subject of much discourse among expatriates. Fresh vegetables from plants of English origin including potatoes, carrots, peas, cabbages, turnips, parsnips and artichokes, were a highly appreciated addition to the colonialist's diet. European vegetables held a strong association with Home, for food conjured up images of family gatherings and favorite meals that otherwise seemed distant in time and place.

The similarities of climate between Great Britain and Nuwara Eliya were often noted by visitors and residents in Ceylon. It was a strongly held belief by expatriates during the nineteenth century that natives of Britain did not or could not flourish in the tropics. Some writers have even suggested that the tropics should be avoided by Europeans. James Steuart wrote in 1862 that Ceylon is "not suited for
the Permanent Residence of Europeans" (Steuart, 1862:36).

Thus, it is not surprising that Nuwara Eliya was popular because of its climate. M.D. stated that European soldiers residing at Nuwara Eliya "appear ruddy and healthy, possessing their strength, vigour and spirits to the same extent as in their own country" (M.D., 1832:59-60). He continued:

indeed, the contrast between new-comers and those who have been for some time resident is peculiarly striking, the former appear sallow and debilitated, having the characteristic unhealthy countenance of Europeans residing in a tropical climate, while the latter seen to possess that robustness of frame which we commonly meet with among the natives of an English agricultural district (M.D., 1832:60).

The similarities in climate between Nuwara Eliya and Britain and the apparent healthful effects of the hill-station upon expatriates, played a role in inspiring the British in Ceylon to mold Nuwara Eliya in the image of their home country.

Both Major Forbes, who published Eleven Years in Ceylon in 1840 and his contemporary, the Reverend James Selkirk who wrote Recollections of Ceylon in 1844, also made note of the appealing climate of Nuwara Eliya (Forbes, 1840:132-33; Selkirk, 1844:17). Selkirk elaborated by indicating that in "December, January, February and part of March, there is little rain, and the air is pure and healthy" (Selkirk, 1844:17). Like M.D., Selkirk rejoiced at the presence of
European vegetables "common in gardens" (ibid.: 18). For both Forbes and Selkirk, Nuwara Eliya was a place of simple charms. Their writings stand in contrast to those of Emily Eden who visited Simla at approximately the same time as Selkirk and Forbes were at Nuwara Eliya. Her writings delight the reader with descriptions of balls, picnics and other fetes which are notably lacking in the writings on Nuwara Eliya (Eden, 1866). In the early 1840s, Nuwara Eliya was the location of an assistant government agent, a courthouse, a rest-house, barracks and "several English gentlemen's residences" (Selkirk, 1844: 18), and lacked hotels or a Club. The absence of references to parties and balls and other extroverted social activities suggests that in its early years, the settlement was popular for reasons other than those which accounted for the popularity of Simla and Darjeeling and the other large Indian hill-stations. Climate, vegetation and the quietly reassuring sight of English soldiers, their wives and children who "look as healthy and fresh-coloured as in England" (ibid.), were factors that contributed to the English image of Nuwara Eliya and, hence, to its appeal.

For Charles Henry Sirr, who wrote Ceylon and the Cinghalese in 1850, Nuwara Eliya was attractive because there was a feeling of familiarity associated with the settlement (SIRR, 1850: 120). Just seven degrees latitude from the
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equator, the temperature could drop below freezing on winter mornings, when visitors and residents would awake to find ice on the water and hoar-frost glimmering in the early light (ibid.). So strong was the resemblance between the hill-station and Britain, Sirr suggested that Nuwara Eliya was a good substitute for people who could not afford to return Home (ibid.)(2). In Sirr's opinion, Nuwara Eliya was not merely to be viewed as a temporary respite from an intolerable tropical environment; rather the hill-station had the potential to be a long-term asset to the colony and to Great Britain. In addition to European flowers and vegetables grown at the station, Sirr proposed a scheme to produce cured meats and cheeses at low-cost for local consumption and export (ibid.:126). A shortage of labourers could be alleviated by British emigration to Nuwara Eliya (ibid.:vii). Thus, the similarities between a British village and Nuwara Eliya were, in Sirr's opinion, to be encouraged.

In 1852, Frederic Mouat published a book on his travels to Ceylon, Reunion and Mauritius that included "remarks on their eligibility as sanatoria for Indian Invalids". He wrote that Colombo "is a hot, disagreeable place, at which I recommend travellers to remain as short a time as possible" (Mouat, 1852:117). In contrast, the landscape around Nuwara Eliya was described in much more favorable terms. He wrote:
"The distant hill-tops were capped with a dense mist, which gradually cleared away as the sun rose, gilding the landscape with the most gorgeous tints" (ibid.:122). There is no doubt that whatever the shortcomings of other areas of Ceylon, Mouat approved of Nuwara Eliya. The cool mornings and chilly evenings required a "bright, blazing, cheerful wood fire" (ibid.:127), a luxury that was not possible in the sweltering lowlands. From a more practical perspective, (Mouat was, after all, interested in Nuwara Eliya as a sanatarium), Mouat noted that the hill-station's elevation produced a "peculiar stimulant, exhilarating effect upon the spirits" which "exerts a most beneficial influence on the general health" by increasing desire for exercise and improving digestion (ibid.:127).

It is understandable that Nuwara Eliya attracted persons who were more interested in the recreational aspects of the sanatarium than in its recuperative aspects. Mouat alluded to this situation when he proposed that a lake should be excavated which would increase the beauty and healthiness of the hill-station (3). The lake would not be costly, he wrote, because it would be constructed with the labour of "the soldiers of the detachment quartered there, and [would] also give occupation for some time to come to the number of drunken, idle European invalids, who are now beginning to congregate at the place" (ibid.:126). The
presence of "drunken, idle European invalids" suggests that Nuwara Eliya was undergoing a transition and was beginning to function not only as a sanatorium but as a resort. The metamorphosis was very gradual, however, for there is little mention in the mid-nineteenth century travel writings about Nuwara Eliya of the social activities, such as balls and fetes, that characterized resort stations such as Simla and Darjeeling.

Of the many visitors and residents in Nuwara Eliya, few had as significant an impact upon the landscape and the subsequent development of the hill-station as Samuel Baker. Samuel Baker (later Sir Samuel Baker) published a series of books recounting his life and deeds at Nuwara Eliya (see Baker 1883, 1884, 1890). His contribution to the station spanned the years 1846 to 1855 (Van Thal, 1951:13). Even after he returned to England, his family retained their farm and his brother continued to live at Nuwara Eliya (Murray and White, 1895:33). His initial contact with the hill-station was the result of a bout of fever he contracted while on a hunting expedition in Ceylon in 1845 (ibid.:23). His declining health "necessitated his removal to the mountain health resort of Nuwara Eliya" where he recovered within two weeks (ibid.).

Baker found Nuwara Eliya in a "state of utter neglect" (Baker, 1890; Murray and White, 1895:23), the only
substantial house having been built for Sir Edward Barnes, the Governor of Ceylon from 1820 to 1822 and from 1824 to 1831, which suggests that the station had yet to blossom as a full-fledged seasonal resort. Nevertheless, he was impressed by the natural beauty of the area, its resemblance to Britain and its potential for development as a permanent settlement (Baker, 1884). In Baker's opinion, Nuwara Eliya was not being utilized to its full advantage. The seasonal popularity of the station from January to May meant that it was neglected during part of the year, and its agricultural potential was not being realized (ibid.:28). Nuwara Eliya was either overcrowded or empty depending upon the season and its only permanent residents were the Commandant, the officer in command of the detachment of troops; the Assistant Government Agent; the doctor; the clergyman; and, eventually, Baker's family (ibid.). Significantly, Baker made little mention of Nuwara Eliya as a seasonal resort, though he lauded the station as a sanatarium. Instead, he saw the potential of Nuwara Eliya as an agrarian settlement and viewed himself as the individual with the vision and the means to develop this potential.

The timing of his intervention in Nuwara Eliya's history is significant for it is at a point when the station was beginning to undergo a transition from a utilitarian sanatarium for the recovery of health to the dual role of a
station for the prevention of ill health and a seasonal resort. Baker recognized that the character of Nuwara Eliya was in transition and that he could exercise some influence on the subsequent development of the hill-station. Yet the aspects of Nuwara Eliya that appealed to Baker -- the clean air, the "perfect climate" (Baker, 1884:26), the views and scenic natural features -- were the same as those that attracted the seasonal visitor. Baker, however, did not perceive Nuwara Eliya as a seasonal respite from conditions in the lowlying areas. He saw the hill-station as an important and underutilized asset to the British Empire. Nuwara Eliya was England in Ceylon.

How often ... have I thought of the thousands of starving wretches at home, who here might earn a comfortable livelihood!.... I have scanned the vast tract of country; and in my imagination I have cleared the dark forests, and substituted waving crops of corn, and peopled a hundred ideal cottages with a thriving peasantry (quoted in Murray and White, 1895:24-25).

Baker decided to settle in Nuwara Eliya with his family and devote his attention to creating an "'English village' with the whole of Ceylon for his 'manor, and no expense of gamekeepers'" (Baker, 1883:26). He was aided in his ambitious plan by his brother, John, and family. After having purchased a thousand acres of land in Nuwara Eliya from the colonial government at twenty shillings per acre (Murray and White, 1895:26), Baker returned to England to
obtain the artifacts and animals he required to transform Nuwara Eliya into a little piece of Britain. In September 1848, the Earl of Hardwicke, chartered by Baker, sailed from London laden with farm equipment, a bull and cow, three rams, a thorough-bred stallion, carriage horses, poultry, pigs and hounds, as well as Baker's family, a bailiff and twelve other emigrants (Baker, 1883:27). An individual who observed their departure wrote:

Young men and wives; babies and nurses; the bailiff and his wife and daughter; the groom with the horses, animals, two of every kind - reminding one of the toy figures in the Noah's Ark of one's childhood; the cackle of poultry, the sad lowing of the cow, the plunging of the bull in mid-air, as he was hauled up; and, last of all, the pack of hounds, scrambling on board over the ship's side (Murray and White, 1895:27).

Baker took an overland route to Ceylon and arrived prior to the Earl of Hardwicke. With the assistance of one hundred and fifty native labourers, Baker cleared the land, prepared it for ploughing, constructed a road through the estate and built homes for the settlers (Baker, 1883; Murray and White, 1895:29). Baker was pleased with his efforts, for the previously dense forest was changed "by the hand of civilisation and industry" into an "oasis" within a "territory of savage nature" (Baker, 1884:26).

Baker's influence on Nuwara Eliya is significant for a number of reasons. When seasonal visits to the hill-station
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were the norm, Baker took a long-term interest in the development of the town and encouraged permanent British settlement of Nuwara Eliya by emigrants and expatriates. Perhaps most important, though, was Baker's unparalleled enthusiasm for Nuwara Eliya as a British village. Nuwara Eliya captured Baker's imagination for he saw in the hill-station an opportunity for the British to harvest the bounty of a new land, while placing their indelible mark upon the landscape. Through the construction of roads and houses and the tilling of the fields, Baker helped to shape Nuwara Eliya in the image of his homeland. He wrote:

The road encircles the plain; and carts are busy removing the produce of the land. Here, where wild forests stood, are gardens teeming with English flowers; rosy-faced children and ruddy countrymen are about the cottage doors; equestrians of both sexes are galloping round the plains; and the cry of the hounds is ringing on the mountainside! And...the church-bell sounds where the elephant trumpeted of yore (quoted in Murray and White, 1895:30).

Baker's intercession in the hill-station made a lasting impression on its development. He helped to ensure that Nuwara Eliya was not merely a seasonal resort; a temporary retreat from the ails of Empire. Unlike cosmopolitan Simla or Darjeeling, it was Baker's intention that Nuwara Eliya provide a home for British expatriates. Englishmen would grow their own produce, till their own soil, and prosper from their own industriousness. Baker endeavored to give Nuwara
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Eliya an air of permanence that many of the Indian hill-stations lacked, and if one judges from the writings of later authors, it appears Baker achieved his goals, though perhaps not on the scale that he had envisioned.

Not all visitors to Nuwara Eliya had as enthusiastic a response to the hill-station as Baker did. Sir Edward Robert Sullivan published details of his visit to Nuwara Eliya in his book *Bungalow and the Tent; or a Visit to Ceylon* (1854). Unfortunately, he caught his first glimpse of the hill-station in July when it seemed to him that it was the "most damp, unpicturesque abode of discomfort" (Sullivan, 1854:136). He did concede, however, that the station had its redeeming features.

The immediate neighbourhood presents a much more cozy, English appearance than could be expected within ten degrees of the Line, from the settlement and continued residence of two English gentlemen and their families, who, with ample means, have built some excellent houses and farm buildings, thatched and finished in the orthodox style of English farm-houses. They have made considerable clearings, and cultivate potatoes, turnips, carrots, and other European vegetables with tolerable success; they also have established a brewery...(ibid.:137).

Significantly, the aspects of the hill-station that Sullivan found attractive were a result of the efforts of Baker and his brother. Parties, fetes, balls and other aspects of the social scene that characterized the larger Indian hill-
stations are not mentioned in his account of the Ceylonese station. It was the quiet, pastoral nature of Nuwara Eliya that elicited his favorable response.

When James Emerson Tennant published his book *Ceylon* in 1860, Nuwara Eliya was scarcely more developed in terms of facilities for travellers than it was a decade earlier. According to Robert Binning, who wrote *Journal of Two Years' Travel in Persia, Ceylon etc.* (1857), Nuwara Eliya had two rest-houses or lodgings, neither of which were very comfortable. The beds and furnishings were not clean; the provisions were bad and the cooking was worse (Binning, 1857:85). Private accommodation was preferable as it enabled individuals to experience the hill-station in a home-like setting. Despite the rudimentary facilities for visitors, Tennent gave a glowing report of Nuwara Eliya's attributes. He wrote that he had travelled "through scenery unsurpassed in its loveliness and grandeur, to rest in an English cottage, with a blazing wood fire, to sleep under blankets, and awake in the morning to find thin ice on the water" (Tennant, 1977:759). Tennant's observations are hardly original yet they are insightful in understanding the enduring appeal of a town that thrived despite an apparent lack of social amenities.

Much of the nineteenth century travel literature on Nuwara Eliya is favorable in its assessment of the hill-
station. James Steuart's account, however, offers a less favorable view of the hill-station. When James Steuart wrote *Notes on Ceylon and its affairs during a period of thirty-eight years*, ending in 1855, he did not criticize the hill-station *per se* (Steuart, 1862). Rather, he was critical of the use of the station for permanent settlement and was fearful of the outcome for British emigrants. His concerns focused upon ethno-medical beliefs; namely, that a marked change of seasons was essential for the maintenance of the health of persons of British origin. He believed that "it is the change in temperature between Colombo and Nuwera Eliya [sic] which makes a temporary sojourn at the latter place so beneficial to the health of those Europeans whose occupation is in Colombo" (Steuart, 1862:37). In his opinion, Nuwara Eliya, like other areas of Ceylon, did not have a distinct change in seasons or temperature. This, he believed, was the reason that English fruit trees and cereals did not thrive as in Britain (ibid.:36-37). More ominously, the marked change of seasons was also required for the "preservation of Englishmen's health" for it made them hardy (ibid.). The long-term consequences of the permanent settlement of expatriates in Nuwara Eliya could only prove disastrous.

Any attempt to colonize the mountain region of Ceylon would be attended with considerable sacrifice of life; and the race which might descend from such colonists would soon degenerate and become unworthy of their progenitors.

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(Steuart, 1862:37).

Steuart's vehemence on the topic may have been a result of his perception of the growing popularity of Nuwara Eliya which made him fear that expatriates would be unable to resist the charms of the hill-station. His opinion of Nuwara Eliya contrasts with the majority of nineteenth century writers who mention the station. What is surprising, perhaps, is that despite his strong opinions on the deleterious effects of the environment, Steuart remained in Ceylon for thirty-eight years.

Steuart's commentary on Nuwara Eliya was one of the most original perspectives on the hill-station offered by nineteenth century authors. He did not actively dislike the hill-station and yet managed to convey his disapproval of what might be described as its "subversive role". The majority of authors who wrote of Nuwara Eliya were not nearly so controversial in their pronouncements. Throughout the travel literature, writers tended to focus upon common themes and to use similar language in describing the attributes of Nuwara Eliya that appealed to them. This consistency over time indicates that Nuwara Eliya successfully met the needs of expatriates for an alternative, accessible environment that substituted for the metropolitan country and also that the needs of the expatriate population manifested continuity throughout the nineteenth century.
The writings of Aelian a King, the Assistant Government Agent, capture the essence of Nuwara Eliya's appeal: its resemblance to Britain. In a report written in 1867, he states:

the view of the plain below, sheltered on the right and left by hills thickly covered with forest, and studded over with little white cottages, from the chimneys of which the smoke peacefully rises against the blue sky, is most refreshing and surprising to one who sees it for the first time after a residence among the sultry plains in the low-country. The resemblance to an English scene is further heightened by the number of trees of English-like foliage, which are clustered here and there upon a few hills rising out of the plain (Aelian a King quoted in de Silva, 1978:3).

Although a survey of the writings of travellers to Nuwara Eliya may impress the reader with their repetitive nature, such as the obligatory mention of the white-washed cottages nestled midst the fields, the blazing fires or the smoking chimneys, the reader should imagine the awe of the visitor who beheld the hill-station for the first time. The repetitiveness within the travel literature is significant. It corroborates the assertion that the spatial and cultural distance from England took its toll upon expatriates, who therefore embraced such a convincing substitute for the English countryside.

According to G.P.S.H. de Silva (1978:iv), the growth of Nuwara Eliya progressed steadily following Baker's residence
at the hill-station. Baker's initiatives encouraged further
development and expansion of the hill-station. He planted
the seeds of change that were to come to fruition in the last
quarter of the nineteenth century. De Silva notes that
during this period, "we see the gradual transformation of
Nuwara Eliya from a wild open plain to a busy English hamlet"
(de Silva, 1978:iv). At least part of this transformation
can be attributed to the growing prosperity of the hill-
country. With the introduction of coffee production in the
mid-nineteenth century and, later, chinchona and tea crops,
the uplands became increasingly integrated with the
commercial and political institutions of the low-country. The
economic potential of the hill-country attracted commercial
enterprises to the area and Nuwara Eliya, because of its
seasonal popularity, was a favored locale for the investment
of commercial capital. Merchants such as Cargill's, Miller's
and the National Bank of India provided goods and services to
the expatriate population, including both seasonal visitors
and planters (Burrows, 1899:xvi; Cameron, 1926). The
widespread availability of British commercial goods, although
expensive, further accentuated the British character of Nuwara
Eliya.

The development of the hill-station was also assisted by
the presence of the Governor during the Season, especially
during the closing quarter of the nineteenth century. Baker
suggests that although Nuwara Eliya flourished under the initial guidance of Governor Barnes (1824-31), the station did not thrive under his successors (Baker, 1890:8). Under Barne's patronage, Nuwara Eliya was "rapidly becoming a place of importance but, unfortunately, at the expiration of his term the place became neglected. His successor [Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, 1831-37] took no interests in the plans of his predecessor, and from that period, each successive governor, being influenced by an increasing spirit of parsimony" paid little attention to the development of Nuwara Eliya (Baker, 1890:8) (4).

Consistent with the lack of official favour for Nuwara Eliya during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, there are few references to the presence of the Governor and his entourage in the travel literature dating from this time. However, Nuwara Eliya enjoyed renewed gubernatorial favour under Governor Gregory (1872-1877). He gained notoriety by affronting the Colonial Office when he sold the Governor's seasonal residence in Galle, and constructed Queen's Cottage in Nuwara Eliya in 1872, as an official residence of the Governor, without the consent of the Colonial Office (Bastiampillai, 1968:118) (5). Here he would reside from January until May of each year, a tradition maintained by subsequent Governors (see Government of Ceylon, Mar. 24, 1884, Feb. 18, 1895) (6). The Governor would depart from
Nuwara Eliya and proceed to Kandy at the end of May, in time to celebrate Queen Victoria's birthday (Gordon-Cumming, 1893:143).

In addition to the construction of Queen's Cottage, Governor Gregory channelled government funds into the improvement of the hill-station in an effort "to render the city as attractive as the Indian hill stations" (Bastiampillai, 1968:119). Portions of Nuwara Eliya were drained and planted with flowers and shrubs. Furthermore, "public grounds were laid out, new roads and drives constructed", the hospital improved with bathing facilities and Governor Sir William Gregory initiated the excavation of a lake that bore his name (ibid.).

There can be little doubt that the development of the hill-station was enhanced by the presence of the Governor for he and his entourage lent prestige to Nuwara Eliya and increased the expatriate population's awareness of Nuwara Eliya as an alternative social environment. In addition, the consistency of the Governor's visits over time, and the duration of his stays, encouraged the expansion of Nuwara Eliya's commercial sector. Furthermore, one visitor to Nuwara Eliya suggested that the hill-station was well-maintained with amenities such as carriage drives and walks in response to the Governor's patronage of the town (Leitch and Leitch, 1890:80).
Mention of the Governor and his impact upon the social life of Nuwara Eliya appeared in the travel literature with greater frequency during the closing quarter of the nineteenth century, as did other references to social activities, including parties and dinners, as well as sports such as golf and fishing. This corresponds with the expansion of the recreational infrastructure of Nuwara Eliya and the evolution of the station as a seasonal resort. The social scene in Nuwara Eliya during the last part of the nineteenth century was lively, in contrast with earlier decades when social activities were much more subdued. The presence of the Governor and his entourage, the growing popularity of Nuwara Eliya among British expatriates, the increased accessibility of the town as a result of the railway opening in 1885, encouraged the expansion of the recreational infrastructure of Nuwara Eliya and contributed to a festive atmosphere that was present during the Season. All of these factors played a role in the development of Nuwara Eliya as a seasonal resort.

Ernst Haeckel published *A Visit to Ceylon* in 1883. Haeckel was one of the earliest social commentators on Nuwara Eliya. Like other authors, he remarked upon the features of the landscape that appealed to British expatriates. He possessed an enquiring mind, however, and was not satisfied with shallow descriptions of scenic views. With a wry sense of humour, he probed the reasons behind "the love of the
British colonist for Newera Ellia" (Haeckel, 1883:289). In addition to this inquiry, Haeckel provided a rare and enticing glimpse of the late nineteenth century social world of Ceylon's only hill-station. Haeckel concluded that much of Nuwara Eliya's popularity was based upon its resemblance to a far-away land. He wrote:

> It is sometimes impossible not to fancy that one has been transported to the Scotch highlands, fifty degrees further to the north, and here in Newera Ellia precisely the same gloomy feeling came over me again and again as had possessed me when I travelled through [Scotland in]...1879. I believe, indeed, that it is this very similarity in climate and scenery which accounts...for the love of the British colonist for Newera Ellia [sic] (ibid.).

Yet it is not merely the resemblance of Nuwara Eliya's landscape to that of Britain that accounted for the enduring popularity of the hill-station. The similarity of the landscape and climate of Nuwara Eliya with that of England enabled expatriates to replicate British customs and practices in an alien environment, thus enhancing their sense of cultural identity. Haeckel recognized that Nuwara Eliya had a "singularly refreshing effect on the health of Europeans, when they have become debilitated by too long a residence in the hot low country" (Haeckel, 1883:290). His subsequent comments suggest that he was also aware that it was not so much the climate per se that revitalized the
expatriate population, as the opportunity to behave as if one had been magically transported back to England. A sojourn in Nuwara Eliya promised expatriates:

the unwonted pleasure of shivering with cold, and having only one side warm at a time in front of a fire; the exquisite delight of being obliged to encumber yourself with a great coat and shawl when you go out of doors, and of having to pile blankets on your bed before you can go to sleep -- the contrast, in short, to the easy going and light clothing of the hot coast, makes the Englishman feel quite at home, and he does nothing but sing the praises of Newara Ellia [sic] (ibid.:290).

Haeckel added the comment that if the expatriate were "transported bodily to our wretched northern climate, perhaps he would not find its charms quite so great" (ibid.).

Haeckel is one of the few writers on Nuwara Eliya to provide any information about the social life of the hill-station. When travellers to Nuwara Eliya discussed the physical attributes of the settlement they found attractive, the homey dwellings with the blazing fireplaces won much acclaim. Yet descriptions of individuals who resided within these homes and their daily activities are seldom encountered. However, Haeckel's writings, as well as the expanding recreational infrastructure that included the construction of the Hill Club, lawn tennis courts, a race-track and, eventually, a golf-course, suggests that social activities played an important role in the lives of the
expatriate population in Nuwara Eliya. Furthermore, such recreational pastimes discouraged privatized behaviour as they required the participation of more than one individual. As evidence of the importance of social activities to the visitors and residents of Nuwara Eliya, Haeckel compared the hill-station to the bathing places of Europe -- which were loci of social interaction and activities (Haeckel, 1883:292).

Haeckel's writings on the social life of Nuwara Eliya are informative because they suggest that Nuwara Eliya had a strong social hierarchy. Nuwara Eliya may have been perceived by expatriates as a place of rest and relaxation but there remained a strong desire to keep up appearances in front of their countrypeople. The hill-station provided the opportunity for personal display and status validation. Haeckel's comparison of Nuwara Eliya to the bathing-places of Europe was apt. With a sense of bemusement, he wrote:

The stronger and the fairer sexes vie with each other in the elegance, costliness, and bad taste of their dress....The richest among the residents try to out-do each other in the elegance of their carriages out of doors, and in the luxury of their furniture within (Haeckel, 1883:292).

Keeping up appearances in Nuwara Eliya may have been a considerable undertaking. Haeckel indicates that the cost of both goods and services was high and, in his opinion, "overpriced" (ibid.). In addition, the rents for houses were
steep especially during the Season. Despite the costs, however, there was no shortage of individuals willing to pay the price to immerse themselves in the British atmosphere of the hill-station.

Much effort was devoted on the part of the British in Ceylon to making their stay at Nuwara Eliya as much like a visit to their homeland as was possible. This effort extended to their meals, as well. "The illusion that one is actually in a European watering-place is rendered still more complete by the universal attempt to make the dinner resemble, as far as possible, an European meal" (Haeckel, 1883:292). Potatoes, green beans, peas, cabbage and other European vegetables thrived in the gardens of Nuwara Eliya, though they failed in the low-country. In addition to having their favorite vegetables for dinner, expatriates could decorate their tables with a bouquet of violets or foxglove, and they could conclude the meal with a dessert made of locally grown raspberries.

Margaret and Mary Leitch were two sisters who worked as missionaries in Jaffna, in northern Ceylon. In their collection of letters and reminiscences entitled Seven Years in Ceylon. Stories of Missionary Life, one of the sisters provided her impressions of a brief visit to Nuwara Eliya in 1885 (7). The response of Miss Leitch to the hill-station was very favorable, despite the fact that she visited Nuwara
Eliya in July, during the off-season. What she found most refreshing was the contrast between Nuwara Eliya and Jaffna. In a letter to her sister, she wrote:

Now, after a little perfect quiet and freedom from care, in this delightful climate, with the beautiful wooded hills all about me, reminders of the dear home land, and a pleasant change from Jaffna which is quite flat, I feel my old self again, am able to eat and sleep well and to take long walks of two or three miles morning and evening (Leitch and Leitch, 1890:77).

The house in which she was staying was situated close to Lake Gregory "nestled in the lap of the hills" with three waterfalls in sight, "winding down the sides of these hills like silver threads" (ibid.:80). Much of her time was spent outdoors. In addition to her daily walks, she often accompanied her hostess on carriage drives in the afternoons, with frequent stops to gather wildflowers and ferns. Flowers and trees, some of which were "old home friends", were given much attention in her letter and she spent some time pressing the flowers to send home (ibid.). It is apparent that the most appealing aspect of the hill-station for Leitch was the natural beauty of the area and the opportunity to participate in activities that contrasted with those she experienced in Jaffna. Visiting Nuwara Eliya was perceived by expatriates to afford the chance to regain one's equilibrium and to renew oneself before returning to the lowlands.

Leitch's writing is of interest because it indicates the
continuing appeal of the scenic attributes of Nuwara Eliya and the pleasure expressed by expatriates when participating in activities that resembled those in Britain. Her letter is also of interest because it suggests that there was a marked contrast between the activities of expatriates during the Season and during the off-Season period. Leitch visited Nuwara Eliya during the off-season and her time there was characterized by subdued, quiet activities such as walks and gathering flowers. She made no mention of parties, balls or other fetes which, although she may have chose not to attend, she would likely have noted in her letter. She mentioned, however, that the "Governor and his suite come here in the season. Then the place is very gay" (Leitch and Leitch, 1890:80) which suggests that Nuwara Eliya had become firmly entrenched as a seasonal resort.

Yet another factor in Nuwara Eliya's attractiveness to expatriates is suggested by Edward Carpenter. In his book From Adam's Peak to Elephanta: sketches in Ceylon and India, he described his visit to Nuwara Eliya. He was less than impressed with the hill-station, and he wrote his description of town as if he found the behaviour of expatriates and the appeal of Nuwara Eliya difficult to fathom. Carpenter surmised that his lack of enthusiasm was the result of his just having arrived from Britain. Hence, he could not savour the reminders of Home to the same extent as
his compatriots. He wrote:

Here the Britisher finds fires in the sitting-rooms and thick mists outside, and dons his great-coat and feels quite at home. But we, having only just come from the land of fogs, did not appreciate these joys, and thought the place a little bleak and bare (Carpenter, 1892:39).

Thus, it appears that in some instances the perception of the desirability of Nuwara Eliya as an alternate environment to Home may have borne a direct relationship to the length of time expatriates had been absent from Britain and their degree of homesickness.

Carpenter also alluded to the desire of expatriates to minimize the intrusion of the native population into the social realm of the British. There is little doubt that the British were reconciled to their dependence upon the natives to provide for their daily needs, yet they frequently resented the natives for their foreign and often incomprehensible ways. Though they could not completely escape the native presence, the British could ignore them as much as possible. Carpenter wrote, "it seemed to be a point of honour" among expatriates "to act throughout as if the colored folk didn't exist or were invisible -- also as if they were deaf, to judge by the shouting" (Carpenter, 1892:38).

Constance Gordon-Cumming was to Nuwara Eliya as Emily Eden was to Simla. Each played a prominent role in the social
activities of their stations and enjoyed the company of high-ranking officials in the colonial government. Gordon-Cumming spent two years in Ceylon and was very fond of Nuwara Eliya. As a result, she devoted considerable space in her book, *Two Happy Years in Ceylon* (1893), to descriptions of the landscape and the social life of the hill-station. Her affection for Nuwara Eliya was rooted in the beauty of the landscape and its resemblance to Britain. In addition, she extolled the hill-station's tonic effect on the health of expatriates and the gaiety of its social life during the Season (Gordon-Cumming, 1893).

Gordon-Cumming wrote that when it was sunny, the climate of Nuwara Eliya was "like that of our very loveliest summer days in Scotland" (Gordon-Cumming, 1893:141). Of the rejuvenative effects of the hill-station, she stated, "the crisp clean air is so marvelously invigorating and inspiriting that every breath is an elixir" (ibid.). She found the landscape appealing for sketching, though there were days when the climate did not co-operate. On one such day, she wrote:

Sketching was hopeless, and I fully appreciated the reasons why houses here are built of stone and have fireplaces, with fires morning and evening, round which friends gather as naturally as if in Europe (ibid.:140-1).

Gordon-Cumming was captivated by the charm and quaintness of Nuwara Eliya and she consistently described its attributes in
the most favorable terms. A large part of the appeal of Nuwara Eliya for her was aesthetic. The hill-station offered a subdued and tasteful environment, reflecting picturesque landscape ideals (see below). Gordon-Cumming found Nuwara Eliya a perfect backdrop for social gatherings. There was a comfortable familiarity about the hill-station with its "peace and quietness" and "pleasant highland homes" that encouraged expatriates to recall a favorite setting in the metropolitan country (ibid.:142).

The descriptions Gordon-Cumming furnished of the social life of Nuwara Eliya indicates the hill-station's success as a seasonal resort. She wrote:

Of course, wherever Government makes its headquarters for the season, there white men and women congregate; and so during these spring months, until the end of May, each of the nest-like homes encircling the plain is well-filled, and a most cheery is social life kept up...(Gordon-Cumming, 1893:142).

Gordon-Cumming's record of the social activities of Nuwara Eliya are an important contribution to the nineteenth century travel literature on the hill-station. She focused upon the events she found most appealing: the dances and parties, the long walks to gather wildflowers, socializing with other expatriates. One of the most notable features of her work is that it reinforces the idea that recreational and social activities were only part of the attraction of the hill-station. Her sentimental depiction of Nuwara Eliya as a
pastoral English village and her delight with the landscape reveal perhaps the most compelling reason that the hill-station gained and maintained such popularity with the expatriate community; Nuwara Eliya represented the most appealing aspects of England.

Henry Cave was a prolific photographer and writer of travel books on Ceylon and was one of the most avid supporters of Nuwara Eliya (see Chapter 2). He first visited the hill-station in 1877 (Cave, 1895:13). Though his love of golf may have contributed to his numerous visits to Nuwara Eliya, Cave was also captivated by other aspects of the station. The hill-station's resemblance to the English countryside, its attributes as a sanatarium, recreational facilities and events such as the Jymkhana, and the comfort of a cozy home and hearth were recounted in each of his books. In many respects, Cave's work resembles that of earlier writers for he focused upon the features that attracted their attention. His work differs from the travel writings of previous decades only in the extent of his discussion of the social activities and recreational facilities which reflects the evolution of the hill-station as a seasonal resort.

In addition, to its development as a seasonal resort, Nuwara Eliya continued to earn a reputation as a sanatarium. In the West Highlands of Scotland, both landscape and climate, at their best,
may be suggestive of Nuwara Eliya, but
the latter has a special charm of
situation which...possesses advantages
over every other health resort in the
world (Cave, 1895:4).

Cave noted that at Nuwara Eliya "we can enjoy the purist and
most invigorating air, with a temperature best suited to the
health of Europeans" (Cave, 1912:495). Thus, although Nuwara
Eliya ceased to be an official military sanatorium in 1873,
the hill-station continued to be used by expatriates for that
purpose. Nuwara Eliya's enduring role as a sanatorium
throughout the nineteenth century suggests that British
beliefs about the benefits of a temperate climate changed
little within that period. It indicates, too, that Nuwara
Eliya was evolving; maintaining its earlier functions as it
assumed new roles as a recreational resort and commercial and
service centre for the surrounding plantations.

As a publisher and importer residing in Colombo, Cave's
enthusiastic response to Nuwara Eliya may be traced to a
longing for Home, for certainly the attributes of the hill-
station that he found most desirable were those that
resembled the features of England. His description of a visit
to Nuwara Eliya supports this assertion.

The homely dinner, the cigars and toddy
by a blazing wood fire, the refreshing
sleep that followed, and the morning
stroll while the grass was white with
hoar frost and the leaves crackled
under one's feet, and above all the
cool mountain air, were nothing short
of delicious (ibid.:13).
Like many of his fellow expatriates who wrote of Nuwara Eliya from the 1830s onward, Cave felt a sense of pleasure, even elation, when he witnessed the landscape and climate of the hill-station that were so similar to England. Cave found the tropical lowlands of Ceylon pleasant, too, but his descriptions of Nuwara Eliya are characterized by a degree of sentimentality that is absent in his depiction of other parts of the island.

By 1908, when Reginald Farrer's *In Old Ceylon* was published, the Victorian era had ended. Expatriate's perceptions of Nuwara Eliya, however, remained largely unaltered. Farrer is the final selection of the travel literature examined in this chapter. Although his writing could be classified as twentieth century, it has been included because it demonstrates that British expatriate's perceptions of Nuwara Eliya did not undergo an abrupt change with the new century. Indeed, many of the attributes of the hill-station that appealed to expatriates in the nineteenth century continued to do so up until Independence and beyond (see Pickens, 1964:140).

In a sardonic and humourous fashion, Farrer captured the essence of Nuwara Eliya's appeal. About expatriates residing in Colombo, he wrote that they were:

> counting the days until they may be off to play at being in England amid the Grasmere-scenery of Newera Eliya...where the lettuces are
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sometimes browned with a frost which
their eaters hail with joy -- dear
reminders of far-off countries where
the odiousness of climate are the
rule, and not the rare delicious
exception (Farrer, 1908:32).

Farrer remained unconvinced that Nuwara Eliya was an
attractive alternative to the lush, tropical lowlands of
Ceylon. His assessment of the hill-station was scathing but
insightful and supports the assertion that much of the appeal
Nuwara Eliya held for expatriates was the illusion of
returning to Britain.

Nooraylia [sic] (8) is not Ceylon, has
nothing to do with Ceylon. It is simply
a projection of that curious English
spirit which, in countries no matter
how celestially beautiful, is never
satisfied until it has made itself some
sort of close facsimile of an English
country town, a place where you can
race and play golf and dance, without
being too much bothered by the
consciousness that you are not in
England, where you may, for a happy
fortnight, forget that you are
prisoned in such a paradise as Ceylon
(ibid.:32-33).

Farrer noted that "for those chained for a term of years in
Ceylon, it is abundantly necessary to have a safety-valve
such as Nooraylia [sic], where exile and bondage may be lost
sight of for a time" (ibid.:33). He advised the short-term
visitor to the colony, however, to avoid the hill-station for
if "you simply want English company, golf, and a race-course,
why not restrict your peregrinations to Esher and Surbiton?"
(ibid.). Although he did not share the enthusiasm of
expatriates for the landscape or social activities of Nuwara Eliya, Farrer had an accurate understanding of its importance to the British in Ceylon. He realized that because there was "nothing in the least Cingalese...up at Nooraylia", the hill-station offered a retreat from the alien surroundings of a colonial possession (ibid.). Despite his disparaging comments, Farrer recognized the burden of exile took its toll upon the British abroad and that the emotional attachment of expatriates to Nuwara Eliya was a means of compensating for the loss of Home.

With a few notable exceptions, the nineteenth century travel literature on Nuwara Eliya portrayed the hill-station in a consistently favorable light. Descriptions of the scenic beauty of the landscape, the charm of the houses with fireplaces, the frosts and the Scottish mist, and the appeal of the European vegetables grown in the gardens gave the impression of Nuwara Eliya as an almost utopian setting. The travel literature is evidence of expatriates' desire for a land and way of life that exile denied them. They perceived Nuwara Eliya in a romanticized way, glossing over or ignoring its deficiencies, and never apologizing for their sentimental veneration of anything vaguely British.

In contrast to the writings of expatriates and visitors, were the diaries of the Assistant Government Agents of the Nuwara Eliya District. The diaries offer insight into the
everyday workings of the hill-station. Eloquent descriptions of the landscape are rarely encountered in these public records of the activities of A.G.A.s. The diaries reveal a different portrait of the hill-station from that painted by other expatriates and provide a counterbalance to their perceptions of Nuwara Eliya. A.G.A. White was acutely aware of the shortcomings of the hill-station and the need for funding to ameliorate the situation (9). White may have been exaggerating slightly the faults of Nuwara Eliya for his superiors who read his diary when he wrote in 1895:

There is the plain fact that Rs. 10,000 or ...500 [pounds sterling] is all that is spent on the chief sanatarium of the Island which does not possess a water supply, has about 6 beggarly seats, no Town Hall, no band stand, which is without a single streetlamp. Many of the houses are roofed with kerosine tin and partitioned by sacking, about half of the open spaces are bogs and the most conspicuous objects in the town proper are the cabbage gardens and the foul tenements. The whole amount available for its improvement is less than the value of one...of the horses which ran at the races (Government of Ceylon, March 4, 1895) (10).

White's perception of the hill-station, devoid of romanticism, contrasts sharply with the perceptions of expatriates. Expatriates tended to focus upon the feelings that the sight of an English landscape evoked. Their desire for an alternative environment to that of the tropical lowlands and their need for a substitute for Britain, shaped
their perceptions of Nuwara Eliya, resulting in a sentimental and nostalgic interpretation of the landscape.

Through a content analysis of a selection of the nineteenth century travel literature, it is evident that British expatriates and visitors shared similar perceptions of Nuwara Eliya over a span of nearly eighty years. From its earliest days, Nuwara Eliya was perceived as an English village. The hill-station captured the imagination of the expatriate community in Ceylon and for a short time they could picture themselves in the familiar comfort of the English countryside or the Scottish highlands. What M.D. wrote about Nuwara Eliya in 1832, that "everything oriental and tropical disappears", could have been written six decades later for it was the essence of Nuwara Eliya's appeal (M.D., 1832:59). The vegetation, climate, European flowers and vegetables, stone dwellings, the healthiness of residents and the renewed energy that visitors displayed were consistent themes in the literature. The consistency in the travel literature indicates the intensity of expatriates' need for a substitute for Britain and the success of Nuwara Eliya in filling that need.

Although there was a high degree of consistency in the travel literature of the nineteenth century, it was not static. The changes in the literature reflect the evolution of the hill-station as a seasonal resort. The appeal of
Nuwara Eliya as a pastoral English hamlet, frequently mentioned in the writings of travellers in the mid-nineteenth century, continued throughout the century. These references were later supplemented, however, by discussions of the social and recreational activities of the hill-station. Yet it was not the social activities *per se* that held such an attraction for expatriates, but the fact that these activities took place in surroundings that resembled their homeland. At Nuwara Eliya, the British in Ceylon could gather and enjoy the company of their compatriots, participate in the recreational activities of the metropolitan country, in a setting that was a close approximation of England. Afterwards, they could return to the business of Empire; the sense of spatial and cultural distance from Home having been transcended, at least temporarily.

**SUMMARY**

Nuwara Eliya is a manifestation of picturesque landscape ideals. Sentimental, romantic and nostalgic, the picturesque landscape played upon the emotions of spectators. There were few expatriates who were unmoved by a visit to Nuwara Eliya. Even those who decried the maudlin sentimentality of their compatriots were not without a reaction to the hill-station. The landscape of Nuwara Eliya was adaptable to picturesque landscape ideals for in its natural state it possessed the prerequisite scenic qualities. Unlike the jungles in other
parts of Ceylon, Nuwara Eliya could be tamed and shaped into a tranquil, pastoral setting. Expatriates found the informality of the picturesque landscape inviting for they could let down the defenses they had assumed as rulers of a foreign land. Above all, in the picturesque surroundings of Nuwara Eliya the consciousness of their Imperial duty receded. Expatriates were no longer assailed by the sense of loss that exile from Britain entailed.

The chapter has reviewed a selection from the nineteenth century travel literature on Nuwara Eliya. The British in Ceylon had a profound and lasting attachment to Nuwara Eliya for it was much more than a sanatarium or a resort. Frequently, the descriptions and narratives provided by expatriates and travellers were imbued with an emotional intensity that is striking. Drawn to Nuwara Eliya because of its temperate climate and a landscape that resembled Britain, expatriates imposed an English village on the Ceylonese uplands. Yet Nuwara Eliya was no ordinary English village for it symbolized all of the most attractive aspects of its distant parentland. For each expatriate, Nuwara Eliya assumed a slightly different role. To some, the hill-station was the Scottish highlands; to others, it was the Grasmere countryside. For all, Nuwara Eliya represented Home. The loyalty of expatriates to Nuwara Eliya was a sublimated loyalty to a faraway land and way of life.
ENDNOTES

(1) In 1833, the editor of the Bombay Gazette wrote at the introduction to an article entitled "Convalescent Stations in India. Sketch of a Visit to Nuwera Ellia in Ceylon", "All that is wanting to Newera Ellia is an influx of visitors, who will introduce the necessity of conveniences which it does not at present sufficiently possess" (Biden, 1833).

(2) Sirr was one of a number of authors who urged the permanent settlement of Nuwara Eliya by Europeans. Such writers included Samuel Baker (1883, 1884, 1890) and a contributor to the Ceylon Overland Observer who stated that "We do not see...why a more extended settlement should not take place...[at] our own Newera Ellia" for many had found it to be a "congenial home" (Ceylon Overland Observer, June 25, 1872).

(3) Lake Gregory was excavated circa 1873 by order of Governor Sir William Gregory (1872-1877). The land on which the lake is located is marshy and was expropriated by the government under the Waste Lands Ordinance Act (de Silva, 1978:87).

(4) Brohier (1948:7) suggests that Governor Sir Robert Wilmot Horton's lack of enthusiasm for Nuwara Eliya may be "traced to a rival claim set up by the discovery of another site for a Ceylon 'hill station'". Horton did visit Nuwara Eliya, having rented a house, Barnes Hall, from his predecessor, Sir Edward Barnes, but complained about the high rent and the leaky roof (Hulugalle, 1963:42). In 1831, two years after Nuwara Eliya was made a military sanatorium, Mr. Fisher of the 78th Regiment and Mr. Watson of the 58th Regiment "discovered" a plateau approximately twenty miles southeast of Nuwara Eliya. Located at 7000 feet elevation, the plateau was named Horton Plains, after Governor and Lady Horton (Brohier, 1948:7). Burrows states that the scenery of Horton Plains "is far finer than anything Nuwara Eliya can offer" (1899:53) yet Horton Plains never attained the prominence of Nuwara Eliya. This may be because the former is less accessible than Nuwara Eliya and never received the support of a patron such as Sir Samuel Baker. Horton Plains does not possess the facilities of a hill-station and is noted in the travel literature for its proximity to World's End, so named because of the steep escarpment with a drop of 5000 feet which affords a fine view of the southern portion of Ceylon.

(5) Governor Gregory's decision to sell the Governor's residence at Galle was based on a combination of personal
preference and economic motives. The house was "old, uncomfortable and useless except for affording Downing Street officials the means of exercising hospitality at Ceylon's cost" (Bastiampillai, 1968:118). Galle had been the primary harbour for Ceylon until the 1870s. With the improvements to the Colombo harbour in the early 1870s, Gregory lobbied the Colonial Office to make Colombo the major port. Thus it was imperative that the Governor's residence in Galle be sold quickly for it was anticipated that property values in that town would decline (ibid.).

(6) The exact amount of time that individual Governors spent at the hill-station varied according to their schedules and the demands of office.

(7) It is unclear from the text of the book which of the sisters was the visitor to Nuwara Eliya and the author of the letter and which sister remained in Jaffna.

(8) Phonetic spelling of English pronunciation of Nuwara Eliya.

(9) A.G.A. Burrows also argued in favour of increased funding for Nuwara Eliya. He urged in his diary that the colonial government provide loans for the improvement of Nuwara Eliya as "no one who sees the place on a fine afternoon can doubt that it is and ought to be the playground and health depot of the Island....If bad times are coming so much the more important is it to improve Nuwara Eliya, for expensive as it is, it is far cheaper than England" (Government of Ceylon, Apr. 19, 1898).

(10) A.G.A. Burrows concurred with A.G.A. White's assessment of Nuwara Eliya. Burrows suggested that a Winter Garden close to the Hill Club would make "this part of Nuwara Eliya...really beautiful instead of abandoned scrub" (Government of Ceylon, May 17, 1898).
CHAPTER 7: NUWARA ELIYA: conclusions

This thesis has examined the sentimental attachment that expatriates formed for Nuwara Eliya. Nuwara Eliya was an expression of romanticism which was manifest through picturesque landscape ideals that were popular with the British upper and middle classes during the nineteenth century. As a picturesque landscape, the hill-station aroused the emotions of expatriates and fed their imaginations. Nuwara Eliya's resemblance to Britain inspired recollections of favorite landscapes in the metropolitan country. In the minds of expatriates, Nuwara Eliya symbolized a romanticized image of Britain -- Home. The intensity of emotion displayed in the travel literature attests to this.

Romanticism was the spirit behind the desire to create an English village in the Ceylonese countryside. Yet it was the culmination of a number of factors that accounted for Nuwara Eliya's development. It is no accident that Nuwara Eliya evolved as it did, when it did. There existed the requisite ingredients. The British possessed the belief in the health-giving virtues of the temperate highlands which went hand-in-hand with the desire to escape the oppressive heat of the lowlands. The presence of an attractive and accessible locale that bore such a remarkable resemblance to their homeland -- free from native settlements -- was compelling. A growing economic prosperity, resulting in
greater leisure time and the surplus to enjoy it, enhanced the allure of the hill-station as a recreational alternative. In conjunction with a yearning for the camaraderie of fellow expatriates and desire to share in the recreational activities of their culture, Nuwara Eliya proved increasingly appealing. The separation from Britain, immersion in an alien land and culture, caused a homesickness for a way of life they treasured. In Nuwara Eliya, they sought solace. Though the hill-station offered only a temporary alleviation of their symptoms, the nineteenth century writings of expatriates and travellers are a testimony of their gratitude.

Nuwara Eliya is a symbol of Empire for it represents irrefutable proof of the hegemony of British institutions and culture. The landscape of Nuwara Eliya speaks of the determination of the British to succeed, to dominate, to remain despite adversity as a matter of honour. The challenges inherent in governing such a land as Ceylon, though it held a reputation as the most anglicized of England's Asian colonies (Morris, 1979:511), were taken in stride by the British for it was a privilege, as well as a duty, to represent the Queen and Empire. The imposition of a British town in the heart of Ceylon was no small accomplishment. In creating Nuwara Eliya, the British were demonstrating the strength of their culture and the power
they commanded. For the British in Ceylon, Nuwara Eliya's existence in the midst of a foreign land was reassuring evidence of the superiority of their way of life and the might of the Imperial Regime.

Unlike India, Ceylon possessed only one true hill-station. Whereas expatriates in India could visit one or more hill-station, expatriates in Ceylon focused their attention upon Nuwara Eliya. Yet Nuwara Eliya was not popular solely because it was the only option for expatriates. As a hill-station it possessed many desirable attributes and could compare favorably with any Indian hill-station. It even had some advantages to the Indian hill-stations such as a mild climate that never exhibited the severe cold of Himalayan stations, like Simla. When the rain became tiresome, it could be easily avoided by a short journey over the hills to Uva. Unlike some Indian hill-stations, accessibility was never an impediment to the development of Nuwara Eliya. Furthermore, Nuwara Eliya's merits as a health sanatorium were the equal of any Indian hill-station.

Nuwara Eliya did not achieve the prominence of hill-stations such as Simla or Darjeeling. It may not have been desirable had it done so, for the reputation of Simla and Darjeeling was based upon their preeminence as social resorts. Nuwara Eliya was first and foremost a quiet English hamlet. It enjoyed a solid reputation as a little piece of
Britain nestled in the Ceylonese countryside. The loyalty of visitors and residents was due to its resemblance to Home and the fact that the social and recreational life of the hill-station approximated that of the metropolitan society. As Nuwara Eliya evolved into a recreational resort in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it continued to earn a reputation as a sanatarium. From a content analysis of the travel literature it is apparent that the primary attraction of Nuwara Eliya was its picturesque landscape, the contrast it provided with coastal Ceylon, and free reign it gave to the imaginations of expatriates who entertained fantasies of returning to England.

A study of Nuwara Eliya is not merely the study of a town, rather it is the study of the adaptation of the British to the process of colonialism. The impact of the colonial experience was not limited to the natives of colonized countries. Although the experiences of the rulers and the ruled certainly differed, the colonial experience had a profound impact on both. In Ceylon, as elsewhere, colonialism was the sum total of the actions of myriad individuals. Thus it is more than an interesting exercise to think of the British abroad as individuals who harbored hopes, aspirations and fears; it is essential to the understanding of the Imperial undertaking. The study of Nuwara Eliya is the study of the human side of Empire for it reveals not only the
power of the British but their vulnerabilities, their need for the companionship of their compatriots and their poignant longing for a distant homeland.
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APPENDIX

The Jymkhana
(from: Hamilton and Fassson, 1881)

Come, Turfite Pidgeon, spread your wing,
The Rook is waiting in the ring;
Come, pack your traps this very night,
And for New'raliya wing your flight --

Jymkhana ho!

Ye jocks who colours love to don!
Ye "layers-off" and "layers-on!"
And ye who scorn both "book" and "stake,"
And riding love for riding's sake --

Jymkhana ho!

Ye sallow merchants of the Fort,
Come, patronise the noble sport.
A fortnight to New'raliya's hills
Is worth a ton of drugs and pills --

Jymkhana oh! [sic]

And ye small big-wigs, with big livers,
Big berths, full purses, and full quivers.
Old dried-up red-tape-tied civilians,
Who rule -- or mis-rule -- swarthy millions --

Jymkhana ho!

Poor planter, overworked and worn,
Waking to cares and toil each morn;
"Reports" and "pay lists" cast aside,
And let the d----d old "totum" slide --

Jymkhana ho!
The Dance in Neweralia
(from: Hamilton and Fasson, 1881)

There's a dance in New'ralia, Jack -- do you hear?
'Twill be a grand spree, as you well can conceive.
H.E., and all the big guns will by there,
And Camilla de Snoppping Snooks, I believe.

"You'll come?" "No, I can't. The old mare's cast a shoe;
And the journey's too much -- it will precious near kill her.
Oh, bother the Ball! By the way, what do you
Mean by calling Miss Snooks by the name of Camilla?"

"No offence meant, old man; pray do not get riled;
Camilla -- beg your pardon -- Miss Snopping Snooks,
If you give her the slip will be perfectly wild,
And will spoon someone else in these nice little nooks!"

'Twere needless to mention their final decision.
They resolved in society's vortex to shine.
So prepared, being dressed with the utmost precision,
To encounter the perils of women and wine.

Heterogeneous! Euphonious expression,
Which means, I believe, "all the world and his wife,"
Can scarcely suffice to convey an impression
Of the mass here collected for pleasure and strife.

"Hurrah! Here we are! Doesn't Maud look a duck?
I've split my kid gloves! Look at Ethel -- the dear!
There's Mrs. de Racy! -- Confound my bad luck!
There's my white tie got twisted up under my ear!"

See the slender white "baton," now poised in mid-air,
By immortal Herr Pappe. One wave of the hand,
And the sweet notes of "Dreamland" -- so witching, so fair --
So tender and touching, break soft from the band.

Oh! the memories roused by that haunting, sweet strain,
Neath the masculine shirt-fronts of dances at "Home;"
Where, petted and ogled, securely they reign,
And partnerless damsels disconsolate they roam.

Here the natural order of things is reversed --
Ten "Beaux" simultaneously rush at a "Belle" --
Entreat ing, beseeching, where none but the first
Can escape a refusal and snubbing as well.

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The Dance in Neweralia cont'd...

And the method of dancing is varied and strange: --
One couple comes drifting down under full sail,
Then suddenly stop, spinning round for a change,
Like a terrier chasing the tip of his tail.

A second, apparently trying to solve
Some problem elliptic, regardless where wax is;
Unconsciously deluged with drippings revolve
With awful solemnity on their own axis.

"This really is 'Pucka;' the music's superb;
One turn more, Mrs. T. -- what, Finale already?
Collision, by Jove! Pray your energy curb,
Jack, my boy. Is hecocked? I say, steady, Jack, steady!

"What's wrong with you, man?" "Why, it's just this, my friend,
I came here to dance, not to watch you perform.
And under this impression I'm out on the 'bend,'
I've taken the Champagne department by storm.

"I'd dance if I could, but it's out of the question,
When every girl swears she's engaged twenty deep.
A nice state of things. Now (hic), 'scuse the suggestion,
Just sheer off, old man, for I'm anxious to sleep.

"Why the (hic) did I come? Pleasure always beguiles me.
But there's no fun in this. What (hic) lies they do tell,
When they swear they're already engaged -- that's what riles me.
Confound it! Here, boy, some more sparkling Moselle."

Hark! a voice of authority supper announces.
To describe the result of this news I'm unable,
For the rattle of fans and the rustle of flounces,
And confusion of tongues forms a regular Babel.

"Yes, thank you" -(smash, clatter) "I'll take mayonnaise" -
"After you wid the corkscrew"--"Boy bring some more ice" -
"Sampagne, Sar?-""No, did she"--"How well the band plays" -
"What beautiful lace!" -- "May I send you a slice?"

"How Miss Mulligan paints"--"Yes, and prunes twice a year" -
"Mr. Jones, have you seen my"--"Capped hocks and a splint"--
"Shoots snipe with"-(pop, fizz, bang)"Your dress, Lucy dear"--
"Mango tart, madam?"--"Makes you as hard as flint."
The Dance in Neweralia cont'd...

"Ah, Miss Snooks, my poor heart!"—"And dried buffalo hump"—
"Just pass me the bottle!" — "Bedad, but its thru'e!" —
"Hi, boy!" — "So he aimed just over the lump" —
"And gave her two kisses"—"Turned out with blue light."

"Who is that pretty girl?"—"Dressed with parsley and eggs"—
"Sore mouth! Goodness gracious, the very best thing
Is" — "Bone dust and Poonac" — "Such beautiful legs" —
"A medium choke-bore" — "You should just hear her sing!"

Meanwhile, some who at spooning are quite indefatigable,
Have, during the supper, retreated to bliss,
In some corner, they fondly suppose, ungetatable,
To eavesdroppers anxious to witness a kiss.

But, dancing and spooning, and eating and drinking,
Like everything else, must at last have an end.
And hitherto sparkling eyes begin to blink,
As daylight concludes this New'ralia "bend."